

The Great Architects of Tiron

By Francine Bernier



Bernard de Tiron (fresco dated 1135)

Foreword

For years historians and Freemasons alike have tried to identify the origin of “the Craft”, the speculative art of modern Freemasonry. Most of them agree that it all began in Kilwinning, Scotland, sometime during the 12th century. But that is about all they agree on. Were the first “free masons” Italian or French? Was their tradition the legacy of the Roman collegia, or the French guilds of artisans that emerged in medieval times? Were these “free men” under the spiritual direction of monks? And how and where did they learn the secrets of the trade? Were they transmitted from father to son or from master to novice?

Our research and field work now allows us to advance a new theory, with credible answers to these long-enduring questions. As demonstrated in this article, the masons who built Kilwinning and many other great abbeys and churches in Scotland, Wales, France, Ireland and England were monks of a very special kind: they were reformed Benedictines of the “free church” of Brittany (Bretagne) and they practised the Celtic Rite.

These monks were master craftsmen of all trades: architects, bridge-builders, painters, carpenters, woodcarvers, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, stonemasons, etc. However they left no marks that could identify them as such because they worked in absolute humility and solely for the glorification of God. For this reason, their masterpieces were often attributed to other, more ‘visible’, craftsmen.

F. Bernier
April 6, 2005

Version updated June 2007

The first great Bernard

You have probably never heard his name. He was born in 1050, in a small village near Abbeville, in the county of Ponthieu (Somme), France. For this reason he was sometimes called Bernard de Ponthieu, or Bernard d'Abbeville, but he truly became famous as Bernard de Tiron, from the name of the place, in the forest of Tiron, near Chartres, where he established his *Abbatia Sanctae Trinitatis de Tirone* (Holy Trinity of Tiron) in 1109.

Bernard died on 25 April 1118, according to Mabillon, and not without founding a very peculiar congregation in 1105. As a pious, reformist Benedictine monk, Bernard had many things in common with his namesake, Bernard of Clairvaux, who was 44 years younger. Yet the first Bernard was a man of exception with an extraordinary vision, and very different from the famous monk of Clairvaux.

Bernard was about 20 years old when he was admitted into the Order of St. Benedict, at the Abbey of Saint-Cyprien-lès-Poitiers. He left the order once and for all in 1101 when the power-hungry abbot of Cluny, with the support of Pope Pascal II, disapproved his irregular appointment as new abbot of Saint-Cyprien. This was a time of much needed reformation in the Benedictine order. Bernard's contemporary St. Peter Damian, Doctor of the Church and Cardinal of Ostia, even declared that the Rule of St. Benedict was written for beginners, while the example of the solitary Desert Fathers was meant for older masters in search of perfection. This may have been Bernard's goal since he spent the following years as a hermit under the pseudonym of Guillaume, in the forest of Craon, Brittany; there he spent three years at La Roë, a small monastery of Canons Regular and hermits founded in 1095 by the Breton Robert (Ropartz) d'Arbrissel and the Norman Vitalis de Mortain, future founder of the short-lived congregation of Savigny (1112). They lived together, in separate cells, detached from the world, in great poverty and strict penance, in the example of the Fathers of the Desert. Not surprisingly, their refuge "was called significantly in contemporary sources *a new Egypt*,"¹ as it attracted a growing number of followers, men as well as women. After three years, Bernard left to live a solitary life for another period of two to three years on the island of Chaussey, just off Saint-Malo, then returned to the forest of Craon. In 1100 he was named the successor to the abbot at Saint-Cyprien, but this was a short-lived experience. Eventually all three hermits separated to found distinct communities.

At first glance, the monks of Tiron, also called Tironensians (sometimes Tyronenses) appear quite similar to the Cistercian monks, their contemporaries. Both their founders denounced the growing laxism of the Benedictine monks of Cluny, and professed a return to the strict asceticism and humility of the early Benedictines. But this is about all the two monastic orders had in common. There were major "cultural", political and spiritual differences which may well explain why one order has become so famous while the other has been left out of most history books.

Rebel with a Cause

From its very beginning, the story of Bernard of Tiron is one of a major clash leading to a separation from the "mystical body of Christ", meaning the social organization of

¹ *A History of the Cistercian Order*, by Louis J. Lekai, S.O. cist., , Ph.D., Chapter 3: The White Monks, page 13, Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Spring Bank, Sparte, Wisconsin, 1953, on <http://www.monksonline.org/White-Monks/ch1A.htm>

the Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, when Bernard left Saint-Cyprien in 1101, he was rebelling against Cluny and the supremacy of the local Roman clergy.

Between the 9th and 11th century, and at the time Bernard de Tiron lived, there had been a long struggle to reestablish the ancient Breton dioceses – mainly Dol, Saint-Malo and Rennes - and free the Church of Brittany from the Roman Archdiocese of Tours. This is the precise context of Bernard's nomination in 1100 as Saint-Cyprien's abbot: both his predecessor, Renaud, and himself wanted to keep the abbey free and independent of Cluny. But four years later, the Cluniacs succeeded in having Pascal II side with them. Bernard went to Rome to plead his case, but the Pope refused to change his mind. Questioning the Pope's judgement, Bernard cited Pascal II before God - *Papad ad divinum judicium provocavit*. At first infuriated, the Pope finally relented. Unfortunately, Saint-Cyprien's independence lasted only a few years, and the abbey was finally placed under Cluny.²

Chances are Bernard was viewed as a heretic because he stood up to the Pope, and never ceased to defend the right to sovereignty of the old Celtic Church of Brittany. And whatever power Cluny, as the right arm of the Roman clergy, had gained in this Gaulish region was non negotiable. As historian A. J. Wylie (1886) explains,

“The 12th century, particularly in Scotland and Brittany, was a time when two Christian faiths of different origins were contending for possession of the land, the Roman Church and the old Celtic Rite. The age was a sort of borderland between Culdeeism and Romanism. The two met and mingled often in the same monastery, and the religious belief of the nation was a mumble of superstitious doctrines and a few scriptural truths.”³

Having resigned his title of abbot at Saint-Cyprien, Bernard left to found one of the first monastic orders of strict observance - the Order of Tiron - with the intention of restoring monastic life to its original asceticism, following the Rule of St. Benedict in all its rigour. In 1107, Rotrou II le Grand (ca 1078-1144), Count of Perche, who participated in the “Reconquista”, the first crusade in Palestine, gave Bernard the land he needed for his first settlement in the forest of Tiron. Forced to move in 1114, Bernard and his monks were granted land by the Bishop Yves de Chartres in the nearby parish of Gardais where the Tironensians' mother Abbey was finally established.⁴

² *Histoire littéraire de France, où l'on traite de l'origine et du progrès, de la décadence et du rétablissement des sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les François*, Tome X Qui comprend la suite du douzième siècle de l'Église jusqu'à l'an 1124, par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur; nouv. éd. (1995), conforme à la précédente (1868) et rev. par M. Paulin Paris, Congrégation de Saint-Maur; entry Robert de Tyron, p. 212-214; Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

³ *History of the Scottish Nation*, Vol. III. From the Union of Scots and Picts, A.D. 843, to Death of Alexander III, A.D. 1286, by Rev. J.A. Wylie, LL.D. , London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., Edinburgh 1886

⁴ Around 1122, Rotrou granted the land of La Trappe to Vitalis de Mortain and his congregation of Savigny, who soon built a monastery there. In his *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry* (1875) Albert G. Mackey wrongly claimed the Trappist monastery was founded by “that devotee of secret organizations, Count La Perche, in 1140”. In fact, the monastery was raised to an abbey that year.



Mother Abbey at Tiron, early 12th c. (Photo: © F. Bernier)

Just a few years after their establishment at Tiron, the monks of Bernard, were invited by David I to settle in Scotland at Selkirk (*Selecherche*)⁵ in the Ettrick Forest, near the English border where, in 1113, the French Tironensians inaugurated their first abbey in 'Scotia'.

“While still Earl of Cumbria and Lothian [David] brought Benedictine monks from France to Selkirk, and Augustinian canons to Jedburgh, and procured the restoration of the ancient see of Glasgow, originally founded by St. Kentigern.”⁶

By 1115, having gained the respect of the nobility and royalty in France, England and Scotland, the monks of Tiron already owned 12 abbeys and 28 priories in 22 parishes. By the end of the 12th century they controlled a total of 117 priories and abbeys in France and the British Isles.

After Selkirk, the monks of Tiron established some of the wealthiest and greatest abbeys of Scotland, including the royal abbey Notre-Dame of Roxburgh at Kelso (1128); Kilwinning (1140-1162), the said birthplace of Freemasonry; Arbroath (1178); and Lindores (1190). Smaller properties included the Priory of Fyvie, under Arbroath, the Priory of Fogo in Berwickshire, and the Priory of Lesmahagow (for St. Machutus, also St. Malo) in South Lanarkshire, the latter two under Kelso Abbey.

Known for their building skills and Celtic spirit, the Tironensian monks had quickly become the preferred monastic order of David I, most likely because they offered a suitable alternative to the old Culdee Church of Scotland, allowing for the bridging of

⁵ In his *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron 1114-1140* (Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Tome I, Chartres, 1883, page 119) Lucien Merlet refers to a 1516 census that reported the existence an 'abbey of Selecherche' in Cumberland, England, about which 'all traces were lost'. This was actually the abbey of *Selkirk*, in Scotland.

⁶ Article on Scotland, By D.O. Hunter-Blair, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XIII, 1912 by Robert Appleton Company, Nihil Obstat, February 1, 1912. Remy Lafort, D.D., Censor, *Imprimatur*. + John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, Online Edition 2003 by K. Knight

the Romanish and Celtic rites. Besides, there were undeniable similarities - legal, ritual, artistic, and political – between the Irish, Scots, Welsh, and Bretons.

It was David's mother, Queen Margaret, later sanctified by Rome, who instituted the pro-Romish movement which was meant to oust all traces of the "Culdee heresy" from Scotland. The plan was to metamorphose the Celtic Church on the Roman diocesan model, and to bring the Culdees (from *Céli Dé*, "companions" or "servants of God") under canonical rule. But it did not happen quite as planned.

The Scots believed the Culdees had preserved primitive Christianity free from all Roman corruptions. Not wanting to use force against the Culdee elders of Scotia or to destroy what was considered true Scottish heritage, David I opted instead for diplomacy. He appealed to new, reformed Christian religious orders that could ease the transition to a more modern Scottish Church. One of them, apparently the first one ever considered, was the Order of Tiron. As Breton Celts and therefore cousins of the Gaels and Scots, the Tironensian monks certainly could blend in easily while appreciating the local customs and history of the old Culdee system. By the same token, those Culdees who had to integrate Tironensian communities may have lost their rights and sovereignty, but they were able to preserve their distinct heritage. It is this combination of two Christian traditions that would set the Tironensian monks apart, at least in Scotland.

While the old Church of Brittany was losing ground and power to the advantage of Roman supremacy, the Tironensian abbeys of Scotland, independent and distant enough from the Holy See, quickly rose in prestige, power and fortune while becoming a most welcome refuge for the local "Celtic heretics".

As mentioned by John Yarker (1909), "It is worthy of note that the Culdee system existed in Scotland for some centuries after the Norman Conquest, nor does it then seem to have been extinct in Ireland." Quoting Sir James Dalrymple, Yarker adds that the "Culdees kept themselves together in Scotland until the beginning of the 14th century."⁷ Yet many of their customs were kept alive until the Reformation (1560) within the walls of several powerful abbeys, and Kilwinning was most likely one of them.

"Kilwinning: Located in Ayrshire, Scotland, in the town of the same name, where a church was said to have been founded early in the eighth century by St. Winning . . . identified by some scholars with St. Finnan of Moville, an Irish saint of much earlier date; other authorities say he was a Welshman, called Vynnyn, while the Aberdeen Breviary (published 1507) gives Scotland as his birthplace. What is certain is that there was a church at Kilwinning, and also a monastery of Culdees, several centuries before the foundation of the Benedictine house by Hugh de Morville, Constable of Scotland, and a great territorial magnate of the district, somewhere between 1140 and 1162."⁸

Upon their arrival at Kilwinning, possibly as early as 1128, the French monks met a small group of Columbanist monks still occupying the area. But based on all existing

⁷ *The Arcane Schools: A review of their origin and antiquity; with a general history of Freemasonry, and its relation to the theosophic, scientific and philosophic mysteries*, J. Yarker, Belfast: 1909. Chapter VIII: Masonry in Saxon England

⁸ Article on Kilwinning Abbey, By D.O. Hunter-Blair, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume VIII, Robert Appleton Company 1910. Online Edition 2003 by K. Knight

records, these Culdees soon disappeared. In reality it was the Tironensians' mission to peacefully accept the Culdees within their cloister, to allow for their gradual secularization, and not to eradicate them. But it was the Tironensians of Arbroath Abbey, founded in 1178, who were eventually entrusted with the greatest share of the Culdee heritage and rights:

“The Abernethys descend from the hereditary abbots of the Culdee monastery at Abernethy . . . The House of Abernethy possessed the right to inaugurate the King of Scots as ecclesiastical representatives of the House of Fife branch of the Kindred of St. Columba. Between 1189 and 1196 King William the Lion granted the church of Abernethy to the Abbey of Arbroath, which had been founded . . . by King William the Lion (of the line of David I and the Kindred of St. Columba) as the seat of a new order in conjunction with the gradual secularization of the old Celtic abbeys, a task completed by about 1300 under King Robert Bruce. About the same time Lawrence, son of Orm de Abirnythy (sic), conveyed to the church and monks of Arbroath his whole right ‘In the advowson of the church of Abernethy’.”⁹

Completed in 1233, the Abbey of Arbroath (from *Abirbrothock*) became one of the wealthiest monasteries of Scotland. It received great endowments, not only from William the Lion, but also from many other princes and barons. The Tironensian monks were also given special privileges:

“They were exempted from assisting at the yearly synods; they had the custody of the Brebennach, or consecrated banner of Columba; they acquired from Pope Benedict, by Bull dated at Avignon, the right to wear a mitre; and they, in some instances, were the foremost churchmen of the kingdom.”¹⁰

The fact that the Tironensian monks were entrusted with the *Brebennach* (also *Brachbennach*, and *Breac-bannoch* in Gaelic), meaning “the speckled peaked one”, is quite significant as this precious object was the most visible and potent symbol of the post-Columban Church. Brought from Iona to Pictland, this was an 8th century ark-shaped box of Pictish style, supposedly containing a relic of Columba, the Irish warrior saint; it was most likely a *chrismatorium*, a vessel designed to contain the “Sacred Species” (holy oils and/or hosts). About the size of a plum, this portable shrine was worn around the neck, usually by a guardian monk. This particular one was even paraded before the Scots before they took part in battles against English troops, including the one at Bannockburn in 1314. It was William the Lion who, in 1211, gave custody of this highly symbolic icon to the monks of Arbroath, granting along with it the lands of Forglan, “in return for service to the Royal army.”¹¹

Being socially, politically and culturally compatible, the Breton monks of Tiron and the Culdees of Scotland got along just well, the former group never trying to

⁹ *Clans and Families of Ireland and Scotland, An Ethnography of the Gael A.D. 500 – 1750*, By C. Thomas Cairney, Ph.D, Part IX: The Gaels, Willow Bend Books, 1989

¹⁰ *Arbroath, a historical perspective drawn from the Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical*, ed. by Francis H. Groome and originally published in parts by Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, Edinburgh between 1882 and 1885; on the site of The Gazetteer for Scotland, on <http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk:81/scotgaz/towns/townhistory385.html>

¹¹ *Clans and Families of Ireland and Scotland, An Ethnography of the Gael A.D. 500 – 1750*, Part IX: The Gaels, by C. Thomas Cairney, Willow Bend Books, 1989

suppress the latter. Instead the French monks worked at defining a new Church for the Scots, one where a Romish episcopal system would not interfere with Celtic spirituality. This easily explains why the Tironensians were so highly esteemed - and granted precious gifts by the followers of the old Culdee Church.¹²

The Tironensians most likely owed their success among the Culdee elders of Scotland to their own Celtic heritage. However several clues suggest they were not the reformed Benedictines of strict observance the Roman Catholic Church would like us to believe. A few insightful historians such as John Yarker have speculated that the monks of Tiron had abandoned the Roman Liturgy to follow the Celtic Rite, particularly in Scotland. But no historian has ever found any solid evidence confirming their hypothesis. Not that it didn't exist, it was just hard to find.

In February 2005 we came across historical evidence proving that Bernard de Tiron did observe the Celtic Rite. It is a contemporary portrait painted in 1135 by one of Bernard's disciples, depicting "Bernardus Abbas" with the Celtic tonsure. The painting is displayed in full view inside the chapel of the Priory of Notre-Dame d'Yron, a former pilgrimage stop-over to Compostella, founded in 1115 by Agnès de Montigny at Cloyes-sur-le-Loir, less than 25 miles from Chartres.¹³

The particular hairstyle of Bernard de Tiron may seem like a detail, but it is one of major historical significance: It proves that Bernard adhered to the usages and rite of the old Celtic Church, independently of the Roman liturgy and in opposition to the local Roman Catholic clergy, with the protection and support of the Duchy of Brittany and the diocese of Dol.

When do not know when Bernard came to follow the Celtic liturgy. Perhaps he always did, or followed both Roman and Celtic rites at Saint-Cyprien. Or perhaps he adopted the Celtic rite soon after he resigned his abbacy at Saint-Cyprien, in 1101, to live as a hermit at La Roë. He may have been influenced by Robert d'Arbrissel who reportedly wore the Celtic tonsure. In a letter, Marbodius (1035-1123), Bishop of Rennes, describes Arbrissel as wearing "a rough hair-shirt on his skin, an old robe full of holes, with his legs half-exposed, the beard uncut, *his hair shaved on the forehead*, walking barefoot among the crowds and trying to make a spectacle of himself in the apparel of vagabonds." ¹⁴ However, Arbrissel, like his colleague

¹² In Scotland the main branches of the Culdee family were Abernethy, Aberbrothoc/Arbroath, Montrose, Arbirlot, Brechin, St. Andrews, Dornoch, Dunkeld, Applecross, Dunfermline, Mortlach, Blairgowrie, Ratho, Dull, Tirriff, Kinghorn and Lesmahagow. The Tironensians inherited the rights, treasures and properties of four of the most influential of these centers (Brechin, Abernethy, Arbroath, and Lesmahagow). Note from C. Thomas Cairney (1989), quoting Abbott's *Eccl. Surname* (1871): "The Monastery of Brechin existed in the time of David I., the promoter of Royal Burghs, 1123-53, and that after the erection of the Episcopal See, the old Culdee Convent became the electoral chapter of the new Bishopric; the Abbot of Brechin, then secularised, transmitted to his children the lands which his predecessors had held for the church; and one of these, in the time of William the Lion (1165-1214), made a grant of lands to the monks at Arbroath."

¹³ For information and pictures of chapel in Cloyes: <http://www.cloyes-sur-le-loir.com>

¹⁴ Marbode in French: "*Un cilice sur la peau, vêtu d'une robe usée et trouée, nu à mi-jambe, la barbe inculte, cheveux rasés sur le front, marchant pieds nus parmi la foule et cherchant à se donner en spectacle dans un appareil rappelant celui des vagabonds*", in a letter quoted in *Fontevraud et ses prieurés* by père Amans Aussibal, n° 154, Collection Zodiaque des moines de la Pierre qui Vire, 89850, Saint-Léger

Vauban (Yonne); and on Les ordres religieux en Limousin du XIe au XVIIIe siècle, sous « Fontevraud », Michel Fougerat, <http://perso.orange.fr/grandmont/index.html>

Bernard de Tiron, was never portrayed in such fashion in official Roman Catholic iconography. The suppression of this eloquent 'detail' was probably a deliberate decision from the Roman clergy.



Left: Portrait of Bernard de Tiron, 1135, with the Celtic tonsure and 6th Irish monk; Right: statue of mitred Bernard at Tiron, and Robert d'Arbrissel, both incorrectly shown with the Roman tonsure.

The Tonsure of the Magician

The Celtic Rite was different from the Roman Rite in many cultural and liturgical ways.¹⁵ More importantly, “the emphasis on monasticism, the organizational structure of abbots and monasteries versus bishops and parish churches, and the themes of ascetic holiness and pilgrimage, all point to influences from Eastern Christianity.”¹⁶

During the 7th and 8th century, the style of tonsure was one of several major points of controversy, with the calculation of the date of Easter, baptism, the ordination of bishops and the consecration of churches. In the "Latin" Rite of the Catholic Church, tonsure referred to the inducting of a person into the clergy. The Roman tonsure, called St. Peter's, involved shaving the top of the head with a crown of hair left to grow around it to represent the crown of thorns placed on Christ's head. The Oriental or Eastern tonsure, which claimed the authority of St. Paul, consisted in shaving the whole head. This was observed by churches owing allegiance to Eastern orthodoxy. In comparison, the Celtic tonsure (or traverse tonsure) was made with shaving only the front part of the head following a line drawn from ear to ear.

The early history of the Celtic tonsure practice is lost in obscurity; it has been suggested that “perhaps it was indeed of druidic origin”¹⁷ since it is known the Druids of Ireland and Brittany shaved the top front of their head while keeping the rest of their hair long. However, in the 12th century the Celtic tonsure was a clear mark of

¹⁵ To this day, Celtic spirituality differs from mainstream Christian churches. It is, in essence, pantheistic: “God may be found, heard and experienced everywhere and in all things and that a true worship of God, therefore, can neither be contained within the four walls of a sacred building nor restricted to the boundaries of religious tradition. Every blade of grass, every sigh of the breeze, every splash of rain, every wave of the sea, every movement of the earth, every flutter of a bird's wing, every twinkle of a star, every ray of sun... and every breath of man contains the very life of God.” Community of Saint Ita and St Fillan, <http://www.saintfillans.org.nz/differences.html>

¹⁶ *The Celts and Christianity*, by Morgan O'Maolain, The Clannada na Gadelica, a Gaelic culture education facility, 1998, on <http://www.clannada.org/docs/cltchrs.html>

¹⁷ *Les chrétientés celtiques*, by Christian Guyonvarc'h, on <http://www.clio.fr/article.asp?article=733...33&Auteur=3230>

opposition to the Roman clergy. Since the 7th century this type of hairstyle was called *tonsura magorum* (with *magus*, meaning magician, then accepted as equivalent to *druid*)¹⁸, and later coined *tonsura Simonis Magi* by the Roman party who attributed the origin of this peculiar tonsure to Simon Magus, the “first heretic” and opponent of St. Peter. Not so, claimed many Celtic monks who traced back several of their practices, including their tonsure, to the authority of Saint John the Evangelist, back in Ephesus (Asia Minor).¹⁹ It is likely the term *tonsura Simonis Magi* was made up only to suggest heresy. What we do know however is the fact that Saint Columbanus (543-615), the Irish Abbot of Luxeuil and Bibbio, wore this peculiar type of hairstyle when he arrived in France. So did Saint Samson, founder of the abbey-bishopric of Dol, who also brought over from Britain the Celtic penitentials and the method for the dating of Easter.

It is worth noting that the Roman Catholic Church also named the sin of *simony* - the act of exchanging temporal goods in return of supernatural gifts or favours – after Simon Magus who had not converted out of true faith in Christ, but in the hope of gaining greater magical power and influence. He had offered money to Peter and John, asking them to grant him through baptism the magical power of the Holy Ghost (Acts, 8:9-29) so that he could perform miracles. Not surprisingly, back in 9th century Brittany, false accusations of simony were made against the monks of the diocese of Dol: Nomenoë, wishing to be anointed King of Brittany but finding opposition among the prelates of Dol, tried to get rid of them by charging them with simony, a sin denounced as “the most abominable of crimes” by many medieval ecclesiastical writers.

As we can see, any association, even in name, with Simon Magus clearly suggested heresy, and in this sense, the *tonsura Simonis Magi* of the Celtic monks identified them as heretics in the eyes of the Church of Peter. But as long as the abbots of the Church of Gaul remained independent from the authority of Rome, as was the case in Brittany, the Celtic monks were free to do as they wished, even more so if they lived out in the woods, away from the Roman clergy.

The Celtic tonsure, as practiced until the 7th century, served as a powerful reminder of the freedom and non Roman origins of the Christian Church of Gaul. It literally marked Irish ethnic boundaries as well as religious and political independence from the Roman clergy. The clash about the date of Easter and the Celtic tonsure at the Synod of Whitby, Northumbria, in 664 marked the beginning of the demise of the Celtic Church and the imposition of the Roman rite and Roman ecclesiastical authority. It also “propelled the confrontation of written tradition with oral tradition, distinct systems of symbolism and distinct ethnic groups”.²⁰

There had been strong disagreement about the question of Irish monastic leaders having more control over local worship than the rather distant Roman church

¹⁸ Even today, the Magi in Matthew 2: 1-14 are still called *druidhean* in the Scottish Gaelic Bible.

¹⁹ According to the Celtic Church, the first Christian missionaries came to Scotland around 70-80 AD. As disciples of St. John’s Church in Ephesus (Asia Minor), they accepted John’s teaching that Easter should be celebrated at Passover. See

<http://www.saintfillans.org.nz/history.html>

²⁰ *Celtic Tradition in Liturgical Practice: The Irish Synthesis*, By Dr. Gail Justin, Instructional Technology, Manhattanville College, Purchase NY, on <http://faculty.mville.edu/justing/synthesis.htm>

authorities, and about the secular power of kings over local spiritual matters. In other words, the Christian Celts claimed complete sovereignty over the spiritual destiny of their territories, in Brittany, Ireland, Wales and Scotland – and the Celtic tonsure was a symbol of their freedom.

Based on Charles Plummer's essay, *Excursus on the Pascal Controversy and Tonsure* (published in his *Opera Historica*, Oxford, 1898),²¹ the tonsure practice was connected with the Roman idea that long hair was the mark of the *freeman*, while the crown of hair identified the master and the shaven head identified the *slave*. Not surprisingly, the Romans often punished Christians by shaving their heads to humiliate them, making them look like slaves. Eventually some monks of the Roman clergy began to shave their heads completely to identify themselves as “slaves of Christ”.

In comparison, the monks of Irish tradition, who called themselves “servants of Christ”, still placed great value on the virtue of humility, and felt the traditional image through their symbolic haircut should be maintained. But then, the Celts also viewed themselves as “freemen” of the Celtic Church, and while the shaving of the top front part of their heads was a symbol of humility and obedience, the fact that they left their hair grow on the back may well have become a symbol of freedom and independence from the “masters” of the Roman clergy. Indeed, at the time of the Synod of Whitby, the Roman clergy had already begun to wear a crown of hair, supposedly as a symbol of the crown of thorns of Christ. But this crown had first been the hairstyle of the members of the ruling class, the patrician slave owners and the masters of Roman Antiquity, such as Caesar. Therefore the Roman crown of hair identified the monks not as servants but masters, and this was the new, “modern” hairstyle imposed by Rome in the 7th century. Thus, at Whitby in 664, a lot was at stake, at least symbolically speaking, for those monks who claimed to have inherited their tradition directly from John, the Beloved Apostle of Jesus - not Saint Peter.

Although Pope Paul VI abolished all formal tonsure practices in 1972, it is still maintained by a few monastic orders, such as the Carthusians and the Trappists, as well as by the Eastern Catholic Orthodox Church, which broke away from the Roman Church in 1054. In this sense, monks who still wore the ancient tonsure of the East during the 12th century were openly marking their cultural identity and certainly expressing their opposition to the supremacy of the Roman Church. The peculiar hairstyle of “the humble servants of God” was a strong political statement: it was the symbol of a “free church”, the very mark of the freeman, one obeying only to his own conscience and taking orders directly and solely from God, independently from the Holy See and the Bishops of Rome.

The Prentices

In old Latin cartularies, including the order’s foundation charter of 1114, the monks were called *Tironense* or *Tirones*. In French they were known as *Tironiens*, and in English, *Tironensians*, or *Tironenses*, sometimes with a “h” and/or a “y”. Where did the name *Tiron* come from, and what does it mean?

²¹ *Excursus on the Pascal Controversy and Tonsure*, by Charles Plummer, in *Opera Historica*, Oxford, 1896; and *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of England*, Charles Plummer, Georges Bell & Sons, London 1907

Historian Denis Guillemin²² believes the name, also spelled Thiron, comes from Latin *thironium*, a “high hill”. Also, the river nearby has been called *Thyroone* since ‘immemorial times’ and the earliest known name for the area, which includes a forest, is *Tyroon*. Several subsequent variations include *Tiro*, *Tironio*, *Tyron*, *Tyrun*, *Tironium*, but the accepted term designating the Order was usually *Tirone*, as mentioned in the abbey’s 1114 cartulary. Was the area already named “Tyroon” when the monks settled? This is what suggested the Tironensian monk Geoffroy le Gros in his *Vita* of Bernard, written between 1130 and 1150. It is a fact that the Romans had several camps in the forests of Perche where they developed agriculture and various mechanical arts.²³ Thus it is probable that the Romans named the area *Tyroon* after the local pagan Celts who lived there and to whom they taught the “basic elements of a craft or science”, making them *tirones*, i.e. students – a name that actually turned out perfect for the new order founded by Bernard d’Abbeville.

Everything leads us to believe the correct name originally used by the monks was *Tirones*, the plural form of the Latin word *tiro*. In ancient Roman times, a *tiro* was a young soldier, an army recruit, or a novice in some activity. In Medieval times, the same term, *tiro*, was often used to refer to a squire or a newly-trained knight. All dictionaries and reference books (Thesaurus, All-Words English Dictionary, Britannia, Ultralingua, etc.) describe a *tiro* as one who is “beginning to learn a trade”, who “is in the rudiments of any branch of study”, or a “person imperfectly acquainted with a subject”. The synonyms given are: initiate, entrant, novice, prentice and apprentice, beginner, learner, neophyte, greenhorn, rookie, tenderfoot and trainee. The Webster Dictionary (1913) defines the word *tyronism* (also *tironism*) as “the state of being a tyro, a beginner, a novice.” This interpretation is the same used at the time of Cassiodorus (490-585) when the *tirones* were described as “novices new at the study of the Bible”.²⁴ In comparison, Jerome (340-420), in his *Vita S. Hilarionis*, used the expression *Christi tirones* in the sense of “disciples of Christ”.

The Britannia Internet Magazine (1996) writes that the Order of Tiron was “another reform of Benedictinism, named for their use of *tirones* - apprentices, similar to the Cistercian *conversi*,”²⁵ lay brothers who turned to the service of God. Similarly, Mark D. F. Shirley writes, in an article entitled “Regular Orders”, that the word Tironensians “derived from the *tirones* – apprentices - who were united by the founder of the order to pursue their skills in the service of God.”²⁶

In post-Roman times, the term “tiro” came to designate the novice scribes and copyists in numerous monasteries, in the example of Marcus Tullius Tiro, a scribe and a freedman of Cicero (1st century AD). Tiro invented a system of shorthand called the Tironian notes (*notae Tironianae*), originally consisting of some 4,000 signs and abbreviations, many formed with dots and bars. In the Medieval period, the Tironian notes had grown to a system of some 13,000 signs which was taught in Western monasteries, particularly the Benedictines.

²² *Thiron, Abbaye médiévale*, Denis Guillemin, Amis du Perche, Montrouge 1999

²³ *Antiquité et chroniques percheronnes*, Volume 1, L. Joseph Fret, Monographies de villes et villages de France, première édition 1838 ; Micherth 2001

²⁴ Proceedings from The City and the Book I – International Congresses in Florence, Certosa, 30, 31 May, 1 June 2001, Section II: The Christian Bible, Dr. SSA. Luciana Cuppo Csaki, Societas Internationalis Pro Vivario, on <http://www.florin.ms/aleph2.html>

²⁵ Source: <http://www.britannia.com/church/tironen.html>

²⁶ Source: <http://www.durenmar.de/articles/regularorders.html>

On the other hand, the Columbanist monks of the 6th to 9th century, such as those at the Abbey of Luxeuil (6th century) in Franche-Comté, called themselves *Regis tirones*, the “servants (or apprentices) of the King” (Christ), a designation that is similar to *Céli Dé*, “the servants (or companions) of God”.

Indirectly related to our topic is the fact that *tyrone* (also *tirone*) is also the anglicized name of the old Irish county of *Tir Eoghain*, later *Tir Owen*, meaning the “kingdom of Eoghain”, an Irish king in the 5th century. Tyrone county (now Offaly) is precisely where the very first *mac an t’saoir* came from. This title, meaning *son of the builder*, designated the Irish scribe as a translator of the New Testament. The first known scribe and *mac an t’saoir* in Tyrone was Saint Cirian, the founder of the monastery of Clon mac’noise (ca 545). Since Cirian’s father was a maker of chariots, *mac an t’saoir* was translated in Latin as *fili artifices*, “son of the artificer”. In Latin, the word *artifex* designated a worker, craftsman, expert – a term reminiscent of the Roman colleges of artificers (craftsmen of all trades). After Cirian, as the abbey of Clon mac’noise grew to become a famous school and scriptorium from the 8th-10th centuries (producing the Books of Kells and Durrow), most abbots successively took the title of *mac an t’saoir*, supposedly in reference to Jesus, the “son of the carpenter”. But the fact that the metal workers of the school of Clon macnoise also produced some of the world’s finest Celtic craftwork in gold, silver and bronze suggest the original meaning of *mac an t’soir* was “son of the artificer”, or builder, a term that designated all craftsmen, including the mason, the architect, the carpenter and the smith.

While he was still living at the monastery of La Roë in the forest of Craon, Bernard d’Abbeville began converting and recruiting local craftsmen. His spiritual brother Vitalis de Mortain wrote (Book VIII, chap. 27) that Bernard had always been particularly close to craftsmen from the very beginning, and made several attempts at an apostolate amongst them: “*Whence the workers freely gathered round him, carpenters as well as black smiths, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters and stonecutters, vinedressers and farmers.*” In his *Vita* of Bernard, his disciple Geoffreoy le Gros relates that many pagans living in the nearby area joined Bernard and most were tonsured. This means that Bernard recruited the first members of his future order before 1105, the year he and Vitalis left the forest of Craon to establish their respective orders, Vitalis at Savigny, and Bernard, near Tiron.

At this point we may conclude that the *Tirones* were the initiates of a school or tradition, with prentices and masters, and that they were recruits and followers of Christ who learned to master various arts and trades as servants of God. This could explain why, back in the forest of Craon, in Brittany, Bernard de Tiron, Robert d’Arbrissel and Vitalis de Mortain called themselves *magistri et principes eremitarum* (masters and teaching authorities), an expression typically Celtic and associated with the role of the wise “Elder”, i.e. the ancient Druid, a role later played by the Culdee scholars and the abbots of Irish colleges. As such, it is clear that the Order of Tiron was an initiatic school of Celtic tradition.

A Different Rule

Numerous historians and Masonic researchers, even archaeologists have often referred to some anonymous “grey monks” (not Grey Friars) as being Benedictines, or have confused them with the “white monks” of Citeaux, also of strict observance. In reality, the Tironensians, like the monks of Savigny, traditionally wore a grey tunic. How significant was the color? In the Rule of St. Benedict, no colour is

specified, but according to the Catholic Encyclopedia (1911), "it is conjectured that the earliest Benedictines wore white or grey, as being the natural colour of undyed wool." However black became the prevailing colour, hence the term "black monk" designating all Benedictines "not belonging to one of those separate congregations which has adopted a distinctive colour." Bernard of Tiron chose a "distinctive colour" – grey - the same as the first Benedictines, to distinguish his monks of strict observance from the "black monks" of Cluny who no longer respected the Rule of St. Benedict. However, it is reported that in the 14th century the Tironensians of Kelso, Scotland, chose to wear white garbs for some reason. Meanwhile, after being forced to join the Order of Citeaux in 1147, the Savignacs also had to adopt the white garbs. The fact that some Tironensians, the Cistercians and the Savignacs all came to wear white garbs at one point in history may explain why many archaeologists and historians have confused the three orders and even lead some of them to claim that the first Gothic churches were Cistercian in design and built by Templar masons.

For several centuries after the end of the Roman Empire, all arts and sciences – from writing and painting to architecture, bridge-building and metal working - were preserved and practised in Benedictine houses. But early on, the Benedictine tradition had also been deeply influenced by the Culdee system from which the Benedictine monk Winfrid, better known as Saint Bonifacius (d. 755), largely borrowed to create a special class of monks composed of *Operarii* (craftsmen) and *Magistri operum* (Masters of the Works). As explained by historian J. A. Wylie:

"Winfrid, an Anglo-Saxon by birth, and a Benedictine monk, in 719 seeks out Willibrod, then at the head of the Culdee evangelization, and under a great show of guilelessness and much pious zeal, insinuates himself into his favour. He desires to study the methods of evangelising under the Culdee leader. 'He crept in beside Willibrod,' says Dr. Ebrard, 'as the wolf steals in beside the shepherd,' and lived for three years with him, a professed coadjutor, but in reality a spy. At the end of three years he returned to Rome, whence he had come, and where he had been instructed. Pope Gregory II consecrated him as bishop, and changed his name to Bonifacius, the "good-doer," as if in anticipation of the services expected from him. He returned to Germany, no longer wearing the Culdee mask, but as the legate extraordinary of the Pope. . . Supported by the authority of Carloman [Charlemagne] and Pépin of France, he proceeded to suppress the Culdee establishments by changing them into bishoprics subject to the authority of Rome. He founded in Germany the Sees of Wartzburg, Burabourg, Erfurt, and Aichstadt, and in 744 the monastery of Fulda. This was the method Boniface adopted to evangelise the Germans, even metamorphosing Culdee missionaries into Benedictine monks, and Culdee colleges into Romish Sees, by fair means if possible, by force where artifice failed."²⁷

Like the Order of Citeaux, Tiron was a reformed Benedictine branch of strict observance, applying the Rule of St. Benedict (dated ca 528) to the letter. But contrary to Stephen Harding and his famous follower Bernard of Clairvaux, Bernard de Tiron strongly believed in the spiritual benefits of manual labour and artistic creativity:

²⁷ History of the Scottish Nation, Rev. Wylie, London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., Edinburgh, 1886, Vol. III, Ch. 8

“The famous St. Bernard [of Tiron] thought he had discovered a cure for this inevitable tendency to putrefy. Brought up in the strictest school of asceticism, and having a salutary dread of whatever tended to effeminacy, he thought it not good that the whole time of a monk should be given to meditation; and as the best preservative from the temptations which are incident to idleness he sought to devise occupation for both head and hands of the recluses.”²⁸

The founder of Tiron felt it was the monk’s duty, while restricted to absolute silence, to communicate the essence of the Holy Scriptures through artwork and architecture, in the example of the early Benedictines.²⁹ For this reason, the Tironensians never hired *conversi* or lay brothers to work for them; they were the sole artisans, and as such did all the work themselves as part of their daily routine.

“His monks, besides doing agricultural labor, practiced all the arts and crafts without the employment of lay brothers. The fervor of discipline and simplicity animated Bernard in the foundation of Tiron in 1109. The return of this group to manual labor and to the original simplicity of liturgical services in accordance with the prescriptions of the Rule of St. Benedict safely supports the assumption that Bernard was quite familiar with the reform of Citeaux.”³⁰

The monks of Tiron were known not only for their artistic talent and architectural skills which they brought to local communities, but also for their mastering of all crafts:

“Among the Tyronenses there were found skilfull farmers, expert carpenters and smiths, while others of the order excelled in the arts of architecture and drawing.”³¹

In fact, Bernard made it mandatory for each monk to work and master at least one craft, and this certainly set them apart from all other monastic congregations, including the Order of Citeaux. Guillaume de Neubrige (Reg. Angl. 1.I, e. 15, 12th century) did mention that Bernard had written a set of “particular rules” or statutes for his monks.³² Unfortunately, the original text has been lost, but these special rules may well have expanded further on some of the original chapters written by St. Benedict.

“The Rule of Benedict was not written for artists. It dates from a time in which there was no sharp distinction between artist and artisan. It uses the word

²⁸ Wylie (1886), Vol. III, Ch. 24

²⁹ *Le travail dans les monastères au Moyen-Âge*, Émile Levasseur (19th century), article on Encyclopédie de l’Agora, Ayers Cliff, Québec, Canada, on http://agora.qc.ca/reftext.nsf/Documents/Moyen_Age--Le_travail_dans_les_monasteres_au_Moyen_Age_par_Emile_Levasseur

³⁰ *A History of the Cistercian Order*, by Louis J. Lekai, S.O. Cist., Ph.D., Chapter 3: The White Monks, p. 13, Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Spring Bank, Sparte, Wisconsin, 1953, on <http://www.monksonline.org/White-Monks/ch1A.htm>

³¹ Wylie (1886), Vol. III, Ch. 8

³² *Histoire littéraire de France, où l’on traite de l’origine et du progrès, de la décadence et du rétablissement des sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les François*, by the Saint-Maur Congregation, Tome X, p. 215; nouv. éd. (1995), conforme à la précédente (1868) et rev. par M. Paulin Paris, 1995; published on Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>

“art” (ars) seven times. Once in reference to the instruments of the spiritual craft, the instruments of good works (4.75), three times in reference to tasks assigned during the work periods of the day (46.1; 48.24; 66.6), and three times in a chapter devoted specifically to the artisans (*artifices*) of the monastery (57.1-3).³³

In comparison, the Cistercians rejected manual labour and prohibited all artistic work. They employed *conversi* and lay brothers for whom Stephen Harding, the founder of Order, drew up a comprehensive legislation, titled *Usus Conversorum* (translated as *Usages*) in the 1120s for their organization in their monastic community. At about the same time, Bernard de Clairvaux, in his *Apologia ad Gulielmum* (1123), set the stage for new, very strict architectural standards for all Cistercian monasteries and churches, claiming that monks should spend their precious time on earth doing penance and meditating on God’s Law, not on architecture and religious art. Accordingly, in 1134, the Order of Citeaux enforced new rules restricting the work of masons and artists so greatly that all Cistercian properties everywhere ended up exhibiting the same pattern of extreme ascetic simplicity. And as the Dominican Pierre Mandonnet explains, the list of prohibitions was quite specific:

“. . . the legislation of 1134, after reaffirming the requirements of the *Exordium Parvum* concerning simplicity of liturgical vestments and equipment, prohibited illuminated initials and the use of colors in copying manuscripts, banned the fine bindings of codices decorated with gold or silver, forbade stained glass windows, figurative carvings and murals, both in church and monastery. Sculptured portals were not allowed and the Chapter of 1157 prohibited even the coloring of the simple portals or church doors. The same Chapter condemned the towers built of stone; only a modest wooden bell tower was allowed and this could accommodate no more than two bells of small size. In 1218, decorative pavements were forbidden and the Chapter of 1240 ordered the removal of all pictures attached to the altars.”³⁴

Style was literally deemed frivolous and even distracting to the contemplative Cistercian monks, so the rule was to keep everything extremely simple and this, in the end, became the Cistercian style. For this reason, the monks of Citeaux never developed a particular style in art and architecture, nor did they learn to master any craft. Instead, they hired craftsmen to work in very stark, humble style while they prayed and meditated on the Holy Scriptures. However we disagree with Mandonnet’s claim that “other religious orders never achieved the formation of a school of art equal to it in conspicuous and uniform features.” The monks of Tiron most certainly did.

Many Benedictines did not agree with the Cistercian views. One of them was a “Theophilus Presbyter” (ca 1070-1125), the pseudonym of a Benedictine monk who described himself as a “humble priest, servant of the servants of God”. Between 1110 and 1125 (exact date unknown), Theophilus published his essay *On various Arts* (“*De Diversis Artibus*”), a practical guide in three volumes defending the

³³ *Art and Monasticism*, By Fr. Hugh Feiss, OSB, STD, April 1997, The Benedictine Monastery of the Ascension, Jerome ID, USA, on <http://www.idahomonks.org/aam.htm>

³⁴ *St. Dominic and His Work*, par Pierre Mandonnet, O.P., translated by Sister Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P., B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis/London, 1948. Chapter 17: Efforts of the Church to Revive Preaching

“important place of art in God's universe” and diametrically opposed to Bernard de Clairvaux's *Apologia*. The main techniques discussed in this document are painting and drawing (especially for illuminated codices), fresco, stained glass and metalworking. In true reformist Benedictine style, Theophilus claimed that skills and knowledge which he described as “the inheritance that God bestowed on Man,” should be sought, shared freely and used in all humility for the glorification of God. In his preface, he wrote,

“Through the spirit of wisdom, you know that all created things proceed from God, and without Him nothing is. Through the spirit of understanding, you have received the capacity for skill - the order, variety and measure with which to pursue your varied work. Through the spirit of counsel, you do not bury your talent given you by God, but, by openly working and teaching in all humility, you display it faithfully to those wishing to understand. Through the spirit of fortitude, you drive away all the torpor of sloth, and whatever you assay with energy you bring it with full vigour to completion. Through the spirit of knowledge accorded you, you are, in the abundance of heart.”³⁵

Historians believe the author was Rogerus of Helmarshausen, a German Benedictine metallurgist and armourer, originally from the Stavelot-Malmedy monastery in the Belgian Ardennes, near the German border. However “Theophilus Presbyter” was not the only Benedictine monk who held these views and who called himself the “servant of servants of God”. Bernard de Tiron and his mason-monks too dedicated themselves to the service of the “servants of God” – the Culdees of Scotland - and in this sense, it is not entirely impossible that Bernard, who died in 1118, or one of his followers, wrote the essay *On Various Arts*, anonymity being the mark of absolute humility among Tironensian monks.

The School of Tiron

Tradition – or legend - has it that the Mother Lodge Kilwinning No. 0 of Scottish Freemasonry was first organized by “Italian artisans” who built the Abbey of Kilwinning on the bank of the Garnock River. From there, it is said, two more lodges were founded at Scoon (Scone) and Bertha (Perth) around 1193-95.

“In the middle of the 12th century, wars all over Europe made masons and architects look for a quiet place and Scotland became their shelter. Amongst them, came a group from Lombardy (Northern Italy), holding a charter stating that its rules had been set according to those that Hiram, King of Tyre, had established when he sent workers to King Solomon for the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. In Scotland these masons built the Abbey and Tower of Kilwinning in 1140, where a lodge already existed since 1128 and where Scottish masons held their general assemblies. In 1150, this lodge was constituted as the ‘Mother-Lodge of Kilwinning’ and still exists today.”³⁶

Built between 1140 and 1162, the Abbey of Kilwinning was erected under David I by Jocelyn, Bishop of Glasgow, and Hugues de Morville, High Constable of Scotland.³⁷ It

³⁵ *De Diversis Artibus*, by Theophilus (Presbyter), ed. and trans. by C. R. Dodwell, Edinburgh and London, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd. and New York, Oxford University Press, 1961

³⁶ *An abbreviated history of Freemasonry*, by Phil Grau, P.M., 2005, published on the website of Havasu Masonic Lodge N°64 F. & A.M., Arizona, <http://www.havasumasons.org/index.htm>

³⁷ Yarker, J. Ch. 8: Masonry in Saxon England

is quite possible, as was the case elsewhere in Scotland, that the Tironensian monks who arrived in Selkirk, Scotland, in 1113, then moved to Kelso in 1128, were already occupying the Culdee site of Kilwinning several years before the construction of their new monastery. While a number of French monks were firmly established at Kelso on the English-Scottish border, other mason-monks were sent directly from France by the mother house in Tiron to build the new abbey at Kilwinning. These expert craftsmen had been recruited, tonsured and trained by the Tironensians, in compliance with the strict rules established by the Order's founder. And like Bernard de Tiron and the Culdees of Kilwinning who eventually merged with the Tironensians, these mason-monks probably observed the Celtic rite.

Some historians have suggested the masons' marks found on the broken walls and mouldering arches of the old chapter house - a room measuring 38 ft by 19 ft (about 11.4 m X 5.7 m) - on the eastside of the abbey is concrete proof that a first "luge" existed and was holding meetings there. Assuming such a "luge" existed back in the 12th century, then the members were only and strictly regular monks, i.e. members who had vowed to obey the order's *regula* (rule) of monastic life, since no laymen or conversi were allowed in the chapter house. This is where the monks would hold their private conventual assemblies and read a chapter of their rule book. Therefore it is possible that the chapter house of Kilwinning Abbey also served as a collegiate room where the mason-monks received instruction from an "Elder" (*presbyter* or *magister*), or developed projects, using the walls as tracing boards. Such a possibility is implied in the *Annals of Lesmahagow* which state that there was a college or corporation of mason-monks in each Tironensian monastery in Scotland:

"The Tironensian order of monks had six monasteries in Scotland, and each of the brethren of the establishment where he resided followed whatever trade or mechanical art he knew; so that a college of industrious artisans of the Order consisted of sculptors, carvers, carpenters, smiths, masons, horticulturists, etc. under the direction of an Elder, and the profits of their work were brought into a common fund for general maintenance."³⁸

The social organization of the Tironensians, we presume, was dictated by the mother Abbey back in France. However, the fact that the Order managed to build a network of about 120 priories and monasteries in less than 70 years, each one with a college of artisan-monks, means they had to recruit and train new members amongst the local inhabitants. Schools were therefore essential.

³⁸ *The Annals of Lesmahagow, A narrative of events year by year of written records and pictures dating from 1179AD to 1864AD*, curtesy of James Lee, Chapter 2: History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, published on [www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05\(s05\)001.htm](http://www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05(s05)001.htm). In 1144, David I granted the monks of Kelso the barony and church of Lesmahagow, in Clydesdale, where they built the priory of St. Machutes (Lesmahagow, or St. Malo and St. Maclou, a disciple of Brendan, 6th c.). In 1228 and again in 1240, Richard de Bard (from Gaelic "minstrel", poet) granted more lands to the Abbey of Kelso and the Priory of St. Machutus, including Little Kyp, in Lanarkshire. The grant and privileges were confirmed successively by King Malcolm and William the Lion, and by Bishops John, Joceline, William, and Walter, all of Glasgow, as well as by Pope Innocent IV (ca 1250). From its foundation, the Priory of Lesmahagow was declared a sanctuary, free from all episcopal dues and subjection. The monks' liberties were expanded by David II (1330-1332) who granted them a charter freeing them from all imposts (source: *The Annals of Lesmahagow*, Chapter 2: History, chiefly ecclesiastical, on <http://www.lesmahagow.com>).

Several scholars, including French architect and historian Louis-Albert Mayeux (1872-1931), believe that between 1130 and 1160 the monks of Tiron had founded the greatest school of arts and trades of their time. Located in Chartres, where Bernard de Tiron had established a priory in 1117, this school was already well-known by the time Hugues de Toucy was consecrated Archbishop of Sens, in 1142. In 1906, Mayeux published a rather controversial article in the *Revue Mabillon*, entitled *Les grands portails du XII^e siècle et les Bénédictins de Tiron*.³⁹ He had studied the first Gothic structures in France, including the churches of Saint-Ayoul (Provins), Étampes and Saint-Loup du Naud in the Diocese of Sens, and came to the conclusion that there had been an extraordinary school of arts and trades in Chartres, one established perhaps as early as 1117 and directed by the monks of Tiron:

“As he closely studied the great portals of the 12th century within the limits of the dioceses of Sens, Paris and Chartres, Mayeux reports in their statues identical and very well defined features; thus he concludes there has been in this province, between 1130 and 1160 a true school worthy of being called the school of the 12th century, and that these portals were created by craftsmen (sculptors) who most likely came out of the same formation, or perhaps by the same artist . . . The creator of this school would be Saint Bernard, abbot of Tiron, of the Diocese of Chartres. He founded his monastery with the protection of the great Yves of Chartres, bishop of this city, and attracted ‘workmen specialized in wood and iron, sculptors and goldsmiths, painters, masons and others fine craftsmen.’⁴⁰

The same historians also believe the Tironensians were the skilled artisans who introduced the Gothic style in France, starting with the reconstruction (in 1134) of the Notre-Dame Cathedral in Chartres, of which, after a fire in 1194, remain only the triple Royal Portal, built between 1145 and 1170, and the twin bell towers (1134-1165).⁴¹ When Thibault IV le Grand⁴² (d. 1152), Count of Blois, Troyes, Champagne and Chartres, asked the monks of Tiron to invest their talent in the reconstruction of

³⁹ *Les grands portails du XII^e siècle et les Bénédictins de Tiron*, by Albert Mayeux, in-8^e, 26 p., Archives monastiques, *Revue Mabillon*, August 1906; commentary in *Bulletin Monumental*, directed by Eugène Lefevre-Pontalis, Société française d'archéologie, 70e Volume, Paris-Caen 1906, p. 605; also quoted in *Les protagonistes de la popularité de Saint Loup vers 1554 : Hugues de Toucy, Archevêque de Sens*, Les rencontres de Provins, on http://perso.magic.fr/relet/StLoup/Les_Protagonistes/HUGUES_DE_TOUCY.htm

⁴⁰ Mayeux (1906), as quoted in *Les protagonistes de la popularité de Saint Loup vers 1554 : Hugues de Toucy, Archevêque de Sens*, Les rencontres de Provins.

⁴¹ The inception of the Gothic style, with its distinctive pointed arch and ribbed vault that allowed for extraordinary height, first occurred in the region of Paris and Île-de-France between 1120 and 1150 (Source : *A history of the Gothic period of Art and Architecture*, by Andrew Henry Robert Martindale, professor of visual arts, University of East Anglia, Norwich, England, 1974–95, author of *Gothic Art* and others; published on History World International, 1985 – 2004, <http://history-world.org>). Note that the monks of Tiron had a priory at Rueil-Malmaison and another one with a large fief, in the 4th arrondissement of Paris (where rue Tiron is located today).

⁴² Note : Thibault's uncle was Hugues de Champagne who in 1126 had joined the Poor Knights of Christ and the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem; his son Hugues became Abbot of Citeaux in 1155, and his daughter Marguerite joined the Abbey of Fontevraud.

the Cathedral of Chartres, they were already reputed across borders for their expertise and exquisite craftsmanship.

This was also the belief of historian Charles Marie Georges Huysmans (aka Joris-Karl Huysmans), co-founder and first President of the Goncourt Academy (1900-1907), who later became a Benedictine Oblate. Using his extensive knowledge of medieval art and history, Huysmans wrote several, very well documented historical novels, including *La Cathédrale* (1898) in which he claims that the monks of Tiron were the architects of Chartres' Cathedral:

"It may, however, be safely assumed that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Benedictines of the Abbey of Tiron directed the building of our church, for that monastery had established a House at Chartres in 1117; we also know that this convent contained more than five hundred Brothers practising all the arts, and that sculptors, image-makers, stone-cutters, or workers in pierced stone, were numerous. It would therefore seem very natural that these monks sent to live at Chartres were the men who drew the plans of Notre Dame, and employed the horde of artists whom we see represented in one of the old windows of the apse--men in furred caps shaped like a jelly bag, who are busily carving and polishing the statues of kings."⁴³

We cannot ascertain that the monks of Tiron were the master architects who introduced the Gothic style in France, but we do know that they used a unique masonry technique that they probably invented. In Cardigan, South Wales, archaeologists have recently studied the remains of the Tironensian Abbey of St. Dogmael, founded as a priory by Sir Robert Fitz Martin in 1115. They discovered a unique technique of freestone masonry in the abbey's architecture, which they also found throughout the old village of Cardigan as well as in Fitz Martin's manor, in nearby Cemais. The archaeologists have thus concluded that this unique technique of stone masonry may have been introduced in Wales by Fitz Martin:

"With the exception of Portland Stone, Bath Stone and Larvikite, building stones derived from sources beyond Offa's Dyke are conspicuously absent in Cardigan. Here, and in the neighbouring village of St Dogmaels, extensive use has been made of slate and sandstone derived from local quarries. What is particularly intriguing is the way in which these materials have been utilised by local masons in buildings pre-dating the early twentieth century. Courses of dressed slate slabs often alternate with either single or double courses of dressed sandstone blocks. Such banding is prominent in St Dogmaels, not only in houses and cottages, but also in the abbey walls, the only Tironian abbey established in Wales and England. Robert Fitz Martin, the Anglo-Norman lord of Cemais and the abbey's founder, brought a band of monks from the mother abbey of Tiron (Thiron) in the diocese of Chartres. He may also have introduced a building tradition (and possibly some building stones), which are peculiar to that part of Cemais between Cardigan and his castle at Newport."⁴⁴

⁴³ *La Cathédrale* (1898), Chapter III; unabridged English version (plain text) on: <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15067/15067-8.txt>

⁴⁴ From a paper presented at the Conference Stone in Wales, held at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, April, 2002. *The building stones of Cardigan and St Dogmaels, a French connection?* By Dafydd Elis Gruffydd, Trinity College, Carmarthen, UK, on the site National

Robert Fitz Martin (d. 1159) was a riche Norman knight and the first lord of the barony of Cemais which he acquired after the Norman invasion of Wales, around 1100. He not only founded the priory of St. Dogmael, he actually brought a group of Tironensian monks to Wales directly from Tiron, France. The peculiar stone masonry style was most likely invented and introduced in Wales by the Tironensians since we find the exact same type of work at their mother-abbey back in France. Indeed, just a few years ago, archeological excavations at Thiron-Gardais have revealed the same peculiar use of stones in the masonry of the abbey's oldest walls. The mother abbey was built beginning in 1114, less than a year before the foundation of St. Dogmaë.

As mentioned, the monks of Tiron seemed to have mastered all arts and trades. Even more exceptional is the fact that the Tironensians monks, at least those of Lesmahagow, were identified as *pontifices* (bridge builders), a Roman specialty that very few monks mastered in medieval times:

“They [Tironensians] were sometimes employed over a wide district of country, and in the "Statistical Account of Scotland" (article kn Hamilton Parish, 1799) it is mentioned that the old bridge across the Avon, near Barncluith was built by the brethren of Lesmahagow.”⁴⁵

At this point, it does not really matter what country - Italy (Lombardy), England, Germany, or France - the sacred arts of bridge-building and architecture came from, it was most certainly the legacy of the Romans and their famous colleges of artifices and pontifices, and there is little doubt that the Benedictine and the Celtic monks were the heirs of this precious knowledge and that they used it, each in their own Christian way, and in accordance with their respective Rule of life, for the “glorification of God”.

The Rule of Silence

Although we do find several documented testimonials about the monks of Tiron being master craftsmen, it is quite difficult to tell who exactly built what and when. The Benedictine *artificers*, including those of Tiron, were to work in complete silence - occasional hand signs and whispers were permitted - and strictly for the glorification of God. Manual labour was not only essential to community life, it was regarded as sanctifying work as long as the monk never took pride in his talent or accomplishments. The Benedictine Rule (chapter XLVIII, *de Opere manuuni quolidian*) clearly states that the proud craftsman was forbidden to do his work for a certain period of penance. Does this mean the monks of Tiron never left any mark or signature on their work? Not necessarily. Since they were allowed occasional hand signs and most likely knew how to write, perhaps using Tironian notes, some of them may actually have engraved their name or personal mark in stone, for instance at Kilwinning and Chartres. As Huysmans wrote, in *La Cathédrale* (1898):

Museums & Galleries of Wales, on
http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database/stone/trllw_1.html and
<http://www.nmgw.ac.uk/www.php/188#10>

⁴⁵ *The Annals of Lesmahagow, A narrative of events year by year of written records and pictures dating from 1179AD to 1864AD*, curtesy of James Lee, Chapter 2: History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, published on
[http://www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05\(s05\)001.htm](http://www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05(s05)001.htm)

“At the top of the southern belfry, the Old Belfry as it is called, near the window-bay looking towards the New Belfry, this name was deciphered: 'Harman, 1164.' Is it that of an architect, of a workman, or of a night watchman on the look-out at that time in the tower? We can but wonder. Didron, again, discovered on the pilaster of the eastern porch, above the head of a butcher slaughtering an ox, the word 'Rogerus' in twelfth century characters. Was he the architect, the sculptor, the donor of this porch -- or the butcher? Another signature, 'Robir,' is to be seen on the pedestal of a statue in the north porch. Who was Robir? None can say. Langlois too mentions a glass-worker of the thirteenth century, Clément of Chartres, whose signature he found on a window of the Cathedral at Rouen-- *Clement Vitrearius Carnutensis* [...] It may also be remarked that on a pane in our church we read *Petrus Bal...*; is this the name, complete or defaced, of a donor or of a painter? Once more we must confess ourselves ignorant. If I add to this that two of Jehan de Beauce's colleagues have been traced: Thomas Le Vasseur, who assisted him in the building of the new spire, and one Sieur Bernier, whose name occurs in ancient accounts; that from some old contracts, discovered by Monsieur Lecoq, we know that Jehan Soulas, image-maker, of Paris, carved the finest of the groups that are the glory of the choir-aisles, and can verify the names of other sculptors who succeeded this admirable artist, but who are less interesting, since with them pagan art reappears and mediocrity is evident: François Marchant, image-maker, of Orleans, and Nicolas Guybert, of Chartres-- we have mentioned almost all the records worthy of preservation as to the great artists who laboured at Chartres from the twelfth till the close of the first half of the fifteenth century.”⁴⁶

In Benedictine communities, including those following the Celtic liturgy, the monks' daily routine was largely dedicated to manual labour: They had to work at least 6 to 7 hours each day, and the kind of work (divided in two types, fields and workshops) that each one did was decided by the abbot. From Easter until the calends of October, the *artifices* worked from 6 a.m. to 10 a.m., and from 2 p.m. to 6 p.m; from October until the first Sunday in Lent, they worked without interruption from 9 a.m. until 3 p.m.

While such intense physical activity and focus on arts was completely un-Cistercian by Bernard de Clairvaux 's standards, it made perfect sense for monks living in the example of both the Benedictine and the Irish monks of the 6th century. At Tiron, being a monk was not all about penance, mortification and meditation; it was first and foremost about serving God and working solely for His glorification, in symbiosis with Nature. As craftsmen, they could spread the Word of God to the outside world through architectural and other artistic masterpieces that were symbolic of His perfection. It was also, in true Celtic spirit, a question of being in direct contact with the elements and bringing rough matter, such as stone, wood and metal, to life through artistic and manual labour. Such dedicated work could only help establishing direct communication between Man and God's personal Nature. In other words, working with the elements was an act of divine communion.

⁴⁶ *La Cathédrale*, J-K. Huysman (1898), Chapter III, English version : <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15067/15067-8.txt>

Such a vision amongst Benedictine congregations was unique to the Order of Tiron, and it was a conscious choice made early on by Bernard de Tiron. Quite simply, this was the living legacy of the old Culdee system and the *mac an t'saoir*, the noble "freeman" of Celtic society; a tradition much closer to the old Brehon laws and the "free Church" of the Bretons, Scots and Irish than to the Roman Catholic feudal system.

Strong emphasis on manual labour defined the social organisation of Benedictine communities. The Rule of St. Benedict prescribes equal time to work, prayer, study and recreation in roughly equal proportions. The same can be said about the monks who practised the Celtic Rite and followed the Rule of St. Columba, attributed to either the Abbot of Iona (6th century), or to his contemporary, Columbanus, the abbot of Bobbio who founded the Abbey of Luxeuil. Both rules of life were were comptatible, even complementary, and this double regulation system was applied in many Benedictine monasteries during a long time. In fact, the Rule of Saint Benedict was, in essence, Columbanist: it had gradually absorbed and supplanted the much stricter Irish Rule during the 7th to 8th century as most Columbanist monasteries gradually drifted into the Benedictine Order to become, "out of Ireland and other purely Celtic lands, the only rule and form of monastic life throughout Western Europe."⁴⁷ Not surprisingly, many Benedictine monks followed simultaneously the Rule of St. Benedict and the Rule of St. Columba. According to the Catholic Encyclopedia,

"Sometimes the Benedictine code existed side by side with an older observance. This was the case at Bobbio where the monks lived either under the rule of St. Benedict or St. Columbanus, who had founded the monastery in 609. In Gaul at the same period a union of two or more rules was often to be found, as at Luxeuil, Solignac, and elsewhere. In this there was nothing surprising, indeed the last chapter of St. Benedict's rule seems almost to contemplate such an arrangement."⁴⁸

True to the Irish triad tradition, the Columbanist Rule, which was stricter than St. Benedict's, divided each day and all work into three parts:

"Three labours in the day, viz., prayers, work, and reading. The work to be divided into three parts, viz., thine own work, and the work of thy place, as regards its real wants; secondly, thy share of the brethen's [work]; lastly, to help the neighbours, viz., by instruction or writing, or sewing garments, or whatever labour they may be in want of, *ut Dominus ait, Non apparebis ante Me vacuus* [as the Lord says, "You shall not appear before me empty."].⁴⁹

⁴⁷ The 1911 Edition of The Encyclopedia Love to Know, "Benedictine." *LoveToKnow 1911 Online Encyclopedia*. © 2003, 2004 LoveToKnow.
<http://48.1911encyclopedia.org/B/BE/BENEDICTINES.htm>

⁴⁸ *Western Monasticism*, article by G. Roger Huddleston, transcribed by Marie Jutras, in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume X. Published 1911. New York: Robert Appleton Company. Nihil Obstat, October 1, 1911. Remy Lafort, S.T.D., Censor. Imprimatur. +John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York
<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/10472a.htm>

⁴⁹ *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland II*, By A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1873, pp. 119-121

More importantly, the Columbanist monks as well as the Culdees of Scotland and Ireland were divided into three groups, all under the direction of the *magistri* (abbots): the *seniores*, who were responsible for the services in church; the working brothers (*operarii*) who did most of the manual labour in the workshops and the fields; and the *juniores*, the novices or prentices who were under instruction.⁵⁰ This was essentially the system after which Saint Bonifacius modeled his Benedictine monasteries, a wise choice that allowed for the absorption of the Culdees of Germany. And Bernard de Tiron, it seems, did the same thing 400 years later in Scotland and Wales.

We now understand better who were these Breton artisan-monks who built Kilwinning Abbey, and may have left mason marks behind. They were quite different from the other monastic congregations of the 12th century, including the Cistercians who rejected all arts and manual labour. In less than 20 years after the Order's foundation in France, there were thousands of Tironensian artisan-monks in several countries, many of whom, in Scotland and Wales, were most probably Culdees. They quickly gained a reputation as master craftsmen in all arts and trades, including stone masonry, bridge-building and metal working. They were not just regular *artifices* working to support their own monastic communities; they also worked for others, and imparted their knowledge, skills and vision. They were *magistri* - master architects and teachers - who converted and recruited craftsmen, training them as *tirones* in their own colleges to use their talent to build spiritual bridges between men and God.

As Bernard d'Abbeville chose to return to the rigor of the early Benedictines, it appears that he too, like his predecessors, combined the Celtic Rite and the Rule of Saint Benedict, adding a set of specific instructions for his artisan-monks. The 1135 portrait of Bernard wearing the *tonsura magorum*, prohibited by Rome in the 7th century, clearly identifies the Order's founder as as a "freeman" of the old Celtic Church, following the teachings of Saint John and taking orders solely from the Almighty Father, the Great Architect of the Universe.

Bibliography and references

All Saints Parish Episcopal Church, *Commemoration of St. Colman of Lindisfarne*, Brooklyn, Massachusetts, on
<http://www.allsaintsbrookline.org/celtic/saints/colman.html>

Ancient Baird History, on <http://advweb.lsn.net/~vandoren/ancientbaird.html>

Annals of Lesmahagow, A narrative of events year by year of written records and pictures dating from 1179AD to 1864AD, curtesy of James Lee, Chapter 2: History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, published on
[http://www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05\(s05\)001.htm](http://www.lesmahagow.com/history/annals/CH05/05(s05)001.htm)

⁵⁰ *Columba, Pilgrim and penitent*, By Ian Bradley, Wild Goose Publications, 1996, pages 70-73

Aussibal, père Amans, *Fontevraud et ses prieurés*, n° 154, Collection Zodiaque des moines de la Pierre qui Vire, 89850, Saint-Léger Vauban (Yonne), France

Bertin, Georges, *Les ermites et la forêt dans le roman arthurien*, August 1997, on <http://www.mythofrancaise.asso.fr/mythes/themes/ERMIFOR.htm>

Bradley, Ian, *Columba, Pilgrim and penitent*, Wild Goose Publications, 1996, p.70-73

Cairney, C. Thomas, Ph.D., *Clans and Families of Ireland and Scotland, An Ethnography of the Gael A.D. 500 – 1750*, Part IX: The Gaels, Willow Bend Books, 1989

Dodwell, C.R. (transl.), *De Diversis Artibus*, by Theophilus Presbyter, ed. Edinburgh and London, Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd. and New York, Oxford University Press, 1961

Feiss, Fr. Heiss, OSB, STD, *Art and Monasticism*, April 1997, The Benedictine Monastery of the Ascension, Jerome ID, USA, on <http://www.idahomonks.org/aam.htm>

Foster, Edward E. ed., *Sir Owain*, originally Published in *Three Purgatory Poems* Kalamazoo, Michigan: Western Michigan University for TEAMS, 2004

Fret, L. Joseph, *Antiquité et chroniques percheronnes*, Volume 1, Monographies de villes et villages de France, première édition 1838 ; Micberth 2001

Guyonvarc'h, Christian, *Les chrétientés celtiques*, on <http://www.clio.fr/article.asp?article=733&Auteur=3230>

Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon, <http://freemasonry.bcy.ca/texts/afandam.html>

Grau, Phil, P.M., *An abbreviated history of Freemasonry*, 2005, published on the website of Havasu Masonic Lodge N° 64 F. & A.M., Arizona, <http://www.havasumasons.org/index.htm>

Groome, Francis H., ed., *Arbroath, a historical perspective drawn from the Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland: A Survey of Scottish Topography, Statistical, Biographical and Historical*, originally published in parts by Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, Edinburgh between 1882 and 1885; on the site of The Gazetteer for Scotland, <http://www.geo.ed.ac.uk:81/scotgaz/towns/townhistory385.html>

Gruffydd, Dafydd Elis, Trinity College, *The building stones of Cardigan and St Dogmaels, a French connection?* presented at the Conference Stone in Wales, held at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, April, 2002, Carmarthen, UK, on the site National Museums & Galleries of Wales, http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/cisp/database/stone/trllw_1.html and <http://www.nmgw.ac.uk/www.php/188#10>

Guillemin, Denis, *Thiron, Abbaye médiévale*, Amis du Perche, Montrouge 1999

Haddan, A.W., and Stubbs, W., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland II*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1873, pp. 119-121

Hunter-Blair, D.O., article on Scotland in The Catholic Encyclopedia, Volume XIII, 1912 by Robert Appleton Company, Nihil Obstat, February 1, 1912. Remy Lafort, D.D., Censor, *Imprimatur*. + John Cardinal Farley, Archbishop of New York, Online Edition 2003 by K. Knight ; and article on Kilwinning Abbey in The Catholic

Encyclopedia, Volume VIII, Robert Appleton Company 1910. Online Edition 2003 by K. Knight

Huysmans, Joris-Karl, *La Cathédrale*, 1898, original French version: <http://www.huysmans.org/cath/cath2.htm>; English version by Clara Bell, on <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15067/15067-8.txt>

Justin, Dr Gail, Director of Instructional Technology, *Celtic Tradition in Liturgical Practice: The Irish Synthesis*, Manhattanville College, Purchase NY, on <http://faculty.mville.edu/justing/synthesis.htm>

Ladner, Reginald, O.P., *Revive Preaching*, on <http://www.op.org/DomCentral/trad/domwork/...lt.htm#CONTENTS>

Lekai, Louis J., S.O. Cist., Ph.D., *A History of the Cistercian Order*, Chapter 3: The White Monks, page 13, Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady of Spring Bank, Sparte, Wisconsin, 1953, on <http://www.monksonline.org/White-Monks/ch1A.htm>

Levasseur, Paul-Émile, *Le travail dans les monastères au Moyen-Âge*, article on Encyclopédie de l'Agora, Ayers Cliff, Quebec, http://agora.qc.ca/reftext.nsf/Documents/Moyen_Age--Le_travail_dans_les_monasteres_au_Moyen_Age_par_Emile_Levasseur

Mackey, Albert C., M.D., *Encyclopedia of Freemasonry and its Kindred Sciences*, 1875; reprint by Lighthning Source Inc., 2002

Mandonnet, Pierre, O.P., *St. Dominic and His Work*, translated by Sister Mary Benedicta Larkin, O.P., B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis/London, 1948. Chapter 17: Efforts of the Church to Revive Preaching

Martindale, Andrew H. Robert, *A history of the Gothic period of Art and Architecture*, University of East Anglia, Norwich, England, on History World International, 1985-2004, <http://history-world.org>

Mayeux, Pierre-Henri, in Archives monastiques, Revue Mabillon, August 1906, pp. 97-123, quoted in *Les protagonistes de la popularité de Saint Loup vers 1554 : Hugues de Toucy, Archevêque de Sens*, By Les rencontres de Provins, on http://perso.magic.fr/relet/StLoup/Les_Protagonistes/HUGUES_DE_TOUCY.htm

Merlet, Lucien, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de la Sainte-Trinité de Tiron 1114-1140*, Société archéologique d'Eure-et-Loir, Tome I, Chartres, 1883, page 119 (CXIX)

Plummer, Charles, *Excursus on the Pascal Controversy and Tonsure*, in *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896, 1898

Plummer, Charles, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England*, Georges Bell & Sons, London 1907

Pringle, G.C., *Peebles and Selkirk Minerals*, rector, Burgh and County High School, Peebles, 1914

Saint-Maur Congregation, *Histoire littéraire de France, où l'on traite de l'origine et du progrès, de la décadence et du rétablissement des sciences parmi les Gaulois et parmi les François*, Tome X, Qui comprend la suite du douzième siècle de l'Église jusqu'à l'an 1124, par des religieux bénédictins de la Congrégation de S. Maur; nouv. éd. (1995), conforme à la précédente (1868) et rev. par M. Paulin Paris, 1995

Scaki Cuppo, Dr Luciana, Dr. SSA., Proceedings from The City and the Book I – International Congresses in Florence, Certosa, 30, 31 May, 1 June 2001, Section II:

The Christian Bible, Societas Internationalis Pro Vivario, on
<http://www.florin.ms/aleph2.html>

United Grand Lodge of Victoria (Melbourne, Australia), article *Stone masons Terminology*, Holden Research Circle, on
<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Rhodes/3436/terminology.html>

Wylie, Rev. J.A., LL.D. *History of the Scottish Nation*, Vol. III. From the Union of Scots and Picts, A.D. 843, to Death of Alexander III, A.D. 1286, London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., Edinburgh, 1886

Yarker, John, *The Arcane Schools: A review of their origin and antiquity; with a general history of Freemasonry, and its relation to the theosophic, scientific and philosophic mysteries*, Belfast: 1909. Chapter VIII: Masonry in Saxon England