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A SUDDEN CHANGE OF PLANS? REASSESSING THE HOSPITALLERS' CRUSADED STRATEGY IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY

KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

The loss of the Crusader States in the late thirteenth century sparked a multitude of projects in the West to recover the Holy Land, with the Templars and Hospitallers at the forefront of the enterprise. Several of the plans drawn up during this period have survived in written form, allowing historians to trace the evolution of Western crusader strategy. Among these innovations was the plan for a multi-stage crusade, set out in a brief French memorandum by the Hospitallers, which historians have dated to 1306–1309. Recent scholarship has challenged this assessment, suggesting a later date for the memorandum because the project differs from the orders' other recovery plans of the time. The article re-examines these arguments by looking at the manuscript evidence as well as parallel sources from royal and papal registers. It argues for the thesis that the memorandum was composed for Pope Clement V between March and August 1308 and that it was inextricably linked with the Hospitallers' plans to conquer Rhodes. On this basis, the deviations noted by historians should be seen as the result of changing geopolitical circumstances and a rapidly evolving expert discourse at Western courts.

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The defeats of the Crusaders in the East during the second half of the thirteenth century led Western rulers to rethink their military modus operandi and to seek new ways and means of conducting a crusade. Beginning with the Second Council of Lyon in 1274 and reinforced by the loss of the Crusader States in 1291, numerous plans for the recovery of the Holy Land were hatched, some daring, others more conservative.¹ Although they faced considerable criticism at the time, the military orders were heavily involved in these initiatives and recovery projects.² Parts of their ideas for a crusade are recorded in six treatises, one written by the Templars and five by the Hospitallers.³ Among these is a short memorandum titled *Traité comment la Terre Sainte puet estre recouverte par les Crestiens*, ascribed to the Master and the Convent of the Hospitallers. When Benjamin Kedar and Sylvia Schein presented the first edition of the *Traité*, they dated the work to 1306 or 1307 and connected it to the crusade plans of Clement V (*c. 1264 †1314). They naturally assumed that the Master in question was Foulques de Villaret (†1327) and that the memorandum was addressed directly to the pope.⁴ In his introduction to the new edition of several recovery proposals, including the *Traité* and three other treatises composed by the Hospitallers, Jacques Paviot deviated only slightly from this assessment, arguing for a date between October 1307 and August 1308.⁵

¹ Thomas Ertl, "De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae: Kreuzzugspläne nach 1291 zwischen Utopie und Useful Knowledge," in *Zukunft im Mittelalter: Zeitkonzepte und Planungsstrategien*, ed. Klaus Oschema and Bernd Schneidmüller (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2021), 283–312; Joseph Delaville Le Roux, *La France en Orient au XIV^e siècle: Expéditions du maréchal Boucicaut*, vol. 1 (Paris: Thorin, 1886), 11–102; Anthony Leopold, *How to Recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000); Sylvia Schein, *Fideles crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991); Gion Wallmeyer, *Wissen über Ungewisses: Politische Berater und die spätmittelalterlichen Kreuzzugspläne (1274–1336)* (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2023).

² Alan Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusade Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries," *Traditio* 36 (1980): 317–345; Gion Wallmeyer, "With Pen and Sword. Knights as Crusade Advisors Between the 12th and 14th Century," *Francia* 46 (2019): 469–485.

³ See Hans Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens: Mit Benutzung bisher ungedruckter Materialien* (Berlin: Grote, 1888), 313–315 (Source edition no. 5, Instruktion für die Bevollmächtigten des Hospitaliterordens) and Roger of Stanegrange, "Li charboclois d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre sainte de promission," in *Projets de croisade (v. 1290 – v. 1330)*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Paris: De Boccard, 2008), 293–387 in addition to those mentioned in the article below.

⁴ Benjamin Z. Kedar and Sylvia Schein, "Un projet de passage particulier proposé par l'ordre de l'Hôpital, 1306–1307," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 137, no. 2 (1979): 213–216.

⁵ Jacques Paviot, "Introduction," in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Paviot, 27–28.

However, recent scholarship has cast serious doubt on these assumptions. Alain Demurger has pointed out several discrepancies between the *Traité* and another proposal written by the Order in 1306, which would imply that the Hospitallers had substantially altered their recovery plans within little more than a year.⁶ On the basis of this evidence, Alain Beltjens and Anthony Luttrell have recently proposed that the *Traité* should be re-dated to 1319–1323 and linked to the crusade being prepared by the French Crown at the time.⁷ This would make the Hospitaller Master Hélion de Villeneuve († 1346) the principal author of the memorandum instead of Foulques de Villaret, who had been deposed by his brethren in 1317.⁸ Given these difficulties, it seems pertinent to reconsider the historical context of the *Traité* and its relation to other early fourteenth-century recovery projects.

In the following article, I intend to reassess these arguments by drawing on manuscript evidence and other sources that have been overlooked in the debate. I will argue for the thesis that the *Traité* was composed for Pope Clement V in late 1307 or 1308, most likely between March and August 1308, and that it was linked to the Hospitallers' plans to conquer Rhodes. To this end, I will first outline the historical context of the memorandum and summarise the academic debate on the text. After that, I will examine the manuscript tradition of the *Traité* and argue that its importance for dating the memorandum should not be overstated. Thirdly, I will review parallel sources from the early 14th century and use them to date the *Traité*. In the final part, I will situate the work within the Western discourse on the recovery of the Holy Land, thereby attempting to explain the changes in the Hospitallers' plans that scholars have rightly noted.

⁶ Alain Demurger, “Les ordres militaires et la croisade au début du XIV^e siècle: Quelques remarques sur les traités de croisade de Jacques de Molay et de Foulques de Villaret,” in *Dei gesta per Francos: Études sur les croisades dédiées à Jean Richard*, ed. Michel Balard, Benjamin Z. Kedar, and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 124–126; id., *Les Hospitaliers: De Jérusalem à Rhodes, 1050–1317* (Paris: Tallandier, 2013), 471–472.

⁷ Alain Beltjens, “Les mémoires relatifs à la reconquête de la Terre sainte adressés, à sa demande, au pape Clément V, par Foulques de Villaret et Jacques de Molay, ainsi que la suite qui leur fut réservée,” *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'ordre de Malte* 35 (2016): 4–37; Anthony Luttrell, “A Hospitaller Crusade Treatise Reviewed,” *Crusades* 22, no. 1 (2023): 62–66.

⁸ Foulques de Villaret was overthrown in a violent coup by his brethren in 1317. He was reinstated by Jean XXII in 1319, only to step down from his position shortly after. Anthony Luttrell, “Notes on Foulques de Villaret: Master of the Hospital, 1305–1319,” in *Guillaume de Villaret: 1er recteur du Comtat Venaissin 1274, grand maître de l'Ordre de Saint Jean de Jérusalem, Chypre 1296* (Paris: Conseil international de la langue française, 1985), 73–90, still provides the best overview of the master's biography.

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE TREATISES

The election of a new pope and a new master of the Hospitallers in 1305 re-ignited the crusading ambitions among Western rulers. In June 1306, Clement V invited Foulques de Villaret of the Hospitallers and Jacques de Molay (*c. 1248 †1314) of the Templars to meet him at Poitiers in November to discuss the recovery of the Holy Land and the possibility of a union between their orders.⁹ Both masters were occupied in the East at the time, so they first sent their written advice to the pope, with the promise that they would meet him in France early the following year.¹⁰ Their respective plans are set out in a *Consilium magistri Templi super negotio Terre Sancte* and a *Informatio et instructio nostri magistri Hospitalis superfaciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*. While the Templars focused mainly on geostrategy and logistics to devise a crusade plan, the Hospitallers also examined various ways of financing the crusade.¹¹ At the same time, the orders produced two separate memoranda on the question of union, of which only that of the Templars has survived.¹² Foulques de Villaret probably waited until the general chapter of his order, held in Limassol at the beginning of November 1306, before beginning to compose his advice.¹³ He travelled to the West in the spring of 1307, arriving in Poitiers in August at the latest, where he was received favourably by the pope and stayed at the curia for a few months.¹⁴

⁹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, vol. 1, ed. Luigi Tosti (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1885), no. 1033. On the crusading ambitions of Clement V see Sophia Menache, “When Ideology Met Reality: Clement V and the Crusade,” in *La papauté et les croisades: Actes du VII^e congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. Michel Balard (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 105–116.

¹⁰ Alain Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: Le crépuscule des templiers* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 2002), 207–212.

¹¹ Jacques de Molay, “Conseil sur le saint passage,” in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Paviot, 183–188; Joseph Petit, “Mémoire de Foulques de Villaret sur la croisade,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 60 (1899): 602–610. Older scholarship dates the *Informatio* to 1305, which should be rejected given that both masters explicitly refer to a papal enquiry at the beginning of their memoranda, and the only one known is the request of June 1306, cf. *ibid.*, 603; Jacques de Molay, “Conseil,” 183.

¹² Jacques de Molay, “Consilium magistri Templi datum Clementi V super unione Templariorum et Hospitalariorum,” in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 3, ed. Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1921), 150–154.

¹³ *Cartulaire général de l’Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem 1100–1310*, vol. IV, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, (Paris: Leroux, 1906), 137 no. 4735.

¹⁴ John of Saint-Victor, “Vita Clementis V,” in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 1, ed. Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1914), 10.

While plans for a crusade to recover the Holy Land were still being discussed, the Hospitallers had already launched an expedition to conquer Rhodes and the surrounding isles, which were then subject to the Byzantine emperor. In May 1306, the order had signed a contract for the division of the Dodecanese with a Genoese military entrepreneur named Vignolo dei Vignoli, who allegedly ruled over the islands of Kos and Leros.¹⁵ A month later, the Genoese and the Hospitallers dispatched a joint force to the East, which managed to seize several towns and castles on the islands, but failed to take the city of Rhodes.¹⁶ A protracted siege of the fortified city began, which would last until August 1309 (or perhaps even until 1310).¹⁷ Despite this setback, Clement V confirmed the order's possession of Rhodes during Foulques de Villaret's stay at the curia in September 1307.¹⁸

The pope was in favour of the expedition because the conquest of Rhodes coincided with the Hospitallers' plans for a full-scale crusade to reconquer the Holy Land. In their *Informatio*, the order had argued for the creation of a permanent fleet in the eastern Mediterranean that would disrupt trade with Egypt and raid coastal settlements in preparation for the actual crusade. The papal embargo on trade with Egypt dated back to 1179 and, although it proved difficult to enforce, it was tightened in the decades that followed.¹⁹ The project of a permanent fleet, however, was first conceived by the advisers of Charles II of Anjou in 1291 and adopted by later crusade planners such as the Hospitallers. The *Informatio* does not mention any actual naval bases for the fleet, but the contemporary chronicler known as Templar of Trye explicitly connects the conquest of Rhodes to the Hos-

¹⁵ Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre: 1100–1310* (Paris: Leroux, 1904), 274–275 no. 2.

¹⁶ *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, vol. 1, *Chronique d'Amadi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1891), 256–258.

¹⁷ Most historians date the surrender of Rhodes to August 1309, e.g. Demurger, *Les Hospitaliers*, 471–475; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant c. 1070–1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012): 223–224; Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers and the Papacy: 1305–1314," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, vol. 2, ed. Karl Borchardt (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1998), 597. Albert Failler, "L'occupation de Rhodes par les Hospitaliers," *Revue des études byzantines* 50 (1992): 119–120, on the other hand, gives August 1310 as a date, citing Bernard Gui, "Flores chronicorum," in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 1, ed. Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1914), 68.

¹⁸ *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, IV: nos. 4749, 4751.

¹⁹ See Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012): 236–259; Stefan K. Stantchev, *Spiritual Rationality: Papal Embargo as Cultural Practice* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2014).

pitallers' plans to disrupt Muslim trade.²⁰ The experts of the order expected that these measures, dubbed *primum passagium*, would weaken the enemy to the point where a full-scale crusade, dubbed *passagium generale*, could be launched to take the Holy Land. The Hospitallers thus instrumentalised the concept of a two-stage crusade to combine their ambitions for the conquest of Rhodes with the Western desire to recover the Holy Land.²¹

Until recently, the scholarly consensus was that the Hospitallers followed up the plans set out in the *Informatio* with two further memoranda written in French, with one of them being the *Traité* and the other titled *La Devise des Chemins de Babiloïne*. The first of these is another two-stage plan for a crusade, while the latter contains an itinerary for the crusaders as well as a dossier on the strength of the Mamluk army. It has been suggested that the two texts belong together, since they share a similar Latin incipit not found in any other crusade proposals of the time. It reads as follows:

Incipit tractatus dudum habitus ultra mare per magistrum et conventum Hospitalis et per alios probos viros qui diu steterunt ultra mare qualiter Terra Sancta possit per Christianos recuperari.²²

Incipit tractatus dudum habitus ultra mare per magistrum et conventum Hospitalis et alios probos viros qui diu steterunt ultra mare et sciunt potestatem soldani et Sarracenorum, ad sciendum quot homines armorum

²⁰ “Chronique du Templier de Tyr,” in *Les Gestes des Chiprois: Recueil de chroniques françaises écrites en Orient au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, ed. Gaston Raynaud (Geneva: Fick, 1887), 320: Frère Fouque de Villeret, maistre de l’Ospital, au coumensement de sa maistrerie, vost avoir gré de Dieu et los et honor au siecle: si enprist d’aler prendre cest[e] dite ible de Rodes, et pourpensa que il defenderoit à passer les marchandies [...], quy aleent as Sarazins, et poroit ausi meismes sousmettre ses vizins de la Turquie à la crestienté.

²¹ Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Die Johanniter: Ein geistlicher Ritterorden in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Munich: Beck, 2011), 80–81, makes a similar point.

²² Benjamin Z. Kedar and Sylvia Schein, “Un projet de passage particulier proposé par l’ordre de l’Hôpital, 1306–1307,” *Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des Chartes* 137, no. 2 (1979): 221 (Source edition no. 1, *Incipit Tractatus dudum habitus ultra mare per magistrum et conventum Hospitalis et per alios probos viros qui diu steterunt ultra mare [...]*). A copy of the text in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève has a French version of the incipit, cf. ibid.: *Ci commence .I. autre traité qui fu pieça accordé entre la mer par le mestre de l’Ospital et par autres preudes homes qui longuement ont demouré oultre la mer; et enseignie coment la Terre sainte puet estre recouvrree par les crestiens.*

*potest facere dictus soldanus cum toto posse Sarracenorum, et in quibus locis
et infra quot dies potest eos simul congregare.²³*

Historians initially assumed the *Devise* was written before the fall of Acre in 1291, until Robert Irwin demonstrated convincingly that the composers drew on Mamluk administrative manuals and argued that the memorandum must have been drafted between 1299 and 1310.²⁴ The claim that the memoranda were made overseas some time ago has puzzled historians and led Kedar and Schein to believe that they must have been written before 1307, when Foulques de Villaret was still in the East. Paviot has noted that the wording is at best ambiguous and leaves open the possibility of later revision in the West.²⁵ On this basis, scholars have linked the *Devise* to the *Traité* and proposed dates ranging from 1306 to 1309. Both memoranda, although mostly in French rather than Latin, were generally thought to have been written for Clement V and after the *Informatio*.²⁶

Recent scholars, however, have noted several differences between the crusade projects outlined in the *Informatio* and the *Traité*, leading them to believe that the latter may have been written several years later than previously thought. Even though both memoranda propose a two-stage plan for a crusade, they disagree on the timing and numbers. While the *Informatio* calls for a fleet of 25 galleys to disrupt trade and another 50–60 ships to engage in coastal raids for one year, the *Traité* asks for a fleet of 60 galleys, 1000 horsemen and 4000 crossbowmen to carry out both of these tasks for five years before launching the *passage general*.

²³ “La devise des chemins de Babylone,” in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Paviot, 201. For the French version of the SG-manuscript see *ibid.*, 201 no. 4: *Ci commence j. traictié qui fut pieça fait oultre la mer, ordené par le mestre et par le couvent de l’Ospital et par autres preudes hommes qui ont demouré oultre la mer et scevent le pooir du soudan et des Sarrazins, et est fait pour savoir quans hommes a armes le soudan puet avoir en tot le pooir des Sarrazins et en quiex lieus et dedens quans jors il les puet assambler ensamble.*

²⁴ Robert Irwin, “How many miles to Babylon? The *Devise des Chemins de Babiloine* redated,” in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm C. Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 57–63; “La devise des chemins de Babiloine,” ed. Paul Riant, in *Itinéraires à Jérusalem et descriptions de la Terre sainte*, ed. Henri Victor Michelant and Gaston Raynaud (Paris: Fick, 1882), 239–252; Charles Schefer, “Étude sur la devise des chemins de Babiloine,” *Revue de l’Orient latin* 2 (1884): 89–101.

²⁵ Paviot, “Introduction,” 28. It is important to note that the introduction to the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Traité* merely states that the memorandum is the work of *magistri hospitalis et aliorum proborum virorum qui diu steterunt ultra mare*, without mentioning that it was written in the East, cf. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Lat. 7470, fol. 9r. See also *ibid.*, fol. 1v, 12v.

²⁶ Leopold, *How to Recover*, 28–29; Luttrell, “The Hospitallers,” 601; Schein, *Fideles crucis*, 219.

In addition, the *Informatio* argues that the command of the campaign should be entrusted to a duo of a military and a spiritual leader, whereas the *Traité* stresses that the commander should be accustomed to Muslim warfare and specifically excludes kings from leading the crusade. Beltjens as well as Luttrell have argued that it seems not plausible for the Hospitallers to alter their plans so fundamentally during the course of only one or maybe two years. The *Traité* also mentions Rhodes as a possible naval base in addition to Cyprus, and completely omits the Templars, who were arrested in October 1307 and dissolved in March 1312. For these reasons Beltjens and Luttrell suggested that the *Traité* was probably composed between 1319 and 1323, when the French crown was planning a crusade to the East, which would also explain why the *Traité* was written in French rather than Latin.²⁷

II. MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE TREATISES

At first glance, the manuscript tradition of the *Traité* also seems to suggest that the memorandum must have been composed in the early 1320s. The *Traité* is preserved in two manuscript collections from the fourteenth century and another from the fifteenth century. The oldest of these three codices, currently in the Bibliothèque nationale de France under the reference Ms. Latin 7470, can be traced back through manuscript illustrations to the reign of Philip V (1316–1322) or the early years of Charles IV's reign (1322–1328).²⁸ The collection contains six other, mostly Latin, tracts, including the *Devise*, all written in one hand and unaltered since their original composition. The seven tracts are preceded by an introduction stating that the collection was compiled to provide instruction for those who wish to travel overseas on crusade.²⁹ Since Philip V began preparations for a crusade in 1319,

²⁷ Petit, “Mémoire de Foulques,” 604 and 606 (Source edition no. 1, *Hec est informatio et instructio nostri magistri Hospitalis super faciendo [...]*); Kedar and Schein “Un projet,” 224, 226 (Source edition no. 1). Beltjens, “Mémoires,” 24–31; Luttrell, “A Hospitaller Crusade Treatise,” 65–66.

²⁸ BnF Ms. Lat. 7470. The miniatures on fol. 117r and fol. 123v feature a king with the arms of both France and Navarre. It must therefore have been made during the reign of Louis X, Philip V or Charles IV, since their successor Philip VI no longer held the crown of Navarre. Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, “Thomas of Wymondswold,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996): 64 identify the illustrator as the anonymous Wymondswold Master, who worked in Paris during the early 14th century.

²⁹ BnF Ms. Lat. 7470, fol. 1r: *Ad honorem Dei beate Marie et omnium sanctorum et animarum transvectare volencium salutem eorum que instructionem habendam cura factum passagium annuente domino de proximo feliciter faciendi: In hoc presenti volu[m]ine ponuntur decem*

which were continued by his successor Charles IV until they collapsed for lack of funds in 1323, scholars have unanimously dated the manuscript to this period.³⁰ Christopher Tyerman has suggested that the collection was compiled by the Bishop of Mende, Guillaume Durand (*c. 1266 †1330), who had been the procurator of the French crusading tax since the reign of Philip V and aspired to become patriarch of Jerusalem one day.³¹ The other 14th-century manuscript collection, currently held as Ms. 1654 in the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, is a French translation of the texts in BnF Lat. 7470, also produced at the French court shortly after the original collection. Unlike BnF Lat. 7470, codex SG 1654 was later disassembled and is therefore missing several parts. The last manuscript collection, now BnF Ms. Française 12360, is believed to be a copy of SG 1654 from the fifteenth century.³²

Although both BnF Lat. 7470 and SG 1654 were undoubtedly produced in the early 1320s, most (or perhaps even all) of the texts in the collection were written at least ten years earlier. The first tract in BnF Lat. 7470 is a rare version of Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*, comprising five instead of four books (fol. 15r–108r). While the treatise itself dates back to the fifth century, Michael Reeve has shown that the oldest of these five-book variants originates from the early fourteenth century.³³ The second text is a compilation titled *Alius tractatus de re militari*, which contains excerpts from the Latin translation of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum secretorum*

libri · ut per debita[m] meditacionem et operacionem contentorum in eis: reparamus decimum ordinem angelorum [...]. The scribe identifies himself as Petrus de Beverlaco, cf. *ibid.*, fol. 115v.

³⁰ Delaville Le Roux, *La France*, 1: 80; Yong-Jin Hong, “Le projet de croisade entre champ du religieux et champs transversaux. Le système de communication politique dans deux anthologies de Charles IV et de Philippe VI,” in *Contre-champs. Études offertes à Jean-Philippe Genet*, ed. Aude Mairey, Solal Abélès, and Fanny Madeline (Paris: Garnier, 2016), 239–274. For the crusading plans of Philip V and Charles IV see Norman Housley, “The Franco-Papal Crusade Negotiations of 1322–1323,” *Papers of the British School at Rome* 48 (1980): 166–185; Christopher Tyerman, “Philip V of France, the Assemblies of 1319–20 and the Crusade,” *Historical Research* 57, no. 135 (1984): 15–34.

³¹ Christopher Tyerman, “Sed nihil fecit? The Last Capetians and the Recovery of the Holy Land,” in *War and Government in the Middle Ages*, ed. John Gillingham and James C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1986), 180. For further arguments see Wallmeyer, *Wissen*, 410–414.

³² Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Ms. Franç. 12360, 360–367; Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Ms. 1654, fol. 147v–151r. See also Kedar and Schein “Un projet,” 221 (Source edition no. 1); “La devise des chemins de Babylone,” 199 no. 1–3; Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, “Context and Reception: A Crusading Collection for Charles IV of France,” in *Courtly Arts and the Art of Courtliness*, ed. Keith Busby and Christopher Kleinhenz (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2006), 105–180.

³³ Michael D. Reeve, “Transmission of Vegetius’s *Epitoma rei militaris*,” *Aevum* 74, no. 1 (2000): 294–297.

made by Philip of Tripoli between 1230 and 1240 (fol. 108v–115v).³⁴ It is followed by two more practical crusade proposals, the first drafted by Guillaume Durand himself (fol. 117r–123v). This is the only text in the codex apart from the introduction that could actually date to the years in which the codex was created (i.e. 1319–1323). However, given that Durand was asked by Philip IV to provide advice on the recovery of the Holy Land in 1313, his proposal may well have been written at that time.³⁵ The next proposal titled *Informatio alia de pertinentibus ad passagium* (fol. 123v–129v) has long been wrongly credited to García Miguel de Ayerve, who served as Bishop of León from 1318 to 1332. As I have recently shown, it should instead be attributed to one of his predecessors, Gonzalo de Hinojosa (†1327), who wrote the memorandum for King Philip IV while on a diplomatic mission at the French court in 1312 or 1313.³⁶ The bishops' memorandum is followed by a tract *De statu Sarracenorum* composed by the Dominican friar William of Tripoli in 1273 or 1274 (fol. 131r–162v). The *Traité* (fol. 163r–172r) and the *Devise* (fol. 172r–178v) are the last two pieces in the crusading compilation.

Given the evidence from the manuscript tradition presented above, it seems very likely that Guillaume Durand collected older crusade proposals and combined them with theoretical treatises such as Vegetius' *Epitoma*, to create a compendium for the forthcoming campaigns of Philip V and Charles IV. Both kings wanted Pope Jean XXII to fund one or two preliminary expeditions led by Count Louis of Clermont (*1279 †1341), dubbed *primum passagium* and *passagium particulare*, before embarking on a general crusade of their own afterwards.³⁷ Since all of the proposals included in BnF Lat. 7470 and its translations advocate some variant of a multi-stage crusade, they would have provided the French crown not only with the expertise needed for the undertaking, but also with good arguments for their financial demands towards the pope. Even if this assumption turns out to be false, it remains apparent that the manuscript tradition alone does not provide

³⁴ BnF Ms. Lat. 7470, fol. 8v: *In secunda ponitur tractatus Arastotilis ad Alexandrum de dispositione exercitus et de electione capitaneorum et bellatorum. In tertia ponitur alius tractatus eiusdem Arastotilis de regimine et forma bellatorum et aggrediencium et incipiencium bellum [...].*

³⁵ *Lettres de Philippe le Bel relatives au pays de Gévaudan*, ed. Jean Roucaute (Mende: Privat, 1896), 141 no. 74. Philip IV had taken the cross together with his sons in June 1313, cf. *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327)*, vol. I, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin: Rothschild, 1908), 259–260 no. 308; and Bernard Gui, "Flores chronicorum," 75, among others.

³⁶ Gion Wallmeyer, "Zur falschen Zeit am rechten Ort: Der Kreuzzugsplan des Bischofs von León neu datiert," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 142 (2023): 447–462.

³⁷ *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Jean XXII (1316–1334) relatives à la France*, vol. 1–2, ed. Auguste Coulon (Paris: Fontemoing, 1913), nos. 1262, 1685.

a sufficient basis for dating the *Traité* to 1319–1323, but rather seems to suggest an earlier origin.

III. CRUSADE PLANNING AT THE WESTERN COURTS

Since the manuscript tradition is of limited help, one has to turn to other written evidence to date the *Traité* with any certainty. Crusade proposals like the ones composed by the Hospitallers, Guillaume Durand, or Gonzalo de Hinojosa were not the work of mere theorists and armchair generals, but part of ongoing discussions and in-person planning sessions at the Western courts of their time. Therefore, most of the works are mentioned by other crusade advisers, in papal registers or in the diplomatic correspondence of contemporary rulers. The *Traité* is no exception in this regard, and parts of it are referenced in at least four different sources from the years 1308 to 1311.

Two of these sources refer to the incipit of the *Traité* mentioned above. The first is a short memorandum written by the Norman lawyer Pierre Dubois (*c. 1250 †c. 1320) and titled *Oppinio cuiusdam suadentis regi Francie ut regnum Jerosolimitanum et Cipri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum*. Sometime around 1306 or 1307, Dubois had written a lengthy treatise *De recuperatione Terre Sancte* for Philip IV, but his work went largely unnoticed at the French court.³⁸ In the years between 1308 and 1310, he revised his crusading plans to take account of new political developments, notably the Templar affair and the assassination of Albert I of Habsburg (*1255 †1308). The *Oppinio* is one of these amendments, another being the memorandum *Pro facto Terre Sancte*.³⁹ In the *Oppinio*, Dubois

³⁸ Pierre-Anne Forcadet, “Le De recuperatione Terre Sancte de Pierre Dubois: Précédé de croisade et pouvoir royal,” in *Les projets de croisade: Géostratégie et diplomatie européenne du XIV^e au XVII^e siècle*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Mirail, 2014), 69–86; Chris Jones, “Rex Francie in regno suo principes est: The Perspective of Pierre Dubois,” *Comitatus* 34 (2003): 49–87.

³⁹ Pierre Dubois, “Oppinio cuiusdam suadentis regi Franciae ut regnum Jerosolimitanum et Cipri acquireret pro altero filiorum suorum, ac de invasione Egipti,” in *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, vol. 3, edited by Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1921), 154–162; id., “Pro facto Terre Sancte,” ed. Edgard Bouteaic, in *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, vol. 20 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1862), 186–189. Id., *The Recovery of the Holy Land*, trans. Walther I. Brandt (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1956), 215, dates the *Oppinio* to 1308, without giving further sources. Since the *Oppinio* mentions an audience with Philip IV on the Feast of the Ascension in 1308 and assumes that the

deviated from the plan he had laid out in the tract *De recuperatione* and, like the Hospitallers, advocated the creation of a permanent fleet to disrupt trade and raid coastal settlements in preparation for the *passagium generale*. He added that he knew that this undertaking was possible on the basis of the testimony of *prudentes et experti milites de partibus illis* [i.e. the Outremer] *nati, qui Babilonem et Egiptum cum eorum habitatoribus profitentur se vidisse et ob hunc finem diligenter considerasse*.⁴⁰ In ascribing the project to honourable knights who knew the East from first-hand experience, Dubois seems to echo the incipit of the *Traité* and the *Devise*, although neither of those memoranda mentions that their composers were born in the Crusader States. Apart from these two, however, there is no record of any other crusade proposals from this period to which his statement might have referred.⁴¹ In the same memorandum, Dubois also presented a revision of the route to the East that he had outlined in his earlier tract. Instead of taking the land route through Asia Minor, he wanted the crusaders to attack Egypt by sea and then proceed to Jerusalem via the Sinai Peninsula, in the manner proposed in the *Devise*.⁴² Thus it seems likely that the Norman lawyer had access to both the *Devise* and the *Traité*, which would put them no later than 1310 and rule out the years 1319–1323. Dubois could have obtained them from one of his sources at the French court, among them the Bishop of Béziers, whom he knew from their years of study at the University of Paris.⁴³

Much more obvious and easily dateable than Dubois's allusion to the *Traité* are the references in a letter from the diplomatic correspondence of King James II of Aragon. Ever since the Hospitallers began preparing for a new crusade in 1305, James II had been their main opponent. The king was on the verge of launching a crusade against the Emirate of Granada and was concerned that a simultaneous expedition to the East would be a serious impediment to this endeavour. It was for this reason that he began to lobby the papal curia against the Hospitallers.

Regent of Cyprus, Amalric (*c. 1272 †1310), was still alive, it must have been written between May 1308 and June 1310.

⁴⁰ Dubois, "Oppinio," 156. In 1306, Dubois had still pleaded for a general crusade without a preliminary expedition, cf. Pierre Dubois, "De recuperatione Terre Sancte," ed. and trans. Marianne Sághy and Alexis Léonas, in *De la reconquête de la Terre sainte: De l'abrévement des guerres et procès du royaume des Francs*, ed. Pierre-Anne Forcadet (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019), 222.

⁴¹ For a study of the incipit of crusade proposals see Wallmeyer, *Wissen*, 545–547.

⁴² Dubois, "Oppinio," 157–158.

⁴³ For a possible connection between Pierre Dubois and Richard Leneveu, Bischop of Béziers, see Ernst Zeck, *Der Publizist Pierre Dubois: Seine Bedeutung im Rahmen der Politik Philipps IV. des Schönen, und seine literarische Denk- und Arbeitsweise im Traktat De recuperatione Terre Sancte* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1911), 29–33.

After several quarrels, he wrote to his envoys at the curia in March 1308 (or maybe 1309), instructing them to explain to the pope that the Hospitallers' plans for the recovery of the Holy Land were unfeasible. To make his case, he said he had spoken to *molts prohomens de la ciutat de Barcelona, los quals nos sabem, que avien moltes vegades estat en les partes Doltramar, e les quals nos pensavem, que sabessen totes les circumstancies del fet*.⁴⁴ His wording mirrors that of the incipit of the *Traité* and the *Devise*, so a direct connection between the King's letter and the Hospitallers' memoranda seems very likely.

It could be argued at this point that the incipit may have been added to the *Traité* at a later date and that both James II and Pierre Dubois only referred only to the *Devise*. The material evidence, however, suggests that the two memoranda belong together, for every manuscript containing the *Traité* also contains the *Devise* immediately after it. Only an incomplete manuscript fragment from the collection of the humanist Jacques Bongars (*1554 †1612) has the *Devise* without the *Traité*.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the introduction of BnF Lat. 7470 mentioned above treats the *Traité* and the *Devise* as one treatise with two parts.⁴⁶ It even notes that the first paragraph of the *Traité* is written in Latin, while the rest of the text is in French.⁴⁷ Although it is possible that the *Traité* and the *Devise* were written at different times and that the Latin introduction was added at a later date, the manuscript tradition suggests that this is rather unlikely.

Fortunately, there are further references to the *Traité* in the Aragonese correspondence as well as in the papal registers. In the aforementioned letter, James II also noted he had heard that the Hospitallers had promised the pope to retake Antioch or Jerusalem within five years.⁴⁸ Of all the surviving crusade proposals,

⁴⁴ *Acta Aragonensis: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327)*, vol. III, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin: Rothschild, 1922), 198 no. 91. The letter is signed *Barchinona XVI. Kalendas Aprilis anno domini MCCC octavo*. Finke, however, assuming a copial error, has instead dated the document to the 17th of March 1309, without further explanation. Since he was unaware of the *Traité*, it seems reasonable to review his decision and consider the date given in the document itself.

⁴⁵ Bern. Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 280, fol. 75r–78v.

⁴⁶ BnF Ms. Lat. 7470, fol. 1v–2r: *Quartus tractatus est magistri Hospitalis Ierosolimitani factus cum consilio illorum qui longo tempore steterunt ultra mare qualiter Terra sancta possit acquiri et acquisita custodiri et de potestate quam Soldanii et Saraceni habent et habere possunt circa maritima vel in aliis locis. Et iste ultimus tractatus est in gallico.*

⁴⁷ BnF Ms. Lat. 7470, fol. 9r: *Et prima rubrica tractatus primi [i.e. the *Traité*] qui est in Latino.*

⁴⁸ *Acta Aragonensis*, ed. Finke, III: 199 no. 91: *Desa se diu, quels Espitalers donen entendre al senyor papa, que dins V annys li aurau per guerra o per plet Jherusalem o Antiochia, de la qual cosa non*

none but the *Traité* gives a five-year plan for the recovery of the Holy Land, whereas the *Informatio* estimates only one year and the *Devise* includes no timetable at all.⁴⁹ Another source from the Aragonese archives, written by the King's envoys in October 1311 during the Council of Vienne, also alludes to the Hospitallers' five-year plan. When the council discussed the recovery of the Holy Land, Cardinal Bérenger Frédol (†1323) accused Foulques de Villaret of deceiving the pope and his cardinals, because when the council was announced, he had promised to deliver the keys of Jerusalem to them within five years, but nothing had happened since.⁵⁰ The announcement he refers to is the bull *Regnans in coelis* issued on 12 August 1308, so the Hospitallers' five-year plan must have been devised around the same year.⁵¹

On the day before he convoked the council, Clement V decided to support the Hospitallers in their efforts to recover the Holy Land despite the concerns voiced by James II and his envoys. The bull *Exsurgat Deus* of 11 August 1308, by which he granted the Hospitallers indulgences and ecclesiastical funds for their *passagium*, provides further evidence that the *Traité* was written during this year. The plan laid out by the pope envisions a *passagium* consisting of 1000 horsemen and 4000 men on foot, led by Foulques de Villaret and a papal legate, for a period of five years in order to prepare *pontes et vias* for the following *passagium generale*.⁵² This means

creega negu, que no es cosa possible, que per aquesta armada ne per aquesta gent ne puscha fer. The *Traité* also mentions Antioch, but as a warning against the land route via Asia Minor, not as a target for the Crusaders, cf. Kedar and Schein "Un projet," 222–223 (Source edition no. 1).

⁴⁹ Kedar and Schein "Un projet," 224, 226 (Source edition no. 1). This is one of the contradictions noted by Demurger, *Les ordres militaires*, 125.

⁵⁰ "Aragonische Gesandtschaftsberichte vom allgemeinen Konzil von Vienne," in *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. II, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Aschendorff, 1907), 243 no. 126: *E dix [Bérenger Frédol], que perço era feta mencio del subsidi de la Terra Sancta en les letres de la convocatio del concili* [i.e. the bull *Regnans in coelis*], *com en lo temps, ques donaven, lo maestre del Espital tractava lavors lo passatge. E axi ara lo papa els cardenals son se trobats enganats en ço quel maestre parlava, quils deya, que dins Vans Ius daria les claus de lherusalem.*

⁵¹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, vol. 2–3, ed. Luigi Tosti (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1885), no. 3628. See also Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311–1312. Seine Quellen und seine Geschichte* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934), 13–18.

⁵² *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, IV: 178–182 no. 4807; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, 2–3: no. 2988. Beltjens, "Mémoires," 27, mentions *Exsurgat Deus* and claims that the bull could not have referred to the *Traité* because it called for 4000 armed men on foot while the Hospitallers' memorandum proposed 4000 crossbowmen. However, as the Hospitallers explicitly spoke of *aubalestriers a pied*, it seems very likely that the pope treated them as *pedites* in *Exsurgat Deus*. This terminological confusion was not at all unusual, for as I have shown elsewhere, it was very typical for crusade planners of the period to include crossbowmen and archers as foot soldiers, cf. Wallmeyer, *Wissen*, 153–154.

that not only did he endorse the Hospitallers in terms of overall strategy and leadership, but he also proposed the exact numbers they had suggested in their *Traité*.⁵³ Since the *Devise* does not mention these figures, and nor does any other surviving crusade proposal of the period, the bull must have been a direct response to the recovery project envisaged in the *Traité*. Therefore, the memorandum must have been written for Clement V before August 1308, with the first half of 1308 being the most likely date.⁵⁴

But if this assumption is correct, why is the memorandum written in French and not in Latin? Looking at the manuscript tradition, it seems very likely that the *Traité* in the French version available to modern scholars was composed for the French king or someone else at his court. Given the evidence presented above, there may have been another Latin version of the memorandum written for Clement V, which has since been lost. How the *Traité* might have reached the French court and found its way into codex BnF Lat. 7470 can be reconstructed from the papal registers. In late 1308, Philip IV complained to Clement V that the Hospitallers were keeping him in the dark about their recovery plans. The pope passed on the French complaints to Foulques de Villaret, who replied that although he had not spoken directly to Philip, he had provided one of the king's representatives with written advice in June 1308, explaining what the Hospitallers intended to achieve.⁵⁵ Even though the correspondence in question has been lost, it may well have included the French version of the *Traité* and the *Devise*. This chain of events could explain how these two memoranda ended up at the French court, where Guillaume Durand came across them and later included them into the crusading compilation BnF Lat. 7470. Even if this assumption is not correct, most crusade proposals of this period circulated rather freely between the various courts, so the *Traité* could have reached Durand on another occasion.⁵⁶

⁵³ See above footnote 24.

⁵⁴ Paviot, "Introduction," 33 makes a similar argument. Foulques de Villaret spent June and July 1308 in Poitiers, where he could have presented the memoranda to the pope, *cf. Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, IV: 172–173 nos. 4800–4801.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 198–199, no. 4831, 203–204, no. 4841.

⁵⁶ Foulques de Villaret and Guillaume Durand were both members of a committee of crusade experts assembled by King Philip V in December 1319. Durand may also have obtained the *Devise* and the *Traité* on this occasion, *cf. Paris, Archives nationales de France, JJ 58*, fol. 37r, no. 397.

IV. A CHANGE OF PLANS

At this point, two questions remain: If the *Traité* and the *Devise* were written in 1308, why did the Hospitallers alter their recovery plans so substantially over the course of little more than a year? And why did they deem it necessary to write two more memoranda on the same subject after Clement V had already received the *Informatio*? There appear to be three interrelated reasons for these seemingly sudden changes:

(1) The Hospitallers had to alter their plans because the geopolitical circumstances had also changed. When the Hospitallers drafted the *Informatio* in 1306, the Templars were still a force to be reckoned with, and the conquest of Rhodes had only just started. The first wave to attack the Dodecanese, launched in June 1306, managed to seize several villages and castles, but ultimately fell short of the orders' expectations. Not only did the Hospitaller-Genoese alliance fail to take the city of Rhodes, it also lost the castle of Kos just days after taking it. The reinforcements sent from Cyprus at the end of September 1306 were intended to complete the campaign, but were unable to do so either, despite capturing the castles of Feraclos and Filerimos. In spring 1307, the Byzantine emperor dispatched a fleet of eight galleys to break the siege of Rhodes. The attempt failed, but ten brethren, 40 horses and several auxiliary troops died in the fighting. Shortly afterwards, the order even made a desperate attempt to negotiate the surrender of the city in exchange for recognising the emperor's suzerainty over the island. In this context, the brethren even promised to provide the emperor with troops in times of war, thereby making themselves his *de facto* subjects. By the end of 1307, the island of Rhodes was still not under the control of the Hospitallers.⁵⁷

The crusade plan outlined in the *Informatio* simply reflects the earlier stages in the battle for Rhodes, when the Hospitallers were still confident it would take them only a few more months at most to conquer the rest of the Dodecanese. When the *Traité* and the *Devise* were written in 1308 however, things had changed. The order had to sustain a protracted siege and was in dire need of reinforcements

⁵⁷ *Acta Aragonensis*, ed. Finke, III: 146–147 no. 66; *Chronique d'Amadi*, 256–258; *Chronique du Templier de Tyr*, ed. Raynaud, 320–322; George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, vol. 4, ed. and trans. Albert Failler (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2000), 698–701. The losses may seem small, but the initial invasion force of the Hospitallers consisted of just 35 brethren and 500 auxiliary troops. See also Failler, "Occupation," 124–125; Anthony Luttrell, "The Genoese at Rhodes: 1306–1312," in *Oriente e Occidente tra Medioevo ed età moderna: Studi in onore di Geo Pistarino*, vol. 2, ed. Laura Balletto (Genova: Brigati, 1997), 737–761, here 745–752.

to fend off imminent Byzantine and Turkish counterattacks on the islands. Moreover, the Templars faced the onslaught of the French crown and were in no position to support expeditions to the East. As a result, the Hospitallers revised their plans and extended the first stage of the crusade from one to five years. This was supposed to enable the crusaders to wipe out the last pockets of resistance on the Dodecanese before advancing further east.

(2) The *Informatio* reflects not only earlier geopolitical circumstances but also an earlier stage in crusade organisation and thus differs from the *Traité* and *Devise* in its focus. Unlike the later memoranda, the *Informatio* contains detailed instructions for raising funds for the crusade, but does not specify where the crusaders were to attack or the route they were to take. The authors of the earlier proposal explicitly stated that it would be premature to think about possible places to attack at this stage.⁵⁸ Other contemporary advisers also placed such considerations in the final phase of crusade organisation.⁵⁹ This division of labour seems to have been a general principle in organising crusades during this period. Geographical information was considered to be of secondary importance and was often left out of the early stages of crusade planning, while securing the necessary funds was regarded as essential at this phase.⁶⁰ Thus, the *Traité*, and especially the *Devise*, can be seen as later additions, dealing with subjects that had not been included in the *Informatio* because it was too early to discuss them at the time.

(3) As previously indicated, the Hospitallers were not the only faction who proposed a crusade to recover the Holy Land. Once Foulques de Villaret became master of the Hospitallers in 1305 and began planning the recovery, he found himself and his order competing not only with James II, but also with Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, who had their own crusading aspirations. Even the Templars were of no real support in this dispute, as their leadership strongly rejected the Hospitallers' idea of a multi-level approach in favour of one large general crusade.⁶¹ In the subsequent debate on the recovery of the Holy Land, each

⁵⁸ Petit, "Mémoire de Foulques," 608 (Source edition no. 1). Beltjens, "Mémoires," 29, states that the Hospitallers' planned to follow the itinerary of the First Crusaders, despite the fact that the route is not mentioned at all in the *Informatio*. The passus *eamdem viam*, which could be interpreted as an allusion to a route, obviously refers to the way the First Crusaders organised the leadership of their armies, mentioned in the previous sentence, cf. Petit, "Mémoire de Foulques," 604 (Source edition no. 1).

⁵⁹ E.g. Roger of Stenegrave, "Charboclois," 354–355.

⁶⁰ Wallmeyer, *Wissen*, 406–407.

⁶¹ Karl Wenck, "Aus den Tagen der Zusammenkunft Papst Clemens' V. und König Philipp des Schönen zu Lyon," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 27, no. 2 (1906): 199–203 (Source edition

of these factions put forth their own experts to support their respective crusade projects, with the papal curia being at the centre of the dispute.⁶² The pope and his cardinals were crucial, as they decided on crusade privileges such as plenary indulgences and administered the use of church funds, which had been essential for financing crusades since the thirteenth century.⁶³

The *Informatio*, *Traité* and *Devise* were part of this debate – expert opinions designed to sway the pope and his cardinals to support the Hospitallers' recovery plans over those of their rivals. The competitive nature of this discourse is one of the reasons why the Hospitallers proposed to mount the crusade without a king. Their opponents, however, did not remain idle, and James II in particular did everything in his power to thwart the order's plans with the help of his own experts.⁶⁴ Even after the pope had proclaimed *Exsurgat Deus*, James II sent the polymath Ramon Llull to the curia to persuade Clement V to name the king *capitaneus*, *dominus atque caput* of the forthcoming crusade.⁶⁵ The *prohomens* of Barcelona,

no. 1, Gnadenbrief Clemens' V. für Philipp IV.); Jacques de Molay, "Conseil," 183–185; Henri Moranville, "Les projets de Charles de Valois sur l'Empire de Constantinople," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes* 51 (1890): 66–81 (Source edition no. 1, *Mises et despens pour le voyage de Constantinoble*). See also Sylvia Schein, "Philip IV and the Crusade: A Reconsideration," in *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. Peter W. Ebdury and Raymond C. Smail (Cardiff: Cardiff Univ. Press, 1985), 121–126; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades: 1095–1588* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1988), 230–240.

⁶² Gion Wallmeyer, "Wie der Kreuzzug marktfähig wurde: Überlegungen zur Anwendung des Marktbegriffs auf das höfische Ratgeberwesen des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Wissen und Wirtschaft: Expertenkulturen und Märkte vom 13. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Nina Elsemann, Marian Füssel, and Philip Knäble (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017), 279–312. Clement V, for his part, assembled his own experts at the curia, cf. Charles Alfred Kohler, "Deux projets de croisade en Terre-Sainte, composés à la fin du XIII^e siècle et au début du XIV^e," *Revue de l'Orient Latin* 10 (1904): 435–457 (Source edition no. 1, *Via ad Terram Sanctam* (Oxford, Bibl. Bodl., ms. Ashmole 342, fol. 1r–6v^o)).

⁶³ Markus A. Denzel, "Von der Kreuzzugssteuer zur allgemeinen päpstlichen Steuer: Servitien, Annaten und ihre Finanzierung in voravignonesischer Zeit (12. bis frühes 14. Jahrhundert)," in *Die römische Kurie und das Geld: Von der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, ed. Werner Maleczek (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2018), 131–164; Norman Housley, *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades: 1305–1378* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 177–186; Christopher Tyerman, *How to Plan a Crusade: Reason and Religious War in the High Middle Ages* (London: Allen Lane, 2015), 204–227.

⁶⁴ See e.g. Donatella Nebbiai, "Un médecin et théologien à Marseille. Arnaud de Villeneuve (1304–1310)," in *Villes méditerranéennes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Élisabeth Malamut and Mohamed Ouerfelli (Aix-en-Provence: Presses universitaires de Provence, 2014), 279–296.

⁶⁵ *Diplomatari Lullia*, ed. and trans. Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2001), 77 no. 39. See also ibid., 78–79 no. 40; *Acta Aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französischen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomati-*

whose first-hand knowledge of the Outremer was raised against the Hospitallers' plans in the aforementioned letter of March 1308, were also part of this expert discourse. It seems very likely that they criticised the recovery project first envisaged in the *Informatio* and further elaborated orally during the meetings between the Master of the Hospitallers, the pope, and his cardinals. The Hospitallers, in turn, responded to this critique by modifying their plans and calling upon their own *probos viros qui diu steterunt ultra mare* to support them.⁶⁶ The *Traité* and *Devise* bear witness to these revised plans and therefore deviate from the project outlined in the earlier *Informatio*. With the help of these new expert options, the Hospitallers seem to have succeeded in convincing Clement V, and thus *Exsurgat Deus* reads like a full endorsement of the strategy outlined in the *Traité*.

CONCLUSION

Recent scholarship has called for a reassessment of the date and context of a fourteenth-century crusade plan devised by the Hospitallers and known as *Traité concernant la Terre Sainte puet estre recouree par les Crestiens*. I have argued that the treatise was composed for Pope Clement V between March and August 1308, even though its content departs significantly from the plans devised by the order a year earlier and the earliest manuscript evidence dates from the 1320s. The manuscript tradition, however, provides no grounds for redating, since the *Traité* survives within a French crusading collection whose other treatises on crusade planning were most likely written around 1310. Moreover, a comparison with other contemporary sources related to crusade planning at Western courts, especially the Aragonese letter to the pope from March 1308 and the bull *Exsurgat Deus* of August 1308, indicates direct references to the Hospitallers' proposal. On this basis, I have argued that the *Traité*, together with the accompanying *Devise*, constitutes a revised version of the order's earlier plans. The Hospitallers adapted their strat-

schen Korrespondenz Jaymes II. (1291–1327), vol. II, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin: Rothschild, 1908–1922), 879–880 nos. 557–558. Philip IV also tried to seize control of the *passagium*, cf. "Clementis V papae Philippi IV regis Francorum et aliorum epistolae," in *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, vol. 3, ed. Étienne Baluze and Guillaume Mollat (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1921), 87–90.

⁶⁶ See above footnote 20. It is also possible that the Aragonese letter was a response to the *Traité* and the *Devise*, which would place both memoranda between the arrest of the Templars in October 1307 and March 1308. In any case, all three documents are firmly connected by the contemporary expert discourse on the recovery of the Holy Land.

egy to shifting geopolitical realities, such as the prolonged siege of Rhodes, and to criticism from competing would-be crusaders like James II of Aragon. This discourse on how best to organise a new crusade was dynamic, competitive, and driven by expert advisers. Ultimately, the expertise put forth in the *Traité* seems to have persuaded the pope to support the Hospitallers' plans over those of their competitors.

Eventually, the papal decision in favour of the Hospitallers' recovery project did little to convince the other remaining factions, and the kings of Aragon and France both sought to obstruct the expedition. Despite these obstacles, the preaching campaign ignited public enthusiasm for the crusade, but due to financial constraints and a shortage of ships caused by the lack of support from Aragon and France, several crusaders were forced to stay behind.⁶⁷ In October 1309, the *passagium* finally set off for the Aegean, six months behind schedule and with a much smaller force of around 300 horsemen and 3000 men on foot. The storm season forced the galleys to winter in Brindisi, where the army began to disintegrate due to lack of funds. As promised payments from France failed to materialise, Clement V granted the Hospitallers a loan to see the crusader army through the winter.⁶⁸ The remaining Crusaders reached the Aegean in April 1310 and helped the Hospitallers to conquer the rest of the Dodecanese and some castles on the mainland, which sparked costly conflicts with the Republic of Venice and the Beylik of Menteşe. Simultaneously, the order's attempts to enforce the papal ban on trade with Egypt led to the seizure of a Genoese merchant ship, which quickly escalated into an armed conflict with the Ligurian city.⁶⁹ In the end, the decimated *passagium* never made it to Egypt or the Levant.

⁶⁷ Constantinos Georgiou, *Preaching the Crusades to the Eastern Mediterranean: Propaganda, Liturgy, and Diplomacy, 1305–1352* (London–New York: Routledge, 2018), 108–113.

⁶⁸ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, vol. 7, ed. Luigi Tosti (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1887), no. 7631; or *Cartulaire général*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, IV: 227–228 no. 4884.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 233–234, no. 4895; *Chronique d'Amadi*, 393; Henry II of Cyprus, "Mémoire sur les moyens de reconquérir la Terre sainte," in *Histoire de l'île de Chypre: Sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. 2, ed. Louis de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie impérial, 1852), 120–121. The city of Rhodes itself had already been taken in August 1309 with the help of a traitor. See also Christoph Dartmann, "Johanniter, Genuesen und die Mamluken. Ein genuesisches Boykottregime gegen Alexandria vom März 1316," in *Von Hamburg nach Java. Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte. Festschrift zu Ehren von Jürgen Sarnowsky*, edited by Jochen Burgtorf, Christian Hoffarth, and Sebastian Kubon (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 323–336.

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