

THE IMPACT OF THE CRUSADING MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND,

1095 - c.1560

THESIS

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ALAN DENIS MACQUARRIE

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PART II

INSTITUTIONS WITH CRUSADING ORIGINS

AND CONNECTIONS IN SCOTLAND

Chapter 5.

The Military Orders in Scotland, 1128-1564

The Knights of the Temple and the Hospital -- collectively known as "the Military Orders" -- were originally founded in connection with the crusades, and no account of their activities in Scotland or elsewhere would be complete without some discussion of what was, after all, their raison d'être. Indeed, into the sixteenth century the Hospitallers in Scotland retained a link with the central organs of the Order at Rhodes and Malta at a time when many other religious houses in Scotland had lost any relationship with their original central authority. The Military Orders were cosmopolitan and international, and this could sometimes lead to a conflict of loyalties, especially as it appears that the Orders in Scotland were under a measure of control from England, and houses of the Orders were often run by English brothers as part of an English priory. As late as 1513 James IV complained to the Master of Rhodes that appointments to Scottish preceptories were made by the English Turcopolier and that Scottish brothers of the order must look to the Prior of England as lord and protector.¹ This complex division of loyalty could lead to tensions at such times as the Great Schism,² or periods of war between

1. James IV Letters, 296-7

2. For an alternative view cf. C. L. Tipton, "The English and Scottish Hospitallers during the Great Schism", Catholic Historical Review, LII (1966), 240-45

England and Scotland.³ This tension existed necessarily because of the unique character of the Military orders, and the fact that they never completely lost the cosmopolitan purpose for which they were founded.

1. The Templars in Scotland, 1128-1312

The Templars first came to Scotland during the reign of David I, in connection with a recruiting drive by Hugh de Paiens, the first Master of the Order, in 1128. His recruiting seems to have been successful, for "as a result, more people went [to the Holy Land] either with him or after him, than ever before since the time of the first crusade".⁴ The Templars made a very favourable impression on David I, according to Ailred of Rievaulx, to the extent that he kept himself surrounded by Templars and made them the guardians of his morals by day and night.⁵ Ailred also hints at David's desire to join the second crusade (1147), from which he was dissuaded by the alarm and dismay that this caused among his subjects.⁶ Perhaps here we can detect the influence of the Templars who surrounded him. But it

3. In 1338 the Priory of England could extract no revenue from Scotland because of continuous war and destruction; The Knights Hospitallers in England: the Report of Prior Philip de Thame (Camden Soc., 1857), 129, 201

4. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. G. Garmonsway (Everyman, 1953), 259

5. Fordun, Chronica, 242

6. Ibid.

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, though their earliest possessions in Scotland clearly date from before this.⁷

Because none of their early charters survive, it is difficult to know when and from whom they acquired their earliest possessions. Balantrodoch (now Temple, Midlothian) was their main preceptory in Scotland by the late twelfth century,⁸ and so was probably an early acquisition, probably from David I. The church of Inchinnan had passed out of the gift of Walter the Steward before c.1163, presumably having already been granted to the Templars.⁹ They also seem to have had possessions in burghs by the mid-twelfth century,¹⁰ perhaps by a similar grant to that made by Malcolm IV to the Hospitallers.¹¹ By the early thirteenth century other possessions can be traced; the Templars held lands in East Fenton and Peffer (East Lothian)¹² Falkirk (Stirlingshire) by grant of the thane of Callander,¹³

7. St Andrews Liber, 207: RRS I, 218-9

8. cf. RRS I, 98

9. Paisley Registrum, 5-6

10. St Andrews Liber, 124

11. RRS I, 230

12. Newbattle Registrum, 85-6

13. SRO RH 6/17

Swanston (Midlothian),¹⁴ and Glasgow,¹⁵ and saltworks in the carse of Callander.¹⁶ It is unknown when or by whom Temple Liston (now Kirkliston, West Lothian) was given to them. North of the Mounth they had valuable possessions from the second quarter of the thirteenth century, most notably the estate of Maryculter (Mearns) and the church of Aboyne. Maryculter was granted to them by Walter Bisset before 1239; Bisset swore to the monks of Kelso that their rights should not be prejudiced by his foundation for the Templars,¹⁷ but his oath failed in the long run to safeguard the rights of Kelso Abbey in Maryculter when in 1287 the Templars' lands on the south bank of the Dee were separated from Kelso's parish of Peterculter on the north bank.¹⁸ The Templars' other possession on Deeside, the church of Aboyne, was granted to them by Ralph de Lamley Bishop of Aberdeen at the instance of Walter Bisset c.1242.¹⁹ Despite the paucity of the evidence, it is impossible to doubt the validity for Scotland of William of Tyre's comment made c.1185:

14. Midlothian Chrs, 18-19: cf. Ibid., 28-9

15. Glasgow Registrum, 37

16. Newbattle Registrum, 127-8

17. Kelso Liber, 191

18. Kelso Liber, 181-4: Aberdeen Registrum, II, 288-93

19. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 272-3

Possessiones autem tam ultra quam citra mare adeo dicuntur immenses habere, ut jam non sit in orbe christiano provincia quae predictis fratribus bonorum suorum portionem non contulerit; et regiis oppulentiis pares hodie dicantur habere copias.²⁰

Before the outbreak of war in 1296 the Templars' possessions in Scotland paid an annual responcion to the prior of England of 300 marks sterling (£200).²¹

Lands the Templars certainly did accumulate, but it has been pointed out that their greater significance should be seen as in recruiting manpower for the defence of the Holy Land.²² This was the purpose of Hugh de Paiens visit in 1128, and throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Templars from Scotland continued to serve in the East. "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".²³ The master of the Templars in Scotland took part in Louis IX's disastrous Egyptian campaign of 1248-1250, and on his homeward journey gave details of Christian losses to Matthew Paris at St Albans.²⁴ The career of brother Robert le Scot may have been fairly typical for a Scottish Templar: he was

20. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Occidentaux, I, pt.1, 521

21. Report of Philip de Thame, 201

22. J. Edwards, "The Knights Templars in Scotland", Trans. Scot. Eccles. Soc., IV (1912-15), 42

23. Ibid., 43

24. Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, VI, 521

first received into the order c.1283 at "Castro Peregrino ultra mare" (Château Pélérin, 'Athlit, near Caesarea), but later apostasised. After two years of apostasy he came to Rome and made a full confession before a papal penitentiary, who advised him to return to the Order. So he made a heavy penance and was readmitted to the Order of the Templars at Nicosia by mandate of the Grand Master. Later he was sent to England and was a brother at Daney in Kent up to the time when he and the rest of the Templars in England were arrested in 1309.²⁵ It is not certain that the surname "Scot" denotes a Scot in every case; brother John de Scot, who was received into the Order by the bailie of Ponthieu c.1296, is called "dictus de Sotton Anglicus".²⁶ In most cases, however, the "Scot" in question is likely to have been Scottish. In c.1302 a certain Richard Scotus was received into the Brotherhood of the Temple at the house of the Temple in Paris by brother Hugh de Perrant visitor of France.²⁷ Among the brothers held in England in 1309 was Robert le Scot;²⁸ a second brother, Thomas Scot, fled before he could be arrested.²⁹ The conclusion to be drawn from these examples is that if we are to look for Scottish Templars, they are more likely to be found outside Scotland.

25. "Processus Contra Templarios in Scotia", in Wilkins, Concilia, II, 345

26. Michelet, Procès des Templiers, II, 132

27. Ibid., I, 292; II, 35-6

28. Wilkins, Concilia, II, 344

29. Ibid., II, 355

Indeed, looking at the few surviving charters granted by the Templars in Scotland, one searches in vain for identifiably Scottish brothers serving in their own country. Most Templars in Scotland appear to have been English, administering their Scottish lands as part of the English priory. A charter of Ranulph Corbet, "magister in terra regis Scottorum de domo Templi" with consent of the brothers of "Plentidoc" (Balantrodach), is witnessed by a number of brothers, none of whom is identifiably Scottish; but one of them, brother Roger the Almoner, was probably almoner to King William I.³⁰ In the late thirteenth-century description of the Scottish king's household it is stated that the king's almoner should be either "a knight or a brother of the Temple, and a clerk assigned to him by the king to keep the almonry".³¹ In the English-backed coup-d'état of 1255, among the royal councillors removed from office was "brother Richard, Almoner, of the Order of the Temple".³² This use of Templars in the royal household may have dated back to David I's time, and so it would be a mistake to see the interests of the Scottish crown and of the Templars as being always at cross-purposes.

During the relatively stable relations which prevailed between the two kingdoms before 1296, the use of Englishmen

30. Glasgow Registrum, 37

31. SHS Misc. II, 34-5

32. CDS, I, no.2013

in royal administration did not seem at all strange; some of the leading nobility were also substantial English landowners. Neither did it seem in any way inimical to "the national interest" that English control over the Scottish houses of the Templars was maintained. The Scottish lands of the Templars were not included in the Templar inquest made in 1185,³³ but the dependence of the Scottish branch of the Order is shown in a charter of brother Robert de Samford "Minister of the Knights Templars in England", concerning the lands of Dalderse granted by the thane of Callander which owe an annual rent of 13d "to our house".³⁴ This transaction (c.1234) took place "de communi consilio et assensu capituli in Pascha apud Londinium", to which Scottish members of the Order were accountable and which controlled the Scottish houses of the order. Most of the Templars who witnessed this transaction are more likely to be English than Scottish; brother Adam de Linton, however, may have been a Scot, and brother Hugh de Coyners "tunc preceptor" may have been preceptor of Balantrodoch and possibly related to the family of Conyers, one of the leading families of the bishopric of Durham at the end of the twelfth century.³⁵

It has already been seen that the Scottish lands of the

33. Lees, Templars

34. SRO RH 6/17; below, Appendix I no. 8

35. RRS II, 177-8, where the name is spelt "Coigneres".

Templars paid substantial responsions to the Temple in London up until 1296; and this impression of dependence is reinforced in the records of the trial of the Templars in Scotland.³⁶ Of the four brothers of the Order in Scotland, two were arrested, Walter de Clifton and William de Middleton, while the other two fled, John de Huseflete and Thomas Totti (or Tocci); the last named later gave himself up. All four were English. Walter de Clifton said that he had joined the Templars at All Saints' tide in 1299 at Temple Brewer (Lincolnshire), where he was received by William de la More, Master of the Templars in England and Scotland, who is his superior, whose direct superior is the Master of Jerusalem and Cyprus and his chapter. At his reception he had sworn to defend the Holy Land and taken vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, also sworn never to stay in a house where there were women or to attend weddings or the churching of women. He had served for the last three years at Balantrodoch, and before that had served for three years at Temple Newsam (near Leeds, Yorkshire), one year at the Temple in London, and three years at Temple Rockley (Wiltshire) and Aslakeby (Lincolnshire). Before he took over at Balantrodoch John de Huseflete had been preceptor there for two years. William de Middleton told a similar story of his career as a Templar. He had been received at Temple Newsam "seven years before" by brother Brian le Jay,

36. Spottiswoode Misc. II, 1-16 (transcribed from Wilkins, Concilia, II, by James Maidment)

who was then Master of England (but who in fact died in 1298, eleven years previously) in the presence of brothers John de Huseflete, Thomas Tocci and John de Caratan, all of whom had since fled, and other unnamed brothers who were now dead. He had served in England for five years and in Scotland for two years both at Maryculter and at Balantrodoch, and in Northumberland "by agents" for three years. He said that Scotland was subject to the master of England, he in turn to the master of France, and he in turn to the master of Cyprus. Twice since he had joined the Order there had been visitations from the visitor of France, Hugh de Perrant, but on the second of these William de Middleton had not seen him, as he had been in Scotland at the time. One of the witnesses at this trial added that the visitor of France visited England and the visitor of England visited Scotland and called the brothers to his chapter general so that their secrets could be communicated.

The picture which emerges is one of frequent movement within and between countries, with English brothers being sent to administer the Templars' properties in Scotland and moving between the houses of Maryculter and Balantrodoch, while at the same time Scottish Templars appear in France, Cyprus, and the Holy Land. The Templars were a cosmopolitan order, whose principal object was the defence of the Holy Land and whose territories in the West were administered with that objective in view. But it would be wrong to see them simply as an extractive force; in England the Templars

performed useful banking services for the crown,³⁷ while in Scotland the king's almoner was usually a member of the Order. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries national and international loyalties did not conflict as they did towards the close of the Middle Ages. To look for such a conflict is to look in vain, and to accuse the Templars and their benefactors of being "unpatriotic" is simply anachronistic.

Whatever good qualities they may have had, the Templars never endeared themselves to many of their neighbours in Scotland or elsewhere, and in some cases the dislike, which ultimately was to contribute to their ruin, appears to have been plentifully justified. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the career of brother Brian le Jay, one of the last masters of the Temple in Scotland. Le Jay was an Englishman, like most Templars in Scotland, and had probably served in the East and in England before becoming preceptor of Balantrodoch before 1291.³⁸ He figures prominently in a curious story told in a lengthy fourteenth-century document.³⁹ The story is that a lady called Christiana, daughter of Robert Scot of Esperston (Temple, Midlothian) married a certain William son of Geoffrey of Halkerstoun, to whom she bore three sons. William was

37. T. W. Parker, The Knights Templars in England (Tucson, 1963), passim

38. CDS, II, no.508 125

39. J. Edwards, "The Templars in Scotland in the Thirteenth Century", SHR V (1908), 13-25

given to indolence, and conveyed his wife's lands to the Templars for life in return for his maintenance, and lived in the house of the Templars while his wife and their children lived in a house on their property until William's death. The master of the Temple, brother Brian le Jay, claimed to have bought the property and sought to expel Christiana; but she claimed that it was hers by right and that her husband had no right to alienate it. The Templars, however, expelled her by force, cutting off her finger as she clung to the door-post. She appealed to the king, (unnamed, though probably Alexander III)⁴⁰ at Newbattle, and he had her restored to possession, in which she remained for a long time in peace, until the outbreak of war (1296). Then the Templars came and expelled her once more. Brian le Jay, now Master of the Templars in England, came to Balantrodoch on 18 July 1298 with a band of Welsh mercenaries to take part in Edward I's campaign against Wallace, and Christiana's eldest son, Richard Cook, came and sought justice from him. Brian asked him to act as a guide for the Welshmen between Balantrodoch and Templeliston, but as Richard was leading them the following day they turned on him and murdered him -- clearly on le Jay's inspiration. Another sinister account of Brian's character was given by the surrendered fugitive Thomas Tocci, who said that brother Brian le Jay repeatedly denied that Jesus Christ was true

40. G. W. S. Barrow, "The Aftermath of War", TRHS 5th ser. XXVIII, (1978), 103-125, at 112-15

God and true man, and asserted that a single hair of a Saracen's beard was worth more than Christ's whole body. He added that he had seen some poor men come begging to Brian, asking for alms in the name of Our Lady, and that Brian had replied "What Lady? Go and be hanged with your Lady!" He then threw down a farthing and made the poor folk grovel for it in the ice and snow, as it was the dead of winter at the time.⁴¹

Brian le Jay, for all his faults, was conspicuously loyal to Edward I. He swore homage to him at Edinburgh on 29 July 1291, just six weeks after the prorogation of the Great Cause at Norham,⁴² and as a reward for his loyalty had a grant of timber from the king's forester of Clackmannan two weeks thereafter.⁴³ In December of the same year he had letters of protection without limit, and may soon thereafter have taken up the post of master of the Templars in England.⁴⁴ On 1 September 1296 he appointed brother John de Sautre, master of the Templars in Scotland (another Englishman) as his attorney in Scotland.⁴⁵ Finally in 1298 Brian returned to Scotland in the service of Edward I, where he died fighting bravely at the Battle of Falkirk, one of few English casualties, and winning the admiration of contemporary English chronicles.⁴⁶

41. Wilkins, Concilia, II, 386

42. CDS, II, no.508 125

43. Ibid., no.519

44. Ibid., no.635

45. Ibid., no.839

46. Chron.Walsingham, I, 76: Chron.Rishanger, 188

He provided Sir Walter Scott with a splendid model for the sinister figure of Brian de Bois-Guibert, Master of the Temple, in Ivanhoe.

Although these examples show that there was a genuinely unattractive side to the Templars' character, many of the accusations brought against them in 1309 were of doubtful worth. At their trial at Holyrood the Abbot of Dunfermline said that he knew nothing for certain, but that he had heard sinister tales from others, on account of their clandestine ceremony of admission of brothers to the Order and their holding of chapters at night.^{46a} A monk of Newbattle said that they were accused of unjust acquisitions, stealing from their neighbours, and withholding hospitality from all except the rich. Among the witnesses were secular clergy who were neighbours of the Templars, such as the rector of Ratho and the chaplain of Kirkliston; the latter said that he had never seen a Templar buried, or heard of one dying a natural death(!). But perhaps the most unfair accusation of all was brought by certain laymen who said that their ancestors had asserted that if the Templars had been faithful Christians the Holy Land would never have been lost. It is unfortunate that their unpopularity at local level should have led to such a gross distortion of the truth.

The arrest of the Templars in Scotland, and their trial at Holyrood on 17 November 1309, were carried out by

46a. Spottiswoode Misc. II, 13

the English administration occupying southern Scotland at that time. The court came to no decision because of constant Scottish incursions and the likelihood that the war would continue for some time. In 1312 the Templars in England and Scotland were abolished.⁴⁷ Later we find Templars who had served in Scotland confined in Cistercian houses near the Border,⁴⁸ but when they were transferred there is unknown. It is also unknown how the Templars' properties were handed over to the Hospitallers; it seems to have been a ragged piecemeal process, and there is evidence that well into the fourteenth century the Hospitallers were still having difficulty getting possession of former Templar properties. Certainly they landed on their feet in 1312, for the wealth of the Templars in Scotland seems to have been in the order of half as much again as that which the Hospitallers already had.⁴⁹

2. The Hospitallers in Scotland before 1312.

The origin of the Templars in Scotland can be dated from the visit of Hugh de Paiens in 1128; unfortunately, we have no such landmark to indicate when the Hospitallers

47. Rymer, Foedera, II, pt.I, 167-8, 174: Wilkins, Concilia, II, 401; in general, see M. Barber, The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978)

48. R. Aitkin, "Knights Templars in Scotland", SR XXXII (1898), 34

49. Report of Philip de Thame, 129, 201

first came to Scotland. Indeed, the history of their development before the Wars of Independence is very obscure, being devoid of the kind of illumination which the trial of the Knights Templars provides. It is probable that in their early development, organisation and character, their history was broadly similar to that of the Templars, though certainly along more modest lines.

A list of Hospitaller properties drawn up by the English brother John Stillingflete in 1434 states that

David rex Scotorum dedit terram de Torphigan.

Fergus rex Galwitensium dedit terram de Galvyte.⁵⁰

These may well have been the most substantial properties which the Hospitallers held before 1312, and constitute a less impressive array than the wealth of the Templars. Torphichen was their only preceptory, in contrast to the Templars' two; and there is no suggestion that they ever had the level of influence over King David which the Templars are alleged to have had. Like the Templars they do not appear as witnesses to surviving royal acts before 1160.⁵¹

Soon after the mid twelfth century they can be seen accumulating other minor holdings. Malcolm IV granted them one toft in all his burghs,⁵² and this may have been the

50. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (1st edn. 1655-1673), II, 551

51. RRS I, 218-19

52. RRS I, 230

foundation of the network of small tofts and tenements which they held all over Scotland in the late Middle Ages. By the end of the twelfth century there seems to have been a special category of exemptions from secular service enjoyed by the Military Orders in their burghal properties.⁵³ By the early thirteenth century other possessions can be traced, including saltworks at Callander,⁵⁴ and lands in Lanark,⁵⁵ Newton Mearns,⁵⁶ and Kinnear (? Fife).⁵⁷

The Hospitallers held churches, too, though here again their acquisitions were more modest than the Templars'. By 1173 x 1178 they had presentation to the "chapel of Torphichen" which seems to have been moving towards parochial status, with rights of cemetary and teinds of the men of Torphichen;⁵⁸ later, 1210 x 1226, the Hospitallers also secured rights of teinds in Ogilface (Torphichen, three and a half miles west of Bathgate).⁵⁹ The curiously long and narrow shape of Torphichen parish may have been a result of this westward expansion of the Hospitallers' rights. By 1180 x 1189 they had presentation to the

53. St Andrews Liber, 139: cf. Ibid., 264

54. Newbattle Registrum, 131-32

55. Dryburgh Liber, 156-57

56. Paisley Registrum, 379-80

57. Lindores and Balmerino Registers (Abbotsford Club), 15-16

58. St Andrews Liber, 319

59. Ibid., 320: Holyrood Liber, 36-37

parish church of Glenmuick in Mar,⁶⁰ though three centuries later the Bethlehemites of St Germain (East Lothian) claimed that this parish had belonged to them since "time beyond the memory of man".⁶¹ For a brief period in the thirteenth century the Hospitallers held the patronage of Ochiltree, but were obliged to renounce this (in return for £14 sterling per annum) as the result of a complicated legal wrangle before 1296.⁶² Most of their acquisitions of appropriated parish churches date from after 1312.

Like the Templars, their principal raison d'être in Scotland seems to have been recruitment; but the lack of any evidence equivalent to the records of the trial of the Templars makes it impossible to see this aspect of their activity in operation. There is, however, evidence of a similar dependence on England (where the main Hospitaller house was at Clerkenwell, Middlesex), and of the staffing of the Scottish preceptory by English knights. For instance, it was brother Gilbert de Vere, Master of the Hospital in England, who presented Michael Clerk to the parsonage of Glenmuick in the 1180s, and it was to the English priory that the parson's annual payment of nine silver marks was due.⁶³ Brother Alan, prior of England,

60. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 315-16

61. Reg. Supp. (Vatican Archives), 651, f.93v

62. Melrose Liber, I, 288-91

63. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 315-16

confirmed a grant of lands in Galloway with consent of the chapter in 1192; interestingly, this charter was drawn up by brother Simon Scocie, who may have been a Scottish brother responsible for Scottish affairs.^{63a} Before the outbreak of war in 1296, the Scottish house of the Hospitallers paid to the prior of England responsions of 200 marks annually.⁶⁴ This reinforces the impression of an organisation very similar to that of the Templars. Few names of brothers who served in Scotland have survived, and even fewer can be identified as Scots. Brothers H. Arundel and Walter de Stanford (1210 x 1226) have English surnames although they were "brothers of Torphichen".⁶⁵ A charter of roughly similar date (perhaps c.1230?) was issued by brother Geoffrey de Saulton, Master of St John of Jerusalem of Torphichen, and witnessed by brothers Henry de Hampton, Richard de Dodyngston, John de Aubland and Hamo de Salisbirien' (i.e., Salisbury).⁶⁶ All, with the exception of brother Richard de Dodyngston (who may have taken his name from Duddingston, Midlothian), are likely or certain to have been English. "Theobald Master of Torphichen" who witnessed a charter of Alexander the Steward to Paisley Abbey in 1252⁶⁷ is to be identified with

63a. Holyrood Liber, 43

64. Report of Philip de Thame, 129

65. St Andrews Liber, 320

66. Newbattle Registrum, 39-40

67. Paisley Registrum, 91-92

"brother Arkenbald Master of Torphichen" who granted a charter to the monks of Newbattle in 1253;⁶⁸ but Archibald was less of a distinctively Scottish Christian name than it later became. Unfortunately the copy of this charter that survives has no witness-list. The "Master of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem at Torphichen", c.1272 x 1291, was brother Hubert de Chellecham,⁶⁹ whose surname likewise seems to be English. The last master of Torphichen before the outbreak of war was brother Alexander de Welles, whose name appears in the rolls of homage and fealty of 1291 and 1296;⁷⁰ it is possible that he took his name from Wells in Somerset.

During the war the Hospitallers in Scotland, like the Templars, seem to have been loyal to the English crown. Wallace occupied Torphichen in the spring of 1298,⁷¹ and it is likely that the brethren had to withdraw during his occupation of the South of Scotland. The master of the Hospital (possibly Alexander de Welles?) returned to Scotland later in the same year, only to share the fate of Brian le Jay and John de Sautre of the Temple, dying at the Battle of Falkirk.⁷² Edward I also passed through Torphichen in

68. Newbattle Registrum, 159

69. Aberdeen and Banff Antiquities, III, 125n

70. CDS, II, nos. 508, 823 (at p.202); cf. no.833 "Macraith de Ospetali" (Holyrood Liber, 20) may have been a Hospitaller, but perhaps more likely kept a pilgrim's hospital at Withern.

71. Anderson, Diplomata, pl.XLIII

72. Chron. Rishanger, 415

the summer of 1298 returning from the Falkirk campaign.⁷³

As a result of Edward's great success in 1298 the Hospitallers were able to re-establish themselves at Torphichen, but they must from then onwards have been fearful of hostile neighbours; in c.1304-1305 the prior and brethren of the Hospital petitioned Edward that their English brothers in Scotland might be received "when necessary" in the castle of Linlithgow, situated two leagues distant from Torphichen.⁷⁴

There could be no clearer evidence that the Hospitallers, like the Templars, had become unpopular at a time when war between nations tended to reinforce national (and xenophobic) prejudices and to reduce cosmopolitan interests to a minimum. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Scottish kings had granted extensive privileges to both Orders,⁷⁵ and had used the Templars in the royal household. After 1296 this kind of co-operation between a cosmopolitan crusading order and a feudal kingdom was no longer possible, as the Crusader States foundered and the kingdoms of the West became embroiled in nationalistic wars from which they were to emerge as national states. When the English were driven out of Scotland at the time of the suppression of the Templars, it appears that the Hospitallers departed too;

73. Stevenson, Documents, II, 289

74. CDS, II, no.1733

75. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 266-68, 269-71: Newbattle Registrum, 178-79: RRS, I, 281-82; below, Appendix I, no.7

and when they returned to Scotland in the fourteenth century, their character had changed considerably.

3. The Hospitallers in Scotland, 1312-1418

There is no period in the history of the Military orders in Scotland more obscure than the fourteenth century, or more problematic from the point of view of the historian. First of all it is difficult to see how the Hospitallers, with their strong English connections, were able to return to Scotland and acquire their new windfall from the discredited Templars. Later in the century there is doubt about the administration of their properties in Scotland and the number of brothers of the Order who ever actually served in Scotland. Finally there is the problem of the Great Schism and the effect that it had on the Order and on Scotland; whether it split Scotland from the English langue, and how the Scottish Hospitallers continued, after the Convent of Rhodes returned to the allegiance of the Roman pope, while Scotland adhered still to Benedict XIII. There is no easy answer to any of these questions, and some of the conclusions here put forward may have to be revised in the light of new evidence.

From 1307 onwards Robert Bruce and his supporters went from strength to strength, while the English administration of Scotland became more and more precarious. We have seen that the court which tried the Templars in Scotland in November 1309 had to defer a decision because they feared

the incursions of the Scots.⁷⁶ On 2 May 1312 Clement V mandated the bishops of Aberdeen, St Andrews and Brechin to defend the Hospitallers who have been possessed of the Templars' property within their dioceses.⁷⁷ By this time Bruce's partisans were in control of most of the country, and the bishops to whom the mandate were sent were all, by this time at least, favourable to Bruce's cause.⁷⁸

There is no reason to believe that the Hospitallers themselves were totally inimical to Bruce, especially as his successes grew in number and became increasingly irreversible. Six months after Bannockburn and immediately after the Cambuskenneth Parliament (at which it was enacted that all those against the King's peace should be forfeited)⁷⁹ King Robert issued a charter to the Master and Brethren of the Hospital, "dilectis et fidelibus nostris", confirming to them all their lands, rents, churches, etc., as they had held them in the time of King Alexander III.⁸⁰ It bears the date 10 December 1314, but it mentions by name neither the master of Torphichen nor any of his properties; the lands of the Templars are not mentioned either. Before the end of Robert I's reign, however, there emerges a Master of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, brother Ralph (or Rodolph) Lindsay, who grants "Templestoun and

76. Spottiswoode Misc. II, 1-16

77. CPL, II, 95

78. G. W. S. Barrow, Robert Bruce (2nd edn. Edinburgh 1976), 373-75

79. APS I, 464

80. SRO GD 119/3; below, Appendix I, no.10

Scheills" to Reginald More, a grant which King Robert confirmed.⁸¹ These lands are Templeliston and Listonshiels, which had previously belonged to the Templars, and they provide concrete evidence that the Hospitallers were able to dispose of Templar property before the end of Robert I's reign. The other chief interest of this charter is that the Master of Torphichen bears a Scottish surname, and may belong to the family of Lindsay who were loyal to Bruce. He may well be the first brother of the Order active in Scotland who was himself Scottish.⁸² If so, he established a pattern which was to continue down to the Reformation; despite continuing intervention in Scottish affairs by the Prior of England, the preceptors of Scotland were mostly themselves Scots.

The beneficiary of Lindsay's grant, Reginald More, is an early instance of a lay administrator of the Hospitallers' properties. In 1323 he appears as a witness to a transaction between Simon Lockhart of Lee and William Lindsay, Rector of Ayr.⁸³ Later he seems to have become custodian of all the Hospitallers' and Templars' property in Scotland, possibly on the death of Ralph Lindsay. In this office he was succeeded by his son William More, who issued a charter as custos of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in

81. An Index of Charters drawn up in 1629, ed.W. Robertson (Edinburgh 1798), 11

82. but cf. "Simon Scocie" in Holyrood Liber, 43

83. NLS Accession 5474, Box 20

conjunction with brother Robert de Cultre and with consent of the brethern (c.1335? x c.1345?), which curiously seems to suggest that there were both a lay administrator and brothers of the Order active in Scotland at the same time.⁸⁴ William More seems to have co-operated with brother Robert de Fordoun, who was active in Scotland in 1343-1345; Sir William More is one of the witnesses of Fordoun's confirmation of a sale of lands in Halkerston (Temple, Midlothian) in c.1344, in which Fordoun is styled "lieutenant of the Master and custodian of the alms of Torphichen".⁸⁵ This charter is also witnessed by brother John de Acomb, "prior of our house of Torphichen", whose presence is difficult to explain; one would normally expect the prior to be the highest ranking member, but Fordoun, acting as lieutenant of the master (presumably of England) takes precedence. In 1344 and 1345 safeconducts were issued to Fordoun to come to London on business of the Order,⁸⁶ but Acomb is not heard of again, and his solitary appearance as a witness is a mystery; perhaps priore is a scribal error for presbytero; Acomb is mentioned as a chaplain brother in Philip de Thame's report, dwelling in the house of Chiborn in the north of England.^{86a} William More, however, recurs. It was probably

84. Spottiswoode Miscellany, II, 4

85. SRO RH 6/118; below, Appendix I, no.11

86. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward III, 1343-45, 59, 201

86a. Report of Philip de Thame, 324; assuming that p^lore has been written for p^rb^ro

early in 1345 that a new deputy of the English prior was sent to Scotland. Brother Alexander de Seton, who bears a distinctively Scottish name,⁸⁷ came armed with papal bulls to the King (David II) and the Bishop of St Andrews, requesting them to compel detainers of the Hospitallers property in Scotland to make restitution.⁸⁸ The principal object of his campaign seems to have been William More; claiming that he had been sent to Scotland by the Master and Convent of Rhodes, he showed to the Bishop of St Andrews that Sir William More, son of the late Reginald More, and Reginald in his last years, had for eight years and more before Alexander joined the order detained possessions, churches and rights pertaining to the master and brothers of the Order, and had made no payment to them or to anyone in their name for these fruits, which should have been worth £421 16s 6d sterling to the master and brothers.⁸⁹ Brother Alexander took his duties as Preceptor seriously; he was in Aberdeen in March 1345, confirming the transfer of the Hospital's lands in Ellon from Walter Greathead, impoverished by the wars in Scotland, to

87. He must have been related to the Seton family of East Lothian origin, but it would be incautious to identify him certainly with Alexander de Seton, the adherent of King Robert from 1314 onwards; cf. B. G. Seton, The House of Seton: a Study of Lost Causes (Edinburgh 1939-41), I, 93-4

88. CPL III, 18

89. Dunfermline Registrum, 196-98

William de Meldrum.^{89a} He then turned south and held a full court of the Temple (possibly the earliest "Temple court" so called) at Balantrodoch in September 1345;⁹⁰ he acknowledged the prior of England as his superior,⁹¹ and in 1346 procured from the pope a grant of plenary remission at the hour of death.⁹² That hour may have come soon afterwards, for he is not heard of again. His animosity towards William More (whom he caused to be excommunicated) may be seen as a reaction against the situation which prevailed at the height of the renewed Anglo-Scottish war in the 1330s, when the Prior of England, Philip de Thame, reported in 1338 that the lands of the Templars and Hospitallers in Scotland were, as a result of prolonged and severe war, destroyed, burnt up and brought to nothing, so that nothing could be got from them.⁹³ He stated that he was maintaining a chaplain in Scotland, brother William de la Forde, but knew nothing of his financial position.⁹⁴ De la Forde (who is not otherwise known) and Fordoun may not have been in a strong enough position to question the administration of the

89a. Fyvie Castle Muniments, no.2: Appendix I, no.12

90. SRO RH 6/114 and 115; Appendix I, no.13

91. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward III, 1343-45, 469, 520

92. CPL III, 194

93. Report of Philip de Thame, 129, 201

94. Ibid., 129

More family during the 1330s and early 1340s, while by the mid-1340s, their position may have improved considerably; and the defeat of the Scots at Neville's Cross (17 October 1346), leading to an enforced pacification, would have worked in favour of Philip de Thame and the Master of Rhodes.

It was a few years before Philip de Thame sent another brother to Scotland -- perhaps Alexander de Seton was still active after 1346 -- and it was not until October 1351 that he commanded brother Thomas de Lindsay (presumably a Scot) to go to Scotland to guard the Hospital's possessions there and the lands of the Temple.⁹⁵ A few surviving acta of Lindsay's from the 1350s, suggest that, like Seton, he threw himself vigorously into the task of administering the lands of the Order in Scotland. It was before an assize held by him at Balantrodoch on 30 April 1353 that the story of the Templars' injustice and cruelty to the widow of Esperston was revealed,⁹⁶ though it is probable that Robert Symple, who claimed the widow's inheritance, was threatening to seek redress at the court of the King of Scotland rather than at that of Edward III, as John Edwards supposed.⁹⁷ On 20 January 1353/4 Lindsay held another "full court of the Hospital" at Balantrodoch to determine land transactions among the Hospital's dependents within the lordship of Temple.⁹⁸

95. Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward III, 1350-54, 151

96. See above, pp. 280-1

97. cf. nn.39 and 40 above.

98. SRO RH 6/120; below, Appendix I, no.14

Finally on 6 January 1356/7 as "Master of the Order of St John of Jerusalem at Torphichen" he granted out lands of the Hospital in Strathbrock (now Broxburn, West Lothian).⁹⁹ This is the last act of his which is known to survive.

Even while Thomas de Lindsay was still active in Scotland there were new plans afoot concerning the organisation of the Order in Scotland. In May 1356 the pope wrote to the leading guardians of Scotland (in the absence of David II in England) recommending to them Mr. David de Mar, treasurer of Moray and papal chaplain, procurator of the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, being sent to transact business in Scotland.¹⁰⁰ Mar's position is not clear; in 1365 he paid to the Common Treasurer of Rhodes arrears of responsions of 378 florins:^{100a} in 1375 the pope described him as a clerk wont to dwell at the Papal Court, who held the preceptory of Scotland in ferme for more than twenty years,¹⁰¹ while in 1379 it was alleged that he and others were preventing another lease-holder of the preceptory in Scotland from paying his census to the Common Treasury.¹⁰² In 1383 he was cited to appear before papal executors to answer

99. SRO RH 6/123; below, Appendix I, no.15

100. CPL III, 619

100a. Malta Cod. 319, ff.40R-41R; below, Appendix II, no.1

101. CPL IV, 140-1

102. Clement VII Letters, 32-3

a charge of non-payment of dues from the land of Culter to the Hospital.¹⁰³ Mar's accomplice in preventing payments from being made was Sir Robert de Erskine, who in June 1374, as custos of the lands of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, held a full court at Balantrodoch and used the common seal of Torphichen to authenticate its acts.¹⁰⁴ Erskine was a close relative of the earl of Mar; David de Mar was among the witnesses to a grant of lands in Garioch by Thomas, earl of Mar, to Sir Robert de Erskine in c.1358.^{104a} Erskine may have acquired his position at Torphichen through a relationship with William More; More and Erskine entered into an indenture of mutual support against certain powerful lords in 1363.^{104 b} It is possible that after Lindsay's tenure Erskine and Mar divided the properties between them, with Mar controlling Maryculter and Erskine administering lands and properties south of the Mounth. At the time of his death, before 15 April 1386, Mar seems to have held the vicarages of Maryculter and Aboyne and the house of Maryculter.^{104 c} Certainly the Master of Rhodes was having difficulty in extracting revenue from Scotland for in 1363 the pope wrote to David II asking for his help in

103. Ibid., 87

104. SRO RH 6/161; below, Appendix I, no. 16

104a. SRO GD 124/1/110

104 b. SRO GD 124/1/516

104 c. Malta Cod. 323, ff.138R, 139R. The vicarages were granted by the G. M. to Sir Richard de Cornell. Appendix II, nos. 7, 8.

compelling the diobedient to make annual payments to the Hospital,¹⁰⁵ and in 1367 the Bishop of St Andrews was mandated to compel unlawful detainers to restore Hospitaller property, at the request of Raymond Berenger Master of Rhodes.¹⁰⁶ Mar and Erskine seem to have combined against Robert Mercer, Lord of Innerpeffray and member of the king's household, to whom Berenger leased some Hospitaller property in Scotland, "accustomed, as the pope has learned, to be held by laymen", in March 1374;¹⁰⁷ in January 1375 Berenger's successor, Robert de Jully, granted to Robert Mercer all the Hospital's property in Scotland for a pension of 400 florins annually, payable in Paris on Ascension Day.¹⁰⁸ Probably the Master felt that this was the easiest way out of his problem, to use a local strong man to counteract the influence of Mar and Erskine, who could not be relied on as the political situation in Scotland deteriorated during the reign of Robert II. Certainly throughout the 1380s sums were sent from Scotland to the Common Treasury, though it is not clear who was paying them.^{108a} But this aroused the antipathy of Robert de Hales, Prior of England, who complained that the rights of his priory were being prejudiced by the grant to Mercer in which he was not consulted.¹⁰⁹

105. CPL IV, 3

106. Ibid., 65

107. Ibid., 135

108. Ibid., 205

108a. Malta Cod. 322, ff.52R-53R: Cod. 48, f.146V;
Cod 55, f.3R; below, Appendix II, nos. 5,6,9,10

109. CPL IV, 110

The entry of Hales into the conflict adds an interesting new dimension; hitherto the Master of Rhodes and the Prior of England, his intermediary, had acted in concert over Scottish affairs, and now they came into conflict for the first time. Professor Charles Tipton has suggested that all that was necessary was for the Prior and King of England to "jog the memory" of the Master of Rhodes, reminding him that Scotland was subject to the English langue.¹¹⁰ But Hales' action, in persuading Edward III to arrest sums of money bound from England to the Common Treasury of Rhodes,¹¹¹ was more serious than the phrase "jogging the memory" implies. Pending a decision by the pope in the question between Hales and Juilly, Brother Henry de St Trond, Preceptor of Avalterre, was appointed to govern the revenues of Scotland in October 1375.¹¹² In the end the arrest of responsions from England was decisive, and the Grand Master backed down, confirming the superiority of the priory of England over Scottish lands of the Order, and securing the release of the moneys, which were intended to finance a new crusade of 500 knights and 500 esquires due to set out in the spring of 1377.¹¹³ J. Delaville le Roulx has suggested that Hales' disobedience to the Master was prompted by "le dévouement aveugle qu'il

110. Art. Cit., Cath. Hist. Rev. LII, 240-45, at 241

111. CPL IV, 140-42

112. Ibid., 110, 140

113. Ibid., 141: a magisterial bull confirming Hales' superiority over Scotland was issued on 15 October 1375; Malta Cod. 346, ff.121R-V, 236R-V; below, Appendix II, no.2

avait voué à Edouard III, et qu'il paya de sa vie" in the popular unrest of 1381.¹¹⁴ Certainly it can only have served to weaken the authority of the Grand Masters.

Hales' intervention did nothing to solve the Master's problem of extracting revenue from Scotland. He seems actively to have aided Mar and Erskine in preventing Mercer making his payments to the Common Treasury,¹¹⁵ despite the fact that Mercer was paying double what the old responsion had been. In 1379 a new administrator of the Hospitallers' property in Scotland appears, Robert Grant, layman of the diocese of Moray, who appears to have been appointed by Juilly's successor John de Heredia with consent of the Prior of England.¹¹⁶ Grant seems to have been successful in persuading the lease-holders of the Hospital's property in Scotland to pay responsions to Rhodes; Robert Erskine made payments in 1380 and 1382, and his son and successor Thomas Erskine rendered an account in 1387.¹¹⁷ In 1383 Grant had a papal warrant to cite David de Mar to answer for non-payment of the cess of Maryculter, notwithstanding

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114. J. Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes, 1310-1421 (Paris, 1913), 195. In general, Delaville Le Roulx's analysis here (pp.193-5) is more convincing than Tipton's in art. cit.
115. Clement VII Letters, 32-3
116. Ibid., 87: Malta Cod. 346, ff.121R-V, 236R-V; Rot. Scot. II, 34: Delaville, Rhodes, 194 and n.2. In 1380 one John Palmer came to the Prior of England from Scotland on business of the Order, Rotuli Scotiae, II, 20; below, Appendix II, no.3
117. Delaville, Rhodes, 194-5, nn.

that Mar was a papal chaplain.^{117a} All these men were laymen or secular clerks; and after the last appearance of Thomas de Lindsay one searches in vain for brothers of the Order active in Scotland for more than thirty years.¹¹⁸

Finally in April 1388 there appears one brother John de Binning (Benying, Benvyng, Bynyng, etc.), "governor of the lands and goods of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland" who had safe-conduct to come and go to England on business of the Order.¹¹⁹ By this time the Great Schism had divided the Church, and the Hospitallers, with their multinational composition, found themselves in a difficult situation. France, Scotland and the Hospitallers of Rhodes supported the Avignon pope after 1388, while England retained the Roman allegiance. Thus in a sense there was no difficulty in the Scots' retaining their loyalty to the Master of Rhodes, but rather a problem for members of the English priory active in England to remain loyal to their langue at Rhodes. Professor Tipton, while asserting that there seems to have been regular intercourse between Binning and the English priory, ignores this fact.¹²⁰ Whether we can speak of regular intercourse in view of

117a. Clement VII Letters, 87

118. Lindsay disappears after January 1356/7. There is no evidence that brother Henry de St. Trond, preceptor of Avalterre (Brabant), ever visited Scotland in person.

119. CDS IV, no. 378

120. Tipton, art. cit.

the fact that there is no evidence of contact between the English priory and the Scottish preceptory between 1388 and 1404 is perhaps open to doubt. In the latter year Brother Hildebrand Wotton was sent to Scotland to obtain sums detained by Adam Forrester of Corstorphine,¹²¹ and later, as "Hildebrand Anglicus" he is described as having administered the Hospitallers' possessions in Scotland.¹²² Binning's position in all this is not clear; Tipton suggests that he may have been absent from Scotland on business of the Order. At any rate, he was in Scotland in 1408, for in December of that year, as Guardian of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, he had safe-conduct from Henry IV to travel via England and Calais to France for discussion of matters of religion.¹²³ Probably this concerned the fact that in 1407 the French church had withdrawn from the allegiance of Benedict XIII (to whom Scotland was to be loyal for another eleven years) and in 1409 was to go over to the Pisan pope along with England and the Empire.¹²⁴ Binning was confirmed in his position as preceptor of Torphichen by the Grand Master in 1410.¹²⁵

121. Rot. Scot. II, 167

122. Benedict XIII Letters, 238-9, 250 ("calling himself Preceptor of St John of Jerusalem called Priory of Torphichen")

123. Rot. Scot. II, 190

124. cf. R. Nicholson, Scotland: the Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh 1974), 243-46, on Scotland's position during the latter stages of the Great Schism.

125. Malta Cod. 336, f.139R; below Appendix II, no.12

This was a necessary move, in view of the fact that Scotland and Rhodes now adhered to different popes, which had not previously been the case. A layman, Alexander de Leighton (or Lichton) reported to Benedict XIII at Peñíscola that John Binning had been provided to Torphichen by the schismatic Philibert de Naillac, "formerly" Grand Master, but now deposed by the pope, and in 1411 Benedict appointed mandataries to investigate and deprive Binning.¹²⁶ In 1412 David de Seton, vicar of the Hospitaliers' appropriated parish church of Kilbethoc, petitioned Benedict for the vicarage, although it had already been given to him by Sir Thomas Erskine, claiming the right of presentation from Hildebrand Wotton, "calling himself" preceptor of Torphichen.¹²⁷ In view of Scotland's continuing adherence to Benedict XIII, Professor Tipton is perhaps unnecessarily censorious of "Leighton's activities and the trouble they provoked".¹²⁸ He was, after all, only adhering to the loyalty of his whole nation, a fact curiously overlooked by Tipton. In December 1412 he obtained his desire and was provided by Benedict, describing him as a brother of the Order, to the preceptory called priory of Torphichen, "vacant by the death of Alexander de Seton, former prior, or by death of John de Avat, Theobald de Paris or Hildebrand Anglicus, or howsoever", despite its occupation by Binning, unlawfully provided by

126. Benedict XIII Letters, 238-9

127. *Ibid.*, 250

128. Tipton, *art. cit.*, 245

de Naillac, the "former" Grand Master.¹²⁹ In 1414 Binning, Leighton, and a third brother, Thomas Goodwin (who appears for the first time) were summoned by the prior of England to London to attend the chapter-general of the Order in England;¹³⁰ but Leighton may understandably have been reluctant to attend, for in January 1415 he is found at Arbroath issuing charters as "Brother Alexander de Leighton, Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, Prior of Torphichen".¹³¹ Clearly he had been at least partly successful in obtaining control of the Hospitallers' property in Scotland; but in March 1415 Benedict received a fresh petition from him asserting that Binning and Goodwin had combined with Philibert de Naillac and other schismatics in supporting Alexander V and John XXIII, and had detained fruits lawfully due to him.¹³² The following January de Naillac ordered Leighton to appear before him at the Council of Constance because of litigation among the brothers in Scotland.^{132a} Leighton never seems to have been completely successful in dispossessing his rivals, for Binning and Goodwin were still there in 1418 when the Great Schism was finally resolved, and a report on the state of Scotland was made to the General Chapter of the Order meeting at Avignon.

129. Benedict XIII Letters, 261-62

130. CDS IV, no.857

131. Brechin Registrum, 18-9, 37

132. Benedict XIII Letters, 312-13

132a. Malta Cod. 338, f.129R; below, Appendix II, no.13

John d'Ancuno, Garcias de Torres and Pascal Martinez de Torella, brothers of the order, reported to Naillac and the Chapter on the Hospitallers' properties in Scotland, and on their allocation among the three brothers in Scotland. Binning held the church at Torphichen and ferme of Lochcote (Torphichen) for a responsion of 71 scuta: Goodwin held the church of Balantradoch, two mills and the villis of Hudpeth, Esperston and Outerston (in Temple) for a responsion of 39 scuta: the remainder, and the lion's share, was held by Leighton for a much larger responsion of 289 scuta, making up 400 scuta in all (sic).¹³³ Leighton may have been able to procure terms so favourable to himself because he was present in person at the assembly in Avignon.^{133a}

To suggest, as Professor Tipton does, that the Great Schism did not divide Scotland from the English langue, is only partially correct. Binning and Goodwin retained their loyalty to Rhodes throughout, though this must have been very difficult during the last decade of the Schism (1408-1418), under pressure from Leighton and Benedict XIII. Goodwin, however, shared Leighton's anxiety to preserve the independence of the Scottish house from England, and at the Chapter General of 1420 asserted that the preceptory of Scotland was not subject to the priory of England; but he failed to appear to

133. Malta Cod. 342, f.130R-V. cf. Delaville, Rhodes, 343-4 below, Appendix II, no.16

133a. Malta Cod. 342, f.130V; Appendix II, no.17

to prove his case, was declared contumacious, and in 1422 the superiority of England was confirmed.^{133b} A petition of the English prior, Brother William Hulle, submitted some years later, clearly states that during the Great Schism, now healed, England and Scotland were divided in allegiance, and the preceptory of the Order in Scotland was separated from the Priory and held for a time by Leighton; now Hulle (in 1426) requested that the pope should reintegrate Scotland into the Priory, of which it was a member before the Schism, and if by chance it was not a member but otherwise dependent on the Priory, that he would grant it to him in commendam.¹³⁴ Perhaps Goodwin was attempting to revive his assertions made in 1420? Anyway, in view of all this, Tipton's thesis is difficult to sustain.

4. The Hospitallers in Scotland after 1418.

The history of the Hospitallers in Scotland towards the close of the Middle Ages is more straightforward than that of the fourteenth century; there were fewer of the upheavals of war, schism and plague in Europe generally, and in Scotland as elsewhere there was a return to relatively greater stability and prosperity.¹³⁵ Despite the fiasco of Alexandria (1365) and the disaster of Nicopolis (1396) the

133b. Malta Cod. 346, ff. 122R-V, 236R-V; Appendix II, no. 20

134. CSSR II, 137

135. See in general J. M. Brown (ed.), Scottish Society in the fifteenth century (London 1977), esp. ch. 6

crusading spirit was not yet dead; Scots are found active in the Orient around the time of the fall of Constantinople,¹³⁶ and even after the fall of that city the Knights of Rhodes continued to hold out against the advancing tide of the Ottomans. Communication between Torphichen and Rhodes seems to have been less disrupted than it had been in the previous century, and indeed continues well into the sixteenth century. Much material relating to it is preserved in the Archives of the Knights in the National Library of Malta in Valletta.¹³⁷ Scottish material from this source has been systematically examined for the first time in the course of the present study.¹³⁸

Broadly, in the fifteenth century the Scottish preceptory continued as a dependency of the English langue, while the brothers of the Order serving in Scotland were themselves Scots, with names such as Meldrum, Livingston and Scougal in the fifteenth century, and Dundas, Lindsāy and Sandilands in the sixteenth. There is increasingly apparent on the part of the preceptors a use of members of their own families in the administration of the lands and the dispensation of patronage, though it is possible that this practice had also

136. cf. Chapter 4, 223-5. S. Runciman, The Fall of Constantinople (Cambridge 1965), 84

137. These are in process of being catalogued and described in A. Z. Gabarretta and J. Mizzi, Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library (Malta 1964-in progress)

138. Appendix II below is a calendar of Scottish material in Malta.

been used earlier. In the early years of the fifteenth century there occur several Binnings; John Binning, clerk, sought provision to Inchinnan church in 1420;¹³⁹ later had a pension from the Hospital's properties in Scotland,¹⁴⁰ and finally (as a canon of Moray) petitioned for the archdeaconry of Galloway, as the archdeacon, Patrick Juvenis (i.e., Young), intended to enter the Order of St John of Jerusalem;¹⁴¹ in 1450 a Sir Michael Binning was vicar of Torphichen.¹⁴² Brother Thomas Goodwin, still acting alongside Binning in 1426,¹⁴³ later acted alongside Brother Andrew de Meldrum in granting a farm of the teind sheaves of Inchinnan to Andrew Goodwin, perpetual vicar of Inchinnan;¹⁴⁴ and in 1445 it was complained to the pope that Andrew Meldrum had illegally provided a certain William Goodwin to the vicarage of Torphichen.¹⁴⁵ Binnings and Goodwins were, inevitably, joined by Meldrums as the century progressed; John de Meldrum, brother of Sir Andrew de Meldrum, witnessed a Hospitaller charter in 1450,¹⁴⁶ while in the 1450s there

139. CSSR I, 153

140. CSSR II, 129

141. CSSR III, 146

142. Brechin Registrum, 142-3

143. St Giles Edinburgh Liber, 47-8

144. CPL VIII, 504

145. Reg. Supp. 405, f.139

146. Brechin Registrum, 142-3

was a Brother William de Meldrum active in Scotland.¹⁴⁷

John Binning disappears from view in the late 1420s, after an eventful career spanning some forty years (1388-c.1426); his rival Alexander Leighton had died some time earlier,¹⁴⁸ and Thomas Goodwin, who perhaps stood in the background somewhat, is not heard of after c.1434. Brother Andrew Meldrum was the principal officer of the Hospitallers in Scotland during the 1430s and 1440s. A continuing relationship with the English priory and the convent of Rhodes meant that Torphichen could not become a family possession or apanage; Meldrum was summoned to Rhodes at the end of 1432,¹⁴⁹ returning to Scotland via Flanders more than a year later.¹⁵⁰ Thereafter he was regularly summoned to the chapter of the Prior of England, in 1435, 1437, 1438, and 1439.¹⁵¹ In 1445 the Grand Master complained that he had not paid his responsions for many years, and summoned him to Rhodes.^{151a} His activities abroad did not prevent him being active at home as well, for he seems to have carried out substantial building works on the church of Torphichen, where his name appears on one of the ribs in the vault of the north transept.¹⁵² His rule at Torphichen was attacked in

147. CDS IV, no.1255

148. CSSR II, 137

149. CDS IV, no.1058

150. Ibid., no.1066

151. Ibid., nos. 1075, 1087, 1104, 1117

151a. Malta Cod. 357, ff.155V-156R; below, Appendix II, no.22

152. Report of the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of Scotland: Inventory ... of Midlothian and West Lothian (Edinburgh 1929), 236

1445 by a certain Archibald Crawford, M.A., who challenged his right to appoint the vicar of Torphichen;¹⁵³ the reasons for the challenge are not clear, but they seem to have had no more serious effect than to provoke Meldrum into procuring a papal conservatoria in forma om 1446.¹⁵⁴ In the same year he took action at the papal camera against John de Kyndelach vicar of Kinnerne in Aberdeen diocese, who was summoned to answer respecting the churches of Aboyne and Maryculter;¹⁵⁵ Kyndelach in the same year was in Rhodes, procuring a confirmation to the two vicarages from the Grand Master.^{155a}

The survival of an interesting document in a fifteenth-century Edinburgh cartulary¹⁵⁶ provides an interesting illustration of the relationship between Torphichen and the Grand Master of Rhodes in the mid-fifteenth century. In consideration of the services which he had performed both at Rhodes and across the sea, the Master, John de Lastic, granted a pension from the fruits of Torphichen to a certain Scottish layman, called in the copy "Diguerus le Scot" (probably in the original Duguetus, i.e. Duguid). As it has been represented to de Lastic that he cannot live comfortably off the original pension, the Grand Master

153. Reg. Supp., 405, f.139

154. Reg. Supp., 411, f.112

155. SRO GD 119/4

155a. Malta Cod. 358, ff.227V-228V; Appendix II, no.23

156. St Giles Edinburgh Liber, 66-7. This bull is not entered in the surviving registers for 1442 at Malta; cf. Appendix I, no.18

doubles the original grant, ordering the preceptor of Torphichen to pay it out of the annual responsion due to Rhodes from his Scottish house. The beneficiary is not described as a brother of the Order, though he had served at Rhodes; he must have been a mercenary or non-noble fighting man who had taken service with the Knights, and who had by this time (1442) either been wounded or had grown old. He may have begun his service in the household of Andrew Meldrum; the Scots name Duguid was common in Udney, five miles east of Old Meldrum in Aberdeenshire. Andrew Meldrum, sub virtute sancte obedientie, seems to have complied with the Master's grant by passing his bull on to the temple-bailie of Edinburgh, and the pension was presumably paid out of the rents of the Hospitaller's property in Edinburgh. In 1454 the same man, called Duguetho le Scot, alias de Schotia, servitori nostri, had a confirmation of his pension from G. M. James de Milly on account of his years of service contra infideles.¹⁵⁷

Clearly the elaborate organisation worked out by the Hospitallers at Rhodes in the fourteenth century was still effective despite the disruption of the Great Schism;

157. Malta Cod. 365, f.120R. Dr. John Durkan suggests that Duguithus is a form of the Aberdeenshire surname Duguid, a family with connections with Auchenhove (Lumphannum) & Udney. Udney is just five miles from Old Meldrum, and the likelihood is that Duguithus was a member of brother Andrew de Meldrum's household who made a career for himself at Rhodes after Meldrum returned to Scotland in 1433; CDS IV, no.1066; Appendix II, no.33.

while other institutions which originated from the crusading movement were tending in the fifteenth century to lose touch with their centres of authority,¹⁵⁸ the Knights of St John with their highly-developed bureaucracy and the system of linguae or nations at Rhodes were able still to make their authority felt in remote and outlying preceptories of the Order.

After Andrew Meldrum's administration this relationship continued. In 1449 de Lastic wrote to Brother Henry de Livingston, preceptor of Torphichen, concerning the payment of arrears and responsions due from Scotland;¹⁵⁹ and another brother in Scotland, William de Meldrum, appealed to Rhodes in 1453 on account of Livingston's alleged maladministration,¹⁶⁰ visiting the Prior of England en route.¹⁶¹ Brother William Meldrum was nephew of Brother Andrew Meldrum; he had a dispute over the preceptory with Livingston in 1449.^{161a} Livingston appears as commendator of the preceptory of Torphichen in 1450,¹⁶² and issued numbers of charters as preceptor throughout the 1450s and early 1460s.¹⁶³

158. Chapter 6, part 1.

159. Malta Cod. 361, ff.233-235, 337, 339; Appendix II, 24-9

160. Malta Cod. 363, f.285R; Appendix II, no.31

161. CDS IV, no.1255

161a. Malta Cod. 361, ff.233R-V, 234R-V, 235V; Appendix II, nos.24-9

162. Brechin Registrum, 142-3

163. Colstoun writs, 10 and 11; HMC Vař. Coll., V, 80-84; Appendix I, nos.19-24

Although Livingston was undisputed preceptor at the time of his death in 1462, William Meldrum had not given up without a fight; he was acknowledged by the Grand Master as legitimate preceptor in January 1452/3, but may have died soon after.^{163a}

Henry Livingston was probably one of the vastly ramified tribe of Livingstons who profited so much during the minority of James II;¹⁶⁴ some Livingstons, who survived James II's attack on the family in 1450, later benefited from Henry's preceptorship, most notably his cousins William and Alexander Livingston, sons of William Livingston of Balcastle, who had a tack of the Briggs (Kirkliston) for three years from September 1461.¹⁶⁵ But despite the emergence of numbers of Livingstons in connection with Torphichen at this time, a community of brothers seems to have continued in some fashion; Brother Elias (?) Lany nostris ordinis presbytero witnesses a charter of Livingston's in 1458,¹⁶⁶ and Patrick Scougal, witnessing as an esquire in 1458,¹⁶⁷ had by 1462 become himself a brother of the order.¹⁶⁸ Scougal, a member

163a. Malta Cod. 363, f.285R; Appendix II, no.31

164. R. Nicholson, Scotland: the later Middle Ages, 348-51

165. SRO GD 97/3/6 and 13

166. Colstoun writs, 11. Fra Ellis de Lani, chaplain, is mentioned in connection with Henry Livingston on 2 January 1452/3: Malta Cod. 363, f.236R.

167. Colstoun Writs, 10 and 11; Appendix I, nos.19,20

168. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 315-6

of a prominent East Lothian family,¹⁶⁹ was presumably a protégé of Livingston's and a member of his household; he probably expected to succeed Livingston as preceptor of Scotland on the latter's death or retirement, and indeed intruded himself into the vacant preceptory on Livingston's death.^{169a} In this ambition he was frustrated, for the post went instead to Brother William Knollis, who had a bull from the Grand Master de Orsini on 22 December 1466 overruling Scougal's claim,¹⁷⁰ and confirmation from Pope Paul II the following February,¹⁷¹ despite the fact that Knollis had not fulfilled the minimum qualifications of membership of the order and residence at Rhodes for five and three years respectively. Scougal continued the dispute before the Grand Master and the English langue at Rhodes into the 1470s, but never succeeded in ousting Knollis from his position at Torphichen,¹⁷² nor was he thereafter successful in obtaining a preceptory in England, as the English brothers opposed him on grounds of his Scottish nationality.^{172a}

169. G. F. Black, The Surnames of Scotland (New York, 1946), 715

169a. Malta Cod. 376, f.156V; Appendix II, no.38

170. Malta Cod. 381, f.137R-V; Appendix II, no.43

171. CPL XII, 269-71

172. Malta Cod. 75, f.26r-v (where he is called "Patricius Strongall"); 75, ff.92, 157v, 158r; Appendix II, nos.42, 45-7

172a. Malta Cod. 75, f.157v-158r; Appendix II, no.47

Brother William Knollis was perhaps the longest-serving of all preceptors of Torphichen; he did not die until 1510,¹⁷³ though brother George Dundas had been acting as co-adjutor for about three years before this.^{173a} Knollis obtained an indulgence for visitors who gave alms to the church of Torphichen for six years from 1471, as the buildings "held in great honour and reverence in those parts", were asserted to be partly decayed and ruinous, and for which "James [III] King of Scots has a great affection".¹⁷⁴ This might seem to imply that Knollis had some influence over James III, but he certainly benefited from the overthrow of that king, becoming treasurer in 1488¹⁷⁵ and enjoying a distinguished career as an ambassador, councillor, and public servant.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps during his tenure more than that of any of his predecessors Torphichen tended to be treated as a secular barony; Knollis sat as a member of the baronial estate in Parliament in 1478, 1482 and 1485,¹⁷⁷ and in 1488.

173. SRO GD 119/9; Appendix I, no.28

173a. ADC xxxi, 41 (SRO): George Dundas, knight of "the Roddis", was admitted by the crown to the temporalities of Torphichen on 30 November 1508.

174. CPL XIII, 212-13; for "St John of the Hermits" read "St John of Jerusalem" -- presumably the editor has mis-read "Hierosolimitani" as "Heremeticorum".

175. APS II, 199; Nicholson, Later Middle Ages, 532

176. cf. CDS IV nos. 1568-9 and passim

177. APS II, 120, 145, 169

Parliament decreed that "the house of torfichin and the preceptor and brethir ... Ar infest of fee and forfaltour of ther ayne fre tenentis And that it is lefull to thaim to put thaim self in sesing and possessioun in ony sic landis forfalt And as anent the custume claimit be the said preceptor the estatis cann nocht as now declare that mater".¹⁷⁸

Perhaps Knollis was trying to have his cake and eat it, claiming ecclesiastical exemptions for Torphichen while treating the estates as a secular fief, though this is uncertain. In the early 1490s Knollis appears as a merchant with ships trading in England.¹⁷⁹ William Knollis emerges as a figure of greater worldly importance (and probably worldly wealth also) than any of his predecessors. However, he paid his responsions, and a relative of his, Patrick Knollis, was a brother residing at Rhodes in 1492.^{179a}

The sixteenth-century Black Book of Taymouth states with notable pride that Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, who died in 1480, "was maid knicht in the Isle of Rhodos ... and was thre sundrie tymes in Rome", and calls him "Eques auratus apud Rhodos". Apart from Campbell family traditions which style him "Colin dubh na Roimh" and point to a charm-stone which he wore "when he fought in battell at the Rhodes agaynst the Turks, he being one of the Knychtis of the Rhodes", there is little evidence, and no contemporary evidence that has

178. APS II, 206

179. CDS IV, nos. 1567 and 1579

179a. Malta Cod. 391, f.103R

180. Black Book of Taymouth, pp.ii, 13-14, and facing p.10

come to notice, to link Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy with the Hospitallers. A strong family tradition cannot be too lightly dismissed, however, especially in view of the level of Scottish activity in the eastern Mediterranean around the middle of the fifteenth century. The question must remain open. Perhaps Sir Colin was in a similar position to Duguitus le Scot. At any rate he is more likely to have been a layman acting as a mercenary of the Order rather than a brother, as he was not celibate.^{180a}

Under the preceptorship of Knollis, perhaps for the first time since the 1380s, there is an impression of secularisation at Torphichen as the buildings are said to be becoming partially ruinous, and Knollis himself has a greater significance as a public servant, diplomat and merchant than as a member of a crusading order. This is a development which one might have expected to continue into the sixteenth century; but the process was halted by a quite unexpected turn of events. Brother George Dundas, knight of the Order, was in Rhodes in 1504, where he procured the ancienitas or right of expectation to succeed to the preceptory of Torphichen on the next vacancy, i.e., when William Knollis should die or resign.¹⁸¹ A grant of ancienitas was a common method of succession to Hospitaller preceptories, ensuring continuity without a vacancy and allowing the

180a. See "Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy (1400-1480) and the Knights Hospitallers", Notes & Queries of the Society of West Highland & Island Historical Research XV (1981), 5-10; cf. above, Chapter 4, pp.220-4

181. SRO GD 119/6: Malta Cod. 395, f.139R-V; Appendix I, no.26; Appendix II, nos. 51-5.

successor to act as co-adjutor during the last years of the predecessor's preceptorship. At any rate, Dundas, probably nominated by Knollis, was presented by the English langue at Rhodes and granted the ancienitas by the lieutenant Grand Master on 1 July 1504.¹⁸² In March 1507/8 he was back in Scotland, and presented letters from the Grand Master to James IV, informing him of the state of war between the Knights of Rhodes and the Turks. James replied to the Master that he was delighted to learn that Dundas had committed himself to warfare for Christendom, having formerly been a member of the King's household, and he thanked the Master for the Order's continuing favour to Scots and recognition of their deserts.¹⁸³ On 30 November 1508 a mandate was issued under the privy seal to admit Dundas to the temporalities of Torphichen, on the grounds that he had been provided by the Master of Rhodes.¹⁸⁴ In July 1510, James IV issued a safe-conduct for Dundas, "Lord of St Johns" to pass with a substantial retinue to Rome and Rhodes.¹⁸⁵

Despite the wealth of documentation about the well-known quarrel which ensued, it is not immediately obvious why the matter of the Scottish preceptory should have become such a cause célèbre. James was perhaps concerned partly because

182. Malta Cod. 395, f.139V-140V; Appendix II, no.51

183. James IV Letters (SHS), 101

184. RSS I, 1771-2: he was admitted by the Lords of Council on 30 November, 1508 (ADCxxii, 41)

185. James IV Letters, 174, 178

of the very influential position which Knollis (treasurer and ambassador) had occupied when he was master of Torphichen; perhaps also as his own concept of the virtues of war against the Infidel became something of an obsession he felt that the Hospitallers could be used to assist him in achieving his crusading ambitions;¹⁸⁶ a third consideration is that, as Henry VIII became an increasingly difficult neighbour from 1509 onwards, James became increasingly suspicious of anyone who had secured promotion with English help -- as Dundas, put forward by the English langue at Rhodes, had undoubtedly done. But most immediately the trouble was started by the ambition of James's secretary, Patrick Paniter. Dundas cannot have been long out of the country when Paniter secured papal provision to Torphichen, "vacant by the death of William Knollis".¹⁸⁷ By the summer of 1511 Dundas, who may still have been at Rome, secured a sentence against Paniter at the curia upholding his right to the preceptory.¹⁸⁸ During the Autumn of 1511 and the early months of 1512 Paniter and his royal patron bombarded various agents at the curia with a series of letters putting forward Paniter's claim to Torphichen.¹⁸⁹ They claimed that Dundas could not have succeeded vigore ancientitatis

186. James's crusading schemes are best described in R.L. Mackie, James IV of Scotland (Edinburgh 1958), 201 ff., passim; and cf. above, Chapter 4, pp. 255-65

187. James IV Letters, 108

188. *Ibid.*, 210-11

189. *Ibid.*, 210-11, 219, 229-31

as he claimed, because Knollis had never resigned, and Dundas had never been his co-adjutor; and that because Dundas had always denied that the vacancy arose because of the death of Knollis "he should not be allowed to profit by something which he alleges never took place"(!).¹⁹⁰ Dundas further alienated James IV by enlisting the help of the Cardinal of York at Rome, as well as that of the English langue at Rhodes.¹⁹¹ Litigation dragged on into 1513, while the situation between England and Scotland continued to deteriorate. On 31 March 1513 James IV wrote to Guy de Blanchefort, the Grand Master, expressing his astonishment on learning that preceptories and ancienitates in Scotland were granted out by the Turcolpolier and langue of England, even if to Scottish subjects, and that Scottish responsions were paid through the prior and treasurer of the Order in England; he complained that Scottish members of the Order must look upon the Prior of England as lord and protector, and take before him cases touching the preceptory of Scotland. James claimed that he had not been aware of this before the case of Paniter against Dundas had brought it to his notice, otherwise he would never have tolerated such a situation.¹⁹² It is not easy to credit James's ignorance as totally genuine, and the Grand Master sent a prevaricating reply

190. Ibid., 234-6

191. Ibid., 265-6; cf. Malta Cod. 395, ff.139v-140v; Appendix II, no.52

192. Ibid., 296-7

on 19 April. Finally in the summer of 1513 James and Paniter wrote back to the Grand Master reasserting that no Scot should be installed at Torphichen if he holds the Prior of England as superior "on the pretext that Scotland is English-speaking" -- presumably a reference to the fact that Scotland belonged to the English langue.¹⁹³ Paniter added that he hoped, "if he lives long enough", to augment the membership of the order in Scotland, revive its services in Scotland which had been "extinct for so many years", and repair and rebuild the "houses and half-buried churches of the Order".¹⁹⁴

If this is an accurate description of the state of the Order of St John in Scotland, it is certainly not a reflection on the conduct of Dundas. He had left the country late in 1510, a few months after the death of Knollis, and been unable to return while the hostility of James IV and Paniter was directed against him. Rather, it probably reflects (if true) on the long and seemingly worldly career of brother William Knollis. James's attempt to substitute another public servant in his place instead of Dundas could hardly have been expected to lead to the "revival" of the Hospitallers in Scotland.

The death of James IV and Paniter at Flodden (9 September 1513) was not the end of Dundas's problems in respect of

193. Ibid., 308-9

194. Ibid., 309

Torphichen. The temporalities were taken over by Alexander Stewart, half-brother of the Duke of Albany.¹⁹⁵ On 20 January 1516/7 the Regent Albany wrote to Pope Leo X on his brother's behalf, complaining that Dundas had still not proved his case satisfactorily, that he was unreliable to be placed in such an important position as the preceptory of Torphichen, that he had obtained bulls through English intervention at Rhodes, and that he had lately had safe-passage through England to Scotland and had sent messengers back by the way he had come.¹⁹⁶ Possibly had the Regent continued to oppose Dundas, the latter would never have been able to make his possession of Torphichen effective; but Albany returned to France in the summer of 1517, and the following years saw an Anglo-French rapprochement,¹⁹⁷ which must have made George Dundas's division of loyalty easier to accommodate. In October 1521 he was able to resume the payment of responsions to Rhodes via John Babington, English receiver of the Common Treasury.¹⁹⁸ He also repaid money loaned him by Thomas Dockwray, Prior of England, for the defence of his rights to the preceptory at Rome, and for his journey back to Scotland, presumably at the

195. James V Letters, ed. Hanney and Hay, 3

196. *Ibid.*, 37-8

197. G. Donaldson, Scotland: James V to James VII (Edinburgh 1965), 19-20

198. SRO GD 119/9; Appendix I, no.28

end of 1516.¹⁹⁹ But he consistently refused to pay responsions which the Common Treasury demanded for the five years when he was excluded from possession of his preceptory, until in 1526 Dockwray and the Treasury agreed to remit the outstanding debts.^{199a} Dundas was clearly firmly installed in his position at Torphichen from 1518 onwards. In 1525 his nephew, Walter Lindsay, and John Chalmers, both of whom had fought at the siege of Rhodes in 1522,²⁰⁰ were received into the English langue at Viterbo as brothers on 19 December 1525.²⁰¹

Although the English langue agreed at that time that Lindsay should have a grant of the ancienitas of Torphichen, it was not until February 1526/7 that the Grand Master de Villiers l'Isle-Adam issued formal bulls confirming this grant at Viterbo.²⁰² In January 1527/8 Chalmers was present in the English langue at Nice submitting proofs of his nobility, and a year later he was still in the langue, requesting the ancienitas of Torphichen provided this did not prejudice Dundas,

199. SRO GD 119/8; Appendix I, no.27

199a Malta Cod. 54 passim; and cf. Malta Cod. 84, f.63; Appendix II, nos.57ff.

200. Malta Cod. 411 f. 158R-V; Appendix II, no.65

201. Book of Deliberations of the Venerable Tongue of England, ed. H. P. Scicluna (Malta 1949), 71. Lindsay was the son of George Dundas's sister, cf. Royal Commission Inventory ... West Lothian, 236.

202. SRO GD 119/10; Malta Cod. 412, ff.192V-193R
Appendix I, no.29; Appendix II, no.67

the preceptor, or Lindsay.²⁰³ In September 1530 Villiers l'Isle-Adam wrote to James V, "one of the Christian princes whom the Order acknowledges as patron and protector", informing him that after the loss of Rhodes and their eight years of wandering the Hospitallers had finally found a new home on Malta.²⁰⁴ These facts suggest regular and amicable contact between Scotland and the central organs of the Knights of St John during the active preceptorship of Dundas, during which the disputes of the second decade of the sixteenth century were forgotten. The fact of their membership of the English langue at Malta was never again to be a problem to test the loyalties of Scottish Hospitallers.

The last thirty years of the history of the Knights of St John in Scotland do not show any evidence of the decline in the religious order which might be expected during this period. George Dundas, whose possession was undisturbed after the period of his enforced absence 1510-1517, died in 1532,²⁰⁵ and in March 1532/3 Lindsay was in Malta to procure bulls granting him the preceptory of Scotland in succession to Dundas.²⁰⁶ While there, Lindsay also procured a privilege from the Grand Master commissioning him to set remote properties of the preceptory in perpetual feu where expedient,

203. Book of Deliberations, 72, 13.

204. James V Letters, 180

205. Royal Commission Inventory, West Lothian, 236

206. Book of Deliberations, 73; SRO GD 119/14:
Malta Cod. 415, f.164R-V, 165R-V; Appendix II, nos. 71-3

because he was the only brother active in Scotland, and the efforts of his predecessors to collect the revenues of the preceptory had led to occasional bloodshed and death.²⁰⁷ But although he may have been alone among the brothers resident in Scotland, Lindsay was not the only Scot in the Order at this time; Chalmers, having had confirmation of the pension owed him by Lindsay, was present in Malta in April 1533 attending deliberations of the English langue,²⁰⁸ and in 1538 Alexander Dundas was received as a brother of the English langue and in 1539 attended its deliberations.²⁰⁹ He must have been related to Lindsay and George Dundas, from the former of whom he bore notarially attested letters.²¹⁰ He may not have lived long enough to receive a grant of the ancienitas of Torphichen; that concession was granted in 1540 to James Sandilands of Calder, who had safe-conduct from James V. to go to Malta for that purpose in April of that year,²¹¹ and arrived in Malta by December, where he made proof of his nobility²¹² and was received as a brother of the langue.²¹³

207. SRO GD 119/14; Malta Cod. 415, f.165R-V; Appendix I, no.30; Appendix II, no.73

208. Book of Deliberations, 3-4

209. Ibid., 76-7, 36, 47-8

210. Ibid., 76-7

211. SRO GD 119/15

212. Malta Cod. 86, f.111V, 112R; Appendix II, no.81

213. Malta Cod. 86, f.112R; Appendix II, no.82

In March 1541 the Grand Master de Homedes conferred the grant of ancientitas and appointed Sandilands procurator of the Common Treasury in Scotland.²¹⁴ On his way home to Scotland Sandilands paused in Rome to secure papal confirmation of his right of expectation.²¹⁵

Walter Lindsay died in 1546. His preceptorship is perhaps of greatest interest because during it Lindsay compiled the Rentale omnium terrarum decimarum reddituum tocus domini et preceptorie de torphichin,²¹⁶ a volume of 120 pages which contains a rental not only of the baronies of Torphichen, Thankerton (Lanarkshire), Denny (Stirlingshire), Temple of Balatrodoch, and Maryculter, the churches of Maryculter, Aboyne, Tullich, and Inchinnan, and various assorted lands (including Galtway), but also a rental of hundreds of tiny crofts and "templelands" dotted across Scotland from the Solway to the Pentland Firth. Perhaps Lindsay compiled it while he was exercising his commission to feu out the remote lands of the Order. In addition Lindsay erected in 1538 a fine monument in Torphichen church to his uncle and predecessor George Dundas.²¹⁷ He was one of the leaders of the Scottish army on the borders in 1542, in which capacity he was described as "ane nobill and potent

214. Ibid., f.113R; SRO GD 119/16, 17; Malta Cod. 417, f.191R-V Appendix II, nos. 83, 84.

215. He left Malta in March 1541 (SRO GD 119/18, cf. Malta Cod. 417, f.191V), and was in Rome in May (SRO GD 119/19).

216. SRO GD 247/101/1a.

217. Royal Commission Inventory, West Lothian, 236 and facing p.238

lord... who was weill besene and practissit in weiris baitht in Itallie and had fouchtin oft tymeis against the Turkis witht the lord of the Rodis, and thair he was maid knycht for wallefand actis and thaireftir come in Scotland and seruit our king and had great credit witht him".²¹⁸ It is not possible now to determine what were the campaigns in which he fought, though it is likely that he was at the siege of Rhodes in 1522; but a career such as his is a caution against assuming that Scots only joined the Hospitallers in order to control the wealth of the preceptory of Torphichen.

In March 1547 his successor, James Sandilands, procured bulls at Malta from the Grand Master de Homedes presenting him to the vacant preceptory of Torphichen,²¹⁹ which were confirmed by the Pope in May of the same year.²²⁰ It was not until the Summer of 1550 that he actually was given formal possession of the spiritualities and temporalities of Torphichen and its pertinents in a ceremony presided over by Brother Peter Ourrier, a knight of the French langue.²²¹ In addition to James Sandilands, there seem to have been two other members of the Sandilands family who were Knights of Malta. In May 1555 "Sir James Sandilands the Younger" had a grant of the ancienites of Torphichen from the English langue, by grace, as he had not resided in the langue for the requisite three

218. Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland, ed. A. J. G. Mackay (STS), I, 396

219. SRO GD 119/20

220. SRO GD 119/20

221. SRO GD 119/25; in 1561-2, Peter Ourrier was involved in a dispute over the preceptory of Braux (Malta Cod. 91, ff.48, 51, 75); Appendix I, no.31

years.²²² It was possibly he, but perhaps more likely the senior James Sandilands, who was involved in a brawl at Malta with Brother John James Sandilands, as a result of which the latter was condemned to reside for six months in fossa²²³ on 7 May 1557. The Grand Master and council in October 1557 deputed commissioners to examine fra James Sandilands in the house of the Templars in Paris, before whom he could make proof of his accusations against the nobility of fra John James Sandilands.²²⁴ There seems to have been little love lost between the two Sandilands. James Sandilands, Preceptor of Torphichen, was in Malta in October 1557, when inter alia he was requested to recover properties of the order which had been set in feu by his predecessors;²²⁵ this attempt to reverse the policy pursued under Lindsay was itself reversed in February 1558/9, when an identical concession was granted to Sandilands to set lands in feu.²²⁶ He seems to have had associations with the Lords of the Congregation well before 1560;²²⁷ in 1563 (or thereabouts) he married a "noble lady", Janet

222 Book of Deliberations, 77; Sir James Sandilands the Younger attended the Chapter General of 1555; Malta Cod.233, f.2v; Cod.299, f.2v; Appendix II, no.88

223. Malta Cod. 89, f.108r; Appendix II, no.89

224. SRO GD 119/28; Appendix I, no.32

225. SRO GD 119/32

226. Malta Cod. 89, f.126v; Appendix II, no.92

227. Donaldson, James V to James VII, 80, 103

Murray,²²⁸ who had earlier been enfeoffed with Hospitaller property in Kirkliston. Finally in February 1563/4 James Sandilands resigned all the property of the Hospitallers in Scotland into the hands of the Queen, and (in consideration of his payment of 10,000 crowns) had a regrant of them as a hereditary barony of Torphichen.²²⁹

Although in later times catholic Scots had connections with the Knights of Malta,²³⁰ the old base for recruitment and revenue-raising was gone after 1564. As a postscript it is worth looking quickly at the contrasting careers of two Scottish Hospitallers. The first of these is brother John James Sandilands, perhaps the last Scottish Knight of Malta before the Reformation. As has been seen, in May 1557 he was imprisoned for his part in a brawl with James Sandilands.²³¹ In November of the same year (now released from his cavea) he was allowed a term of one year in which to produce proofs of his nobility to answer James Sandilands' accusations against it. Throughout 1558 and 1559 he frequently attended meetings of the English langue at Malta, where he was residing.²³²

228. SRO GD 119/34 and 41; but when the Lords of the Congregation sent him to France on an embassy to Queen Mary in 1560, she observed that he could hardly be called Grand Prior of Scotland, as he had a wife: Hardwicke Papers I, 37

229. SRO GD 119/35; RMS, 1546-1580, no.1499

230. D. McRoberts, "Scottish Pilgrims to the Holy Land", IR XX (1969), 102

231. Malta Cod. 89, f.108; Appendix II, no.89

232. Book of Deliberations, 78, 49-50, 37-8

In December 1559 he requested to be granted the ancienitas of Torphichen,²³³ which seems to have provoked a dispute with brother James Sandilands, Preceptor of Torphichen,²³⁴ the result of which was that the Grand Master appointed commissioners in August 1560 to give possession of Torphichen to John James when it should next become vacant.²³⁵ But John James's subsequent career was not to be a happy one. Perhaps it was because of necessity that he sold his house in Birgù in 1562,^{235a} In September 1563 he got into a fight in church as a result of a gambling-game, of which the prize seems to have been a black slave (male);²³⁶ this led a few days later to an altercation with a senior officer of the English langue, as a result of which John James was deprived of the habit of the Order.²³⁷ Not having profited by his earlier punishments John James was in trouble again in July 1564, accused of sacrilege and theft in the Church of St Anthony in Malta;²³⁸ he was found guilty and executed.

It would be unfair to end on such a note. John James Sandilands's quarrelsome career contrasts strikingly with

233. Ibid., 70

234. Malta Cod. 90, ff.93V, 112V; Appendix I, nos.99, 100

235. Ibid., 90, f.115R; Appendix II, no.101

235a Malta Cod. 429, f.189R; Appendix II, no.103

236. Ibid., 91, f.108V; Appendix II, no.104

237. Ibid., 91, f.109R; Appendix II, no.105

238. Ibid., 91, ff. 132R, 133V; Appendix II, nos.106-7

the steadfastness of James Irving, who fled Scotland rather than subscribe to Confession of Faith c.1567. He was received into the Order at Malta in 1569, and persuaded the Grand Master to allow him to petition for a benefice of the English langue outside Scotland.²³⁹ In 1572 he went to Rome and on to France, persuading the Pope and cardinals that he could do useful work of their behalf in Scotland.²⁴⁰ He was probably betrayed by English spies at the French court, and was imprisoned and tortured immediately on his landing in Scotland in 1573.²⁴¹ In the following year he was at liberty, but subject to such close scrutiny that he can have done little catholicizing.²⁴²

A career such as his suggests that the Knights, with their prestige increased by their victory in the siege of Malta in 1565, still attracted young catholic nobles who were out of sympathy with the reform movement in their own country.

239. Malta Cod. 432, f.180R-V; Cod. 92, ff.180R-V, 181R: Book of Deliberations, 71; Appendix II, nos.108-110

240. CSP Rome, I, 42-3, 63

241. Ibid., 143-5, 389; Cal. Scot. Papers IV, 563, 565 (nos.650, 652)

242. TA XII, 383; CSP Rome, I, 143-5

Chapter 6.

Other Institutions with Crusading Origins and Connections
in Scotland.

Although the orders of the Temple and the Hospital were the most important, they were not the only religious orders with their origins in the crusading movement which had a presence in Scotland. It is curious that the Teutonic Knights, however, never seem to have had a landed presence in Scotland. There is no evidence of generosity towards them by Scots at the time when they were active in the Holy Land; and during the period when Scots were most actively involved in the northern crusade (i.e., from the mid-fourteenth century until 1410) the granting of landed endowments to religious institutions was no longer as fashionable (or perhaps as practicable) as it had been in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The present study does not contain any attempt to examine the origins and development of the Carmelite friars in Scotland. Their connection with the Holy Land may have been tenuous, and their early history in Scotland is obscure. Recent research has gone some way towards recovering their history from total obscurity, but it is perhaps unlikely that there is much more to be said in addition to what has recently been written.¹

1. K. Egan, "Medieval Carmelite Houses, Scotland", Carmelus XIX (1972), 107-112; Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, s.n. "Carmelite Friars"

Two relatively minor orders with crusading origins did have shadowy connections with Scotland. In the late thirteenth century there were lands of the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre in Kyle, near the main road from Ayr to Kilmarnock; possibly the place-name Spittalhill (Symington) indicates where these lands lay.^{1a} It is unlikely that there was an actual hospital on the site, as W. J. Dillon thought; but the lands may have been given to the House of St Thomas of Acre by a Scot who had been on crusade, perhaps most likely by one who had been on the third crusade. The name of Alan son of Walter the Steward springs to mind, as his family had many estates in that area of Ayrshire; possibly these considerations may strengthen the hypothesis that he may have gone with some of his East Lothian knights on the third crusade.²

The brothers of St Lazarus of Jerusalem held lands in Scotland, given to them with the church of Edinburgh by David I, namely Spitalton and St Giles' Grange; the church, therefore, must have been the parish church of St Giles in Edinburgh, and this little-known grant seems to be the earliest reference to it, as well as the only reference to possessions of the Lazarites in Scotland.^{2a}

1a. W. J. Dillon, "Three Ayrshire Charters", Ayrshire Archeological and Natural History Society Collections, 2nd. Ser. VII (1961-66), 28-38, at 32-4

2. W. J. Dillon, "The Spittals of Ayrshire", *ibid.*, 2nd. ser. VI (1958-60), 12-42, at 39; cf. chapter 1 above, pp.90-1; cf. G. W. S. Barrow, Kingdom of the Scots, 347-51

2a. RRS II, 116-7

Other institutions with their origins in the crusading movement had more extensive holdings in Scotland, and two of them are worth examining more closely. They are the Bethlehemites and the Trinitarians "for the redemption of captives"; the canons of Bethlehem will be examined first and in greater detail, because of their inherent interest, and because of the considerable amount of evidence which has come to light.

1. The Bethlehemite Hospital of St Germain, East Lothian.

The Hospital of St Germain was the only house in Scotland of the Order of the Star of Bethlehem. This order was organised as a chapter of Augustinian canons regular under the direct control of the bishop of Bethlehem; the bishopric of Bethlehem was revived in 1110, soon after the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,³ and within a few decades of its foundation the bishopric was the recipient of substantial gifts of property in the West. Chief among these was the hospital founded in usus pauperum by William Count of Nevers in 1147 at Clamecy (dép. Nièvre) in the diocese of Auxerre, given by him to the bishop and chapter of Bethlehem.^{3a} The association between hospitals and the religious orders to which they were appropriated was usually slight and of short duration, but it has been

3. William of Tyre, "Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum", RHC Occ., I, pt. I, 472

3a. Gallia Christiana (Paris, 1715-1865), XII, Instrumenta, co. 371-72

observed that "the relation between hospitals and the Bethlehemite order ... was closer".^{3b} The bishops of Bethlehem retained a keen interest in their hospital at Clamecy, frequently entering into transactions with the counts of Nevers for the benefit of the hospital.⁴ The most interesting feature of the Bethlehemite hospitals was their continuing close relationship with the bishopric of Bethlehem well into the fifteenth century, even after the bishops had abandoned the Holy Land and become settled at Clamecy, from where they administered their widely-flung chapter. This relationship is a central feature of the history of St. Germain.

The early history of the Bethlehemites in Scotland, and their endowment with lands and a house in Tranent, is obscure, and most statements about the origins of St Germain have been inaccurate and misconceived.⁵ Recent evidence, however, throws new light on the history of its foundation. The earliest mention of canons of Bethlehem in Scotland comes in a charter of Robert de Quincy granting to Pagan

3b. R. M. Clay, Medieval Hospitals of England (London 1909) 210.

4. Gallia Christiana, XII, Instrumenta, 237-38, 372-76

5. cf. E. Beck, "The Hospital of St Germain in East Lothian and the Bethlehemites", PSAS XLV (1910-1911), 371-85; J. G. Wallace-James, "Order of the Star of Bethlehem", SHR IX (1911-1912), 109-111; D. E. Easson, "Medieval Hospitals of East Lothian", Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society, VII (1958), 37-43; J. P. B. Bulloch, "The Crutched Friars in Scotland", Records of the Scottish Church History Society, X, pt. III (1950), 154-170

de Hedleia certain lands in Tranent, which is witnessed among others by John Canon of Bethlehem and Ernald socio suo.⁶ This charter can be dated 1165 x 1185 and probably c.1170.⁷ The appearance of these Bethlehemite canons in a document concerning lands in Tranent suggests that they were established in their site at St Germain's by this time or soon after.

The lands of Tranent came to Robert de Quincy through his wife Orabile c.1165. Certainly by 1170 Robert de Quincy was disposing of lands in Tranent, and it is very likely that the canons of Bethlehem received the lands on which their hospital was built around that date. The likelihood that Robert de Quincy was the founder of the hospital of St Germain's is strengthened by other evidence. He was keenly interested in the fortunes of the crusader states, and took part in the third crusade (1190-1192).⁸ Further, most of the early documents witnessed by members of the Bethlehemite Order were issued by members of the de Quincy family.⁹

6. SRO GD 241/254

7. cf. G. W. S. Barrow, "A twelfth-century Newbattle Document" SHR XXX (1951), 41-49. I am grateful to Professor Barrow for his advice on the dating of SRO GD 241/254. On the de Quincys in Tranent, v. in general G. G. Simpson, An Anglo-Scottish Baron of the Thirteenth Century: the Acts of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland (unpublished Edinburgh Ph.D. Thesis, 1965) I, 12, 65-66.

8. "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi", Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, ed. W. Stubbs, (Rolls Series, 1864-1865), I, 241; above, Chapter 1, pp. 87-90.

9. cf. in addition to SRO GD 241/254, Holyrood Liber, 49; Dunfermline Registrum, 90; but cf. also Kelso Liber II, 277.

One of these, a charter of Saher de Quincy Earl of Winchester, which can be dated 1207 x 1213, is witnessed by Ralph Prior of St Germain's and by Milo Cornet, who appears as prior of St Germain's when he witnesses a charter of Roger de Quincy relating to rights in Tranent in 1222. These are the earliest references to the dedication of the hospital. It is likely that the saint in question was St German of Auxerre, and that the hospital in Tranent was colonised first by canons of Bethlehem from Clamecy, who dedicated it to the patron saint of the cathedral of their diocese.

There is no evidence at this early date for the relationship between the Bethlehemite canons of St Germain's and the bishopric of Bethlehem, but later it becomes clear. As late as 1411 St Germain's was described as being "usually governed by clerks of the Order of St Augustine professing the red star of Bethlehem and in the gift of the bishop of Bethlehem".¹⁰ In 1225 Renier Bishop of Bethlehem obtained from Pope Honorius III a faculty to correct and reform the houses of his Order, with power to institute and remove "as freely as pertains to him", because he holds "many houses in different dioceses lawfully pertaining to him, in which dwell brothers of the Order of Bethlehem, sometimes taken with a rebellious spirit so that they are disobedient and presumptuous".¹¹

10. Letters of Benedict XIII, 239

11. Regesta Honorii Papae III, ed. P. Pressutti (Rome, 1888-1895), II, 334

In 1247 his successor Godfrey de Prefectis visited Scotland in the capacity of a papal legate, and seems to have made extreme financial demands of the Scots, perhaps not least in his own house at St Germain. ¹² Presumably St Germain owed him some kind of annual cess anyway. On his homeward journey a Bethlehemite house was founded in London, which was later to become the famous Bedlam mad-house (refounded in happier times as the Bethlehem Royal Hospital); the founder specified that he was "instituting there a prior, canons, brothers and sisters under the rule of the Church of Bethlehem, wearing a star in cappis et mantellis, subject to the visitation of the bishop of Bethlehem", and paying one mark sterling to the bishop each year as census, "in token of their subjection to him". ¹³ Payments from the outlying houses of the Order to the bishops may not have been frequent, for in 1265 Thomas Bishop of Bethlehem obtained a faculty from Pope Clement IV allowing him to "enter into transactions and exchanges with religious and other ecclesiastical persons in order to realise the fruits of divers possessions of the Church of Bethlehem in remotis mundi partibus sitas, which are of value to the said Church". ¹⁴

An instance of the bishops exercising their authority over

12. Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series, 1872-1883), IV, 602

13. W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (new ed. 1817-1818), VI, pt.II, 622

14. Les Registres de Clement IV, ed. E. Jordan (Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1893-1945), 10

the Chapter of Bethlehem occurred in 1308, when Wulfran Bishop of Bethlehem wrote to William Greenfield Archbishop of York requesting him to revoke the brothers' license to collect alms in the northern province, because "the brothers of Bethlehem in England are disobedient to me". This was in spite of permission granted by Pope Nicholas IV to "the bishop and chapter of Bethlehem, of the Order of St Augustine, pertaining to the church without intermediary", to collect alms "for the poor and infirm", in which action the Bethlehemites had been encouraged by Greenfield's predecessor Archbishop John le Romeyn.¹⁵

Although throughout Europe the Bethlehemites were a hospitaller order, there were regional variations in the services offered at each of their hospitals. At Bethlehem itself their chief concern was with pilgrims visiting the holy places of Christendom. In London they appear to have developed a specialty in treating mental-illness by the end of the fourteenth century at the latest, though this purpose was not mentioned in their foundation charter.¹⁶ At Clamecy

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15. Historical Papers and Letters from Northern Registers, ed. J. Raine (Rolls Series, 1873), 187-88:
Les Registres de Nicholas IV, ed. E. Langlois (Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 1905), 210:
The Register of John le Romeyn Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296 (Surtees Society CXXIII, 1893) 1-2.
 For a possible contributory reason for the revocation, cf. G. W. S. Barrow "A Bogus Tax-collector in Lothian, 1306-7" The Stewarts, IX, (1954), 323-8
16. Dugdale, Monasticon, loc. cit.

their hospital was founded in usus pauperum. The hospital at St Germain was a poor-house, in its early stages probably similar to Clamecy. In 1470 it was said that "there used to be a poor hospital and a number of brethren of the Order", and in 1496 it was described as having been "a hospital ... for aiding and receiving poor and miserable persons".¹⁷

There is a solitary mention in a papal petition of 1477 to the care of lepristi at St Germain, though by this date it must have required prodigious feats of memory to recall when hospitality of any kind had last been practiced.¹⁸ There is no other evidence to suggest that St Germain had ever been a leper-house.

The period of stability before the outbreak of the Anglo-Scottish war in 1296 was marked by close contact between the Hospital of St Germain and the Continent. In 1291 the master obtained from Pope Nicholas IV an indulgence in favour of pilgrims and visitors to the church of St Germain in Tranent, and also to the hospital's appropriated parish church of Aberluthnot (now Marykirk) on certain feast days in that year.¹⁹ It is probable that the years of intermittent warfare which followed resulted in a disruption of contact between the bishops of Bethlehem and this most remote cell

17. CPL XII, 356-57; Fasti Aberdonenses, 1494-1854, ed. C. Innes (Spalding Club, 1854), 9 (hereafter Aberdeen Fasti).

18. Vatican Archives, Registrum Supplicationum, 755, f.10v-11r (hereafter Reg. Supp.)

19. CPL I, 538

of their chapter. The brothers of St Germain's were caught up in the troubles of 1296, when Bartholomew Master of St Germain's swore fealty to Edward I and had a regrant of his lands;²⁰ while the bishops must have been affected by the final collapse of the Crusader States in 1291. By 1332 William de Vallan Bishop of Bethlehem was attempting to recover his position over the Scottish house, procuring papal letters to King David II requesting his aid in recovering sums due to the bishop from certain benefices and other sources in Scotland.²¹ This indicates that relations between St Germain's and the Church of Bethlehem, closely maintained during the thirteenth century, were being loosened by the second quarter of the fourteenth.

There is a considerable gap in the evidence concerning this relationship after 1332, during which important changes took place. The bishops of Bethlehem, despite an attempt to hang on in partibus infidelium after the fall of Acre, at last abandoned their links with the Holy Land; during the episcopate of Aymar de la Roche (1365-c.1385) they finally became permanently settled at Clamecy.²²

But their link with their house in Scotland became increasingly tenuous, and the Great Schism can be seen as an important

20. CDS, II, 201: Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterii Asservati (London, 1814), I, 25b

21. CPL II, 504

22. cf. "Bethlehem, Evêché de", Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques, ed. A Baudrillart and others (Paris, 1912-in progress), VIII, cols.249-50

factor in this development. In the uncertainty as to who had the right of presentation, there was a wealth of litigation over the hospital in which the bishops of Bethlehem figured in the early stages, but which they dropped out of by the mid-fifteenth century. In the disputes the parties were divided in their loyalties to the Roman or Avignon papacies, and to the papacy or the conciliar movement. Before the Schism there had never been more than one claimant to the hospital at any time; during it, there were often two or three. Thus, on the resignation of John Rollok Master of the Hospital of St Germain, John l'Amy Bishop of Bethlehem provided it to Roger de Edinburgh sometime 1407 x 1410;²³ but in 1410 the church in France, taking with it Bishop John and Roger de Edinburgh (both then resident in France) renounced the allegiance of Pope Benedict XIII and returned to that of the Pisan pope, Alexander V, while Scotland still adhered to Benedict. In consequence the patron and anyone provided by him were regarded as schismatic by the Scots; Roger de Edinburgh was denounced to Pope Benedict as "a notorious schismatic" who deserved to be stripped of his benefice. Two new candidates came forward, Richard de Mariton Canon of Scone, and Henry de Ramsay.²⁴ On 5 January 1410 Richard de Mariton informed the pope that the Hospital of St Germain was "wont to be given by the

23. Letters of Benedict XIII, 106-07, 219, 239-40

24. *Ibid.*, 215-16, 219, 239-40, 248-49

bishop of Bethlehem to clerks bearing the red cross", but could not himself claim to have been provided by him. Henry de Ramsay claimed to have been provided to the hospital first by ordinary authority and then by apostolic authority; but he was not in a position to invoke the authority of the bishop of Bethlehem, because "Henry Wardlaw Bishop of St Andrews and John I' Amy Bishop of Bethlehem both claim the right of presentation and provision".

Henry de Ramsay seems to have gained possession and to have held the hospital until his death before 8 April 1418, whereupon Richard de Mariton gained possession.²⁵ His right was in turn disputed by three new claimants, Robert de Mirtoun, John Fleming (secretary to the Earl of Crawford), and Richard de Langlandis.²⁶ By this time the church in Scotland had fallen into line with France by finally renouncing Benedict XIII, and so Richard de Langlandis was able to claim that "John Marchand Bishop of Bethlehem, to whom collation, provision and disposition of the hospital pertain omnimodo, collated, assigned and provided it to him"; but he was sufficiently unsure of the validity of this provision to procure papal confirmation. His claim was admitted, for he held the hospital in undisputed possession until his death before 16 July 1433, when the hospital was again vacant.

25. CSSR I, 13

26. Ibid., 16, 34-35, 83

By this time the papacy was already embroiled in its new dispute with the conciliar movement. Of the three new claimants to the hospital who came forward, Henry Rynde, M.A., is not heard of after 1433; the other two were Patrick Piot and Archibald Laurence (or Lawrie).²⁷ Patrick seems to have cast his lot with Dominic Bishop of Bethlehem; Dominic, claiming that the hospital belonged to the episcopal mensa of Bethlehem, was granted a commenda of the house for as long as he was bishop of Bethlehem, and he or his procurator was to be given possession.²⁸ It would appear that Dominic had come to an out-of-court agreement with Patrick Piot, for on 23 May 1435 he resigned the hospital in favour of Piot, who was to be "received as a canon and brother of the hospital", and to make his regular profession as a member of the Order of Bethlehem. Dominic, meanwhile, was compensated with a pension of fourteen florins.²⁹ Archibald Laurence, on the other hand, was something of a conciliarist. On 5 March 1434 he was incorporated at the Council of Basle, where he had Patrick Piot cited before an auditor of the Council.³⁰ Although this course of action was hardly likely to endear him to the curia of Eugenius IV, the Council of Basle still

27. Reg. Supp., 287, f.103r: 283, f.128r

28. CPL VIII, 488-89

29. Ibid. 567

30. J. H. Burns, Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basle (Glasgow, 1962) 23-24: Reg. Supp., 298, f.139v

represented an alternative source of authority which some ambitious Scottish churchmen were prepared to use to further their careers. Laurence was certainly persistent; on 23 May 1435 Piot claimed that he was "perhaps" still litigating at the Roman curia or at the Council of Basle, and more than two years later Piot submitted a fresh petition, as "he fears that Archibald will not obey the mandate".³¹

Bishop Dominic cannot have been in receipt of his pension for very long, for he was dead by the date of the same petition, 5 November 1437. The death of Dominic marks the end of attempts by the bishops of Bethlehem to maintain their control over the Hospital of St Germain; thereafter litigation over the house becomes a succession of internal Scottish disputes, without interference from the bishops. The hospital was by this time becoming increasingly secularised, no longer keeping up hospitality for the poor and becoming partially ruinous. Also in the mid-1430s it was for the first time called "the hospital of St Germain of the Cruciferi cum stella of the Order of St Augustine",³² after which the curious designation "of the Cruciferi cum stella" becomes common and almost invariable. This name belonged properly to a Bohemian order established in Prague in the thirteenth century, and was applied to the Bethlehemites by later confusion because of their prominent

31. CPL VIII, 638

32. Ibid., 488-89

star.³³ The Bethlehemites were canons regular, and there were never crutched friars at St Germain's. The existence of such confusion by 1435 suggests that regular religious life at St Germain's may have disappeared even before the bishops of Bethlehem abandoned their last attempts to control the house.

Patrick Piot possessed the Hospital of St Germain's for more than forty years, during which time he used its revenues to advance members of his own family, and allowed the house itself to become decayed. In 1466 his brother, Thomas Piot, is found acting as his bailie for St Germain's lands in Crail.³⁴ In 1470 Alexander Piot, presumably another relative, petitioned for the hospital's appropriated parish church of Aberluthnot, claiming that the perpetual vicarage of Aberluthnot was "wont to be held by brethern of the Hospital of St Germain's of Bethlehem of the Order of the Cruciferi cum stella under the rule of St Augustine", but had in fact been unlawfully detained by a certain John Cook, priest, "without assuming the habit worn by the brethern or making their regular profession". It may be inferred that Patrick Piot had failed to provide a vicar, so that "the vicarage was void for so long that ... its collation had lapsed to the apostolic see", that the ordinary of St Andrews

33. New Catholic Encyclopedia (Washington, 1967), II, 374-75

34. SRO B 10/149: B 10/14/23

had intervened and provided John Cook, and the PLOTS were now litigating to get the vicarage back into their own hands.³⁵ At the same time Patrick Plot was trying to make sure of his control over the hospital's other appropriated parish of Glenmuick (Aberdeenshire); on 9 January 1470 he petitioned for papal confirmation of its appropriation, as it had been "held and possessed by his predecessors from time beyond the memory of man", although "the said union and annexation cannot be proved".³⁶ Probably there was a similar threat to Plot's rights in Glenmuick; it is unlikely that such a threat would have occurred had Plot not been neglectful of his duties in respect of the parish and its spiritual care.

He seems to have been equally negligent as far as the hospital itself was concerned. On 7 December 1470 Pope Paul II was informed that "a son of iniquity, Patrick Plot, rector called master of the House of St Germain's, has not feared to dilapidate the precious iocalia of that house, wont to be held by religious persons of the Order of the Cruciferi cum stella, who maintained in it a poor hospital and some professed members of the Order; he keeps up no hospitality nor professed members of the Order, and profanes the church in which there were altars and other chapels with relics of the saints, and he has permitted laymen to dwell therein

35. CPL XII, 337-38

36. Reg. Supp., 651, f.93v

with their wives and families as in a private house, non sine emissione seminis ac effusione sanguinis; they are living there at present, and there is no celebration of divine offices".³⁷ As a result of these charges, Patrick was deprived, though apparently not physically dispossessed. He immediately appealed to the Roman curia against the sentence, and "while the principal business was pending undecided before the last auditor, Patrick and John [Chalmer, who had brought the accusations] made a concord without the authority of the Holy See, that John should cede his right in the case, leave Patrick peaceably in possession of the hospital, and that Patrick should pay a certain sum of money ... by way of an annual pension to John; and for execution of the said concord assigned to John the teind fruits of certain lands then expressed".³⁸ The teinds assigned to him were from the villis of Barnes and Inglesmaldie in Aberluthnot, of which John Chalmer was in receipt in 1473 and 1475.³⁹ In 1475 John Chalmer petitioned the pope that he would admit this pension, "give mandate to assign and provide it to John, and grant that after the death or resignation of Patrick John may enjoy the said teinds for his lifetime".⁴⁰ But on 4 September 1476 John Ruck, priest,

37. CPL XII, 356-57

38. Reg. Supp., 742, f.55r-v

39. Miscellany of the Spalding Club, ed. K. Stuart (Spalding Club, 1841-1852), IV, 9-10

40. Reg. Supp. 731, f.72v

objected to the pope that this out-of-court settlement between Piot and Chalmer "bears the stain of simony, and both Patrick and John merit to be deprived", and a new investigation was ordered.⁴¹ It seems that when John Chalmer resigned his right upon settling with Piot, his right was surrogated to a certain Thomas Lyel, priest of the diocese of Brechin, who was granted the house in commendam, but who never seems to have made his commenda effective and resigned it on 30 August 1477. Thereupon John Chalmer, still holding his pension of the teinds of Barnes and Inglesmaldie, and claiming that "he proposes to restore the church and its hospital, which are ruinous, and to keep hospitality there", petitioned that it should be granted to him in commendam.⁴² If not for any other reason, Chalmer must be admired for his tenacity.

Chalmer's longtime ambition to control St Germain's in person was, however, frustrated by the long-lived Patrick Piot. Unknown to Chalmer (who on 30 August 1477 described the hospital as vacant "by free resignation of Patrick Piot") Piot had in fact resigned the hospital in August 1476 in favour of his nephew Thomas Piot, and Thomas had procured a bull from Sixtus IV. appointing mandataries "to receive him as a brother and master of the Hospital of St Germain's of the Cruciferi cum stella ... and to receive his regular

41. Ibid., 742, f.55r-v

42. CPL XIII, 58: Reg. Supp., 755, f.10v-11r: 757, f.92v

profession".⁴³ Within a few months Thomas is found acting as master of St Germain's, for on 18 April 1478 he petitioned for confirmation of the annual pension of 24 marks Scots (£9 sterling) due to John Ruck, who, said Piot, "has often undertaken heavy labours and expenses for the defence of the hospital and its rights, at the Roman curia and in partibus, and for certain other causes".⁴⁴ The "certain other causes", and probably the true reason for the petition, may have been that Ruck was threatening to renew legal action which he had begun at the papal curia two years before. The career of Patrick Piot was indeed remarkable. He occupied the hospital of St Germain's for more than forty years, during which time all hospitality and religious worship disappeared, withstood the accusations of a number of determined opponents, and finally managed to pass on the hospital to a member of his own family. Thomas Piot succeeded to a house which was burdened with pensions, but at least none of them was due to the bishop of Bethlehem.

Although John Chalmer secured a regrant of his pension from Thomas Piot on 21 October 1479,⁴⁵ he was anxious to make as much of the situation as possible, and renewed litigation soon after. On 5 April 1480 he represented to the pope that he had been granted a commenda of the house when

43. Ibid., 740, f.223v: University of Aberdeen Charter Chest, King's College, Aberdeen, Shuttle 28, no.2 (hereafter Aberdeen U. Chrs)

44. Reg. Supp., 768, ff.167v-168r.

45. Aberdeen U. Chrs. Shuttle 28, no.4

it was vacant, and that he had "undertaken labours, pains and expenses to implement it against Thomas Piot". The two men again came to an agreement whereby Thomas was to remain in possession and Chalmer received an increase of his pension; now in addition to the teind sheaves of Barnes and Inglesmaldie, he was also to receive those of Balmakelly, Burgarton, Drumnogair, Pitgarvie, Thornton and Muirton in Aberluthnot.⁴⁶ This must have considerably reduced the hospital's own income from Aberluthnot; and indeed under Thomas Piot, the last independent master of St Germain's, the house was saddled with pensions. From what was left of the fruits of Aberluthnot after John Chalmer had taken his substantial share, a pension of £20 Scots was paid to a certain Richard Rollok Canon of Moray, at least as early as 7 July 1487; Rollok had raised a sentence against Thomas Piot at the Apostolic camera, "and it was alleged that neither had any right to the hospital, and it was awarded to Thomas, reserving a pension to Richard".⁴⁷ Another pension of £9 sterling was being paid to John Ruck Vicar of Leslie by 16 April 1478; if this was being drawn from the teinds of Glenmuick it must have left very little for the vicar of Glenmuick or for the hospital, as the fruits were said in 1470 to be worth £9 sterling.⁴⁸ In another petition to the

46. Reg. Supp., 791, ff.182v-183r: Aberdeen U.Chrs, Shuttle 28, nos.6 and 7

47. Reg. Supp., 907, ff.240v-241r

48. Ibid., 768, ff.167v-168r: 651, f.93v

pope Thomas Piot complained that his orator at the Roman curia, William Pico, falsely asserted that Piot promised to pay him 100s. Scots for seven years and failed to do so, and that Pico was using his influence in Rome to compel Piot to pay him; but the auditor to whom the case was committed at Rome found in favour of Piot on 3 July 1490.⁴⁹ Thomas Piot was thus spared the payment of yet another pension from the revenues of St Germain, but the litigation involved must have been costly. This dismal situation fully justified the description of St Germain submitted to Pope Alexander VI in 1496: "There was for an incalculable length of time in the diocese of St Andrews a hospital for the aiding and receiving of poor and miserable persons, with divers rents and possessions, whose rector was wont to be called master and who lived in the regular habit of the Cruciferi cum stella under the Rule of St Augustine; but either by the carelessness of the master̄s, or in cases where the masters prosecuted the rights of the hospital against various persons and suffered expenses, the revenues of the hospital have been diminished, so that for as long as can be remembered there has been no hospitality in that hospital, the chapel of St Germain is in ruins, the fruits occupied by secular persons, and converted to profane uses; and whose master, Thomas Piot, cannot recover the rights of the hospital".^{49a}

49. Aberdeen U. Chrs. Shuttle 28, no.8

49a. Aberdeen Fasti, 9ff.

But help was at hand. William Elphinstone Bishop of Aberdeen was casting about in search of endowments for his projected university at Aberdeen; with a view to recovering the revenues of the hospital for his new foundation, he entered into an agreement with Thomas Piot in April 1494 for the annexation of the hospital and its fruits (including the teinds of Aberluthnot and Glenmuick) to the new college of Aberdeen, "by reason of the feuds among the members of the hospital and their dilapidation of the rents thereof".⁵⁰ Elphinstone and King James IV petitioned for the annexation of the hospital, and this was granted by Alexander VI on 9 February 1495/6; the formal annexation was completed when Thomas Piot resigned the hospital into Elphinstone's hands on 9 August 1497.⁵¹ Piot and John Chalmer were both compensated with benefices from the gift of the bishop of Aberdeen.⁵²

With these transactions the independent history of the Hospital of St Germain's comes to an end. The hospital itself continued, however, for Elphinstone made provision for its revival and re-establishment as a dependency of Aberdeen University. He proposed in 1496 "to sustain one religious person of the Order [of the Cruciferi cum stella] and three poor people in the hospital", and three poor scholars

50. Aberdeen U. Chrs, Shuttle 22, nos.5, 6: Shuttle 28, no.10

51. Aberdeen Fasti, 15ff.

52. Aberdeen Fasti, 19: Cartularium Ecclesiae Sancti Nicolai Aberdonensis, ed. J. Cooper (Spalding Club, 1833-1892), II, 312

in the university; to this end Elphinstone appointed procurators to take possession of the hospital.⁵³ There are fleeting glimpses in the sixteenth century which show the existence of a chaplainry at St Germain's. In 1536 Peter Hutcheson held a chaplainry with an annual value of £5 sterling; in 1577 it was held by Alexander Morrison (Moresone alias Moreis) "chaplain or preceptor of the chapel of St Germain's of the Star of Bethlehem in Lothian".⁵⁴ It can be seen that Bishop Elphinstone had been as good as his word.

In conclusion, it has been shown that for most of its history the Hospital of St Germain's was subject to external influences. Until the fifteenth century, the chief influence was that of the bishops of Bethlehem, who controlled appointments to the mastership and drew part of the revenues of the house. Their control was progressively weakened by the Anglo-Scottish war, the displacement of the bishopric of Bethlehem, and the Great Schism, and finally by the late 1430s it had disappeared altogether. Thereafter, freed from all outside influence, the hospital became increasingly decayed and ruinous. When it was finally annexed to Aberdeen University, there was once again an external correcting influence, under which some semblance of the original hospitality and religious worship were restored.

53. Aberdeen U. Chrs. Shuttle 28, no.16

54. Reg. Supp., 2218, f.256r-v; RMS, IV, no.2744

2. The Trinitarian Order in Scotland.

The Trinitarians were founded at the end of the twelfth century as an organisation devoting their energies, and part of their resources, to the ransoming of Christian captives of the Infidel. Their rule, as revised in 1263, lays down that

tertio vero pars reservetur ad redemptionem
captivorum qui sunt incarcerati pro fide Christi
a paganis. ⁵⁵

They possessed houses in Scotland from the mid-thirteenth century at latest, but some statements about Scotland's connection with the order in its earliest days are open to question. A supposed charter of William I inviting members of the order to settle in Scotland in 1202 is certainly spurious, and it is unlikely that it is based on any authentic document; in it William allegedly offers to confer the bishoprics of Dunblane and Lismore on members of the order, which were not even vacant, even supposing they were within William's gift; and the charter's dating clause ("Datum in Curia mea de Reblis [*i.e.*, Peebles], 7 Kalendas Maij, anno 1202: Humilis filius, et Ecclesiae Propugnator acerrimus, Vvillhelmus Rex Scotiae") bears no resemblance to that of any authentic act of William.⁵⁶ There is a tradition that the Trinitarian

55. P. Deslandres, L'Ordre des Trinitaires pour le Rachat des Captifs (Paris and Toulouse, 1903), 44

56. Domingo Lopez, Noticias historicas de la tres florentissimas Provincias del celeste Orden de la santissima Trinidad, Redemcion de Cautivos en Inglaterra, Escocia, y Hybernia, (Madrid 1714), 8-11; cf. RRS II, passim, for authentic acts of William I. cf. D. McRoberts, "Three bogus Trinitarian Pictures", IR, XI (1960) for the story behind some of these bogus traditions.

house at Aberdeen was founded by King William, but this does not rest on any firm evidence. It seems unlikely that any existing Scottish houses were omitted from the list in Pope Innocent IV's solemn confirmation to the Trinitarians in 1247, which mentions the following:

in diocese Glasguens~~e~~ domum de faleford cum
piscarijs et alijs pertinencijs suis . in diocese
Sanctiandree Domum sancti edwardi de Berewic
cum piscarijs et alijs pertinencijs suis. 57

It is unknown by whom these two earliest Trinitarian houses in Scotland were founded; in the case of Failford, it seems likely that it was founded by one of the Stewarts, as James V stated that it had been founded by one of his ancestors. In the case of Berwick, there seems to exist no evidence at all.

A very interesting Trinitarian foundation in south-east Scotland is the house of Dunbar. This was founded by Christina de Bruce, countess of Dunbar, within the lifetime of her husband earl Patrick (d.1248); if our supposition is correct, that it must have been given to the Trinitarians after Pope Innocent's bull of 1247, then it must have been given to them 1247 x 1248, i.e., immediately before the earl of Dunbar's departure on crusade.⁵⁸ Generosity to the fratribus ordinis Sancte Trinitatis et captivorum on the eve of a crusader's departure for the Holy Land, especially

57. Paris, Archives Nationales, L 947, (Bulle d'Innocent IV)

58. Yester Writs, no.14

by his wife, is understandable; in the event of Earl Patrick's capture by the Muslims, Christina would have been in a strong position, as a benefactress of the order, to ask the Trinitarians to help procure her husband's release. Her charter states that she grants to the Trinitarians the house founded by her at Dunbar and to which gifts had been made by Earl Patrick and lord David de Graham and Thomas de Bernach, over which the minister of the Trinitarian house at Berwick is to have custody, appointing a brother to be perpetual chaplain of the house to celebrate divine offices for the living and dead, and disposing of all the possessions of the house according to the statutes of the order.

A fourth Trinitarian house in Scotland was established soon after. William Malvoisin bishop of St Andrews had founded a hospital at Scotlandwell (Portmoak), 1202 x 1214, and in January 1250/1 this house was transferred by bishop David de Bernham to the Trinitarians.⁵⁹ - At the same time the Trinitarians at Scotlandwell were recipients of generosity from laymen, for it was said in 1255 that Sir William de Valognes and other laymen had built a chapel for them at Scotlandwell. The defeat of the Crusaders in the Nile delta in 1250 had resulted in many Christian captives, as was reported by the master of the Templars in Scotland on his return from that campaign. Perhaps the bishop's

59. SRO RH 6/48

generosity arose from a consideration of the Trinitarian's services at that time. After de Bernham's death (1253), the canons of St Andrews tried to have the Trinitarians removed from Scotlandwell, claiming that the bishop's gift had infringed their privileges;⁶⁰ but they were unsuccessful, as the Trinitarians were still in possession in 1274 when Bagimond's Roll was drawn up.⁶¹

Before the end of the thirteenth century three other Trinitarian houses had been founded in Scotland, at Aberdeen, Peebles and Houston (Prestonkirk, East Lothian). The last-named was founded by Christina Fraser, widow of Sir Roger de Mowbray (d. 20 January 1268/9), between the time of her husband's death and the king's confirmation of the foundation on 26 January 1271/2.⁶² With the house, named Gracia Dei, she granted lands in Houston, Crauchie, Lynerynham (East Linton?) and Fortoun Bank (Fortun; this identification, in Prestonkirk parish, seems more likely than East Fortūne in Athelstaneford, as Bain thought). Roger de Mowbray was not among the members of the Mowbray family who had licence from Henry III to go on crusade in 1270, having died before the crusade departed; but it is possible that among the Mowbrays who did join the crusade was a son or other relative of his, and this factor may have influenced his widow in making her foundation c.1269 x 1270.⁶³

60. NLS Adv. 15.1.19, no.11

61. SHS Miscellany VI, 37, 61

62. J. Bain, "Notes on the Trinitarians or Red Friars in Scotland, and on a recently discovered Charter of Alexander III confirming the Foundation of Houston by Cristiana Fraser, Widow of Sir Roger de Mowbray", PSAS XXII (new ser. X) (1887-8), 26-32

63. On the Mowbrays on crusade in 1270, cf. chap. 2 above, and n.154b

Of the other thirteenth-century Trinitarian houses, at Aberdeen and Peebles, it is impossible to speak with certainty. Peebles may have been founded in the 1260s, and Aberdeen was in existence by 1273; it is unknown by whom either was founded.⁶⁴ Of these seven foundations, some certainly, and others probably, were founded by crusading families and/or at times when the crusades and those captured in them were important considerations. The following table helps to demonstrate this connection which can hardly be coincidental in every case:

TABLE OF 13th-CENTURY TRINITARIAN FOUNDATIONS IN SCOTLAND

House	Date of foundation	Certain or probable founder
Failford	x 1247	A Stewart; possibly Walter II, son of Alan?
Berwick	x 1247	Unknown
Dunbar	1247 x 1248	Christina de Bruce, wife of Patrick earl of Dunbar (d. on crusade, 1248)
Scotlandwell	1250/1	David de Bernham, bishop of St Andrews (Possibly at the request of Sir William de Valognes?)
Houston	1269 x 1270	Christina Fraser, widow of Sir Roger de Mowbray (possibly mother of a Mowbray crusader of 1270?)
Aberdeen	x 1273	Unknown
Peebles	1260s? x 1274	Unknown

It is clear that the Trinitarians were a popular order in Scotland in the thirteenth century, and that a connection with the crusading movement can be demonstrated.

64. Bower, Scotichronicon, II, 96-7; SHS Misc. VI, 42; Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 107-10

Some aspects of the Trinitarians' relationship with Scotland in the early years of the order's history, however, are more problematic. Traditions of the Trinitarians associate the earliest work of redemption in North Africa with Trinitarian brothers from the British Isles; Robert Brunschvig has written that "Il est remarquable que la plupart d'entre elles (the earliest redemptions of captives by the Trinitarians) aient été faites par des frères venus des îles Britanniques, des provinces d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse et d'Irlande".⁶⁵

On what evidence is this assertion based? A seventeenth century history of the Trinitarians contains the text of a bull of Innocent III allegedly sent to the emir of Morocco:⁶⁶

Innocentius papa III illustri Miramolino regi Marochetano et subditis ejus, ad veritatis notitiam pervenire, in ea saluberrime permanere. Inter opera misericordiae quae Jesus Christus Dominus noster fidelibus suis in evangelio commendavit non minorum locum obtinet redemptio captivorum. Unde personis illis quae circa talia occupantur favorem debemus apostolicam impertiri. Sane viri quidam, de quorum existunt numero praesentium portitores, nuper divinitus inflammati, regulam et ordinem invenerunt per cujus statuta tertiam partem proventuum omnium quos vel nunc habet vel in futurum poterunt obtinere in redemptionem debent expendere captivitatis ergastulo valeant liberari, ut paganos captivos

65. R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides: des Origines à la Fin du XVe Siècle (Paris, Institut d'Etudes orientales d'Alger, 1940-47), I, 455-6

66. Bonaventure Baro, Annales Ordinis SS Trinitatis Redemptionis Captivorum (Rome, 1684), I, 25

redimant est concessum, quos pro liberandis
 Christianis debeant commutare. Caeterum quoniam
 opera quae praemisimus et Christianis expediunt
 et paganis, hujusmodi vobis duximus per apostolicas
 litteras intimanda. Inspiret autem vobis Ille qui
 via veritas est et vita, ut, agnita veritate, quae
 Christus est, ad eam venire quantotius festinetis.
 Datum Laterani, viii Idus Martii, Pontificatus
 nostri anno ii. (8 March, 1198/9) ⁶⁷

This letter is said to have been borne to Morocco by brothers
 John Anglicus and William Scotus in 1199, and to have resulted
 in the redemption of 186 slaves. If so, these brothers must
 have been among the very first disciples of St John de
 Matha, founder of the Trinitarians.⁶⁸

It is worth pointing out, however, that this bull is not
 without its difficulties. The salutation clause of a papal
 bull is invariably "Innocentius (or whoever) episcopus, servus
 servorum Dei, ... salutem et apostolicam benedictionem", and
 this form is used by popes even when addressing heathen rulers.⁶⁹
 One commentator finds it difficult to accept that Innocent
 would have addressed the king and his subjects twice as
pagani in a formal letter.⁷⁰ The earliest authority for the
 bull is the Trinitarian history of 1684, which may also be

67. Here quoted from L. de Mas Latrie, Traité de Paix et de
 Commerces et Documents divers concernant les Relations des
 Chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique septentrionale au
 moyen Age (Paris, 1866), II, 3-9

68. J. Mesnages, Le Christianisme en Afrique: Eglise Mozarabe-
 Esclaves chrétiens (Paris and Algiers, 1915), 17-18

69. cf. Mas Latrie, Traité de Paix, II, 7-8

70. Mesnages, Christianisme en Afrique, loc.cit.

the earliest mention of the Englishman and the Scot who are alleged to have taken it to Morocco.⁷¹ It is possible that this writer may have had before him a faulty text of an authentic bull (e.g., with the salutation clause abbreviated or omitted); a number of historians accept its authenticity in spite of its difficulties. On the other hand, the date seems very early for an authentic bull relating to the Trinitarians, who seem to have been in existence no earlier than 1198.⁷² The Moroccan ruler's title, Miramolinus, is a Latinisation of the title Amīr al-Mūmanīn, "emir of the Mūmanīn"; the emir of Morocco at the time was Muḥammād an-Nasīr (1199-1213), but as he is not mentioned by name, this cannot be taken as a point in favour of the authenticity of the letter.⁷³ On the whole, it appears that the difficulties of this document tend to outweigh the points in its favour; its salutation clause is impossible as it stands, and its dating clause, and some of the wording of the text, are difficult to accept. If it is based on an authentic bull of Innocent III to a pagan ruler who was being visited by a Trinitarian mission, then it appears to have been tampered with, and there can be no certainty that it was issued as early as March 1198/9. Clearly, none of this increases our confidence in the authenticity of William Scotus,

71. Bonaventure Baro, Annales, I, 14, 25

72. Mesnages, Christianisme en Afrique, 16

73. Ibid., 17

the alleged early Trinitarian brother and disciple of St John de Matha. There exist other references to him and to other early Trinitarians from the British Isles in the traditions of the order; for instance, the redemption of 114 captives at Tunis in 1210-11 is said to have been carried out "sous la direction de Guillaume l'Ecossais", but on no certain evidence.⁷⁴

There appears to be no doubt that the Trinitarians were well received in thirteenth-century Scotland, and that in the case of some at least of their houses, a connection with the crusading movement can be shown. But the suggestion that Scots were involved in the redemptive work of the order in North Africa in the early years of its existence seems to be founded on very slender evidence, and indeed seems to be inherently unlikely. How were Scottish brothers recruited? Boece's statement that William I founded the Trinitarian house in Aberdeen x 1214 appears to be contradicted by the bull of Innocent IV which mentions only Berwick and Failford as Scottish Trinitarian houses by 1247; and other statements connecting William I with the introduction of the Trinitarians into Scotland are based on manifest forgeries. So there is no evidence of Scottish Trinitarian houses before x 1247, and it would be hazardous to speculate about expatriate Scottish disciples working with St John de Matha 1193-1211 without more reliable evidence. But on

74. Brunschvig, Berbérie Orientale, I, 455-6

the other hand, the popularity of the Trinitarians in thirteenth-century Scotland must have had its reasons, and possibly new evidence will come to light to substantiate these shadowy traditions. Until it does, it is necessary to keep an open mind on the subject.

Like the Bethlehemites, the Trinitarians were an order which maintained a closer link between the central organs of the order and its peripheral houses than did many other religious orders.^{74a} The raison d'être of the Trinitarians, the redemption of Christian captives of the heathen, demanded a close organisation, so that men and money (one third of the revenues of each house) could be deployed for that purpose.

The history of the Trinitarian houses in Scotland in the later middle ages presents a curiously varied picture, and it is sometimes difficult to know what to make of it all. At Failford, the Trinitarian house about which most is known, there is evidence of continued vitality into the later middle ages, but this evidence is not uninterrupted. In 1337/8 the Trinitarians were given the church of Tarbolton, and this is perhaps symptomatic of continued favour.^{74b} In 1365 (the year of the siege of Alexandria), Failford received a royal gift of £3 6s.8d., possibly in consideration that the house had been destroyed by fire in 1359.⁷⁵ In 1432, brother

74a. cf. Clay, Medieval Hospitals of England, 210

74b. SRO RH.6/148

75. ER II, 208; RMS I, app.i, no.145

Thomas de Morton, Trinitarian, was elected minister of Failford and provincial of Scotland by the brethren in Scotland.^{75a} In 1445 it was complained by a newly-admitted Trinitarian brother that Morton lived in concubinage at Failford, without the prescribed number of brothers in the house or any celebration of divine offices, and in 1459 King James II asked the pope to suppress the house on the grounds that it was decadent.⁷⁶ From then until the end of the fifteenth century the house seems to have had a series of Dominican commendators, and there is no trace of a Trinitarian community at Failford; an attempt by a certain James Dallas (or Dollas) in 1477 to have himself admitted to the Trinitarian order and made minister of Failford appears to have been unsuccessful.⁷⁷ However, from c.1500 a number of Trinitarian brothers appear, often in dispute with each other. Brothers William Houston and Thomas Dickson, both Trinitarians, claimed the ministry of Failford in 1502, and their dispute lasted until Dickson's death in 1513, at which time he was minister of Houston. Their litigation involved the excommunication of two Trinitarian brothers of Failford, probably supporters of Dickson's, and the intervention of King James IV, who claimed that Dickson had "had the ministry

75a. W. J. Dillon, "The Trinitarians of Failford", Ayrshire Archeological and Natural History Society Collections, 2nd ser. IV (1955-7), 68-118, at 95.

76. CPL XI, 568, 403; Theiner, VM, 421-2

77. Dillon, op.cit., 97-8; Dunlop, Apostolic Camera and Scottish Benefices, 188-91

conferred upon him by the general of the order".⁷⁸ On Dickson's death, William Houston conferred the ministry of the house of Houston on his own nephew, Christopher Houston, and in 1528 conferred on him the coadjutor provincialship of Scotland.⁷⁹ Also in 1528 he appointed a Trinitarian brother to be minister of the house of Aberdeen before a chapter of six other brothers meeting at Failford; counting himself, the appointee, and his nephew Christopher, there must have been at least nine Trinitarian brothers in Scotland at the time.⁸⁰ There are instances of Trinitarian brothers acting as vicars of the order's parish churches.⁸¹ King James V procured the appointment of a certain John Hamilton as minister of Failford in 1532 by writing to the father-general of the order, and thereby roused the wrath of brother Christopher Houston, who allegedly invaded Failford by force at the head of forty armed men and terrorised the convent.⁸² After Hamilton's death (1537), James V allowed the house to lie vacant for three years, to the benefit of another Hamilton, and in 1540 asked the minister-general to confirm Robert Cunningham, natural son of the reformist earl

78. Diocesan Register of Glasgow, I, nos.77, 125-7, 197, 629; James IV Letters, nos. 114, 119

79. Diocesan Register of Glasgow, I, no.629; Protocol Book of Gavin of Ros (Scottish Record Society, 19), no.856

80. Ibid., no.912

81. Diocesan Register of Glasgow, I, no.393

82. James V Letters, 224; Gavin of Ros, no.1316

of Glencairn, as minister of Failford.⁸³ It is perhaps significant that with a dedicated reforming family influencing its affairs, Failford was still maintaining hospitality at the Reformation, with two poor men living in the convent and four poor bedesmen supported by it.⁸⁴

Other Trinitarian houses in Scotland had mixed fortunes. Aberdeen was still viable in 1404, when Isabella countess of Mar gave ten marks annual rent to maintain a mass-priest there;⁸⁵ in 1528 "a devout and religious brother" of the order was appointed its minister by the provincial of Failford,⁸⁶ but by the Reformation it was ruinous.⁸⁷ Berwick was ruinous at a much earlier date, and in the fifteenth century was united with Peebles;⁸⁸ this was probably due to the precarious position of Berwick in the Anglo-Scottish war. At Scotlandwell the Trinitarians were ejected in the 1540s.⁸⁹ Houston in East Lothian had a happier history. Brother Thomas Dickson, a Trinitarian, was minister until 1513, when he was succeeded by brother Christopher Houston.⁹⁰ In 1518 the

83. James V Letters, 412

84. Dillon, *op.cit.*, 108

85. SRO GD 124/1/122

86. Gavin of Ros, no.912

87. Thirds of Benefices, 8, 97, 225

88. Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland, 103

89. *Ibid.*, 110

90. Diocesan Register of Glasgow, I, no.629

regent Albany told the pope that Houston, usually occupied by three or four Trinitarian brothers, was held in commendam by a secular clerk, whom he wished to be replaced by a Trinitarian; and in 1531 this was done by James V.⁹¹ Peebles also retained its vitality, with the houses of Berwick and Dunbar united to it. There was a minister, brother Gibert Brown, and a community of four brothers at the time of the Reformation; throughout the 1560s they successfully defied the reforming zeal of the town council, and maintained a catholic convent in the Trinity church at Peebles.⁹²

Although this is not a story of unmixed success, the Trinitarians in Scotland retained a measure of vitality in most of their houses into the sixteenth century, and in some cases up until the Reformation; and there is also evidence of contact with the minister-general in Paris well into the sixteenth century.

91. Cowan and Easson, *op.cit.*, 109

92. Charters, Documents & Extracts from Records of the Burgh of Peebles, ed. W. Chambers (Burgh Records Society, 1872) 269-72, 288, 295-6, 299, 302

PART III

ATTITUDES TO THE CRUSADES IN SCOTLAND

Chapter Seven: Attitudes to the Crusades in Scottish Historical Writings.

In addition to studying the extent of participation, the nature of the participants, and generosity towards crusading institutions, there is another way in which it is possible to gauge the impact of the crusading movement in Scotland; that is to examine Scottish historical writings, to see how far historians were interested in the crusades, and what their attitudes were to crusades and crusaders. It is important to remember that medieval historians were themselves almost invariably churchmen, and this might affect their attitude to what was, after all, the church's war. There are only a few instances when the attitudes of laymen can be discovered.

The earliest Scottish chronicles, the Melrose Chronicle and the so-called Holyrood Chronicle (which, in its present form, seems in fact to be a Coupar-Angus document),¹ do not date back to the earliest period of the crusades, so we have no contemporary Scottish accounts of the Council of Clermont and the first Crusade. There is no Scottish equivalent for the disillusioned mutterings of the Peterborough manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with its references to "Urban who was called pope, although he was not in possession of the see of Rome", and to the fact that "many thousands of those who went by Hungary perished miserably there and on the way; and many of them, miserable and hunger-bitten, made their way back at the approach of winter".² The Peterborough chronicler's

1. Holyrood Chronicle (SHS), 9

2. ASC, ed. Garmonsway, 232-3

distaste for the crusading ideal is also apparent on his description of Hugh de Paien's recruiting visit in 1128: "Little was achieved by it. He [Hugh] declared that a decisive battle was imminent between the Christians and the heathen, but when all those multitudes got there, they were pitiably duped to find it was nothing but lies".³

The Melrose Chronicle has been described by its most recent editors as "the principal monastic chronicle of Scotland".⁴ The Cistercian monastery of Melrose was founded in 1136, and its church dedicated ten years later; so the monastery's chronicle cannot have been kept contemporaneously before the former date, and probably not before the latter.⁵ In fact, the first section of the chronicle, extending down to the annal for 1171, seems to be a single composition drawn from well-used chronicle sources, with little original material; thereafter, the Melrose Chronicle is a highly original document written in a large number of hands, apparently closely contemporary with the events being described.⁶ No special significance, then, can be attached to the descriptions of the first and second crusades, or to brief mentions of events in the Holy Land such as the

3. Ibid., 259

4. Melrose Chronicle (Facsimile Edn), p.ix

5. Ibid., 33-4. In the earlier chapters of this study, references to the Melrose Chronicle have usually been to the Bannatyne Club edition; for the present detailed analysis, it has been felt preferable to use the facsimile edition (ed. A. O. Anderson, M. O. Anderson and W. C. Dickinson, 1936), and all references are to it unless otherwise stated.

6. Ibid., pp.xi-xvi

captures of Bohemund (S.A. 1100), and King Baldwin II (S.A. 1125), or the fall of Edessa (S.A. 1145); all these references are brief, unadorned and entirely derivative.

It is not until one comes to the account of the third crusade and the events leading up to it that one can speak of a discernible attitude on the part of the Melrose writer. The chronicler seems critical of Henry II's refusal of aid to the Patriarch Heraclius when he visited him in 1185:

Eraclius patriarcha ierosolimitanus . et prior hospitalis de ierusalem cum labore et merore ad . H[enricum]. Regem in angliam uenerunt . auxilium et consilium humiliter ab eo petentes . quos ipse non tam gloriose et deuote suscepit . ut decuit et debuit . 7

Henry II was clearly not well-liked in southern Scotland at the time, despite the fact that he restored the honour of Huntingdon to the Scottish royal house in the same year. The chronicler was clearly shocked by the news of the battle of Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, and his account of the events is accurate and well-informed:

Turci dei inimici nazaream ecclesiam Sancte marie uiolauerunt . et multos occiderunt . et magister hospitalis ibi occisus est cum . v . militibus et aliis multis . in die apostolorum philippi et Iacobi . Rex babilonis Saladinus cum . lxxx . milibus militum et eo amplius sequenti die ueneris post festum apostolorum petri et pauli ierosolimitani regni terram inuasit . et tyberiam ui cepit . Contra quos rex ierosolimitanus cum suis processit ad bellum uersus tabarum per dietam unam . Cumque ad eminentem et saxosum uenissent locum . ibi uero imminentibus hostibus undique necessitate compulsus rex de baronum consilio bellum committere dignum duxit . In quo loco Saladinus rex cum tubis et infinita multitudine bellatorum in christianos qui propter loca saxosa et inuia pugnare non poterant assultum fecerunt .

7. Ibid., 45

et eos omni bellandi genere impugnauerunt et expugnauerunt . Tandem Tochedinus Saladini nepos regem fugam arripientem et crucem dominici ligni cepit . Ceteri omnes fere confracti . capti . et trucidati . et uinculi mancipati sunt . Saladinus statim milicie templi et hospitalis milites segregari fecit ab aliis . et coram se decapitari . Ipse propria manu principem Reinaldum de castellione interfecit . et fratrum de templo ut in ueritate dicunt eodem die . cc^{tlis} . et . xxx . decollatis . exceptis illis . d.c . qui prima die maii interempti fuerunt . 8

The writer's attention to details of dates and numbers is noteworthy. There was a battle near Nazareth on 1 May 1187, in which a small number of Hospitallers and a greater number of Templars were killed; contemporary Holy Land sources speak of ninety Templars, so perhaps the Melrose Chronicle's DC, 600, is a mistake for XC; if so, it would seem to indicate that the chronicler was copying from a written source.⁹ The details of the Hattin campaign are similarly meticulous; Saladin crossed the Jordan on 1 July, and the right wing of his army was commanded by his nephew Taki-ad-Dīn (Tochedinus in the chronicle); Saladin's treatment of the Templars and Hospitallers, and his personal decapitation of Reginald de Châtillon, are well known.¹⁰

Sadly, the Melrose writer's attention to details of Scottish involvement in the subsequent events is less full. He describes how kings Henry and Philip took the cross, and how at a council at Geddington (Gaeitun) post purificationem beate marie (2 February; the council was held on 11 February)

8. Ibid., 45-6

9. Runciman, History of the Crusades, II, 453

10. Ibid., 455-60

many of his nobles took the cross, and he ordered the "Saladin Tithe" to be collected. But the Melrose writer makes no mention of William I's meeting with the bishop of Durham between Birgham and Wark in the summer of 1188, at which William and his nobles refused to pay the tithe unless Henry withdrew his garrisons from Scottish royal castles.¹¹ And while the chronicler notes the drowning of Frederick Barbarossa (s.a.1189), William's payment of 10,000 marks to Richard and the departure of the kings and their armies (s.a.1190), he does not mention the presence of the great Scottish landowner Robert de Quincy in Richard's army. This fact clearly has implications for ex silentio arguments about whether or not Earl David or Alan the Steward joined the third crusade.¹² The annal for 1190 also provides a salutary warning against relying too heavily on the Bannatyne Club's edition of the Melrose Chronicle. The manuscript has a passage which reads:

Baldewinus archiepiscopus obiit apud acon die sancti edmundi . et Robertus comes laicestrie antea die sancti egidii obiit ...

This is transcribed nonsensically as "Robertus comes Laicestriae, Anandie, Sancti Egidii, obiit".¹³

It is notable that the Melrose writer, despite his hostility towards Henry II (who, he says, took the cross licet non pure), was favourable towards Richard I. The "Quit-claim

11. Melrose Chronicle, 46; cf. above, Chapter 1, p.

12. Cf. above, Chapter 1, p.85

13. Melrose Chronicle, 47; Bannatyne Club edn., 98

of Canterbury" lifted a iugum graue from the kingdom of Scotland; of Philip's return from the crusade the annalist writes, s.a. 1192:

philippus . rex Gallorum sine dilatione propter cupiditatem . de terra promissionis in franciam reuersus est . et terras . uillas opida et castella Regis anglie in normannia dum esset in custodia imperatoris contra pacem . et pactum . et iusticiam et iuramentum quod iurauit . inique inuasit . cepit et crudeliter destruxit . quasi paganus non christianus

and the writer expresses indignation at King Richard's imprisonment in Germany, while commending King William for sending an ex gratia payment of 2000 marks towards his ransom.¹⁴

After the third crusade, annals referring to the Holy Land and to the crusades become more laconic for a number of years: the death of an unnamed king of Jerusalem (Henry de Champagne), and of the emperor (Henry VI, wrongly called by the annalist Frederick) are noted s.a. 1197; s.a. 1204 appears the following laconic notice of crusading events:

Septem episcopi in terra promissionis renunciauerunt fidei christiane . Baldewinus comes flandrie factus est imperator constantinopolitanus . 15

which does not suggest a great interest on the part of the Melrose writer in the fourth crusade and the events surrounding it; s.a. 1212 is recorded the summons of the fourth Lateran council for the year 1215, while in the meantime bishops and legates a latere were charged to give the cross to all who promised to aid the Holy Land against the saracens.¹⁶

14. Melrose Chronicle, 47-8

15. Ibid., 52

16. Ibid., 56

With the capture of Damietta in 1219 the chronicler's interest in crusading events revived. He noted that event in his annal for 1219, adding "sicut in primo folio uoluminis huius plenius continetur". The binding of the manuscript has evidently been disturbed, as the folio referred to has subsequently been placed immediately following the one with this annal, breaking up the annal for 1221. It begins with a heading in coloured ink:

Qualiter capta est damieta . Anno gratie .m^o.cc^o.xix^o.

This is followed by a letter from Herman of Salza, master of the Teutonic Knights, to Leo, cardinal of Sancte Crucis in Jerusalem, giving his account of events; this breaks off at the bottom of the page, and owing to the displacement of the folios it is uncertain whether it was ever copied in its entirety. It is possible, though uncertain, that other details concerning the taking of Damietta have been lost with the remainder of the letter; the verso of the folio containing the letter is blank, but it is not clear whether the folio has been reversed at some stage, and another folio lost.¹⁷

The following entry appears s.a. 1221:

Eodem anno ciuitas illa famosa quod dicitur damieta nuper a christo . christianis adquisita . sed ab eisdem nimis eneruiter et negligenter custodita . iterum a paganis est obsessa . et in uigilia Decollationis beati iohannis baptiste de potestate christianorum penitus ablata . Quibus tamen meritis uel quo deo iudicio hoc euenerit . ignoratur . Maxime cum iam tempus in dicta ciuitate diuini cultus excellencia magnifice ceperat exaltari .

18

17. Ibid., 72-4

18. Ibid., 74

The writer seems bewildered that God should have allowed the city to be lost in spite of the institution of Christian worship there; his ignoratur is the first example in the Melrose Chronicle of that bewilderment which the unsuccess of the later crusades provoked. The institution of Christian worship in a famous pagan city should have been pleasing to God; and the only possible explanation for its loss seems to be the demerits of the Christians and their spineless and negligent guardianship of the city.

During the following two decades, the chronicle notes briefly some incidents relevant to the crusades. S.a. 1223 is noted the death of King Philip II of France, "in senectute bona et fide catholica"; the chronicle has forgotten his heathenish behaviour towards Richard I's Norman possessions as it complacently recounts his generosity, bequeathing in his will 50,000 pounds of Paris each to the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the king of Jerusalem. In the same year, the annalist notes the visit of the latter king, John de Brienne, to London, "cum rege anglie et magnatibus super arduis negocijs locuturus".¹⁹ S.a. 1238, we find:

Hic primo auditur in terra nostra quod nefandus exercitus tartareorum multas terras vastavit quod utrum uerum sit in subsequentibus apparebit.

The hand which has added this sentence to the main body of the annal is probably the same as that which composed the annal for 1244. This contains extensive accounts from two contemporary letters describing the loss of Jerusalem and

19. Ibid., 76-7

the battle of Gaza. The first letter, addressed to pope Innocent IV, was sent from the patriarch and the queen of Jerusalem, the archbishop of Tyre, the bishops of Acre, Sidon and Lydda, the masters of the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, Odo de Montbeliard constable of Jerusalem, and Philip de Montfort lord of Toron: it is dated at Acre, 21 September 1244. It may well be the most closely contemporary detailed account of the capture of Jerusalem by the Khwarismians in 1244; this appears to be the unique copy of the letter, and it contains information found in no other source. It has been used by modern historians as a major primary source for the events which it describes.²⁰ It describes how the Khwarismians, having been driven from their homes by the Mongols, were invited to invade the Holy Land by Ayyūb, sultan of Egypt, and to attack the kingdom of Jerusalem and the Syrian sultanates with which the kingdom had alliances. The Syrian sultans bought off the Mongols themselves, who had penetrated as far as the Orontes near Antioch; but on 11 July the Khwarismians stormed Jerusalem, taking the city and driving the garrison and the surviving inhabitants into the citadel. The latter appealed to the clerical and lay lords of the kingdom at Acre, who in turn asked the sultan of Kerak, Nassarus (an-Nasīr Dawūd) to negotiate a safe-conduct for the citizens; this was done through the mediation of a Dominican friar. On 23 August 6000 Christians left Jerusalem for the coast,

20. Ibid., 86; cf. Runciman, op.cit., III, 224-7

of whom barely 300 reached Jaffa in safety; 2000 were killed in a Khwarismian ambush, and others were lost along the way. After they had gone, the Khwarismians entered Jerusalem and massacred all the Christians who had chosen to remain, desecrating the churches and holy places of the city. The letter ends with an appeal to the pope to do what he thinks best for the speedy succour of the Holy Land.²¹

Worse was to follow. A Christian army hurried south from Acre to oppose the Khwarismians, but could not prevent them from joining the Egyptian forces of Ayyūb, which had advanced to Gaza. On 17 October the combined Egyptian-Khwarismian army destroyed the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem and its Syrian allies at Gaza. These events are the subject of a second, much shorter, letter, which the Melrose annalist has entered s.a. 1244. It is from "E. humilis arch' ciren" addressed to "John and Andrew, religious men dwelling across the sea", and is undated. Ciren' might be taken as a misreading of tiren', i.e. Tyre; but the archbishop of Tyre was killed at the battle of Gaza, which the letter describes. Possibly the author was the archdeacon of Tyre, or alternatively ciren' might be a misreading of cipren', i.e. Cyprus; certainty seems impossible. The writer tells John and Andrew that if they seek information concerning the terrible rumours of events in the Holy Land, they should intercept the prior of the Hospital, who bears letters to Louis IX of France on the subject; these letters

21. Melrose Chronicle, 91-5

give details of the losses sustained by the military orders and the knighthood of the kingdom of Jerusalem at the battle on 17 October.²²

It is impossible now to reconstruct how these two letters came into the hands of a monk of Melrose, who copied them into the chronicle s.a. 1244, and also appears to have advertised them by an addition to the annal for 1238. Perhaps "John and Andrew, religious men dwelling across the sea" (i.e., across the sea from Outremer) were French Cistercians who obtained copies of letters relating to Holy Land events at the court of Louis IX. They occur at a point in the Melrose Chronicle at which the regular annalistic structure tends to break down; while five pages of the manuscript contain copies of letters (in a single hand) relating to events in the Holy Land, they are followed by nine pages in a much more cursive hand (which must have been quite "modern" for its time) relating to relations between Pope Innocent IV and the emperor Frederick II. After a single interpolated folio, the manuscript resumes a regular annalistic framework with the annal for 1246. "Untidily kept by [Abbot Matthew's] predecessor, it drifted into a pastiche of newsletters from the continent for 1244-5. What we have from 1246 is a fair copy, made in or just after 1253, of the chronicle of Matthew's abbacy, doubtless kept year by year in draft".²³ Without necessarily wishing to follow Professor

22. Ibid., 95

23. Duncan, Making of the Kingdom, 460

Duncan's judgement that the section showing most interest in the goings-on in the Holy Land is an "untidy pastiche", it remains nonetheless true that the following section, the last part of the chronicle proper, is a carefully digested piece of composition by comparison. It is interesting to wonder whether the Holy Land references of the years 1246-58 are derived from epistolary sources such as those which emerge s.a. 1219 and 1244; the same speculation would be equally valid for the earlier section of the chronicle as well.

The emergence of these letters shows clearly how information on this subject could reach Scotland through the vehicle of a cosmopolitan religious order like the Cistercians; and in these cases the information was considered to be of sufficient interest for the letters to have been copied out in full.

Bearing in mind that they may be derived from epistolary sources, such as those quoted in full in earlier sections of the manuscript, it is worth noting the following records of crusading events in the Melrose Chronicle between 1246 and 1263:

1248. Nobilissimus rex francorum lodowicus et multi alij tam nobiles quam ignobiles natale solum pro christo relinquentes ierosolimam profecti sunt qui ad insulam cypri uenientes ibidem yemauerunt . In eodem itinere dominus patricius comes de dunbar migravit de hac luce . Cui successit dominus patricius filius eius .
1249. Rex francorum lodowicus cypricam insulam deserens ad illam famosam damietam deuenit quam uiriliter debellans interfectis hostibus cepit et cum suo exercitu . xi . kal . iulii introiuit .

1250. Cum cuncta prospera euenissent exercitui christianorum ob superbia precipue ut fertur francorum traditur milicia christianorum paganis qui uictoria potiti uicto, marked for deletion / feria sexta in prima ebdomada quadragesime non sine maxima iactura suorum miserabile cede christianos affecerunt ipsum eciam regem francie apprehendentes uiuum adduxerunt . et aliquanto tempore apud se honestissime retinuerunt . ac postea redempcione datis et trebis inter se compositis liberrime repatriare permiserunt . Post autem discessum regis pagani damietam intrantes et templa cum simulachris suis subuersa cernentes ultra modum irati fractis trebis omnes christianos quos inuenire potuerunt diuerso mortis genere peremerunt . Hiis auditis rex acon rediit ibique a cruce signatis auxilium expectauit .

1254. Rex francie a ierosolimis repatriauit . 24

These are the latest relevant entries in the chronicle itself, which ends abruptly in 1263.

It is followed, however, by a continuation, which was composed at Melrose and contains much information of interest to historians of the crusading movement.²⁵ Most of the continuation as it stands (and it is uncertain how much has been lost at the end, as the manuscript breaks off in the middle of a word at the end of a folio) is occupied by a quasi-hagiographical account of the life of Simon de Montfort, which is very hostile to Henry III and Lord Edward.²⁶ This is followed immediately, almost certainly in the same hand, by a new annal:

ANno domini . M^o . CC^o . lxix^o . Gloriosum principem Regem Francie euntem uersus terram sanctam uiolencia uentorum in mari grece ab itinere extulit incepto ad exteram nacionem quam cum intrasset cognoscens quod regio esset barbarie regem eius sibi subiugauit et metropolitanam eius ciuitatem inclitam ualde robustam atque populosam obsedit et obsessam cepit . Ista ciuitas Tunis nomine cum aliis ciuitatibus illius regionis regi francie singulis annis magnum reddit tributum cuius incole unum deum altissimum colunt non trinum in personis

24. Melrose Chronicle, 107-111

25. The continuation occupies pp.119-22 and 125-48 of the Melrose Chronicle. It is discussed by the editors in ibid., pp. xvi-xx.

26. Ibid., 125-44; discussed in ibid., pp.xix-xx

ideo parcebatur illis ne interficerentur a francis
 qui colunt unum deum sine lege iudeorum . duo episcopi
 sunt in illa regione . Subiecta itaque regione barbarie
 regi francie cum idem rex uersus propria rediret una cum
 rege nauernie mortui sunt ambo in uia cum quibus obiit
 dauid comes atholie in illa peregrinacione . Successit
 lodowico in regnum philippus filius eius 27

This could not be described as a reliable primary source for the events which it describes; they are placed under the wrong year (lege A.D. 1270), and both Louis' reasons for attacking Tunis and the extent of the crusaders' success there are misinterpreted. What is of interest is the chronicler's description of Islam; as a Scottish attempt to understand Islamic belief, rather than to malign Muslims as idolaters or polytheists (almost a total reversal of the truth), this passage is unique. The writer was impressed to learn that Muslims acknowledge one God, though not in three persons, and in a way that was distinct from the Jewish law. This is perhaps a faint reflection of the change in attitude towards Islam which is perceptible throughout Europe in the second half of the thirteenth century, less intolerant and more inquisitive than before.²⁸

The above annal is also of importance for Scottish historians in that it shows that David de Strathbogie earl of Atholl died at Tunis in the army of Louis IX; this makes it clear that Scottish participation in the crusade of 1270 was not simply an adjunct to the English expedition of Lord Edward and his brother. This is implied also by Fordun and by such later and less reliable writers as Boece, but the Melrose

27. Ibid., 144

28. Cf., for instance, Runciman, op.cit., III, 279-80

Chronicle is our best and most closely contemporary authority for it. This section of the chronicle may well have been composed 1286 x 1290.

The last two folios of the chronicle which survive are devoted largely to crusading events, but take a rather different viewpoint from the bulk of the continuation. They are devoted to an account of Lord Edward's sojourn in the Holy Land in 1271-2, and recount his actions in praiseworthy terms which are rather difficult to reconcile with the fiercely anti-Plantagenet life of Simon de Montfort which has preceded them. Edward himself is described in glowing terms as miles bello doctissimus and as iuuenis ualidissimus gloriosus christi miles eduardus; but the chronicler's attitude to his father is rather self-contradictory:

semper pacifice et tranquille regimina regionis
gubernarat anglicane . donec male suasus erat enim
bestialis homo sed religiosus a consiliaribus
infelicibus

29

The Chronicler describes how Edward, having arrived at Acre, was unable to embark on any daring or difficult military exploit because of the small number of crusaders and knights of the kingdom that were available; instead he lodged within one of the towers of Acre. His only venture was a successful raid on a bedouin caravan in the Plain of Sharon, beneath the walls of the fortress of Qaqun (Caconia). The chronicler records the crusaders' only loss in this expedition, the capture of Nicholas, esquire of the Scottish knight Alexander de Seton, who became separated from the Christian army while relieving

himself. The Melrose Chronicle provides perhaps our most detailed account of this encounter, and may come from an eyewitness.³⁰ It also mentions the death at Acre of Adam de Kilconquhar earl of Carrick.

The chronicler is anxious to exculpate Lord Edward for any blame for the overall failure of the crusade of 1270-2. Edward was quasi flos totius mundi in strenuitate rei militaris; but he had insufficient help from the Christians, largely because of the distractions of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily, who took substantial bribes from the Saracens to hinder the crusade. The last part of the manuscript to survive describes the attempt on Edward's life by a saracen emir (admiraldus; actually an Assassin in disguise) who came to him seeking baptism, gained admission to the prince's presence, and stabbed him with a poisoned dagger. The event became famous in England, and his survival after the attack contributed greatly to Edward's prestige; evidently it had some currency in Scotland as well, and may suggest why Edward was so highly regarded and so well trusted until the early 1290s. The manuscript breaks off in mid-word at the end of a folio, and it is uncertain how much has been lost after this point.³¹

Is it possible to make generalisations about attitudes to crusades and crusaders in the Melrose Chronicle? It must be remembered that the work was composed over a period of more than a century; but a surprising uniformity of attitude exists none the less, which is perhaps a reflection of the

30. Ibid., 145-6; cf. Chapter 2, pp.155-6 above.

31. Ibid., 147-8

strength of Cistercian ideals. St Bernard of Clairvaux had been a great advocate of crusading, and this favourable attitude is shared by the Melrose writers throughout. There is no trace of the disillusionment of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, or the close questioning of motivations of William of Malmesbury.³² Some of the hands in the chronicle display an anti-English bias, such as the interpolated folio 53 dealing with major events in Anglo-Scottish relations; and separate writers were critical of Henry II and of Henry III for his treatment of Simon de Montfort. But when it comes to recounting crusading events national bias is laid aside, and English and French kings are treated with scrupulous fairness. Henry II's motives in taking the cross in 1188 were impure, as witness his subsequent war with France; Richard I, on the other hand, was noble and statesmanlike to come to terms with William I, and behaved nobly on crusade; Philip II of France was unchristian to invade Normandy while Richard was a prisoner in Germany. Louis IX could only be admired by a Cistercian chronicler, but his brother Charles king of Sicily was a betrayer (proditor) of the crusaders; and, despite the writer's admiration for Simon de Montfort and his criticism of Henry III, bestialis homo ... male suasus ... a consiliaribus infelicibus, he can only praise the Lord Edward, who was at the height of his prestige at the time when the last section of the chronicle was probably written. It says much for their interest in the events of the crusades that the various writers of the Melrose Chronicle devoted so much space towards

32. See above, p.372-3, cf. B. Smalley, Historians in the Middle Ages. (London, 1974), 90-1

recording them; and it says something for their adherence to its cosmopolitan ideal that in treating of crusading events, these writers were able to overcome any personal or national prejudices which they may have felt. At one point the chronicler is at a loss to explain the failure of the Christians when their acts should have been pleasing to God; elsewhere failure can be explained by the sinfulness of the crusaders, either in general (e.g. superbia francorum) or in particular (e.g. the perfidy of Charles of Anjou). There is only one slight trace of any interest in the beliefs of the Christians' enemies in the Holy Land; that may seem regrettable to modern minds, but perhaps it is what we should expect from a Cistercian chronicle written at the opposite end of Europe.

The only other Scottish monastic chronicle to survive from this period, the so-called Holyrood Chronicle, appears in its present form also to be a Cistercian document; though probably commenced at the Augustinian abbey of Holyrood, the latter part of it seems to have been composed at the Cistercian monastery of Coupar Angus.³³ By comparison with the Melrose Chronicle, or indeed with almost any other monastic chronicle, it is a disappointing work, consisting largely of laconic annals. From c.1150 it contains longer and more original annals down to 1189, where it breaks off; up until 1164 these annals seem to have originated at Holyrood, but thereafter Coupar Angus and Cistercian influences predominate. In spite of this, accounts of Holy Land and crusading events are few and slender:

33. Holyrood Chronicle, 9

1157. Fratres plures Templi Jerosolimorum in prelio corruerunt.
1187. ... die sabbati, factum est discrimen belli inter Christianos et paganos, et capta est crux vera Jerosolimis, et Christianitas graviter confusa. Eodem anno a domno papa missus est Henricus episcopus et cardinalis, quondam abbas Clarevallis, ad Philippum regem et ad Henricum regem Anglie. Qui, audita apostolica mandatione, et comperta totius sancte ecclesie necessitate, deo inspirante, pariter crucem sumpserunt et multi alii cum eis. Set statim post ea Henricus rex Anglie, deposita cruce, solita werre machinamenta intulit Philippo regi Francie, et in subsequenti anno obiit, scilicet anno ab incarnatione domini mclxxxix; et Ricardus filius ejus successit in regnum. 34

The chronicle ends in 1189, so it contains no account of the third crusade. However, like the Melrose Chronicle, it contains additional material, and one item of this is of considerable interest.

The additional material consists of the following:

- (1) an annal for 1285 (lege 1286) recording the death of King Alexander III.
- (2) a detailed account of events in the Holy Land in 1266.
- (3) a list of battles of the Scottish wars of independence, 1296-1318.
- (4) two annals recording the recovery and loss of Berwick by the Scots in 1355-6. ³⁵

Item (2) is of interest as being the only extended and detailed description of events in the Holy Land in the Holyrood

34. Ibid., 131-2, 171-2

35. Ibid., 172-81

Chronicle. Its source is unknown: "it may have been a letter. Details at the end suggest that the author of the original may have been a Hospitaller, or someone connected with the Hospital".³⁶ It describes how, in the summer of 1266, the sultan of Babylon (Baibars Bunduqdari) devastated the lands around Acre, Tyre and Sidon, Tamen predictus soldanus dominum terre Tyri fratrem suum appelavit. He then besieged Safed, whose fratres et custodes (i.e., Templars and lay knights) agreed terms of surrender that they should be allowed to leave with life and limb intact. But when they marched out Baibars fell upon them, massacring 1700 men, exclusive of women and children (who were also slain), and others qui legi dei renunciaverunt et ad legem de Machmet se tenuerunt (who were not).³⁷ Baibars then marched into the county of Tripoli, capturing the fortresses of Goliad and Arches, and on into Armenia. From both areas he sent prisoners back into Egypt (Babylonia), before returning himself to Damascus. After he had withdrawn, the military orders and knights of Acre raided Tiberias, and took great spoil; et fratres Hospitalis columbam eorum cum litteris de facto suo ad hospicium miserunt. The Christian army was ambushed on its return journey by saracens, who seized the spoil, et cclii milites, tam de Hospitali quam de aliis, interfecerunt. This happened only two leagues from Acre.³⁸

36. Ibid., Introduction, 48

37. Ibid., 173-5, and nn.

38. Ibid., 175-7

The reference to the Hospitallers' carrier-pigeon, and the subsequent reference to "knights of the Hospital and of other [orders]", makes it very likely that this information came from a Hospitaller source, very possibly a letter like those inserted into the Melrose Chronicle. The editors of the Holyrood Chronicle consider, on internal manuscript evidence, that "the events of ... 1266 were entered at Coupar".³⁹ This passage owes nothing to the Melrose Chronicle or to any English chronicle, whose writers "at this time were chiefly concerned with Simon de Montfort".⁴⁰ But it was these events which precipitated the crusade of 1270-2, and we have seen that Scottish interest and participation in that event was not simply an off-shoot of English involvement.⁴¹ This passage inserted into the Holyrood Chronicle, probably from a Hospitaller source and finding its way into a Scottish Cistercian chronicle, shows how these cosmopolitan institutions could be vehicles for information coming into Scotland at a time when the events they describe were attracting little attention from Scotland's southern neighbour.

Between the point where the Melrose and "Holyrood" chronicles end, shortly before the outbreak of the wars with England, and the late fourteenth century, there is a curious gap in historical writing from Scotland. From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards there is a continuous tradition of

39. Ibid., Introduction, 47-8

40. Ibid., 48

41. above, Chapter 2, pp.136-40

historiography; but much of it is concerned with events far in the past, and some late medieval Scottish chroniclers display an interest in crusading.

One writer whose concern for the past did not stretch back beyond the lifetime of King Robert I was John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, author of the magnificent vernacular verse epic The Bruce.⁴² Barbour's aim was to provide a heroic account of Robert I's life and adventures, and those of his companion-in-arms Sir James Douglas. Possibly Barbour was imitating Carolingian romance in his portrayal of Bruce, and the parallel is directly made in his story of Bruce recounting the "Roman de Fierebras" to his fugitive troops on Loch Lomondside in 1306 as the English closed in on them.⁴³ Both Bruce's and Barbour's audiences would have had no difficulty in equating the small Scots army with the Christian knights of Charlemagne, and the vastly greater English forces with the Saracen hordes of Babylon. Thus there seemed no contradiction in a great "nationalist" leader like Bruce declaring on his deathbed that he had always desired to leave his native land and fight in the cosmopolitan war of Christendom against Goddis fayis. Barbour was just as proud of King Robert's posthumous crusade as he was of any of his "national" achievements, and viewed Sir James Douglas's "martyrdom" in Granada as the crowning glory of a distinguished career. Barbour is our principal source for Douglas's crusade;

42. John Barbour, The Bruce, ed. W. M. Mackenzie (London, 1909)

43. *Ibid.*, 46-7

his account is full of details about what Douglas said and did, and the names of his companions, but has no dates.⁴⁴ Probably Barbour drew his information from eyewitness accounts gathered some years after the events themselves; his details agree well with Spanish accounts of the Battle of Teba de Hardales in August 1330, which do not mention Douglas by name. It is worth noting that Barbour is very nearly the only medieval source which does not state that Bruce wished his heart to be carried to the Holy Land, which clearly was his intention; presumably Barbour has suppressed mention of the heart's destination because his hero Douglas never got there. The details of Barbour's account are discussed in Chapter three above.⁴⁵

Barbour regarded participation in a crusade, or even the desire to do so, as contributing to the glory of an individual who was praiseworthy for other reasons (some of which might appear, to modern eyes at least, to be contrary to the crusading ideal). This attitude also seems to have been expressed in his lost genealogy of the Stewarts, the Stewarts Origynale, in which he carried disregard for chronology to the extent of making Alan son of Walter (died c.1204) accompany Godfrey de Bouillon to the siege of Antioch (1097-8). It is uncertain whether this is a garbled reference to the fact that the Stewarts' Breton ancestor Alan fitz Flaald was with Robert of Normandy on the first crusade,

44. Ibid., 364-377

45. Chapter 3, pp.180-93

or whether it should be taken as evidence that Alan son of Walter joined the third crusade, for which there may be some indirect evidence.⁴⁶ Whatever the truth, there is no doubt what Barbour thought about crusading.

John Barbour's contemporary, John of Fordun, wrote a nationalistic Latin prose history known as the Chronica Gentis Scottorum.⁴⁷ This is almost entirely mythical before the twelfth century, and from 1153 consists of a series of brief annals (or gesta annalia) which Fordun apparently intended to use as notes for the compilation of a full chronicle. He had access to the writings of Ailred of Rievaulx, the Melrose and Holyrood Chronicles, and other contemporary sources which do not survive. Fordun's interest in the crusades is limited, and only incidental to the "national" history which he is concerned to record. Thus the financial demands of the legate Ottobon and the collector Baiamund receive more attention than the means they were supposed to serve.⁴⁸ When Fordun does describe crusading events, he is sometimes inaccurate:

Anno Domini MCCLXXJ Lodivucus rex Franciae, postquam insulam quandam maximam, nomine Barbariam, super Sarracenos debellatos acquisierat, cum filio suo primogenito, Lodovico nomine, in fata discessit, et cum eis populus multus Christianorum. Inter quos David comes Atholiae et Adam comes de Carryk, et alii quamplures nobiles Scotorum et Anglorum. Reliquit enim Adam comes de Carryk unicum filiam, tantum

46. R. L. G. Ritchie, The Normans in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1954), 280 and nn.

47. John of Fordun, Chronica Gentis Scottorum, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, Historians of Scotland, 1871)

48. Ibid., 303-4, 306

heredem, Martham nomine, quae sibi successit in suum
dominium et comitatum. 49

He goes on to describe her marriage to Robert Bruce, son of the Lord of Annandale. This paragraph abounds in errors: the crusade took place in 1270; "Barbary" is not an island; St. Louis's eldest son Louis had died ten years earlier; Adam earl of Carrick died at Acre; and he was succeeded not by his daughter Martha but by his widow Marjorie. It is from Fordun that the story of her imprisonment of, and violent marriage to, the young Bruce is derived. It is important to remember that from 1153 onwards Fordun's Chronica as it is now is basically a rough draft.

For the crusade of Douglas in 1330 Fordun has some valuable details, such as the date of his death (25 August 1330), which accords well with Spanish sources, and the fact that the Moorish army was divided in two, which agrees with the Spanish accounts and with Barbour. As Fordun describes it, Sir James routed the army of a soldanus, and was returning to the crusaders' camp when he caught sight of alius soldanus and his army, against whom he launched a furious (and seemingly suicidal) charge. Within fifty years of the events Douglas was beginning to appear as a Scottish kamikaze crusader; possibly the later mythology surrounding Douglas's death all has its origins in the elaborations of John of Fordun.⁵⁰

49. Ibid., 304

50. Ibid., 353-4; cf. Chapter 3, pp.190-3, above

One late fifteenth-century manuscript of Fordun's Chronica, preserved now in Trinity College, Dublin, contains a curious divergence from all the other manuscripts.⁵¹ It consistently asserts that Earl David was older than his brother William, and should have succeeded on Malcolm IV's death in 1165, but was absent on crusade. It is worth setting the relevant passage from Fordun and the Dublin MS side by side:

Fordun

Willelmus, frater ejus
major,
totius regni custos ab eis
invito rege, constitutus est
fratre suo minore,
comite David, comite de
Huntingdoune,
in Angliae partibus existente.

Dublin MS

Willelmus, frater ejus,
et omnium fratrum junior,
totius regni custos ab eis
invito rege, constitutus est,
fratre suo seniore digniorique,
comite David de
Huntingdoune,
in partibus transmarinis cum
gradi exercitu contra inimicos
Christi versu Sarracenos
pugnante, ut historia de ipso
compilata ad longum oppulenter
approbat. 52

Skene suggested that this represents an early version of the Chronica which Fordun later corrected. The fact that this is a paper manuscript of c.1470 does not invalidate that suggestion; an erroneous tradition that David was older than William, but was not made king on Malcolm's death because he was absent on crusade, was in existence when Andrew de Wyntoun was writing soon after 1400.⁵³ But it is also possible that the

51. Ibid., p. xxix; the manuscript is in fact about 100 years earlier than as described by Skene. It is now Trinity College Dublin MS 498.

52. Fordun, Chronica, 257

53. Andrew de Wyntoun, The Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, ed. D. Laing (Edinburgh, Historians of Scotland, 1872-9), II, 313

Dublin MS represents an eccentric late-fourteenth century tradition which is independent of Fordun, but which was inserted into a manuscript of the Chronica of which the Dublin MS is our only copy. It is tantalising to wonder what is the Historia de ipso compilata; it cannot be a late interpolated reference to Boece's Historia. As has been seen, it is very doubtful whether Earl David was ever on crusade, either in 1165 or in 1190.⁵⁴

Andrew of Wyntoun compiled his Orygynale Cronykil, in vernacular octosyllabic couplets, in the years immediately preceding and following 1400. The Cronykil contains a good deal of non-Scottish material, especially in its earlier parts, and there are accounts of the crusades of 1095, 1190, and 1248. The first crusade is hailed as a great event, and Duke Robert of Normandy is berated for refusing the crown of Jerusalem in the hope of acquiring that of England; King Philip of France is condemned for abandoning the third crusade and breaking his compact with Richard by invading his territory; Wyntoun's account of the crusade of 1248, and the wrath of the Egyptians when they re-entered Damietta and found that the mosques had been profaned, seems to be derived from the Melrose Chronicle.⁵⁵ Wyntoun has no details about the crusade of Sir James Douglas in 1330, referring his readers to "Barbour's Book" (i.e. The Bruce) for full information. Wyntoun also records the death in the Holy Land c.1347 of Alan de Wyntoun, probably a

54. Chapter 1, pp.91-3

55. Wyntoun, Cronykil, II, 160-1, 218-20, 252

relative.⁵⁶ He seems to be sceptical about the supposed crusade of Earl David.⁵⁷

Both Wyntoun and Fordun were "nationalist" historians, who treated of crusading events in passing; Wyntoun perhaps allowed himself longer diversions on the subject than Fordun, and tended to be fairer towards the English (as in his condemnation of Philip II). For neither of them were the crusades a major theme worthy of very extensive digressions.

For substantial diversions on the crusades, we must turn to Walter Bower's amplification and continuation of the Chronica of Fordun known as the Scotichronicon, written in the 1430s. Bower was concerned less with telling a continuous history than with cramming in as much information on as wide a range of subjects as possible, in a way that is reminiscent of the Specula of Vincent of Beauvais, which Bower used extensively. Much of Bower's material for non-Scottish events is taken from Vincent, and it is significant that when the Speculum Historiale comes to an end in the mid-thirteenth century, Bower's continental information becomes much sparser. Bower was a moralist, for whom the crusades were definitely A Good Thing. He regarded Robert Curthose as being justly punished for refusing the crown of Jerusalem, and allowed himself a pious outburst over the capture of Jerusalem by the princes of Christendom:

56. Ibid., II, 375-6, 479

57. Ibid., II, 313

O quantum distant moderni principes et commilitones
 ab illis qui tunc fuerunt, qui Sancto Spiritu afflati,
 in unaquaque quasi provincia centeni et milleni, ad
 huiusmodi transitus expeditionem, se cruce signarent! 58

Bower follows his account of the first crusade with a digression de virtute quinque locorum Jerusalem from the "Revelations" of St Birgitta of Sweden, and an account of the salvation of her son Charles, who was knighted at the Holy Sepulchre (so Bower has heard) by Sir William Lindsay of the Byres. These digressions have been inserted in the chronicle, we are told,

ut lectores avidius aspirent ad tam salubrem expeditionem
 subeundem; quam multum impediunt Anglici,

who attack their neighbours on all sides.⁵⁹

Bower does not content himself with only this account of the first crusade, for later in the Scotichronicon he has another version of the same events, drawn mainly from William of Malmesbury, who in turn depended heavily on Fulcher of Chartres.⁶⁰ Bower has a few details of Holy Land events of the first half of the twelfth century, drawn in part from Sigebert of Gembloux, and a short account of the second crusade and the capture of Lisbon:

Navalis Dei exercitus ex Anglia, Scotia, Flandria,
 et Lotharingia collectus, pridie Idus Aprilis de
 Tremundo portu Angliae cum ducentis fere navibus
 profectus, quarto Kal. Julii in vigilia apostolorum
 Petri et Pauli Ulusbonam applicuit et eam post

58. Walter Bower, Scotichronicon Johannis de Fordun cum Supplementis et Continuacione, ed. W. Goodall (Edinburgh, 1759), I, 279-81

59. Ibid., I, 281-2

60. Ibid., I, 413-20

quatuor mensium obsidionem per multas caedes,
 Dei virtute et sua industria capiunt. 61

It is of interest to note that Bower was aware of the presence of Scots at the siege of Lisbon independently of the De Expugnacione Lyxbonensi and Otto of Freising, whom he does not use. He has a lengthy account of the disasters in the Holy Land in 1187 and of the third crusade; and his account of Phillip II's conduct is much more favourable than that of earlier Scottish historians. 62

For the later crusades Bower becomes even more notably Francophile. St Louis and his exploits are described in glowing terms, while Lord Edward's crusade is passed over in a few words:

Princeps Angliae Edwardus de Langschankis vulneratus
 fuit a quodam Sarraceno in civitate Achon, quem propterea
 propriis manibus de lecto exiliens virilliter jugulavit. 63

This is certainly laconic by Bower's standards, and the use of the uncomplimentary nickname "Longshanks" detracts effectively from virilliter later in the same sentence. For the later middle ages, once Vincent of Beauvais ceases, Bower has less to say about the crusading movement and related events; he records the death of Sir James Douglas in Spain in words which are mostly, but not all, borrowed from Fordun, adding some Latin verses which include the information that Douglas died apud Castrium Tibris, i.e., Teba de Hardales; and he records David II's interest in the crusade, without directly linking him with

61. *Ibid.*, I, 431-438 passim, 440

62. *Ibid.*, I, 492-506

63. *Ibid.*, II, 111-13

King Peter II of Cyprus.⁶⁴ The presence of the Scottish knights Norman and Walter Leslie at the storming of Alexandria in 1365 is mentioned in passing in a note in the Coupar Angus MS of the Scotichronicon.⁶⁵

In the progression from Fordun to Bower can be seen a hardening of anti-English sentiment; this is reflected at its most extreme in another, slightly later, continuation of Fordun's Chronica. The Liber Pluscardensis was drawn up c.1461 by a Scottish veteran of the Hundred Years' War, and is fiercely anti-English. From the mid-twelfth century it contains original material, including a highly original account of the third crusade: according to this, King Richard promised to accompany Philip as his vassal and to remain with him; but he first jilted Philip's sister, whom he had promised to marry, and arrogantly insisted on travelling by himself, "by which unfaithfulness is shown and manifest the natural and innate quality of the English from the earliest times". Philip was deserted by Richard at crucial moments during the crusade, while the latter behaved throughout in an envious, arrogant and deceitful manner; Richard even entered into secret and treasonable negotiations with Saladin, as a result of which, ill and fearing betrayal, Philip withdrew from the Holy Land. Philip's subsequent war on Richard was propter defectum servicii debiti, vel aliter.⁶⁶ History is a useful

64. Ibid., II, 300-02, 380

65. Ibid., II, 488n.

66. Liber Pluscardensis, ed. F. J. H. Skene (Edinburgh, Historians of Scotland, 1877), 36-7

weapon in the hands of the propagandist, and the history of the crusades could be distorted in support of a prejudice in the same way as any other history.

The crusades continued to attract attention from sixteenth-century Scottish historians. The Extracta e Variis Cronicis Scotie, which, despite its name, is largely compiled from the Scotichronicon of Bower, has an account of the first crusade which incorporates some phrases from Sigebert of Gembloux, probably through an intermediate source.⁶⁷ Apart from its colourful and circumstantial account of Earl David's supposed exploits on the third crusade, the Scottorum Historia of Hector Boece is fairly laconic in its description of the crusades and their Scottish participants. In 1248, the Scots who followed Louis IX "war all slayne be pest and swerde in Egipt, and nane of thame returnytt fra that tyme furth"; those who had not learned their lesson, and followed Louis IX again in 1270, "war all slayne in Aphrick throw excessyve heeit and pest".⁶⁸ Sir James Douglas, on the other hand, is made to carry Robert I's heart to the Holy Sepulchre, then "went with his folkis to vthir Cristin princes quhilkis had scharp weris for the tyme aganis the Saracenis ... and be frequent victorijs wan grete honour to all Cristin pepill"; At last Sir James took service with the king of Aragon (sic), and had many victories over the heathen in Spain, until "he became negligent, havand his inymis at

67. Extracta a Variis Cronicis Scotiae, ed. W. B. D. D. Turnbull (Abbotsford Club, 1842), 64-5

68. Hector Boece, The Chronicles of Scotland, trans. John Bellenden (1531) Scottish Text Society, 3rd ser. XIII, ff. 1940-42) II, 209-12; *Ibid.*, 229, 241

contempcioun, throw quhilk he was slayne with all his folkis".⁶⁹ Mixed in with his desire to give Scotland a heroic, Livian history, Boece probably had an attitude to the crusading movement influenced by his friend and teacher Erasmus, who, c.1530, sent him a copy of his critique of the holy war, Consultatio De Bello Turcis Inferendo, with a dedicatory letter.⁷⁰ The Scottorum Historia had appeared as recently as 1527, and, while it shows how Scottish historians were still prepared to exploit the history of the crusading movement to serve their own purposes, it also speaks with a voice which is less confident of the value of crusading than any which had come before, which hints at times at its futility, and whose final judgement on Sir James Douglas is that "oure grete confidence in fortoun ... bringis mony nobill men to deth".⁷¹

The last pre-Reformation historian to be considered, Adam Abell, observant friar of Jedburgh, used Boece's Historia and the Scotichronicon in compiling his own The Roit, or Quhele of Time, but he had none of Boece's doubts about the crusades. Indeed, his attitude is almost a throwback to the fourteenth century, directly equating the English enemy with the enemies of Christ. He improves on Bower's outburst of wonder at the success of the first crusade:

O quhow gret zeill had the cristin men of that thyme,
in regard of thame at now is in the yle of britane,
at nowther for fayth na iustice will fecht, bot gewis
thame all to cowiteis and carnaill life! quhar ar

69. Ibid., II, 297-8

70. Cf. above, Chapter 4, p.267

71. Boece, op.cit., II, 298

the nobill men at wer wont to defend the borduris?
 All ar now to seik: Bot thair ar our mony fosteraris
 of thewis and fals coleigis of the ynglismen. 72

The equation being made in a border town after the disturbed years of James V's minority (the Roit was written c.1537) is striking, and perhaps more in line with the traditional attitude to the crusades of Scottish historical writers than is the more "humanist" attitude of Boece.

The breach with Rome in the middle years of the sixteenth century necessarily brought with it a change in attitude to a movement which was in essence bound up with the papacy. Towards the end of the century, Catholic propagandists reminded Scots of their service to pre-Reformation Christendom; in 1594, Father George Thomson wrote in his De Antiquitate Christianae Religionis apud Scotos:

The Catholic religion ... counted among its adherents men of a physical courage which brought them fame at home and abroad for their military glory ... Of the splendid proof of this valour that they gave in Germany when they fought on the side of Charlemagne ... and afterwards many times in Gaul and Italy ... and also in Palestine itself, we learn from the annals of many nations. 73

Much Scottish post-Reformation Catholicism was francophile and French-based. Some of its propaganda was pseudo-historical, such as L'Ecosse Francaise, published in Paris in 1608 by one A. Houston, and addressed to Henry, Prince of Wales; this contains the story, mentioned in Chapter two above, of how some Scottish crusaders foiled an attempt by the Assassins on the life of Louis IX, and were consequently incorporated as

72. Edinburgh, NLS MS 1746, f.79v. (punctuation is editorial)

73. SHS Misc. II (1904), 130

as the Royal Guard of Scots Archers in France.⁷⁴

A romantic tradition linking Scots with the crusades continued far beyond the early seventeenth century. Its fullest expression is to be found in the novels of Sir Walter Scott; in Guy Mannering he makes a Galloway laird tell an English visitor:

"I wish ye could have heard my father's stories about the auld fights of the Mac-Dingawaies ... wi' the Irish, and wi' the Highlanders, that came here in their berlings from Islay and Cantire -- and how they sent to the Holy Land -- that is, to Jerusalem and Jericho, wi' a' their clan at their heels ... and how they brought hame relics, like those the Catholics have, and a flag that's up yonder in the garret." 75

In The Talisman, Scott took Boece's story about Earl David's exploits at the third crusade, and wove it together with the legend surrounding the "Lee Penny", a talisman supposedly brought from the Holy Land by one of the Lockharts of Lee in the fourteenth century.⁷⁶ In it, Scott makes Earl David say that the Scots and English together "can furnish forth such a body of men-at-arms as may go far to shake

74. Cf. above, Chapter 2, pp.130-1

75. Walter Scott, Guy Mannering (Black Edition, Edinburgh, 1870), 47. The "flag that's up yonder in the garret" must be an allusion to the bratach shithe or fairy banner of Dunvegan, which, according to the traditions of the MacLeods of Dunvegan, was brought back from the Holy Land by a MacLeod crusader. Cf. F. T. MacLeod "Notes on the Relics preserved in Dunvegan Castle", PSAS, XLVII (1913), 99-129, at 111

76. Walter Scott, The Talisman (various editions); Cf. F. M. MacNeill, The Silver Bough: Scottish Folklore and Folk-belief, (Glasgow, 1957), I, 94. The "Lee Penny" is described in PSAS, IV (1860-2), 222

the unholy hold which [Saladin] hath laid upon the cities of Sion".

Perhaps Scott's romantic idealism, standing as it does within a long tradition of a Scottish historiographic attitude to the crusading movement, is not really as far-fetched as it might seem to modern readers in our present desiccated days.

APPENDIX I

SELECTED DOCUMENTS

Appendix I

Selected Documents: Note on the method of editing

Each document is preceded by an abstract which sets out the main points of the document itself. In abstracts, the title fra has been used to translate frater where it refers to members of the military orders. This is in accord with standard modern practice relating to the military orders, and serves to distinguish members of these orders from laymen or brothers of other religious orders.

Then follows the text in full. All suspensions and contractions have been silently extended, except where there is doubt about the scribe's intention, where a raised comma (') is used to mark suspension or contraction. In originals, original punctuation has been strictly reproduced, while for copies, editorial punctuation has been added. I and i have been substituted for vocalic J and j, except at the end of a word, where final j has been reproduced. Proper names, and references to the Deity, have been capitalised. Yogh is reproduced as ȝ, and original u, v, and w have been represented as in the manuscript.

After the text follows a series of notes:

ENDORSED or RUBRIC. A note of any known contemporary, or near contemporary, endorsement, or rubrication if the text is taken from a volume. In some cases it is not known whether the document bears a contemporary endorsement or not.

DESCRIPTION. A full description, stating the material and size of the document (in centimetres), with details of sealing, where available. In some documents of the mid-fifteenth century or later, it has not been felt necessary to provide such full information as for thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts.

SOURCE. The manuscript source(s) of the text.

PRINTED. A note of any previous publication of the text.

TEXTUAL NOTES. Notes on doubtful readings, lacunae, staining, tearing, etc., or any textual peculiarities.

COMMENTS. Elucidation of obscure points in the document, and notes on points of interest.

The documents do not follow in strict chronological order, but are grouped in the order in which they are discussed in the text. Thus numbers 1 and 2 relate to chapter two, numbers 3-6 relate to chapter four, and numbers 7ff. relate to chapter five.

It must be stressed that this is a selection of documents illustrative of the text, and is not meant to be comprehensive, and tends not to include documents of which there exist good and/or readily available editions.

1. Receipt of Ingram de Balliol for the sum of 290 livres tournois by hand of Peter Michael, from King Philip III of France, at Messina in Sicily for himself and his knights, given by the king's special grace. Messina, (?) 30 August 1270.

Ego Engarrandus de Ballolio miles notum facio vniuersis quod ego recepi per manum Petri Michel. ab excellentissimo domino Philippo Dei gracia rege Francorum illustrissimo in Sicilia apud Ciuitatem Messinen' Ducentas et quater viginti et decem lib' turon' pro me et militibus meis in pecunia numerata . quas idem dominus Rex dedit michi et militibus meis . ex gracia speciali dat' die sabbati post annum nouum . anno Domini . M^o CC^o . septuagesimo .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 17.9cm. at top, 18.5cm. at foot, x 6.8cm. at l.h. edge, 6.2cm. at r.h. edge, formerly folded to a depth of 1.7cm.; tag, 0.8cm. wide, with round seal in white wax, bearing an orle.

SOURCE: Paris, Archives nationales J475/77

COMMENTS: The annus novus referred to is probably Philip III's regnal year, which had begun on 26 August (the day after Louis IX's death). I am grateful to Mr. Geoffrey Stell for bringing this document to my notice, and for the suggestion that Ingram de Balliol was probably one of the Balliols of Redcastle in Angus.

2. Charter of Robert de Bruce lord of Annandale, granting to the monastery of Clairvaux, for providing lights at the shrine of St. Malachi, the lands of Esticroft as formerly held by Roger de Willamwode and Geoffrey Collan, in pure and perpetual alms, with freedom from multure at the lord's mills.

(?) Clairvaux, 1273

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Robertus de Brus dominus vallis Anand' dedi . concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Deo et beate Marie ac domui Clarevallis et monachis ibidem Deo seruientibus et inperpetuum seruituris ad sustinendum Luminare coram beato Malachia pro salute anime mee et salute omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam totam terram meam de Esticroft cum rectis et antiquis suis diuisis et pertinenciis

prout Rogerus de WillamWode et Galfridus Collan ipsam terram
 de me quondam tenuerunt . Tenendam et habendam totam terram
 predictam monachis predictis de me et heredibus meis libere .
 quiete . plenarie . Integre et honorifice . sicut aliqua
 elemosina in toto regno Scocie liberius et quocius tenetur
 aut possedetur . In boscis et planis . pratis et pascuis .
 moris et mariscis . turbariis . paunagiis . et omnibus aliis
 aysiamentis que in dicta terra Inueniri poterunt vel excerceri .
 absque omni consuetudine seculari exactione et demanda . volo
 etiam et concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod terra prefata
 libera sit a multura et quod tenentes eandem libere et sine
 contradictione molent in molendinis meis . Ego vero et
 heredes mei predictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinenciis
 ut predictum est prefatis monachis contra omnes homines et
 feminas Warantizabimus . acquietabimus et defendemus inperpetuum .
 Vt autem hec mea donacio et concessio perpetue firmitatis robur
 obtineant presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine ro[bor]au^a .
 Hiis testibus dominis Daudid de Torthorald tunc senescallo
 vallis Anand' . Roberto de Herice . Willelmo de Sancto Michaelle
 militibus . magistro Ada de Kircudbr' . domino Willelmo de
 Duncorri . Willelmo de Corri Ada Hendeman . Ricardo Crispin .
 Willelmo de Are clerico . et Aliis ---

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 26.3cm. at top, 25.9cm. at foot,
 x 11.1cm., folded to a depth of 2.4cm. at l.h. edge, 2.1cm.
 at r.h. edge, slit for tag. Tag, 1.9cm. wide, with complete
 round seal in white wax: diameter 3.2cm., hanging on tag
 approx. 6cm. long. Image of a knight, fully armed and mounted,
 with a sword in his right hand and a shield in his left,
 riding from left to right; part of the legend survives. It
 is probably identical with that described in W.R. Macdonald,
Scottish Armorial Seals (Edinburgh, 1904), no. 270, which
 bears the legend: ESTO . FEROX . VT . LEO .

SOURCE: Troyes, Archives départementales de l'Aube, 3H332

PRINTED: Migne, PL, CLXXXV, part ii, 1759-60

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. stained.

COMMENTS: There can be little doubt that 1273 is the correct
 date of this charter. In that year the abbot of Clairvaux
 petitioned the chapter general at Cîteaux for permission to
 keep a luminare at the shrine of St. Malachi, although this

was contrary to the statutes of the Cistercian order (cf. Migne, PL, CLXXXV, pt. ii, 1759-60). Bruce would have been on his way home from the Holy Land at this time. It is probable, though not certain, that this charter was issued at Clairvaux, and that the witnesses represent Robert's entourage on crusade. Perhaps the former tenants of the lands had died on crusade. The name of the lands granted appears to be Esticroft, i.e. Eastcroft or Eastercroft; presumably these lands are in Annandale. Cf. Bain, CDS, I, nos. 1680-3, which should probably be re-dated to the time of this Robert de Bruce, "the Competitor".

3. James III, having learned of the good qualities of Anselm Adornes and decorated him with the belt of knighthood, creates him a member of his council; mandates the chancellor, his kinsman, or his lieutenant, to receive from him the accustomed oath and to receive him into the council.
Edinburgh, 15 January 1468/9.

Jacobus Dei gracia Rex Scottorum vniuersis et singulis ad quorum noticias presentes Littere peruenerint salutem Inter ceteras regalis magnificencie curas id precipua sollicitudine intendimus vt eas ad nostra consilia personas euocamus quas fama referente et meritis cognouimus prestantiores vt et prudentum consiliis et peritorum Judiciis agenda dirigantur ad fines meliores / Audito igitur fideli testimonio de industria legalitate scientia litteratura fide ac probitate nobilis viri Ancelmi Adornes quem ob strenuitatis et probatis merita nostra manus propria cingulo milicie decorauit eundem in nostrum consiliarum retinuimus et Retinemus per presentes et nostrorum consiliariorum consortio tenore presentium aggregamus Eidemque donamus prerogatiuis et priuilegia nostris consiliarijs competencia quamdiu nostre placuerit voluntati Quocirca dilecto consanguineo et cancellario nostro ac eius locum tenenti presencium tenore damus in mandatis quatinus recepto ab eodem domino Ancelmo solito Juramento ipsum in consiliarum nostrum et ad consilia nostra agendo et pertractando cum aliis consiliariis nostris euocet et admittat / predictisque Juribus prerogatiuis et priuilegiis vti et gaudere faciat / Datum sub nostro secreto sigillo apud Edinburgh decimoquinto die mensis Januarij Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo octauo Et Regni nostri Nono ---

James R a
per regem et consilium b

Scot c

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, cut along bottom right for sealing, privy seal surviving.

SOURCE: Bruges, Stadsarchief, Fonds de Limburg Stirum, 15 January 1469.

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. signed. b. at l.h. foot. c. at r.h. foot, followed by a decorative paraph.

4. Safe-conduct of 'Uthman, king of Tunis, in favour of Anselm Adornes of Flanders, knight of the king of Scotland. Tunis, 5 June 1470

Laus Deo

Manifestum sit illis quibus mandatum nostrum altum visum fuerit, tam nostris alcaytis terre quam maris, post salutem ipsis datam Quod militarem militem regis Scottorum Anselmum Adurnum de Flandria, qui venit cum naue Ludouici de Ingisbertis vobis committimus vt habeatis in reuerencia suam nobilitatem, et eam honoretis in persona, in bonis et omnibus factis et pertinenciis, tali modo quod appareat quod ista singularis recommendacio habeat effectum in eo. Faciantque singuli quod habeat fructum, et contingent quanta mala et damna consequentur qui contrarium fecerint. Salus sit vobis omnibus. Scriptum per altum mandatum, die quinta Iubylei, anno 874.^a

Suprascripta vera sunt, manus regia sic voluit.

SOURCE: Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 330 (MS A); Lille, Bibliothèque des Facultés catholiques de l'Université, MS 1M24 (MS B). This edition from MS A.

PRINTED: Itinéraire d'Anselme Adorno en Terre Sainte, et. J. Heers and G. de Groer (Paris, CNRS, 1978), 138; R: Brunschvig, Deux Récits de Voyage inédits en Afrique du nord au XV^e Siècle (Paris, 1936), 218.

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. MS A reads anno 87; the correct date is supplied from MS B.

COMMENTS: This is a Latin translation of an Arabic document, which according to John Adornes was preserved by his father as a souvenir of his visit to Tunis. Cf. Brunschvig, op.cit., 218, n. 3.

5. James III to Anselm Adornes, knight, lord of Cortachy and conservator of the privileges of Scottish merchants at Bruges. Acknowledges receipt of letters from the duke of Burgundy about the restoration of the goods of Scottish merchants captured by the Portuguese, and requests Anselm to use his discretion in the affair. He is sending herewith John Brown to be instructed in playing the lute, and will cause Scottish merchants to repay him if he has spent any money on Brown or his expenses. Desires him to purchase longer spears for James's use, sent when they come down the Rhine, for which he will be paid by the next ships coming to Bruges. Holyrood, 4 September 1473.

Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scottorum Strenuo nostro et claro militi Anselmo Adornes domino de Cortoquhy preuilegiorum nostrorum mercatorum apud villam Brugensem conseruatori
 Salutem plurimam Deuenire Jamdudum ad nostras manus vestre littere vnacum copiis scriptorum que serenissimus Burgundiorum dux noster clarissimus consanguineus ex magni consilii sui deliberacione pro bonorum per Portugalenses a nostris mercatoribus in dedicionem captis per vim raptorum restitutione immanare decreuit Super qua re vestram ingentem laudamus prudenciam curam et sollicitudinem commendamus
 literas eciam nostras hoc in facto nostro carissimo consanguineo Burgundie duci vobis sue serenitati presentandas transmittimus Ipsarum copiis presentibus inclusis Eapropter hoc in negocio Id agite quod vestre prudencie pro faciliori rerum deduccione conueniencius appareat et utilius videatur Mittimus eciam in presenciarum ad vos nostrum seruatore[m] Johannem Brovne vt in lutina Instruatur et in ea arte proficiat Et si quid peccunie pro eo suisve expensis a vobis impensum fuerit Id omne vobis per nostros gratenter faciemus mercatores persolui Lancias eciam longiores transmissas dum per Renum discenderint ad nostram vsum per vos comparari Cupimus pro quibus vestre prudencie Brugis proxime venientibus nauibus faciemus satisfieri quam conseruet in prosperis Deus gloriosus Ex monasterio nostre Sanctecrucis de Edinburgh iiij Septembris

James R ^a

DESCRIPTION: Paper, unsealed.

SOURCE: Bruges, Stadsarchief, Fonds de Limburg Stirum, 4 September 1472 (recte 1473)

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. stained.

COMMENTS: The date of this letter is fixed by a record of a payment made to John Brown, "lutare", being sent overseas to learn his craft, on 3 September 1473 (TA I, 43)

6. Letter (under the great seal) of James III to Anselm Adornes of Cortachy, appointing him conservator of the privileges of Scottish merchants in the territories of the duke of Burgundy, with power to settle disputes among them and punish offenders, and for his pension to levy from each sack of wool, fells, hides, or the equivalent, what the provosts and bailies of Scottish burghs in Parliament agreed to give him by their sealed letters, with power to distrain on their goods until he has been paid.

Edinburgh, 10 June 1472

Jacobus Dei gracia rex Scottorum, vniuersis et singulis ad quorum noticias presentes litere peruenerint, salutem. Nostre liberalitatis clemenciam ad illos libenter extendimus et eorum dignitatis statum liberali promouemus affectu qui virtutum adnoti suffragiis digna sibi vendicant premia meritorum excolluntur enim sublimius sceptrum Regum et principum magnitudines altius efferuntur, ipsisque cedit ad maioris apicem culminis ad fastigium honoris, fame propagacionem, dum generosos viros magnificis virtutum titulis merito decoratos Regie maiestate officiis ascribunt, et fecundiori plenitudine liberalitate adaugent; Arbitrantes exinde virtuosorum virorum deuociones et affectus actibus feruencius bonis accrescere ad officiosos amplexus prestancius eniti probam Intencionis operam curacius explere ad sollicitudines maiores magnopere pr stancius Incitari; Nos igitur, de fide, legalitate, prudentia, virtute et circumspeccione dilecti nostri et carissimi familiaris Anselmi Adornes de Cortoway militis, quem nostra manus suam ob strenuitatem gladio militari precinxit et ad tanti honoris fastigium erexit, qui nedum apud pontificem summum Christianasque regiones, verum etiam in exteris barbariis sarazenorum et Turchorum nacionibus nos et Regnum nostrum decorauit et honori fuit plurimum confisi; Ipsum effecimus, constituimus et ordinauimus, et tenore presencium facimus, constituimus et ordinamus, dictum Anselmum conseruatorem preuilegiorum nacionis Regni nostri Infra partes ducis Burgundie etcetera, nostri confederati

et consanguinei amantissimi; dantes et concedentes dicto Anselmo conseruatori dictorum preuilegiorum plenariam potestatem et mandatum speciale preuilegia et libertates dicte nostre nacionis per Illustrissimos principes Burgundie duces nostros confederatos et consanguineos concessisse, sustinendi, vtendi et iuxta tenorem seriem dictorum preuilegiorum defendendi, In Iudicioque si necesse fuerit et extra comparendi, Causasque litis et discordias Inter mercatores aliasque personas aut partes quascunque burgorum regni nostri ortas motas siue mouendas audiendi et cum consensu et assensu certorum prouidorum et fidedignorum conburgensium burgorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, Quiquidem conburgenses et fidedigni vocabuntur decidendi, terminandi et sentenciandi, Transgressores et delinquentes puniendi; necnon ad petendum, exigendum, Recipiendum et leuandum pro suo salario vel pensione de quolibet sacco lane, pellium, corriorum et aliorum bonorum corrispondo ad saccum lane et pellium, Id quod prepositi, balliui, consules et mercatores Regni nostri In nostro parlamento Vnanimi consensu et assensu sibi per suas literas sub sigillis communibus dictorum Regni nostri burgorum confectas, et vt in eisdem continetur dare concesserunt; Et si necesse fuerit pro dictis salario et pensione Distringend' siue arrestand' quousque fuerit plenarie solutus et contentus, Et hoc tam Infra stapulum quam extra, quocunque loco in territorio dicti ducis confederati et consanguinei nostri amantissimi; ceteraque omnia et singula facienda, gerenda, exercenda et expedienda que ad officium conseruatoris preuilegiorum dicte nostre nacionis de Jure seu consuetudine dinoscitur pertinere; Reuocandos insuper omnes alios conseruatorios in antea factos, Ratum et gratum, habendum et habiturum quidquid dictus conseruator in premissis Iuste duxerit faciendum. Quare vniuersis et singulis Regni nostri conburgensibus et m rcatoribus, ceterisque ligeis nostris et subditis quorum interest, stricte precipimus et mandamus quatenus dicto Anselmo conseruatori predicto et suis procuratoribus et assignatis, pluribus aut vni, In omnibus et singulis dictum officium concernentibus prompte Respondeant, pareant et intendant, sub omni pena qua competere poterit In hac parte

presentibus pro toto tempore vite dicti Anselmi duraturis.
Datum sub magno nostro sigillo apud Edinburgh, decimo die
mensis Junij, Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo
septuagesimo secundo, et Regni nostri duodecimo. Sic
signatum, James.

DESCRIPTION: Contemporary copy in a Flemish cartulary.

SOURCE: Bruges, Stadsarchief, Cartulaire Rodenboek, f.270r-v.

COMMENTS: It is of note that the description of Adornes's travels implies that they were carried out on James's behalf, and contributed to his honour: "moreover, before the pope and in Christian lands, and also in the barbarous lands of saracens and Turks, he was the honour and ornament of us and of our kingdom."

7. Charter of King Alexander II confirming to the brothers of the Temple all rights, liberties and customs granted to them by kings David I, Malcolm IV and William I, as attested by their authentic writings: namely, that all men of the Templars are to have the king's firm peace and intercourse with the king's men in buying and selling their merchandise everywhere, free of cain, toll and passage-duty, and all other rights and customs; no-one is to do them any injury or allow it to be done; wherever they come to judgement, their case is to be heard first, and they are first to receive their right, and thereafter to do their duty; no-one is to send any man of the Templars to the judgement-pit if they will stand pledge for him, unless he is a proven thief and carrying his theft upon him, on pain of forfeiture; all liberties and customs that they have in other lands, the Templars are to have in Scotland also; no-one is to take poinds from the Templars or their men for any forfeiture, except to his own property, on pain of full forfeiture; if anyone unwittingly siezes their livestock outside their own property, he is to restore it immediately without any forfeiture.

Luffness, 20 March 1215

Alexander . Dei Gracia Rex Scott' . Episcopis . Abbatibus .
Comitibus . Baronibus . Justic' . vicecomitibus . Prepositis .
ministris . et omnibus probis Hominibus Tocius terre sue . et
vniuersis Sancte matris ecclesie filiis ! Salutem . Sciant
presentes et futuri . me Concessisse . et Hac Carta mea
Confirmasse . Deo et fratribus Templi Salamonis de Jherusalem .
omnes illas rectitudines . et libertates . et Consuetudines .

quas Rex . Daudid . et Rex Malcolmus . et dominus pater
 meus Rex Willelmus . eis dederunt . et Concesserunt . sicut
 scripta eorum autentica attestantur . Scilicet . quod omnes
 homines fratrum Templi Salomonis de Jherusalem ⁊ iuste habeant
 meam firmam pacem . et Communionem cum Omnibus Hominibus
 meis emendi et uendendi mercata sua . Et ubicunque in tota
 terra mea uenerint . sint quiete de Cano . et Teleoneo . et
 passagio . et Omnibus aliis Rectitudinibus et Consuetudinibus .
 et nullus eis iniuriam faciat . uel fieri consentiat . super
 meam defensionem . Et ubicunque in tota terra mea ad iudicium
 uenerint ⁊ causa eorum prima tractetur . et prius Rectum
 suum habeant ⁊ et postea faciant . Et nullus ponat hominem
 predictorum fratrum nostrorum ad foueam iudicij si uoluerint
 eum domini uel uicini sui plegiare . nisi fuerit fur probatus .
 et furtum reddens ⁊ super meum forisfactum . et omnes libertates
 et Consuetudines quas ipsi per alias Regiones habent ⁊ in
 terra mea ubique habeant . Et nullus namum aliquem super eos .
 uel super eorum homines pro aliquo forisfacto capere . nisi
 pro suo dominico forisfacto . super meam plenariam forisfactum .
 Et si quis eorum pecuniam extra terram suam nescienter ceperit .
 uel cepere fecerit ⁊ predictis fratribus cito . et sine mora .
 sine ullo forisfacto reddatur . Testibus . Roberto . electo
 Rossensis . Willelmo . de Boscho . Cancellario meo . Comite .
 Malcolmmo . de Fif . Philippo . de Valoniis . Camerario meo .
 Roberto . de London' . fratre meo . Thoma . de coleuill' .
 Thoma . de Lundin' . hostiario meo Waltero ^a . Cum' . Daudid .
 de Hasting' . Malcolmmo . pincerna . Apud Luffenach . xx . die
 Marcij

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, now mounted, 20 x 18cm., folded to a
 depth of 2.1cm., slit for tag; stump of tag, 2cm. wide, survives,
 but no trace of seal remains.

SOURCE: SRO GD119/2

PRINTED: Facsimile, transcript and translation in G.G.Simpson,
Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650 (1973), no. 3; abstract in RRS
 I, 281-2.

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. small hole in parchment.

COMMENTS: The year is fixed by the death of Philip de Valognes in November 1215. Professor Barrow comments that these liberties "differ markedly" from those confirmed to the Templars by Alexander II in 1236 and to the Hospitallers in 1231 (cf. RMS XII, no. 51), which are similar to grants of liberties by English kings printed by Delaville le Roulx in the Cartulaire général des Hospitaliers (cf. RRS I, 282). Although this is the earliest charter to survive, it is clear that earlier Scottish kings had granted charters of liberties to the Templars.

8. Charter of fra Robert de Samford, minister of the Knights Templars in England, granting with consent of the chapter held in London at Easter to Richard, son of John the priest, and his heirs, a toft in the land of Varia Capella (Falkirk), between the toft of Glasgou the wright and the road that leads towards Dalderse, and two acres of land lying together at the end of the lands of the thane and those of the abbot, with common pasture for twelve cattle, sixty sheep, and two horses, and with other easements pertaining to the said lands, which the Templars hold by gift of Malcolm son of Duncan thane of Callander; to be held free, whole and quit for an annualrent of 13d., half at Palm Sunday and half at Michaelmas, for all secular service and exaction.
London, c. 1233-4

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit frater Robertus de Samford milicie Templi in Anglia minister humilis salutem in Domino . Nouerit Vniuersitas uestra quod nos de Communi Consilio et assensu Capituli nostri In Pascha apud London' Concessimus et presenti Carta nostra confirmauimus Ricardo filio Johannis sacerdotis et heredibus suis vnum toftum In territorio ^a Varie Capelle . Quod Iacet inter toftum Glasgou fabri et viam que descendit versus Daldris et duas acras terre que Jacent propinquiores in exitu vie apud partem australem Iuxta viam ^b regis inter terram Thani et terram Abbatis Cum communi pastura ad Duodecim animalia et ad sexaginta oues et ad duos Equos et Cum ceteris aisiamentis dicte terre pertinentibus . Que omnia habemus de dono Malcolmi filii Duncani thani de Kalentir Habend' et Tenend' sibi et heredibus suis libere integre et quiete . Reddendo inde annuatim domui nostre tresdecim denarios ad duos terminos anni . Videlicet medietatem ad Pascha floridum et medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis pro omni seruicio et exaccione seculari . Et nos omnia predicta predicto Ricardo et heredibus suis Warantizabimus quamdiu

carta donatoris eam nobis poterit warrantizare . Hiis Testibus
 fr[at]re 7^c Capellano fratre Rogero de Scamelesby .
 fratre Waltero de Dayuill . fratre Ada de Linton fratre Thoma
 [fratre 7^c Ricardo Beaugrant . fratre Waltero le Blund .
 fratre Hugone de Stocton . fratre Hugone de Coyners tunc
 prece[pt]ore Scocie 7^c

ENDORSED: Carta fratrum London' super terra in Varia Capella

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 19.5cm. x 12cm., folded to a depth
 of 1.5cm., slit for tag; tag, 1.3cm. wide, split for insertion
 of oval seal, but no trace of seal survives.

SOURCE: SRO RH6/17

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. Interiortorio, MS. b. faded. c. bottom
 r.h. corner of parchment torn away.

COMMENTS: On the dating of this document, cf. Barrow, Kingdom
 of the Scots, 37, n. 162. Fra Hugh de Coyners may have been
 preceptor of Scotland; cf. the place of the preceptor of
 Scotland in the witness-list of no. 9, another thirteenth-
 century charter of the English Templars relating to Scotland.
 The abbot mentioned is probably the abbot of Holyrood.

9. Charter of fra Robert de Turville, master of the Knights
 Templars in England, granting with consent of the chapter held
 at Temple Dinsley on St. Barnabas's Day (11 June) to Christian
 de Insula of Perth four perticates on the inch of Perth, lying
 on the west of the lands of the late Simon de Lynn, which the
 Templars hold by gift of Earl David; to be held whole and
 quit for an annualrent of 2s. 8d., half at Michaelmas and
 half at Easter, and a payment of 2 silver marks on his or his
 heirs' death.

Temple Dinsley, 11 June 1278 x 1290; probably x 1286

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris vel
 audituris . frater Roebertus de Turuil milicie Templi in
 Anglia magister humilis salutem in Domino . Noueritis nos
 de communi consilio et assensu capituli nostri in festo
 sancti Barnabe apud Dynsel' concessisse et hac carta nostra
 confirmasse Cristino de Insula de Perth quatuor perticatas
 terre in insula de Perth simul iacentes ex parte occidentali
 terre quondam Simonis de Lenna . Quas quidem perticatas
 habemus de dono Comitibus Daud fratris illustris Regis Willelmi .
 Habend' et tenend' sibi et heredibus suis integre et quiete .
 Reddendo inde Annuatim domui nostre duos solidos et octo

denarios argenti ad duos terminos Anni Videlicet medietatem ad festum sancti Michaelis . et medietatem ad Pascham . Saluis eciam nobis in obitu suo et heredum suorum duabus marcis Argenti . In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum commune capituli nostri est appensum . Hiis testibus . fratre Thoma de Bray . et fratre Willelmo de Mere capellanis . fratre Thoma de La Ferme . fratre Thoma de Tulus' . fratre Henrico de Emory . fratre Roberto Le Squoi' . fratre Roberto de Bonington' . fratre Rogero de Akiný tunc preceptore Scocie et aliis

ENDORSED: Carta Cristini de Insula de Perth

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 22.2cm. x 8cm., folded to a depth of 1.2cm., split for seal-tag; tag, 1cm. wide, bearing a complete round seal in green wax depicting the lamb of God; legible are the words: SIGILLVM . TEMPLI .

SOURCE: SRO GD 160/112/4 (formerly Drummond Castle Muniments, bundle 1, no. 6)

COMMENTS: Fra Roger de Akiný (?= Hackney, Middlesex) is not otherwise known as preceptor of the Temple in Scotland. He must have been preceptor before fra Brian le Jay, who was preceptor before 1291, and probably before 1286. Turville was master of the Temple in England 1278 x 1290. The Templars were entitled to claim one third of the goods of their men on their deaths (cf. Aberdeen Registrum, II, 260-1), represented here by the payment of two marks. The grant of lands on the inch of Perth to the Templars by Earl David (d. 1219) is not otherwise known.

10. Charter of King Robert I confirming to the Hospitallers of Torphichen all their lands, tenements, churches, rents and possessions belonging to the Hospital in Scotland as they held them in the time of King Alexander III; ordering his officers to maintain and defend them and to do nothing to their prejudice on pain of full forfeiture.
Dumfries, 10 December 1314

Robertus Dei gracia Rex Scottorum Omnibus probis hominibus tocius terre sue Salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmasse magistro et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani de Thorpheckyn dilectis et fidelibus nostris omnes terras et tenementa . ecclesias / redditus et possessiones Suas ad dictum Hospitalem quoquomodo infra Regnum nostrum Spectantes adeo Libere et

quiete / plenarie et honorifice ! cum omnibus libertatibus /
 commoditatibus / aisiamentis et iustis pertinenciis suis /
 sicut Magister et fratres dicti Hospitalis dictas terras
 tenementa . ecclesias / redditus et possessiones tenuerunt
 tempore bone memorie domini Alexandri Regis Scocie predecessoris
 nostri vltimi ^a defuncti Quare firmiter mandamus et precipimus
 Iusticiariis / vicecomitibus / prepositis et eorum balliuis
 ac ceteris ministris et fidelibus nostris . quod dictos
 magistrum et fratres in omnimodis Libertatibus suis predictis
 manuteneant et defendant ne quicquam contra hanc concessionem
 nostram attemptare presumant in ipsorum magistri et fratrum
 preiudicium / dampnum aliquod Seu grauamen / Super nostram
 plenariam foresfacturam In cuius Rei testimonium presenti
 Parte nostre Sigillum nostrum precipimus apponi / Testibus
 Thoma Ranulpho Comite Morauie nepote nostro / Bernardo abbate
 de Abirbr' Cancellario nostro . Iacobo de Duglas . Daudid de
 Lindeseŷ et Roberto de Keth marescallo nostro Scocie
 Militibus apud Dunfres . decimo die Decembris Anno regni
 nostri nono .

ENDORSED: Concessio regis de terris domus Hospitalis de
 Torfichyn

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 24.5cm. x 16.5cm., folded to a depth
 of 2.8cm., split for seal-tag; tag, 2.5-3cm. wide, with part
 of a round seal in white wax showing a king enthroned and
 holding a sceptre (?) in his left hand and an orb in his
 right. The legend is no longer legible.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/3

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. vltimo, MS

COMMENTS: This charter seems to indicate that the Hospitallers
 in Scotland came into King Robert's peace soon after Bannockburn,
 possibly at the Cambuskenneth parliament of November 1314.
 Perhaps the fact that the lands of the Templars are not
 mentioned in this charter suggests that the Hospitallers
 were not yet in possession of them. This charter seems not
 to have been previously published.

11. Charter of fra Robert de Fordoun, lieutenant of the master and guardian of the alms of the house of Torphichen in Scotland, confirming the sale of lands in Halkerston by William de Houlatstoun to William Sleigh of Temple, which lands the order holds by gift of King Alexander, for an annualrent of 2s, 12d. at Easter and 12d. at Michaelmas for all secular service, and half a silver mark paid on his or his heirs' deaths.

C. 1344-5

Vniuersis Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit
Frater Robertus de Fordoun locum tenens Magistri et custodis
Elimosinarum domus de Torphic' in Regno Scocie in Domino
Salutem Noueritis nos in Festo inuencionis Sancte crucis
pensata Vtilitate ordinis nostri de Communi consilio et assensu
Fratrum nostrorum concessisse ratificasse et hac presenti

Carta nostra confirmasse uendicionem tocius terre cum
pertinenciis in uilla de Haukerstoun quam Willelmus de
Hulatistoun Willelmo de Templo Vendidit quam terram dictus
Willelmus de Houlatistoun de nobis quondam tenuit . quam
quidem terram habemus de dono Regis Alexandri Tenendam et
habendam dicto Willelmo Slech et heredibus suis et suis
assignatis libere quiete bene et in pace inperpetuum Reddendo
inde annuatim domui nostre duos Solidos ad duos anni terminos
Videlicet . duodecim denarios ad Pascham et duodecim denarios
ad Festum Sancti Michaelis arcangeli pro omni seruicio
Seculari exaccione et demanda Salua tamen domui nostre in
obitu Suo heredum et assignatorum Suorum dimidiam Marcham
argenti Et nos et successores nostri predictam cum pertinenciis
dicto Willelmo Slech heredibus et assignatis suis contra omnes
homines Warantizabimus inperpetuum In cuius rei testimonium
presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus / Hijs testibus
Fratre Johanne de Acome Priore domus nostre de Torphic' Domino
Willelmo More . Domino Willelmo de Duglas iuniore Militibus /
Johanne Wÿgmer burgense de Edinburgh . et alijs multis

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 24.2cm. x 12.5cm., folded to a depth of 2cm., slit for seal-tag; tag, 2cm. at base, tapers to 1.5cm., but bears to trace of seal.

SOURCE: SRO RH6/118

COMMENTS: Fordoun was administrator of the Hospital in Scotland before fra Alexander de Seton, so this document must be earlier than Seton's acta. It is curious that the surname of William "Slech" (or Sleigh) is not mentioned at the first appearance of his name; on the name, cf. Black, Surnames, s.n. "Sleigh." But the most puzzling person to appear in this document is fra John de Acomb (?= Acomb near York). He was a brother chaplain at the Hospitallers' house of Chibourn in 1338 (Report of Philip de Thame, 324). Possibly priore here is a scribal error for presbytero; we know that Acomb was a chaplain, and it was usual for the names of brothers chaplains to come at the beginning of witness-lists of charters of the military orders (cf. nos. 8 and 9 above). It was not usual, however, for the head of the Scottish house to be called prior, and if Acomb had been the head, surely the charter would have been issued in his name.

12. Charter of fra Alexander de Seton, lord of that ilk, knight, guardian of the alms of the house of St. John of Jerusalem of Torphichen in Scotland, narrating that because through the wars in Scotland Walter called Gretheved (=Greathead), burgess of Aberdeen, formerly tenant of the lands of Eychtyrelon (Auchterellon) in Buchan, grew so poor and necessitous that for his sustenance, with Alexander's consent, he sold the lands to William de Meldrum son of the late John de Meldrum of that ilk, saving the annual feu due to Alexander and his successors; and that it seems better to him to have William de Meldrum as his tenant rather than Walter Greathead; therefore he confirms the sale as contained in Walter's charter to William, for an annualrent of 20s. sterling, payable on the feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June) yearly, the performance of fealty, and three suits of court at his three head courts at Little Werthill (Wartle, Rayne) in Garioch, with the same payment on his death as Walter would have paid.
Aberdeen, 28 March 1345

Uniuersis Sancte Matris ecclesie filijs ꝛ hoc Scriptum Visuris
vel Audituris . Frater Alexander de Seton dominus eiusdem Miles /
Custos elemosine domus Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani de
Torfethyn / infra Regnum Scocie Salutem in Domino . Quia per
guerrarum discrimina in dicto Regno habita ꝛ Valterus dictus
Gretheved burgensis de Abberden dudum tenens noster in feodo et
hereditate de tota terra de Eychtyrelon cum pertinencijs in
Bughania . ita maxime depupertatur / quod propter Suam releuacionem
et vite sue sustentacionem ꝛ maxima ipsum compellente necessitate ꝛ
cum consensu nostro totam dictam terram cum pertinencijs ꝛ
concessit et plenarieque precise vendidit a se et heredibus
suis inperpetuum . Villelmo de Melgdrume filio quondam Johannis
de Melgdrume domini eiusdem ꝛ et heredibus suis ac suis
assignatis . Saluo feodo annuo nobis et successoribus nostris

inde debito et per dictum Vilelmmum heredes suos et suos assignatos annuatim Reddendo / Et quia vidimus et perpendimus vtilitatem nostram fore maiorem / ad habendum predictum Vilelmmum de dicta terra tenentem nostram quam dictum Valterum / Nouerit vniuersitas vestra Nos approbasse . Ratificasse . et per presens Scriptum nostrum confirmasse . predicto Vilelmo et heredibus suis ac suis assignatis illam concessionem et vendicionem quam dictus Valterus fecit eidem Vilelmo vt premittitur / de tota predicta terra de Eychtyrelon cum pertinencijs in omnibus et pro omnia / prout carta prefati Valteri dicto Vilelmo inde confecta / in Se plenius-proporat et testatur / Reddendo inde annuatim dictus Vilelmmus et heredes sui vel sui assignati nobis et successoribus nostris pro feodo nostro memorato duodecim solidos sterling' tantummodo . ad festum Natiuitatis beati Johannis Baptiste quos prefatus Valterus et predecessores sui / predecessoribus nostris / ad idem festum annuatim reddiderunt et reddere consueuerunt / Et feciendum iuem predictus Vilelmmus et heredes sui ac sui assignati / nobis et successoribus nostris / fidelitatem vt moris est / et tres sectas ad tres Curias nostras capitales apud Lytill Verthylle in La Garuyach . Soluendo eciam idem Vilelmmus et heredes sui ac sui assignati / nobis et successoribus nostris / tantum pro obitu suo / quantum dictus Valterus nobis et successoribus nostris / si tenens noster perseuerasset / pro obitu suo Soluisse debuit / vel predecessores sui Soluere consueuerunt / In Cuius Rei testimonium / presenti Scripto nostro Sigillum nostrum est appensum . Actis et Datis apud Aberden die Lune proximo post festum beate Marie virginis . Anno . Domini . Millesimo . trescentesimo . quadragesimo . quinto / --

ENDORSED: Carta hospitalis de Echter Elon .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 26.5cm. x 14.3cm. at l.h. edge, 13cm. at r.h. edge, folded to a depth of 1.5cm., slit for seal-tag; tag, 1.5cm. wide, with oval seal in red wax, now crumbling and largely illegible, possibly depicting enthroned Madonna with Child standing at her feet.

SOURCE: Fyvie Castle Muniments, no. 2

COMMENTS: This document shows the impact of the war in the North-east, and helps to trace the movements of fra Alexander de Seton in 1345. The feast of Our Lady is presumably the Annunciation (25 March).

13. Charter of fra Alexander de Seton, master of the house of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem of Torphichen, granting to William called Sleigh of Temple and his heirs the Hospital's land in the vill of Halkerston, formerly held by John Calfherd, resigned by his true heirs at a full court held at Balantrodoch on 24 February 1345/6, with common pasture and all other easements, for an annualrent of 13d. sterling, half at Easter and half at Michaelmas, and milling free of multure at the Hospitallers' mill for twenty-four fatae of corn growing upon the same land, for all service, saving his fealty and three suits of court yearly, and that on the death of William or his heirs be paid one half mark sterling in name of one third of all his goods, and duplication of the ferme for quittance.

Balantrodoch, 24 February 1345/6

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie Filiis presentibus et futuris has literas visuris vel audituris Frater Alexander de Seton magister domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani de Torphÿhÿne Salutem in Domino sempiternam . Noueritis nos ex communi consilio et assensu Capituli nostri ac confratrum nostrorum dedisse concessisse et per presentes inperpetuum pro nobis et successoribus nostris confirmasse Willelmo dicto Sleÿch de Templo . heredibus . et assignatis suis totam illam terram nostram cum pertinentiis in villa et territorio de Haukerstoun . que quondam fuit terra Johannis Calfhird . que quidem terra cum pertinenciis in plena curia nostra Hospitalis . tenta apud Blantrodok . die Sabbati in Crastino Sancti Mathie apostoli . Anno Domini millesimo . Trescentesimo Quadragesimo . Quinto . per veres heredes predicti quondam Johannis fuisset ^a sursum reddita . per fustum et baculum nobis et successoribus nostris . Ac domui nostre de Torphÿhÿne predictae inperpetuum vt patet per commune instrumentum Tenend' et Habend' predicto Willelmo . heredibus et assignatis suis . de nobis et successoribus nostris Magistris domus de Torphÿhÿne cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus et aisiamentis tam in communi pastura eiusdem ville vt solebat predictae terre pertinere quam in aliis commoditatibus quibuscunque prope vel procul tam sub terra quam supra terram . in omnibus et per omnia tam non nominatis quam nominatis predictae terre cum pertinenciis qualitercunque Spectantibus . Seu de Jure in futurum Spectare valentibus quoquomodo . Reddendo inde nobis et successoribus nostris . ac domui nostre de Torphÿhÿne predictae . tresdecim denarios sterlingorum annuatim proportionaliter ad festa Pasche et Sancti Michaeli Archangeli . et liberam multuram molendino

nostro de Blantrodoch . videlicet ad quatuor viginti fate de
 bladis super predicta terra cum pertinenciis crescentibus
 tantum pro omnibus seruiciis . Saluis fidelitate et tribus
 sectis Curie per annum . Ita tamen quod in obitu predicti
 Willelmi similiter heredum et assignatorum suorum dimidia
 marca Sterlingorum nomine tercia partis bonorum suorum . nobis
 et successoribus nostris ac domui nostre de Torphyhne predicte .
 quiete remaneant cum duplicacione firme // In Cuius Rei
 testimonium Sigillum nostrum commune predicte domus nostre de
 Torphyhne presentibus est appensum . Anno . die . et loco
 supradictis --

ENDORSED: Hawkerstoun (14th-cent. hand); Confirmacio Magistri
 Torphich' eidem Iohanni (later hand, possibly 15th-cent.)

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 25-25.5cm. x 17.5cm. at l.h. edge,
 19cm. at r.h. edge, folded to a depth of 2.5cm. at l.h. edge,
 3.2cm. at r.h. edge, slit for seal-tag; stump of tag, 2.2cm.
 wide, survives, but no trace of seal.

SOURCE: SRO RH 6/115

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. fuissett, MS.

COMMENTS: For an earlier acquisition of temple-lands in Halkerston
 by William Sleigh of Temple, cf. no. 11 above.

14. Charter of fra Thomas de Lindsay, master of the house of
 the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Scotland, and of all
 the lands of the Templars in Scotland, considering the advantage
 of the house and with consent of the brethren, granting to
 Thomas Young of Halkerston the lands which Custa, daughter of
 William Sleigh, bought from her father within the lands of
 Halkerston, as contained in her father's charter, which she
 surrendered up in widowhood at a full court held at Balantrodoch
 on 20 January 1353/4 for infeftment of Thomas Young, who was
 given sasine; for an annualrent of 2s. payable at Easter and
 Michaelmas for all service, except suit of court annually, and
 payment of one half mark on his or his heirs' deaths, in name
 of one third of all their goods.
 Balantrodoch, 20 January 1353/4

Vniuersis Sancte matris ecclesie filiis has literas visuris
 uel audituris . Frater Thomas de Lyndessay . magister domus
 hospitalis . sancti Iohannis Jerosolimitani de Torphychyn . ac
 omnium terrarum Templariorum infra Regnum Scocie . Salutem in
 Domino Sempiternam . Noueritis nos . nostri ordinis vtilitate
 pensato . ac solempni tractatu super hoc habito cum consilio

et assensu fratrum nostrorum . dedisse concessisse . et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse Thome Young de Haukerstoun . heredibus suis et assignatis omnes illas terras cum pertinenciis . quas Custa filia Willelmi Scleych . a predicto Willelmo patre suo emit / et de magistro de Torphyhyn . in territorio de Haukartstoun . infra dominium de Ballyntrodoch tenuit . ut plenius patet per cartam predictae Custe exinde confectam . Quas quidem terras cum suis pertinenciis . de consensu et assensu prefati Willelmi Sleych patris sui . necnon aliorum plurimorum de parentela sua eidem Custe assistencium . non vi aut metu . aut dolo . sed mera et spontanea voluntate . in pura viduitate existens . vicesimo die mensis Januarii in plena curia nostra Hospitalis apud Ballyntrodoch tenta . Anno gratie millesimo . CCC^{mo} . quinquagesimo tercio in presencia nostra constituta . ex bona causa et racionabiliter . in manibus nostris sursum redidit / ac pro se et heredibus suis . et assignatis inperpetuum . resignavit . ad infeodandum prefatum Thomam Young heredos suos et assignatos de predictis terris cum pertinenciis et tradendam eidem Thome Young de eisdem terris seysinam . quem quidem Thomam heredos suos et assignatos . in presencia testium subscriptorum de prenominatis terris cum pertinenciis hereditarie infeodauimus . seysinam debitam tradendo / Tenend' et habend' predictas terras cum omnibus suis iuste pertinenciis . predicto Thome Young . heredibus suis et assignatis de magistro de Torphyhyn . cum omnibus suis libertatibus . commoditatibus et asyamentis ad dictas terras spectantibus . seu quomodolibet spectare valentibus in futurum adeo libere plene et integre . sicut predicta Custa . seu pater suus atque . aliqui antecessorum suorum aliquo tempore tenuerunt . aut possederunt . Reddendo inde annuatim domui nostre de Torphyhyn . duos solidos sterlingorum ad duos anni terminos proporcionaliter Scilicet ad festa Pasche . et Sancti Michaelis archangeli . tantum pro omnibus seruiciis salua secta . in anno . Ac eciam dimidiam marcam argenti in obito suo . heredum suorum et assignatorum nomine tercie partis bonorum suorum / domui nostre predictae de Torphyhyn . In cuius Rei testimonium sigillum nostrum Commune . predictae domun nostre de Torphyhyn presentibus est appensum Dat' anno . die et loco supradictis . hiis testibus .

dompno Willelmo Payntour monacho de Neubotyl . Henrico Kerr .
 Adam ^a de Herwyngstoun . Daudid de Wistoune . Johanne de Fawsyde .
 Laurencio Perocsoune / Ricardo de Esthouse . cum multis aliis
 in dicta curia existentibus

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 31-31.5cm x 20.5cm. at l.h. edge,
 19cm. at r.h. edge, folded to a depth of 3.5cm., slit for
 seal-tag; stump of tag remains, 2.3cm. wide.

SOURCE: SRO RH 6/120

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. sic.

COMMENTS: On William Sleigh, cf. nos. 11 and 13 above. The
 personal name Custa (perhaps a corruption of Constantia?) is
 unusual.

15. Charter of fra Thomas Lindsay of the order of St. John
 of Jerusalem, master of Torphichen, granting to Roger called
 Utting all of the Hospital's lands in the town and territory
 of Strathbrock, formerly held by the late Alexander de Dalmahoy
 in fee and heredity, for an annualrent of 10s. silver at
 Christmas for all service, except that on Roger's or his heirs'
 deaths they shal pay one half silver mark for the third part
 of all their goods, with suit of court and duplication of the
 ferme.

Torphichen, 6 January 1356/7

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presentes litere
 peruenerint Frater Thomas Lyndesay ordinis sancti Johannis
 Jerosolimitani magister de Torphyhyn salutem in Domino sempiternam .
 Noueritis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra
 confirmasse Rogero dicto Vttynge totam terram nostram Hospitalis
 iacentem in villa et territorio de Strathborke quam quondam
 Alexander de Dalmohoy de dicta domo quondam tenuit in feodo et
 hereditate . Tenend' et habend' predicto Rogero et heredibus suis
 inperpetuum de dicta domo in feodo et hereditate per omnes
 rectas diuisas suas et consuetas libere quiete plenarie integre
 et honorifice cum omnibus libertatibus commoditatibus aysiamentis
 et iustis pertinenciis suis ad dictam terram spectantibus seu
 in futurum spectare ualentibus quoquo modo . Reddendo inde
 annuatim ipse et heredes sui predictae domui decem solidos
 argenti ad festum Natalis Domini pro omni seruicio tantum .
 Excepto . quod in obitu predicti Rogeri et heredum suorum

dimidiam marcam argenti pro tertia parte bonorum suorum
 predicte domui soluant . una cum secta curie et dupplicacione
 firme . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum commune dicte domus
 presenti carte est appensum Apud Torph' sexto die mensis
 Januarii . Anno Domini ^a Millesimo Trescentesimo quinquagesimo
 Sexto .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 30.5cm. x 17.5cm., folded to a depth
 of 3cm., slit for seal-tag; tag, 1.5cm. wide, split for seal,
 but no trace of seal remains. On tag: 1365 (in later, possibly
 15th-cent., hand).

SOURCE: SRO RH 6/123

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. stained.

COMMENTS: Strathbrock (here spelt Strathborke) is now Broxburn
 (Uphall, West Lothian).

16. Notification of Robert de Erskine, lord of that ilk and
custos of the lands and rents of the Hospital of St John of
 Jerusalem in Scotland, stating that at a full court held at
 Balantrodoch on 28 May 1374 Laurence son of Robert Wright
 compeared, saying that his father died last vest and seized of
 the tenandry now held by Thomas Young of Halkerston in
 Halkerston, and demanding that an inquisition should be granted
 to him; and when an inquisition was made of a jury of
 trustworthy men, the jury found that Robert Wright had not
 died vest and seized of the tenandry.

Balantrodoch, 28 May 1374

Omnibus hoc scriptum visuris vel audituris Robertus de Erskyne
 Dominus eiusdem ac custos omnium terrarum et reddituum Hospitalis
 sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani infra Regnum Scocie Salutem in
 Domino vniuersitate vestre notum facimus per presentes quod in
 plena nostra curia apud Ballyntrodok' per nos tenta vicesimo
 octauo die mensis Junij anno Domini millesimo Trescentesimo
 Septuagesimo Quarto . comparauit coram nobis Laurencius filius
 Roberti Fabri calumpnians et dicens quod predictus Robertus Faber
 pater suus obiit vestitus et saysitus vt de feodo de illa tenandria
 quam tenet et possedet Thomas Yung de Haucarstoun in territorio
 eiusdem ville de Haucarstoun infra Dominium de Ballyntrodok'
 petens super hoc inquisicionem Sibi dari . Et nos per inquisicionem
 virorum fidedignorum ad hoc iuratorum petitionem dicti Laurencij

examinari fecimus Omni iurati dixerunt quod predictus Rob[er]tus
 Fa[ber] a peter prefati Laurencij obiit non vestitus neque saysitus
 de tenendria predicta In huius Rei testimonium presente script[ur]e
 nost[re] a [testi]monij a perhibendi Sigillum commune Domus de
 T[or]phych[yn]e a fecimus apponi die et anno Supradictis hiis
 tes[tibus] a in dicta curia existentibus et dicte inquisicionis
 declaracionem audientibus videlicet Dominis Archebaldo de Douglas
 Domino Galwydie Daud de Anandie militibus Johanne de Butele
 Johanne de Fawsyd Domino eiusdem Johanne de Lydale Thoma Dobynson
 de []dale a Willelmo filio Cuthberti' Marcho Cissore . Daud
 de Wystoun / Ricardo de Yorkestoun Henrico Sticte et multis aliis .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 23.5cm. x 11.5cm. at l.h. edge, 12.5cm.
 at r.h. edge, folded to a depth of 3cm., split for seal-tag;
 tag, 1.5cm. wide (bearing writing from an earlier document in a
 13th-cent. hand), bearing portion of round seal in white wax,
 now illegible and heavily repaired. The parchment is stained
 and has several holes, and is in places difficult to read.

SOURCE: SRO RH 6/161

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. Illegible due to staining and decay.

COMMENTS: This was the tenement sold to Thomas Young of Halkerston
 by Custa, daughter of William Sleigh of Temple (cf. no. 14 above).
 Perhaps Robert Wright was husband of Custa, and Laurence was his
 son by a previous marriage. Erskine seems to have controlled
 the Hospitallers' properties in southern Scotland while David de
 Mar was active north of the Mounth.

17. Charter of Thomas de Erskine, lord of that ilk, firmarius
et custos of all lands, annualrents and possessions of St. John
 of Jerusalem in Scotland, confirming: Charter of Donald de Porta,
 granting to Gilchrist de Bannori and his heirs the hospitals of
 Cameron and Stockroger, for four marks sterling paid to him in
 his necessity, which he will one day repay to Gilchrist in
 Dumbarton; and if Donald should die without heirs, Gilchrist is
 to have the hospitals in heredity, for an annualrent to Donald
 of 1d. blenchferme at Martinmas if it is requested.
 Confirmed Alloa, 30 December 1387

Omnibus ad quorum noticias presentes litere peruenerint Thomas
 de Erskyne dominus eiusdem firmarius et custos omnium terrarum
 annuum reddituum et possessionum Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani
 existencium infra regnum Scocie Salutem in Domino Sempiternam .
 Nouerit Vniuersitas Vestra nos vidisse legisse et diligenter
 inspexisse quandam litere impignoracionis siue hereditarie

concessionis Donaldi de Porta factam Gilchristo de Bannori et heredibus suis super terris hospitalium de Camerone et de Stokrog' . non Rasam . non abolitam nec in aliqua parte sue Viciatam . set omni scrupulo et vicio ut in prima facie apparebat Carentem prout Sequitur in hec verba Omnibus has literas visuris vel auditoris Donaldus de Porta salutem in Domino Sciatis me impignorasse ^a Gilchristo de Bannori et heredibus suis hospitale de Camerone et hospetale de Stokrog' pro quatuor marcis sterlingorum michi in mea magna et vrgente necessitate pre manibus persolutis quousque ego Donaldus predicto Gichristo et heredibus suis persoluerim dictas quatuor marcas vno die in villa de Dunbretan / Volo et per presentes Concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod omnes fructus medio tempore percepti michi et heredibus meis Seu meis assignatis non computentur in Sectam ^a . pro fideli consilio suo et anymo inpenso et inpendendo Et si contingat me sine heredibus de corpore meo legitime procreatis decedere quod absit Volo et per presentes concedo pro me et heredibus meis quod predictus Gilchristus et heredes sui habeant predicta hospitalia imperpetuum Sine reclanacione mei vel heredum meorum Reddendo inde annuatim dicto Donaldto et heredibus suis vnum denarium nomine albe firme ad festum sancti Martini Si petatur Quas quidem impignoracionem ^c Siue hereditarie concessionem per dictum Donaldum de Porta predicto Gilchristo de Bannorie heredibus suis factam per omnia et in omnibus punctis articulis prout in suis antedictis continetur Approbamus Ratificamus et tenore presencium Imperpetuum confirmamus . In cuius Rei testimonium Sigillum Commune domus Sancti Johannis de Torfehone presentibus fecimus apponi apud Auleway penultimo die mensis Decembris anno Dominj millesimo CCC^{mo} octogesimo septimo

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 28.5cm. at top, 27.8cm. at foot, x 18.5cm., folded to a depth of 3cm., fold doubled back to a depth of 1.5cm., slit for seal-tag; tag, 2.2cm. wide, but no trace of seal survives.

SOURCE: SRO GD 124/1/420

PRINTED: Abstract in HMC Mar and Kellie, I, 7

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. impignrasse, MS. b. sic. c. impignracionem, MS.

COMMENTS: Cameron and Stockroger are now in Bonhill, formerly part of Luss. Bannori is now Bandry, near Luss. Thomas de Erskine was son of Sir Robert de Erskine and presumably succeeded him as lay administrator of the Hospitallers' properties in Scotland. The Hospitallers were presumably superiors of these hospitals in Lennox, as well as of the hospital of Letter, on the opposite shore of Loch Lomond. Perhaps because of their character as a hospitaller order, the knights of St. John seem to have been entrusted with the administration of these small "spittals" (possibly little more than bothies) in Lennox. It appears that what are referred to here are not simply hospital lands; though in the rental of 1539-40 (SRO GD 247/101/1a) it was noted that Robert Buchanan of Drumekyll "hes tempillis and spittalis within this schir [of Stirling], and desiris entrens of the erle of lennax".

18. Bull of fra John de Lastic, master of Rhodes, to Diguetus le Scot. Because of his services to the order at Rhodes and elsewhere, the master granted him an annual pension for life of ten gold scuta, so that he could live in comfort; as it has been represented that he cannot live comfortably thereof, the master is moved by his former service to grant him a further ten gold scuta out of the pension which is owed to the master from the preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland, and hereby mandates the brothers of that house to make the annual payment.

Rhodes, 12 June 1442

Frater Johannes de Lastico ^a Dei gratia sacre Domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Iherusalem Magister humilis pauperumque Ihesu Christi custos, discreto viro fideli dilecto nostro Digueto ^b Lescot, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Propter multiplicia virtutum tuarum merita et propter laudabilia atque diuturna obsequia per te nobis ac religioni nostre citra et ultra mare fideliter et sollicite prestita, rationabiliter moti sumus ut tibi reddamur ad gratias liberales, quo in futurum commode vivere possis, et alii suo exemplo ad servendum nobis et dicte religioni ferventius animentur; cum itaque alias dudum super ^c domo sive baiulia ^d nostra de Torrepheqwyn in Scotia situata, scuta auri decem annis singulis donec vixeris in humanis percipienda tibi concessimus, et de dictis decem scutis commode vivere non possis, premissorum obsequiorum per te prestitorum et que impendere cotidie non desistis; intuitu et contemplatione moti, scuta alia decem de domo specialis gratie ^e super dicta preceptoria nostra, videlicet super pensione annua nobis ex eadem debita sive debenda, donec vitam duxeris in

humanis per te annis singulis, vel alius tuo nomine, percipienda de bono auro et iusti ponderis, tenore presentium tibi assignamus; ita quod a primo festo Sancti Johannis futuro, vita ut premittitur durante tua, recipere possis scuta viginti, hoc est decem tibi prius largita, et alia decem que tibi de presente largimur, a preceptore presenti sive futuro. Mandamus eisdem preceptoribus, tam moderno quam futuris, in eadem domo constituendis aut presidendis, eadem quatinus de summa annue pensionis nobis debite ex domo nostra predicta scuta viginti tibi vel tuis procuratoribus, sub virtute sancte obedientie, annuatim tibi solvere curent; promittentes nos bona fide eandem summam in eorum computis dicti pensionis infallibiliter deffalcare, et pro solutione ^f realiter et cum effectu preceptorie universis et singulis domus nostre predictae fratribus, quacunque auctoritate, dignitate, officiove fungentibus, ^g presentibus et futuris, sub eadem sancte obedientie virtute districte iniungimus ac percipiendo mandamus, ne contra nostram presentem assignationem et gratiam tibi per nos facta, verbo vel opere, publice vel occulte, per se aut per alias impositas personas, temere venire presumant. Quinymmo eandem iuxta sui seriem et continenciam ^h studiant inviolabiliter observare. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra magistralis plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datum Rhod' in nostro conventu, die duodecima mensis Junii ab Incarnato Domini Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo secundo.

RUBRIC: De subsequenta litera captum fuit instrumentum et petitum fuit transsumptum a Patricio de Cokburne preposito ballivis Jacobo Balbirny et sociis, in anno Domini M CCCC XLVij^{ti}. Pensio Torphichin.

SOURCE: SRO GD 45/13/123, f. 22r (Copy, 15th-cent.)

PRINTED: St Giles Edinburgh Registrum, 66-7; Maidment, Templaria (from Father Hay's transcript in NLS).

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. lasciro, MS. b. Diguero, MS; cf. Appendix II, no. 33. c. alias super dudum super domo, MS. d. unclear in MS, possibly intended as familia; this reading is what one would expect in Hospitaller diplomatic. e. de specialis dono .s. gracie, MS. f. soluta, MS. g. fungen', MS. h. obscure in MS; taken here from similar Hospitaller bulls.

COMMENTS: Diguetus or Duguetus is probably the Aberdeenshire surname Duguid, common in Udney. This man was probably a member of fra Andrew de Meldrum's household who made his career at Rhodes after Meldrum's return to Scotland in 1433. This bull does not appear in Grand Master de Lastic's surviving registers, but it was confirmed in 1453 (Appendix II, no.33). Andrew de Meldrum had died c.1450, and the confirmation was probably obtained while possession of the preceptory was being disputed by fras William de Meldrum and Henry de Livingston.

19. Charter of fra Henry de Livngston, knight, commander of the Preceptory of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, granting to George Cockburn, son of William Cockburn of Newhall the templelands in the town of Sanderisdene, containing eleven acres with a manerium built thereon and common pasture, and as much of "le Sowmez" as suffices to him, which lands were resigned by William Cockburn into brother Henry's hands; for an annual rent of 12d Scots payable in equal portions at the two customary temple-terms of the year, with suit of court and other customary services. Sealed with the common seal of office. Torphichen, 20 April 1458.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel auditoris Frater Henricus de Leuyngston miles Commendator preceptorie sacre domus Hospitalis ordinis beati Johannis Jerosolimitanj infra regnum Scocie .
 Salutem in Domino sempiternam . Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto nostro Georgeo Cokburn filio legitimo Willelmj Cokburn de Newhall terras templarias cum pertinencijs Jacentas in villa et territorio de Sandirysdene continentes vndecim acras cum manerio super dictas terras situato et cum communi pastura animalium in terris dicte ville de Sanderysdene cum libero introitu et exitu eorundem cum tot' et tant' le Sowmez ut sufficeret et competeret tantas terras cum pertinenciis idem Willelmus non vi aut metu ductus nec errore lapsus sed sua mera et spontanea voluntate in manibus nostris personaliter sursum reddidit et per fustem baculum^a pure et simpliciter resignavit et totum Jus et clameum proprietatem et possessionem que et quas in dictis terris habuit seu quouis modo habere potuit pro se et heredibus suis omnino quiteclamavit imperpetuum . Tenend' et habend' predictas terras templarias cum pertinenciis et cum predicta communi pastura animalium predicto Georgeo et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis seu procreandis quibus forte deficientibus quod absit Willelmo Cokburn fratri seniori dicti Georgei et heredibus suis masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis

seu procreandis quibus forte deficientibus heredibus masculis
 quibuscunque de nobis et successoribus nostris dicti ordinis
 preceptoribus in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum per omnes
 rectas metas antiquas et diuisas suas in longitudine ^a et
 latitudine prout jacent in bossis ^a planis pratis pascuis et
 pasturis moris merrasiis ^a viis semitis aquis stangnis ^a
 molendinis et multuris aucupacionibus venacionibus et piscacionibus
 fabrinis et brasinis cum libero introitu et exitu carbonarijs
 pomerijs columbarijs petarijs turbarijs lapide et calce ac
 eciam in omnibus et singulis aliis libertatibus commoditatibus
 et asiamentis ac iustis pertinencijs suis quibuscunque tam non
 nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram tam
 procul quam prope ad dictas terras cum pertinencijs spectantibus
 seu iuste spectare valentibus infuturum Adeo libere quiete
 plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sicut dictus Willelmus
 Cokburn vel aliquis alter earundem verus possessor predictas
 terras cum pertinencijs liberius quietius plenarius integrius
 honorificencius melius pacificencius tenuit habuit seu possedit
 aliquo tempore retroacto sine quacunque contradiccione vel
 retraccione aliquali . Reddendo inde annuatim dictus georgeus
 et heredes sui supradicti nobis et successoribus nostris antedictis
 duodecim denarios vsualis monete regnj Scocie ad duos an7nj ^b
 terminos consuetos templarijs ^a constitutos vna cum sectis curie
 et aliis seruicijs debitis et fieri consuetis . Et nos vero
 predictus ^c frater Henricus et successores ^c nostri antedicti
 predictas terras templarias cum pertinencijs prout Jacent in
 longitudine ^a et latitudine predicto georgeo et heredibus
 supradictus in omnibus et per omnia ut supradictum est contra
 omnes mortales Warantizabimus acquietabimus et imperpetuum
 defendemus . In cuius Rei testimonium Sigillum commune officij
 nostri huic presente carte est appensum apud Torfichin vicesimo
 die mensis Aprilis Anno dominj millesimo quadringentesimo
 quinquagesimo octauo . Coram hijs testibus videlicet magistro
 Willelmo de Akinhede vicario de Torfichin Edwardo de Leuyngston
 Patricio Scugale scutiferis et Willelmo Gardyner'

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 30cm. x 23cm. at l.h. edge, 21.5cm. at r.h. edge, folded to a depth of 3cm. at l.h. edge, 2.3cm. at r.h. edge, slit for tag; tag, 1.8cm. wide, bearing complete oval seal in red wax (identical with that in no.20 infra).

SOURCE: Colstoun writs, no.10

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. sic. b. faded. c. on fold.

COMMENTS: The spelling and grammar of this charter, as of no.20 in the same hand, are eccentric. This is the earliest appearance of Patrick Scougal, here an esquire in Livingston's household, later pretender to the preceptory, and finally a conventual brother at Rhodes. On the probable writing of this and no.20 by William de Akenhead, vicar of Torphichen, see comments to nos.22 and 24 below. The use of the Scots vernacular word soum (allocation of beasts on common grazing) is unusual at so early a date.

20. Charter of fra Henry de Livingston, knight, commander of the house of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, granting to William Cockburn, son and heir of William Cockburn of Newhall, and Janet his wife, all the templelands, namely fourteen acres with tofts and crofts in the town of Gullane in the barony of Dirleton and constabulary of Haddington, and the templelands in Sanderisdene, containing eleven acres with a manerium built thereon, and common pasture in Sanderisdene, and as much of "le Sowmez" as he requires, as the said William resigned them before the witnesses mentioned below; for an annualrent of 2s 4d for Gullane and 12d for Sanderisdene at the usual temple-terms, and suit of court and other customary services. Torphichen, 7 December 1458.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Frater Henricus de Leuyngston miles Commendator preceptorie sacre domus Hospitalis ordinis beati Johannis Jerosolimitanj infra regnum Scocie .
 Salutem in Domino sempiternam . Sciatis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilectis nostris Willelmo Cokburn filio et apparenti heredi Willelmj Cokburn de Newhal et Jonete sponse sue et eorum alteri diucius viuenti omnes et singulas terras nostras templarias videlicet quatuordecim acras terrarum templariarum cum toftis et croftis et pertinenciis earundem Iacentes in villa et territorio de Gulyn infra baronia de Dyrilton et constabularium de Haddington et terras nostras templarias Jacentes in villa et territorio de Sanderisdene cum pertinencijs continentes vndecim acras cum manerio supra dictas terras situato et cum communi pastura animalium in terris

dicte ville de Sanderisdene cum libero introitu et exitu eorundem cum tot et tantis le Sowmez ut sufficeret vel competeret tantas terras habere vel sustinere proportionaliter in dictis terris ville de Sanderisdene que quidem terre cum pertinenciis fuerant ipsius Willelmi et per ipsum coram testibus subscriptis in manibus nostris resignate Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas predictas terras templarias cum pertinenciis et cum predicta communi pastura animalium predictis Willelmo et Jonete sponse sue et eorum alteri diucius viuenti et heredibus suis masculis de corporibus suis legitime procreatis seu procreandis quibus forte deficientibus quod absit heredibus masculis propinquioribus quibuscunque . de nobis et successoribus nostris dicti ordinis preceptoribus in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum per omnes rectas metas antiquas et diuisas suas in longitudine^a et latitudine prout iacent in bossis planis pratis pascuis et pasturis moris merrasijs viis semitis aquis stangnis molendinis et multuris aucupacionibus venacionibus et piscacionibus fabrinis brasinis cum libero introitu et exitu et cum communi pastura cum cunis et cuniculis carbonarijs et pomerijs columbaribus petarijs turbarijs lapide et calce ac eciam cum omnibus alijs et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus et asiamentis ac iustis pertinenciis suis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam sub terra quam supra terram tam procul quam prope ad dictas terras spectantibus seu iuste spectare valentibus quomodolibet in futurum . Adeo libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace sicut ipse idem Willelmus seu aliquis alter earundem terrarum verus possessor predictas terras templarias cum pertinenciis liberius quocius plenarius integrius honorificencius melius pacificencius ante dictam resignacionem inde factam seu aliquo tempore retroacto tenuit habuit seu possedit sine quacunque contradiccione vel retraccione aliquali / / Reddendo inde annuatim predicti Willelmus et Joneta sponsa sua et eorum alter diucius viuens et heredes sui supradicti nobis et successoribus nostris antedictis pro dictis terris de Gulyn cum pertinenciis duos solidos et quatuor denarios et pro dictis terris de Sanderisdene cum pertinenciis duodecim denarios vsualis monete regni Scocie ad duos annj terminos templarijs^a statutos vna cum sectis curie et aliis seruiciis debitis et fieri consuetis /

Et nos vero dictus frater H[enr]icus ^b et successores nostri antedicti omnes et singulas predictas terras templarias cum pertinenciis prout iacent in longitudine^a et latitudine predictis Willelmo et Jonete sponse sue et eorum alteri diucius viuenti et heredibus suis supradictis in omnibus et per omnia ut supradictum est contra omnes mortales Warrantizabimus a[quiet]abimus ^b et imperpetuum defendemus . In cuius rei testimonium sigillum commune officij nostri huic presenti carte nostre est appensum apud Torfichin septimo die mensis decembris anno D[omi]ni Millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo octauo Coram hiis testibus fratre Heliseo Lany nostri ordinis presbytero domino Thoma Breche capellano . Edwardo Levynston . Alexandro Hamylton et Patricio Scougale et aliis

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 30cm. at top, 24cm. at foot, x 16.5 cm. at l.h. edge, 21cm. at r.h. edge (bottom l.h. corner cut diagonally), folded to a depth of 1.8cm., slit for seal; tag, 2cm. wide, with complete oval seal in red wax, in perfect preservation. The legend reads: S[IG]ILLUM. COMUNE. [DE.] TORFICHYN.; the image has a shield at foot bearing a simple cross, with a standing figure above it holding an orb in his left hand. The seal is identical with that on the preceding (Colstoun no. 10), but is in better condition.

SOURCE: Colstoun writs, no.11.

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. sic. Cf. the preceding, with which this shares many eccentric spellings. Both are in the hand of William de Akenhead. b. wearing in parchment.

COMMENTS: "Frater Ellis de Lani", chaplain, dwelling in Scotland, was associated with Henry de Livingston in a magisterial bull dated Rhodes, 2 January 1452/3, when they were accused of denying peaceable possession to the rightful preceptor, William de Meldrum. Brother Elias de Lany does not appear other than in these two documents, and indeed brothers chaplains are very scarce in documents. Some, like brother William de la Forde and brother John de Acomb, were English. Scougal may have gone to Rhodes soon after he witnessed this document; he was a conventual brother by 20 November 1462 (Malta Cod. 372, f. 142v; Appendix II, no.36).

21. Precept of sasine by fra Henry de Livingston, knight, commander of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, ordering his temple-bailie to give sasine of temple-lands in Gullane and Sanderisdene to William Cockburn, son and heir of William Cockburn of Newhall, and Janet his wife, as William has resigned them into his hands. Torphichen, 7 December 1458.

Frater Henricus de Leuyngston miles Commendator preceptorie
sacre domus Hospitalis ordinis beati Iohannis Ierosolimitanij
Balliuo nostro templario infra constabulariam de hadington
et deputatis suis Salutem . Quia concessimus hereditarie
Willelmo Cokburn filio et apparente herede Willelmj Cokburn
de Newhall et Ionete sponse sue et eorum alteri diucius
viuenti terras nostras templarias de Gulyu cum pertinenciis
Iacentas in baronia de Dyrilton . et terras nostras templarias
de Sanderisdene cum pertinenciis Iacentas in villa et territorio
de Sanderisdene infra dictam constabulariam de hadington .
que quidem terre templarie cum pertinenciis fuerunt ipsius
Willelmi et per ipsum in manibus nostris resignate / Vobis
precipimus et mandamus quatinus eisdem Willelmo et Ionete
sponse sue et eorum alteri diucius viuenti supradictarum
terrarum templariarum de Gulyu et de Sanderisdene cum pertinenciis
statum possessionem et sasinam hereditariam deliberari faciatis
visis presentibus indilate secundum formam et tenorem carte
nostre eisdem exinde confecte saluo Iure cuiuslibet / Ad quod
faciendum vobis et vestrum cuiuslibet nominatim in hac parte
plenariam committimus potestatem per presentes . Datum sub
testimonio Sigilli communis officij Cancellarie capelle nostre
Sancti Iohannis apud Torfichin septimo die mensis Decembris
Anno dominij M^{mo} cccc^{mo} quinquagesimo octauo

DESCRIPTION: paper, 29cm. x 14.5cm., with oval seal (now largely decayed) superimposed on paper at foot, just below the writing.

SOURCE: Colstoun writs, 12.

COMMENTS: Mention of the 'common seal of office of the chancery of our chapel of St John' is of interest; it perhaps suggests the development of an elaborate household in the fifteenth-century preceptory, in liason with the temple-bailies. This document appears to be in the same hand as nos.19, 20, 22, 23 and 24, that of Master William de Akenhead, vicar of Torphichen.

22. Notarial Instrument narrating that in a full court held by fra Henry de Liuingston, knight and preceptor of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, compeared Malcolm de Levenax, Gilbert Napare, Duncan M'Kynar, Matthew Maxwale, Donald Patonsoun, Duncan M'aulay, Donald de spytale, Donald de Levenax, Donald Thomson, John Thormondson, Maurice Blare, John Ewenson,

Robert Buchanane, John M'Moriche, John Borrowman, and Malcolm M'Cleriche, and found that the hospital of Letter ought to have of old custom in the pasture of the town of Letter twelve summae of cattle, a mare and a goose and her brood, and ought still to have the same. Done at a full temple-court held on the temple-tenement next to Buchanan Castle (Buchanan) by brother Henry at 11 a.m. on 27 July 1461

IN DEI NOMINE AMEN. ^a Per hoc presens publicum instrumentum Cunctis pateat euiden~~ter~~ter quod Anno ab Incarnacione Dominj millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo mensis uero Julij die vicesima septima Indiccione nona Pontificatus Sanctissimj in Christo patris ac dominj ^{nostrj domini} Pij diuina prouidencia papa secundi anno tercio // In venerabilis et religiosi viri fratris Henrici de Leuyngston militis preceptorisque ordinis beati Johannis Jerosolimitanj infra regnum Scoeie vbilibet constituti mejque notarij publici et testium subscriptorum presencia compertum est in plena curia per prefatum fratrem Henricum preceptorem tenta per inquisicionem in dicta curia factam per istos subscriptos viros videlicet Malcolmum de Levenax Gylbertum Napa ^r ^b Duncanum M^cKynar / Matheum Maxwale / Donaldum Patonsoun / Duncanum M^caulay / Donaldum de Spytale / Donaldum de Levenax . Donaldum Thomsoun . Johannem Thormondsoun / Moricism Blar' / Johannem Ewinsoun / Robertum Buchanane / Johannem M^cmoriche / Johannem Borowman . et Malcolmum M^ccleriche quod hospitale de Lettir debet de Jure habere et ex antiqua consuetudine in pastura terrarum ville de Lettir duodecim summas bestiarum necnon equam suam et aucam cum suis sequelis [et quod ?] dictum hospitale dictas duodecim summas cum dictis equa sua auca et suis sequelis de Jure tenetur habere eciam ex antiqua et approbata consuetudine [] ^c viri matura deliberacione super hoc perhabita in suis Juramentis deposuerunt et deliberauerunt Super quibus quidem omnibus et singulis p^remissis Thomas (?) de B^ruchanane ^d supradicti hospitalis possessor a me notario publico sibi fieri [scriptum] ^e publicum siue publica instrumentum uel instrumenta / Acta fuerunt hec in plena curia templaria super solum cuiusdam tenementi templarij prope castrum [de] ^f Buchanane situati per prefatum henricum preceptorem tenta hora quasi vndecima ante meridiem sub anno die mense Indiccione et pontificatu supradictis // presentibus ibidem [] ^g

viris Willelmo Cunynghame de Glengernach . Wal[tero] Stewart de Albany / Alexandro Cunynghame de Drumcastile Johanne Blar' de Fynwyk Gawano de Lewyngston [scutifero (?)] et magistro Johanne [Me]ff[en (?)] ^E notario publico cum multis aliis testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et regatis

Et [ego] ^h Willelmus de Akinhede presbyter magister in artibus Sanctiandrie diocesis publicus auctoritate Imperiale notarius supradicte inquisicionis deposicionj et deliberacionj omnibusque aliis et singulis dum sic ut premittitur agerentur dicerentur et fierent vna cum prenominatis testibus presens personaliter interfui eaque sic fieri vidi sciui et audiui ac in notam recepi . Indequa presens publicum Instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum confeci et in hanc publicam formam redegi / Signoque et subscripcione meis solitis et consuetis roboravi rogatus specialiter et requisitus in fidem et testimonium veritatis omnium et singulorum premissorum .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 28cm. x 23.3cm. Unfolded. Akenhead's signum is to the left of the docquet, and follows a conventional cross-on-pedestal form. In the centre of the cross is a majuscule W, and on the pedestal Akenhead's initials, W. de A.

SOURCE: Duntreath muniments (formerly SRO GD 97/3/12, now preserved at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London. (Ref. K32/13).

PRINTED: Abstract in HMC Var. Coll. V, 83.

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. The initial I (or J) is large and decorated, the rest of the first four words are in enlarged minuscules. b. small hole in parchment, obscuring one letter. c. one word faded and illegible. d. faded and difficult to read, but Thomas appears to be the Christian name. e. four or five letters faded. f. faded. g. much of the first half of the bottom line of the instrument is faded. h. small hole in parchment, and staining.

COMMENTS: This document is in the same hand as nos.19, 20, 21, 23 and 24. The docquet of Mr William de Akenhead, who witnesses no.19 as vicar of Torphichen, identifies the authorship of this group of documents. The common pasture pertaining to the hospital of Letter (Killearn) was confirmed to Thomas Buchanan (at whose request the present instrument was made) by Henry de Livingston's charter of 3 February 1461/2 (no.24), in terms which exactly echo these determined here.

23. Letter of assedation of fra Henry de Livingston, knight, commander of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, setting to his cousins William and Alexander Livingston, sons of his late brother William Livingston of Balcastle, the lands of the Briggs in the lordship of Temple-Liston (now Kirkliston), as held by the late John Ochiltree, for three years following Whitsunday next; paying yearly £10 Scots to the house of Torphichen equally at Whitsunday and Martinmas, with due service. Torphichen, 20 September 1461.

Be it kend til al men be thir present letteris vs frer' henry of Leuyngston knicht Commandour of the order of Sant John Jerusalem Within the kynryk of Scotland . to hafe set and to male lattan and be thir present letteris settis and to male lettis . til our derraste cusingis Williame of Leuyngston and Alisander of Leuyngston.. sonys til vmquhile our derraste brothir Williame of Leuyngston of Balcastell . al and hale our landis . callit the Bryggis lyand within the lordschip of Tempilliston . to be haldin and to be had al and hale the saide landis of the Bryggis With the pertinence to the saidis Williame and Alisander and til ilkane of thame coniuntly and seuerali With al and syndry profyttis asiamentis and commoditeis and richtwise pertinence . and With syc like fredomez and profyttis as vmquhile John Vchiltre had the saide landis in maling of vs . for al the termes of thre 3eris next and to gydder eftir folowing the feste of Witsvnday next ^a efter folowing the date of thir present letteris And enterand in tak of the saide landis With the pertinence at the saide feste of Witsvnday that is to say in the 3er of God a thousand four'hundreth sixty and twa 3er / With licence and power to mak subtenandis vndir thaim in the saide landis induring the termes of thre 3eris forsaide / Payand 3erli til vs and our house of Torfichin the saide Williame and Alisander or quhilk of thaim at happenis to occupy the saide landis or thar' subtenandis ten poundis of the vsuale mone of Scotland at two vsuale termes of the 3er that is to say Witsonday and the feste of Sant Martine in Wynter be evinli porcionez With other do service acht and Wont / In witnes of the quhilk thing the [comon ?] ^b Sele of our office is affixit to thir present letteris of assedacion . at Torfichin the xx . day of the

monethe of September the 3er of Our Lorde a thousand fourhundreth
sexti and ane 3er'//

DESCRIPTION: Paper, 29cm. x 18cm. An oval seal in red wax has been superimposed on the paper at bottom right, but only fragments remain.

SOURCE: Duntreath Muniments (formerly SRO GD 97/3/13), now preserved at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London (Ref.K32/16).

PRINTED: Abstract in HMC Var. Coll. V, 83

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. the crossed out before next. b. hole in paper.

COMMENTS: This may well be the earliest actum of the Scottish Hospitallers in the vernacular. It is in the hand of William de Akenhead. John Ochiltree, the previous holder of the Briggs, may have been dead by 24 January 1459/60, as he does not appear among those who attended a temple court held that day; Alan Ochiltree, who was present, was presumably a relative. Long before this date, the knights had been using their possessions to benefit their own relatives; cf. Clerkenwell, K32/15.

24. Charter of fra Henry de Livingston, knight, commander of the preceptory of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland, granting to Thomas de Buchanan the temple-lands of Letter with common pasture for twelve summis of cattle with his mare and his goose with her brood, for an annual rent of 12d. Scots at the two annual temple-terms, with suit of court and other due services. Torphichen, 3 February 1461/2.

Omnibus hanc cartam visuris vel audituris Frater Henricus de Leuyngston miles Commendator preceptorie sacre domus Hospitalis ordinis beati Johannis Jerosolimitanj infra regnum Scocie Salutem in Domino sempiternam . Noueritis nos dedisse concessisse et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto nostro Thome de Buchanane totas et integras terras nostras templarias de Lettyr cum pertinencijs Jacentes in villa et territorio de Lettir in Comitatu de Levenax infra vicecomitatum de Streueling / Tenendas et habendas totas et integras predictas terras templarias de Lettyr cum pertinenciis in longitudine ^a et latitudine prout iacent predicto Thome de Buchanane heredibus suis et assignatis de nobis et successoribus nostris dicte ordinis preceptoribus qui pro tempore fuerunt in feodo et hereditate imperpetuum per omnes rectas metas antiquas et diuisas in moris merrasiis vijs semitis aquis

h SMAS

Lucus
Thome
 stangnis riuolis pratis pascuis et pasturis aucupacionibus
 venacionibus et piscacionibus ac cum communi pastura ad dictas
 terras templarias cum pertinenciis spectanta cum libero introitu
 et exitu ad eandem videlicet cum duodecim summis bestiarum cum
 equa sua et auca cum suis sequelis in communi pastura terrarum
 predicte ville de Lettyr Ac cum omnibus aliis et singulis
 libertatibus commoditatibus proficiis et aysiamentis ac iustis
 suis pertinenciis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis
 tam subtus terra quam supra terram tam procul quam prope ad dictas
 terras templarias cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu iuste spectare
 valentibus quomodolibet in futurum libere quiete plenarie integre
 honorifice bene et in pace sine aliquo retinemento seu contra-
 dictione aliquali . Reddendo inde annuatim ^{Lucus Thome} heredes sui et assignati
 nobis et successoribus nostris antedictis duodecim denarios
 vsualis monete regnj Scocie ad terminos consuetos templarijs^a
 constitutos vnacum sectis curiarum et ceteris seruicijs exitibus et
 consuetudinibus debitis et consuetis Et nos vero frater Henricus
 preceptor antedictus et successores nostri prefato Thome heredibus
 suis et assignatis totas at integras supradictas terras templarias
 cum pertinenciis in omnibus et per omnia vt premissum est contra
 omnes mortales Warantizabimus acquietabimus et imperpetuum
 defendemus / In cuius rei testimonium Sigillum communi officij
 nostri huic presenti carte nostre est appensum apud Torfichin
 tercio die mensis Februarij . Anno Domini millesimo
 quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo //

DESCRIPTION: Parchment. 30cm. x 16cm., folded to a depth of 3cm.
 slit for tag, tag 1.5cm. wide x 11cm. long with seal in red wax in
 good condition. Legible are the words: /SIGILLUM . COMUNE .
 /DE . TORE/HING . Similar to seals of Nos.19 and 20 supra,
 possibly indential.

SOURCE: Duntreath Muniments (formerly SRO GD 97/3/14), now
 preserved at St Johns Gate, Clerkenwell, London (Ref. K32/19).

PRINTED: Abstract in HMC Var. Coll. V, 83

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. sic.

COMMENTS: This charter is in the hand of William de Akenhead,
 vicar of Torphichen. It is of interest to see the vicar of
 Torphichen, an appointee of the preceptor and presumably closely
 associated with his household, acting as his notary and scribe
 on a number of occasions.

25. Charter of fra William Knollis, lord of St Johns, preceptor of Torphichen, granting to Thomas Buchanan of Carbeth the temple-lands of Letter and Boquhan Beag, formerly held by John Buchanan of Camoquhill and now resigned into the preceptor's hands by his procurator, with common pasture for twelve summulis of cattle and one horse at Letter, and seven and a half summulis of cattle and one horse at Boquhan Beag; for an annual rent of 12d Scots for Letter and 12d Scots for Boquhan Beag at the two customary temple-terms, and cutomary due service . Torphichen, 10 June 1493.

Omnibus hanc Cartam Visuris Vel audituris Frater Willelmus Knoll' dominus sancti Johannis preceptor de Torfichin Salutem, in Domino sempiternam. Noueritis nos dedisse concessisse ^{assignasse} et hac presenti carta nostra confirmasse dilecto nostro Thome Buthanane de Gerthbeth heredibus suis et assignatis omnes et singulas terras nostras templarias de le Lett' et Bothquhon Beg cum pertinenciis. Jacentes Infra comitatum de Levenax et vicecomitatum de Streling que quidem terre cum pertinenciis fuerunt Johannis Buthanane de Camquhel hereditarie et quas idem Johannes per suum procuratorem ad hoc legitime et specialiter constitutum et literas suas patentes resignacionis in manibus nostris apud Edinburgh coram testibus subscriptis sursum reddidit et resignauit ac totum Jus et clameum proprietatem et possessionem que et quas predictus Johannes in Vel ad predictas terras cum pertinenciis habuit seu quomodolibet habere poterit in futurum pro se et heredibus suis omnino quitt' clamauit imperpetuum . Tenendas et habendas omnes et singulas predictas terras templarias de ^{le} Lett' et Bothquhon Beg cum pertinenciis predicto Thome Buthanane de Gerthbeth heredibus suis et assignatis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate Imperpetuum per omnes rectas metas suas antiquas et diuisas in moris merrasiis Vijs semitis aquis stangnis pratis pascuis et pasturis aucupacionibus Venacionibus et piscacionibus cum communi pastura. Videlicet cum duodecim summulis bestiarum et vno equo ad terras de le Lett' et septem summulis bestiarum cum dimedia et vno equo ad terras de Bothquhon Beg cum libero introitu et exitu ad eandem. Ac cum omnibus alijs et singulis libertatibus commoditatibus ~~et~~ asiamentis ac Justis suis pertinenciis quibuscunque tam non nominatis quam nominatis tam subtus terra quam supra terram procul et prope

ad supradictas terras cum pertinenciis spectantibus seu iuste spectare Valentibus quomodolibet infuturum Adeo libere quiete plenarie integre honorifice bene et in pace in omnibus et per omnia sicut sepedictus Johannes sepedictas terras cum pertinenciis ante dictam resignacionem inde facta tenuit habuit aut possedit sine aliquo retinemento reuocacione seu contradiccione quacunque . Reddendo inde annuatim supradictus Thomas heredes suj et assignatj nobis et domuj nostre de Torfichin pro terris de le Lett' cum pertinenciis duodecim denarios et pro terris de Bothquhon Beg duodecem ^a denarios Vsuales ^a monete Scocie ad terminos Vsualos templarios statutos Vnacum seruicijs debetis et fieri consuetis In cuius Rei testimonium sigillum nostrum *officii nostri* huic presenti carte est appensum Apud Torfichin decimo die mensis Junij Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo nonagesimo^a tercio . Testibus in resignacione supradictarum terrarum cum pertinenciis Nobilibus Viris Gawano Levinston de eodem Georgeo Murhed' Roberto Buthannan Johanne Craufurd Thoma Kyncade et Thoma Ewynsone cum diuersis alijs .

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 21cm. at top, 22cm. at foot x 24cm., folded to a depth of 4cm., split for tag. Tag, 1½cm. wide survives, but no trace of seal remains.

SOURCE: Duntreath Muniments (formerly SRO GD 97/3/17), now preserved at St Johns Gate, Clerkenwell, London (Ref.K32/15).

PRINTED: Abstract in HMC Var. Coll. V, 84

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. sic.

COMMENTS: "Gerthbeth" is probably Carbeth in Killearn parish, rather than Carbeth in Strathblane. Letter and Boquhan are in Killearn. "Camquhel" is presumably Camoquhill in Balfron parish.

26. Bull of fra Lewis de Schalinghe Admiral of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem and lieutenant general of the Master fra Emery Damboise in his illness granting to fra George Dundas, on the recommendation of the Turcpolier, prior, preceptors and brothers of the English langue, the ancienitas or right of expectation to the Preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland when it next becomes vacant by death or resignation of fra William Knollis (Konolz). Rhodes, 24 May 1504.

Frater Ludouicus Deschalinghe sacre domus Hospitalis sancti
 Johannis Hierosolymitani humilis admiratus de Reuerendissimi
 in Christo patris et domini Domini fratris Emerici Damboyse
 Dei gracie dilecte sacre domus Magistri dignissimi pauperumque
 Iesu Christi custodis moriente locumtenens generalis . . et nos
 Conuentus Rhodi domus eiusdem vniuersis et singulis huiusmodi
 nostras literas uisuris auditoris et lecturis salutem in Domino
 sempiternam : Nuper siquidem venerandi ac Religiosi in Christo
 nobis precharissimi turcupulerius prior preceptores et fratres
 venerande lingue Anglie Rhodi ad Dei et religionis nostre
 obsequia residentes de nostre prelibati locumtenentis licentia
 more et loco solito congregati quibus huiusmodi negotium specialiter
 spectat et pertinet pro euidenti utilitate preceptorie
 infrascripte et honore religionis nostre et dicte lingue vnanimi
 uoto et consensu nemine penitus discrepante consideratis
 virtutibus et meritis Religiosi in Christo nobis charissimi
 fratris Georgij Dundas / dicte lingue ex inclyto regno Scotie
 militis et honestate eius uite et sufficientia doctrine ponderata
 Dederunt tradiderunt et concesserunt eidem fratri Georgio
 antianitatem ius quesitum et expectationem ad preceptoriam
 nostram de Torphicen sitam in regno scotie cuius nunc est
 preceptor religiosus in Christo nobis charissimus frater Guillelmus
 Konolz declara[n]te/s hoc modo uidelicet quod Quencunque
 quotienscunque et quomodocunque per cessum vel decessum ipsius
 fratris Guillelmi vel alias quouismodo dicta preceptoria vacare
 contingerit Idem frater Georgius existens tam in conuentu Rhodi
 quam in partibus occiduis et dicto regno scotie ante quoscunque
 alias tanquam antianus^b et de nostro ordine atque christiana
 republica bene meritis obseruitia per eum prestita in oriente
 intuitionem fidei catholice et plebis contra turcos sub nostro
 regularj habitu ipsam preceptoriam cum suis membris iuribus et
 pertinentiis et redditibus uniuersis ad eam spectantibus et
 pertinentibus habeat teneat possideat et consequatur tanquam de
 eadem legitime prouisus pro suo cabiniento et remuneratione
 laborum per eum perpessorum Quamquidem antianitatem modo premissa
 declaratam inuicem maturo et deliberato consilio De nostra certa
 scientia Laudamus confirmamus ratificamus et approbamus atque

presentis scripti patrocinio commouimus . saluis Juribus nostri communis thesauri impositis et imponendis atque spoli mortuarii et vacationis quibus per presentes preiudicare non intendimus Mandantes districte cuicumque fratri ordinis nostri super hoc primitis requisito vt interueniente casu vacationis preceptorie antedictae ut prefertur ipsum fratrem Georgium vel eius legitimum procuratorem in realem et corporalem pacificam et quietam possessionem ipsius preceptorie inducat et inductum conseruet Amoto ab eadem quolibet illicito detentore si quis fuerit quem nos tenore presentium amouemus et decernimus firmiter amouendum precipientes fratribus et subditis in dicta preceptoria constitutis . in uirtute sancte obedientie et vim fidelitatis et homagii Quo nobis et religioni sunt astricti ut Contingente casu vacationis antedictae de fructibus dicte preceptorie ipsi fratri Georgio tanquam legitimo preceptorie respondeant et in omnibus obediant In cuius rei Testimonium bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa datum in nostro Conuentu Rhodi die vigesima Quarta mensis maij anno ab Incarnato Christo Iesu Domino nostro millesimo quingentesimo Quarto (in another hand: Constat de Rasura none Ime indictione quesitum & xviiij indictione interueniente Barth: Policianj vicecancellarij)

On fold: R^{ta} Jncancell+

Barth. Policianus vice-
cancellarius.

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 31cm. x approx. 28cm., folded to a depth of 25cm. Two holes for the cord to which the bulla was attached are cut into the fold, but the cord and seal are now gone.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/6

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. stained. b. sic.

COMMENTS: Despite the subsequent furore there is no reason to doubt that Dundas's reception and promotion in the Hospitallers was perfectly regular. Bulls relating to Dundas's reception and this grant of expectation are registered in Malta Cod. 395, ff. 139v-140v, 141r and 142v, but this one is not among them (Appendix II, no.51).

The cabinientum was the pension or sustenance allowed to a conventual brother from his own preceptory.

27. Receipt of fra Thomas Docwray Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England, acknowledging receipt from fra George Dundas preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland by hand of William Honnyng and Richard Brayfeld citizens and bakers of London, £22 10s. sterling which he had at Rome for his expenses for the defense of his right to the preceptory; also acknowledging receipt of £5 6s.8d. sterling which Dundas had for his support and expenses journeying to Scotland; total sum received, £27 16s.8d. Dated Calais, 1 October 1521.

Ego Frater Thomas Docwra prior Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia Confiteor me recepisse et habuisse de venerabilj Confratre meo fratre Georgio Dundas preceptore preceptorie de Torfichin in regno scocie per manus Willelmj Honnyng et Ricardi Brayfeld Ciuium et pistenariorum London' Regni anglie viginti duas libras et decem solidos sterlingorum Et sunt pro ducatis de Camera Centum racionato singulo ducato ad quatuor solidos et sex denarios sterlingorum quos habuit Rome pro vsu suo proprio per meam commissionem ut expensis suis ibidem melius supplere posset pro defensione Juris sui ad dictam preceptoriam suam
Item In alia partita confiteor me recepisse de prefato preceptore per manus pistenariorum supradictorum Quinque libras sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum Et sunt pro simili summa quam dictus preceptor habuit a me in anglia per viam mutui ut expensis suis item facientis pro Scotia melius supportare posset Summa tocus receptionis XXVIJ L XVJ S VIIJ D Et pro testimonio veritatis hanc quitanciam manu mea propria subscripsi et signaui et eidem sigillum meum apposui Dat' Calisie primo die mensis Octobris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo primo

Ita est prior hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalem
 in Anglia

TDocwra

ENDORSED: Receipt by the Prior To George Dundas preceptor of Torphichen - 1520.

DESCRIPTION: Paper, 22cm. x 31cm. Part of right hand edge below signature cut for superimposition of seal, 2cm. wide cut 2.8cm. deep; small shield-shaped seal superimposed on fold.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/8

COMMENTS: This receipt is in the same hand as no.28, issued on the same day at London; it is also the same hand which wrote the

earlier part of Malta Cod. 54, the account-book for the Tongue of England for the 1520s and early 1530s. This transaction, whereby the prior of England lent money to Dundas for his expenses in litigation at Rome and in travelling to Scotland (the latter because Dundas was still not getting anything from his preceptory), is not mentioned in the account-book, as it was simply transacted between Dundas and the prior, and did not involve the common treasury. Cf. no.28 below.

28. Receipt of fra John Babington preceptor of Yvelay and Barowe and receiver for the common treasurer of Rhodes in the priory of England, acknowledging receipt from fra George Dundas preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland for the responsions of his preceptory for three years, i.e. the years ending on St John's day 1519, 1520 and 1521, by hand of William Honnyng and Richard Brayfeld citizens and bakers of London, £100 sterling; providing that the present quittance does not prejudice the common treasurer of Rhodes for the period when Dundas was not in possession of the preceptory, i.e. 1510 when the preceptory was vacant by death of Brother William Knolls and for the years 1511-1517, which arrears he remits to the judgement of the grand master of Rhodes and his council. London, at the chamber of the common treasury in the house of St John of Jerusalem (Clerkenwell). 1 October 1521.

Ego Frater Johannes Babington preceptor de Yeuelay et Barowe ac Receptor pro comunj thesauro Rhodi in prioratu anglie Confiteor me recepisse et habuisse ad vsum predicti Communis thesauri Rhodi de venerando religioso fratre Georgio Dundas preceptor preceptorie de Torfichin in regno Scocie pro solucione responsionum dicte preceptorie sue pro tribus annis videlicet pro anno finito in festi sancti Johannis anno millesimo CCCC^o decimo nono Et pro anno finito in simili festo anno millesimo CCCC^o vicesimo Et pro anno finito in simili festo anno millesimo CCCC^o vicesimo primo per manus Willelmj Honnyng et Ricardi Brayfeld ciuium et pistenariorum London' Centum libras sterlingorum de quibus Centum libris sterlingorum fateor me pro et nomine predictis communi thesauri rhodi plene et integre fuisse et esse solutum dictumque fratrem Georgium Dundas atque successores suos preceptores dicte preceptorie de Torfichin ex dicta summa Centum librarum sterlingorum Quietio per presentes prouiso semper quod presens Quitancia non cedat in preiudicium prefati communis thesauri rhodi pro iuribus et responsionibus eiusdem thesauri pro Tempore quo prefatus frater Georgius fuit extra possessionem predictae preceptorie sue de Torfichin hoc est pro anno 1510 tunc finiente

anno vacantis eiusdem preceptorie per mo-[rtem] predecessoris
sui fratris Willelmj Knolls Et pro annis 1511 . 1512 . 1513
1514 1515 1516 1517 Que quidem arreragia pro eisdem annis
Ego prefatus Receptor frater Johannes Babington remitto iudicio
et ordinationi Reverendissimj domini magni magistri Rhodi pro
tempore existentis et Reverendj sui consilij In cuius rei
testimonium hanc Quitanciam manu mea propria subscripsi Et eidem
sigillum meum apposui Datum London' in Camera pro comunj
thesauro Rhodi situata infra domum sancti Johannis Jerusalem
primo die Octobris anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo
vicesimo primq :/: —

Ita est frater Johannes Babyngton receptor pro comunj
thesauro Rhodi in prioratu anglie manu propria --

ENDORSED: (contemporary hand) Quitancia pro fratre Georgio
Dundas pro annis 1519 1520 1521 ./ . C li
(hand of 17th century) Receipt the Treasurer of Rhodes to
George Dundas preceptor of Torphichen 1 October 1521

DESCRIPTION: Paper, doubled over to form two sheets each 22cm.
x 31.5cm. On the front sheet a strip 2.8cm. long and 2cm. wide
has been cut and folded back at the right hand side below the
signature. It bears a small shield-shaped seal in red wax.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/9

COMMENTS: The hand is the same as no.27 (q.v.) and of the
contemporary part of Malta Cod.54. This receipt is entered in
that account book on ff. 39v-40r. Dundas consistently refused
to accept responsibility for arrears due during the years when
the Scottish government was excluding him from possession
(1511-1517), but it was not until 1526 that he prevailed upon
the prior of England and the common treasury to remit them
(cf. Malta Cod.54, ff. 167v-168r; Appendix II, no.66).

29. Bull of fra Philip de Villiers l'Isleadam master of the
Hospital of St John of Jerusalem granting to fra Walter Lindsay
of the English langue, on nomination of the Turcopolier, prior
and preceptors of that Langue, the ancienitas or right of
expectation to the preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland when
it next becomes vacant by death or resignation of fra George
Dundas. Viterbo, 20 February 1526/7

FRATER Philippus de Villers Lisleadam Dei gratia sacre domus

Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani Magister Humilis
 pauperumque Jesu Christi Custos et nos Conuentus domus eiusdem
 Religioso in Christo nobis Charissimo fratri Valtero Lyndessay
 dicte nostre domus et venerande lingue Anglie et Scotie militi /
 salutem in Domino sempiternam / Preclara virtutum tuarum merita
 multiplices animi tui dotes et laudabilia obsequia per te
 religioni nostre laudabiliter prestita et que pro fidei catholice
 defensione post hac ardentius prestiturum speramus ; nos merito
 hortantur vt ea tibi liberaliter concedamus quibus securius et
 commodius que per stabilimenta nostra in compensatione liberum
 et meritorum tuorum assignata et concessa sunt consequi et habere
 valeas / Adherentes igitur antique et obseruate consuetudini
 indultisque ad priuilegijs a Summis Pontificibus presertim a
 felicis recordationis Leone decimo sanctaque sede Apostolica
 nostre Religioni concessis et a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Domino
 Clemente diuina prouidentia Papa Septimo confirmatis et innouatis /
 quibus nobis conceditur / facultas et auctoritas dandi et
 conferendi fratribus nostris tam generales quam speciales
 antianitates siue expectiuas ad omnia et quecunque ordinis nostri
 beneficia vbilibet locorum constituta quocies et prout nobis
 conducibile et opportunum visum fuerit / ac consuetudinibus
 venerandis Turcupulerio Priore Hibernie Preceptoribus et fratribus
 dicte lingue ad quos huiusmodi nogotium particulariter spectat
 et pertinet / de nostri prelibati Magistri licentia ad hoc
 specialiter data more et loco solito congregatis / premissorum
 meritorum contemplatione suasi / omnia meliori via modo forma
 et iure quibus melius^a et validius facere possimus et debemus
 vt infrascripta . debitum sortiantur effectum Indicem maturo
 et deliberato consilio de nostra certa scientia et speciali
 gratia tibi presenti et acceptante harum serie conferimus
 concedimus et donamus antienitatem ius quesitum atque specialem
 expectatiuam ante alios quocunque ad baiulia seu preceptoriam
 nostram de Torphicin inclyti regni Scotie quandocunque et
 quomodocunque eam vacare contingerit seu de presenti vacet per
 cessum vel decessum aut quamuis aliam dimissionem Religiosi in
 Christo nobis Charissimi fratris Georgij Dondas qui prenominatam
 preceptoriam Scocie de presenti tenet et possidet seu tenuit et

possedit / In vim cuiusquidem antientitatis et iuris quesiti
 tam in conuentu nostri existens quam extra eum possis et valeas
 per te vel tuum legitimum procuratorem antedictam preceptoriam
 vt premittitur seu alio quouismodo vacaturam seu vacantem Cum
 omnibus et singulis suis membris predijs iuribus et pertinentijs
 vniuersis ad ipsam spectantibus et pertinentibus seu spectare
 et pertinere debentibus quoquomodo pro tuo cabiniento consequi
 habere et cum effectu tenere ac eandem preceptoriam vacantem
 vigorem presentium intrare et possessionem eiusdem pacificam
 et quietam adipisci / ad eaque liberum accessum et ingressum
 habere / ac ipsam tanquam legitimus et canonicus Preceptor regere
 et administrare / fructusque ac quoscunque redditus eiusdem
 percipere et de ipsis proVt nostra postulant stabilitate disponere /
 nulla alia nostra vel cuiusuis alterius requisita vel expectata
 licentia prouisione vel consensu in premissis / saluis tui et
 reseruatis quibuscunque iuribus nostri communis thesauri impositis
 et quouismodo imponendis atque mortuario et vacante vnacum
 obseruatione omnium et singulorum que inter te et dictam linguam
 interuenerunt / Quapropter in virtute sancte obedientie harum
 serie precipimus et mandamus cuicunque ordinis nostri fratri
 aut quouis alio subdito nostro primitus vel posterius requisito
 Ita quod vnus per alium se excusare non possit / et alium quencunque
 non subditum secularem clericum vel laycum cuiusuis qualitatis
 et conditionis fuerit etiam requisitum in iuris subditum
 rogamus vt contingente casu vacationis te vel legitimum tuum
 procurator' vigore presentium in possessionem pacificam et
 quietam dicte preceptorie de Torphicin inducat et inductum
 conseruet . Amoto ab eadem quolibet alio si quis fuerit / quem
 nos tanquam illicitum detentorem amouemus et decernimus firmiter
 amouendum Quam quidem preceptoriam sic vacantem ex nunc provt
 ex tunc conferimus concedimus et donamus Iniungentes tibi vt
 in termino vnus anni a die adeptæ possessionis dicte preceptorie
 statim in antea numerando literas gratificatorias seu noue
 prouisionis a nobis obtineas super dicta preceptoria Mandantes
 et districtius in $\sqrt{?}$ vigore or virtute^b prefate obedientie
 percipientes vniuersis et singulis ordinis nostri fratribus quacunque
 auctoritate dignitate officioque fungentibus presentibus et
 futuris ne contra huiusmodi antianitatis iuris quesiti decreti
 donationis et inauditi literas directe vel indirecte quouis

quesito color' aliquatenus facere vel venire presumant / sed eas
 in omnibus et per omnia inuiolabiliter obseruent et ab alijs
 obseruari faciant / In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra communis
 plumbea presentibus est appensa Datum Viterbij in Conuentu
 nostro Die vigesima Februarij Anno ab incarnatione Dominica .
 Millesimo quingentesimo vicesimo Sexto

on fold: R^{ta} InCancell F Thomas Bosius loco Vicecancell.

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 37cm. x 26cm., folded to a depth of 5cm.,
 two holes for insertion of cord; leaden bulla appended on plain
 cord, bearing the words: (obverse) HOSPITALIS . IHERVSALEM.
 (reverse) BVLLA.MAGIS.ET.CONVENTVS.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/10

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. on fold. b. stained.

COMMENTS: This bull (registered in Malta Cod. 412 f. 192v-193r)
 makes no mention of the agreement reached before the English
 tongue on 29 December 1525 between Lindsay, John Chalmers and
 the tongue, whereby Lindsay was to have the ancientry first
 and to compensate Chalmers with a pension in view of the latter's
 distinguished service at Rhodes during the siege of 1522 (Book
of Deliberations, p.71; cf. Malta Cod. 415, f. 164v-165r,
 a bull of the grand master granting the ancientry of Torphichen
 to Chalmers in succession to Lindsay on 15 March 1532/3;
 Appendix II, no.72).

30. Bull of fra Philip de Villiers l'IsleAdam, Grand Master of
 the Hospital, and the Chapter General of the Order, to fra
 Walter Lindsay, Preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland. Concession
 to him that, because he is the only knight of the Order in the
 Kingdom of Scotland and unable to govern their properties there
 effectively, and as his predecessors have used force in defence
 of the said properties involving bloodshed and death, he is
 permitted to set lands in feu, in perpetuity or for a term, that
 are remote from the chief seat of his preceptory or otherwise
 disturbed, to the advantage of the Order. Malta, 7 March 1532/3

FRATER PHILIPPVS DE VILLERS Lisleadam Dej Gratia sacrae domus
 hospitalis sanctj Ioannis Iherosolimitani Magister humilisque
 pauperum Iesu custos, et nos baiulij Priores, Preceptores,
 et fratres Consilium completum retentionum in vim generalis Capituli
 celebrantes. Religioso in Christo nobis charissimo fratri
 Waltero Lindesay Preceptorie seu Comende nostre de Torphilzin
 Regni Scotie Preceptori Salutem in domino et diligentiam in

commissis. Adhoc capitula generalia in ordine nostro haberi et celebrari consueuerunt et debent, vt pro temporum et regionum qualitate futuris et eminentibus periculis et dispendijs occurrentes rebus et negotijs ipsius ordinis prouideamus et consulamus, sicut in Domino conuenire dignoscimus. Sane petitio pro parte tua nobis in Capitulo generalj porrecta continebat, quod plure membre, domus, grangie et predia dicte Preceptorie de Torphilzin ita ab eadem videlicet a capite distant, vel alias perturbarj solent, vt cum solus in toto isto amplissimo regno ordinis nostrj frater miles existas, illis regendis, custodiendis et administrandis minime sufficias, eaque causa et ratione predecessores tuj armata manu non sine magna christiani sanguinis effusione, plurimorumque nece / quod vehementer dolemus dictam Preceptoriam, quam nunquam pacificam vndique et tenere potuerunt, defendere et custodire cogebantur, quemadmodum et tu ipse de presentj cogaris: cum potissimum dicta membra domus et predia potentioribus sint vicina, a quibus vt plurimum vsurpare consueuerunt, et quia tot malis, et dispendijs remediarij, et commodis et vtilitatj Preceptorie et Religionis nostre consulere posse nullo modo arbitraris, et census nisi iuxta morem Patrie, m[emb]ra, domus, grangie et predia huiusmodi a Preceptoriam distantia vel litigiosa, in feudum seu emphiteosim perpetuam, cum augmentatione tamen redditum, concedantur. Hunc est quod confidentes de tua fidej probitate erga quod Deum et ordinem nostrum zelo, necnon in rebus agendis dexteritate et experientia, cum valde difficile dispendiosum et fere impossibile foret, pro more isthis adhoc commissa nos destinare. Supplicationibus tuis inclinatj, inuicem maturo et deliberato consilio, de nostra certa scientia authoritata et decreto, ac in vim generalis Capitulj, omni melior via modo iure et forma, quibus melius et validius facere possumus et debemus, tenore presentium tibi permittimus plenissimam authoritatem et facultatem concedimus et donamus, premissa membra, domus, grangias et predia, que vt permittitur a Capite Preceptorie distant, seu perturbata existunt, ita vt commode per te seu per Commendatorem regi administrarij et defendj non possunt, [per]sonis cuiusuis conditionis tibi bene visis, cum tamen augmentatione reddituum, et in euidentem vtilitatem Praeceptorie et Religionis nostre, et non alias infeudandj, et in feudum perpetuum seu in

emphiteosim etiam perpetuam, vel ad tempus autoritate nostra concedendj, donandj et elargiendj, cum pactionibus, obligationibus et clausulis in similibus requisitis, necessarijs et consuetis, super quibus honorem tuum tuamque conscientiam et animam oneramus, Promittentesque bona fide pro nobis nostrisque successoribus habere ratum, gratum et firmam omne id et quicquid et quantum per te super dicta infeudatione et in emphiteosim concessione, actum, gestum, factum concessum, datumque fuerit, sub obligatione bonorum nostrorum, nostrisque religionis presentium et futurorum. Precipientes vniuersis et singulis dicte domus nostre fratribus, quacunque autoritate, dignitate, officioque fungentibus in virtute sancte obedientie, ne contra presentes nostras aliquatenus facere vel venire presumant sed eas studeant inuiolabiliter obseruare. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datum Melite in Conuentu nostro durantibus retentionibus nostri generalis Capituli, Die septima mensis Martii, Anno ab incarnatione Dominica Millesimo Quingentesimo trigesimo secundo.

ENDORSED: Copp' dune permission daliener aucunes terres de la Commanderye de Saint Jehan en Escosse autrefois Concedee par Messeigneurs le grand Maistre et chapitre de la Religion du Commandeur de laise Commanderye (sic: presumably for 'au Commandeur de l'aise [de sa] Commanderie?) (hand of 16th century) 7 March 1532-3 (hand of 17th century)

DESCRIPTION: Copy on paper, approx. 21cm. x 32cm., two sheets

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/14

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. small hole in paper.

COMMENTS: This is the first concession of its kind to a Scottish preceptor, and probably reflects the changing economic climate of the early sixteenth century. It was revoked on the accession of James Sandilands (no.32), but re-granted to him a few months later (SRO GD 119/32).

31. Notarial instrument narrating that fra James Sandilands, knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, presented letters of collation and provision from fra John de Homedes, Master of the Order, sealed with the common bulla and dated at Malta, 29 March 1547, to fra Peter Ourrier, and requested to be given possession of the Preceptory of Torphichen; Ourrier gave him possession by handing over chalice, bible, missal, other

ornaments of the high altar and the keys of the church of Torphichen for spiritual possession, and entering the palatium of Torphichen by giving earth and stone for temporal possession, requiring the Preceptory's dependents to obey him as preceptor. 29 June, 1550.

In nomine Dominj amen per hoc presens publicum instrumentum Cunctis pateat euidenter et sit notum Quod anno a natiuitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo indictione octaua die dominica vigesima nona mensis Junij Pontificatus sanctissimi in christo patris et domini nostri dominj Julij diuina prouidentia pape terciij anno primo . In mei notarij publici infrascripti testiumque infrascriptorum presentia personaliter constitutus Nobilis dominus frater Jacobus Sandelandis ordinis diui Joannis Baptiste Hierosolimitan' et sacre domus Hospitalis eiusdem miles ac preceptorie de Torphichin preceptor habens et tenens suis in manibus quasdam collationis et prouisionis dicte preceptorie literas a Reuerendissimo et Illustrissimo domino fratre Joanne de Homedes Dei gratia sacre domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Baptiste Hierosolimitan' magistro et conuentu domus eiusdem impetratas et concessas bulla communi plumbea dicte domus cordulis canabeis albis impendenda sigillatas sanas quidem et integras non viciatas non cancellatas nec in aliqua parte suspectas sub datis Melite die vigesima nona mensis marcij Anno Dominj millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo septimo Religioso fratri Petro Ourrier dicti ordinis militi exhibuit et presentauit Eundem fratrem Petrum quatinus ipsum dominum Jacobum in realem actualem et corporalem dicte preceptorie de Torphichin iuriumque ei pertinentium omnium eiusdem possessionem induceret et inuestiret Quiquidem frater Petrus Ourrier prefatas literas cum ea qua decet reuerencia ad se recepit Illisque obtemperare volens vt obediens filius antedictum dominum Jacobum Sandelandis principalem in dicte preceptorie de Torphichin Juriumque pertinentium omnium eiusdem tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus actualem realem et corporalem possessionem per calicis libri missalis ac aliorum magni altaris ornamentorum necnon clauium ecclesie de Torphichin tactum et consignationem^a respectiue in spiritualibus ac etiam ingrediendo palatium de Torphichin et in curia eiusdem per terre et lapidis vt moris est traditionem in temporalibus iuxta earundem literarum collationis et prouisionis vim formam continentiam et tenorem

induxit et Inuestiuit omnesque et singulos vtriusque sexus homines vassalles et subditos et dicte preceptorie arrendatorios et colonos quatinus eidem domino Jacobo tanquam vero et indubitato dicte preceptorie preceptori in omnibus et per omnia obtemperarent obedirent Et intendirent obnixe requisivit et monuit aliasque et alia fecit et executus fuit prout in sepefatis literis eidem mandabatur Super quibus omnibus et singulis premissis prefatus dominus Jacobus preceptor sibi a me notario publico infrascripto vnum vel plura fieri atque confici petijt instrumentum et instrumenta Acta erant hec in ecclesia et palatio de Torphichin respectiue horam circiter vndecimam infra missarum sollempnia sub anno indictione die mense et pontificatu quibus supra presentibus Ibidem nobilibus et egregijs viris Joanne Sandelandis de Calder Willelmo Lauder de Haltoun Roberto Gyb Andrea Ross Petro Pollart magistro Joanne Spottiswod rectore de Calder Roberto Aikinheid et Joanne Broune capellanis, cum diuersis alijs testibus ad premissa vocatis Atque Rogatis

Et ego Joannes Gray clericus Glasguensis diocesis publicus apostolica auctoritate notarius et in archiuo Romane curie descriptus et matriculatus Quia premissis omnibus et singulis vnacum prenominatis testibus presens interfui eaque omnia et singula premissa sic fieri vidi et audiui ac in notam sumpsit Ex qua hec presens publicum instrumentum manu mea propria scriptum exinde confeci subscripsi et publicaui Signoque nomine et cognomine mejs solitis et consuetis signaui in premissorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium Rogatus et Requisitus / --

DESCRIPTION: 30.8cm. at top, 29.5cm. at foot x 19.5cm., unfolded. Gray's signum is to the left of the docquet; below it are the words Fama multis prestat diuitijs.

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/25

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. consignationem, MS

COMMENTS: So far as is known, this is the only surviving account of the reception of a preceptor of Torphichen. Fra Peter Ourrier was a knight of the French tongue, who in the 1560s was involved in litigation over the preceptory of Braux (Malta Cod.91, ff.48r, 51r, 75r). It is probable that earlier a knight of the English priory would have performed the function which he performed here, but that there was no Englishman available in 1550. The bull referred to is SRO GD 119/20.

32. Bull of fra John de la Valette, Grand Master of the Hospital, hearing that many of the possessions, right and goods of the baylia or commend of Torphichen in Scotland are alienated and set in feu, to the damnation of the souls of the recipients as well as of the grantors and to the detriment of the Order, and knowing of the good qualities of fra James Sandelands commendator thereof, revoking a procuratory given under the communal bulla to fra John James Sandelands, knight of the priory of England, on 27 May 1556, others concerning the recovery of certain other goods, and others concerning the spoils of the late fra Walter Lindsay his predecessor in the commend; hereby creating and making fra James Sandelands procurator of the master and convent for the common treasury, to recover lands alienated and set in feu, enjoy the fruits thereof, and pay his annual responsions to the receiver of the priory of France; and to take legal action for the recovery of rights and property, calling in the secular arm if necessary. Dated Malta, 1 October 1557.

Frater Joannes de Valeta Dei gracia Sacre domus Hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani magister humilis pauperumque Jesu Christi custos Et nos conuentus domus eiusdem Vniuersis et singulis presentes nostras literas visuris, lecturis et audituris salutem in Domino et prosperos ad vota success[]^b Summa ope, solerti studio, accurataque diligentia nos iugiter nititis atque inuigilare decet vt bona prædia et iura nostri ordinis pro Catholicæ fidei tuitione ac pijs sacre hospitalitatis operibus exercendis ascripta et deputata recuperentur et conseruentur Cum igitur sicut accepimus in Baylia seu Commenda nostra sancti Joannis de Torphil3in in regno Scotiæ sita quam plurima prædia, possessiones, iurisdictiones, iura et bona stabilia indebite et contra formam statutorum nostrorum ac sacrorum canonum dispositionem alienata, distracta seu in emphyteosim perpetuam vel ad tempus concessa comperiantur, in damnationem animarum tam possidentium quam eorum qui nulla suffulta autoritate illa concesserunt, maximumque Religionis nostre et dicte commende detrimentum Hinc est quod Confidentes de summa prudentia, experientia, fide et animi integritate Religiosi in christo nobis charissimi fratris Jacobi de Sandelandis eiusdem commende Commendatarij, Quem virum probum ac multis virtutibus ornatum cognouimus ac experti sumus Jnuicem maturo et deliberato consilio, de nostra certa scientia omnibus melioribus via, modo, iure et forma quibus melius et validius facere possumus et debemus, Reuocantes procurationes alias a nostro Conuentu emanatas sub bulla communi plumbea die Vigesima septima

mensis Maij Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquagesimo sexto
 in personam Religiosi nostri fratris Joannis Jacobi de Sandelandis
 Prioratus Anglie [militis]^a Alteram pro recuperatione huiusmodi
 bonorum Alteram vero pro exigendis spolio quondam fratris
 Walterij Lindsay in dicta Commenda predecessoris ac alijs de
 rebus, Citra tamen reuocationem aliorum nostrorum procuratorum
 in diuersis mundi partibus constitutorum eundem fratrem Jacobum
 de Sandelandis presentem et onus huiusmodi humiliter susipientem
 facimus, creamus, constituimus et solemniter ordinamus nostrum,
 nostrisque ordinis et eius communis aerarij procuratorem,
 actorem, factorem, syndicum, œconomum, et nuntium specialem
 et generalem Ita tamen quod specialitas generalitati non derogat
 nec econtra Videlicet specialiter et expresse ad nostro dictique
 aerarij et ordinis, nomine, sumptibus tamen et expensis suis
 præfata bona stabilia prædia, possessiones, iurisdictiones,
 iura proprietatis et dominia a dicta commenda quouismodo et per
 quoscunque alienata distracta seu, ut permittitur, in emphyteosim
 perpetuam vel ad tempus seu alias contra formam statutorum
 nostrorum concessa vel alias vsurpata petendum et recuperandum,
 in iusque et dominium nostre Religionis restituendum dictæque
 commende reintegrandum, inque possessionem illorum intrandum,
 functibusque et redditibus eorundem, vita sua durante, gaudendum
 et fruendum ac in suos vsus conuertendum iuxta prefatorum
 statutorum nostrorum formam ac consuetudinem nostri ordinis
 Ita tamen quod solutio responsionum ac iurium nostri communis
 aerarij pro dicta commenda debitorum et debendorum fiat ac fieri
 debeat per dictum commendatorium seu eius procuratorem singulis
 annis in manibus Receptoris nostri Prioratus Francie iuxta
 dictorum statutorum tenorem . Item in et super premissis omnibus
 et eorum ratione coram Serenissima Regina Scotiæ ac quibuscunque
 Illustrissimis principibus, proregibus, ducibus, comitibus,
 Locatenentibus, assessoribus, alijsque magistratibus et iudicibus
 tam ecclesiastica quam mundana auctoritate fulgentibus presentibus
 et futuris quoties expedire videbitur comparandum, agendum et
 defendendum, fora, loca et iudices declinandum et recusandum de
 iudicibus et locis non suspectis conueniendum, libellum seu
 libellos et petitiones verbo vel in scriptis dandum et faciendum,
 exceptiones declinatorias allegandum, litem seu lites contestandum
 de calumnia seu malitia vitanda in animam nostram iurandum,

ponendum et articulandum, positionibus et articulis respondendum, Testes literas, acta et instrumenta producendum, in testes et alia contra producta dicendum, replicendum, triplicandum et, si opus fuerit, quadruplicandum, exceptiones peremptorias et alias quascunque allegandum in causis concludendum ius ordinationes et sententias interlocutorias et diffinitivas dici dari et pronunciari videndum, petendum et audiendum ab ipsis et quolibet alio grauimine appellandum semel vel pluries et appellationem seu appellationes releuandum et prosequendum apostolicos debita instantia petendum et obtinendum Superexpensis iurandum et ipsas taxari petendum, Auxilium quoque brachij secularis implorandum pro conseruatione iurium et indemnitate nostrę, nostręque Religionis Vnum quoque vel plures procuratorem seu procuratores ad Lites tantum cum pari vel limitata potestate substituendum et eundem seu eos reuocandum, presentis procuratorio nihilominus, in suo robare duraturo Et generaliter in premissis et quolibet premissorum omnia et singula ad implendum et faciendum, que quilibet legitimus procurator facere et adimplere posset ac deberet, et que nosmet facere possumus si personaliter adessemus etiam si talia essent que magis speciale mandatum exigent quam presentibus sit expressum Promittentes bona fide habere ratum, gratum et firmum quicquid per dictum nostrum procuratorem modo premissis actum, factum, gestum, recuperatum, petitum procuratumve fuerit Sub obligatione et hypotheca omnium bonorum nostrorum nostręque Religionis presentium et futurorum. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa Datum Melite in Conuentu nostro Die prima mensis octobris Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquagesimo Septimo :. --

On fold: R^{ta} Jn Cancell^{ia}

F.M. Rolas de Portali^o
Vicecancell^{ius}

DESCRIPTION: Parchment, 35cm. x 26.5cm., folded to a depth of 3cm., with two holes at foot for cord. Complete leaden bull survives, suspended on plain cord, bearing the inscription HOSPITALIS . IHERVSALEM .

SOURCE: SRO GD 119/28

TEXTUAL NOTES: a. stained. b. faded.

COMMENTS: This represents a reversal of the policy of setting lands in feu which the Grand Master had permitted under fra Walter Lindsay, and to which he was to allow Sandilands to revert some five months later (cf. no.46). Clearly fra James Sandilands was already able to frustrate the ambitions of his relative fra John James. The latter had a licence to return ad patriam from the Convent on 27 May 1556 (Malta Cod. 425, f.153r), but it is only summarised in the register, so it is not clear what powers it accorded him. Clearly whatever it contained incensed James Sandilands, for he came to Malta straight after (he was at Malta by 7 May 1557), and was involved first in quarrelling with fra John James, and later asserted that fra John James was not of sufficient nobility to join the order (Malta Cod. 89, ff.108r, 126v, 130v; Cod.426, f.198r. Appendix II, nos.89, 92,).

APPENDIX II

CALENDAR OF MATERIAL RELATING TO SCOTLAND

PRESERVED IN MALTA

Appendix II.Calendar of Material relating to Scotland preserved in the Archives of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in the National Library of Malta, Valetta, 1364-1569Introduction to Appendix II

This fine collection contains the Archives of the Knights of St John from their foundation in the early twelfth century, and includes information about the Knights' properties in Scotland and Scottish brothers of the Order from the mid-fourteenth century until the Reformation.

The Archives are described and catalogued (though the cataloguing has not yet been completed) in A. Z. Gabarretta and J. Mizzi, Catalogue of the Records of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library (Malta, 1964-in progress). This has so far published catalogues of sections I - IV and VII - XIII of the Archives' seventeen divisions. The two sections of the Archives with the greatest amount of Scottish material are the Libri Conciliorum (minute-books of the Grand Master's council for transacting the day-to-day business of the Order), which have been catalogued, and the Libri Bullarum (registers of magisterial bulls), which have not.

The first task was to work through the Libri Bullarum systematically in search of Scottish material. Scotland was included as part of the priory and lingua or nation of England, and each volume of the register has a number of folios (usually about ten or twelve) allocated to Prioratus Anglie Hybernie et Scocie. Sometimes, when no business relating to the Priory of England was transacted, these folios were left blank, or filled up with registrations of bulls relating to some other priory which had overrun its allocated space; but most volumes contain some material relating to the British Isles. Nearly 120 volumes in this series were checked, ranging in date from 1347 to 1569; of these, forty-three contained at least one entry relating to lands in or brothers from Scotland, and a total of seventy-one entries were identified as relating to Scotland. These varied in length from very brief notes that Scottish

brothers had been given licence to depart from the convent returning ad patriam, to lengthy bulls, sometimes occupying several folios, relating to disputes between the brothers of the Order in Scotland, to visitations, or to relations between the preceptory of Scotland and the priory of England. There are also bulls conferring the preceptory of Torphichen on a brother, or conferring the ancienitas or right to succeed to a preceptory at the next vacancy. The material abstracted from this series adds a new dimension to our knowledge of the preceptory of Torphichen, as it shows us the preceptory viewed through the eyes of the grand master and convent of Rhodes (and later Malta) — as a piece of patronage to be granted out from which certain returns (or responsiones) were expected, rather than as patronage to be eagerly sought after, which is what it must have seemed to most Scots. The Libri Bullarum also gives much valuable information of the movements of Scottish brothers to and from the convent, and their residences there; many Scottish brothers served no longer at the convent than the minimum term for procuring an ancienitas (some were dispensed for serving less), but it appears that all knight brothers made the trip to the convent at least once, sometimes more often. There are also a few instances where Scots are commended for valiant services against the Turks and in defence of Rhodes.

The Libri Conciliorum are fully catalogued. The period between 1473 and 1570 occupies seventeen volumes, seven of which contained a total of twenty-five entries relating to Scotland. These cast light on the careers of individual brothers who spent long periods dwelling at the convent: for instance fra Patrick Scougal, who failed to procure the ancienitas of Torphichen in the 1460s and met opposition from English brothers when he sought preferment to a preceptory in England, and fra John James Sandelandis, who was expelled from the Order because of his quarrelsome disposition and later executed for stealing precious objects from a church in Malta in 1564.

Twenty-one volumes of the Libri Capitulorum Generalium (minutes of the chapters general held roughly every three years) were examined, and yielded a very slender return. The names of

only three Scottish brothers are recorded among the representatives of the English lingua at the chapters general of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. Two of the minutes of chapters general include among the list of those present the word Scocie, showing that Scottish procurators were expected, and beside it a blank space, showing that they had not appeared.

Other volumes consulted were of a more miscellaneous character. They included the account book of the common treasury for the 1370s and 1380s (Codex 48), which shows Scottish payments made in 1332 and 1387; another account book (Codex 55) which records payments from Scotland in 1388; the account book of the lingua of England for the 1520s and 1530s (Codex 54) which interestingly shows the Scottish preceptor, fra George Dundas, successfully resisting demands from the common treasury for responsiones due from Scotland over an eight year period when the Scottish government was excluding him from possession of his preceptory; and a book of criminal proceedings against brothers of the order for the year 1558 (Codex 2237) which records in detail how fra John James Sandelandis got into trouble for the first time. Two important MSS with materials relating to Scotland were not consulted; they are the Report of fra Philip de Thame on the priory of England in 1333 (Codex 2191), and the minute book of the English lingua from 1523 to 1567 (Codex 2192), both of which have been published.

Brothers of the order are distinguished in this calendar by having the Italian word fra prefixed to their name. This has been found more convenient than frater, which is used consistently in the Maltese Archives to indicate a member of the order. The only abbreviation used is G.M., throughout for Grand Master.

1. Rhodes, 22 February, 1364/5. Cod. 319, f.40r-41r

Accounts of the G.M.'s procurator in transmarinis partibus collected between 15 April 1364 and 26 May 1365.

Item, from Sir David de Marj for part of the arrears owed by him for the Order's houses which he holds in Scotland --- 373 florins.

2. Rhodes, 15 October, 1375. Cod. 346, f.121r-v, 236r-v.

Fra Robert de Juilly, G.M., to fra Robert de Hales, prior of England. The prior informed the convent that their possessions in Scotland were accustomed to be held, ruled and governed by the priors of England, and that the assembly at Avignon had granted the preceptory of Scotland to Robert Scotus, not without prejudice to Hales; he represented that this grant was prejudicial to him, and the G.M. hereby revokes the grant to Robert Scot and confers the preceptory on Hales, to administer and remove unlawful detainers.

[Engrossed in a bull of 17 October, 1422]

3. Rhodes, 22 April, 1379. Cod.346, f.121r-v, 236r-v

Fra Bertrand Flota, grand prior and lieutenant G.M. (to fra John Ferdinand de Heredia, G.M.), to Robert le Grant, domicello. Grants him a piece of land called Coltre in Scotland in the diocese of Abreden', with all its rights and pertinents, paying annually at the feast of the Assumption [15 August] an annual census of ten gold francs. Revokes earlier concessions to master David de Mere. This is done with the approval and reservation of fra Robert de Hales, prior of England.

[Engrossed in a bull of 17 October, 1422]

4. Rhodes, 5 June, 1381. Cod.321, f.136r

Fra John Ferdinand de Heredia, G.M., to fra Robert de Hales, prior of England. Having examined the chancery registers of fras Raymond Berengerii and Robert de Juilly, G.Ms., showing that the baiulia of the Order in Scotland is accustomed to be governed by the priors of England, and considering that the baiulia can be more easily augmented by them, confirms and confers anew on him the said baiulia of Scotland.

5. Rhodes, 30 May, 1382. Cod.48, f.59r

Accounts for 1382.

Received by Messire Robert d'arqui, knight and lord thereof, by the hand of Dyne' Responi, merchant of Lucca, for the rent and ferme of the Order's property in Scotland for this year ending

St John the Baptist's Day [24 June] 1332 — 400 francs, valued at four francs equal to five florins of the Common Treasury — 500 florins.

6. Avignon, 20 October, 1384.

Cod.322, f.52r-53v

Summary of accounts for six years, 1379-1384.

Item, from the priory of Scotland for the responsions of 1379 — nil.

For the year 1380 — 200 florins.

For 1381 — nil.

For 1382 — 500 florins.

For 1383 and 1384 — nil.

Sum of the whole — 700 florins.

7. Avignon, 15 April, 1386.

Cod.323, f.138r

Fra John Ferdinand de Heredia, G.M., to fra Guardo de Brenna, [Gerard de Brienne] prior of France, receiver general of the Common Treasury, etc. The G.M. has learned that the parish church of Cultir, diocese of Aberdeen, dependant on the house seu baiulia de torrphichyne, priory of Scotland, is vacant by the death of master David demare (= de Mar), who with others held the houses for certo annuo censu seu canone. The vacant church is conferred on sir Richard de Cornell.

8. Avignon, 21 April, 1386.

Cod.323, f.139r

Fra John Ferdinand de Heredia, G.M., to sir Richard de Cornell. Confers on him the rectory of Aboyne and chaplaincy of Tulich thereto attached.

9. Avignon, April 1387.

Cod.48, f.146v

Accounts for 1386.

Received from Messire Thomas d'Arguin, lord of Arquin, responsions by Lup' Dene' for the Order's property in Scotland for time passed, by hand of Robert Griay, esquire, the sum of 382 francs, valued at one florin equal to eight monni d'Auignon, — 476 florins, 3 grossi.

10. [1388/9]

Cod.55, f.3r

Scotland.

Received from the said priory in full — 1006 florins, 3 grossi.

11. Rhodes, 24 October, 1402. Cod.332, f.110v-111r

Fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M. The order's possessions in Scotland are unjustly detained; creates fra Walter Grandon, prior of England, procuratorem, syndicum, yonium et nuncium specialem et generalem, etc. with powers for their recovery and reformation.

12. Paris, 24 July, 1410. Cod.336, f.139r

Fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M., to Fra John de Bynnyng. Confers on him the preceptoriam seu baiuliam Scocie with its pertinents, for an annual pension and other imposts payable on the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June] annually.

13. Lyons, 30 January, 1415/6 Cod.338, f.129r

Fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M., to fra Alexander de Lichton, dominus eiusdem. He previously sent him patent letters ordering him for certain causes (more fully expressed in the mandate) to appear in person before him at the Convent in Rhodes. Orders him without fail, on account of litigation and quarrels with other brothers of the Order, to appear within four months of receipt of the present before the G.M. at Constance, where the General Council is being held; failing which he will face punishment as a disobedient son.

14. Constance, 8 December, 1417. Cod.340, f.122r

Fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M., to fra Thomas Godwyn, gubernator of the house of Templi de Baltrudoc in Scocia. Orders him to pay at Bruges annually to the society of the Medici of Florence, all fruits due from his house.

15. [Constance], 25 January [1417/8] Cod.340, f.122r

Licence to fra Thomas Godwyn, governor of the house of Templi de Baltrudo in Scotland, to receive two chaplains in fratres, pro regimine ac seruicio diuino faciendis in dicta domo.

16. Avignon, 11 August, 1418. Cod.342, f.130r-v

Fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M., appointed commissioners to investigate the condition of the Order's houses in Scotland, to improve their condition and prevent argument between the three brothers of the Order in Scotland, viz. fras Alexander

de Lahton, John Benyn, and Thomas Gudwyn. The commissioners were fras. John de Ancuno, preceptor of Bellacombe, Garcia de Turribus, leg. doct., preceptor of Villafranchia de Periedes, and Pascal Martini de Torella, prior of the church of Montissoni. Their report was made to the Assembleya at Avignon, which decided as follows.

First, to fra John Benyn is assigned the church of Torphychin, whose teinds, oblations and other obventions resulting from cure of souls, with the ferme of the lands of Locheoris (= Lochcotis) within the lands of Torphychin, are valued at 260 francs, computing 16 shillings to each franc.

Second, to fra Thomas Gudwyn is assigned the church of Bartrodoch, whose teinds, oblations and other obventions resulting from cure of souls, with two mills and the fermes of the lands of Hudipech and Esperston and Vtherston all are valued at 140 francs at the above reckoning.

Finally, all the remaining emoluments and introitus of the Order in Scotland, whether pertaining to the locus of Torphychin or to other loci, are to remain with fra Alexander de Lahton.

The three brothers are to pay annually 400 scuta auri to the Common Treasury, valued at 450 francs, computing 18 shillings of paris to each franc, divided as follows: fra John Benyn to pay 71 scuta, fra Thomas Gudwyn to pay 39 scuta, and fra Alexander de Lahton to pay 289 scuta, which together make up 400 scuta [sic]. This was decided by the brothers in Council.

17. [Avignon] 23 August [1418] Cod.342, f.130v.

Licence to fra Alexander de Lychton de Scotia, going to the Convent of Rhodes, with as sufficient horses and arms as he wishes, and returning again.

18. Venice, 19 February, 1419/20. Cod.342, f.132v

Licence to fra Thomas Gudwyn de Baltrudoos, receiver of responsions & other goods of the Common Treasury in Scotland, to go to Rhodes to attend the Chapter General; also licence to receive the fruits of the parish church of Baltrudoos, with all rights, obventions & pertinents for three years from St John the Baptist's day next [24 June 1420].

19. Undated. [October-November 1420] Cod.345, f.132v-134v

Fra Philibert de Naillac to fra Henry de Bye, preceptor of St John of Paris. Creates him visitor and reformer of the Order's possessions in Scotland; and orders the brothers in Scotland to speed his business.

20. Rhodes, 17 October, 1422.

Cod.346, f.121r-v, 236r-v

Fra Anthony Fluvian, G.M. At the Chapter General held by fra Philibert de Naillac, G.M., at Rhodes in October 1420, fra William Hules, prior of England, claimed that the preceptory of Scotland was an annex or subject of the priory of England, and showed notarial instruments to that effect. But fra Thomas Godewyne arose and said that the preceptory was not an annex or subject of the priory, and that Scottish brothers were not subject to brothers of another province, demanding justice and saying that he would return to Scotland to produce evidence that the preceptory of Scotland was not and never had been an annex or subject of the priory. Fra Thomas was granted a term of one year to return and prove his case, but neither he nor his procurator compeared within a year to argue their case. Notwithstanding the contumacy of the Scottish brothers, the G.M. granted them a further term of one year to prove their case, until 1 October 1422. At that time the prior of England arose and declared that the Scots were contumacious and were not present to answer his petition, and demanded justice. The G.M. agreed to hear his case and give him justice, and the prior and fra Thomas Lanceleve, turcopolier, asked leave to produce evidence from the registers of chancery. The register of fra Robert de Juilly, G.M., was produced, and the following bull was read out: "Rhodes, 15 October 1375. Fra Robert de Juilly, G.M., to fra Robert de Hales, prior of England. The prior informed the convent that their possessions in Scotland were accustomed to be held, ruled and governed by the priors of England, and that the assembly at Avignon had granted the preceptory of Scotland to Robert Scotus, not without prejudice to Hales; he represented that this grant was prejudicial to him and the G.M. hereby revokes the grant to Robert Scot and confers the preceptory on Hales, to administer and remove unlawful detainers". Another bull was cited, as follows: "Rhodes, 22 April 1379. Fra Bertrand Flota, grand prior and lieutenant to G.M. fra John Ferdinand de Heredia, to Robert le Grant, domicello. Grants him a piece of land called Coltre in the Kingdom of Scotland in the diocese of Abreden', with all its rights and pertinents, paying annually at the feast of the Assumption [15 August] an annual censsus of ten gold francs. Revokes earlier concessions to master David de Mere. This was done with the approval and reservation of fra Robert de Hales, prior of England". Having heard the records of chancery, the Convent declared the preceptory of Scotland to be subject to the priory of England, and that the Scottish brothers were contumacious for failing to compear.

21. Rhodes, 28 May, 1428

Cod.348, f.113r-v

Fra Anthony Fluvian, G.M., to fra James de Puteo, bailie of Naples and preceptor of Morelli. Appoints him visitor and procurator in baiulia nostra Scocie, in need of reform because of the Great Schism now resolved, forbidding him to sell, alienate or feu lands on pretext of his visitation.

James de Puteo (= da Pozzi) was also appointed visitor in England, Cod. 348, f.115-6r

22. Rhodes, 27 November, 1445 Cod.357, f.155v-156r

Fra John de Lastic, G.M., to fra Andrew de Meldrum, preceptor of the house sive baiullie nostre camere magistralis Regni Scocie. It has come to the G.M.'s notice that he has not paid the annual pension for many years, of which 500 venetian ducats is due annually at Bruges. Mandate to pay all outstanding sums to fra Robert Bottil within 20 days of receipt of the present. If he fails to comply he is to compear at Rhodes within nine months to answer.

23. Rome, (?) 22^{*}April, 1446 Cod.358, f.227v-228v

The Chapter General called together by fra John de Lastic, G.M., to sir John de lundeloth [Kindeloch] priest of the kingdom of Scotland, chaplain to fra Andrew de Meldrum, knight of the Hospital and master of the Hospital in Scotland, and familian and chaplain to the G.M. Fra Andrew Meldrum granted him a charter, as follows: "Charter of fra Andrew de Meldrum, granting to his chaplain John de Chindeloth all the rents of the chapel of Culter Marie lying on the water of Dee, diocese of Aberdeen, and the teind sheaves of Irincolsy [Kincausie], Essyntully and the two Tulybolbryis [Upper and Nether Tibouries] paying to the monastery of Helsow [Kelso] 8 marks, 6s. and 8d., from the dominium of Baltrudo according to an ancient agreement. Grants him also a mansio at Maryculter for himself or his chaplain. Agreed before fra Robert Mallory, prior of England, Oddo Tradeheik and William Kessill, and others, London, 12 May 1434". Confirms the above, conferring on him also the rectory of Obyne formerly held by the late Thomas de Torfittyne ad nostram assignacionem.

*in ms - die vicesimo^{fo} mensis Aprilis

24. Rhodes, 5 September, 1449 Cod.361, f.337r-v

Fra John de Lastic, G.M., to fra Henry de Livingston. Notifies him of the decision of the visitor to Scotland, fra John de Marchis, preceptor of Mirsia, respecting the preceptory of Scotland. Appoints him preceptor of Torphichen.

25. Rhodes, 24 September, 1449 Cod.361, f.234v-235v

Fra John de Lastic, G.M., to fra Robert Bottil, prior of England. Notifies him of the decision on Scottish affairs as reached by fra John de Marchis preceptor of Mirsia, visitor to Scotland.

[For details, cf. bulls of 25 and 29 September, 1449]

26. Rhodes, 25 September, 1449 Cod.361, f.234r

Fra John de Lastic, G.M., to fras. Andrew Meldrum, preceptor of the houses of Coltramari and the membre siue domini of Liston with their pertinents in Scotland, and William Meldrum his nephew, of the said house. Concerning their government of these houses and the visitation of the late fra John de Marchis Mirsie, preceptor of Torphichen, and the annual pension of 400 marks Scots due from them. Now Henry de Livingston is preceptor of Torphichen; Mandate to pay the annual pension.

27. Rhodes, 25 September, 1449 Cod.361, f.233r

Fra John de Lastic, G.M.. Respecting responsions paid by fra Henry de Leuinkston, preceptor of the house of Tolfiken in Scotland, and the brothers in Scotland.

[for details, cf. bulls of 25 and 29 September 1449]

28. Rhodes, 29 September, 1449 Cod.361, f.233v-234r

Fra John de Lastic, G.M., to fra Andrew de Meldrum and fra William de Meldrum his nephew, of the domus seu membri de Cultermarie et Liston in Scotland. Because of recent litigation and scandal concerning the house or preceptory of Torphichen, the Chapter General appointed John de Marchis, then preceptor of Mirsia, visitor to reform and resolve the dispute, and he carried out useful reforms. Mandate to the two brothers to pay the annual responsion of 200 marks Scots, declaring that after their deaths or dimission the membra of Torphichen shall be reintegrated under fra Henry de Leuinkston.

29. N.D. [25 September 1449 - 7 February 1449/50]
Cod.361, f.235v

Memorandum that the bulls respecting Scottish affairs were given to fra William [de Meldrum], residing in the convent, with consent of fras John Langstruther and Robert Botill, by reason of the superiority of the English priory over the preceptory of Scotland.

30. [Rhodes] 7 February [1449/50] Cod.361, f.339r

Licence to fra William de Meldrum of Scotland to go and return again to the convent.

31. Rhodes, 2 January, 1452/3

Cod.363, f.285r

Fra John de Lastic to fras Henry de Leuistan and Elias [ellis] de Lani, chaplains, dwelling in Scotland. Fra William de Meldrum, legitimis preceptor, complains that he is being excluded from what is rightfully his, while the fruits of the house are alienated to secular persons and dilapidated. Mandate to allow William peaceable possession, citing them to appear within three months before fra Robert Botill, prior of England, or before the G.M.

32. Rhodes, 26 January, 1453/4

Cod.364, f.117r

Fra John de Lastic, G.M. Notice that the late fra John de Mirsia, juris. doct., once sent to Scotland as visitor, after he returned to the Chapter General at Rhodes in 1449, submitted a report of his visitation and what he had done in Scotland, and there died.

33. Rhodes, 24 November, 1454

Cod.365, f.120r

Fra James de Milly, G.M., dilecto nobis in Christo Duguetho le Scot, alias de Schotia, servitori nostro; In consideration of his many years of service to the order by land and sea, and manly striving contra Infidelos, the late fra John de Lastic, G.M. granted him a pension of 20 gold scuta out of the rents of Torphichen, of which fra William Meldrum is now preceptor. Confirms the grant.

Another bull was issued on the same day in identical terms, only omitting the name of fra William de Meldrum as preceptor.

[the bull of fra John de Lastic, in 1442, does not appear in his surviving registers; cf. St. Giles Liber, p.66-7; Appendix I, no.18]

34. [Rhodes], 9 October, 1458

Cod.367, f.118v

Memorandum that a bull was drawn up respecting the capture of Alexander Bron Scotus.

[No explanation is given of the circumstances. Perhaps Brown was captured by Turks on a journey to or from Rhodes.]

35. [Rhodes?], 4 November, 1462

Cod.372, f.142r-v

Fra Peter Raymond Zacosta, G.M., to fra Robert Botill, prior of England. The preceptory of Torfiguen in Scotland was held by fra Henry de Leuigston until his death and is now vacant. Grants him the collation to the vacancy.

36. Rhodes 20 November, 1462 Cod.372, f.142v

Licence to fra Patrick Scougal, conventual brother of the Hospital, to go to Scotland and other parts and return again.

37. Rome, 22 December, 1466 Cod.376, f.156r

Fra Peter Raymond Zacosta, G.M., to fra William Knollis, conventual knight of the Hospital, a Scot. The preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland is vacant by death of fra Henry de Livingston, last legitimate preceptor, and now falls to the G.M.'s collation. Confers it on Knollis.

38. Rome, 4 February, 1466/7 Cod.376, f.156v

Fra Peter Raymond Zacosta, G.M., to fra Patrick Scriguel. At the death of fra Henry de Livingston, he wrongly intruded himself into the vacant preceptory of Torphichen. The Chapter General at Rome has granted it to fra William Knollis; he is to deliver it up to Knollis without opposition.

39. Rome, 20 December, 1466 Cod.376, f.157r-v

Fra Peter Raymond Zacosta, G.M., to fra William Knollis. Knollis has represented to the Chapter General the state of the preceptory of Torphichen. Dispenses and habilitates him so that he may hold the preceptory, even though he has not served the full term at Rhodes.

40. N.D. Rome, December 1466 x February 1466/7 Cod.376, f.158r

Licence to fra William Knoll' to go and come to the preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland.

41. Rhodes, 22 February, 1471/2 Cod.380, f.137v

Fra Baptista de Ursines, G.M., to fra William Knollis. Before the council of reservation of the Chapter General compeared fra Patrick Scougal, showing a quarrel against him and complaining that he held the preceptory of Scotland wrongly and unjustly, and humbly demanded justice. He is cited to appear at Rhodes within nine months, in person or by procurators, on pain of deprivation of the habit, to answer Scougal's accusations.

42. Rhodes, 20 August, 1473

Cod.75, f.26r-v

Before the Complete Council compeared fra Lewis de Garinnies, procurator for fra Patrick Strougal, dwelling at Rhodes, and procurators for fra William Collis [Knollis]. Fra Lewis said that there was a dispute over the preceptory of Torfiguen in Scotland, requesting that it be granted to Scougal. Fras. Diomedes de Villa Ragut and Dominic Ferrier, procurators for Knollis, said that the preceptory had been granted to Knollis by the Chapter General held at Rome in 1466, and requested that Knollis should be confirmed in office.

43. [Rhodes] 3 September, 1473

Cod.381, f.137r-v

Fra Baptista de Ursines, G.M. The case between Patrick Strougall, agente, and fra William Knollis se defendente, over the vacancy of Torphichen in Scotland. There compeared fra Peter Bouromei, procurator for Scougal, and Dyomedes de Villaragut, procurator for Knollis. Scougal's procurator produced some reasons, causes and facts concerning the ancientry of Torphichen, urging that the preceptory be awarded to him. Knolles' procurator produced other more powerful reasons, and bulls of collation made to him at the Chapter General in Rome in 1466, with bulls of dispensation from the term of residence, apostolic confirmation of the collation and dispensation, and authority from the English langue. Declares that Knollis is legitimate preceptor, imposing perpetual silence on Scougal; except that as Scougal claims to have recovered certain membra of the preceptory from secular hands, he should be allowed to petition for these membra from the next Chapter General.

44. Rhodes, 28 August, 1475

Cod.283, f.92r-v

Among the procurators of the English Tongue to the Complete Council preceeding the Chapter General of this year was - fra Patricius Scotus.

[i.e., Patrick Scougal]

45. Rhodes, 5 October, 1475

Cod. 75, f.92r

Before the Ordinary Council compeared fra Patrick Scogall, Scot, and fra Giles de Fay, his procurator, renouncing his petition respecting the preceptory of Tarbing [= ? Torphichen], priory of England, for which he had earlier petitioned. Requested the G.M. to write to the king of England, asking that fra Patrick may be provided to a preceptory in England.

46. Rhodes, 27 April, 1477

Cod.75, f.157v

Before the Ordinary Council was discussed a difference between fra Patrick Scotus and the Tongue of England concerning fra Patrick's provision to a preceptory of the Tongue. Remitted to the Complete Council to decide.

47. Rhodes, 5 May, 1477

Cod.75, f.157v-158r

Before the G.M. and Council was heard a case between fra Patrick Stougal, Scot, and fra John Burch and brothers of England, respecting the preceptory of Nulland (= Newland) for which fra Patrick has petitioned. The English brothers asserted that fra Patrick could not petition for it because he was Scottish and not English. Fra Patrick appealed. The G.M. and Council declared that he should not request Newland for his cabiniento, but that it should not prejudice him in future, but that he could petition for future vacancies by leave of the Tongue, who should make subvention and provision for fra Patrick; citing the preceptor of Scotland to come to Rhodes. The Tongue of England promised his right to fra Patrick, and this was ratified by the G.M. and Council.

48. Rhodes, 10 November, 1492.

Cod.391, f.103r

Fra Peter d'Aubusson, cardinal deacon of St Hadrian and G.M., to fra Patrick Knos, Scot and knight of the Order. Knollis has petitioned to be allowed to return to Scotland and dwell there; licence is hereby granted.

49. [Rhodes] 10 March, 1501/2

Cod.393, f.112r-v

Fra Peter d'Aubusson, G.M., to fras Tamghinno Bucellis, preceptor of Montis Pessulam in Romana Curia, vice-procurator general, and Thesto de Pignacellis, knight of the Priory of Capua. Their letters state that a noble man, Robert Stuart, nephew of Lord D'Obigny, wishes to join the Order. They are to investigate and receive him if suitable.

50. [Rhodes] 17 May, 1502

Cod.394, f.169r

Fra Peter d'Aubusson, G.M., to fras Tamghino Bucellis and Thesto de Pignacellis ut ante. As Robert Stuart d'Obigny is of noble and legitimate birth, he is to be received into the order.

[rubric] - Commissio Creandi militis

51. [Rhodes] 1 July, 1504

Cod.395, f.139r-v

Fra Lewis de Schalinghe, lieutenant G.M., to fras William Konolz preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, of the priory of England, and George Dundas, Scot, Knight of the said priory, and any others surviving. Considering their service for the exaltation of Christendom in the habit of the Order in the east against the Turks, inane enemies of the living cross, and knowing that Knollis is old and infirm, as shown by his procurators, grants that the preceptory is to be given to Dundas, who is hereby dispensed from further residence in Rhodes; reserving the fruits of the preceptory to Knollis for his honourable sustenance, and the annual pension due to the common treasury.

52. [Rhodes] 1 July, 1504

Cod.395, f.139v-140v

Fra Lewis de Schalinghe, lieutenant G.M., to fra Thomas docray [Dockwray] and other English brothers. Recounts that fra William Knollis is old and infirm, that fra George Dundas is a knight of the Order and has served at Rhodes. Mandate to allow to Dundas the ancientry of Torphichen.

53. [Rhodes] 17 September, 1504

Cod.395, f.141r

Licence to fra George Dundas to go to Scotland and return.

54. [Rhodes] 20 September, 1504

Cod.395, f.142v

Dundas is constituted as preceptor of Torfigen in the presence of fra Lewis de Schalinghe, procurator of the Common Treasury and lieutenant G.M., and fra Diomedes de Villa Ragut, by licence of fra Emory d'Aumboise, G.M., given to fra Thomas Dockwray, to admit him to the preceptory.

55. [Rhodes] 17 December, 1504

Cod.395, f.57r-v

Fra Emory d'Amboise, G.M. Authority to fra Thomas Dockwray, prior of England, and fra John Rancome, preceptor of Sumphild to visit and reform the preceptory of Torphichen in Scotland.

Rubric - auctoriras visitandi preceptoriam scocie

56. ̄Rhodes̄ 15 May, 1506

Cod.397, f.140v-141v

Notarial instrument. The auditors of the Common Treasury respecting fra Thomas Dockwray's visitation to England and Scotland. Inter alia, Dockwray claimed that the sum of £33.6.8. from the pension from Scotland, member of the priory of England, should be counted as part of his payment of debts to the treasury; but the auditors refer to statutes of the Chapter General of 1501 and of the Treasury of 6 October 1498, and declared that the commandery of Scotland was separate and not lawfully united with the priory of England. Dockwray cannot claim that it is his conventual priory, or that its responsions count towards payments due from him to the Treasury.

57. 1520.

Cod.54, f.14v-15r

Fra George Dundas, preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, who for four years continuously resided in the Roman curia, and there for the Order and his own preceptory was grievously impeded, until by three sentences in the Curia Rote he obtained victory; this being known to the late fra Fabricius de Carretto, G.M., fra George Dundas remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the whole vacancy of the preceptory, from the year of the death of fra William Knowles in 1510.

He owes for the ordinary responsion of 1511 - £33/6/8.

for 1512 - £33/6/8

for 1513 - £33/6/8

for 1514 - £33/6/8

for 1515 - £33/6/8

for 1516 - £33/6/8

for 1517 - £33/6/8

for 1518 - £33/6/8

for 1519 - £33/6/8

for 1520 - £33/6/8

Fra George Dundas paid on 16 December 1518, by hand of William Hunyng and Richard Brayfeld, citizens and bakers of London, as he has a receipt, namely: in part payment to the common treasury, acknowledged by the receiver in the account for 1518 - £33/6/8.

And remains to pay £400 [sic: recte £300 ?]

58. 1521

Cod.54, f.39v-40r

Fra George Dundas, preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, who for four years continuously resided at the Roman curia, and there for the Order and his own preceptory was grievously impeded, until by three sentences in the curia rote he obtained victory; this being known to the late fra Fabricius de Carretto, G.M., fra George Dundas remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the whole vacancy of the preceptory, from the year of the death of fra William Knolls in 1510.

He owes for the ordinary responson of 1511 - £33/6/8
 for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8
 for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1518 - £33/6/8
 for 1519 - £33/6/8
 for 1520 - £33/6/8
 for 1521 - £33/6/8

Fra George Dundas paid on 16 December 1518, by hand of William Honnyng and Richard Brayfeld, citizens and bakers of London, as he has a receipt, viz: In part payment to the Common Treasury, acknowledged by the receiver in the account for 1518 - £33/6/8. Fra George Dundas paid in April 1522, by hand of William Honnynd and Richard Brayfeld, above mentioned, £100 sterling for the responsions of 1519, 1520 and 1521, on the condition that the receiver's receipt stated that it should not prejudice the Common Treasury of Rhodes for the time when fra George Dundas was outwith possession of Torphichen, i.e., 1510-1517, which arrears are remitted to the judgment of the G.M. and Council. Received for 3 years 1519, 1520 and 1521 on the condition stated - £100.

And remains to pay £235/14/8 [sic: recte £266/13/4?]

59. 1522

Cod.54, f.63v

Fra George Dundas, who for four years resided at the Roman curia... remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the vacancy ... from 1510 ut supra.

He owes the ordinary responson of 1511 - £33/6/8
 for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8
 for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1518 - £33/6/8
 for the present year 1522 - £33/6/8

And remains to pay £300

60. 1523

Cod.54, f.90v

Fra George Dundas ... who for four years resided at the Roman curia ... remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the vacancy ... from 1510 ut supra

He owes the ordinary responson of 1511 - £33/6/8
 for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8

for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1518 - £33/6/8
 for 1522 - £33/6/8
 for 1525 the present account - £33/6/8

And remains to pay £333/6/8

61. 1524

Cod.54, f.118v

Fra George Dundas ... who for four years resided at the Roman curia ... remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the vacancy ... from 1510 ut supra.

He owes the customary responsion for 1511

for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8
 for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1518 - £33/6/8
 for 1522 - £33/6/8
 for 1523 - £33/6/8
 for the present year 1524 - £33/6/8

The receivers of the Common Treasury and Auditors of Accounts request the receiver of the priory of England with all diligence to request the recovery of the debts and arrears of the preceptory.

62. 1525

Cod.54, f.148v-149r

Fra George Dundas ... who for four years resided at the Roman curia ... remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the vacancy ... from 1510

He owes for 1510 - £33/6/8

for 1511 - £33/6/8
 for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8
 for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1522 - £33/6/8
 for 1523 - £33/6/8
 for 1524 - £33/6/8
 for 1525 - £33/6/8

Notice that the prior of England sent a messenger to Scotland for the recovery of the arrears, and he Dundas replied that he would pay all he owed within six months, namely the responsions for 4 years just past, in England; and for the rest, when he was not in possession of the preceptory nor could get any of its revenues, he requests the Common Treasury not to molest him further.

Note [in margin] that the prior and Commander of Torphichen came to an agreement over the arrears, which was approved by the procurators of the Common Treasury and Auditors of Accounts.

63. Viterbo, 30 August, 1525 Cod.84, f.63r

G.M. and Council request the prior of England to cite fra George Dundas, preceptor of Scotland, to come to the convent in person, if it seems expedient to the prior.

64. [Viterbo], 30 August, 1525 Cod.411, f.157r-v

Fra Bernardinus de Ayrasca, lieutenant G.M., to fra Thomas Dockwray, prior of England. The procurators of the Common Treasury show that fra George Dundas, preceptor of Scotland, owes responsions of 1400 gold ducats. Mandate to admonish and cite Dundas before the Common Treasury within four months of receipt hereof, at Viterbo or wherever the Convent is residing; if he fails to appear, they will proceed against him.

65. [Viterbo], 31 December, 1525. Cod.411, f.158r-v

On the above day, the Turcopolier notified the Lieutenant G.M. that the Tongue of England had received as knights fras. Walter Lyndesey and John Chaunre [= Chalmers], granting to Lindsay the ancientry of Scotland, and obliging him that from the day when he obtains the preceptory of Scotland he is to pay to fra John Chalmers a pension of 100 gold ducats annually for life. Neither of them is to petition for a preceptory in England or Ireland. And because fra John Chalmers risked his life in manful service to the Order at the siege of Rhodes, he is assigned a pension of 80 gold ducats until fra Walter Lindsay enjoys the fruits of the preceptory. Accepted by the Common Treasury.

66. 1526 Cod.54, f.167v-168r

Fra George Dundas ... who for four years resided at the Roman curia ... remains debtor to the Common Treasury for the vacancy... from 1510. [ut supra]

He owes for 1510 - £33/6/8
 for 1511 - £33/6/8
 for 1512 - £33/6/8
 for 1513 - £33/6/8
 for 1514 - £33/6/8
 for 1515 - £33/6/8
 for 1516 - £33/6/8
 for 1517 - £33/6/8
 for 1522 - £33/6/8

for 1523 - £33/6/8

for 1524 - £33/6/8

for 1525 - £33/6/8

for 1526 - £33/6/8

Note [in margin] that by the accord made between fra George Dundas, the prior, and the procurators of the Common Treasury and Auditors of Accounts, were accepted his payments for 1522, 1523, 1524 and 1525, and he is to give the responsions for 1526 and 1527 [next year], and so year by year according to his agreement.

Fra George Dundas paid in England by procurators his ordinary responsion due for four years up to 1525 - £133/6/8

Requested by the prior and receiver, fra George Dundas paid this year £133/6/8, for the years 1522, 1523, 1524 and 1525, begging remission of the rest for certain urgent causes specified elsewhere. And the prior by the authority given him under a directive dated Viterbo, 9 November 1525, remitted to him all debts up to 1526. Which the Treasury holds to be ratified after he had paid his responsions in full.

67. Viterbo, 20 February, 1526/7 Cod.412, f.192v-193r

Fra Philip de Villers l'Isle-Adam, G.M., to fra Walter Lindsay. Grants him the ancientry of Torphichen in succession to fra George Dundas, the present preceptor.

68. [Viterbo], 6 July, 1527. Cod.412, f.201v

Licence to fra Walter Lindsay (among other knights of the English tongue) to return ad patriam.

69. 1531 Cod.54, f.183v, 199v

Fra George Dundas, preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, owes the Common Treasury, according to an agreement made with fra Thomas Dockwray, then prior of England, having sufficient authority thereto as noted in the accounts for the previous year;
for the ordinary responsion of 1529 - £33/6/8
for 1530 - £33/6/8
for the present year 1531 - £33/6/8

[account duplicated on f.199v, with addition] And remains to pay £100.

70. 1532 Cod.54, f.217v -218r

Fra George Dundas, preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, owes the Common Treasury, according to the agreement made by fra Thomas Dockwray, formerly prior of England, having sufficient authority

thereto as noted in the accounts of the last year; for the ordinary responcion of 1529 - £33/6/8
 for 1530 - £33/6/8
 for 1531 - £33/6/8
 for the present year 1532 - £33/6/8

Fra George Dundas, lately preceptor of Torphichen in Scotland, paid his responcion for three years until 1532 - £100.

And remains to pay £33/6/8.

71. Malta, 6 March, 1532/3

Cod.415, f.164v

Fra Philip de Villers l'Isle-Adam, G.M., to fra Walter Lindsay, knight of the Tongue of England and Scotland. Confers on him the preceptory of Turphichyn in Scotland, vacant by the death of fra George Dundas.

72. Malta, 15 March, 1532/3

Cod.415, f.164v - 165r.

Fra Philip de Villers l'Isle-Adam, G.M., to fra John Chaunre, Chalmers knight of the Tongue of England and Scotland. Considering his services at the siege of Rhodes and elsewhere, confers on him the ancientry of Turphichyn in Scotland in succession to fra Walter Lindsay, preceptor.

73. Malta, 7 March, 1532/3

Cod.415, f.165r-v

Fra Philip de Villers l'Isle-Adam, G.M., to fra Walter Lindsay, preceptor of Torphichen. Lindsay has petitioned that being the only brother of the Order in Scotland and unable to govern all its lands there himself, he should have leave to feu out remote properties. Granted.

74. 1533.

Cod.54, f.235v

Fra George Dundas, recently while he was alive, preceptor of Torphichen, owed the responcion for 1532 - £33/6/8.

Fra Walter Lindsay, now preceptor, owes for 1533 - £33/6/8

And remains to pay £66/13/4

75. 1534

Cod.54, f.253v, 254r

Fra George Dundas owed the responsion for 1532 - £33/6/8
 Fra Walter Lindsay owes the responsion for 1533 - £33/6/8
 Fra Walter Lindsay owes the responsion for 1534 - £33/6/8

Fra Walter Lindsay paid responsions up to 1533 - £66/13/4

And remains to pay £33/6/8

76. 1535

Cod.54, f.276v-277r

Fra Walter Lindsay owes responsions for 1534 - £33/6/8
 Fra Walter Lindsay owes responsions for 1535 - £33/6/8

Fra Walter Lindsay paid to the Common Treasury responsions for 1534, 1535 and 1536 - £100.

And remains to pay £66/13/4 [sic: presumably the sum recorded above was received after this note was entered]

77. 1536

Cod.54, f.296v-297r

Fra Robert [sic: recte Walter] Lindsay owes reponsions for 1535 - £33/6/8.

Fra Walter Lindsay owes reponsions for 1536 - £33/6/8

Fra Walter Lindsay paid this year - £100

78. Malta, 27 September, 1537

Cod.86, f.62v

Dispute between the tongues of England and France over the spolia of the late fra John Scot. The G.M. and Council commit the matter to fras. Augustine de Vintimillia and Francis Gyron to investigate and report.

79. Malta, 2 October, 1537

Cod.86, f.62v

Dispute between the tongues of England and France over the spolia of fra John Scot. Committed to the prior of Lombardy and baiulius of Casp' to examine and report.

80. Malta, 10 October, 1537

Cod.86, f.63r

Report of Commissioners to the G.M. and Council in the dispute over the spolia of fra John Scot. Fra John Scot was received into both the tongues of England and France, but first into the tongue of England. The G.M. and Council declared that his spolia belong to the tongue of England, saving the right of his creditors.

81. Malta, 22 December, 1540

Cod.86, f.111v

Concerning the reception of fra James Sandelandis, Scot. Commission to fras. Peter de Beaulat and Calixtus la Barra to investigate his proofs of nobility.

82. Malta, 30 December, 1540

Cod.86, f.112r

Before the G.M. and Council it was related that the tongue of England was unwilling to receive fra James Sandelandis into the tongue, quemadmodum ob quasdam oppinionem circa negotia Angliae, and that the G.M. appointed commissioners to examine his proofs of nobility. These are found to be good, and he is ordered to be admitted to the tongue and order, and his proofs to be lodged among the acts of chancery.

83. Malta, 17 February, 1540/1

Cod.86, f.113r

The G.M. and Council appoint fra James Sandelandis procurator of the Common Treasury in Scotland, to have that prerogative while residing at the Convent, and the ancientry of the preceptory of Scotland.

84. Malta, 3 March, 1540/1

Cod.417, f.191r-v

Fra John de Homedes, G.M. Confers the ancientry of Torphichen on fra James Sandelandis.

85. [Malta], 3 March, 1540/1

Cod.417, f.191v

Licence to fra James Sandelandis to return ad patriam.

86. Malta, 2 April, 1547

Cod.420, f.162r-v, 165r

Fra John de Homedes, G.M., to fra Anthony Geufreo (Geoffrey), knight of the English tongue. Grants him the expectation and ancientry of Turphichen in Scotland, when it becomes vacant by

death or resignation of fra James Sandelandis, qui hoc tempus eam regit, administrat et possidet.

87. Malta, 29 March, 1547 [? recte 1548] Cod.421, f.162r-v

Fra John de Homedes, G.M., to fra James Sandelandis, Scot, knight of the English tongue. Confers on him the preceptory of Torphichen, vacant by death of fra Walter Lindsay.

88. Malta, 21 April, 1555. Cod.288, f.2v
Cod.299, f.2v

Among the Procurators of the English Tongue at the Chapter General was - fra James Sandelandis junior.

[On fra James Sandelandis the younger, cf. BDVTE, p.77. He was received into the Tongue on 8 January 1554/5].

89. Malta, 7 May, 1557 Cod.89, f.108r

Report of Commissioners investigating super rixa et verba successis between fras. James Sandelandis and John James Sandelandis; they find that fra John James was at fault. The G.M. and Council condemn him to six months in fossa.

90. [Malta], 27 May, 1556. Cod.425, f.153r

Licence to fra John James de Sandelandis, knight of the priory of England, to return ad patriam.

91. [Malta], 5 October, 1557 Cod.426, f.198r

Licence to fra James de Sandelandis, Commander of St John of Trophikim in Scotland, to return to his commandery.

92. Malta, 8 October, 1557 Cod.89, f.126v.

Before the G.M. and Council compeared fra James Sandelandis, Commander of St John de Trophikim in Scotland, showing that although fra John James Sandelandis was received into the English tongue, yet he should not enjoy the status of a knight of the Order, as he is not of the required status. He asked

for commissioners to be appointed in partibus so that he (James) could prove his accusation, binding himself to sentences if he did not prove it. To which fra John James replied that he was content, except that fra James Sandelandis should remain at Malta, so that if he failed to prove it he should be under sentence. The G.M. declared that both should appear before the provincial council at Paris at the Temple in Paris, so that fra James Sandelandis could prove his accusation, and fra John James could prove the contrary.

93. Malta, 4 November, 1557

Cod.426, f.198r

Fra John de la Vallette, G.M., to fras Louis de Dormans, Preceptor of Sours, James d'Arquembourg of la Croix en Brie, Sebastian de Zillers of Yury Temple, and others. Notifies them of a decree of the Council. On 8 October 1557 appeared fra James de Sandelandis, Commander of St John of Trophikim in Scotland, making a declaration (as contained in the Liber Concilliorum) against the nobility of fra John James Sandelandis. Mandate to cite fra John James Sandelandis and hear his proofs of nobility, and hear the accusation of fra James Sandelandis, Commander of Torphichen, and draw up instruments thereon.

(cf. Cod.89, f.130v)

94. Malta, 29 November, 1557

Cod.89, f.130v

Since recently fra James Sandelandis, commander of Trophikim in Scotland, was ordered to appear at the Temple in Paris to prove that fra John James Sandelandis was not of the required status for knighthood; fra John James appeared before the Council requesting a term to go to England and Scotland to prove his nobility, as he could not do it in France propter aliqua impedimenta, and requested licence to leave the convent. The G.M. and Council, considering that propter rumores classis Turciae it was not wise to grant such a licence, nonetheless allowed fra John James a term of one year to make his proofs in England or Scotland, from next Easter / 1558/. In the meantime information brought by fra James Sandelandis is suspended until fra John James produces his proofs or until the term of one year is elapsed. This is not to prejudice fra James Sandelandis, even if in the interval the five year term for moving a dispute about status is elapsed.

95. Malta, June 1558

Cod.288, f.53v
Cod.299, f.49r

Among the Socij Magni Magistrj from the English tongue was -
fra John James Sandelandis.

96. Malta, 18 January, 1558/9.

Cod.90, f.48r-v

Ordinary Council. Information brought by commissioners investigating a brawl between fras. John James Sandelandis and Elias de Cugnach, in which fra John James was wounded in the hand and left ear. The G.M. and Council condemn fra Elias Cugnach to three months in turri, and fra John James Sandelandis to be detained in camera at the will of the G.M.

97. Malta, 12 October, 1559.

Cod.90, f.80r

A difference between fra James Sandelandis, knight, Scot, and fra Oliver Starquey, knight of England, litigantes super loco et sessione in concilio. The G.M. and Council remit the dispute to fras. John de Gleon and Galceran Ros, to examine the arguments.

98. Malta, 2 December, 1559

Cod.428, f.198r-v

Fra John de la Valette, G.M., to fra John James Sandelandis. Confers on him the ancientry of Torphichen, to succeed on dimission or death of fra James Sandelandis, present Commander.

99. Malta, 24 January, 1559/60

Cod.90, f.93v

The G.M. and Council appoint fras Guiscard Marquet and Alphonse Correa to investigate at the request of fra James Sandelandis, Commander of St John of Torphikin in Scotland, against fra John James Sandelandis, Scot, knight of the English tongue.

100. Malta, 25 July, 1560

Cod.90, f.112v

In the complaint of fra James Sandelandis against fra John James Sandelandis, the place of the late fra Alphonse Correa is surrogated to fra Francis de Brito.

101. Malta, 12 August, 1560

Cod.90, f.115r

Request of fra John James Sandelandis for the ancientry of the Commandery of St John of Torphikin in Scotland. Commission of the G.M. and Council to fras Henry Gerard and James Shelly, preceptors of Yevely and Barrow and of Templecombe, and to George Dudley, knights of the English tongue, that when the commandery is next vacant they give possession to fra John James Sandelandis.

102. Malta, 12 August, 1560

Cod.428, f.198v.

Fra John de la Valette, G.M., to fras Henry Gerard, of Yevely and Barrow, James Shelley of Templecombe, preceptors, and George Dudley, knights of the tongue of England. Notifies them that the ancientry of Torphichen is granted to fra John James Sandelandis. Mandate to allow him and assist him in gaining possession.

103. Malta, 30 April, 1562

Cod.429, f.189r

Fra John de la Valette, G.M., to fra John James Sandelandis, Scot. He has shown the G.M. that he owns a house in hac nova ciuitate Castri Maris Melitensis [Birgu] bounded on the east by the house of Philip d'Alli, on the south by the public street, on the west by the house of Francis Ferraro, and on the north by the house of John Pargas, [which fra John James now wishes to sell. Grants him permission to sell the house,] promising to the buyer or buyers [that the Common Treasury will not bring demands or litigation over it].

(the passages in square brackets are supplied from a bull in forma, ibid, f.80v-81r.)

104. Malta, 1 September, 1563

Cod.91, f.108v

Report of Commissioners investigating super altercatione, verbis habitis et ludo facto in ecclesia super cruce aurea, et quodam seruo nigro, between fras. John Sandelandis and John de Puteo. The G.M. and Council confiscate the slave, super quo lusum extitit, to the Common Treasury, and condemn the two brothers to two months ad carcarem turris.

[the offender was in fact fra John James Sandelandis]

105. Malta, 10 September, 1563

Cod.91, f.109r

A public assembly was called by the G.M. in the church of St Laurence, where the case had previously been held, to examine a case brought by the procurator fiscal against fra John James Sandelandis, over hurts and insults against the person of fra Oliver Starkey, lieutenant turcopolier, in the G.M.'s palace some days earlier. Because he had no occasion against the lieutenant he was condemned to be deprived of the habit, and in the public assembly was afterwards deprived and ejected from the brotherhood, tamquam membrum putridum et fetidum.

106. Malta, 15 July, 1564

Cod.91, f.132r

It has come to the ears of the G.M. and Council that John James Sandelandis, who in recent months was deprived of the habit, was a participant in theft and sacrilege committed last May in the church of St. Anthony, and alia commisisse, and deserves to be punished. The G.M. and Council commit to Master Nicholas de Narro, iudice Castellanie, to investigate and summon witnesses, if necessary using torture.

107. Malta, 31 July, 1564

Cod.91, f.133v

Report of commissioners investigating against John James Sandelandis concerning a chalice, reliquary, crucifix and other objects stolen from the church of St Anthony last May. Sandelandis confessed to having stolen and kept the objects, and with Philip Stagno and Laurence Ros melted them down and divided them between them. The G.M. and Council remitted Sandelandis, who had the previous year been deprived of the habit for his demerits, to the secular forum and tribunal for punishment.

108. Malta, 12 November, 1569

Cod.92, f.180r

Concerning additions or falsifications made in the book of the English Tongue, either by fra Oliver Starchey or by fra James d'Irving, Scot, the G.M. appoints commissioners concerning the reception of fra James d'Irving, to report to the Council.

109. Malta, 15 November, 1569

Cod.92, f.180v-181r

Concerning a difference between fra James d'Irving, Scot, claiming that he has been simply and unconditionally admitted into the English tongue, with a number of brothers of the tongue on one side, and fra Oliver Starchey, bailiff of Eagle on the other side, claiming that Scottish brothers before or at reception are obliged not to petition for any dignity, commandery or benefice in England or Ireland, and producing documents of the Chancery and the Book of the Tongue; fra James Irving replied that the pretended obligations of Scots at Viterbo in 1525 should not count against him, as it was incomprehensible and contrary to good custom; adding that no such obligations were imposed at the reception of fra James Sandelandis in 1540, either in the Chancery records or in the Book of the Tongue. Besides, a custom of 15 years duration cannot be called ancient, and the Book of the Tongue cannot be believed, as it resides in the hands of the opposing party; producing also a bull of G.M. Anthony Fluvian dated 22 July 1437

and other reasons against the Book. The G.M. and Council declared that fra James Irving was to be received into the Tongue according to its ancient custom, which custom could be discussed in its own place and time.

[the Book of the Tongue is Cod.2192, ed. H. P. Scicluna. It has not been possible to locate the Bull of G.M. Fluvian in his surviving registers.]

110. Malta, 20 December, 1569

Cod.432, f.180r-v

Fra Peter de Monte, G.M. Notification that fra James d'Irving, Scot, was present at the Chapter General and made the following supplication: Fra James d'Irving, Knight of the English tongue, begs dispensation from certain statutes of the Order, and that he should be allowed to petition for preceptories outside Scotland, on account of the small size of the English tongue. Grants it as he requests.

111. [Malta], 9 December, 1569

Cod.432, f.180r

Licence to fra James d'Irving, Scot, of the English tongue, to return ad patriam.

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Part 1: Abbreviations

In many cases, abbreviations correspond to those suggested in the List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560 printed as a supplement to the Scottish Historical Review in October 1963. In the present list, however, it has been attempted to present as many names as possible in the form of a short author's (or editor's) name followed by a short title: e.g., "Fordun, Chronica" is used rather than "Chron. Fordun", and "Rymer, Foedera" rather than "Foedera". Where there is no author's name, the editor's name precedes the title in cases where the editor has substantially influenced the contents and presentation of a volume (as in the case of a selection of documents); in other cases (such as anonymous chronicles) the editor's name follows the title, though it is not usually included in these abbreviations. It cannot be claimed that this rule has been applied with absolute consistency.

Bracketed numbers refer to the number preceding the title in sections three and four of the present Bibliography.

- Aberdeen and Banff Antiquities (1)
- Aberdeen Fasti (2)
- Aberdeen Registrum (3)
- Acta Sanctorum, AASS (4)
- APS (5)
- Anderson, Diplomata (10)
- Anderson, Early Sources (9)
- Anderson, Scottish Annals (8)
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ASC (11)
- Bain, CDS (13)
- Balmerino and Lindores Cartularies (14)
- Le Baker, Chronicon (16)
- Barbour, Bruce (17)
- Barrow, Robert Bruce (181)
- Le Bel, Chroniques (19)

Benedict XIII Letters (20)

BIHR Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research

Black Book of Taymouth, Taymouth Book (22)

Boece, Historia (23)

Bower, Scotichronicon (24)

Brechin Registrum (25)

Cal. Close Rolls, 1288-96 (27)

Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry III (30)

Cal. Pat. Rolls, Edward III (31)

Cal. Scot. Papers (32)

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Clement VII Letters (44)

CLP Henry VIII (28)

Coupar Angus Charters (46)

Cowan and Easson, Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland (204)

CPL (29)

Crónica "Crónica del Rey don Alfonso el Onceno",
in (21)

CSP Rome (34)

CSP Venetian (35)

CSSR (33)

DNB (210)

Dryburgh Liber (49)

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- Dunkeld Rentale (53)
- Edinburgh Sciennes Liber (56)
- ER (59)
- Exp. Lyx. (61)
- Flodden Papers (65)
- Fordun, Chronica (66)
- Froissart, Chroniques (68)
- Glasgow Registrum (72)
- Haddan and Stubbs, Councils (73)
- Hardwicke Papers (76)
- HMC 11th Report; Var. Coll. (140)
- Holyrood Chronicle (77)
- Holyrood Liber (78)
- Howden, Chronica (80)
- IR Innes Review
- Itineraire (7)
- Itinerarium Regis Ricardi (83)
- James IV Letters (84)
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- Joinville, Histoire (86)
- Kelso Liber (87)
- Knox, Works (89)
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- Mackie, James IV (251)
- Maidment, Templaria (104)
- William of Malmesbury, GR (105)
- Manx Chronicle, Chronicle of Man (107)
- Mayer, Crusades

- Melrose Chronicle (110), except in Chapter Seven;
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- Melrose Liber (112)
- Michelet, Procès des Templiers (262)
- Midlothian Chrs (113)
- Migne PL (114)
- MGH (116)
- Newbattle Registrum (117)
- Nicholson, Later Middle Ages (268)
NLS National Library of Scotland
Paisley Registrum (122)
- Palgrave, Documents (123)
- Matthew Paris, Chronica Maiora (126)
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- Benedict, Benedict of Peterborough (127)
- Pipe Rolls, 1191-2 (129)
- PSAS Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries
of Scotland
- RHC Occ. (135)
- Reg. Halton (74)
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- RRS (137)
- RMS (138)
- RSCHS Records of the Scottish Church History
Society
- RSS (139)
- Runciman, History of the Crusades (283)
- RS, Rolls Series (141)
- Retours (142)
- Rishanger, Chronica (143)
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- St Andrews Liber (149)
- St Giles Edinburgh Liber (150)
- St Nicholas Aberdeen Cartulary (151)
- Scots Peerage (288)
- SHR Scottish Historical Review
- SHS Scottish History Society
- Spalding Club Misc. (155)
- Spottiswoode Misc. (156)
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- Stevenson, Documents (157)
- STS Scottish Text Society
- TA, Treasurers Accounts (164)
- TDGNHAS. Transactions of the Dumfriesshire Natural History and Antiquarian Society
- TELAFNS Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society
- TGSI Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness
- Theiner, VM (161)
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