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SIR WALTER SCOTT'S TEMPLAR CONSTRUCT – A STUDY OF CONTEMPORARY  
INFLUENCES ON HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS.

A THESIS PRESENTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
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## ABSTRACT

Sir Walter Scott was a writer of historical fiction, but how accurate are his portrayals? The novels *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* both feature Templars as the antagonists. Scott's works display he had a fundamental knowledge of the Order and their fall. However, the novels are fiction, and the accuracy of some of the author's depictions are questionable. As a result, the novels are more representative of events and thinking of the early nineteenth century than any other period. The main theme in both novels is the importance of unity and illustrating the destructive nature of any division. The protagonists unify under the banner of King Richard and the Templars pursue a course of independence. Scott's works also helped to formulate notions of Scottish identity, Freemasonry (and their alleged forbearers the Templars) and Victorian behaviours. However, Scott's image is only one of a long history of Templars featuring in literature over the centuries. Like Scott, the previous renditions of the Templars are more illustrations of the contemporary than historical accounts. One matter for unease in the early 1800s was religion and Catholic Emancipation. Scott was not a tolerant man when it came to the extremism of Christians, especially Catholics. The Templars are the ultimate fanatics during the Crusades, and Scott's portrayal is rather scathing. His condemnation extends to Catholicism in general and is present in his characterisation of other men of religion in the novels. However, Scott was a writer of fictions set in history, and their sole purpose was the entertainment of the reader.

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## ❖ INTRODUCTION

Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832) was a popular author of the early nineteenth century. His interweaving of fictional characters in a historical setting created a new and popular genre of modern historical fiction. Scott's novels also include historical characters, events and organisations. The main focus of the thesis will be the author's image of the Templars in the novels *Ivanhoe* (1820) and *Talisman* (1825). What motivated the author to produce such works? Was Scott attempting to create a Trump-like 'alternative' history? Alternatively, were the 'histories' produced more as a reflection of contemporary events presented in a fictional medium? Where the novels a way to help mould British society and the future?

The popularity of historical fiction has often resulted in the general acceptance of the 'tale' of history rather than the reality. Scott's works are an example of his tales 'Scottifying' history to enhance his narrative. This phenomenon is present in the popular acceptance of the '*Braveheart*' version of William Wallace rather than the facts. *Talisman* is also an example of this process, whereas *Ivanhoe* is a case of fiction becoming popular 'history'. Scott's image of King Richard I of England (1157-1199) is one of 'heroic' proportions in both novels. Such a larger than life character required a foil and Scott has assigned that role to the Military Order of Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon (*Pauperes commilitones Christi Tempilique Salomonici*) (est 1119/20).<sup>1</sup> How much of the resulting Templar image is a 'Scottification' of the historic Order?

Scott's works are a fiction and produced for the entertainment of his audience. His works are an illustration, somewhat unconsciously, of his personal opinions. By studying Scott's Templars and other characters, it is possible to see the

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<sup>1</sup> *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. J.M. Upton-Ward, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 1992, p.1.

works are more contemporary than historical. The works are more of a representation of the early nineteenth century than thirteenth century England:

*“Ivanhoe remains an object of considerable value – not of thirteenth century England, but how it sees Norman England so soon after the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars.”*<sup>2</sup>

The same applies to this thesis for it is a twenty-first-century view of a nineteenth-century author writing about the twelfth-century. It is impossible for the contemporary not to influence the image of the past. The aim of this thesis is to show how the novels are more a reflection of the contemporary than history. Also how Scott has attempted to influence the future through the medium of fiction and history.

The main approach of the thesis is the comparison of the novels *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* with the history of the twelfth and nineteenth centuries. There are three main divisions of the works with Scott's notions of Nationalism, Identity and Religion. They highlight different aspects that help formulate the novels and by extension the Templar image. Scott was not the only writer to incorporate the Order into their works. It is possible to perceive undercurrents of contemporary thinking from the various images produced over the centuries. The mythology of the Templars originates from writers like Scott and continues today.

The chapter regarding Nationalism will explore Scott's concept of national unity within a newly established United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. The four nations of the United Kingdom had a long and bloody history of conflict. There was a need to develop a 'British' identity that was inclusive of all inhabitants of the British Isles. Scott's novels highlight the dangers of disunity in *Talisman*. The novel repeatedly illustrates how the internal conflicts within the Christian camp brought about the failure of the Third Crusade. A focus of

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<sup>2</sup> Richard Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe, 1650-1950*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p.60.

*Ivanhoe* is the dangers of adhering to the divisions of the past, and endorsing the concept of the only way forward is acceptance of change. The nationalism angle also brings into question the loyalty of an international organisation such as the Templars or the Freemasons. Could their much-lauded independence from concerns of secular authority bring about divided loyalties? Scott appears concerned at the Templars commitment to the promotion of the Order above all else. Both novels depict the Order having a strained relationship with King Richard, an image that appears to be at odds with chronicles of the period. Historically the Angevin rulers and the Templars had a mutually advantageous relationship that lasted until the fall of the Order. The Templars may have claimed secular independence, but their actions towards Richard would indicate otherwise. By exploring the relationship, it is possible to see how Scott's works contain a strong emphasis on the need for a united kingdom, ruled by a monarch whose word was law.

The next chapter will cover the concept of social identity and the importance of the public image. The chapter is important to understand the author and social context in which he existed, which in turn influenced the image he produced in his novels. Scott was a proud Scot, and the position gained through his literary popularity enabled him to promote Scottish history and identity. <sup>(Appendix 1)</sup> His works indirectly resulted in Scotland becoming a tourist destination. His novel *St Ronan's Well* (1823) resulted in a significant swell of visitors to the small spa town of St Ronan's Wells.<sup>3</sup> Scotland was also the focus of the developing and influential fraternity of Freemasons. In the construction of the Freemasonry history in the eighteenth-century Scotland was portrayed as a haven for Templars fleeing the arrests in Europe in 1307. The surviving Templars passed on an arcane knowledge to their protectors who ensured its survival and brought about the establishment of Freemasonry. As a Mason, Scott would have been aware of this history and the controversies

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<sup>3</sup> Innerleithen Online, retrieved 10 December 2016 from <http://www.innerleithen.org.uk/st-ronans-wells>.



regarding the role of members in uprisings and revolutions outside of Great Britain. Could Scott's negative image of the international image of the Templars be a reflection of his questioning the merit of contemporary internationalism of Freemasonry? The radical connection would have been an anathema to someone as politically conservative as Scott. While he was a Mason, his association was one of social acceptance than any real commitment to the fraternity. The novels also allowed the author to herald a notion of 'idealised' behaviour that the modern reader would identify as 'Victorian' in their sensibilities. The protagonists display a selflessness, their personal wants and desires sacrificed to ensure honour and social acceptance is respected. Scott acknowledges such a moralistic undertone in the introduction of *Ivanhoe*:

*"...Virtue has had its reward .. the duties of self-denial, and the sacrifice of passion to principle .. high-minded discharge of duty, produces .. [a] peace which the world cannot give or take away."*<sup>4</sup>

There is an element of Stoic philosophy, especially as Seneca claimed "*.. reason is not a slave to the senses, but a ruler over them*"<sup>5</sup> and continues with the claim "*there is nothing good except that which is honourable..*"<sup>6</sup> The upright nature of the hero is paramount to Scott's tales, as are the egocentric impulses of the Templar antagonist. The author extends this notion to the novel's female characters and exemplifies the ideal of emotional control is paramount. Scott presents an idealised British image that has a nationalistic and religious divide.

The chapter will continue with works that came before Scott, illustrating how he has produced only one image. Literary writings of the Templars date back to the late twelfth century <sup>(Appendix 2)</sup> and have changed over the years. The original images have more of a connection to their historical role. However,

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<sup>4</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe*, London, Marshall Cavendish Partworks Ltd, 1987, p.10.

<sup>5</sup> Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucium epistulae morales*, trans. Richard M. Gummere, London, Harvard University Press, 1917, Volume 2, p.23. Retrieved 06 February 2016, from <https://archive.org/stream/adluciumepistu02seneuoft#page/24/mode/2up>

<sup>6</sup> Seneca, p.75

upon their fall their image becomes malleable in the hands of the writer. Such divergent images would indicate a popular knowledge of 'Templars', but a lack of understanding of the reality of their enterprise. Scott knew of some the previous images as some of the works appear in his personal libraries.<sup>7</sup> The notoriety of the Templars reached new heights upon the publication of a French version of the history of Freemasonry in the 1730's. The Freemason/Templar connection continues through today, with many Freemasonry groups referring to themselves as Templars. Writers have incorporated the Order into best-selling tales of pure fiction and intrigue, and others have employed the Templar tale in their pseudo-historic theories. The Order's swift ascent and descent have led to many theories and speculations, a conglomeration of fact and fiction. Since the Order's dissolution, some of the fabrications have developed into accepted truths (in certain circles). While the last Templar died over seven hundred years ago, they have been a source of inspiration to various writers/creators over the centuries. Member of the Order may not be central characters, but their role is often significant to the flow of the narrative. Works have presented the orders as heroes, intermediaries for lovers, dupes, antagonists, and the holders of arcane knowledge. Why this group of soldier-monks, rather than others that still exist (to a greater or lesser degree)? Is it the relatively unknown and therefore unknowable features of this Order? Was the incorporation of the Templars into centuries of tales was due to the nature of their arrest, heresy and persecution? A large percentage of Templar mythology is due to the nature of their fall, but not all. Another 'heretical' group who faced executions and persecution on a large scale were the Albigenses or Cathars of the Languedoc in France. Their suppression was bloodier than any the Templars faced yet they have not achieved the same mythology. However, the two united in pseudo-history with claims the Cathars 'treasure' lost in the 'Albigensian Crusade' (1209-1229) and

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<sup>7</sup> For the full catalogue of the books in Sir Walter Scott's libraries (Parlor, Study and General) refer to <http://www.librarything.com/catalog/WalterScottLibrary>.

passed to the Templars.<sup>8</sup> The mystery around the Templars produced many different images, more often a result of the imagination than any semblance of the truth. Scott's Templars are no exception, and some scholars claim Scott's depictions are responsible for “.. *the most persuasive modern image of the Templars in Britain* ..”<sup>9</sup> and he “.. *implanted in public minds the image of the proud, cruel and corrupt Templar*”.<sup>10</sup> Scott's popularity has ensured the myth of the Templars would continue.

Late eighteenth/early nineteenth century Britain abounded with political instability, and matters of religion came to the fore. The question of Catholic Emancipation needed to be addressed, in particular with the absorption of a Catholic Ireland into the United Kingdom. The novels are an expression of Scott's views on Catholicism and his distrust of religious fanaticism. The Crusades were the manifestation of religious extremism, and the Templars took it to the nth degree. To a modern viewer, it is possible to draw parallels between the actions of the Templars with those of Islamic State (IS). Both international coalitions are fighting for a religious ideal that is unobtainable. Scott's writings appear to contain religious tolerance, especially in regards to his portrayal of Muslim leader Saladin (1137-1193) in *Talisman*. However, the Jewish characters in *Ivanhoe* appear stereotypical, but more sympathetic when compared to other Jewish characters in previous literature. The main focus of Scott's religious questioning is the Roman Catholic faith and is evident in his novels. The religious characters (including Templars) appear to fall into two categories: lacking true religious conviction or sanity. Scott's Grand Masters seem to have a loose grip on sanity, and de Bois-Guilbert has a more secular attitude to the Order than religious motivation. Scott's Templar image is more

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<sup>8</sup> Depending on the 'theory' the treasure was physical wealth, or religious knowledge. It is interesting to note the absence of any Templar force during this Crusade. (They had a number of different holdings in the area, the second Temple-house based in Paris and the aggressors included the Pope and the King of France).

<sup>9</sup> Malcom Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.323.

<sup>10</sup> Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, Harlow, Pearson Education Limited, 2004, p.273.

a representation of the heretical charges they faced in 1307 than around the Third Crusade. Another failing of the Templars in Scott's works is their avarice, an accusation the Order faced throughout most of its existence. The resulting image of Scott's Templars is an entity chasing power and money rather than the pursuit of religious ideals. Scott's portrayals highlight the importance he placed upon a person's religiosity but is also an illustration his mistrust in the radical ideology of some Christians.

Scott's novels are fiction; produced for entertaining his readers and the financial gain of the author. *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* are not an authentic portrayal of Richard I and events from the twelfth century, nor the Templars. While there are easily identifiable historical accuracies, they have been 'Scottified' to help the flow of the narrative. The resulting image of duplicitous, self-centred and barely sane Templars are a result of the imagination of Scott. His works are a result of his ability to blend folklore, legends, artistic licence with a small dollop of history. They are more indicative of Scott's thinking and nineteenth-century sensibilities rather than the twelfth-century setting.

There are numerous studies on the subjects of the Templars, Sir Walter Scott and his novels. However, a specific study of Scott's representations appears missing from Templar research. Scott's images are often cited in various academic works from local histories<sup>11</sup> through to Templar-centric studies. Professor Malcolm Barber often refers to Scott's novels as creating '*the template for fiction and drama that many have since followed*'.<sup>12</sup> A sentiment expressed in various other academic works by Templar historians Dr Evelyn Lord, Professor Helen J. Nicholson and Alain Demurger. However, no further

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<sup>11</sup> John S. Lee, 'Landowners and landscapes: the Knights Templar and their successors at Temple Hirst, Yorkshire', *Wolfson BALH Lecture in Local History: February 2010*, retrieved 25 March 2017 from [https://www.academia.edu/7159030/Landowners\\_and\\_landscapes\\_the\\_Knights\\_Templar\\_and\\_their\\_successors\\_at\\_Temple\\_Hirst\\_Yorkshire](https://www.academia.edu/7159030/Landowners_and_landscapes_the_Knights_Templar_and_their_successors_at_Temple_Hirst_Yorkshire).

<sup>12</sup> Malcolm Barber, 'The Knights Templar. Who were they? And why do we care?', *Slate Life and Art*, retrieved 25 March 2017 from [www.slate.com/articles/news\\_and\\_politics/life\\_and.../the\\_knights\\_templar.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/life_and.../the_knights_templar.html)

study appears to have been undertaken. The referencing of Scott's works would indicate his image plays an important part in the Templars history. It also indicates the fictional element of the Templars has played a role in current perceptions of the Order. The lack of study of Scott's construct is perplexing considering Templar Sir Brian de Bois-Guilbert is a main character in Scott's most popular novel.<sup>13</sup> Some people learn about history through fictional depictions in movies, television and novels. Their ready acceptance of fiction as truth results in misinformation throughout history. For what is history but a series of tales that are often edited depending on the proposed audience. Certain things are set in rock, such as dates and events happened. However the relation of events is often dependent upon one's view of events. The eye-witness reports can be edited to reflect a contemporary viewpoint. Can recorded history be completely factual? Or, are they more a reflection of different writer's perceptions?

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<sup>13</sup> A.N. Wilson, *The Laird of Abbotsford: A View of Sir Walter Scott*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1980, p.158.

## ❖ CHAPTER 1 - A UNITED KINGDOM

In 1800 the national entity of the United Kingdom of Great Britain was established. The conglomeration of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland emerged from many centuries of bloody conflict. The principality of Wales came under English control with Acts of Union in 1536 and 1542. Scotland formally joined the union in 1707 almost 100 years after the ascent of a Scottish king to the English Throne: James VI of Scotland/James I of England (1566-1625). In 1800 the union completed with the amalgamation of Ireland under English rule, approximately 650 years after the Lordship of Ireland had been granted to the Plantagenet King Henry II (1154-1189).<sup>14</sup> There has been a long history of conflict and resentments between the formerly separate nations that did not cease upon any unions. A new nation required a new identity to promote cohesion between previously divided peoples. The works of Sir Walter Scott helped establish a developing sense of national identity in his historical fiction. His works produced characters and events contemporary readers could easily identify with and highlight a commonality of the past. A ‘united we stand, divided we fall’ attitude is present in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman*. The novels illustrate the importance of unity and stability as opposed to the need for independence as shown by the Templars and divisions of the past. The subtext of the novels highlights Scott’s belief in the new nation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The newly formed realm was not only undergoing changes politically but also on a personal level for the majority of Scott’s audience.

### Promotion of National Unity

The unification of Great Britain was a ratification of the political status quo rather than any radical change to its citizens. The same cannot be said in regards to international events that directly affected Britain in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century; the American secession from British

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<sup>14</sup> Pope Adrian IV granted the Lordship of Ireland to Henry II in 1155. The English invaded in 1168 to establish their own form of governance.

governance, the overthrow of the French absolutist monarchy and the emergence of a Corsican officer with expansionist ideas. Changes were being experienced internationally and on a personal level. The changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution saw the majority of Britons personal lives affected. The mass population shifts overturned the established social structures of communities due to industrialisation. Significant population shifts and a jump in numbers resulted in extraordinary population growth and small towns transformed into large industrial centres:

England <sup>15</sup>				
City	1700	1750	1800	Growth
London	575,000	675,000	959,000	67%
Birmingham	10,000	24,000	74,000	640%
Sheffield	n/a	12,000	46,000	283%

Scotland <sup>16</sup>			
City	1755	1801	Growth
Edinburgh	57,000	81,600	43%
Glasgow	31,700	83,700	164%
Paisley	6,800	31,200	360%

Relocation could be a voluntary process with many attracted to the urban sprawl by the prospect of higher wages and different employment opportunities. However, a number had shifts enforce upon them due to others overturning rural communities historical norms in search of personal financial gain. Britain had a long established record of trade in wool and cloth. The new machinery enabled the fast production of cloth in a fraction of the time and for a

<sup>15</sup> 'Demography', *Georgian Cities: 18<sup>th</sup> century cities: London, Bath, Edinburgh...*, retrieved 14 August 2016 from <http://www.18thc-cities.paris-sorbonne.fr/Demography-79?lang=fr>

<sup>16</sup> 'Urban population of Scotland in the 18<sup>th</sup> c.', *Georgian Cities: 18<sup>th</sup> century cities: London, Bath, Edinburgh...*, retrieved 14 August 2016 from <http://www.18thc-cities.paris-sorbonne.fr/The-urban-population-of-Scotland?lang=fr>

portion of the cost previously experienced. A growing population and empire saw demands reach unprecedented levels and pressure for the base product escalate. To accommodate the number of sheep required to supply the factories resulted in wholesale land grabs, enclosures and clearing of land for the animals to graze. In Northumberland alone in the space of 30 years saw approximately 120,000 acres (187.5 square miles) enclosed.<sup>17</sup> The government introduced legislation that endorsed indistinct traditional holdings to become more defined with the 1773 Inclosure Act. There were provisions within this Act to ensure communities were not '*damned by a breach of the regulations*'.<sup>18</sup> However, these provisions required the aggrieved party to present their concerns directly to Parliament in Westminster. An action the average rural community could neither have afforded in time nor finances required. A rural community's long-established way of life could cease with an enforced land enclosure and force residents to seek a living elsewhere. Some would have moved to the new towns with other choosing to emigrate elsewhere and help colonise the expanding British Empire. Thus enforcing change upon other peoples around the world and the development of the notion of Britishness and the United Kingdom.

The new United Kingdom was undergoing revolutionary social changes, unification and a growing Empire all resulting in a need for a unifying national identity. Scott's novels emphasise the importance of unity under a strong leader and clearly defines the boundaries of 'Britain'. *Talisman* identifies Richard as an '*island sovereign*'<sup>19</sup> and marks the frontiers of his realm to the geographical confines of the British Isles. Richard is constantly referred to as the King of England with the accoutrements that identify him so. His adversaries also identify him as a sovereign of an island nation:

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<sup>17</sup> Soil and Health Library, retrieved 14 April 2016 from <http://soilandhealth.org/wp-content/uploads/index.html>

<sup>18</sup> National Archives 'Inclosure Act 1773', *Legislation.gov.uk*, retrieved 14 April 2016 from <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/apgb/Geo3/13/81/section/26>

<sup>19</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Talisman*, n.p., Feather Trail Press, 2009, p.23.



*"There is a change of cheer among these island dogs," said the Grand Master to Conrade, when they had passed Richard's guards."*<sup>20</sup>

While technically Richard was King of England, it was only a small portion of his realm and one he reportedly was not fond.<sup>21</sup> Scott also addresses the divisions within the 'island' nation, but how they will unite in the face of adversity:

*".. although the inhabitants of the two extremities of that island are engaged in frequent war, the country can, as thou seest, furnish forth such a body of men-at-arms as may go far to shake the unholy hold which your master hath laid on the cities of Zion."*<sup>22</sup>

A reference to the necessity to unite in the face of external aggression contemporary readers would have easily understood in light of the recent Napoleonic wars. Why Scott would employ the image of Richard as the unifying figure may have been due to him being one of the few English kings that did not actively engage in warfare with the Scot's (due to being occupied with nearly everyone else he had come into contact with). Scott had produced an English King whom his contemporaries could relate to a well-known military figure – akin to the Duke of Wellington; a monarch with a questionable relationship with his father – similar to George III and the Prince Regent; ongoing conflict with a French king – parallels with Napoleon. Scott had created a monarch who wish to forge a united Christian nation without the undermining divisions of the past.

Both novels have new generations realising the way forward is through the rejection of historical resentments. The adherence to grievances of the past only results in division and stagnation. Scott highlights this with his

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<sup>20</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.66.

<sup>21</sup> Richard spent a total of 10 months in England in the 10 years of his reign as King, did not speak any English. Alison Weir, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: By the Wrath of God, Queen of England*, London, Pimlico, 2000, p.261. King Richard is recorded saying "I would sell London if I could find a chapman". Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes Chronicle Concerning the Deeds of Richard the First, King of England. Also Richard of Cirencester's Description of Britain*, trans. and ed. J.A. Giles, London: James Bohn, 1841, p.10.

<sup>22</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.23.

protagonists in both novels being sons who rejected the firmly held and divisive opinions of their fathers. Wilfred of Ivanhoe's father disinherits him for following the lead of a Norman king and his crusade:

*"He left my homely dwelling to mingle with the gay nobility of your brother's [Richard] court .. He left it contrary to my wish and command."*<sup>23</sup>

The father holds on to the resentment of a conquered people 100 years after the Norman invasion. He also sees the irony of the errant Saxon son receiving rewards for his loyalty to the Norman king with the granting of:

*".. the very domains which his fathers possessed in free and independent right."*<sup>24</sup>

This notion would have been one understood by some of his fellow Scots. It was just over 60 years since the brutal repression of the Scots by the English after the Jacobite uprisings in 1745.<sup>25</sup> Scott addresses these resentments over the loss of land and rights enforced by an 'invading' force by highlighting a commonality in history. The divisional representation he presents in *Talisman* is not only between father and son but Scotland and England:

*"Ye know how Scotland deceived us when she proposed to send this valiant Earl .. to aid our arms in this conquest of Palestine, but failed to comply with her engagements. This noble youth .. thought foul scorn that his arm should be withheld from the holy warfare, and joined us at Sicily .."*<sup>26</sup>

However, is also between supposed allies fighting for the same cause. Success was impossible due to the divisions between Richard, and the other Christian leaders. The difference between both novels highlights Scott's belief in unity. The positive outcome in *Ivanhoe* (unless you were a Templar) came about by achieving a combined force in the face of adversity under the leadership of

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<sup>23</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.157.

<sup>24</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.158.

<sup>25</sup> The Battle of Culloden saw the rebels defeated on the field and any who escaped hunted down, placed on trial and executed. The government also introduced legislation that successfully suppressed any further attempts at rebellion.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.169.

Richard. Whereas *Talisman* highlights the lack of success due to independent natures, lack of unity and rejection of Richard's leadership.

## How does Scott display disunity leading to failure?

Scott's novels highlight the notion of disunity and repeatedly advocates for unity under Richard's rule. If there are any dissenters, they are doomed to failure and ultimately death. The way the characters meet their demise would indicate Scott views the actions of the Templars differently than other 'traitors'. While the Templars are the main antagonist in both novels, their deaths are relatively quick. Their falls are due to their adherence to the supremacy of the Order over the King. Their every action was motivated by their overt loyalty to the Templars in dress, action and vocally. On the other hand, Conrade of Monserrate and Sir Reginald Front-de-Beouf actions are completely selfish and traitorous. It is only through the denial of Richard's authority can they achieve their goals. Their deaths reflect the traitorous nature of their actions: Front-de-Beouf is burnt alive during the storming of Torquilstone Castle, and Conrade's death is more protracted, mortally wounded and ultimately killed by his Templar 'friend'. Did Scott perceive his fault to be more heinous? His crime was the aspiration of claiming a claim to the title of King of Jerusalem. A title that Richard himself could claim as the legitimate great-grandson of the former King Fulk. Conrade was an upstart with ideas of grandeur which resulted in his painful demise. Through his denial of Richard and rejection of the unity, he could offer he suffered a death akin to that of a traitor.

A definition of a traitor follows nationalistic lines with the betrayal of country or sovereign.<sup>27</sup> The logical (if overly simplistic) assumption would be British support the Duke of Wellington and the French Napoleon. Borders define the divisions, which in of themselves are a fluid notion in Continental Europe. The

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<sup>27</sup> *Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, Eleventh Edition, ed. by Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, p.1529.

United Kingdom's borders are defined by the coastline of the mainland and various islands, with the only fluidity being what is surrounding them. In theory, this provides easy identification of a fellow countryman such as the language spoken (albeit different dialects, but still if you talk in a certain way it usually identifies where you herald from), manners, skin colour, and clothing. Any difference automatically identifies the person as 'other' and therefore untrustworthy. *Ivanhoe's* Templar Bois de Gilbert is an illustration of this with his tanned skin, clearly Oriental accoutrements and servants:

*"The whole appearance of this warrior and his retinue was wild and outlandish .."*<sup>28</sup>

All facets are clearly marking the Templar and attendants as 'other'. Scott is presenting the Templar as possessing a dubious nature from the very beginning of the novel. The *Talisman's* Grand Master and Conrade are the epitome of conspirators against the King. Their public displays indicate support of Richard, but their actions and private discussions prove otherwise. For like traitors, their motivation is personal and based on either ideological thinking or monetary gains. They have all the outward appearances of trustworthiness and making their betrayal is incomprehensible. Their motivation is not easily identifiable, and their motives are personal rather than nationalistic.

The Templars were an international entity with no nationalistic motivation. They had members from all over Christendom.<sup>29</sup> Scott may have seen this lack of clearly defined nationalism as a reason to question their loyalty to Richard. The Order openly states their only allegiance is to the spiritual authority of the Pope. The Papal Bull *Omne Datum Optimum* (1139) ensured their autonomy from any nationalistic restrictions:

*"Hereafter the customs instituted in common by the master and the brothers for the observance of your religion and service may not be*

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<sup>28</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.35.

<sup>29</sup> International support and membership for the Order is present in the diversity of their holdings throughout Christendom. Looking at the nationality of the Grand Masters the majority are of French origin, but there were also Masters who were Spanish, Flemish and Sicilian.

*infringed nor diminished by any ecclesiastical or secular person ..*

*Moreover, they shall be subject to no person outside your chapter ..*<sup>30</sup>

Their loyalty was first and foremost to the Order and lacking any form of nationalistic identity. Their leaders were elected into office (as was the Pope) and could be of any nationality with already established loyalties. The democratically elected leadership lacked any long-term cohesion, unlike a hereditary monarchy. The international nature of the Order was a source of their untrustworthiness. Their fluidity of loyalties meant they could be allies and adversaries in turn. Historically the ambiguous nature of their loyalty may have resulted in the establishment of a military order of the Order of Brothers of the German House of Saint Mary in Jerusalem (Teutonic Knights) in 1189. They were a Germanic Order with allegiances to the Pope, and Holy Roman Emperor and their nationalistic identity define loyalty. They were willing to undertake 'commissions' to 'promote' Christianity in pagan Europe when sanctioned by the Holy Roman Emperor.<sup>31</sup> The timing is interesting in light of events of the Third Crusade. Could this have been in direct response to the perceived lack of impartiality the Templars had with regards to Richard? The very public humiliation of the Duke of Austria by Richard after the surrender of Acre?<sup>32</sup> Any monarch would consider a military force akin to the Templars an asset. Upon the dissolution of the Templars, the monarchs of Spain<sup>33</sup> and Portugal<sup>34</sup> absorbed the Templar structure and members into a knightly order under their protection. The kings created militaristic orders under the protection of a nationalistic monarch; orders built upon foundations of an international and independent organisation.

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<sup>30</sup> Malcolm Barber & Keith Bate, *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002, pp.62-63.

<sup>31</sup> Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> "Twenty-five knights and forty Templars stayed .." with an ill Germanic Emperor while the rest of the army travelled to Palestine. Bahā'al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin or al-Nawādir al-Sultāniyya wa'l-Mahāsīn al-Yūsufiyya* by Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, Trans. D.S. Richards, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002, p.117.

<sup>33</sup> The Order of Montesa (est 1317). Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.310.

<sup>34</sup> The Order of Christ (est 1319). Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.310.

The notion of independence appears to be at the base of Scott's negative Templar image. The Templar-centric world the Order occupies only brings confusion and disorder. The novel's protagonists are representations of unity and ultimate success, whereas the Templars are the inverse. Their independence is a weakness that leads them to treachery and ultimate failure. However, Scott's Templar independence is paradoxical for they divest themselves of any form of independence upon becoming a member of the Order. Scott has *Ivanhoe's* Sir Brian acknowledge this:

*"The Templar loses, as thou hast said, his social rights, his power of free agency, but he becomes a member and a limb of a mighty body, before which thrones already tremble."*<sup>35</sup>

The individual is part of a greater whole, and the Order is the centre of their world. Their sole concern is the protection of the Order and then all else, including Christianity. *Ivanhoe's* Grand Master exemplifies such an image:

*".. [His] fortune and misfortune is merged in that of his order, would be willing to do more for its advancement"*<sup>36</sup>

The needs of the Order are their sole concern:

*".. their order was everything, and their individuality nothing--seeking the advancement of its power, even at the hazard of that very religion which the fraternity were originally associated to protect .."*<sup>37</sup>

It is the protection of the Order behind Scott's portrayal of willingness to undermine the Christian Crusade:

*".. were the allied princes to be successful in Palestine, it would be their first point of policy to abate the independence of your Order, .. and succeed in this expedition, would willingly consign us for ever to degradation and dependence?"*<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.241

<sup>36</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.69.

<sup>37</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.62.

<sup>38</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.68.

This passage highlights the concern of monarchs, if powerful enough, had the power to debase the Order. Sir Brian repeats this concept when urged to seek forgiveness from King Richard:

*“Stoop my crest to Richard? .. Never, Rebecca, will I place the Order of the Temple at his feet in my person. I may forsake the Order, I never will degrade or betray it.”*<sup>39</sup>

Scott’s Templars are overly proud of their position and would like to establish an independent realm, becoming equals with the monarchs and rulers they disdain. Scott has the *Talisman* Grand Master contemplate this notion and (later/early) state:

*“.. the military orders of the Temple and of Saint John .. jealous of any European monarch .. they proposed to establish independent dominions of their own.”*<sup>40</sup>

Historically this claim is questionable. The Hospitallers and Teutonic Order’s did not establish an independent base until after the loss of Christian holdings in Palestine. As for the Templars, they had attempted it in Cyprus after their purchase of the Island from Richard I.<sup>41</sup> However like the King they did not have the resources to administer the island successfully. They appear to have preferred to act in a supporting role to men like Richard, a stance that conflicts with Scott’s portrayal.

## How does Scott represent the relationship between King Richard and the Templars?

Scott’s Templars do not afford any due respect to the personage and position of King Richard. The author appears to hone in on the deficiency of any fidelity as the core of their negative image. He claims the lack of unity under Richard resulted in an unsuccessful campaign to recapture Jerusalem:

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<sup>39</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.406.

<sup>40</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.112.

<sup>41</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.119.

*“.. the knights of these two orders [Templars and Hospitallers] were accounted hostile to King Richard, having adopted the side of Philip of France .. It was the well-known consequence of this discord that Richard's repeated victories had been rendered fruitless ..”*<sup>42</sup>

Scott asserts the order took sides in the disputes between the two monarchs and they paid homage to Philip over Richard. Scott's depiction is unfounded in regards to the Order siding with the French king but accurate in its depiction of the animosity between the monarchs.

*Talisman* accurately depicts a level of tension between Richard and Philip II 'Augustus' (1165-1223). The relationship these two shared had a foundation based on mutual distrust and open animosity. The monarchs had been allies in earlier years but the majority of the time they were adversaries (the default setting for any Anglo/Franco relations). However, they united their armies upon taking up the cross and begin their crusade to assist Christian forces in Palestine. Both armies wintered in Sicily for approximately seven months, during which time the diplomatic abilities of the Templars came to the fore. Richard and his troops were always quick to take offence at any perceived slight and resulted in various conflicts with the French and locals. When a local monastery refused to hand over their stores to Richard, he organised a raid and tortured any opponents, including monks.<sup>43</sup> The clashes continued and came to a head at Messina where the English forces took over the city *“in less time than a priest would have taken to sing Matins”*.<sup>44</sup> Upon their victory, Richard's banners flew above the city walls, to the chagrin of the French who saw it as an insult of Richards French overlord.<sup>45</sup> The Templars were employed

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<sup>42</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.88.

<sup>43</sup> Jim Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France, 1180-1223*, London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1998, p.82.

<sup>44</sup> Elizabeth Hallam (ed), *Chronicles of the Crusades: Eye-Witness Accounts of the Wars Between Christianity and Islam*, London: George Weidenfeld & Nicholson Ltd, 1989, p.176

<sup>45</sup> The majority of the Avengin Empire was located in France and the territories owed allegiance to the French crown. Richard had paid homage as Duke of Aquitaine, his elder brother had on behalf of Anjou and Brittany, his father and elder brother for Normandy – a task King John would later refuse to undertake. As King of England Richard was Philip's equal, but the other



as peacemakers between the two forces and resulted in Phillips banners replacing Richards. Members of the Order were also called upon to negotiate a settlement between Richard and the Sicilian King Tancred (d.1194). The events at Messina saw Richard demand compensation “*for the outrages his people had committed.*”<sup>46</sup> He also took the opportunity to claim restitution for the treatment of his sister, Joanna, the widowed Queen of Sicily. She was released “*after much work by messengers from both sides*”<sup>47</sup> along with 40,000 ounces of gold. Upon receipt of the gold Richard immediately commandeered it and presented half to his French overlord Philip. These types of events highlight the complexities of Richard and Philips relationship with the constants of distrust and hostility never far away. However, there is no implication the Templars sided with the French king to the detriment of Richard. The Orders neutrality in matters may be why they gained the governance of Messina.<sup>48</sup> The only public dispute between a monarch and the Order was with Philip after the fall of Acre (1191). Upon the surrender of the Muslim garrison, the French and English monarchs lay claim to the city and divided the spoils. The French claim included the former palace of the Templars,

“*.. the king of France had the Templars’ noble palace and all that went with it ...*”<sup>49</sup>

The Grand Master and the Order vocally opposed Philip’s claim upon their former possessions and unsuccessfully attempted to assert their rights of independence.<sup>50</sup> The Templars were part of Philip’s court holding roles as counsellors and treasurer, positions they held in various courts throughout Christendom. When they took over Philips Treasury, the annual return increased noticeable. The Order was also appointed holders of Philips revenue

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titles made him Philip’s vassal. W.L. Warren, *Henry II*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995, pp.227-8.

<sup>46</sup> *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson, Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1997, p.164.

<sup>47</sup> Nicholson, *Itinerarium*, p.168

<sup>48</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.209.

<sup>49</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.221.

<sup>50</sup> Patrick Huguet, *The Knights Templar: From glory to tragedy*, trans. Dedicace, Rennes, Editions Ouest-France, 2011, p.70.

while he was on a crusade.<sup>51</sup> Their relationship was a pragmatic one, and the Order were not the recipients of Philip's largess as he preferred to support reforming monastic orders, the poor and lepers.<sup>52</sup> Scott's claim Templars favoured Philip of France cannot be substantiated historically.

Scott repeats his allegations the military orders opposed Richard in *Talisman*:

*".. the Grand Masters both of the Temple and of the Order of Saint John .. nourished a personal enmity against Richard."*<sup>53</sup>

The Templar animosity expressed in *Ivanhoe* appears to be more pro-Templar than actively anti-Richard. Unlike the Grand Master in *Talisman* whose disdain is all consuming and irrational. The basis of his objections are to ensure the protection of the Order and have slipped into contemplation (and later active) notions of regicide:

*"Richard arise from his bed, sayest thou? Conrade, he must never arise!"*<sup>54</sup>

The novels illustrate opposition to the king ultimately leads to failure for all, just as Richard failed with the main aim of his Crusade, the reclamation of Jerusalem for the Christians.

The events of the Third Crusade were recorded and then compiled into a six-volume set in the thirteenth century. The *Intinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* (The Acts of King Richard the Pilgrim and Intinerarium) is an invaluable record of events. This work does not record any discord between Richard and either military order. There are records of disagreements regarding military strategy, but no there is no indication of any animosity. The main division chronicled are between Richard and the other Christian leaders and are a contrast to the affable relations with the Military Orders. Richard is recorded praising the Hospitallers for their charity and piety while he was in

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<sup>51</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.273.

<sup>52</sup> Bradbury, pp.168-9

<sup>53</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.143.

<sup>54</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.69.

Palestine.<sup>55</sup> According to the *Itinerarium*, the relationship the Templars and Richard had was especially supportive and followed the same lines his predecessors, and future English monarchs had.

## What was the history of the Templar / Plantagenet relationship?

Christians had undertaken pilgrimages to the holy sites in Palestine for centuries. Upon the successful Christian capture of Jerusalem in 1099 numbers increased. Travelling to these distant lands could be dangerous as most pilgrims were an 'easy' target for thieves and brigands (Christian and non-Christian). A small group of men banded together with the aim of protecting pilgrims and by extension Christianity in Palestine. They offered the physical protection of a soldier and proposed to live akin to that of monks. In c.1119, both the King and Patriarch of Jerusalem formerly recognised the group and granted them premises on the site of the old Jewish Temple, hence their sobriquet 'Templars'. They soon attracted others to their cause, with one of the earliest nobles associated with the Templars was Fulk V, Count of Anjou (1089/92-1143). In 1120 Fulk joined the order as a 'married brother', and upon returning to France, he organised an annual grant of thirty pounds of silver payable to the Templars.<sup>56</sup> Within another five years, the Order accepted the former Count of Champagne, Hugh (1074-1125) as a penitent Templar knight.<sup>57</sup> Hugh's inclusion into the Order brought not only prestige but a connection to one of the most influential religious figures of the period, Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153). His support was instrumental in the Order's acceptance by the Pope and the Christian population of Western Europe. Bernard also addressed the concern of how a man could be both a warrior and monk in his work

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<sup>55</sup> Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p.16.

<sup>56</sup> Charles G. Addison, Esq, *The History of The Knights Templars, The Temple Church, and The Temple*, London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1842, retrieved 08 October 2016 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/38593/38593-h/38593-h.htm>.

<sup>57</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.11.

*‘Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae’ [In Praise of the new knighthood]* not only sanctioned their actions but sanctified them:

*“The knights of Christ fight the battles of their Lord in all peace of mind, in no way fearing to sin in killing the enemy or to die at his hands, since indeed death, whether inflicted or suffered, is not tainted by crime but is marked by a large degree of glory. In one case it is acquired for Christ while in the other it is Christ who is acquired .. in some wonderful, unique way they are seen to be meeker than lambs and fiercer than lions, so that I am almost in doubt as to whether they ought to be called knights or monks. Unless, of course I were to call them by both names, which would be more exact, as they are known to have the gentleness of a monk and the bravery of a knight.”<sup>58</sup>*

The Templars had established essential relationships within Western Christianity society, both secular and spiritual and they proceeded to build upon them.

The first Templar Grand Master Hugh de Paynes (c.1070-1136) travelled to Western Europe with a commission for the King of Jerusalem and to garner support for the growing order. de Paynes returned to Europe to negotiating a marriage contract between the heir to the Throne of Jerusalem and his Templar ‘brother’ the Count of Anjou. Fulk relinquished his title of Count to his newly married son Geoffrey Plantagenet (1113-1151) who had married Empress Matilda (1102-1167) widow of the Holy Roman Emperor and heir to the English throne. The marriage helped establish a connection with the English King Henry I (1068-1135) who quickly became a supporter of de Payne’s mission and granted a large financial boost:

*“This same year [1128] came from Jerusalem Hugh of the Temple to the king in Normandy; and the king received him with much honour, and gave him rich presents in gold and in silver. And afterwards he sent him into England; and there he was received by all good men, who all*

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<sup>58</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘In Praise of the New Knighthood, (1130s)’, *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate*, eds. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002, p.219.

*gave him presents, and in Scotland also: and by him they sent to Jerusalem much wealth withal in gold and in silver.*<sup>59</sup>

Upon the death of Henry I England descended into 'The Anarchy' (1135-1154) with two claimants to the English throne Empress Matilda and King Stephen (c.1092/6-1154). While the country suffered the newly established Templars prospered as both parties had connections with the Order; Matilda as daughter-in-law to Fulk and Stephen was the nephew of the Templar knight Hugh of Champagne. Both factions appear to be competing as to who could give the Templars more and resulted in the Order being substantial landholders. When Stephen died without an heir, and upon Matilda's son Henry II (1133-1189) ascending the throne he doubled the Templar grants.<sup>60</sup> The Templars, in turn, assisted the new monarch to establish his authority through their network of houses throughout the Angevin Empire.<sup>61</sup> Henry had inherited lands stretching from the Pyrenees in Southern France to the Northern English border with Scotland. Inheriting the titles of King of England, Count of Anjou, Maine and Nates, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine. Members of the Order were granted positions within his court as advisors and counsellors.<sup>62</sup> The Templars also had an earlier established association with Henry's wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204). As Duchess of Aquitaine, Eleanore had exempted the Templars from paying taxes and granted them a base at the port of La Rochelle in 1139.<sup>63</sup> While married to her first husband Louis VII of France (1120-80)<sup>64</sup> the royal couple travelled to Palestine to participate in the Second Crusade (1147-1149). They became trapped during the bloody Battle of Mount Cadmus (1148), and the Templars guided them to safety,<sup>65</sup> an act the King

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<sup>59</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Part 7: A.D. 1102 – 1154*, Online Medieval and Classical Library Release # 17, retrieved 25 March 2016 from <http://omacl.org/Anglo/part7.html>.

<sup>60</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.203-204.

<sup>61</sup> Evelyn Lord, *The Templar's Curse*, Harlow, Pearson Education Limited, 2008, p.94.

<sup>62</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.206.

<sup>63</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.26.

<sup>64</sup> Louis VII was Eleanor's first husband, their marriage was annulled in 1152, approximately 15 years and two daughters later. Eleanor would marry the future Henry II eight weeks after her divorce. Louis would also remarry and his second wife gave birth to his heir, Philip II of France.

<sup>65</sup> Weir, pp.63-64.

claimed saved their lives.<sup>66</sup> By the time Richard was born the Plantagenet's, and Templars had a strong well-established relationship that would continue when he took the throne in 1189. Richard had made an oath to undertake a crusade, and his father's death delayed his departure but provided access to his treasury. In search of funding for his venture, Richard emptied the kingdom's coffers, sold land and crown office. The Templars were an exception, and their privileges reconfirmed and gifted more land in Oxfordshire.<sup>67</sup> Richard's actions indicate the regard in which he held the Order, and the Templars would support him.

### Does Scott's depiction of the relationship between King Richard and the Templars have any historical credence?

The Templars often declared their independence from any form of secular authority, but their relationship with Richard would appear at odds with this claim. The Orders support for the monarch came to the fore during Richard's journey to Acre. After leaving Sicily Richard's fleet encountered a violent storm and some his ships sought refuge in Cypriot ports or wrecked upon the islands shore. The Emperor of Cyprus Isaac Komnenos (1155-1195/96) ordered the imprisonment of any of one of Richard's subjects who set foot of Cypriot land. When Richard demanded the release of his men, he received the reply of "*Phooey, my lord*".<sup>68</sup> Never one to ignore an insult Richard's further reply was one of active aggression. Upon learning of Richard's action, twelve senior Templar knights left the Christian forces besieging the city of Acre to offer assistance.<sup>69</sup> The Templars not only left behind their fellow Crusaders, including King of France and Duke of Austria, they openly took sides with Richard against another Christian sovereign. The Templars had clearly signalled their support for the Angevin King.

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<sup>66</sup> Hugnet, p.37.

<sup>67</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.208.

<sup>68</sup> Nicholson, *Itinerarium*, p.183.

<sup>69</sup> Piers Paul Read, *The Templars*, London: Phoenix Press, 1999, p.170.

After the speedy subjugation of Cyprus, Richard and his army arrived in Acre. During this period the connection with the Order strengthened upon the appointment of one of his vassals, Robert de Sablé (d.1193) to the vacant position of Grand Master. The former Grand Master, Gerard de Ridefort (d.1189) had died during the siege of Acre, and no formal replacement elected. de Sable had a well-established relationship with Richard and had fought alongside Richard's brother during one of the rebellions against Henry II.<sup>70</sup> Richard had appointed him as a justicar of his fleet, diplomat in Cyprus and Richard's representative on the committee dealing with the property of crusaders who had died during their travels.<sup>71</sup> With de Sable's appointment, the Templars gained a leader well versed in warfare, logistics and diplomacy. Richard also gained access to the Order's vast finances and was paid 100,000 Saracen besants<sup>72</sup> for the purchase of the recently conquered island of Cyprus. Richard had unsuccessfully tried to establish dominion over the island and on-sold it to the Templars, who were as successful with their governance as Richard. With hindsight, the 'sale' was a way to finance Richard's ongoing venture without casting a shadow on their claims of independence. The suspect nature of the transaction is obvious when a year later Richard sold the island to the former King of Jerusalem, Guy de Lusignan (1150-1194) and no compensation paid to the Templars. However, the Order were not the King's puppets, and they had a pragmatic view with regards to what it took to secure the Christian holdings in Palestine.

Richard's crusade was an unsuccessful attempt to reclaim Jerusalem for Christianity. In *Ivanhoe* Scott states the Templars and Hospitallers for the king's lack of victory:

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<sup>70</sup> Evidently, a common position for the de Sables, as there are records of a Robert of Sable in open rebellion with Richard's grandfather, Geoffrey in the 1130's. Likely to be father or grandfather as he did not inherit the family land until 1160. *The Plantagenet Chronicles*, ed. Elizabeth Hallam, Twickenham: Tiger Books International Plc, 1995, p.60.

<sup>71</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.119.

<sup>72</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.119.

*“.. It was the well-known consequence of this discord that Richard's repeated victories had been rendered fruitless ..”<sup>73</sup>*

Richard became the leader of the Christian forces after the departure of the King of France but would consult and listen to other military voices. Christian forces did have military success which resulted in calls for the armies to continue to Jerusalem, a move “*The Templars and the wiser ones advise against ...*”<sup>74</sup> They understood if they were victorious in recapturing Jerusalem many crusaders would consider their pilgrimage complete and return to their homes. Thus leaving a depleted force to protect the city from any future counter offences from Muslim forces. They successfully argued for Christian forces to concentrate on re-establishing and to strengthen existing strongholds. Such a plan would allow the Christian forces to launch future ventures to re-establish their dominance over Palestine, including Jerusalem. Richard was compelled to abandon these plans to enable him to return home to deal with his wayward brother and the French king. He tried to convince the Military Orders and Count Henry of Champagne (1166-1197) to divide their forces to defend the incomplete bases. Upon their refusal “*.. he could no longer find anyone who would agree with his plans and wishes*”.<sup>75</sup> Richard began negotiations with the leader of the Muslim forces, which would take 18 months not the afternoon suggested in *Talisman*. One of the conditions Richard negotiated was:

*“Both [Christian and Muslim] should have safe and free passage everywhere and access to the Lord's Holy Sepulchre ..”<sup>76</sup>*

However, Richard added a proviso for Christian pilgrims; they would require the written permission of him or his nephew Count Henry II of Champagne (1166-1197) to travel.<sup>77</sup> In effect blocking any French pilgrims visiting and ensured Anglo/French relations return to their usual state - hostile. However, relations

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<sup>73</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.88

<sup>74</sup> ‘Wiser ones’ included Hospitallers and Poulains (natives of Syria and Palestine of European descent). *Itinerarium*, p.279.

<sup>75</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.370.

<sup>76</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.371.

<sup>77</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.373.



with the Templars remained positive, and upon Richard's departure from Palestine, he supposedly wore a Templar mantle and accompanied by four Templars.<sup>78</sup> The Military Orders were not to blame for the Christian failure and contrary to Scott's representation they were '*hostile to King Richard.*' Any lack of success was due to divisions and petty jealousies of the differing Christian factions which Scott has successfully illustrated in *Talisman*.

### Are *Talisman's* representations of the relationship between the Templars and other Christian leaders fictional or factual?

Scott's representations of the Templars relationships between the Templars and other Christian leaders is also questionable. Scott depicts Conrade, Count of Monserrat as a co-conspirator with the Templar Grand Master. Historically there was a Conrad of Montferrat (d.1192) who was a claimant to the throne through marriage, as was Guy de Lusignan. Throughout this period the Templars worked with both men, Conrad at the Siege of Tyre (1188)<sup>79</sup> and Guy accompanied the Templars to assist Richard in Cyprus. However, the internal politics of the Christian contingent in Palestine were akin to soap-opera which led to a general undertone of distrust and disunity between the parties.

A Templar was one of the sources of disunity and an inspiration for Scott's duplicitous Grand Master in *Talisman* (and just as successful) with a hint of de Bois-Gilbert in *Ivanhoe*. If the actions of one person could lay behind the cause of the Third Crusade, the tenth Grand Master, Gerard de Ridefort would be a contender. Like Amaury, de Ridefort's actions illustrate an all-consuming disdain that leads him to undermine a leader of one of the Christian factions. As a young man, de Ridefort hoped to marry a local heiress and sought Raymond III of Tripoli (1140-1187) permission. Raymond rejected the request

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<sup>78</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.209.

<sup>79</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.116

and married the lady to another. Scott hints at an element of this story into the backstory of *Ivanhoe's* Templar de Bois-Guilbert for joining the Order:

*"Never did knight take lance in his hand with a heart more devoted to the lady of his love than Brian de Bois-Guilbert .. And how was I requited?--When I returned with my dear-bought honours, purchased by toil and blood, I found her wedded .. Since that day I have separated myself from life and its ties"*<sup>80</sup>

The blow to de Ridefort's ego appears to have been a canker that coloured future actions. The slighted Knight became a Templar and within two years had risen to the position of Grand Master. Thus indicating a level of ability and personality to secure this position within such a short period. However, Raymond's insult was neither forgotten nor forgiven, and de Ridefort's personal animosity would lead the Christian forces into some ill thought out situations.

Raymond of Tripoli had negotiated a truce with Saladin and granted permission for a Muslim caravan to travel through his lands. Upon learning of the caravan de Ridefort and a party of approximately 140 (nearly two-thirds being Templars)<sup>81</sup> attacked the Muslims. The ensuing Battle of Cresson (May 1187) saw the decimation of the Christian party and only three Templars surviving (including the Grand Master). The breaking of the truce saw events escalate and would ultimately lead to the crushing defeat of Christian forces at Hattin (July 1187). Before the battle, Raymond urged Guy de Lusignan the Christian forces should proceed with caution. However, the Grand Master condemned this course of action as cowardly and successfully urged a full blown attack. Personal animosity had overridden militaristic acumen in de Ridefort's pursuit to discredit Raymond. At the cessation of the battle, Raymond of Tripoli had escaped, and Guy de Lusignan and de Ridefort were prisoners. The Grand Master would be the only surviving Templar prisoner as Saladin ordered the execution of all Templar and Hospitaller prisoners. In a short space of time, de

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<sup>80</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.240.

<sup>81</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.111

Ridefort's actions to spite his former overlord Raymond had led to the wholesale slaughter of the majority of Templars based in Palestine.<sup>82</sup> The massacre at Hattin resulted in Richard and Philip taking up the cross and embarking on their crusade. The imprisonment of the King of Jerusalem also left the throne vacant and the opportunity for another claimant to come to the fore and further turmoil among the Christians.

Guy's claim to the throne was through his marriage to Sybilla, and during his incarceration by Saladin, his brother in law Conrad of Montferrat took over the throne. Conrad refused to relinquish the throne upon Guy's release, and the former king lead his supporters (including de Ridefort) decided to lay siege to the Muslim garrison at Acre:

*"The king of Jerusalem, the Knights Templar and Hospitalier .. besieged Acre on 28 August."*<sup>83</sup>

The siege was as successful as Hattin, and the Christian besiegers were, in turn, themselves besieged by another Muslim force. The Grand Master died during one battle during the siege in 1189 resulting in differing versions of his death. Christian's claim he died a hero:

*"When he saw his troops being slaughtered on all sides, and was urged by his companions to flee so that he would not perish, he replied: 'Never! It would be shame and scandal for the Templars ..'"*<sup>84</sup>

However, according to Muslim records he was once again imprisoned and summarily executed:

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<sup>82</sup> Mid 1160's chronicler records approximately 300 Templar knights in Jerusalem. With the defeats at Cresson (May 1187) and Hattin (July 1187) the order lost 300 knights. For every knight there were approximately three sergeants or serving brothers. The majority of serving Templar Knights in Palestine were killed in less than three months. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp.93-94

<sup>83</sup> *The Plantagenet Chronicles*, p.204.

<sup>84</sup> *Intinerarium*, p.79.

*“Amongst those taken was the master of the Templars whom Saladin had captured and freed. When he now seized his person, he put him to death.”*<sup>85</sup>

The siege of Acre would not be relieved until the arrival of Philip and Richard 1191. The arrival of the two Kings and the death of the Grand Master did not lessen Templar ties with the Guy de Lusignan. Upon the election of Conrad as King of Jerusalem, Richard sold Cyprus to the former king as compensation for the loss of his title. However, Conrad was soon killed by two Assassins, and the French claimed Richard had a hand in his death,<sup>86</sup> there is no hint of any Templar involvement. While *Talisman* is somewhat accurate in the manner of Conrad's death and the disunity within the Christian camp, the close relationship between Templar and Conrade has no factual basis.

Historically Scott is fairly accurate in his representation of King Richard as a person full of pride, bluff and bluster. As a young man, his father called upon him to learn to curb his pride.<sup>87</sup> One chronicle relates how a religious man rebuked Richard for his attitude:

*“This man had among other things said to the king; “You have three daughters, namely, Pride, Luxury, and Avarice; and as long as they shall remain with you, you can never expect to be in favour with God.” To which the king, after a short pause, replied: “I have already given away those daughters in marriage: Pride to the Templars, Luxury to the Black Monks, and Avarice to the White.”*<sup>88</sup>

The king had every right in his self-belief as a leader of men in conflict and warrior. His presence in Acre saw a two-year stalemate broken in a matter of weeks and may have been soon had he not been bed-ridden due to illness.

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<sup>85</sup> *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rikh: Part 2 The Years 541-589/1146-1193: The Age of Nur al-Din and Saladin*, trans. D.S. Richards, Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007, p.368.

<sup>86</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.307-8.

<sup>87</sup> Warren, p.589.

<sup>88</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin Through Wales*, Transcribed from 1912 J.M. Dent and Sons edition by David Price, retrieved 12 April 2015 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1148/1148-h/1148-h.htm>

This features in *Talisman* and like the novel was of great concern for the Christians. However, Scott's impression that the other factions within the Christian forces were inactive during his illness are incorrect.

“ .. what is it with all the other Christian princes – with Philip of France, with that dull Austrian, with him of Montserrat, with the Hospitallers, with the Templars – what is it with all them? I will tell thee. It is a cold palsy, a dead lethargy, a disease that deprives them of speech and action.”<sup>89</sup>

While Richard was struck down by illness, the other Christian factions were actively undermining the city walls and firing upon the defenders of the city. The most efficient piece of equipment the Christians had were their siege-engines and the Templar's machine “.. wreaked impressive devastation ..”<sup>90</sup> along with the French nicknamed ‘Malvoisine’ (Bad Neighbour). It is interesting Scott has named one of *Ivanhoe's* traitorous Templars Malvoisin. The Templar along with his brother (Philip) is the only Templars to be charged with treason. Could Scott's naming a treasonous character Philip Malvoisin be a reference to the activities of Richard's ‘brother-king’ and ‘bad’ neighbour Philip Augustus? Richard's illness caused concern within the Christian camp but not the inertia Scott suggests.

While the Christian forces successfully united to break the siege of Acre, this in itself also produced problems that Scott captures in *Talisman*. Once again Richard's self-importance would result in an altercation with far-reaching repercussions over the displaying of another flag, just as depicted in the novel. Upon the surrender of the Muslim garrison, the French and English monarchs divided the city among themselves, excluding all others. One Leopold V, Duke of Austria attempted to raise his standard alongside those of Richard and Philip and met by the usual diplomacy of the English King:

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<sup>89</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.44.

<sup>90</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.209.

“.. his standard was borne before him, he was thought to take to himself a part of the triumph; if not by command, at least with the consent, of the offended king, the duke's standard was cast down in the dirt, and to his reproach and ridicule trampled under foot by them ..”<sup>91</sup>

The presence of Leopold's flag and the disrespect shown by Richard is one of the pivotal events in *Talisman*. The same event is part of the background to those depicted in the novel *Ivanhoe*.

*Ivanhoe* is set in England approximately two years after Richard departed Palestine disguised as a Templar. He decided to travel to the relative safety of Saxony but would require travelling through Austria in disguise. Richard was recognised and arrested for his part in the murder of Conrad of Montferrat,<sup>92</sup> cousin to the aforementioned Austrian Duke. Leopold then 'on-sold' Richard to the Holy Roman Emperor for 75,000 silver marks<sup>93</sup> and the Emperor demanded a ransom of 100,000 silver marks for Richard's release. The extortionate amount was twice England's annual revenue<sup>94</sup>, a significant sum for a country bled dry by Richard's crusade. Popular history tells of Prince John's reluctance to raise a ransom for his brother's freedom. However, the full amount was raised in just over a year and resulted in the emergence of the tales of Robin Hood, 'good' King Richard and 'bad' Prince John. Whereas if Richard were not so full of himself, his actions would not have led to his need to find a 'secure' route home nor being in disguise while travelling. However, the popular history of Richard appears to have been the format Scott has employed in his novel.

Approximately five years after Richards return he was dead, killed during a siege of Chateau de Chalus-Chabrol. The connection between the Plantagenet's and Templars continued upon John's ascension to the throne. To ensure the

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<sup>91</sup> Richard of Devizes, p.51.

<sup>92</sup> Jean Flori, *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight*, trans. Jean Birrell, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1999, pp.159-160.

<sup>93</sup> Flori, p.164.

<sup>94</sup> Weir, p.299.

Order retained their position and holdings, they gifted the new king £1,000 and a palfrey.<sup>95</sup> John appears to have followed his brother in refusing to acknowledge anyone's authority over him, including the Pope. England had an interdict placed over it, and John (in true Plantagenet fashion) reacted by seizing all clerical property, including that of the Templars. No form of clerical duties can be performed while an interdict is in place, with only the Templars being exempt from the ban.<sup>96</sup> The interdict continued for over seven years, and the Templars were instrumental in reconciling the errant king and pope. They remained loyal to John throughout the Barons War and instrumental in convincing John to sign the Magna Carta.<sup>97</sup> The loyalty of the English Templars was evident and John, in turn, made them his bankers and deposited the crown jewels in their treasury. The main point of difference between the two monarchs and their relationship with the Temples is location. Richard's strongest connection with the Order relates to the events around the Third Crusade. There is little evidence connecting Richard and the Templars to events in England. However, this is probably due to the insignificant amount of time he spent in England.

Scott's assertion the Templars aligned with John may be a result of his relationship with the 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Pembroke, William Marshal (1147-1219). The Grand Master in *Ivanhoe* calls upon the Earl while bemoaning the decay of the Order:

*"O, worthy William de Mareschall! open your marble cells, and take to your repose a weary brother, who would rather strive with a hundred thousand pagans than witness the decay of our Holy Order!"<sup>98</sup>*

The statement implies that Marshal was both a Templar and laying in his tomb, neither was correct for the period of the novel. He had undertaken a

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<sup>95</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.210

<sup>96</sup> The papal bull *Milites Templi* (1144) granted the Order a special dispensation from any interdict and allowed them to open parish churches once a year and bury the dead in consecrated ground.

<sup>97</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.211-2.

<sup>98</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.362

crusade and fought alongside the Templars and vowed to die a Templar and even purchased a Templar shroud.<sup>99</sup> While he had a long established relationship with the Order, he did not take the Templar oath until he was on his deathbed. His strong connection to the Order saw him granted permission to be interred (along with two sons) inside the London Temple Church. Marshal had served King Henry II, his three sons Henry 'The Young King', Richard, John and John's son Henry III and held in high regard by them all. During his funeral, the Archbishop of Canterbury referred to him as 'the greatest knight in the world'.<sup>100</sup> He had earned a reputation of military respect from a relatively young age, as well as a man of honour. Marshal had bested Richard in combat during the young prince's rebellion against his father, Henry II.<sup>101</sup> However, he was one of the few of Henry's retainers Richard kept upon his ascent to the throne. Richard even referred to Marshal as '*molt corties*' (most courtly)<sup>102</sup> and appointed him as co-justiciar on the regency council while he was on a crusade.<sup>103</sup> Marshal did align himself with Richard's younger brother Prince John and continued to remain steadfastly loyal to this divisive monarch. When John usurped the throne from Richard's unpopular Regent, he was supported by Marshal. Upon learning of Richard's release from captivity he did switch his allegiance back to Richard. However, Marshal refused to pay homage to Richard for his Irish lands and made them to John instead.<sup>104</sup> However, this cannot be viewed as a snub as John was Lord of Ireland a title Richard never held. Upon John's ascent to the throne, Marshal was made an Earl and was instrumental in the events leading to the signing of the Magna Carta, of which he was a signatory. Before John died, the Earl named as regent during the minority of John's heir, Henry III (1207-1272). Marshal's military reputation

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<sup>99</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.46.

<sup>100</sup> Thomas Ashbridge, 'The Greatest Knight or Failed Crusader', *History Today*, Volume 65, Issue 2 February 2015, retrieved 08 October 2016 from <http://www.historytoday.com/author/thomas-asbridge>.

<sup>101</sup> David Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in The Angevin Empire 1147 - 1219*, London: Longman Group UK Limited, 1990, p.69

<sup>102</sup> Crouch, p.40.

<sup>103</sup> Crouch, p.69.

<sup>104</sup> Crouch, p.72.



continued and at the age of around seventy-five actively participated in defending the kingdom from English rebels and French invaders in 1215. Upon his eventual death in 1219 he was laid to rest in a Templar Church, a sworn knight of the Order. His effigy has survived the dissolution of the Order, the fall of the Catholic faith in England, Puritan purges, Great Fire of London, anti-catholic riots, Victorian restoration and German incendiary bombs. The association of William Marshal and the Templars would have been as obvious to Sir Walter Scott as it is today. Scott's assertion the Order favoured John over Richard may have been clouded by the presence of William Marshal. However, Marshal's loyalty may be an allegiance to the position rather than the man. The same as the Templars who would continue to support God's anointed monarchs.

The connection between the English monarch and the Templars continued until their dissolution. Henry III had even expressed a desire to be buried in the Temple Church.<sup>105</sup> Relations cooled during the reign of Edward I when he demanded the Grand Master of England (Brian de Jay) to pledge allegiance to him<sup>106</sup> undermining the independence of the English faction. Edward II seized £50,000 worth of goods deposited by his father from the Templars early in his reign.<sup>107</sup> Although a weak king he did attempt to protect the Order against the charges made by the French King Philip IV, his future father-in-law. Eventually capitulating to their arrest only upon the threat of excommunication by the Pope. English Templars meet a different fate than those in France with only 153 arrested.<sup>108</sup> They underwent interrogation, but Edward refused permission to apply torture as an aid to gain confessions. The relationship between the ruling house of England and the Templars may have cooled, but it would take a Papal edict to sever the connection completely.

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<sup>105</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.212.

<sup>106</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.108.

<sup>107</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.240.

<sup>108</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.250.

Scott's tales repeatedly highlights the importance of being a united kingdom. The world the writer and his readers occupied was rapidly changing, politically and socially. The American, French and Industrial revolutions had enforced changes upon many, and with the unification of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, a new nationalistic identity needed. Scott viewed the borders of Britain defined by a coastline rather than arbitrary lines on a map; a group of islands ruled by one monarch. The unification of peoples brought success, and disunity resulted in ultimate failure. Through his portrayal of an English history of conflict, subjugation, resentments and disunity he has displayed a commonality of history recognisable to the contemporary reader. *Ivanhoe* displays an England that has not always been fully formed and unified, and the notion of disunity is central to the *Talisman* tale. Scott depicts how personal agendas and grievances will undermine any attempt to unite for the same cause. Both novels highlight how the inability to overcome one's ego leads to dishonour and failure. The Templars adherence to their Templar-centric world has the Order represented as a destabilising force to the plans and actions of King Richard I. Scott's depiction of the Templars opposing Richard are counter to historical records. Richard followed the example of his ancestors in his support of the Templars in their realms and Palestine. The Order claimed neutrality with regards to secular authority, but appear to have supported Richard throughout his crusade. The majority of the Templars activities in Palestine have them in a supporting role; they supported whoever undertook the leadership of the Christian cause. However, it was the machinations of the tenth Grand Master that brought about the lack of success of the Christian cause and ensured the disunity would continue after his death. Scott's claim the Templars sided with Philip or John over Richard is unsubstantiated historically. The Templars had influence during the reign of King John, but usually on a diplomatic level. They helped negotiate the removal of the Papal interdict and encouraged John to sign the Magna Carta. However, the main connection between the Order and John appears based upon his relationship with a man who was not a Templar but a supporter of the Order. A man

whose effigy still exists and whose legend would be known to the writer. The Templars in Scott's novels are untrustworthy due to their lack of fidelity to the King. It is possible to see his emphasising the Orders independence and international identity as a negative. Their lack of specific national identity results in fluid loyalties that are not easily categorised and Scott preferred a world of continuity that he saw in history.

## ❖ CHAPTER 2 - IDENTITY – FUTURE AND PAST

Scott's writing promoted a variety of concepts other than a united kingdom. The popularity of his various works helped him promote other aspects of nineteenth-century life. His hand influence can be seen in the modern Scottish identity, as well as 'Victorian' attitudes and behaviours. Scott was aware of publicly perceived social standing and perceptions. As a man of a certain standing in Scottish society, he joined the fraternity of Freemasons. Scott's motivation behind joining the Masons appears one based on expectations rather than any true conviction. There are elements of Masonry within the novels and present in the Templar characters. There has been a connection between the Templars, Scotland and Freemasonry since the mid-eighteenth-century. Scott's novels present fiction histories but help mould accepted behaviours.

### Was Scott's pro-British stance to the detriment of his Scottish identity?

The notion of a kingdom united under one monarch promoted by Scott was not at the expense of his Scottish identity. He was a product of his Scottish heritage and worked hard to promote its history and identity. He built his literary reputation upon the foundation of local legends and stories he heard as a child. He heard tales of Border Reiver<sup>109</sup>, ancestor and namesake Walter Scott of Harden (Auld Wat – d.1629). The author's reworking of the legends and lore helped to establish his unique literary reputation of:

*"Scottish manners, Scottish dialect, and Scottish characters of note, being those with which the author was most intimately, and familiarly acquainted."*<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> Reivers were Scottish and English raiders operating along the Scottish/English border stealing stock from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the early 17<sup>th</sup> century. 'Border Reivers', *Scotland's History*, Education Scotland retrieved 10 October from <http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/scotlandshistory/medievalife/borderreivers/>

<sup>110</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.1.

Scott would repeatedly return to the historic Scottish setting throughout his literary career.

Throughout Scott's literary career he reworked historical events in either poetical or novel format. Early poems *Marmion* (1808) and *The Lady of the Lake* (1810) both recount sixteenth-century events in Scottish history. His first novel '*Waverley*' (1815) historical setting was the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, a defining event in Scottish history. Although a collector of folklore he acknowledged and supported the establishment of the Scottish National Archives.<sup>111</sup> Scott also commissioned Patrick Fraser Tytler (1791-1849) to produce a seven volume '*The History of Scotland*'.<sup>112</sup> Scott's attitude towards the production of factual history is present in *Ivanhoe*'s 'Dedicatory Epistle'. A Rev. Dr Dryasdust writes a letter highlighting the differences between English and Scottish history:

*"All those minute circumstances belonging to private life and domestic character .. is still known and remembered in Scotland; whereas in England, civilisation has been so long complete, that our ideas of our ancestors are only to be gleaned from musty records and chronicles.."*<sup>113</sup>

The collection of oral history was the basis of Scott's novels, and he was a historian of folklore. Scott wrote a popular historical work on Napoleon with the first two editions making £18,000 for the publishers. However, critics claimed the writing too poetical in its content for a historical work,<sup>114</sup> a style that was central to his literary success.

The history and stories of Scotland influenced the author, and through his popularity, he helped propagate a modern Scottish identity. He recovered the 'lost' '*Honours of Scotland*'<sup>115</sup> stored and forgotten upon Scotland's unification

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<sup>111</sup> James Anderson, *Sir Walter Scott and History with other papers*, Edinburgh: The Edina Press, 1981, p.2.

<sup>112</sup> Anderson, p11.

<sup>113</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.13.

<sup>114</sup> J.G. Lockhart, *The Life of Sir Walter Scott*, London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1957, p.543.

<sup>115</sup> Honours of Scotland include Crown, Sceptre and Sword of State.

with England in 1707. In recognition, Walter Scott Esq became Sir Walter Scott, 1<sup>st</sup> Baronet in 1820.<sup>116</sup> He was elected third President of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, who actively promoted Scottish expertise in a range of fields, including arts, technology and science.<sup>117</sup> Scott was also one of the founders of the Bannatyne Club whose mission statement was:

*“.. to print in a uniform and handsome manner, a series of Works, illustrative of the History, Topography, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Literature of Scotland in former times.”<sup>118</sup>*

The author played a role in the formation of post-Jacobite Scottish identity. After the 1745 rebellion, British authorities introduced legislation stripping rebel leaders of titles and estates. They also forbade the wearing of ‘Highland Dress’ by non-military personnel:

*“.. no man or boy, within that part of Great Briton called Scotland, other than shall be employed as officers and soldiers in his Majesty's forces, shall on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called Highland Clothes..”<sup>119</sup>*

While the law was repelled in 1782 the wearing of ‘Highland Clothes’ was not fashionable. It would take a lowland Scot and English King of Germanic descent to re-ignite interest in the easily identifiable Scottish icon. Scott helped to organise a 14-day tour of Scotland by the newly invested King George IV. During the tour the King publicly donned the specially designed Highland dress, giving a royal seal of approval. The event also marks a change in the concepts of tartan and its relation to familial clans. The modern tartan displays the wearer's connection to a particular clan, no matter where they existed. Historically the tartan was more an indication of geography than

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<sup>116</sup> The Prince Regent conferred this honour on Scott, but due to illness, he was unable to travel. When he was finally well enough to travel the Prince Regent had ascended the throne and Scott was the first person knighted in the reign of George's IV. Lockhart, p.351.

<sup>117</sup> The Royal Society of Edinburgh, retrieved 15 October 2016 from <https://www.royalsoced.org.uk/>

<sup>118</sup> *The Bannatyne Club : List of Members and the Rules with a Catalogue of the Books, printed for The Bannatyne Club since its institution in 1823*, Edinburgh: T. Constable, 1867, p.31

<sup>119</sup> *Act of Proscription 1747*, retrieved 13 October 2016 from [http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/proscription\\_1747.htm](http://www.electricscotland.com/history/other/proscription_1747.htm)

familial connections. Colours included in the tartan were reliant on the availability of the organic material required for the dye.<sup>120</sup> The modern concept of colours and patterns employed are a result of industrial processes of the early nineteenth-century. During the royal visit, Scott also presented a petition calling for the successful reinstatement of stripped peerages and titles.<sup>121</sup> The author not only wrote about Scottish history he also helped to formulate current perceptions and interest.

## Are there any connections between Scotland and the Templars?

There is a popular notion that connects Scotland with the Templars and by extension Freemasons. Theorists claim members of the order fled to Scotland following the persecutions by the Pope. Under the protection of the excommunicated leader Robert the Bruce, Scotland

*‘.. was one of the few places on the planet where the Pope could not get at them.’<sup>122</sup>*

Legend states the exiled Templars joined forces with Robert the Bruce for the Battle of Bannockburn (1314).<sup>123</sup> Based on numbers in the field the battle the English should have carried the day, rather than the rout that occurred. One unsupportable theory for the Scottish victory was the assistance they received from a small band of Templars. Any assistance by the Order would have been worthy of official record; disbanded/renege Templars supporting the rebellious Scots. The need to tie the Templars into Scottish history is vital for ‘*Holy Blood, Holy Grail*’ (1982) theory supporters. The point to evidence they found in Scotland:

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<sup>120</sup> Megan Rae Blakely, *Pattern Recognition: Governmental Regulation of Tartan and Commodification of Culture*, working paper, 15 April, 2014 retrieved 10 October 2016 from [www.create.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Blakely\\_Tartan\\_ICH\\_14](http://www.create.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Blakely_Tartan_ICH_14), p.3.

<sup>121</sup> Lockhart, p.433.

<sup>122</sup> Christopher Knight and Robert Lomas, *The Hiram Key: Pharaohs, Freemasons and the Discovery of the Secret Scrolls of Jesus*, London: Century, 1996, p298.

<sup>123</sup> Edward was the son-in-law of French King Philip IV, the monarch who ensured the persecution of the Templars in Europe.

*“.. what seemed to be a Templar graveyard .. dating from the thirteenth century .. the earlier stones bore certain unique carvings and incised symbols identical to those found at known Templar preceptories in England and France.”<sup>124</sup>*

Not a startling claim considering there had been a Templar presence since approximately 1185. However, the majority of the Order's support (land and men) came from the Norman elite rather than the native Scots. The Scottish order and 'Master of Scotland' came under the control of the English chapter.<sup>125</sup> An element of Scott's untrustworthiness may result from the direct actions of the 'Scottish Master'. The Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers had publicly sworn allegiance to the 'Hammer of the Scots', English King Edward I (1239-1307). With the Scottish Master fighting on the side of the English at the Battle of Falkirk (1298).<sup>126</sup> Any change in the attitude of the Templars from Falkirk to Bannockburn would have been of note and worthy of mention in any chronical or oratory. There is no accepted evidence of exiled Templars seeking refuge in Scotland nor fighting for Robert the Bruce. The lack of proof does not appear to have deterred the various images of the Templars through the years. The Order has been included in pseudo-historical works and produced *“.. a comprehensive explanation of history .. undeterred by lack of evidence.”<sup>127</sup>* The lack of evidence behind the Templar/Freemason connection appears to date back to the eighteenth-century.

## What is the connection between the Templars and Freemasons?

The mid-eighteenth century saw a revival of interest in the Templars that is due to the growth of the Freemasonry movement. The influential organisation originated from a medieval guild of Masonic craftsmen located in the British

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<sup>124</sup> Michael Baigent, Richard Leigh and Henry Lincoln, *Holy Blood, Holy Grail*, retrieved 17 March 2016, n.p., n.d., from [https://archive.org/details/HolyBloodHolyGrail\\_p141](https://archive.org/details/HolyBloodHolyGrail_p141).

<sup>125</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.185.

<sup>126</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, pp.188-91.

<sup>127</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.319.



Isles. Demand for Masons had declined by the late seventeenth century, and membership to the guild suffered. To ensure the guild could continue supporting their members and families, they accepted non-masonic members. By the end of the eighteenth century, Freemasonry had developed into a fraternity that would be unrecognisable from its origins. London was the site of the first Grand Lodge in 1716 and within 20 years would claim authority over all British lodges.<sup>128</sup> Britain alone would have over 400 registered lodges and worldwide over 100,000 sworn Masons by 1789.<sup>129</sup> The basic tenets of Masonic life were established in their 1723 Constitution and included a belief in God (not necessarily Christian); never get involved with conspiracies endangering the peace of a nation; personal quarrels to remain outside the lodge; a belief a man's worth was a result of merit rather than birth.<sup>130</sup> Theoretically, the only restriction to becoming a member of the lodge was the ability to pay the fee of a couple of shillings per month. Although seemingly altruistic the financial reality saw membership restricted to only 20% of the British population.<sup>131</sup> The fee resulted in men of 'birth' rather than merit soon taking over the role of Grand Master. The first three Grand Masters were the only non-nobles to occupy the top position of British Freemasonry.<sup>132</sup> The popularity of the fraternity soon extended through Europe and North America. To ensure French popularity continued Freemason Chevalier Andrew Michael Ramsey wrote a history of the organisation. Ramsey claimed Freemasons were the current holders of an arcane knowledge dating to the time of Solomon. The knowledge supposedly passed to the Templars upon their establishment.<sup>133</sup> Upon their suppression, they escaped to Scotland and aligned themselves with Robert the Bruce. The newly established Scottish King supposedly restored the ancient

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<sup>128</sup> J.M. Roberts, *The Mythology of Secret Societies*, London: Secker and Warburg, 1972, p.21.

<sup>129</sup> Margaret C. Jacob, *Origins of Freemasonry: Facts and Fictions*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006, p.7.

<sup>130</sup> Roberts, pp.22-25.

<sup>131</sup> Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, p.34.

<sup>132</sup> Roberts, p.25.

<sup>133</sup> Originally, the history reported the Hospitallers first possessed this knowledge, but subsequent amended to the Templars. Roberts, p.37.

Order of the Knights of St. Andrew of the Thistle for the former Templars. Authorities during the Reformation suppressed the Order but reinstated by the Scottish King James III in 1685.<sup>134</sup> The dates given do not match the reign of any King James III, Scottish or English. There are only two British contenders for this title: Scottish King James III (1451-1488) or the never crowned English King James III aka 'the Old Pretender' (1688-1766). Ramsey was never the one to allow fact to get in the way of 'history' and claimed the 'Scottish Rites' are a 'purer' form of Masonic practice.<sup>135</sup> Freemason history reignited interest in the medieval crusading Order and is present in Scott's Templar construct.

## Are there elements of Freemasonry in Scott's depiction of Templars?

Scott was a member of the same Masonic lodge as his father, an active Mason who rose to prominence. Unlike his father, Scott does not appear to have been a regular attendee of the Lodge. Some claim poor record keeping between 1807 and 1832 is to be blamed for Scott's apparent scanty attendance rate.<sup>136</sup> However, Scott had been a member of the Lodge since 1801, so bad record keeping does not account for the first six years of his membership. Could his lack of attendance reflect a lack of commitment for Freemasonry or membership being a social opportunity? The lack of dedication may explain the rejection of a proposal to rename the Lodge 'Sir Walter Scott Lodge.'<sup>137</sup> The rejecting committee knew the author and his devotion to Freemasonry first hand.

There are hints of Masonic symbolism in Scott's portrayal of the Templars. In both novels, the Grand Masters are holding a “.. *mystic abacus* ..”<sup>138</sup> and “.. *the*

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<sup>134</sup> Paul Naudon, *The Secret History of Freemasonry: Its Origins and Connection to the Knights Templar*, Jon Graham (trans.), Rochester: Inner Traditions, 2005, pp.98-100.

<sup>135</sup> Roberts, p.38.

<sup>136</sup> Adam Muir Mackay, 'Sir Walter Scott as a freemason', *Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon*, retrieved 15 October 2016 from <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/aqc/scott.html>.

<sup>137</sup> Mackay.

<sup>138</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.369.

*ABACUS, a mystic staff of office ..*.<sup>139</sup> This symbolism is strong in Freemasonry but is questionable in regards to the Templars. There is a reference to the Grand Master ‘.. ought to hold the staff and the rod in his hand ..’<sup>140</sup> but appears more of a metaphor for the control the Master should have rather than physical implements. The Facebook page of The Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland believe *Ivanhoe* abounds with Masonic references.<sup>141</sup> However, they have confused the death of Templar de Bois-Guilbert with that of Saxon Athelstane of Coningsburgh. The death and resurrection of Athelstane appears to have Masonic connotations with their initiation of being reborn enlightened.<sup>142</sup> Masonic symbolism may be evident to a fellow Mason, but to the uninitiated, it is meaningless. Thus illustrating how readers will find validation and meaning of their beliefs when one is looking for it. Scott would have been acutely aware of the connection between Freemasons and the Templars. The image Scott has produced of the Order is a negative one. Could this also be an indication of the concerns the author had in regards to the fraternity of Freemasonry?

### Why would Scott view the Freemasons (and by extension the Templars) so negatively?

Can the ambivalence Scott displays towards the Freemasons explain the negative portrayal of their supposed antecedences? Chevalier Ramsey may have been the originator of Freemason history but is not the only author. French cleric in exile Abbé Augustin Barruel (1741-1820) also penned a history connecting Freemasonry with the Templars. Unlike Ramsey Barruel’s work was a condemnation of secret societies (like Freemasons) classing them as anti-Christian, anti-monarchy and anti-social.<sup>143</sup> A similar condemnatory works

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<sup>139</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.63.

<sup>140</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.17.

<sup>141</sup> ‘*Ivanhoe* by Sir Walter Scott’, *The Grand Lodge of Antient Free and Accepted Masons of Scotland*, retrieved 15 October 2016 from <https://www.facebook.com/GrandLodgeScotland/posts/1011314342287480>

<sup>142</sup> A ritual of the Masonic Third Degree. Knight & Lomas, pp.40-1.

<sup>143</sup> Roberts, p.200.

*‘Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Freemasons, Illuminati and Reading Societies’* was produced by Scottish physicist and mathematician John Robison (1739-1805). Robison’s works condemn the Continental style of Masonry while comparing it to the British style. He travelled throughout Europe and commented:

*“I had learned many doctrines, and seen many ceremonials, which have no place in the simple system of Free Masonry which obtains in this country.”*<sup>144</sup>

He notes the difference between the European and English lodges and found non-English lodges:

*“.. the homely Free Masonry imported from England has been totally changed in every country of Europe .. by the importation of the doctrines, and ceremonies, and ornaments of the Parisian Lodges.”*<sup>145</sup>

The works repeat the connection between Templar and Freemasonry, and classified as “..very apt models for Masonic mimicry ..”<sup>146</sup> Scott’s apathy may be a result of the growing condemnatory nature of the Continental lodges and their connection with revolutionary ideals.

There are connections between Freemasons and both the American and French revolutions. American founding fathers George Washington and Benjamin Franklin were Freemasons. They appear to have based the founding ethos of the American nation upon Masonic ideology. French Freemasons were reportedly active on both sides of the political divide.<sup>147</sup> However, authorities developed a notion the fraternity were elitist and worked against the ‘General Will’.<sup>148</sup> There was a revival of interest during the Napoleonic era, and two of

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<sup>144</sup> John Robison, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies*. Fourth Edition, New York: George Forman, 1798, p.1.

<sup>145</sup> Robison, p.6.

<sup>146</sup> Robison, p.17.

<sup>147</sup> Jacob, *Origins of Freemasonry*, pp.67-68.

<sup>148</sup> Roberts, p.156.

the Emperor's brothers became Grand Masters of France.<sup>149</sup> Political turmoil in Bavaria, Netherlands and Ireland had reportedly Masonic connections. 'Non-British' Masonry had become linked indelibly with political unrest:

*".. the Lodges in other countries followed the example of France, and have frequently become the rendezvous of innovators in religion and politics, and other disturbers of the public peace."*<sup>150</sup>

The reputation of the British Masons remained unscathed,<sup>151</sup> which may have been more to do with the members of British Masons peopled by the establishment.

There is a nationalistic divide, and Robison's work does contain an element of anti-French and anti-revolutionary sentiment. It also attempts to disassociate the 'unadulterated' Masonic ethos from the imported 'foreign' flamboyance and their associated dangers. The Templars were an earlier version of contemporary Freemasons. Their connection to France was irrefutable; Paris housed the Order's second motherhouse after Palestine (last holding lost in 1291); the majority of the order were French;<sup>152</sup> their demise was the result of action by a French Monarch and French Pope; the last Grand Master executed in Paris. The Templar inclusion in the history of Freemasonry was a construction for the contemporary anti-revolutionary audience. Incendiary ideas propagated and led to the revolution in France, social upheaval and conflict with their neighbours. Scott's Templars are a representation of contemporary anti-French sentiment. The Templars are anti-Richard and do not display the stoic chivalric behaviour idealised by nineteenth-century Britons.

## What was Scott's idealised behaviour?

Scott had an idealised concept of military and chivalric behaviour which is absent in his Templar characters. *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* are both morality tales

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<sup>149</sup> Roberts, p.253.

<sup>150</sup> Robison, p.6.

<sup>151</sup> Roberts, p.209.

<sup>152</sup> Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p.25.

and highlight the superior conduct of Wilfred of Ivanhoe and Sir Kenneth. The protagonists face situations that test their moral and physical strength and emerge vindicated and lauded. They are rewarded for their steadfast loyalty to their king with the honour and respect of their peers and the woman they love. They represent the notion of serving ‘God, King and Country’ and a sense of ‘Boys Own Adventure’. The ‘Boys Own’ element detected in the novels represents changing concepts of the moral education of young boys during this period. Publishers were developing an ‘improving’ reading material that provided an alternative to the ‘*cheap trash on which the hoarded shilling is usually expended*’.<sup>153</sup> The first work was titled *The Boy's Own Book: A Complete Encyclopedia of all the Diversions, Athletic, Scientific, and Recreative, of Boyhood and Youth* (1828), their aim is explicitly stated in the title. The format’s popularity saw a series of similarly aimed magazines develop within two decades and helped formulate the ideal British Male. The Victorian concept of ‘*manliness was above all a moral attribute, requiring adherence to a stringent ethical code*’.<sup>154</sup> While Scott was dead and buried at the beginning of the Victorian Age (1837-1901) the influence of the ‘trinity’ of ‘God, King and Country’ the author invokes lasted well into the twentieth century. The Templars in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* only adhere to their agenda and the antithesis of the idealised chivalric notions portrayed by Scott. Behaviours of the female characters in the stories are also romanticised and divided upon a nationalistic line.

## Do the novels highlight ideals of female behaviour?

While the novels are a depiction of idealised male behaviour, they also give insight to contemporary concerns regarding female behaviour. The eighteenth century experienced a significant population growth that indicates a change in

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<sup>153</sup> *The Boy's Own Book; A complete Encyclopedia of All the Diversions, Athletic, Scientific, and Recreative, of Boyhood and Youth*, Fourth Edition, London: Vizetelly, Branston and Co, 1829, p.7.

<sup>154</sup> John Tosh, *Masculinity, 1560-1918: Men Defining Men and Gentlemen, Part 3: 1800-1919*, Marlborough: Adam Matthew Publications, 2002, retrieved 06 November 2016 from [http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital\\_guides/masculinity-part-3/Editorial-Introduction.aspx](http://www.ampltd.co.uk/digital_guides/masculinity-part-3/Editorial-Introduction.aspx)

sexual behaviour. Church records state up to 40 percent of women married during this period were pregnant.<sup>155</sup> Historians claim various reason behind this change including economic, sentimentality, marrying at a younger age and companionate marriages.<sup>156</sup> There were also changes due to 'Enlightened' thinking that affected the image of women.<sup>157</sup> Judaic tradition has resulted in women perceived in the mould of 'Eve', where women are active temptresses that lead men to sin. However, with the turn of the nineteenth century, the concept had completely changed, and the idealised female sexuality was one of complete passivity.<sup>158</sup> Scott's female characters reflect the nineteenth-century model and their similarities and differences are a representation of the role they assume. Their behaviours and fates differ slightly and appear to be the result of nationalistic concepts.

*Ivanhoe's* main female characters Rebecca and Rowena are both models of feminine morality. The two women have different backgrounds and two different experiences and fates. Rowena is an Anglo-Saxon noble and Scott rightly describes her as '*less interesting*'.<sup>159</sup> She does appear a one-dimensional character, self-contained and in control of her emotions and dignity at all times. Whereas the object of Templar de Bois-Guilbert's passion, Jewish Rebecca is less composed and more emotional. Upon the kidnapping of the women, Scott displays a subtle difference in their treatment that follows nationalistic or religious lines. Christian British Anglo-Saxon Rowena is met with a proposition of marriage which is withdrawn upon her only display of emotion in the novel, weeping. Whereas, Jewish 'foreign' Rebecca is more emotional and dramatic even threatening to throw herself off a balcony to make her point.

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<sup>155</sup> Emma Griffin, 'Love and Latitude', *History Today*, March 2014, pp.51-56.

<sup>156</sup> Tim Hitchcock, 'Redefining Sex in Eighteenth-Century England', *Sexualities in History: A Reader*, edited by Kim M. Phillips and Barry Reay, New York: Routledge, 2002, pp.175-202.

<sup>157</sup> Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990, p.194.

<sup>158</sup> Hitchcock, p.190.

<sup>159</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.10.

Her captor Templar de Bois-Guilbert only offers her a position as a mistress, stating the option of marriage is impossible:

*".. wed with a Jewess? . Not if she were the Queen of Sheba! . It is against my vow to love any maiden, otherwise than 'par amours', as I will love thee. I am a Templar. Behold the cross of my Holy Order."*<sup>160</sup>

There is no ambiguity to the way the Templar views Rebecca, her religion ensures her inferiority no matter her status in society. She is aware the position the Templar seeks for her has no guarantees as she is just one of his 'par amours'. At the conclusion of the novel her reputation was successfully defended, her pursuer perished, and the Templars expelled. The honour and morality of both women remain intact, and their fates appear to be defined by their 'Englishness'.

*Talisman* has similar female roles that are defined by their nationality. The 'English' Edith (cousin of King Richard) is self-contained and mindful of her position as a cousin to the King. She is in direct contrast to the King's wife, Berengaria of Navarre (modern-day Spain) and portrayed as flighty, spoilt and her actions lead others into trouble. The nationalistic divisions are present in the male characters with the 'British' men following the British notion of 'stiff upper lip' and controlling one's emotions. Whereas the Templar in *Ivanhoe* becomes a victim to his emotions and his death is an illustration of unbridled passion. Scott addresses this mode of thought in his introduction to *Ivanhoe*:

*".. the great picture of life will show, that the duties of self-denial, and the sacrifice of passion to principle, are seldom thus remunerated; and that the internal consciousness of their high-minded discharge of duty, produces on their own reflections a more adequate recompense, in the form of that peace which the world cannot give or take away."*<sup>161</sup>

Scott's model of a victim of passion is present in Ulrica a minor character in *Ivanhoe*. She is a resident at Torquilstone, having been captured by Front-de-

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<sup>160</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, pp.236-7.

<sup>161</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.10.



Boeuf's father during the Norman invasion. Her father and brothers die defending Saxon England, and she is captured and becomes mistress to the new Norman overlord. She is thus condemned to live a life that is both “.. *a crime and a curse.*”<sup>162</sup> Scott highlights the tenuous position of mistress when relating her life after the death of the elder Front-de-Boeuf:

*“.. here I dwelt, till age, premature age, has stamped its ghastly features on my countenance--scorned and insulted where I was once obeyed, and compelled to bound the revenge which had once such ample scope, to the efforts of petty malice of a discontented menial, or the vain or unheeded curses of an impotent hag—condemned to hear from my lonely turret the sounds of revelry in which I once partook, or the shrieks and groans of new victims of oppression.”*

She redeems herself in opening the gates for Richard, Robin Hood and the other besiegers to gain entry into Torquilstone. She dies in the same fire that the younger Front-de-Boeuf dies. She was a traitor to the Saxon cause through her acceptance of the Norman overlord into her bed. Restoration of her honour only occurs with her traitorous actions and death in the same flames as the son of her ‘violateur’. Scott has produced a morality tales highlighting the virtues and vices of women. Rowena and Edith are both ‘rewarded’ with marriage to ‘worthy’ men in the stories. Rebecca’s honour has emerged intact, however not without incident; her fate is to live a nun-like existence taking care of others. Both roles have societal acceptance of idealised feminine behaviour. On the other hand, Ulrica became a mistress, and her fate resulted in rejection and shame. Scott’s works also highlight a morality built along nationalistic lines. The women who are ‘British’ are in control of emotions and ergo their fates, resulting in a positive outcome. Whereas the ‘foreign’ women are more controlled by their emotions, resulting in a less than ideal outcome. Their fates are an example of the principles Scott had endorsed in his introduction.

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<sup>162</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.260.

The novels highlight an 'idealised' eighteenth-century British morality. Do they reflect the Order's attitude? The main antagonist in *Ivanhoe* is a Templar ruled by his passion for Rebecca, but not at the expense of the Order. The Grand Master is horrified with the actions of de Bois-Guilbert and his obsession with Rebecca. He looks to blame outside influences for the anomaly rather than the Templar disregarding the Order's stance on women.

## How did the Templars view women?

*Ivanhoe* is the novel that highlights the relationship between the Templars and women, albeit centralised on one Templar and one woman. The story gives Scott's portrayal of the Order's attitude to the female sex. The Grand Master bemoans the laxity of his contemporary Templars, including their stance on interaction with women:

*"The soldiers of the Cross, who should shun the glance of a woman as the eye of a basilisk .."*<sup>163</sup>

His view is an extension of 'The Primitive Rule' set out by the original Templars. Rule 70 provides an insight into contemporary perceptions of women:

*"The company of women is a dangerous thing, for by it the old devil has led many from the straight path to Paradise. Henceforth, let not ladies be admitted was sisters into the house of the Temple."*<sup>164</sup>

The Order was more specific as to the interaction between members and women. Rule 71 reiterates the dangers of women and the need to avoid any form of familiarity with them, regardless of who they were:

*"We believe it to be a dangerous thing for any religious to look too much upon the face of women. For this reason none of you may presume to kiss a woman, be it widow, young girl, mother, sister, aunt or any other: and henceforth the Knighthood of Jesus Christ should*

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<sup>163</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.364.

<sup>164</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.36.

*avoid at all costs the embraces of women, by which men have perished many times.*<sup>165</sup>

The Rules provide an insight of the prevailing religious attitude towards women. The modern reader may come to the conclusion the attitude was misogynistic, but that total repression developed along with 'Enlightened' thinking. The stance was likely a result of an over simplification of the biblical tale of Eve's role in the fall of humankind. Eve's actions brought sin and death into the world and condemning all as they were a result of original sin. These images are not purely Christian in origin. Jewish Patriarch Reuben Mosaic writings state a similar attitude:

*"For evil are women, my children; and since they have no power or strength over man, they use wiles by outward attractions, that they may draw him to themselves. And whom they cannot bewitch by outward attractions, him they overcome by craft."*<sup>166</sup>

This passage also highlights a similarity between the charges Rebecca faces in *Ivanhoe*. The Templar passions for Rebecca should not overcome such a religious man ergo he must be bewitched to act so. Scott's Grand Master actions and words are a reflection of certain Templar Rules.

The Order's Rules condemning interaction between Templars and women were pragmatic and flexible. The Order accepted women as and as partners of married men who joined the Order (*fratres conjugate*). Rule 69 states clearly the provisions the Order should make should her husband die before her:

*"If married men ask to be admitted to the fraternity .. receive them on the following conditions: that after their death they leave you a part of their estate and all that they have obtained henceforth .. if the lord should die before his lady, the brothers should take part of his estate and let the lady have the rest to support her during her lifetime .."*<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.36.

<sup>166</sup> 'The Testament of Reuben, The first-born son of Jacob and Leah', *Early Christian Writings*, retrieved 12 November 2016, from <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/>

<sup>167</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.36.

Templars did accept women into the Order and became known as *Consores*,<sup>168</sup> and Rule 72 supports this with the statement “.. *none should be ashamed to refuse to be godfathers or godmothers*..”.<sup>169</sup> The records of the English preceptories indicate there were no female members of the order, only tenants of the Order.<sup>170</sup> Historians have found a letter addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury requesting permission to join the English Order as a full member, highlighting it was not a common occurrence. The Rules appear to expect a higher standard than the reality of the situation. Women were part of the greater make-up of the Templars, as members, supporters, pensioners and tenants. Social intercourse between the Order and women was unavoidable and the secular world encroached upon the Templar’s spiritual one.

The Rule of the Templars emphasise the Order’s ‘visions’ in regards to behaviour, but also acknowledge adherence was not always guaranteed. The inclusion of punishments meted out to any transgressor indicates an acknowledgement they were dealing in theories rather than reality. Rule 236 clearly states the punishment for wrongdoers; one enacted various times:

*“.. if a brother has contact with a woman, for we consider guilty a brother who enters an evil place, or a house of iniquity, with a sinful woman, alone or in bad company; he may not keep his habit, and he may be put in irons. And he should not carry the piebald banner, or the silver seal, nor take part in the election of a Master; and this has been done several times.”*

The penances associated with ‘loss of habit’ included handing back armour and horse, only bread and water three times a week, working with slaves, eating on the ground, and public corporal punishment during Sunday chapel. Punishments lasted for one year and one day and resulted in the loss of privileges throughout their Templar lives. The permanent restrictions placed upon them

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<sup>168</sup> Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitaller in Central-Southern Occitania c.1100-c.1300*, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999, p.121.

<sup>169</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.36.

<sup>170</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.162.

included never being able to carry the piebald banner, give advice nor command knights.<sup>171</sup> Sir Brian would have faced such punishment if the Grand Master acknowledged his active role in the pursuit of Rebecca. The reaction of the Grand Master and Sir Brian would indicate Scott's knowledge regarding the punishments dispensed to offending Templars. Such punishments may be why Sir Brian is reluctant to defend Rebecca against her charges; the loss of his standing as a Templar and within the Order would be a public humiliation. His need to retain the position within the Order being more important than any woman he claimed to love. Scott's mixture of Templar fact and fiction is only one example of the Order's fact and fiction becoming part of a popular image.

### What are some of the images of the Templars in literature prior to Scott's works?

The Templars first literary appearance occurred approximately 800 years ago and still continues. Over the centuries they have been portrayed in many different guises, from the virtuous to the villainous. Why the Order should attract a diverse range of images is indicative of the rather shadowy knowledge of the Order itself. Like all Military Orders, they operated with a degree of secrecy which in turn resulted in the fall of a once powerful organisation. Some works touch upon historical accuracies, while others are more in the realms of fantasy. The more abiding popular image of the Templars is often the 'alternative' ones that can play upon the imaginations of the public, including best-selling books, movies and computer games, some presented as fact and others fiction. The internet highlights the interest in the Templars and Googling 'Knights Templar' results in over three million sites. Compared to 'Knight Hospitaller' and 'Teutonic Knights' with approximately 10% and 17% of the Templars sites. One of the more unusual sites illustrates a hybrid quality of the Templars people wished to adopt; Mexican Drug Cartel *Los Caballeros Templarios Guardia Michoacán* (Knights Templar – Guard of

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<sup>171</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp. 220-1.

Michoacán). During the ceremony into the cartel, the initiates dress up like medieval knights and swear an oath of secrecy.<sup>172</sup> The choice of name of the cartel highlights the 'pick and mix' nature of the history of the Templars, highlighting the fascination of the Order that still exists, especially in literature.

Works featuring the Templars have the members of the order undertaking a role on the periphery of the main narrative, but vital to the flow of the account related. While the majority of works are fictional, they have also been used in non-fictional works to help illustrate the argument the writer is presenting. Through a brief overview of some of the works the Templars appear, it is possible to view the variety of roles they have assumed, and how historically accurate it is. Such an overview will highlight that Sir Walter Scott was only one of many to adapt the image of the Templars to ensure the flow of the narrative.

## Were the earliest Templar images in literature akin to reality?

One of the first references to the Templars is in the French epic romance *Raoul de Cambrai* dating to the late twelfth century. The story concludes with the murder of the title character being sentenced to death, being as he is of noble blood he offers to serve with the Templars as a form of penance.

*".. to make amends, I would go as a pilgrim to Acre and become a servant in the Temple for the rest of my days."*<sup>173</sup>

The tale is a 'historical fiction' as the events depicted occurred two centuries before the establishment of the Order.<sup>174</sup> The notion of serving the Templars as a form of penance was a reality. The Primitive Rule of the Order states a man who joins the Templars did so for life:

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<sup>172</sup> @monica\_vv, 'The Knights Templar': Mexico's newest drug cartel' *AlJazeera*, 22 July 2011, retrieved 30 January 2017 from <http://www.aljazeera.com/blogs/americas/2011/07/53536.html>

<sup>173</sup> *Raoul de Cambrai*, trans. Jessie Crosland, Cambridge: In Parenthese Publications, 1999, p.63.

<sup>174</sup> Helen Nicolson, *Love, War, and the Grail: Templars, Hospitalliers, and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance 1150 - 1500*, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc, 2004, p.35.

*".. and whom he has ordered through his gracious mercy to defend the Holy Church, and that you hasten to join them forever." (Rule 1)<sup>175</sup>*

However, the rules do make specific references to "*.. the others who serve for a fixed term ..*".<sup>176</sup> Rules 65, 66 & 67 specifically relate to members (knights and sergeants) serving the order for an agreed length of time. The fixed term may have been a result of a personal choice to absolve oneself from sin. More likely it was a result of a judgement made by the individual for their acts and a form of public penance. The Templars even accepted disgraced and penitent members of other military orders, including the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.<sup>177</sup> The military orders offered an alternative to the concept of penitent pilgrimages for transgressors of crimes. St Bernard of Clairvaux had suggested the Order as a solution to the question of punishing malefactors:

*"What, if not the twofold joy of seeing the conversion of these former impious rogues, sacrilegious thieves, murderers, perjurers and adulterers? A twofold joy and a twofold benefit, since their countrymen are as glad to be rid of them as their new comrades are to receive them. Both sides have profited from this exchange, since the latter are strengthened and the former are now left in peace."*<sup>178</sup>

However, joining the Templars was not always a practical solution for 'sinners'. One example arose from the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket (c.1119-1170). The assassins were sentenced to undertake a pilgrimage for absolution; two also gifted the Templars two separate villages.<sup>179</sup> Whereas King Henry II received conditional absolution for his part in the death should he provided 200 knights to serve the Templars for a year. Rather than providing fighting men, Henry deposited the equivalent monetary value with the Templars.<sup>180</sup> Henry's penance would eventually finance the disastrous activities

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<sup>175</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.19.

<sup>176</sup> Rule 40, 62, 65, 66, *The Rule of the Templars*.

<sup>177</sup> Gerard of Malberg transferred to the Templars (with papal approval) as an act of penance after he was involved with a financial scandal. Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.220.

<sup>178</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux.

<sup>179</sup> Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain*, p.208.

<sup>180</sup> Helen J. Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail: Templars, Hospitalliers, and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance 1150 - 1500*, Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, Inc, 2004, p.36.

of Grand Master Gerard de Ridefort.<sup>181</sup> The Templars accepted penitent members, whose service to the Order was for a fixed term rather than a lifelong vocation (unless killed in action). The work *Raoul de Cambrai* illustrates one perception of the Order, a way to atonement for their sins.

The concept of joining the order as a penance saw well-known nobility joining the Templars while in their dotage or on their deathbeds. One was the earlier mentioned William Marshall, and penitent Hugh, Count of Champagne who joined at the age of 51 and died soon after. Another 'repentant' man tale is of John of Ibelin (1179-1236) 'the Old Lord of Beirut' who vowed to join the Order in the face of familial opposition. John had argued with Pope Gregory IX (d.1241) over who should rule Cyprus and was excommunicated, along with his supporters.<sup>182</sup> John's actions illustrate how contemporaries viewed membership into the Orders as a service to God. St Bernard claimed their actions ensured their sanctification:

*"If they are blessed who die in the Lord, how much more are they who die for the Lord!"<sup>183</sup>*

The guarantee of absolution for the penitent was due to their supposed willingness to sacrifice their lives for Christianity:

*".. for his soul is protected by the armour of faith just as his body is protected by armour of steel."<sup>184</sup>*

The Templars are prepared to sacrifice all for the love of God and his mission. They are the personification of spiritual love in a secular world.

## How did the image of the Templars change?

Post-dissolution of the Templars their image becomes indistinct and the nature of their 'mission' less defined. With the loss of Christian holdings in Palestine

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<sup>181</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.112.

<sup>182</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.217.

<sup>183</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux.

<sup>184</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux.



the hunger for crusading in the Holy Land wanes. Various events demand a focus on Europe rather than elsewhere. Famine swept through Europe in 1314 resulting from continuous rain and colder than normal temperatures; Hundred Years War between England and France (1337-1453); Black Death/Bubonic Plague (1346-1353). During such times works were becoming edited for the entertainment of audiences and sponsors and displayed a changing mindset. One such work is *Theseus de Cologne*; the various versions extend from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries. Originally the Templars were depicted in the story as companions and trustworthy witnesses. The same characters are later referred to as Hospitallers and then back to Templars, indicating a lack of distinction between the two Orders post-1307.<sup>185</sup> The indistinct nature of the role of Military Orders within Western Society is present in these tales. Even the still existent militaristic Hospitallers undertake a role that is more attuned with monkish passivity rather than the powerful warriors of yore.<sup>186</sup> The image of the Templars begins to be adapted to suit the audience and the teller of the tale rather than adhering to the facts.

While the Medieval image of the Templars role may have faded over time their association with Christian love seems to continue. Pope Innocent II praised the Templars willingness to face martyrdom defending Christianity in the papal bull '*Omne datum optimum*'. Quoting the Gospel of St John 15:13 '*Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends*'.<sup>187</sup> Post-fall the Order develops a reputation as a depiction of the epitome of pure love. There appears to be a nationalistic divide between the tales originating in France and Germany. The Germanic ideal has the Templar associated with

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<sup>185</sup> Elizabeth Rosenthal, '*Theseus de Cologne: Les différentes versions, l'auteur et la date*', *Ce nous dist li escri...* *Che est la verite: Études de littérature médiévale offertes à André Moisan*, Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2000 retrieved 30 January 2017 from <http://books.openedition.org/pup/4117>

<sup>186</sup> Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail*, p.100.

<sup>187</sup> *The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised. King James (Authorized) Version*, London, The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1966, p.1096.

God's love and the purity of the knightly character's enterprise. The Order's association with a purity of cause is present in the thirteenth-century tale *Parzival*. The *Templars* join the protagonist in the pursuit of the Holy Grail; it is due to the purity of the mission that ensures their success. French poets create an image of Templars acting as intermediaries for those in pursuit of 'pure' romantic love. The members of the Order are assigned the role of protectors and facilitators of lovers' trysts. The concept then develops into an ideal of the 'Temple of Solomon' becoming a place where lovers will be protected and given refuge.<sup>188</sup> Historically the Templars would have been pleased as the earthly persona of Christian love the association with lovers, and especially women was not in keeping with their Rules. The Templar image begins to transform into a fictional construction at odds with the facts.

The appropriation of the Templar image into legend is present with the Holy Grail legend. The modern images emphasise this connection with films like *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989) and the novels *Da Vinci Code* (2003). The depiction of Knight adorned with a white mantle adorned with a red cross is that of Templar knight.<sup>189</sup> The symbolism is clear, the wearer's purity marked with the white mantle. The motivational force behind their actions signalled by red cross a representation of Christ's passion. Only knights were allowed to don the white mantle as opposed to the browns and blacks of the lower ranks:

*"The surcoats of the sergeant brothers should be completely black, with a red cross on the front and back. And they may have either black or brown mantles.."* (Rule 141)<sup>190</sup>

A clear social hierarchy becomes established within the Templars upon who would be a knight. The order originally admitted any man who could afford the necessary equipment:

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<sup>188</sup> Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail*, p.53.

<sup>189</sup> Hospitallers had black mantles with a white cross, Teutonic knights wore white mantles with a black cross.

<sup>190</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.54.

“.. three horses and one squire .. hauberk, iron hose, a helmet .. a sword, a shield, a lance, a Turkish mace, a surcoat, arming jacket, mail shoes, and three knives ..” (Rule 138)<sup>191</sup>

However, possession of the right pedigree would determine who became a knight:

“No brother, unless he is the son of a knight or descended from the son of a knight, should wear a white mantle .. [and] born of a legal marriage ..”<sup>192</sup>(Rule 337).

The white mantle and the support of the Order by Bernard of Clairvaux began an association of the Templars and Cistercians. The association of white and purity resulted in the Order becoming associated with Sir Galahad of the Holy Grail legends. However, a lone knight pursuing the Grail does not tie in with the group mentality of the Order. The Templars were a community that acted like one; they travelled as a group a notion at odds with the individualistic representation of Sir Galahad.<sup>193</sup> The connection of the Templars and the Holy Grail appears to have grown organically over the years with no or little direct reference to the Templars. The foundations of the Grail stories date to late twelfth-century French writers Chretien de Troyes (*Perceval, the Story of the Grail*) and Robert de Boron (*Joseph d'Arimatee*). The tale was taken up half a century later by Wolfram von Eschenbach (*Parzival*) and then over a century later by English author Sir Thomas Malory (*Le Morte d'Arthur*). Of these tales, only *Parzival* makes a reference to the guardians of the Grail as Templars. However, the Templar image is rather vague and appears to be more of an homage to knighthood rather than an actual representation. They are called *Templeise* rather than the Medieval German for Templar *Tempelherren*. The members in the story are allowed to marry, and their badge displays turtle doves rather than any cross.<sup>194</sup> The image used in the other works appear to be more generic symbols of knighthood rather than directly to the Order

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<sup>191</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.53.

<sup>192</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.94.

<sup>193</sup> Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail*, p.180.

<sup>194</sup> Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail*, pp.105-6.

itself.<sup>195</sup> An association between the Templars and the Holy Grail did not appear until after the dissolution of the Order. Today the association is well established in the minds of the public and reinforced by representations in the media.

## What other works featured the Templars?

Not all works referring to the Templars were such fabrications, and authors have included the order in works regarding contemporary 'state of affairs'. One such author was Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) who believed in the innocence of the Templars and the duplicity of the king of France. Dante was a contemporary during the period of the fall of the Templars, and his work *Divine Comedy* displays his opinion of their fate. The narrator of the epic poem travels through the fifth terrace of 'Purgatory' (the covetous) and meets the founder of the French Capetian dynasty Hugh the Great (941-996):

“43: *I was the root of the evil tree*

44: *that casts its shadow over all the Christian lands*

45: *so that good fruit is rarely gathered there.”* (Canto XX)<sup>196</sup>

Hugh has acknowledged his sins have passed through to his descendants and specifically names the Templars accuser Philip IV. The Canto goes on to mention two events that defined Philip's reign, the capture and imprisonment of Pope Boniface VIII (1303):

“85: *That past and future evil may seem less,*

86: *I see the fleur-de-lis proceed into Agnani*

87: *and, in His vicar, make a prisoner of Christ.”* (Canto XX)<sup>197</sup>

The desecration of the sanctity of Papal authority saw an erosion of Papal protection for the Templars. Dante's opinion of both the Order and the French king are present in the lines referring to the dissolution of the Templars (1307):

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<sup>195</sup> Nicholson, *Love, War, and the Grail*, p.102.

<sup>196</sup> Dante Alighieri, Canto XX, Purgatory, *The Divine Comedy*, retrieved 30 January 2017 from <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/>

<sup>197</sup> Alighieri, from <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/>

“91: *I see that this new Pilate is so brutal*  
92: *this does not sate him, and, unsanctioned,*  
93: *I see him spread his greedy sails against the Temple.”<sup>198</sup>*

The poet's words highlight a contemporary thought that the motivation behind Philip's accusations was greed rather than the piety the king claimed. However, it is not Philip who resides in Purgatory but his ancestor Hugh Capet. An example of the author's belief the 'evil' Philip has undertaken is the result of an inherent flaw; the sin is his ancestor and thus tainted his descendants. Another Italian writer Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375) followed Dante's lead with the inclusion of the Templars in his works *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (1360) [The Fates of Illustrious Men]. Boccaccio's connection to the Templars may result from the claim his father was present during the execution of the last Templar Grand Master Jacques de Molay (1243-1314). The innocence of the Order may be a reflection of what he witnessed and the contemporary belief in the deceit of the King:

*“.. many times those who really loved virtue were undeservedly thrown to the ground and trampled under-foot, and those who were truly evil and cared for nothing except vice, were lifted up to the pinnacle of honour and glory. Among the others was Philip the Fair, King of France*  
..<sup>199</sup>

The Italian writers clearly indicate their sympathies lay with the Templars and they were victims of a questionable monarch. However, not necessarily a view held by other contemporary writers.

Some of the negative images produced in works over the years appear to be a result of the author's questioning of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Ramon Lull (1232-1315) and Arnau of Vilanova (1240-1311) were both contemporaries during the time of the fall of the Templars. Both these men were religious reformers who incurred the wrath of the Catholic Church. The

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<sup>198</sup> Alighieri, from <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/>

<sup>199</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Fates of Illustrious Men*, ed. and trans. Louis Brewer Hall, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co. 1965, p.226.

sixteenth-century sees a change in attitudes. In England, they are considered the same as other Monastic communities and condemned by the reforming views of Henry VIII. The Order also starts to be associated with magic and the occult. French historians write in defence of the actions of Philip IV. By the eighteenth century, they have become associated with Freemasonry and portrayed as victims of a repressive Monarch and Church. Voltaire refers to the Templars a few times in his works in *A Philosophical Dictionary*. He clearly states his belief in the questionability of the charges they faced and their fates:

*“.. the Order of the Templars was abolished: its principal members having been condemned to the most horrible deaths, on charges most imperfectly established.”*<sup>200</sup>

And

*“If we go back from the iniquitous execution of Montecuculi to that of the Knights Templars, we shall see a series of the most atrocious punishments, founded upon the most frivolous presumptions.”*<sup>201</sup>

Scott's view of the Templars is just one of many different opinions that have formed over history. While it is impossible to state definitely if any previous works influenced his works, it is possible to say he would have been aware of them. His library included works by writers who included the Templars in their works. Scott's view of the order does not appear to have been one that dominated future impressions as a poem by American novelist Herman Melville (1819-1891) conjures a heroic image of the Order in *On the Photograph of a Corps Commander* (1866):

*“Trace back his lineage, and his sires,  
Yeoman or noble, you shall find  
Enrolled with men of Agincourt,  
Heroes who shared great Harry's mind.*

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<sup>200</sup> Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary, Volume III*, Edition De La Pacification, The Works of Voltaire, A Contemporary Version, trans. William F. Fleming, Paris: E.R. DuMont, 1901.

<sup>201</sup> Voltaire, *A Philosophical Dictionary, Volume IV*, Edition De La Pacification, The Works of Voltaire, A Contemporary Version, trans. William F. Fleming, Paris: E.R. DuMont, 1901.

*Down to us come the knightly Norman fires,  
And front the Templars bore.”*<sup>202</sup>

With this short poem, it is explicit as to what the notion of a Templar means, the aligning of an American Civil War Commander with a member of the order illustrates the potency of their legacy. A potency that has enabled mystical elements to permeate perceptions of the Order often based on hearsay rather than fact.

The image Scott’ has produced for his Templar characters is one that reflects the thinking of the author and his times. Scott’s novels are presentations of the author’s models of social behaviour and concepts of identity. He was immensely proud of his heritage and the history identified as Scottish, a modern identity he restored pride in and assisted in developing. Scott was a man of his time, and this saw him connecting with a relatively new fraternity that had gained popularity amongst the upper echelons of British society in Freemasonry. Freemasonry, in turn, developed its version of history and managed to incorporate Scotland and the Templars. Opponents would use the same history to attack the essence of the popular fraternity. The original British models remained relatively unchanged, whereas ‘non-British’ models morphed into dens of radical thinking. Continental models of Freemasonry became associated with subversion and revolution, with prominent Masons publicly involved with uprisings and the revolutions in America and France. This nationalistic division may be behind Scott’s negative image of the Templars and women. Scott protagonists are the epitome of ‘British’ behaviour; they are composed, honourable, true to their cause and unfailing in the face of adversity. The women in the novels are also in the same model and are more a model of nineteenth-century notions of idealised feminine behaviour. Scott’s novels are representations of his social ideals, some fictional and other factual, just as others had before him.

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<sup>202</sup> Herman Melville, *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War*, retrieved 29 December 2014, from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/12384/12384-h/12384-h.html>.

The history of the Templars in writings before Scott's works are a mixture of images. The earliest image based on one aspect of the Order as a means to redeem oneself from the taint of sin. After the dissolution of the Order, the picture of the Templar and their role becomes less distinct, indicating a growing lack of understanding of their role in the Holy Land. The lack of interest may have been a result of the profound changes in European society during the fourteenth century. The concept of Crusading becomes less popular and the image of the 'purpose' of the Order less defined. While some did not believe the charges brought against the Templars, their image was not one they could defend. The epic poetry of Dante and Boccaccio both feature the Templars, but they are written to condemn the actions of the King rather than defend the Order. Religious reformation sees the Order being associated with the occult and condemned as an instrument of the Catholic Church. However, no matter how much the Order is condemned and damnified they have taken hold of the popular imagination in numerous different guises. The malleability of the Templar order in fiction often has little to do with the facts but has been employed by many, including Sir Walter Scott. However, the association between the Templars and the Catholic Church is one that may have influenced Scott's construct.



## ❖ CHAPTER 3 - RELIGION

The representation of Scott's distrust of independence and the disunity it breeds also extended into matters of religion. Twelfth-century Western Europe was predominantly Roman Catholic headed by the Pope and Papal Council. Theoretically, the Pope was the last word in all spiritual and secular matters and thus providing a unity among Western Christians. However, Scott presents the 'old' religion as a negative. The majority of the characters associated with the Church (including Templars) depicted as lacking in true religiosity. While the men of the Church don on the trappings of their position proclaiming their faith they are only a façade. The faith depicted in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* lacks any true conviction and readily accepts perfunctory lip service. Scott's scathing representation was due to over 250 years of anti-Catholic rhetoric that permeated British society. However, 'enlightened' thinking and the absorption of Catholic Ireland into the United Kingdom challenged such entrenched thinking. The question of Catholic Emancipation had to be addressed, and many (including Scott) supported the proposal for political rather than religious reasons. Emancipation may be personally distasteful but would ensure unity within the United Kingdom.

Religion mattered to Scott and claimed he would be prepared to die for Christianity.<sup>203</sup> His interest in religion is evident with the number of works in his study library (over 12%), only outnumbered by works categorised as literature and history.<sup>(Appendix 4)</sup> The subject of religion features in his novels as well as in the essays *Religious Discourse* (1828) and *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft* (1830). Some novels openly address matters of religious divisions such as the English Reformation in *The Monastery* (1820) and the sequel *The Abbot* (1820). While religion is not such an open subject in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman*, undertones are present in the works. Scott's men of 'religion' are either hypocrites or not completely sane. The author appears more sympathetic

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<sup>203</sup> Wilson, p.93.

towards his non-Christian characters, but they are somewhat stereotypical. The resulting works provide an insight to the author's interest in religion. They also reflect the author's struggle with religious tolerance towards Catholics.

## How does Scott express religious disapproval?

The author's disapproval of the Catholic faith permeates the novels *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman*. The Templars especially lack any religious sensibility, and the sole concern they have is the Order and its protection. They are men more focused on the secular rather than spiritual world. The *Talisman* Grand Master Giles Amaury's very existence tied to the Order:

*".. this stern, ascetic Grand Master, whose whole fortune and misfortune is merged in that of his order .."*<sup>204</sup>

Scott has given him no redeeming spiritual qualities, and Richard even condemns him for being more of a pagan than Saladin.<sup>205</sup> On the other hand, *Ivanhoe's* Grand Master Beaumanoir possess a religiosity that contains all the negative qualities of a fanatic:

*".. an ascetic bigot .. [with] the spiritual pride of the self-satisfied devotee."*<sup>206</sup>

Beaumanoir reinforces this idea when he reveals his wish for the Order to return to the purity of the founder's vision. He bemoans the Templars growing secularisation and the Order populated by men lacking true faith:

*".. brother Brian [de Bois-Guilbert] came into our order a moody and disappointed man, stirred .. to take our vows and to renounce the world, not in sincerity of soul, but as one whom some touch of light discontent had driven into penitence."*<sup>207</sup>

While the Grand Master may acknowledge the shortcomings of the knight, it is his actions that highlight the need to protect the Order at all costs. He believes no matter what drove de Bois-Guilbert to join he would not knowingly

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<sup>204</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.69.

<sup>205</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.44.

<sup>206</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.361.

<sup>207</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.365.

bring disgrace upon the Templars. Such reasoning leads to the conclusion ‘unnatural’ forces would have compelled him to act against the Templar statutes. There are historical precedents of the Grand Masters protecting members at all costs. In 1173, a group of Templars murdered a Muslim envoy while he was under the King of Jerusalem’s protection. The King demanded one of the perpetrators released to him to face trial and punishment. The Grand Master refused and cited the Papal Bull that granted the Order the Popes protection that superseded any secular authority.<sup>208</sup> The standoff between the Order and a reigning Monarch plays out in Scott’s novels. To many outside the Catholic faith, the conflicting loyalties between Papal and secular authorities was a concern and reality in English history. Scott’s novels are a representation of Scott’s concerns regarding the political/religious arguments raging during the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. What concerned Scott regarding the political/religious climate?

One of the biggest political/religious debates during the turn of the nineteenth century was the question of Catholic Emancipation. Calls for the removal of restrictions placed upon Catholics was due to ‘Enlightened’ thinking. The eighteenth-century saw a new philosophy develop that promoted reasoned thinking to promote civil and personal rights.<sup>209</sup> The pursuit of civil liberties within society resulted in the rejection of the governing status quo in America and France. The American founding fathers state this belief in the Declaration of Independence (1776):

*“.. all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”<sup>210</sup>*

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<sup>208</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, pp.100-101.

<sup>209</sup> G.I.T. Machin, *The Catholic Question in English Politics: 1820 to 1830*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, p.16.

<sup>210</sup> U.S. National Archives and Records Administration, ‘The Declaration of Independence: A Transcription’ *The Charters of Freedom*, retrieved 31 July 2016, from [http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration\\_transcript.html](http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/declaration_transcript.html)

The French motto of '*Liberté, égalité, fraternité*' also traces its origins to the revolutionary action of 1790's and the concept of human rights. However, the French and American models differed in their approach to religion. The American ensured religious tolerance was one of the cornerstones of the newly created country. The first Amendment (1791) ensured 'Freedom of Religion' was a right for every citizen of the United States of America. In France, the revolutionary authorities actively suppressed the Catholic Church due to its close association with the ousted Monarchy. Ironically, it was the actions of Revolutionary authorities in France that help ease anti-Catholic feeling and legislation in Britain.

Anti-Catholic sentiment had pervaded British society since King Henry VIII's (1491-1547) break with the Roman Church in 1534. Upon the dissolution of the religious houses and colleges, the majority relocated to Catholic France and Belgium. Authorities in England introduced legislation to ensure the supremacy of the Anglican Church. Soon after the break with Rome, a popular view emerged of a duplicitous Catholic whose loyalty lay with the church rather than the monarch. History shows such concerns were justified and unsuccessful Catholic plotting often resulted in more reprisals and legislation. Pope Pius V (1504-1572) issued a papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1578) encouraging English Catholics to disobey the reigning monarch Elizabeth I (1533-1603):

*"And also (declare) the nobles, subjects and people of the said realm and all others who have in any way sworn oaths to her, to be forever absolved from such an oath .. and so deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the crown .. do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws. Those who shall act to the contrary we include in the like sentence of excommunication."*<sup>211</sup>

There have been various Catholic-backed attempts to return the British Isles to the faith of the Roman Church. The more infamous being the Throckmorton

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<sup>211</sup> Pope Pius V, 'Regnans in Excelsis: Excommunicating Elizabeth I of England', *Papal Encyclicals Online* (2016), retrieved 31 July 2016 from <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Pius05/p5regnans.htm>

Plot (1583)<sup>212</sup> and the Gunpowder Plot (1605).<sup>213</sup> Other attempts to reinstate a Catholic head of state included open rebellion in Ireland in 1641 and 1798 and the Jacobite uprisings in Scotland in 1715 and 1745. While unsuccessful in the attempts to re-establishing the old faith, they resulted in a general distrust of Catholics. The plots and rebellions not only resulted in legislative reprisals (Recusancy Acts<sup>214</sup> and the Clarendon Code<sup>215</sup>) but bloody physical ones too; Cromwell's conquest of Ireland (1649-52) and William, Duke of Cumberland's (1721-1765) suppression of the Scots. While the English government introduced a *Bill of Rights* (1689) to protect the rights of its citizens, they restricted those of Catholics.

*“.. Preserveing the Kings Person and Government by disableing Papists from sitting in either House of Parlyament ..”*<sup>216</sup>

The act specifically ensured no Catholic could ever claim a right to the British throne (only repealed in 2013):

*“.. And whereas it hath beene found by Experience that it is inconsistent with the Safety and Welfaire of this Protestant Kingdome to be governed by a Popish Prince or by any King or Queene marrying a Papist the said Lords Spirituall and Temporall and Commons doe further pray that it may be enacted That all and every person and persons that is are or shall be reconciled to or shall hold Communion with the See or Church of Rome or shall professe the Popish Religion or shall marry a Papist shall be excluded and be for ever uncapeable to inherit possesse or enjoy the Crowne and Government of this Realme and Ireland and the Dominions ..”*<sup>217</sup>

By the turn of the nineteenth-century, the restrictions upon British Catholics were established and any change to the status quo required public support.

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<sup>212</sup> Replacing Queen Elizabeth I with her Catholic cousin Mary Queen of Scots.

<sup>213</sup> An attempt to blow up the Houses of Parliament and King James I.

<sup>214</sup> Penalties for people not participating in Anglican religious activity.

<sup>215</sup> Ensured non-conformists could not hold civil or military office.

<sup>216</sup> National Archives, 'Bill of Rights [1688]', *legislation.gov.uk*, retrieved 31 July 2016 from <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/WillandMarSess2/1/2/introduction>

<sup>217</sup> 'Bill of Rights'.

Historically any suggestion to ease Catholic restrictions could meet with violent reaction. The Gordon Riots in London (1780) being the most destructive and lasted for five days. The uprising resulted in the deaths of over 200 people, including 25 hanged for their participation.<sup>218</sup> However, 20 years later the question of Catholic Emancipation led to a significant amount of debate and opposition, but not the violence previously seen. It would take nearly another 30 years before the *Roman Catholic Relief Act* (1829) would become law, highlighting the depth of Anti-Catholic feeling.

### What had changed in the prevailing years that resulted in the easing of anti-Catholic sentiment?

In 1789, the French revolution brought about the end of the French status quo. The dissolution of the absolutist monarchy and persecution of the Catholic clergy resulted in significant numbers of refugees fleeing France. The revolutionary authorities saw to the forcible closure and confiscation of property of French-based British Catholic. The banished expatriates and French émigrés arrived in Britain and were initially meet with abuse, both verbal and physical.<sup>219</sup> By 1792, the number of émigré had increased dramatically, and refugees arrived on the southern coast of England desperate and in obvious need. As the French Revolutionary army expanded through Europe, French émigrés sought sanctuary in Britain. Public sympathy was such both government and private committees established funds to provide financial support for the refugees. One stumbling point for some philanthropic members of society was the number of French Catholic Clergy who required assistance.<sup>220</sup> Approximately 45% of the recorded 12,150 refugees registered in 1792-94 were clergy.<sup>221</sup> In 1792, British authorities introduced legislation that

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<sup>218</sup> Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography*, London: Vintage Books, 2001, pp.491-492.

<sup>219</sup> Bernard Ward, *The Dawn of the Catholic Revival in England 1781-1803*, Volume II, London: Longmans, Green, 1909, p.8.

<sup>220</sup> Kirsty Carpenter, *Refugees of the French Revolution: Emigres in London, 1789-1802*, Basingstoke: MacMillian Press, 1999, p.33.

<sup>221</sup> Carpenter, p.43.

banned the public display of (Catholic) religious garb.<sup>222</sup> Catholics presence in Britain was now overt, and while not always welcome, it did produce a softening of attitudes to Catholics. The sympathy would continue as long as they concentrated on undermining French revolutionary politics than British.

The challenge to the religious status quo did not emerge from the French émigrés, but the unification of Ireland. The inclusion of Catholic Ireland into Protestant Britain brought the need for Catholic Emancipation to the fore. The British anti-Catholic legislation would ensure the majority of the Irish population would be excluding from holding any public office. The disenfranchisement of the Irish resulted in unsuccessful uprisings in 1796 and 1798. The later uprisings rebels numbered up to 50,000 and with the support of French troops lasted some months.<sup>223</sup> The rebellions resulted in the 'Irish Question' and notion of 'Catholic Emancipation' intertwined. To ensure a stable governance over Ireland, the question of emancipation required addressing. Ireland formally became part of the United Kingdom in 1800, and their government moved to Westminster. In light of the earlier rebellions, the peaceful nature of the relocation was due to promised Catholic Emancipation. A promise that would take another 30 years to enact due to ingrained suspicions towards Catholics.

Many people, including Scott, were hesitant about the concept of Catholic Emancipation on a personal level. Such objections went against the notions of 'enlightened' thinking, but they still had to overcome the entrenched anti-Catholic rhetoric. The needs of a nation superseded personal concerns and former opponents of Emancipation, the Home Secretary Robert Peel (1788-1850) and Prime Minister Duke of Wellington (1769-1852) became the main force behind the legislation. It would take some years and threats of resignation, but the act passed into law in 1829. Scott may not have personally supported the notion of emancipation. However, he was a devotee

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<sup>222</sup> Carpenter, p.27.

<sup>223</sup> K. Theodore Hoppen, *Ireland since 1800: Conflict and Conformity*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 1999, pp. 14-16.

of the Duke of Wellington and followed his political lead. Unity was paramount, and the fanaticism of either Catholic or Protestant negated.

## How does Scott depict Catholic superstitions and religious fanaticism in the novels?

One of Scott's most obvious depictions of the problematic nature of religious fanaticism is in *Talisman*. Scott presents this in the character of the Christian Hermit, Theodoric of Engaddi. The balance of his mind has suffered due to the isolation and deprivations he endured and is also what perversely sanctifies him:

*".. respected by the Latins for his austere devotion, and by the Turks and Arabs on account of the symptoms of insanity which he displayed, and which they ascribed to inspiration."*<sup>224</sup>

Scott directly connects the hermit's insanity ('fever of the brain'<sup>225</sup>) directly with his religious fervour as a practitioner of the Roman Catholic faith. He adopts superstitious practices sanctioned and encouraged by the Catholic Church:

*"The hermit of Engaddi--he whom Popes and Councils have regarded as a prophet--hath read in the stars .."*<sup>226</sup>

With the interaction with the stories protagonist and King Richard, he regains a hold on his sanity. The Hermit rejects his misplaced pride and superstitious beliefs:

*"I came hither the stern seer--the proud prophet--skilled, as I thought, to instruct princes, and gifted even with supernatural powers .. But my bands have been broken!"*<sup>227</sup>

Superstition and belief in the supernatural are notions that belong in the past.

Scott repeats the connection between superstition and the Catholic Church in his work 'Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft' (1830). He writes of a ship's

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<sup>224</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.30.

<sup>225</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.170

<sup>226</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.156.

<sup>227</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.170.



crew being afraid to sail after sightings of a ghost. When the captain locates the originator of the sightings was:

*“.. an Irishman and a Catholic, which might increase his tendency to superstition, but in other respects a veracious, honest, and sensible person.”<sup>228</sup>*

As to the reason why he was more susceptible to superstition, being Irish or Catholic is not explicit. However, further reading sees the fault with the religion rather than nationalistic, where Scott writes of pagans, heathens and Catholics in the same sentence. A fault he believes is due to the brainwashed adherence to church doctrine:

*“.. but the enlightened even of this faith, though they dare not deny a fundamental tenet of their church ..”<sup>229</sup>*

Scott condemns the church's active suppression of those who questioned the dogmas of the Catholic faith. Claiming non-compliance often resulted in accusations of sorcery, such as type Rebecca faced in *Ivanhoe*. Scott reserves his condemnation of this sort of religious extremism towards the Inquisition:

*“.. It was, of course, the business of the Inquisition to purify whatever such pursuits had left of suspicious Catholicism, and their labours cost as much blood on accusations of witchcraft and magic as for heresy and relapse.”<sup>230</sup>*

The Inquisition did cause untold misery in their pursuit to uphold their brand of Catholicism. However, the majority of accusations of witchcraft did not occur in areas solely ruled by the Inquisition nor during the medieval period. The height of the witchcraft trials took place during a time of political and religious turmoil brought about by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation.<sup>231</sup> One

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<sup>228</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1884, retrieved 09 July 2016, from <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/14461/pg14461.txt>

<sup>229</sup> Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*.

<sup>230</sup> Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*.

<sup>231</sup> H.R. Trevor-Roper, 'The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *The European Witch-craze of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century and Other Essays*, New York: Harper & Row, 1969, p.122.

example is the Holy Roman Empire where approximately half of Europe's persecutions took place. An example of how

*"Catholic and Protestant authorities vied with each other to prove their zeal."*<sup>232</sup>

Scott appears to equate religious fanaticism with Catholicism and in light of British history one that is justified. He questions the superstitious nature of Catholicism and its acceptance of perfunctory belief. Such a concept may have influenced his portrayal of the Templars they were not only fanatics but cynically wore the cloak of piety.

### Does Scott's depicted irreligiosity of the Templars have any historical validity?

The Templars featured in Scott's novels are more indicative of the heresy charges dating from 1307. In light of this approach, Scott's depiction is valid. Historically the Crusades were a time of religious fanaticism, and the Templars had taken it to the nth degree. The members of the order had adopted a monastic lifestyle and vowed to protect pilgrims travelling in the Holy Land. Their self-appointed image of warrior-monk was questioned early in their existence for the two images were contrary to each other. Such concerns were addressed by early supporter and influential religious figure, Bernard of Clairvaux in his treatise '*Liber ad milites Templi: De Laude Novae Militae*' (In Praise of the New Knighthood):

*"This is, I say, a new kind of knighthood .. He is truly a fearless knight and secure on every side, for his soul is protected by the armour of faith just as his body is protected by armour of steel .. I do not know if it would be more appropriate to refer to them as monks or as soldiers, unless perhaps it would be better to recognise them as both .. each man sword in hand, and superbly trained to war."*<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Thomas Munch, *Seventeenth Century Europe: State, Conflict and the Social Order in Europe 1598-1700*, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd, 1990, p.274.

<sup>233</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux.

The image of a monk prepared to fight for Christianity added a religious mystic around the Order. However, the image of righteousness irrevocably tarnished upon the loss of the last Christian holding in Palestine. The Order was perceived to have lost their reason to exist, much support and within twenty years their reputation. The disgraced order were no longer the perceived 'darlings' of fanatical Crusading publically branded as heretics, unscrupulous and devoid of any perceived piety.

Scott's Templars are not men of religion, and *Ivanhoe's* de Bois-Guilbert emphasises the Orders concern is secular power:

*"The Templar .. becomes a member and a limb of a mighty body, before which thrones already tremble .. the poor soldiers of the Temple will not alone place their foot upon the necks of kings .. Our mailed step shall ascend their thrones - our gauntlet shall wrench the sceptre from their grip."*<sup>234</sup>

The religiosity of the founders dismissed by the Knight and his fellow Templars:

*"Think not we long remain blind to the idiotical folly of our founders .. Our Order soon adopted bolder and wider views .."*<sup>235</sup>

The author clearly states the questionable Templar piety in *Ivanhoe*:

*".. the infidel Templar .."*<sup>236</sup>

*".. that the most holy Order of the Temple of Zion nurseth not a few heretics within its bosom .."*<sup>237</sup>

The description of the Grand Master in *Talisman* enables Scott to vent his distaste for the man:

*".. an idolater, a devil-worshipper, a necromancer, who practises crimes the most dark and unnatural in the vaults and secret places of abomination and darkness?"*<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.241.

<sup>235</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.241.

<sup>236</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.308.

<sup>237</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.300.

<sup>238</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.44.

The Templars did not face such accusations for another 100 years or so after the setting in the novels. French King. The heretical charges included:

- I. the denial of Christ upon reception in the Order;
- II. desecration of the cross, or image of Christ;
- III. worshipping a cat;
- IV. they did not believe in the sacraments;
- V. absolution could be granted by the Grand Master who does not have to be ordained;
- VI. indecent kissing;
- VII. vowing never to leave the order;
- VIII. holding of secret ceremonies;
- IX. allowance of sexual relations between brothers;
- X. veneration of a head.<sup>239</sup>

The charges of idolatry, secret ceremonies and the denial of Christ made directly against the personage of the Grand Master. The reference to '*dark and unnatural*' practices of the Order appears a veiled reference to the ninth accusation. In one short sentence, Scott has used historical hindsight to embellish his tale and applied a generous dollop of artistic licence to his fictional history.

French authorities also employed a certain amount of artistic licence when drawing up the charges against the Templars. There are numerous theories as to why the French King wished to bring down the Order, including wanting their wealth and fear of their power. The French King, Philip IV claimed piety was his only motivation as he was the "*.. minister of God, fighter for the Catholic faith.*"<sup>240</sup> Historically the king rejected any form of vice and accredited with the pursuit of his notion of truth and justice.<sup>241</sup> He was acutely aware of the

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<sup>239</sup> 'Episcopal inquiry at Clermont (4-10 June, 1309)' in *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and Annotated by Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate*, eds. Malcolm Barber and Keith Bate, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2002, pp.273-6.

<sup>240</sup> Malcolm Barber, 'The World Picture of Philip the Fair', *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982), p.18.

<sup>241</sup> Elizabeth A.R. Brown, 'The Case of Philip the Fair', *Viator* 19 (1988), p.235.

heightened religiosity of his ancestor's, five had taken the cross, and he had arranged the canonisation of his grandfather (St Louis). His enhanced belief in the familial piety led him to an open altercation with Pope Boniface VIII (1235-1303) over who had the ultimate authority over the French Church, King or Pope. Philip openly accused the Pope of heresy, and the charges were virtually identical to those he would later employ against the Templars. Boniface soon died after an altercation with French authorities in 1303 and his successor two years later. The newly elected Pope was a French cardinal and supporter of Philip, Pope Clement V. Philip became not only the King of the largest Catholic kingdom, he now controlled the Papacy and readied himself to plan the fall of the seemingly untouchable Templars.

By marking the Order as heretical, Philip isolated the Order within Christian society. A move that would not have been too hard for people to accept as the Templars were an entity unto themselves, neither clerical nor secular. Their existence was to the protection of a place that few would have visited, and their lack of success resulted in their military ability questioned. The Templar's task was to protect the Christian ideal and therefore were to blame for its fall. The French king used their need for secrecy (born from their militaristic heritage) to present a heretical image of the Order. An image that Scott has represented in his Templar construct. He acknowledges their military history and repeats their image of being warriors. However, ultimately in both novels, they are exposed as untrustworthy and nefarious: *".. these Templars are not so trusty as they are disciplined and valiant."*<sup>242</sup> Scott's Templars only pursue secular power; they have rejected the 'Christian' model of their founders. Over the years the Order has been allowed to develop their sense of purpose that has been interpreted by Scott and French Authorities as heretical.

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<sup>242</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.465.

## How does Scott represent the accusations made against the Templars in the novels?

One of the accusations made against the Templars was the ability for the Grand Master to hear confession and grant absolution (even if unordained). Scott has taken this concept one step further in *Talisman* when the Grand Master forces himself upon the dying Conrade “*I come to confess and to absolve thee.*”<sup>243</sup> Amaury insists on hearing Conrade’s confession “*.. the Marquis shall not confess this morning, unless it be to me.*”<sup>244</sup> there is a significant element of self-preservation in his stance. Scott also depicts a misconception Templars were priests, in *Talisman* Saladin refers to them as “*priestly soldiers*”<sup>245</sup> and in *Ivanhoe* “*Tell the Templar to come hither--he is a priest ..*”<sup>246</sup>. However the statement is followed by “*But no!--as well confess myself to the devil as to Brian de Bois-Guilbert,*”<sup>247</sup> the Templar is condemned for lacking any religious status. The Order was a monastic community and did not become priests upon undertaking their vows. There were ordained priests among the Templars, and they took confession, held services and buried the dead.<sup>248</sup> The priests, like all Templars, were answerable to the Grand Master rather than any other associated religious community.<sup>249</sup> The only ‘sins’ they could not grant absolution for were simony, as well as murder and serious assault against fellow Christians<sup>250</sup> (unlike the sanctioned murder of non-Christians). While the order had ordained priests, they were not soldiers and were not one of the Order’s warrior elite. The notion of a monk and soldier was oxymoronic to many and a cause of early concerns regarding the Templars. However, early supporter Bernard of Clairvaux dismissed the concerns and God sanctioned their actions:

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<sup>243</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.172.

<sup>244</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.166

<sup>245</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.132.

<sup>246</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.304.

<sup>247</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.304.

<sup>248</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.198.

<sup>249</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.57.

<sup>250</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.198.

*“.. the Knights of Christ may safely fight the battles of their Lord, fearing neither sin if they smite the enemy, nor danger at their death; since to inflict death or die for Christ is no sin, but rather, an abundant claim to glory ..”*<sup>251</sup>

The knights and sergeants would undertake the soldiering and the priests the sanctified actions required to support the others. The validity of the accusation of secrecy is present with the Order's instructions regarding confession:

*“.. a brother of the Temple should not make confession except to a chaplain brother, except out of great necessity ..”* (Rule 354).<sup>252</sup>

The notion of ‘*great necessity*’ would have resulted in the members of the order confessing to the Grand Master and by extension each other. In theory, the ordained members were not always present during any violent action or possible capture. By the very nature of the Order's undertaking the spectre of death was always present, but not always an ordained priest. The concept of dying unshriven would have been a concern during this period and the need to confess vital for the immortal soul. Templars would make their final confessions to their Grand Master, a fellow member of the Order, or even another Christian if need be.

Scott's negative insinuations of the Templars lack of religiosity is also present in other religious characters. He presents a cynical image and infers the practitioners of the Roman Catholic faith were somewhat perfunctory in their belief. He illustrates the general acceptance of the hypocrisy of faith when describing the Prior of Jorvaulx Abbey in *Ivanhoe*:

*“.. well known for many miles around as a lover of the chase, of the banquet, and, if fame did him not wrong, of other worldly pleasures still more inconsistent with his monastic vows ..”*<sup>253</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux.

<sup>252</sup> *The Rule of the Templars*, p.98.

<sup>253</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.35.

Scott then lists the man's faults and merits. Followed by a statement showing the public's complicity in propagating his hypocrisy:

*".. Men only shrugged up their shoulders, and reconciled themselves to his irregularities, by recollecting that the same were practised by many of his brethren who had no redeeming qualities whatsoever to atone for them."*<sup>254</sup>

The condemnation of the practices of the Catholic faith continue with the scene of Sir Reginald Front-de-Boeuf's death:

*"He had not the usual resource of bigots in that superstitious period, most of whom were wont to atone for the crimes they were guilty of by liberality to the church, stupefying by this means their terrors by the idea of atonement and forgiveness; and although the refuge which success thus purchased.." "*<sup>255</sup>

These words indicate Scott viewed the religiosity of the period as a façade, where all were complicit. A similar train of thought is repeated in his works *'Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft'* when describing Captain C----.

*".. a Catholic, and, in his hour of adversity at least, sincerely attached to the duties of his religion". "*<sup>256</sup>

The captain was only observant of his faith when facing death. It is worth noting the Captain was British but was *'bred in the Irish Brigade'*. Scott once again combines the concepts of Irish/Catholic/superstitious notions as a faith with a fluid sense of sincerity.

Scott presents a religiosity that condemns the Roman Catholic practitioners. The questionable connection of sanity and sanctity in the *Talisman's* hermit; the hypocrisy found in *Ivanhoe's* Grand Master and the Prior of Jorvaulx; the cynical mantle worn by Bois-Guilbert and *Talisman's* Grand Master. There is a certain amount of *'demonisation'*<sup>257</sup> in Scott's portrayals and give vent

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<sup>254</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.36.

<sup>255</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.303.

<sup>256</sup> Scott, *Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft*.

<sup>257</sup> Anderson, p.22.



to his views of the Order and the religion of the period. They all represent the failings of 'old' and unenlightened Christianity of the past.

### Is it possible to gauge Scott's view regarding non-Christians from the novels?

Scott has included non-Christians in both novels; Jewish Isaac of York and Rebecca in *Ivanhoe* and Muslim leader Saladin in *Talisman*. Like his opinion of the Christianity of the Templars, it is possible to gauge his views of Jews and Muslims. It also gives light to further perceived Templar failings.

The Saladin portrayed in *Talisman* is rather sympathetic and follows a tradition that dates back to the twelfth century. The original image of the Muslim leader was not positive, but the representation of chronicler William of Tyre (1130-1186) would prevail:

*"Saladin was a man of keen intelligence. He was vigorous in war and unusually generous."*<sup>258</sup>

Dante includes him amongst the 'worthy' non-Christians in his works *Inferno* Canto IV *"And saw alone, apart, the Saladin."*<sup>259</sup> The respect the Muslim leader induced is present within the Christian religious community. His image, along with Richard I in combat decorated the new floor tiles laid during renovations of Chertsey Abbey (c.1250-60). Scott appears to have followed the traditional portrayal condemning Richard at the same time:

*".. the Christian and English monarch showed all the cruelty and violence of an Eastern sultan, and Saladin, on the other hand, displayed the deep policy and prudence of a European sovereign .."*<sup>260</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> William of Tyre, 'Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum, XX, 11-12; Patrologia Latina 201, 788-9', trans. James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary Survey*, Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1962, p.140.

<sup>259</sup> Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, retrieved 29 December 2014 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1004/pg1004.html>.

<sup>260</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.4.

He continues with a lurid legend that emphasises the barbarity of King Richard and the patience and forbearing of Saladin. However, with legends comes whitewash and the historical Saladin was just as capable of the type of barbarity apportioned to Richard. The Muslim leader of history and Scott's character are not one in the same.

There are historical parallels in the events depicted at the end of *Talisman* with the execution of the nefarious Grand Master by the just Saladin:

*"The sabre of Saladin left its sheath as lightning leaves the cloud. It was waved in the air, and the head of the Grand Master rolled to the extremity of the tent .."*<sup>261</sup>

Like the novel, Saladin hosted a gathering of captured Christian leaders (post Battle of Hattin) and struck off the head of Raynald of Chatillon. There had been a history of Raynard repeatedly breaking negotiated truces<sup>262</sup>, and his actions would lead to the Christian defeats at Cresson and Hattin. Saladin had promised never to forgive the crusader, and when captured, was executed for his sins. Christian chronicles claim the execution was due to his fear of the warrior:

*".. because of his [Saladin] fury or deferring to the excellence of such a great man."*<sup>263</sup>

The Muslim chroniclers relate the events with Ibn al-Athir stating Saladin berated Raynard and then struck off his head.<sup>264</sup> Whereas, Scott's novel are similar to those of Ibn Shaddad's account. Saladin confronts Raynard with his transgressions and offers him a chance to convert to Islam, upon the Christians refusal Saladin strikes off his head.<sup>265</sup> Although not exactly as per Scott's version, it is possible to identify the historical story from the fiction.

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<sup>261</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p. 172

<sup>262</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.29.

<sup>263</sup> *Itinerarium*, p.34.

<sup>264</sup> *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr*, p.p.323-4.

<sup>265</sup> Bahāal-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, p.75.

*Talisman's* Saladin expresses nothing but loathing towards Scott's Templars:

*"They are the priestly soldiers of the Temple .. whose vow limits them to know neither truce nor faith with the worshippers of Islam .. Their peace is war, and their faith is falsehood."*<sup>266</sup>

However, the historical reality of the relationship between the two isn't so easily defined. Both Islamic and Christian chronicles indicate Saladin both respected and feared them in equal measure. However, Saladin's concern regarding the threat the Military Orders posed is seen with his orders to execute any Templar or Hospitaller captive (the Templar Grand Master being the exception).<sup>267</sup> Muslim chroniclers record:

*"It was his [Saladin] custom to kill the Templars and the Hospitallers because of their intense hostility to the Muslims and their bravery."*<sup>268</sup>

History would indicate otherwise, with records of captive Templars and Hospitallers released. The extraordinary events of Hattin may have been a psychological move to undermine the morale of the Orders. Taken prisoner by the Muslim enemy did not fit their proclamation of being willing to 'die for Christ'. An anonymous pilgrim records the treatment a Templar received upon release from captivity:

*"Should any of them for any reason turn his back to the enemy, or come forth alive [from a defeat] .. he is severely punished .. the white mantle with the red cross .. is taken away with ignominy, he is cast from the society of brethren, and eats his food on the floor without a napkin for the space of one year .. if the Master and brethren think his penance to have been sufficient, they restore him the belt of his former knighthood."*<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>266</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.132.

<sup>267</sup> The Hospitaller Grand Master died in battle. Although Ibn Shaddād states in his *Chronicles* the Grand Master of the Hospitallers was among the prisoners taken at Hattin, Bahāal-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, p.74.

<sup>268</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, p.356.

<sup>269</sup> 'Anonymous Pilgrim V.2', *Anonymous Pilgrims, I-VII (11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries)*, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society 6, London 1894, pp.29-30.

The punishment meted out was a constant reminder of their lack of true conviction for their cause. Could the notion of everlasting shame in the eyes of his fellow Templars be one reason Saladin kept the Grand Master prisoner after Hattin? Relations between the two parties also highlight Saladin's faith in the standing of the Order. After the fall of the Muslim garrison at Acre (1191), there were negotiations for the release of prisoners. Saladin sought surety from the Templars for the safety of his men:

*".. the Templars should guarantee this because they were people of religion who hold with keeping faith."*<sup>270</sup>

The Order advised they would not offer any assurances, requesting money and in return would free those whom they wished.<sup>271</sup> Was this refusal an indication they were aware the lives of the Muslim prisoners were already forfeit? Saladin's approach to the Templars may have been an honest effort to save the lives of his men. Alternatively, a successful ruse to ensure the finger of blame was pointing to the Christian camp for the deaths of Acre's Muslim garrison? The Templars and Saladin partook in a dance of diplomacy that required a pragmatism containing equal measures of disdain and respect. The Saladin in Scott's novel is a result of popular representations, and Scott's image a foil to Christian fanaticism of the Templar.

The non-Christian foil in *Ivanhoe* is the Jewish merchant Isaac of York and his daughter Rebecca. In the novel, they face a barrage of bigoted views which would have been a fraction the twelfth-century Jew would have faced. Due to societies restrictions, the role the Jewish population undertook was that of a moneylender, and as such, they were targets of confiscations and mob rule. The last half of the twelfth century saw violent attacks against the Jewish communities in Gloucester (1168), Bury St Edmunds (1181) and Bristol (1183). During the coronation of Richard I (1189), mobs in London rioted and murdered many Jews. A year later, a group of 150 Jews died in York either

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<sup>270</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, p.389.

<sup>271</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, p.389.

through suicide or killed by the besieging mob of Christians. Scott's characters originate from York, and it may be upon this background that Rebecca is referring to when she states:

*".. the people of England are a fierce race, quarrelling ever with their neighbours or among themselves .. Such is no safe abode for the children of my people."*<sup>272</sup>

Scott then states Rebecca's reasons for her and her father's decision to relocate to Muslim controlled Grenada:

*"Secure of peace and protection, for the payment of such ransom as the Moslem exact from our people."*<sup>273</sup>

Rebecca's statement highlights the plight of many Jewish communities through the ages and the payment of 'protection' money did not always assure their security. *Ivanhoe* perpetuates the stereotypical connection between a being a moneylender and Jewish merchant. Scott appears to have formulated his opinions regarding Jews via third parties as the Jewish community in Edinburgh was small numbering only around 20 families.<sup>274</sup> The novel presents a firm view of the Jewish faith when describing Isaac:

*"Above all, he had upon his side the unyielding obstinacy of his nation, and that unbending resolution, with which Israelites have been frequently known to submit to the uttermost evils which power and violence can inflict upon them, rather than gratify their oppressors by granting their demands."*<sup>275</sup>

He repeats this thinking in a treatise he wrote for a friend's son '*Religious Discourses by a Layman*'<sup>276</sup> (1828). Scott is rather scathing of the Jewish 'obstinacy' in rejecting Christ. Which is due to their ignorance and prejudice and the resulting fate is of their making due to their rejection of the goodwill

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<sup>272</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.471.

<sup>273</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.471.

<sup>274</sup> 'Edinburgh Jewish History, *Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation*, retrieved 11 Feb 2017, from <http://ehcong.com/index.php/edinburgh-jewish-history>

<sup>275</sup> Lockhart, p.216.

<sup>276</sup> The discourse was a personal essay for the edification of a friend's son. He gave permission for the publication of the work with his name to clear the young man's debt. Lockhart, p.563.

extended to them.<sup>277</sup> However, *Ivanhoe* does represent a changing of attitudes towards Jews when compared to previous depictions in Western Christian literature. Fierce anti-Semitic stereotypes depicted in *'The Jew of Malta'* (1589/90) and *'The Merchant of Venice'* (1596) replaced by works such as *'Nathan the Wise'* (1779) and *'The Jew'* (1797). The changing image reflects the changing attitudes and in 1753 legislation was introduced to allow Jews to apply to parliament for naturalisation. While the legislation received royal approval (unlike early proposals for Catholic Emancipation) was repealed a year later after vocal opposition. Scott reiterates a stereotype of the money-centric image of the Jew and extends it through to that of the Templars. Were the Templars as money-hungry as Scott depicts?

The association between money and the Templars only appears in *Ivanhoe*. In *Talisman*, that particular fault falls to the Hospitaller Grand Master: *"But is he not a sordid miser? .. the Grand Master of St John."*<sup>278</sup> In *Ivanhoe* Scott repeatedly refers to the Templar's true motivator being a love of money rather than God:

*".. the Templars love the Jews' inheritance better than they do their company."*<sup>279</sup>

*"Templars love the glitter of silver shekels .."*<sup>280</sup>

*".. Templars may be moved from the purpose of their heart by pleasure, or bribed by promise of gold and silver .."*<sup>281</sup>

The image was one the Order would repeatedly face, and they soon gained a reputation for possessing a rapacious appetite for wealth and property (as well as the Hospitallers).<sup>282</sup> The Templars were perceived as an immensely wealthy organisation, holding the position of bankers in some courts. They had also

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<sup>277</sup> Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe*, p.190.

<sup>278</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.45.

<sup>279</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.60.

<sup>280</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.342.

<sup>281</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.359.

<sup>282</sup> Helen Nicholson, 'Saints or sinners? The Knights Templar in Medieval Europe', *History Today* v44 n12 (1994), pp. 32-3.

developed an early prototype of international banking where a crusader or pilgrim could deposit their wealth in one preceptory and withdraw the same from another. The concept was revolutionary and ensured pilgrims did not travel with all their valuables, just a record of their deposits. They had access to wealth, and yet the constant demands by the Templars for more resources resulted in some questioning their financial acumen.<sup>283</sup> However, few would have understood the financial demands of equipping and supplying recruits and mercenaries, maintenance of property and paying of ransoms.<sup>284</sup> They saw the Templars as hoarders of great wealth and some claim this is the motivation for the 1307 arrests. The previous year the Grand Master of the Templars inadvertently displayed the Order's wealth when travelling to an audience with the Pope. Jacques de Molay's (1244-1314) baggage train included twelve horse carrying gold and silver from the Order's treasury as a gift to the Pope.<sup>285</sup> However, the gift may have been the extent of the Order's wealth in France as authorities found no sign of treasure at Temple in Paris or any other holdings in France. The lack of any valuables found has given rise to numerous 'theories' that the Templar 'treasure' was hidden. They claim the Templars knew of the possible arrests and enabled them to secure any wealth. However, the majority of the Order's income would be sent East<sup>286</sup> and stored in their Treasury in Acre until its fall in 1291. The Order owned large tracts of land throughout Christendom; approximately 870 castles, preceptories and subsidiary houses.<sup>287</sup> Then there were their smaller holdings, in France alone they had over 1,000 manors.<sup>288</sup> Throughout Britain and Ireland, it is possible to see the extent of their holdings when viewing place names that include 'Temple': Temple Combe, Temple Hirst, Temple in Midlothian and Central London. The

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<sup>283</sup> Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p.132.

<sup>284</sup> Malcolm Barber, 'Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars', *Crusaders and Heretics 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Aldershot, 1995, p.314.

<sup>285</sup> *Proceedings Against the Templars in France and England for Heresy, Etc., A.D. 1307-11: Taken from the Official Documents of the Period*, ed. Brother E.J. Castle, London: Quatuor coronatorum antigrapha, 1907, p.10.

<sup>286</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History*, Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2001, pp.123-4.

<sup>287</sup> Barber, *The New Knighthood*, p.2.

<sup>288</sup> *Proceedings Against the Templars in France and England for Heresy*, p.9.

Order also had houses in Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Czech Republic, Poland, Greece and Cyprus. The income from these holdings would have produced a steady income, especially when they received exemptions from the payment of local taxes, levies and duties. In a short period, the Templars developed a reputation of hard-hearted and controlling property owners willing to infringe upon other landowners' rights without any fear of censure.<sup>289</sup> They were perceived as litigious and unscrupulous in their dealings, ensuring they received any assets and property they desired.<sup>290</sup> Scott touches upon the concept of lack of fair dealing in *Ivanhoe* during a conversation with Sir Brian,

".. suffice it to say, I know the morals of the Temple-Order, and I will not give thee the power of cheating me out of the fair prey .." <sup>291</sup>

The continuous pursuit of income to finance the Order's activities in Palestine included overtly illegal actions, such as piracy.<sup>292</sup> People had begun to perceive the Templars as an unscrupulous money hungry organisation. The disassociation between the Templars and the general population was evident upon the mass arrests in France. While some monarchs and leaders throughout Europe questioned the French King's actions, it would take a Papal Order and threat of excommunication before there were Europe-wide arrests.<sup>293</sup> There are no records of the public's reaction to the detention, no outcry proclaiming belief in their innocence. Only a year earlier the expulsion of the Jews from France had produced three days of rioting in Paris. The violence of the rioters was of such the king sought refuge with the Order at the Paris Temple.<sup>294</sup> The rabble seems to be prepared to menace the king, but not the

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<sup>289</sup> Malcolm Barber, 'The Social Context of the Templars', *Crusaders and Heretics 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, London: Variorum, 1995, pp.44-5.

<sup>290</sup> Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p.130.

<sup>291</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.207.

<sup>292</sup> The activity of Roger de Flor, captain of The Falcon, includes supposed acts of piracy. During the fall of Acre he transported a number of women and children, for a fee, he appears to have kept a percentage without permission as the Order actively pursued him for its return. Barber, *Crusaders and Heretics 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, pp.324-5.

<sup>293</sup> The Venetian state did not heed the papal order. They did not arrest one Templar and upon investigation into the allegations, they decreed that the charges were unfounded. Sophia Menache, 'A Propaganda Campaign in the Reign of Phillip the Fair, 1302-1303', *French History* 4:4, 1990, pp.227-8.

<sup>294</sup> Menache, 'A Propaganda Campaign', p.26.



Templars. However, there were no similar signs of discontent expressed upon the arrests of the French Templars. The Order's demands for more to support their pursuit of a Christian idyll had alienated them from the majority of Christian society. It is ironic the public valued the infidel Jew as more important than the men who were prepared to die for the Christian cause.

Religion was an important component in Scott's life, and while he may not have been overtly religious, it was a subject he was interested in. The various writings, both fictional and factual, highlight his views and disapproval of the Catholic faith. The religious men he has produced are all flawed, either lack any form of religiosity or wear a mantle of piety to hide their hypocrisy. These images appear to be a result of his concerns regarding the notion of Catholic Emancipation. He distrusted any form of religious fanaticism and viewed it as a form of insanity. The images he produces for the Templar characters do have hints of historical accuracy. Nevertheless, the need for him to embellish the tales sees events subjected to artistic license for the enhancement of the story. The 1307 accusations against the Order are included in Scott's depictions resulting in the vilification of the Templar characters, some accurate and some erroneous. The non-Christian characters are a consequence of information garnered from third parties. The resulting depiction produced a Muslim leader more honourable than the opposing Christians and just as fictional as his stereotypical Jewish characters. An enduring image Scott has produced of the Templars is an untrustworthy group who would do anything to enrich their coffers. The accusation had historical merit and cited as the starting point for numerous conspiracy theories about the Order that has helped to perpetuate the ever-growing myth surrounding the Templars.

## ❖ CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the novels of *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* are not an attempt by Sir Walter Scott to rewrite history. Scott was a writer of fiction who used events from history as a starting point for his tales. He wrote for the entertainment rather than the edification of his readers. His popularity was such he inspired over 1,000 paintings, 50 operas<sup>295</sup> and the words to Schubert's *Ave Maria*.<sup>296</sup> However, Scott's main motivation behind his copious literary output was financial security it provided. He only wrote when his occupation as Advocate (Barrister), Sheriff-Depute of Selkirkshire<sup>297</sup> (District Court Judge - £300 p.a.) and Principal Clerk of the Court of Sessions (£800 p.a.) would allow.<sup>298</sup> However, the writing would soon become more lucrative, and Scott could earn nearly an annual salary with one poem.<sup>299</sup> Early success resulted in financing an unsuccessful publishing house that was sold four years later to avoid bankruptcy. The threat of financial ruin led to an increased output of poetry (Appendix 4) and the venturing into novels. The threat of bankruptcy once again loomed 1825 and Scott took on the publishing house's debt of approximately £130,000.<sup>300</sup> Scott's sense of the dramatic may have seen him claim his actions were 'honourable' they were also pragmatic. Should he be declared bankrupt, he would forfeit the right to hold any position within the legal profession. By his death, the debt had been reduced to £50,000 and cleared with his life insurance & upon the selling of his copyright.<sup>301</sup> Scott's ability to write entertaining and popular novels ensured he was able to produce a 'fictional' historical narrative, rather than any attempt to produce an 'alternative' history.

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<sup>295</sup> Wilson, p.3.

<sup>296</sup> Schubert's *Ave Maria* is a Germanic translation of Verse XXIX 'Hymn to the Virgin' from *The Lady of the Lake*.

<sup>297</sup> A position he held from 1799 until shortly before his death and one that his family rather than Scott resigned. Lockhart, p.639.

<sup>298</sup> The Walter Scott Digital Archive, Edinburgh University Library, retrieved 30 Jan 2017 from <http://www.walterscott.lib.ed.ac.uk/biography/law.html>

<sup>299</sup> Was paid £1,050 for the unfinished poem *Marimon* (1808). Lockhart, p.160.

<sup>300</sup> Lockhart, p.510.

<sup>301</sup> Lockhart, p.661.

Scott wrote fictions and viewed himself as a teller of tales ‘*professor of the fine arts*’<sup>302</sup> rather than a historian. His works are not historically accurate, nor are they meant to be, but do illustrate the author’s fundamental knowledge of the subject. The Grand Masters portrayed in the novels do have historical similarities to actual leaders of the Templars; Odo St Amand (d.1179) refusing to hand over a Templar to the King of Jerusalem and the 10<sup>th</sup> Grand Master Gerard de Ridefort (d.1189). *Ivanhoe*’s de Bois-Guilbert also shares similarities to de Ridefort both joining the Order upon an unsuccessful suit of a woman. However, unlike the fictional Templar, de Ridefort achieved the rank of Grand Master, and his actions are more akin to those of *Talisman*’s Amaury. The devastating Christian losses at Cresson and Hattin were a result of de Ridefort’s actions, and one blogger refers to the Grand Master as both martyr and madman.<sup>303</sup> The parallels Scott has drawn with actual events is evident throughout the works, but they are enhanced to support the story, rather than history.

The Templar characters Scott has produced are his manufacture, with a hint of accuracy. The resulting works are more a reflection of events and issues from the early nineteenth century rather than the twelfth century. It is impossible to write any historical discourse without contemporary influences coming into play. Context is paramount in the study of history, yet it is also the most elusive. The influences upon people from the early nineteenth century are as foreign to the modern reader as the twelfth century would be to them. However, the medieval past appears to be a fascination for people in the early nineteenth-century. Why did people hark back to non-existent idylls of the past that Scott has created? By looking at the different changes in Britain during his lifetime, it is possible to recognise why he wrote of the Templars the way he did. The lives of a vast number of people in Britain were undergoing rapid change due

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<sup>302</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.1.

<sup>303</sup> Robert de Tyre, *Gerard de Ridefort – Martyr or Madman.. A study of the Tenth Master of the Temple*, retrieved 06 February 2016, from <http://detyre.tripod.com/Articles/GERARD2.html>

to the Industrial Revolution and growing Empire. There were also transformations in the thinking of sectors of society that emphasised early concepts of rights and freedoms. The newly formed United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland also required a unifying identity inclusive of all for the future. Scott's works present an idealised way forward through depictions of the past. His visions for the future may be as fictional as his histories but one that contemporaries shared judging by his popularity.

The unity of England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland in 1800 brought with it the need to reject past divisions. The central theme in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* is the importance of unity under the leadership of a monarch. A united kingdom rather than a divisive Republic like the French experienced. *Talisman* especially highlights the dangers of division and the pursuit of independent goals. Independence and division lead to division and failure for the Templars and by extension to their fellow Christians. There are also nationalistic elements in *Ivanhoe*, which highlight the need to put aside historical grievances and join Richard to defeat unlawful activity. Both novels have a new generation that acknowledges the past, yet act to forge a new and inclusive future.

Scott's Templars are the inverse of the ideal and portrayed as disruptive, and antagonistic towards Richard. There are elements of accuracy in his depictions they are usually blended to fit the narrative. Events depicted in *Talisman* are easily identifiable as being set during the well-chronicled Third Crusade. Historical records disprove Scott's version and show the Order and Richard were close, sometimes to the detriment of other Christian leaders. The Order had a particularly close connection with the ruling house of Anjou & England (Plantagenets). Over the centuries the relationship with the English monarchy may have ebbed and flowed, but it would take Pope Clement V Bull *Vox in excelso* (1312) to sever it completely. The Templars association with secular leaders was not enough to ensure their survival. *Talisman's* Conrade hints the independence of the Order would guarantee its demise:

*“ .. were the allied princes to be successful in Palestine, it would be their first point of policy to abate the independence of your Order ..”*<sup>304</sup>

Conrade hints it is the ‘mission’ that ensures the continuation of the Templars independence over anything else. There is truth in the statement, he foresaw their fall if the Christian venture should succeed, where it is the lack of success that ensured their demise. After the loss of the last Christian holding in Palestine, the Templars lost their reason to exist, support and their reputation in less than ten years. Historically the Order viewed their independence from secular authority as their greatest asset. However, Scott viewed it as their greatest weakness, as the lack of strong secular protection ensured their demise.

While Scott was an advocate for a United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland it was not at the expense of his Scottish roots. His works enabled him to promote Scottish history, folklore and enabled him to help forge an identifiable iconic image. Scotland also played an important in modern perceptions of the Templars and their connection to the fraternity of Freemasons. A French-based Scot, Ramsey made the original eighteenth-century link between the two entities. The constructed history assisted the fraternity to develop into an international and influential force in Western Society. Scott became a Mason during a time of developing criticism of Freemasonry and their perceived association with political unrest. Prominent Masons were involved with the revolutions in America and France, the rebellions in Bavaria, Netherlands and Ireland. The supposed connection between Freemasonry and the Templars may have influenced Scott’s portrayal of the Order. His jaundiced view of the Templars may be a reflection of his dissatisfaction of Masonic activity. Revolutionaries and Rebels posed direct threats to Britain and only thwarted by people prepared to defend a united kingdom.

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<sup>304</sup> Scott, *Talisman*, p.68.

Scott wrote to entertain however as this thesis argues his works are a reflection of his concepts of contemporary matters, including patriotism. Both his novels contain elements of both ideological and physical conflict. Following the notion of nationalism, Scott also encourages the idea of serving 'King and Country'. The concept of selfless service is present in the protagonists in *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* and the inverse of the Templars. Idealised behaviour is also present in his female characters with a touch of nationalistic bias. The resulting depiction of the 'heroes/heroines' are early prototypes of a repressive 'Victorian' ideology and British 'stiff-upper-lip' mentality. One feature of *Ivanhoe* is the pursuit of Rebecca by the Templar de Bois-Guilbert and the reaction of the Grand Master. The depictions illustrate Scott's knowledge regarding the Rule of the Templars about female interaction. Scott's novels helped promote a national attitude that went to define an era and attitude of British history.

## Changing Templar image

While Scott's writings epitomise what would be associated as Victorian sensibilities<sup>305</sup>, they are only one of many versions of the Templars over the centuries. Some these representations have become an accepted part of popular 'knowledge' of the Order. The one commonality in all images is the exact nature of the Templars was not widely known; even during their existence. Other military orders had easily identifiable roles within society outside fighting in the Holy Land; the Hospitallers ran the hospital, Order of St Lazarus cared for lepers, and the Teutonic Knights fought for the German Emperor. While the Templars role of banker ensured a presence outside crusading, it would have only been a limited number of people who could take up their services. All levels of society required the use of a hospital, or aware of the dangers of the contagion of leprosy; however not all required the services of a banker. The Templar image in literature has changed over the

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<sup>305</sup> While the 'Victorian' age did not begin until after the death of Scott, he was a popular writer and the Queen and Prince Consort were among his admirers. Scott's novels spurred the royal couple to visit Scotland and the purchase of the Balmoral Estate, which is still used by the Royal family as a summer residence.

centuries in fiction and contemporary narrations. The sixteenth-century dissolution of the monasteries in England see the order associated for the first time with the occult, one that continues today. The eighteenth-century association between the Templars and Freemasons saw a rise in interest in the Order into which Scott tapped. Today the most popular myth for writers (fictional and factual) is to associate the Templars with possessing an arcane knowledge. Popular theories perceive the Church viewed the knowledge as a direct threat and orchestrated their fall. However, the evidence indicates Pope Clement V attempted to protect the Order from an authoritative King bent upon their destruction. The dissolution of the Templars was due to the damage to their reputation rather than any proof of heresy. The Order had received Papal absolution from the charges according to the *Chinon Parchment* dating to 1308. The mythology of the Templars is more prevalent than the facts of the Order and continues to grow. It is impossible to disprove (or proved) some the pseudo-histories as the knowledge of the Templars is limited. The resulting images of the Templars (including Scott's) are a result of the writer's imagination, including historians. While some claim Scott was the inventor of the modern historical novel, the Templars have been the subject of historical fiction for centuries.<sup>(Appendix 2)</sup> Their image moulded by writers as supporter/opponent of kings, lovers and the Catholic Church.

Scott's Templars and other religious characters display his view towards the practitioners of the Catholic belief. The United Kingdom of Great Britain had been a staunchly Protestant country for nearly 300 years. However, upon the unification with Catholic Ireland, the entrenched antagonism and legislation against Catholics were challenged. Before the late eighteenth-century, any proposals to ease Catholic restrictions had been meeting with violent opposition. The aggressive anti-Catholic outpourings eased after the influx of Catholic refugees from the French Revolution. Catholic Emancipation was required to ensure the Irish were not prevented from public / military office due to their religion. Scott did support the concept of Emancipation (following

the Duke of Wellington's lead) it does not fit with his personal beliefs. The author's writings have anti-Catholic sentiments, and his religious characters (including Templars) are found wanting. They are either fanatical, on the edge of sanity or only paying lip-service in their displays of religiosity. Some of the faults Scott has drawn in his Templars reflect the heretical accusations they faced on their fall. Like Scott's images, the accusations were a result of the French Kings own musings rather than reality. Historically the religiosity of the Templars was deficient in the mind of Philip IV, and fictionally in the works of Scott. The tales Scott relates are more a reflection of the author's contemporary vision than historical reality.

Like most written works, the novels are an insight into the thought processes of the writer than the subject upon which they are recounting. The novels analysed herein are no different and are a reflection of contemporary events of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century than the setting. This thesis is not immune from similar contemporary influences: a twenty-first-century analysis of a nineteenth-century works depicting twelfth-century events. The analysis presented in this thesis is more indicative of my contemporary thinking than a nineteenth-century Scotsman. Each reader will see different elements in Scott's work that will support their thinking. Right wing Scottish Tory, Sir Archibald Alison (1792-1867) believed Scott's works support anti-democracy political stance:

*"the romances of Sir Walter Scott have gone far to neutralise the dangers of the Reform Bill."*<sup>306</sup>

At the other end of the political spectrum, Karl Marx (1818-1883) saw Scott's work differently. The works supported his developing ethos of the evolution of humankind was only possible with revolution.<sup>307</sup> German philosopher Frederic Nietzsche (1844-1900) viewed Scott's novels as an '*emotional restorative*'<sup>308</sup> and entertainment for the enjoyment of the reader. Another entirely different

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<sup>306</sup> Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe*, p.98

<sup>307</sup> Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe*, p.63.

<sup>308</sup> Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe*, p.60.



reaction comes from American author, Mark Twain (1835-1910) who viewed Scott's works in a purely negative light. He believed the manners and reverence of position in the society depicted in Scott's work had been an adverse influence on the people in the Southern States of America. Twain's work 'Life on the Mississippi' (1883) claims Scott's novels had '*run the people mad .. with his medieval romances.*'<sup>309</sup> Scott was even responsible for the American Civil War (1861-65):

*"Sir Walter had so large a hand in making Southern character, as it existed before the war, that he is in great measure responsible for the war. It seems a little harsh toward a dead man to say that we never should have had any war but for Sir Walter .. The change of character can be traced rather more easily to Sir Walter's influence than to that of any other thing or person."*<sup>310</sup>

Representation of Twain's disdain is apparent in '*The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*' (1884):

*"On the wreck."*

*"What wreck?"*

*"Why, there ain't but one."*

*"What, you don't mean the Walter Scott?"*<sup>311</sup>

The naming a wrecked old riverboat after the author of the Waverly novels being a metaphor for the broken down ideology the author saw in Scott's work.<sup>312</sup> The different reactions to Scott's work highlight that people will read their interpretations into his works. Interpretations that may be entirely at odds with the author's beliefs, a statement that is true with verifiable as well as fictional works. An author presents the concepts they view in the works, which may be entirely at odds with another. Perhaps different readings mean different things and the resulting image is just as fictional as the story.

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<sup>309</sup> Mark Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*, Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1883, retrieved 11 December 2016 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/245/245-0.txt>

<sup>310</sup> Twain, *Life on the Mississippi*.

<sup>311</sup> Mark Twain, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, London, Marshall Cavendish Partworks Ltd, 1987, p.101.

<sup>312</sup> Maxwell, *The Historical Novel in Europe*, p.153.

*Ivanhoe* displays Scott's love of legends and folklore over historical fact. His clearly defined 'good' and 'bad' characters may be a somewhat naïve and simplistic view, but apt. For Scott's novels are formulaic in their execution, the hero is steadfast, loyal and adheres to morality. Whereas the 'villains' get their just deserts and by the end of the tale they are dead or dishonoured. Scott sums up Templar de Bois-Guilbert and the Templars at the beginning of the novel:

“... valiant as the bravest of his order; but stained with their usual vices – pride, arrogance, cruelty and voluptuousness ...”<sup>313</sup>

The end of the novel repeats the notion with Richard stating they were brave but untrustworthy. Unlike the general condemnation of the Templars in *Ivanhoe*, the main focus in *Talisman* is Grand Master Amaury. His perfidy knows no bounds and his desire to uphold the authority of the Order (and by extension his own) has him undermining the Christian cause. While the events did not play out the way Scott wrote, there is a degree of truth in this scenario. The disaffection, conflicting egos and constant power plays of the leaders of the Third Crusade were notorious. The disunity would have played no small part in the failure of the Christian mission to recover Jerusalem. While historical events and people may shadow the stories, the characters and scenes are largely the influence of legend.

While the novels are an acknowledged work of fiction, Scott has attempted to produce a veneer of 'accuracy' to *Ivanhoe*. The introductory epistle claims he had access to a little known Medieval document '*Wardour Manuscript*':

“Of my materials I have but little to say: They may be chiefly found in the singular Anglo-Norman MS., which Sir Arthur Wardour preserves .. as '*The Wardour Manuscript*'; giving it, thereby, an individuality as important

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<sup>313</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.51

*as the Bannatyne MS., the Auchinleck MS., and any other monument of the patience of a Gothic scrivener.*<sup>314</sup>

The ‘*Wardour MS*’ existed only in the imagination of Scott, whereas the *Bannatyne*<sup>315</sup> and *Auchinleck*<sup>316</sup> manuscripts are both historical documents. As founding president of the Bannatyne Club (1823-32), Scott would have been aware of both of these manuscripts as they appear in the catalogue of works the club produced.<sup>317</sup> The club’s mission statement was:

*“.. to print in a uniform and handsome manner, a series of Works, illustrative of the History, Topography, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Literature o Scotland in former times.”*<sup>318</sup>

Was the listing of the fictional manuscript alongside the other two historical documents an attempt to place a cache on his novel? Alternatively, a mocking of the interweaving of history and fiction that he had built his literary career? Early in his career, he expressed contradictory opinions on the interweaving of history and fiction:

*“.. history is rather injured than improved by the ornaments of poetical fiction ..”*<sup>319</sup>

However, he does go on to condone his approach to the mixture:

*“.. when historical characters are introduced it ought only to be incidentally and in such a manner as not to interfere with established truth.”*<sup>320</sup>

‘*Established truths*’ being subject to the current expectations of contemporary audiences. Such a notion is address in the introduction of *Ivanhoe*:

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<sup>314</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.20.

<sup>315</sup> *Bannatyne Manuscript* is a sixteenth century Scottish collection of literature. The Bannatyne Club published the manuscript and is now located in the National Library of Scotland “MS Adv.1.1.6 (Bannatyne MS).”

<sup>316</sup> *Auchinleck Manuscript* is a fourteenth century English illuminated manuscript of medieval narratives and is now located in the National Library of Scotland “NLS Adv MS 19.2.1).

<sup>317</sup> *The Bannatyne Club*, p.3.

<sup>318</sup> *The Bannatyne Club*, p.52.

<sup>319</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott; Volume III: 1811-1814*, London: Constable, 1932-1937, p.243.

<sup>320</sup> Scott, *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott; Volume III*, p.243.

*“.. the best amateur draftsman .. much is expected from his skill and zeal in delineating those specimens of national antiquity, which are either mouldering under the slow touch of time, or swept away by modern taste, with the same besom of destruction which John Knox used at the Reformation.”<sup>321</sup>*

While this statement indicates the author was aware of the pitfalls of historical preservation, he was also guilty of ‘*modern taste*’ influencing his works. His tales fictionalise historical people and events, to varying degrees.

Scott’s ability to influence modern concepts of history highlights the level of his popularity. He was a master ‘spinner’ of tales and recycled earlier folklore into a general acceptance of reality in popular culture. One example is how Sir Walter Raleigh (1554-1618) lay his cloak over a puddle for Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603). The retelling of this myth features in Scott’s novel *Kenilworth* (1821):

*“As she hesitated to pass on, the gallant [Raleigh], throwing his cloak from his shoulders, laid it on the miry spot, so as to ensure her stepping over it dry-shod.”<sup>322</sup>*

The origins of the story are unsure, but Scott ensured it would become more widely known. *Ivanhoe* (1820) also contains ‘legends’ that are now an accepted part of popular culture. Including the exceptional archery skills of Robin Hood:

*“And letting fly his arrow with a little more precaution than before, it lighted right upon that of his competitor, which it split to shivers.”<sup>323</sup>*

A purely Scott-ish invention, whereas the notion of King Richard I travelling around England in disguise after his release from captivity is a result of the author’s influence. He states the tale relating the meeting of a disguised King & wayward Friar Tuck was ‘*directly borrowed from the stores of old*

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<sup>321</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.21.

<sup>322</sup> Sir Walter Scott, *Kenilworth*, retrieved 10 December 2016 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/1606/1606-0.txt>.

<sup>323</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.151.

*romance*.<sup>324</sup> Tales of rulers disguising themselves to go among their subjects appears in numerous different cultures throughout the centuries, including Britain. Scott believes the one he ‘borrowed’ from English storytelling relates to the fifteenth century and King Edward IV (1442-1483).<sup>325</sup> The acceptance of Scott’s fictional version of historical ‘events’ underscores his popularity and influence with the general public.

The adaptation of Templar ‘mythology’ into popular knowledge has existed since the execution of the last Grand Master, Jacques de Molay. Towards the end of the Templars trial, de Molay and Geoffroy de Charney (Preceptor of Normandy) both recanted their confessions. Both were deemed unrepentant heretics and condemned to die at the stake (1314). The Grand Master’s final words were:

*“.. God knows who is in the wrong and has sinned. Soon misfortune will come to those who have wrongly condemned us: God will avenge our death.”*<sup>326</sup>

The statement would develop into popular history as a curse, as both Pope & King were dead by the end of the year. God’s judgement was visited upon the mortal remains of Pope Clement the night before his internment:

*“.. his body had been left for the night in a church with many lights, his coffin caught fire and was burnt, and his body from the middle downwards.”*<sup>327</sup>

Clement had been ill throughout his pontificate and death was not a surprise, the king’s was. The 46-year-old Philip IV suffered a stroke while out hunting and died a couple of weeks later. The ‘alternative’ historians and authors of

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<sup>324</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, pp.4-5.

<sup>325</sup> Scott, *Ivanhoe*, p.6.

<sup>326</sup> Alain Demurger, *The Last Templar: The tragedy of Jacques de Molay last Grand Master of the Temple*, trans. Antonia Nevill, London: Profile Press, 2005, p.198.

<sup>327</sup> Giovanni, Villani, *Villani’s Chronicle: Being Selections From The First Nine Books of The Croniche Fiorentine of Giovanni Villani*, trans. Rose E. Selfe and ed. Philip H. Wicksteed M.A., London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd, 1906, retrieved 30 December 2014, from <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33022/33022-h/33022-h.htm#>, p.428.

*Holy Blood Holy Grail* repeat this tale and even offer an explanation as to the ‘sudden’ deaths of Pope Clement V and King Philip IV:

*“.. no need to look for supernatural explanations. The Templars possessed great expertise in the use of poisons. And there were certainly enough people about .. to exact the appropriate vengeance.”*<sup>328</sup>

Whether the deaths were natural or supernatural, the Capetian royal house ceased to exist after the short reigns of Philip’s sons. There is an earlier reported origin of the ‘curse’ dating to the Council of Vienne (1311-12). A Templar prisoner allegedly condemned the Pope and King to a heretic death.<sup>329</sup> However, the first record of the Grand Master voicing a curse only dates to 1548 in *De rebus gestis francorum*.<sup>330</sup> The tale seems to have taken on a life of its own and is repeatedly referred to in different historical works over the years. de Molay features in various theories regarding the Templars and Freemasons. Evidently, a Freemason supposedly called out “*Jacques de Molay; you are avenged,*” upon the execution of King Louis XVI in 1793.<sup>331</sup> The story seems to have taken on a life of its own with little substance to support it. Historical records of the King’s execution abound, and none appears to repeat such an event occurred. The burnt remains of Templar’s de Molay and de Charney were collected and revered as holy relics.<sup>332</sup> The Templars possessed holy relics (like most religious communities) including a head-shaped reliquary. ‘Alternative’ historians also claim the Turin Shroud was “*.. in the possession of the Templars between 1204 and 1307.*”<sup>333</sup> However, other’s claim the shroud dates back to de Molay’s death in 1314. Knight and Lomas claim the image imprinted upon the Shroud is the Grand Master’s, rather than Christ. The transfer was possible due to the fluids from the badly tortured (but still alive) man wrapped in the shroud:

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<sup>328</sup> Baiget, Leigh & Lincoln, p.67.

<sup>329</sup> Demurger, p.202.

<sup>330</sup> Demurger, p.202.

<sup>331</sup> H. Daniel-Rops, *Cathedral and Crusade*, Trans. John Warrington, London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1963, p.578

<sup>332</sup> Demurger, p.199

<sup>333</sup> Baigent, Leigh, Lincoln, p.71.

*“The long nose, the hair beyond shoulder length with a centre partings, the full beard that forked at its base and the fit-looking six-foot frame all perfectly match the known image of the last Grand Master of the Knights Templar.”<sup>334</sup>*

This assumption is questionable as no pictures of the Grand Master survive and the descriptions are patchy and general. The Shroud does date from the fall of the Templars, and the Radiocarbon AMS process dates the cloth around 1290 to 1390.<sup>335</sup> While this fits in with the time of the Grand Masters demise, and he was approximately 70 when executed. Could the body of a man around 70's and burnt to death be mistaken for that of a crucified 30-year-old? The authors of *The Hiram Key* claim de Molay underwent similar tortures of Christ, in a parody of the sacrifice of Christ. There are no French accounts of the Grand Master undergoing any form of torture. One chronicler claimed de Molay's confessed without the need for force, but was ashamed of his weakness and begged to be.<sup>336</sup> The author's go on to claim the crucifixion in Rosslyn Chapel, Scotland depicts de Molay's torture rather than the passion of Christ. They have repeated the eighteenth-century history of exiled Templars travelling to Scotland and establishing an early form of Freemasonry. Any connection between the Templars and Rosslyn is also dubious as the construction of the Chapel began over 100 years after the Order's dissolution. Rosslyn supposedly hints at the destination of the Templar fleet that disappeared from their La Rochelle port. The most popular destination suggested is North America<sup>337</sup> and carvings in the Chapel allegedly support this theory. There are representations of indigenous American plants dating back to before Columbus.<sup>338</sup> No one questions Europeans visited North America before 1492, but the Templar 'evidence' is problematic. Supporters of the early

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<sup>334</sup> Knight & Lomas, p.286.

<sup>335</sup> Colin Renfrew, and Paul Bahn, *Archaeology: Theories Methods and Practice (Third Edition)*, London: Thames and Hudson, 2001, pp. 144-15.

<sup>336</sup> Demurger, pp. 188-9.

<sup>337</sup> Knight & Lomas, pp.228-290.

<sup>338</sup> Rosslyn Chapel, retrieved 30 January 2017 from 02 January 2014 from <http://www.rosslynchapel.com/visit/things-to-do/identify-the-plant-carvings/>.

Templar visitation to North America refer to physical proof in Westford, Massachusetts and Newport, Rhode Island. The 'Westford Knight' is supposedly an image of a fourteenth-century knight carved by visiting Templars.<sup>339</sup> Newport's 'evidence' also supposedly dating from the fourteenth century and is a tower constructed in the round church style of the Templars (others claim the structure is even older and Viking in origin).<sup>340</sup> However, both sites have undergone archaeological analysis that negates such claims. The 'Knight' is a result of glaciation and enhanced by late nineteenth-century punch carving of the 'sword handle.'<sup>341</sup> Carbon dating was undertaken on the tower mortar and construction dates to around 1680,<sup>342</sup> disproving both Templar and Viking theories. The disappearance of the Templar fleet was due to pragmatism rather than any other theory. Would a 'fleet' openly sail into a port where they were liable to arrest? A more likely scenario is the fleet broke up and changed colours to merge unobserved by authorities. 'Alternative' histories are akin to fictional histories: they provide a different perspective that attempts to fill the gaps in history. However, the resulting opinions often based on wishful thinking rather than solid evidence.

All histories of the Templars, academic, fictional and pseudo-historical, are a result of the inner workings of the writer's mind. Academic works are supposedly rooting in the concepts of scholarship and fiction in the imagination of the author. One may argue that both are in fact a result of the workings of the imagination. Each author presents the facts to support their interpretation of events. Some will use pro-Templar primary sources, and others the negative writings of William of Tyre. One history does not have more

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<sup>339</sup> Knight & Lomas, p.289.

<sup>340</sup> Knight & Lomas, p.289.

<sup>341</sup> Kenneth L. Feder, Kenneth L., *Encyclopaedia of Dubious Archaeology: from Atlantis to the Walam Olum*, pp. 270-71.

<sup>342</sup> John Hale, Jan Heinemeier, Lynne Lancaster, Alf Lindroos, and Åsa, Ringborn, '[Dating Ancient Mortar: Although radiocarbon dating is usually applied to organic remains, recent work shows that it can also reveal the age of some inorganic building materials](#)', *American Scientist*, Vol. 91, No. 2 (MARCH-APRIL 2003) , pp. 130-137, Published by: Sigma Xi, The Scientific Research Society, retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27858181>, p.134.



scholastic value than another, just a different view of events. Historians primary sources are limited and the further back in the past the more finite there are. Each generation attempts to verify or discredit previous writings, all presenting various perspectives that show '*individual texts are open to a plurality of readings*'<sup>343</sup>. By challenging the previous readings of the work proves the interpretation is dependent upon the reader. The words they are reading are no different, but the reader's perspective of the world they occupy has. The reviewing of primary sources often comes along with a proviso:

*"works which have previously, in large part owing to the number of manuscripts and complexity of the manuscript tradition, been either neglected or misunderstood."*<sup>344</sup>

Is this a valid claim? Why should the modern scholar possess a deeper understanding of previously works? Scholastic works develop through researching primary and secondary sources, collated and presented, however:

*"Historians, it is said, do not uncover the past: they invent it. And the time-honoured distinction between fact and fiction is blurred."*<sup>345</sup>

The notion that these works are non-fiction is surely at odds with reality; the idea that a work of academic work is nonfiction is illusionary. For no matter how persuasive the argument presented there will always be an element of creativity employed by the author:

*"There can be no objective historical method standing outside the text, only and interpretative point of address fashioned from the linguistic resources available to the interpreter. The historian (or literary critic) does not speak from a privileged vantage point."*<sup>346</sup>

The work is a result of the historian, whose work is also the result of a third, fourth or fifth party all with a personal take on the events transcribed.

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<sup>343</sup> John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Revised Third Edition, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2002, p.189.

<sup>344</sup> John Gillingham, 'Coeur De Lion in Captivity', *Academia.edu* retrieved 15 June 2014 from [https://www.academia.edu/7360712/Coeur\\_de\\_Lion\\_in\\_Captivity](https://www.academia.edu/7360712/Coeur_de_Lion_in_Captivity)

<sup>345</sup> Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p.190.

<sup>346</sup> Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, p.186.

The interpretation of text also presents variants to the original wording. When referring to the modern text of translated historical texts, the transcriber will make corrections:

*"This indicates that our writer was translating Ambroise's text and made a mistake here."*<sup>347</sup>

and

*"Ambroise says (line 8478) 'the king of France,' but this must be the king of England."*<sup>348</sup>

Is it only with hindsight that enables a clearer interpretation? The translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1308-1320) is a prime example. While Dante's work is a poem rather than a historical text, it provides a contemporary view of the actions of the French King upon his arrest of the Templars. The lines from the Canto shows how translations change over the years. The original poem was conceived and written in the Tuscan dialect, producing distinctive rhythm and rhymes. Surely, a change in any part of the poem would compromise the original context? The works are an interpreted by the translator, as seen in the different translations of *Purgatory*. Canto XX: Line 91-93/94. Dante wrote:

91 *Veggio il novo Pilato sì crudele,*  
92 *che ciò nol sazia, ma senza decreto*  
93 *portar nel Tempio le cupide vele.*<sup>349</sup>

Henry Francis Cary's translation from 1814, with an extra line:

91 *Lo! the new Pilate, of whose cruelty*  
92 *Such violence cannot fill the measure up,*  
93 *With no degree to sanction, pushes on*  
94 *Into the temple his yet eager sails!*<sup>350</sup>

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow translation in 1867:

91 *I see the modern Pilate so relentless,*

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<sup>347</sup> *Intinerarium*, p.276.

<sup>348</sup> *Intinerarium*, p.300.

<sup>349</sup> Alighieri, from <http://etcweb.princeton.edu/dante/pdp/>

<sup>350</sup> Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: The Vision of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise: Purgatory*, Trans. Rev. H.F. Cary, M.A., The University of Adelaide, retrieved 30 January 2017 from <https://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/d/dante/d19pu/index.html>.

92 *This does not sate him, but without decretal*  
93 *He to the temple bears his sordid sails!*<sup>351</sup>

Alan Mandelbaum in 1982:

91 *And I see the new Pilate, one so cruel*  
92 *that, still not sated, he, without decree,*  
93 *carries his greedy sails into the*  
*Temple*<sup>352</sup>

Each version has subtle differences, with their interpretation of what Dante was trying to convey. Each is a product of the interpreter's vision of what the fourteenth-century Florentine poet was attempting to convey. While they may convey similar messages, they are subject to contemporary influences and thinking. They are interpretations rather than a translation of the original author's meaning.

As stated earlier, the notion of context can be the hardest element to achieve. Fictional writers like Scott do not have to ensure the 'scholastic' evidence is there to support their tale. Scott went as far as to create a fictional primary source to help support the 'history' presented in *Ivanhoe*. As to why; it could have been tongue in cheek or an attempt by the author to add a scholastic kudos to the works. Scott acknowledged the novel was the least 'historic' of his novels;<sup>353</sup> probably due to the opiates consumed to deal with a painful illness.<sup>354</sup> While this explains the lack of historical authenticity of the works it does not work in regards to *Talisman*. As stated earlier, *Talisman* is more historically accurate, with a liberal application of artistic licence. It is the embellishment of the works by the author that appeals to contemporary readers. The enticement of fictional or even general histories is often more

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<sup>351</sup> Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, Translated by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, retrieved 30 January 2017 from <http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1004/pg1004-images.html>,

<sup>352</sup> Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri: Purgatorio*, translated by Allen Mandelbaum, retrieved 30 January 2017 from <http://www.worldofdante.org/comedy/dante/paradise.xml/3.20>.

<sup>353</sup> Wilson, p.180.

<sup>354</sup> Lockhart, p.306.

popular than academic 'contextual' works. The dismissal of history for the 'general public' by scholars is also rather high-handed, during my undergraduate and postgraduate studies I have heard various put-downs. General histories could result in a historian's academic reputation being questioned. Only a well-established historian could withstand any negative peer-review when producing a generalised popular history. It would be interesting to know how 'commercially' successful the popular work was compared to his other works? People are interested in the past not necessarily the perceived 'dry as dust' aspects of history. In this vacuum, the telling of history is more often re-written for modern entertainment than education. The rewriting of history to fit into 'story' unconnected to the facts often passes into popular 'accepted' history. However, who's version of history should be presented? There is a demand for 'entertaining' historical works e.g. 'Horrible Histories', while they may be 'lightweight' they are a good starting point for destroying a general notion that history is 'boring'. The popularity of historical fiction may be a result of the writer's ability to weave fact and fiction. They tell a story, they entertain, fill in the gap's in history, relatable and by extension become more accepted than the historical truth.

The notion that there is a 100% 'historical truth' is a misconception, there is a truth, but one that is relative to the writer. There are indisputable 'facts' such as Richard travelled to Palestine, via Sicily and Cyprus, he was a leader of the Christian forces during the Third Crusade and held in captivity by the Holy Roman Emperor. However, his and fellow crusaders actions during this period are open to 'interpretation'. Events are recorded and are dependent upon the view of the chronicler; Muslim, French, German, local Christian, crusader, monk all would have a different interpretation of the events they refer. Over the centuries the chronicles have been reproduced and translated by others. Each exposed to the possibility of 'correction' or interpretation similar to the aforementioned Dante works. Such differing versions result in the question as to which is more 'accurate'? If presenting a history of the Templars, does one

follow Chroniclers or modern historian? If so whose version of the Templar image does one present; Walter Map and Steven Runciman's antagonist view of the Order; the Chroniclers presented in Helen J. Nicholson's translation of the *Chronicles of the Third Crusade*? The representation found in Nicholson's work '*Love, War, and the Grail*', or the various works by Malcolm Barber. Is Anne Gilmour-Bryson's image regarding the accusations made against the Order regarding Sodomy? Alternatively, the various pseudo-histories produced such as '*Holy Blood, Holy Grail*' or '*The Hiram Key*'? Or the authors of biographies on King Richard, King Philip Augustus and Saladin in which the Templars are reduced to the periphery and hardly worthy of mention? Each writer had an agenda and outlook regarding the Templars and produced evidence or lack thereof in support their arguments. Therefore, is it possible historical fiction is more 'honest' than an academic work? The fiction writer markets their work as fiction, there is no claim the events occurred as they have depicted. They have written an alternative reality for the entertainment of their readers. Like Scott, their main objective is the selling of the works, not the education of the reader. They are not attempting to re-write history they are only providing entertainment. Could the perceived lack of 'entertaining accessibility' in academic works leave a gap that is being filled by non-fictional works? Scott's works are key to the history of the Templars, but the truth is more is known about the Templars via Scott, Freemason History, Dan Brown (*Da Vinci Code*), Steve Berry (*The Templar Legacy*), Ridley Scott (*Kingdom of Heaven*) and the Assassins Creed Video Games and Movie than by any esteemed Templar historian. The fictional works are representations contemporary thinking and not a history and are therefore more relatable to the proposed audience. Scott's works enabled him to convey his idylls regarding nationalism, identity and religion. His works helped to create an ideal in thinking that encompasses the 'Victorian' Age. He displays a knowledge of the subject he has based his works on, but one manipulated to appeal to contemporary audiences. As repeated throughout this work, Scott's motivation was to amuse his audience, and he

developed a formula of combining history with fiction. A recipe that proved so successful that many other writers have followed his example.

## ❖ APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 – Geographical Location & Historical Setting of Scott's Novels.

Novel	Published	Era Set	Location
Waverley	1814	1745	Scotland
Guy Mannering	1815	1760	Scotland
Old Mortality	1816	1680	Scotland
The Antiquary	1816	1790	Scotland
The Black Dwarf	1816	1700	Scotland
Rob Roy	1817	1715	Scotland
The Heart of Midlothian	1818	1736	Scotland
A Legend of Montrose	1819	1640	Scotland
The Bride of Lammermoor	1819	1700	Scotland
Ivanhoe	1820	1190	England
The Monastery	1820	1550	Scotland
The Abbot	1820	1567	Scotland
Kenilworth	1821	1575	England
The Pirate	1822	1700	Shetland Islands
The Fortunes of Nigel	1822	1610	England
St Ronan's Well	1823	1820	Scotland
Peveril of the Peak	1823	1678	England
Quentin Durward	1823	1480	France
Redgauntlet	1824	1765	Scotland
The Betrothed	1825	1187	Wales
The Talisman	1825	1190	Palestine
Woodstock	1826	1650	England
The Fair Maid of Perth	1828	1400	Scotland
Anne of Geierstein	1829	1470	Switzerland
Castle Dangerous	1831	1306	Constantinople
Count Robert of Paris	1832	1099	Scotland
<i>Siege of Malta</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>1565</i>	<i>Malta</i>
<i>Bizarro</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>1790</i>	<i>Italy</i>

## Appendix 2 – Works Featuring the Templars dating before *Ivanhoe* and *Talisman* novels.

	Period	Title	Author
Fictional writings directly from or based upon the period the order existed	Late 1100's	<i>Raoul de Cambrai</i>	
	Early 1200's	<i>Parzival</i>	Wolfram von Eschenbach
	1270's	<i>Der jungere Titurel</i>	Albrecht von Scharfenberg
	c1350	<i>Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroid de Bouillon</i>	
	1350-60	<i>Le Roman Baudouin de Sebourc</i>	
	Late 1300's	<i>Saladin</i>	
	Late 1300's	<i>Theseus de Cologne</i>	
	1400	<i>Alliterative Morte Arthure</i>	
	1400's	<i>Orendal</i>	
	Late 1400's	<i>Buch der Abenteuer: Templeysen</i>	Ulrich Fuetrer
	1485	<i>Le Live de Baudoyne, counte de Flandre</i>	

Fiction featuring the Templars	1308-20	<i>Divine Comedy: Purgatory</i>	Dante
	1532	<i>Orlando Furioso</i>	Ludovico Ariosto
	1581	<i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i>	Torquato Tasso
	1590	<i>Faerie Queene</i>	Edmund Spenser

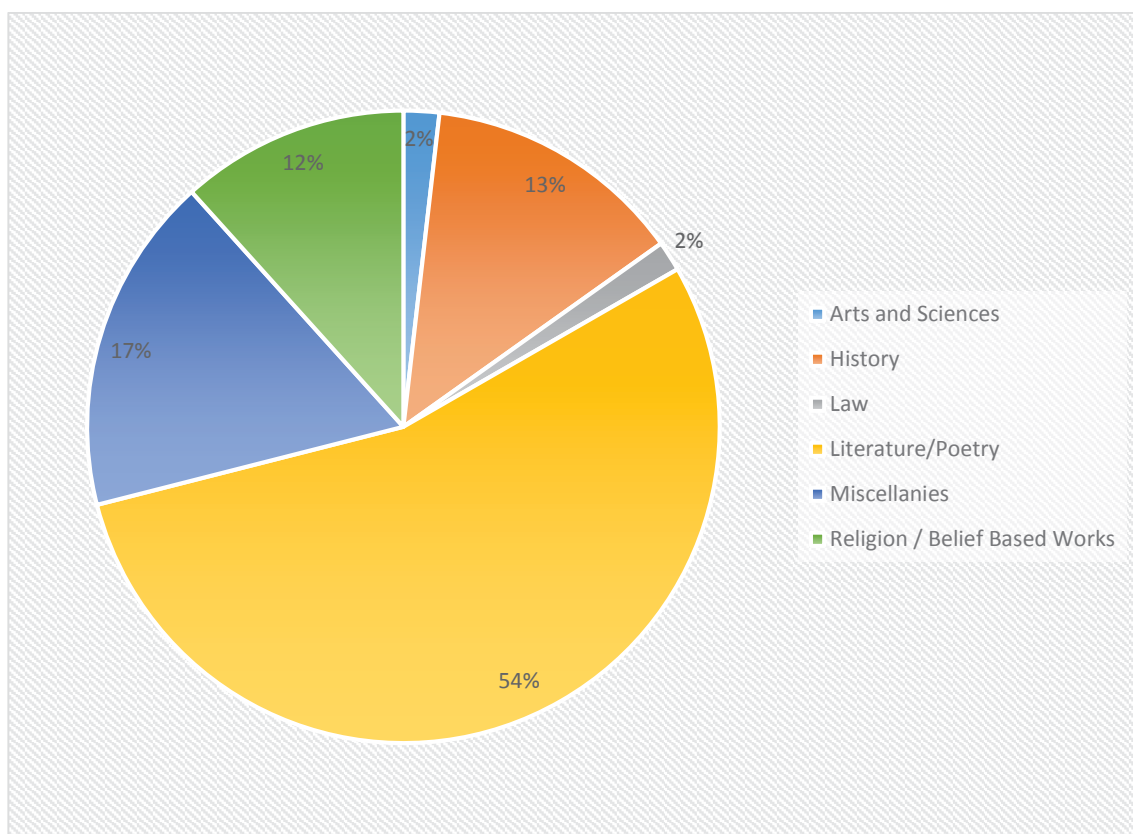
Commentaries referring to Templars over the centuries	1276-1348		Giovanni Villani
	1313-1375		Giovanni Boccaccio
	1232-1315		Ramon Lull
	1240-1311		Arnau of Vilanova
	15th Century	Papal Bulls	
	16th Century		Alphonsus Ciaconius (Chacon)
	1510	<i>De Occulta Philosophia libri III</i>	Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa
	Mid-1500's	<i>Chronicle of Savoy</i>	Guillaume Paradin
	1576	<i>Les Six livres de la Republique</i>	Jean Bodin
	1654	<i>Histoire de l'ordre militaire des templiers</i>	Pierre and Jacques Dupuy
	1672	<i>Institutions, Laws and Ceremonies of the most noble Order of the Garter</i>	Elias Ashmole
	1693	<i>Lives of the Avignonese Popes</i>	Etienne Baluze
	Late 18th century	<i>Compilation on the Orders of Chivalry</i>	Filippo Buonanni
	1714-19	<i>History of Monastic, Religious and Military Orders</i>	Pierre Helyot
	1764	<i>Dictionnaire Philosophique</i>	Voltaire
	1779	<i>Nathan the Wise</i>	Gotthold Ephraim Lessing
	1805	<i>Les Templiers</i>	Francois Juste Marie Raynouard



Works tying the Templars to Masonic Order	1730's		Chevalier Ramsay
	1753	<i>Memoires sur l'acienne Chevalerie</i>	La Curne de Saint-Palaye
	1759	<i>Tristram Shandy</i>	Lawrence Sterne
	1760's		Samuel Rosa
	Late 18th century	<i>De la Maconnerie parmi les chretiens</i>	George Frederick Johnson
	1785	<i>Sainte Nicaise</i>	Johann August Starck
			Count Cagliostro (Giuseppe Balsamo)
	1788		Nicholas de Bonneville
	Late 18th century		Johann Joachim Christoph Bode
			Luchet
	Late 18th century		Friedrich Nicolai
	1797	<i>Le Tombeau de Jacques Molay</i>	Louis Cadet de Gassicourt
	1797		Abbe Augustin de Barruel
	1804		Ledru
			Bernard Raymond Fabre-Palaprat
			Gotthold Ephraim Lessing
	1803	<i>The Sons of the Valley</i>	Zacharias Werner
	1803	<i>The Templars in Cyprus</i>	Zacharias Werner
	1817-18	<i>Manuel des Chevaliers de l'Ordre du Temple</i>	Bernard-Raymond Fabre-Palaprat

## Appendix 3 – Categories of Works in Scott’s Personal Libraries

Arts and Sciences	76
History	555
Law	64
Literature/Poetry	2262
Miscellanies	720
Religion / Belief Based Works	486



## Appendix 4 – Complete Works of Sir Walter Scott.

Published	Title	Type
1796	Translations and Imitations from German Ballads	Poetry
1796	The Wild Huntsman (Der Wilde Jäger) - Translation	Poetry
1799	An Apology for Tales of Terror	Poetry
1799	Goetz of Berlichingen, with the Iron Hand: A Tragedy (Götz von Berlichingen) (Translation)	Play
1802-03	Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border	Poetry
1805	The Lay of the Last Minstrel	Poetry
1806	Ballads and Lyrical Pieces	Poetry
1808	Marmion	Poetry
1810	The Lady of the Lake	Poetry
1811	The Vision of Don Roderick	Poetry
1813	Rokeby	Poetry
1813	The Bridal of Triermain	Poetry
1814	Waverley	Novel
1814-17	The Border Antiquities of England and Scotland	Non-Fiction
1815	Guy Mannering	Novel
1815	The Lord of the Isles	Poetry
1815	The Field of Waterloo	Poetry
1815-24	Essays on Chivalry, Romance, and Drama	Non-Fiction
1816	The Antiquary	Novel
1816	The Black Dwarf	Novel
1816	The Tales of Old Mortality	Novel
1816	Pauls Letters to his Kinsfolk	Non-Fiction
1817	Rob Roy	Novel
1817	Harold the Dauntless	Poetry
1818	The Heart of Midlothian	Novel
1819	The Bride of Lammermoor	Novel
1819	A Legend of Montrose	Novel
1819-26	Provincial Antiquities of Scotland	Non-Fiction
1820	Ivanhoe	Novel
1820	The Monastery	Novel
1820	The Abbot	Novel
1821	Kenilworth	Novel
1821-24	Lives of the Novelists	Non-Fiction
1822	The Pirate	Novel
1822	The Fortunes of Nigel	Novel
1822	Halidon Hill	Play
1823	Peveril of the Peak	Novel

1823	Quentin Durward	Novel
1823	Saint Ronan's Well	Novel
1823	MacDuff's Cross	Play
1824	Redgauntlet	Novel
1825	The Betrothed	Novel
1825	The Talisman	Novel
1825-32	The Journal of Sir Walter Scott	Non-Fiction
1826	The Letters of Malachi Malagrowther	Non-Fiction
1827	The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte	Non-Fiction
1826	Woodstock	Novel
1827	The Highland Widow, Two Drovers, Surgeon's Daughter	Short Stories
1828	The Fair Maid of Perth	Novel
1828	My Aunt Margaret's Mirror Tapestry Chamber, Death of the Laird's Jock	Short Stories
1828	Religious Discourses	Non-Fiction
1828	Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories Taken from Scottish History - 1 <sup>st</sup> Instalment	Non-Fiction
1829	Anne of Geierstein	Novel
1829	The History of Scotland - Volume I	Non-Fiction
1829	Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories Taken from Scottish History - 2 <sup>nd</sup> Instalment	Non-Fiction
1830	The Doom of Devorgoil - Auchindrane	Play
1830	Auchindrane; or Ayrshire Tragedy	Play
1830	Essays on Ballad Poetry	Non-Fiction
1830	History of Scotland - Volume II	Non-Fiction
1830	Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories Taken from Scottish History - 3 <sup>rd</sup> Instalment	Non-Fiction
1830	Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft	Non-Fiction
1831	Tales of a Grandfather, Being Stories Taken from Scottish History - 4 <sup>th</sup> Instalment	Non-Fiction
1831	Count Robert of Paris	Novel
1831	Castle Dangerous	Novel
2008	<i>Siege of Malta (1831-32)</i>	Novel
2008	<i>Bizarro (1832 - unfinished)</i>	Novel

## Miscellaneous Poems

Bannatyne Club	Maid of Neidpath
Bard's Incantation	Maid of Toro
Bold Dragoon	Monks of Bangor's March
British Light Dragoons	Nora's Vow
Carle, now the King's Come	Norman Horse-Shoe
Covenanter's Fate	Oh, Say Not, My Love
Dance of Death	On Ettrick Forest's Mountains Dun
Donald Caird's Come Again	On Leaving Mrs. Brown's Lodgings
Dreary Change	On the Massacre of Glencoe
Dying Bard	One Volume More
Farewell to Mackenzie	Palmer
Farewell to the Muse	Reiver's Wedding
For a' That an' a' That	Resolve
Foray	Return to Ulster
Gathering Song of Donald the Black	Romance of Dunois
Hellvellyn	Saint Cloud
Here's a Health to King Charles	Song for the Anniversary Meeting of the Pitt Club of Scotland
Hunting Song	Sun upon the Weirclaw Hill
Jock of Hazeldean	To a Lady, with Flowers from the Roman Wall
Life in the Forest	Troubadour
Lines on the Lifting of the Banner of the House of Buccleuch	Violet
Lullaby of an Infant Chief	Wandering Willie
Macgregor's Gathering	War-Song of Lachlan
Mackrimmon's Lament	War-Song of the Royal Edinburgh Light Dragoons
Maid of Isla	Within that awful volume lies

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