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HOSPITAL AND TEMPLE: 1291–1314**

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ABSTRACT

When the fall of Acre in 1291 led to the loss of their powerful position in Syria the military-religious orders of the Hospital and Temple had to adjust to a restricted establishment on Cyprus. The two orders had much in common but they also displayed significant differences. The Hospital intervened in defence of Cilician Armenia; the Templars looked to the recuperation of Jerusalem, a policy which led to a military disaster on the islet of Ruad off Tortosa in 1302. Scholarly attention is often centred on the long-serving Templar Master Jacques de Molay and his order's suppression, an astonishing quasi-accidental event in which between 1307 and 1312 the French king, Philippe IV, exploited the Temple's institutional weaknesses to attack the papacy. The Hospitals' government was more balanced and in 1306 its astute Master Foulques de Villaret invaded Rhodes, where the Hospital began the creation of a defensible island "order state." Pope Clement V, together with Villaret, blocked King Philippe's assaults and the papacy and the Hospital survived to sustain a measure of holy warfare, while the Hospital gained the bulk of the Temple's possessions. The price was the destruction of the Temple.

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The collapse of Latin rule in Syria with the fall of Acre in 1291 transformed but did not terminate either Western “crusading” aspirations or the dedication of the major military-religious orders to a technically non-crusading but perpetual holy warfare. The Hospital and the Temple moved their headquarters to Cyprus, an island under Latin rule, while the Teutonic Order withdrew its high command first to Venice and then to Prussia. The Hospital and the Temple retained some Levantine possessions on Cyprus, in Cilician Armenia and on mainland Greece; they faced continued Mamluk expansion with limited resources and little success. The most dramatic development was the papal suppression of a major religious order, the Temple, in 1312 but, while the Templars and their trials have attracted enormous attention, they became part of a wider confrontation in which the disputed question of their guilt constituted a significant side issue. Contemporary criticisms of the Temple may have been erroneous or exaggerated but were not altogether without foundation. The character and policies of the last Templar Master Jacques de Molay provoke controversial judgement, but his arrest in 1307 partly obscured other serious matters, so that Hospitaller developments are frequently overlooked even though they may enlighten the circumstances of the Templars’ downfall, on which Philippe Josserand’s somewhat unorthodox biography of Molay¹ adds to the standard approach of Alain Demurger.²

Tainted by the use of torture, the Templar trials provide conflicting evidence. The affair constituted just one aspect of a much wider struggle between state and church in which Philippe IV of France and his lawyers, most notably Guillaume de Nogaret, were in effect attempting to create a royal “pontificate”; they attacked Pope Boniface VIII and from 1305 Pope Clement V in the hope of weakening papal supremacy and of gaining control of the crusade which had become a papal institution able to issue personal indulgences and to grant extensive crusading taxes. Yet Pope Clement and the Hospitaller Master Foulques de Villaret were able to

¹ Philippe Josserand, *Jacques de Molay: le dernier grand maître des Templiers* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019), with massive bibliography.

² Alain Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: le crépuscule des templiers* (Paris: Payot et Rivages, 2014, 2nd ed.), with additions in id., *La persécution des templiers: Journal (1307–1314)* (Paris: Pavot, 2015). Recent work is in *The Templars, the Hospitallers and the Crusades: Essays in Homage to Alan J. Forey*, ed. Helen Nicholson and Jochen Burgtorf (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021); especially important is Alan Forey, “Notes on Templar personnel and government at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,” *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (2009): 150–170.

prevent the French king from securing the union of two major military-religious orders and royal control of their extensive resources.³

Josserand establishes Molay's family and territorial background among the lesser nobility of the Franche-Comté while faced with the curious and almost complete absence of information about Molay's lengthy Templar career before 1291. Two divergent studies of Molay's election as Master in 1292 are those of Luttrell⁴ and Demurger.⁵ The key texts are the questionable trial depositions made years later in circumstances of imprisonment and torture which are, unavoidably, used by scholars, often with hypothetical and conflicting conclusions. The dubious evidence of the Templar sergeant Jean Senand spoke of a "chapter general" held on Cyprus in the "year" of the loss of Acre, which fell in May 1291, and was, he possibly reported, attended at the chapter by about *quadringinti* or 400 Templars; Senand stated that Molay spoke there of his intention to reform the Temple but he did not say that it was at that chapter that Molay was elected. An apparently more reliable Templar, the Limousin Hugues de Faure, described differences at Molay's election when brethren from the Auvergne and the Limousin wanted to elect Hugues de Pairaud. Hugues de Faure claimed that Molay initially agreed to Pairaud's election but then broke his promise and that the election was decided by pressures: *per impressionem*. Hugues de Faure mentioned the intervention of the Hospitaller Master and of the influential Otto de Grandson and he spoke not of a chapter but of "the convent held overseas for the creation of the Master." Demurger, followed by Josserand, sustains that there were two meetings, a chapter general late in 1291 and Molay's election in 1292, probably in April.

The presence of as many as 400 Templars on Cyprus so soon after their order's massive losses in Syria a year earlier is difficult to accept, especially as the Hospi-

³ Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers and the Papacy, 1305–1314," in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte: Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bunz, vol. II (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1998), 595–622, reprinted in id., *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 874 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), V.

⁴ Anthony Luttrell, "The Election of the Templar Master Jacques de Molay," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. Helen Nicholson, Paul F. Crawford, and Jochen Burgtorf (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 21–31, certain points in which have subsequently been misinterpreted; id., "Observations on the Fall of the Temple," in *Élites et ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Josserand, Damien Carraz, and Luís Filipe Oliveira (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2015), 366, but incorrectly holding that Molay went to Armenia in 1292 or 1293.

⁵ Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 99–111; cf. Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of the Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 578–579.

taller statutes of 1292 curtailed the reception of *milites* and envisaged the maintenance on Cyprus of no more than 40 military brethren.⁶ Josserand recognizes but does not discuss that numbers' puzzle.⁷ The Hospitaller Master involved, Jean de Villiers formerly Prior of France, was probably a French subject, while the connections of Molay and the Temple with Otto de Grandson, a Burgundian like Molay and a distinguished associate of the English king, are well established; Grandson could have played a part in Molay's election.⁸ Changes in the rules for the election of the Hospitaller Master were introduced in these years.⁹ Meanwhile Molay's election awaits convincing explanation.¹⁰

For Molay's career Josserand provides much new material and insight while tending to give the Master the benefit of various doubts. The Hospital and the Temple maintained their possessions on Cyprus¹¹ but, having lost the political and economic predominance they had enjoyed in Syria, they needed to rebuild their positions. Their situations fundamentally changed though there was overall continuity in their largely unaffected Western establishments and through their mostly unchanged legislation. Their numbers were limited; in 1307 there were possibly some 1700 Templars in total.¹² Both orders had long had their own shipping which

⁶ Luttrell, "The Election" 23; *cf.* Marie-Anna Chevalier, "L'Ordre du Temple en Méditerranée Orientale autour de 1300," in *Entre Deus e o Rei: o Mundo das Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Cristina Fernandes, vol. II (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2018), 601–602. Burgtoft, *The Central Convent* (2008), 148, 665, accepts the reading as 400 and holds that the "year" in which Acre fell ended in May 1292.

⁷ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 105, 306 no. 177.

⁸ Luttrell, "The Election," 28–30; *id.*, "Observations," 366; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 109–111; Alan Forey, "Otto of Grandson and the Holy Land, Cyprus and Armenia," *Crusades* 16 (2017): 85–86; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 392–393. Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple en Terre sainte et à Chypre au xiiiie siècle*, vol. I (Nicosia: Centre de recherche scientifique, 2005), 150–157, has a variant interpretation involving a chapter in 1291, a proposal rejected in Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 322 no. 45, and in Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 210.

⁹ Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Early Statutes," *Revue Mabillon* 75 (2003), 18–21.

¹⁰ Assuming Faure's story contained some truth, Pairaud's status is significant. Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 210, 311 no. 228, gives him as Visitor or Preceptor in France after spring 1292 and as owing that office to Molay following Molay's election. Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, I: 155, writes of Pairaud's "spectacular promotion" to the Province of France in 1292 and, without evidence, of Pairaud as on Cyprus in 1292. Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 107, 238, 290, asserts that in April 1292 Pairaud "n'était encore rien dans l'ordre," but Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 109, 311 no. 228, shows Pairaud as *preceptor de Bures et domorum totius milicie Templi in Burgundia* in 1289. Pairaud was not Master in France until some unknown point in 1292: Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 107.

¹¹ Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 130–136.

¹² Helen Nicholson, review in *Speculum* 97 (2022): 169.

linked Syria and Cyprus to the West but they had no standing war fleet, partly due to restrictions imposed by the Cypriot crown, and they continued to rely on others for galley service,¹³ though by 1299 at the latest the Hospital had an Admiral;¹⁴ by 1301 the Templars may also have had an Admiral.¹⁵

Molay himself actively fostered Templar support, provisions and wealth in the West and down to 1306 he pursued an unavoidably limited degree of holy warfare through amphibious attacks on Mamluk territories. The Templar Master certainly faced enormous difficulties and Josserand records, but sometimes dismisses contemporary criticisms of him. During 1292, under papal pressure, the Hospital and Temple maintained some, mainly Genoese, galleys in defence of Cyprus and Armenia; the influential Bonifazio di Calamandrana, who was Lieutenant of the Hospital in the West,¹⁶ paid the Genoese for their service.¹⁷ Pope Nicholas IV died in April 1292 and the crusading initiative was lost during the lengthy papal vacancy which ensued, though there were inconclusive amphibious attacks on Alanya in Armenia and Alexandria in Egypt.¹⁸

From early 1293 until possibly 1296 Molay travelled in the West, organizing the Templar hinterland and dealing directly with the pope and other rulers, especially in Aragon where the crown put pressure on the Temple.¹⁹ However Molay negotiated extensive territorial arrangements with the king, acquiring the port of Peñis-

¹³ Nicholas Courreas, “The role of the Templars and the Hospitallers in the movement of commodities involving Cyprus, 1291–1312,” in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, *Defining the Crusade Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 257–274; David Jacoby, “Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,” in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 57–72; Christian Vogel, “The ‘Lost Boys’ of the Templars: Some Remarks on the Life of the Templar Corsair Roger de Flor,” in *The Templars: the Rise, Fall, and Legacy of a Military Religious Order*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf, Shlomo Lotan, and Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda (Abingdon: Routledge 2021), 161–178.

¹⁴ Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 77 (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), part II, 163; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 312; Jürgen Sarnowsky, *On the Military Orders in Medieval Europe: Structures and Perceptions*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 992 (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), part XIV.

¹⁵ Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 145, 296, 312, 701, is uncertain.

¹⁶ Ibid., 500–505.

¹⁷ Revisions in Antonio Mussara “Manuele Zaccaria’s Report on the Fleet in Outremer after the Fall of Acre (1292–1293): Jacques de Molay, the War of Curzola, and Genoese-Cypriot Conflict,” *Crusades* 21, no. (2022): 132–134.

¹⁸ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 114–116, 313–318; amend Luttrell, “The Election,” 25–29.

¹⁹ Alan Forey, “Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters,” *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 45 (2001): 145–171; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 118–123; Mussara, “Manuele Zaccaria’s Report,” 131–134.

cola and other lands in Valencia. Josserand largely avoids unanswered questions as to why the Templars invested so very heavily in the castle at Peñiscola. He judges as absurd the suggestion that they at least considered some sort of establishment, not necessarily the creation of an “order state,” intended to combat the infidel in Hispanic lands; Josserand does suggest that Molay may have hoped personally to receive Valencian incomes. Later, after the Aragonese Templars had resisted the king in their castles in 1308 and 1309, King Jaume II opposed any such establishment, and after 1312 he was to insist that both Templar and Hospitaller lands in Valencia be transferred to found the new “national” military-religious order of Montesa.²⁰ The Hospital also made various important territorial arrangements in Aragon.²¹ However, apart from its Master Guillaume de Villaret’s personal attempt between 1296 and 1300 to govern from the West, a policy his Conventual officers strongly and successfully resisted, the Hospital’s central government remained on Cyprus until 1309 or 1310.

Armenian dynastic politics were extremely unstable but in 1298 or 1299 the Templars, the Hospitaller Grand Commander and possibly Molay himself intervened in Armenia to help resist repeated Mamluk attacks there; however the Templars, who had a history of conflict with the Armenians, lost their major Armenian castle at La Roche Guillaume to the Mamluks in 1298.²² In 1299 the Mamluks were

²⁰ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 128, 189–190, 335, 339, 404 footnote 179. Cf. Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, “The Growth of the Order of the Temple in the Northern Area of the Kingdom of Valencia at the Close of the Thirteenth Century: a Puzzling Development,” in *Knighthood of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 172–181; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 139–140; Anthony Luttrell, “The Templars’ Archives in Syria and Cyprus,” in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen Nicholson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), 41–42; Karl Borchardt, “On Hospitaller Initiatives in the Western Mediterranean, 1291–1307,” in *Communicating the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Sophia Menache*, ed. Iris Shagrir, Benjamin Kedar, and Michel Balard (London: Routledge, 2018), 26, 31–34. Alan Forey, “A Templar Lordship in Northern Valencia,” in *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XIV* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 2007), 61–65, strongly opposes the idea of an intended Templar Hispanic *Ordensstaat*. Yet the amazing wealth of the Templars’ books, relics and other items at Peñiscola in 1304 remains hard to explain: Sebastian Salvadó, “Icons, Crosses and the Liturgical Objects of Templar Chapels in the Crown of Aragon,” in *The Debate*, ed. Nicholson, Crawford, and Burgtoft, 183–197.

²¹ E.g. Borchardt, “On Hospitaller Initiatives,” 27–28.

²² Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les Ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne. Templiers, hospitaliers, teutoniques et Arméniens à l'époque des croisades* (Paris: Librairie orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 2008), 549–564. Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 145–159; and Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*,

defeated at Homs by the Mongols, after which the Latins waited in vain for participation in a projected joint campaign with the Mongols designed to capture Jerusalem, an unlikely but not impossible objective; instead they raided Egyptian and Syrian coastlands, after which the Latins, including the Hospitallers and their Master, occupied the tiny offshore island of Ruad near Tortosa in northern Syria. Ruad could scarcely have become the Templars' permanent major base but it did serve as a temporary, and eventually untenable, waiting post with some indications of a permanent interest there.²³ The Cypriots and the Hospitallers, presumably feeling deceived by the Mongols, withdrew but in 1302 numerous Templars and others were captured or killed on the island by the Mamluks with a major loss of manpower and prestige. Molay himself had left Ruad intending, but too late, to return with Hospitaller and Cypriot reinforcements. Any Hospitallers on Ruad were presumably few since their military brethren on Cyprus were not numerous and some were serving in Armenia. The military orders' freedom of action on Cyprus was obstructed by royal hostility which limited them to a somewhat sporadic crusading piracy. When King Henry II was deposed by his brother Amaury in 1306 the Templars were especially hostile to the king, though eventually they and the Hospitallers intervened to mediate. On Cyprus, as in Armenia, the Templars had quarrelled seriously with the crown before 1291, while in and after 1306 the Hospital, greatly to its subsequent advantage, closely supported King Henri against his opponents.²⁴

In June 1306 the Hospitaller and Templar Masters were summoned to Poitiers to advise the Pope Clement V on a crusade, but in October 1307 Jacques de Molay and numerous Templars in France were detained by the king;²⁵ the Templars on

126, 332 footnote 213, consider that Molay went to Armenia; Chevalier, "L'Ordre du Temple", 611–612, seems doubtful.

²³ Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 136–137, and, detailed and fundamental, id., "Die Templer auf Ruad (1300–1302)," in *Die Ritterorden in Umbruchs- und Krisenzeiten / The Military Orders in Times of Change and Crisis*, ed. Roman Czaja and Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XVI* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika / Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2011), 66, explaining the term "convent" to show that the Templars did not intend to make Ruad their headquarters: amend Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), part II, 79–80.

²⁴ Nicholas Courreas, "Fluctuating Territoriality: the Military Orders and the Crown of Cyprus: 1191–1313," in *Ordres militaires et territorialité au Moyen Âge entre Orient et Occident*, ed. Marie-Anna Chevalier (Paris: Guethner, 2020), 148–152, 156–158.

²⁵ The late fourteenth-century illumination in *Prier et Combattre: Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (Paris: Librairie Arthème

Cyprus were arrested in 1308. During some sixteen years following the fall of Acre the two orders had accomplished rather little. Both orders faced great financial problems so that without Western support major military action was impossible. Molay rejected further interventions in Armenia and the prospect of a minor *passagium*, while continuing to argue for a crusade to recover Jerusalem.²⁶ Villaret provided detailed written proposals for a major crusade but, unlike Molay, he also favoured in addition preliminary minor attacks on the Mamluks. The two Masters' proposals did not differ greatly; what really counted was that Villaret and the pope could exploit the existing practice which permitted them in the case of a limited crusade or *passagium particulare* to exclude both its command by the French king and royal access to crusade taxation.²⁷

Josserand very reasonably plays down or dismisses contemporary reports of rivalries with or opposition from supposed supporters of the Templar Hugues de Pairaud.²⁸ In fact there was little sign of a Conventual oligarchy capable of or willing to restrain a Templar Master. Molay's administration relied heavily on Burgundian and Catalan officers. Between 1292 and 1307 these senior officials apparently included five brethren from Catalunya-Aragon, five from Burgundy, two from Provence-Toulouse, eight from Northern France, Champagne and the Pays Bas, and others, but not one from Auvergne.²⁹ In 1302 the Hospitallers legislated for a complement on Cyprus of 80 military brethren, including 15 from "France", 15 from Provence and 11 from Auvergne, with 41 "French" military brethren thus amounting to 51 percent of the total of 80.³⁰ Of a minimum of 76 Templars documented on Cyprus in 1308, some 35 or 46 percent were from "France", which may have included Auvergne, and seven were from "Provence," meaning Southern France.³¹ Such approximate figures suggest that in France the Templars, though certainly well established in the Midi, predominated further north, while Hospitallers more often came from the south.

Fayard, 2009), 743, described as showing the arrest of the Templars, may have been what was intended; but it appears to depict a Hospitaller priest and a Hospitaller *soror*.

²⁶ E.g. Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 158–163, 176.

²⁷ Detailed study in Luttrell, *Studies*, part V.

²⁸ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 209–210. Amend Luttrell, "The Election", 26–27, since Pairaud was possibly from Burgundy; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 108–109.

²⁹ Approximate details in Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, I: 152–157, 185–212; II: 323–339; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 139–140, 167–168, 385–394; Luttrell, "The Election", 26–27; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 114–115, 191–193; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 107–109, 112–114, 190–198, fig. 30.

³⁰ Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 607.

³¹ Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, I: 203–206.

The Temple's constitutional machinery may have been disregarded at Molay's election and its officers' control of its Master was somewhat unsatisfactory. A statute of about 1165 had once obliged the Templar Master to take regard of Conventual decisions but that was scarcely subsequent practice.³² Molay did take advice and did have a Conventual seal but he used it on occasions without any noted Conventual participation.³³ There was apparently little, if any, development of a formal machinery to ensure a more even distribution of Templar offices between brethren of different origins.³⁴ By contrast, between 1306 and 1310 the Hospital's Conventual bailiffs included French, German, Portuguese, Catalan and English officers.³⁵ The Hospital's "French" contingent apparently dwindled; in 1309 Philippe IV claimed that the number of its brethren in the East belonging to the *natio Francorum*, which he did not define but which may have excluded brethren from Provence east of the Rhône, had fallen from 26 to about 12 and that others were being excluded from the coming Hospitaller crusading *passagium*.³⁶

The failure of Molay's crusading policies may have been partly institutional, but it was not mainly for an absence of administrative reform or other internal reasons that the Temple was suppressed. After 1291 the Hospitallers debated reforms designed to resist Magistral power which included changes in Magistral election procedures, the strengthening of chapters general and the development of the *langues* and of Conventual powers. The Temple by contrast largely lacked such institutions or reforms so that its Master tended to escape healthy restraint. Jonathan Riley-Smith exaggerated in condemning the Templars' constitutional arrangements and in accusing Molay of an autocracy made possible by the weakness of Templar chapters general which he claimed were not representative of brethren

³² Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 16, 52, 109–116.

³³ Alan Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 157–159; Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, II: 36–37; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 196, 348–350; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 208, 424 no. 130.

³⁴ E.g. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 96, 146–147; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 49–55; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 190–199.

³⁵ Anthony Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306–1356* (Rhodes: City of Rhodes Office for the Medieval Town, 2003), 16–20.

³⁶ Anthony Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 606–607, assuming that *sex viginti* did not mean 120. It was the Hospital, and not the king, which decreed in 1302 that there be 80 Hospitaller military brethren on Cyprus: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. IV, 1300–1310, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roux (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), no. 4574 para. 14.

in the West but were limited to the Master and Convent in the East.³⁷ However the Templars' definition of a chapter general did fluctuate considerably,³⁸ and some of Molay's chapters general or similar chapters took place in France. The Templars' major chapters seem to have been less regulated and less legislative than those of the Hospital, leaving initiatives to the Templar Master.³⁹ By contrast the Hospital held a full chapter general on Cyprus every year from 1292 to 1295 and from 1300 to 1306; the gap between 1296 and 1300 was largely due to the Master being in the West and to internal disputes.

There may have been talk after 1291 of Templar reforms; in 1311 the Templar Jean Senand claimed that Molay had spoken of reforms in 1291 or early 1292 even before his election, but there were no known post-1291 reforms.⁴⁰ In 1307 Molay rejected King Jaume II of Aragon's candidate to govern the Aragonese Temple, citing the need to consult local brethren; and after receiving their views from Aragon he named someone else to rule there and imposed other Aragonese appointments.⁴¹ In the West Molay intervened in provincial affairs, exercising patronage and exploiting personal ties.⁴² The Hospital's regulations placed limitations on its Master's powers but a politically agile Master could normally, though not always, impose his will provided he did not exaggerate. The Hospitaller Convent's constitutional powers could on occasion be ineffective, so much so that in 1317 the brethren resorted to an assassination attempt designed to remove their overbearing Master, Foulques de Villaret.⁴³

If the Templars' downfall was largely determined by external developments, their internal deficiencies presumably weakened their resistance. They were notably wealthy, highly privileged and well connected, yet in many ways they con-

³⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 912 (Farnham: Ashgate 2008), part XIX; id., *Templars and Hospitallers*, 49–55; id., *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012), 129–139. These views have been contested.

³⁸ Riley-Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers*, part XIX, 135–143; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 113–114.

³⁹ Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 183–186; Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers*, 50–53; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 121, 124, 136–137, 216, 222, 383–385.

⁴⁰ Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 135–138; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 184–186.

⁴¹ Alan Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 308–311; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 428–429; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 194–199.

⁴² E.g. ibid., 121–143.

⁴³ Alan Forey, "Constitutional Conflict and Change in the Hospital of St. John during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 33 (1982): 15–29; id., "A Proposal for the Reform of the Hospital in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Ordines Militares Colloquia Toruñensis Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 21 (2016): 7–19.

stituted a standard religious order. The Temple and Hospital attracted both appreciation and, increasingly, criticism. Despite rivalries, disputes and serious policy divergences, they had much in common while differing in various ways. The Temple was apparently stronger militarily and included more sergeant brethren.⁴⁴ In about 1289 Jacquemart Gielée's *Renart le Nouvel* held, untypically perhaps, that the Templars were simple and unskilful while the Hospitallers were more eloquent and more effective.⁴⁵ It was unfortunate that many Templars were ignorant of their own rule and Molay reportedly asked his brethren to hand over copies of their rule and regulations and to destroy some of them; he may have considered that it was better not to publicize the rule. The Hospital's statutes of 1283 also restricted access to their statutes, but in 1293 a new statute decreed that the statutes be read out at its Magistral chapters.⁴⁶ In addition to their priests, both orders included brethren who could read and some who knew Latin,⁴⁷ yet many Templars could not consult their rule which became increasingly inaccessible.⁴⁸ The Temple largely lacked legal expertise, though during their trial its brethren were represented by the priest brother Pietro da Bologna, formerly the order's procurator at the papal curia.⁴⁹ By contrast the Piedmontese Hospitaller Guglielmo di Santo Stefano, Prior of Lombardy in 1293,⁵⁰ commissioned copies of precious texts relating to his order's history and legislation, while his treatises provided important constitutional ad-

⁴⁴ Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995); id., *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance (1150–1500)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁴⁵ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 179, dismisses such satire.

⁴⁶ *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. III, 1261–1300, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), no. 3844 para. 7–8, no. 4234 para. 7; Riley-Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers*, part XIX, 128–131; Forey, "Notes on Templar personnel," 157–158.

⁴⁷ Alan Forey, "Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. Helen Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), 185–206.

⁴⁸ Simonetta Cerrini, "Les Templiers et le progressif évanoissement de leur règle," in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. Borchardt, Döring, Josserand, and Nicholson, 187–198.

⁴⁹ Francesco Tommasi, "Fratres quondam Templi: per i Templari in Italia dopo il concilio di Vienne e il destino di Pietro da Bologna," in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. Borchardt, Döring, Josserand, and Nicholson, 286.

⁵⁰ Mussara, "Manuele Zaccaria's Report," 139–140; Anthony Luttrell, "Linguistic Encounters: Hospitaller Rhodes after 1306," *Medioevo Romanzo* 45 (2021): 243 n. 14.

vice and leadership.⁵¹ The Templars were generally, if with much variation, efficient administrators of their landed wealth,⁵² and so, in Provence for example, were many Hospitallers.⁵³ All religious orders might experience disobedience or scandal; thus during the very years of the Templar trials a leading Hospitaller Ramon de Ampurias, who was his order's Admiral in 1309 and who raped many women, was guilty of preventing two of his squires on Rhodes from making final confession *in articulo mortis* so as to conceal his homosexual relations with them.⁵⁴ The Templars were accused of more systematic misdeeds and, like his predecessors as Master, Jacques de Molay evidently did countenance secrecy in receptions and uncanonical non-priestly lay absolutions.⁵⁵

Masters and officials of both orders spent time with successive popes,⁵⁶ and Boniface VIII was “almost alone” with, significantly, his Hospitaller and Templar *cubicularii*, his chamberlains or bodyguards, when he was assaulted at Anagni in

⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 16–17, 139–140; Jochen Burgtorf, “William of St. Stephen's *Saterian* (1296): Reflections on a Hospitaller Legal Treatise,” in *Von Hamburg nach Java: Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte*, ed. Jochen Burgtorf, Sebastian Kubon, and Christian Hoffarth (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020), 295–308.

⁵² E.g. Arnaud Baudin, Ghislain Brunel, and Nicolas Dohrmann, *L'économie templière en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances* (Langres: Éditions Dominique Guéninot, 2013); Luttrell, “Observations,” *passim*; Alain Demurger, “Les ordres religieux-militaires et l'argent: sources et pratiques,” in *The Templars and their Sources*, ed. Borchardt, Döring, Josserand, and Nicholson, 166–183; Helen Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars: the Knights Templar at Home* (Stroud: Fonthill Media, 2017), 80–101.

⁵³ E.g. *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Damien Carraz, and Alain Venturini (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2015); Damien Carraz, *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des Hospitaliers provençaux au XIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

⁵⁴ Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, part II, 83; *id.*, *Studies*, part XXII, 233–234. Some historians ignore the graffiti in a cave at Tarquinia in which Templars apparently encountered women; others treat the evidence seriously, e.g. *Graffiti templari: scrittura e simboli medievali in una tomba etrusca di Tarquinia*, ed. Carlo Tedeschi (Rome: Viella, 2012); Denys Pringle, “A Medieval Graffito representing a Trebuchet in an Etruscan Tomb in Corneto-Tarquinia?,” in *Crusading and Warfare in the Middle Ages – Realities and Representations: Essays in Honour of John France*, ed. Simon John and Nicholas Morton (Farnham: Routledge, 2014), 37–46.

⁵⁵ Riley-Smith, *Crusaders and Settlers*, part XVIII, 115; Karl Borchardt, “Confession to Non-Ordained Brethren as one of the Causes for the Suppression of the Templars in 1312,” in *Bausteine zur deutschen und italienischen Geschichte: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Horst Enzensberger*, ed. Maria Stüber and Michele Spadaccini (Bamberg: Bamberg University Press, 2014), 33–47.

⁵⁶ Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 435, 500–506; Francesco Tommasi “Giovanniti al servizio dei papi (secc. XIII–XIV in.),” in *Élites et ordres au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Josserand, Damien Carraz, and Luís Filipe Oliveira (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2015), 307–312.

1303.⁵⁷ Molay's reactions in France in 1307 proved unfortunate. Reportedly at least, he flew into a rage on discovering that Jean de Tour, the Templars' treasurer in Paris, had without superior permission handed the incredible sum of 400,000 florins to the king who was in turn angered by Molay's expulsion of Jean de Tour, who also served as the royal treasurer.⁵⁸ There was even an unlikely accusation that Molay took much money from Cyprus to the West and gave part of it to his family.⁵⁹ Some such stories perhaps indicated intransigent or irascible traits in his old age. Molay would have known that the Hospital had faced internal crises when its Master Eudes de Pins was summoned from Cyprus to the pope at the instigation of senior brethren in 1295, and again in 1300 when the next Master, Guillaume de Villaret, who wanted to remain in the West and for a second time to hold a chapter general in Southern France, was forced by the Conventual officers to travel to Cyprus and to stay there. Some leading Hospitaller brethren pressed for unusual reform proposals involving government of the Order by seven *diffinitores* who would hold office for life, but the idea was never implemented.⁶⁰

In about 1297 it was seemingly interferences from Southern France on the part of the Master Guillaume de Villaret which provoked a major rebellion among the Hospitallers in Castile;⁶¹ and equally there were multiple quarrels and conflicts among the leaders of the Castilian Temple which Molay was apparently unable to control.⁶² The Hospitallers had to confront such problems which Molay seems only seldom to have experienced. The Hospital's statutes and constitution, and especially the development of a system of *langues* which served to spread Conventual offices and their incomes across brethren from its constituent Western regions, permitted

⁵⁷ See below, footnote 94.

⁵⁸ Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 230–239, 296; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 205–206; both doubt the puzzling story, though Demurger and Luttrell, "Observations," 367–369, consider the possibility that it was not entirely false. It was reported that the king went to Molay and a great row ensued: *ha aguts forç paraules e molt grasses*, and again *lo senyor re venhe al maestre e agueron paraules forç et duras*: *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. I, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Ashendorff, 1907), 58–60. Maybe this was the quarrel over the treasurer at Paris, if that did take place, or a separate dispute. Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 206, 421, holds that the row reported in November occurred after Molay's arrest in October but that seems unlikely.

⁵⁹ Luttrell, "The Templars' Archives," 41.

⁶⁰ Forey, "A Proposal," *passim*; Burgtorf, *The Central Convent*, 151–161, 691–693.

⁶¹ Philippe Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid: Casa de Velazquez, 2004), 534–537.

⁶² Philippe Josserand, "Troubles and Tensions before the Trial: the Last Years of the Castilian Templar Province," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 5, *Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 363–375: an important revision.

a conventional and responsible ruling oligarchy to restrain a deviant Master. The Temple was primarily a military organization while the Hospital's hospitable and assistential activities, and perhaps the existence of numerous fully professed women members, provided additional elements of strength. Between 1300 and 1305 the Hospitaller Master twice took a considerable force to Armenia where the Templars had become unwelcome.⁶³ The Hospitallers, considerably present in Armenia before 1291, thus continued to serve there, as their statutes of 1300 and 1301 envisaged.⁶⁴ The Hospitallers withdrew from the islet of Ruad before it fell to the Mamluks in 1302. The Hospital possessed competent senior officers such as Albrecht von Schwarzburg who later won naval battles against the Turks.⁶⁵ Molay and Villaret clearly differed in character but their orders had much in common. It was the Hospital's acquisition of Rhodes in 1306 that created its advantageous position even though its resources were so meagre that it took three years to secure the submission of Rhodes town. The Hospitallers initially invaded the island with only two galleys, four other vessels, 35 Hospitaller brethren and a presumably limited number of mercenaries.⁶⁶

The French king pressed for the union of the two orders, ostensibly in the hope of preventing damaging conflicts between them and of controlling their activities and their wealth, possibly through a master who might be a member of the

⁶³ [...] *eundo bis in Armeniam cum magna comitiva equitum et peditum et ibid. morando aliquo tempore*, cf. *Acta Aragonensia: 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), 146; Chevalier, *L'Ordre du Temple*, 613–614.

⁶⁴ *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, IV, no. 4515 para. 16, no. 4594 paras. 8–9.

⁶⁵ Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot: Ashgate 1992), part II, 86–87; id., *The Town*, 215–219; Mike Carr, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean 1291–1352* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2015), 47–48, 92–93. There was no sign that Villaret changed his overall crusade plan, while in September 1309 the pope allotted funds for “a second year” of the Hospital's *passagium*: Claverie, “L'Ordre du Temple,” II: 442–449. A second Hospitaller treatise in French, almost universally attributed to Villaret before 1310 with various apparent misjudgements, probably dated after 1314, possibly to 1319/1323; that dating might require some reconsideration of the *passagium particulare* concept: Anthony Luttrell, “A Hospitaller Crusade Reviewed,” *Crusades* 22, no. 1 (2023): 62–66; Alain Beltjens, “Les mémoires relatifs à la reconquête de la Terre Sainte,” *Bulletin: Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 35 (2016): 24–31, convincingly and at length, though with various deficiencies, had already dated the second treatise later than 1310, possibly to 1323/1328.

⁶⁶ Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, part I, 747. The Hospital's 1310 crusade sailed from Puglia with perhaps 26 galleys: id., *Studies*, part V, 610; amend Borchardt, “On Hospitaller Initiatives,” 47, giving “some 60” galleys.

royal family. Molay, presumably realizing that such a union would end the Temple as it then existed and could destroy his own position, advanced practical reasons against the proposal, an impolitic attitude perhaps seriously damaging for him. Villaret, possibly anticipating for himself the mastership of a united order, apparently kept a wise public silence on the issue. What the Hospitallers thought of the Templars' trials was seldom expressed, though in one case on Cyprus a Hospitaller priest did give detailed witness which was somewhat hostile and disguised as hearsay.⁶⁷ After 1312 the Hospitallers took over numerous Templar properties and some of them lived alongside ex-Templars who were pensioned in their former houses; the Templar Pietro da Bologna was eventually buried in a Hospitaller house in Bologna.⁶⁸ A statute of the Hospital's chapter general of 1320 implied that former Templars might enter or have entered the Hospital and might hold or have held office within it, as may have occurred.⁶⁹

Molay was not a French subject, unlike Villaret whose family came from the Gévaudan to the west of the Rhône and who protested that he was a French *oriundus*; after 1307 Villaret was careful, however, to stay away from the king. Military orders were subject to serious threat with bitter complaints against the Teutonic Order leading to papal inquest. Philippe IV must have been aware that, in France at least, the Temple was generally wealthier than the Hospital; in Northern France in 1373 almost two thirds of the Hospital's commanderies were Templar in origin.⁷⁰ The king badly needed silver and may have hoped to acquire funds from the Temple or at least to extinguish any debts he owed to that order.⁷¹

In 1307 Molay, in France from about January, sought to initiate a formal inquiry to dispel rumours circulating about Templar improprieties. Certain unknown matters were under consideration and Itier de Nanteuil, the Hospitaller Prior of France, and Geoffroi de Gonneville, the Templar Preceptor of Aquitaine and Poitou, were in discussions with the French king at Loches possibly between 10 and 16

⁶⁷ See below, pp. 147–148.

⁶⁸ E.g. Alan Forey, *The Fall*, 210–215; Tommasi, “*Fratres quondam Templi*,” 266–267.

⁶⁹ See below, p. 149.

⁷⁰ Anne-Marie Legras, *L'enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris: Éditions du CNRS 1987), 93.

⁷¹ Luttrell, “Observations,” 368–372; id., “The Templars' Archives,” 175–183, showing that the crown's profits from the attack on the Temple have been seriously overestimated, though by how much seems incalculable. How Philippe IV obtained the silver to restore his currency remains unknown: Demurger, “Les Ordres,” 175–183.

April 1307.⁷² By mid May Molay was at Poitiers and at some point he and Foulques de Villaret discussed the crusade question with the pope. In late June Molay was in Paris holding a Templar chapter attended by senior brethren. Possibly he had some intimation of hostile plots.⁷³ The Templars' failure to reform certain malpractices, especially in their receptions, played into royal hands. Their Master had little room to manoeuvre and he had rejected the king's schemes for a union of the orders. On 24 August 1307 the pope announced an inquiry into accusations against the Temple and soon after on 5 September he recognized the Hospital's rights to the island of Rhodes. Meanwhile Molay was being trapped in unscrupulous machinations involving the personal objectives of Guillaume de Nogaret who, together with the king, sought to assert for the crown "quasi-pontifical" powers designed to limit papal supremacy and to secure control over the military orders, the crusade and their incomes. Almost by accident, the Templars were overtaken by events largely external to their order as rumours of malpractices, maybe together with Molay's responses to them, encouraged the king to attack the pope.⁷⁴

Molay faced difficulties from 1292 onwards. His predecessors had alienated the rulers of Armenia and of Cyprus, and he clung to the virtually unachievable ideal of direct action designed to recover Jerusalem. Not unreasonably, and along with other Christian leaders, he awaited a Mongol alliance which did not materialize; that however led towards the disaster on Ruad, after which minor raids along the Mamluk coasts continued but with slight consequences. Apparently facing little opposition from his subordinates, Molay introduced no known significant reforms. The Temple lacked a war fleet while the quasi-piratical activities of the Templar sergeant Roger de Flor escaped superior control. Molay was perhaps more literate and less short-sighted than some contemporaries may have judged, and the Temple's deficiencies were mostly not of his making. A prisoner from 1307 onwards, his appeal to papal judgement and protection brought him no help; having

⁷² Jean-Marc Roger, "F. Jean de Nanteuil, Prieur d'Aquitaine, Amiral de France," *Revue historique du Centre-Ouest* 7 (2008): 252.

⁷³ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 135–138. Villaret's arrival at Poitiers was considered imminent on 14 May and he was there on 31 August: Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 513.

⁷⁴ Julien Théry, "Pourquoi le roi de France Philippe le Bel a-t-il attaqué l'ordre du Temple? Une Nouvelle Alliance," in *Gli Ordini di Terrasanta: questioni aperte nuove acquisizioni (secoli xii–xvi)*, ed. Alain Baudin, Sonia Merli, and Mirko Santanicchia (Perugia: Fabbri, 2021), 333–347, covering much important earlier publication.

initially confessed, his options were severely limited and in 1314 he chose death at the stake.⁷⁵

Foulques de Villaret and Clement V, both Occitans, largely frustrated French royal intentions. The conquest of Rhodes, initiated in 1306 and completed with impressive persistence in August 1309,⁷⁶ shielded the Hospital. The technical resort to a limited crusading *passagium*, which excluded any royal command of crusading and which prevented a monarch from taking the cross in order to impose lucrative crusade taxes on his clergy, confounded King Philippe's expectations. Villaret's limited crusade was a financial device as well as a strategic initiative. Both Hospital and Temple faced various unrealistic proposals.⁷⁷ The Hospital's active plans for the papally proclaimed crusade of 1310 made it difficult to attack that order, though some did so. An anonymous *Tractatus contra passagium* of 1309 or early 1310 criticized the coming Hospitaller expedition as scandalous, corrupt and bound to fail, and it denounced it as an ill prepared team of corsairs unable to transport Eastwards the many aspirant crusaders who had in 1309 travelled to Southern France.⁷⁸ King Philippe's reaction in 1309 was to obstruct the Hospital's crusading preparations and to refuse to pay the subsidies he had promised for them; he denounced Villaret's activities and complained that the Hospitallers had exported monies from the French kingdom.

The transfer to the Hospital after 1312 of the bulk of the Temple's possessions and privileges amounted in many ways to a partial union of the two orders. In 1312 Philippe demanded money from the Hospital and he compelled the pope to decree far-reaching inquests and reforms which would have limited the Hospitallers' powers and privileges. Clement V's crusading enthusiasm and his support for the Hospital's activities dwindled; from June 1312 he was seriously ill and little or nothing was done. Despite Philippe's numerous assertions the Hospital largely escaped

⁷⁵ Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 268–269; id., *La persécutiōn*, 77–81; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 140–142, 354 footnote 152; id., “Alle prese con la tormenta: Jacques de Molay, gran maestro del Tempio, nel mirino del potere capetingio (1307–1314),” in *Gli Ordini di Terrasanta*, ed. Baudin, Merli, and Santanicchia, 513–530.

⁷⁶ The discussion in Alain Demurger, *Les Hospitaliers: de Jérusalem à Rhodes, 1050–1317* (Paris: Tallandier, 2013), 444–475, is occasionally debatable; the dating of the conquest of Rhodes to 1310 (ibid., 470, 475, 543 no. 13), ignores the evidence in Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, part II, 110 footnote 10; id., *The Town*, 172–173, 175; id., “The Hospitaller Occupation of Rhodes: 1309,” *Studi Melitensi* 31 (2023): 62–66.

⁷⁷ Alan Forey, “The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries,” *Traditio* 36 (1980): 317–345.

⁷⁸ Ellena Bellomo, “Arnaud de Villanova, i Templari e le crociate,” in *Entre Deus e o Rei*, ed. Fernandes, vol. II, 640–644. Elena Bellomo kindly provided photos of the manuscript.

royal control in France. Philippe reached the council at Vienne on 20 March 1312, and the Hospitaller Priors of France, either Itier de Nanteuil or Simon le Rat, and of Auvergne, Eudes de Montaigu, were summoned to Vienne for consultations on the eve of the pope's suppression of the Temple announced on 22 March 1312. Meanwhile what were probably exaggerated reports of Hospitaller naval victories against the Turks reached the West shortly before the pope decreed the transfer of the Temple's goods to the Hospital. In consequence the French crown profited from the Temple only to a limited extent, while the threats to the papacy, the Hospital and the main body of the Templars' wealth largely lapsed. The papacy and the Hospital went some way towards rescuing each other but the price was Clement V's sacrifice of the Temple.⁷⁹

In August 1297 Foulques de Villaret was at the papal court at Orvieto as *socius* of the distinguished Hospitaller Bonifazio di Calamandrana who was then Grand Commander in the West and active as a papal envoy.⁸⁰ Villaret later became the Hospital's Admiral and then its Grand Commander before succeeding his uncle Guillaume de Villaret as Master in June 1305. The "Templar of Tyre," a close contemporary, wrote of Foulques as *large et courtois et mout liberal*, and as well loved by his brethren and others; Marin Sanudo, a reliable source who spent time with Villaret on Rhodes, declared that Villaret "knew best how to put war and discord among the infidel Turks and their neighbours than all the men in the world."⁸¹

The idea of Rhodes as a base for the prevention of illicit trade with the Mamluks was not new; for example Ramon Llull suggested it in 1305.⁸² It is not clear whether the initiative for the Hospitallers' change of direction away from the

⁷⁹ Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 605–620, advancing points often ignored. The Prior of France, Itier de Nanteuil, and the Marshal, Simon le Rat, went together from Rhodes to Cyprus in July 1310: Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 656. Itier de Nanteuil subscribed to Philippe IV's condemnation of Pope Boniface VIII, went in 1305 on a mission to Perugia where Clement V was elected and was a royal envoy to Clement V at Bordeaux in 1306: Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 613–614 footnote 106. On Montaigu, Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Les prieurs d'Auvergne jusqu'à la fin de l'époque rhodienne – Le quatorzième siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 42 (2020): 21. The Hospital's supposed papal exemption of 1309 actually dated to 1346: Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 616–617. The Teutonic Order, also involved in serious accusations and papal trials, maintained an extensive diplomatic activity in the curia: Barbara Bombi, "Networking at the papal curia as a survival strategy: the Teutonic Order and the crisis of the military orders in the early fourteenth century," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 7, *Piety, Pugnacity and Property*, ed. Nicholas Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 175–194.

⁸⁰ Tommasi, "Giovanniti," 310, 317–319.

⁸¹ Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, part IV, 74, 79–80.

⁸² Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*, part I, 152.

Southern Levant came from certain Genoese seeking to implement their claims on Rhodes and other islands, or whether Villaret's government already envisaged an escape from its restricted inactivity on Cyprus and the creation of what was to become a defensible base from which to confront the coastal Turks of Anatolia rather than the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt. The pact of 27 May 1306 made with the Genoese Vignolo de Vignoli for the conquest of Rhodes mentioned an earlier notarial act concerning that agreement.⁸³ The emirates, including the very extensive state of Menteshe, were increasingly aggressive at sea, while the Hospital was in effect filling the vacuum created in 1304 when the Catalan mercenaries in Byzantine service who had been opposing various Turks withdrew from Western Anatolia.⁸⁴ The invasion began in central Rhodes at the mouth of the Gaduras river.⁸⁵ When they then failed to take the main town the Hospitallers offered to hold Rhodes from the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II and to provide service with 300 knights, a suggestion the emperor rejected. The offer was made before the spring of 1307;⁸⁶ possibly the proposal came from Villaret himself before he left for France late in 1306. On 3 June 1307 Clement V formally excommunicated Andronikos II as part of a crusading scheme for King Philippe's brother Charles of Valois to secure his claims to Constantinople, and in 1309 Ramon Llull hinted that Charles and Villaret could together attack Byzantium.⁸⁷ In 1312 Charles of Valois and Enguerrand de Marigny, the king's leading minister, were said to have been the only two royal advisers at Vienne to favour the passage of the Templars' pos-

⁸³ Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes 1306–1423* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 82–84. The contemporary “Templar of Tyre” stated, without explanation, that at some point Villaret summoned to the Hospital’s casale at Kolossi near Limassol a leading Genoese, Bonifazio Grimaldi, with whom he agreed the invasion plan: Luttrell, *The Town*, 195. That Grimaldi may have controlled shipping or monies potentially available for the invasion; he was in Famagusta in April 1307 and Ansaldo Grimaldi was on Rhodes in 1309: *ibid.*, 173, 195 footnote 645.

⁸⁴ Dimitri Korobeinikov, “The Formation of Turkish Principalities in the Boundary Zone: From the Emirate of Denizli to the Beylik of Menteşe 1256–1302,” in *Menteşeogulları Tarihi*, ed. Adnan Çevik and Murat Keçiş (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2016), 65–76; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, part I; *id.*, “Hospitaller Pugnacity: 1306–1421,” in *The Military Orders*, vol. 7, ed. Morton, 322–323; *id.*, “Liquid Frontiers: Hospitaller Rhodes 1306–1421,” in *Ordens militares: identidade e mudança*, ed. Isabel Cristina Fernandes, vol. I (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2021), 209–214; Carr, *Merchant Crusaders*, 43–49, 65–68.

⁸⁵ Luttrell, “The Hospitaller Occupation,” *passim*; amend much earlier literature, especially *id.*, *The Hospitaller State*, part I, 247.

⁸⁶ Georgios Pachymeres writing before April 1307: Luttrell, *The Town*, 198–199.

⁸⁷ Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274–1314* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 84, 207–208.

sessions to the Hospital, possibly as part of an understanding that the Hospitallers would assist Charles' projected Byzantine expedition; strangely, before Marigny's execution in 1315 it was proposed that he be exiled to Cyprus or to Rhodes.⁸⁸

The roles of a military order were changing. The town of Rhodes surrendered on 15 August 1309 before Villaret's crusade arrived there early in 1310.⁸⁹ Villaret's lengthy and extremely expensive preparations for his *passagium* constituted a notable achievement. That Master consolidated the Hospital's hold on Rhodes; he acquired Kos and other Aegean islands; he successfully allied with one Turkish emir against others; his fleet defeated that of Masud of Menteshe in 1311 or early 1312;⁹⁰ he established footholds and held castles on the nearby mainland; he maintained excellent relations with Henri II of Cyprus; he began to enforce the papal embargo on trade with the Mamluks; he held chapters general in 1311 and 1314. However, the Hospitallers apparently took no action when in 1312 and again in 1314 Pope Clement V called for them to serve against the Catalans of Athens where the pope had granted the Templars' goods to Gautier de Châtillon.⁹¹ Meanwhile the Hospital received minimal support from the Latin West; there was no Jerusalem campaign; the Venetians regained their Aegean islands, and Kos was lost, probably to Greek rule.

The enforcement of the embargo on trade with Mamluks provoked powerful reactions from the Venetians and outright sabotage from the Genoese, some of whom even bribed the Turks to attack the Hospitallers. In 1312 Philippe IV promised to take the crusading cross, after which the French crown received extensive crusading tenths.⁹² Pope Clement wrote in 1309 of a second year of Villaret's cru-

⁸⁸ Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 603, 608, 613–615; Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006, 2nd ed.), 265, 267, 270, 272.

⁸⁹ Luttrell, *The Town*, 172–173, 175; id., "The Hospitaller Occupation," *passim*. An undocumented chapter general of 1310 suggested in Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 147, seems unlikely, even though leading Hospitallers were in the East on the 1310 crusade.

⁹⁰ Mike Carr, "Early Contacts Between Menteshe and the Latins in the Aegean: Alliances with the Genoese and Conflicts with the Hospitallers (c. 1310–12)," in *Menteşeogulları Tarihi*, ed. Çevik and Keçis, 57–64.

⁹¹ Kenneth Setton, *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Barcelona: Aymà, 1975), 16–18; this important work is not a translation of an earlier publication in English.

⁹² Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, part II, 84–86; id., *The Hospitaller State*, part I, 754–761. A second Hospitaller crusade treatise, probably composed after 1310, may not have been the work of Villaret; id., "A Hospitaller Crusade," *passim*. The undocumented claim in Ignacio de la Torre, "Templars' Banking Activities and their Potential Connections to the Order's Demise," in *The Templars: Their Rise, Fall, and Legacy of a Military Religious Order*, ed. Jochen Burgtoft, Shlomo Lotan, and Enric Mallorquí-Ruscalleda (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 185–186, that the Hospital paid the French crown 200,000 *livres tournois*, conceivably about 300,000 florins,

sade, though that Pope failed to expend his own enormous wealth on it.⁹³ Philippe IV, Clement V and Molay died in 1314. In that year Villaret attempted to compel the Rhodian Convent to pay part of the immense debts contracted for his crusade and that, together with his exaggeratedly autocratic behaviour, led the brethren on Rhodes to attempt to assassinate him in 1317 and to his removal from the Mastership in 1319. The Temple's crusading initiatives failed, spectacularly at Ruad, and were eventually followed, somewhat undeservedly and perhaps almost by chance, by that order's extinction. Similarities between the two orders may largely have outweighed their differences, but it was the Hospital which provided the greater action in Armenia and which from 1306 manoeuvred to establish on Rhodes a lasting “island order state” capable of sustaining a degree of organized holy warfare.

APPENDIX 1

Papal cubicularii at Anagni: 1303

Pope Boniface VIII had Hospitaller as well as Templar *cubicularii*. When Guillaume de Nogaret and his allies assaulted him at Anagni in September 1303 that pope was “almost alone” with his Templar and Hospitaller *cubicularii*, his chamberlains or bodyguards.⁹⁴ The plural forms might imply that at least four *cubicularii* were present, perhaps two from each order. How they were chosen and by whom, and how they reacted at Anagni is unknown. Their number and identity have been variously proposed; for example as one *cubicularius* from each order by Francesco Tommasi; Julien Théry gave them as two Templars, Giacomo da Montecucco and Olivier de Penne.⁹⁵ Giacomo da Montecucco was conceivably at Anagni in 1303 though he is not known as a *cubicularius* before 1304,⁹⁶ and the Templar

seems untenable: Luttrell, “Observations,” 369–370. The problem still demands detailed attention.

⁹³ Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, II: 442–449; Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 602, 612.

⁹⁴ [...] *invento domino papa quasi solo cum fratribus Templaris et Hospitelariis cubiculariis suis*; Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, vol. II (Berlin: Mittler und Sohn, 1887), 398–399.

⁹⁵ Tommasi, “Giovanniti,” 312; Théry, “Pourquoi le roi,” 337 no. 11, regards Pope Clement V as having in October 1307 only two *cubicularii*, both Templars.

⁹⁶ Elena Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142 – c. 1330)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 105–106, 204–205, 366; Tommasi, “*Frates quondam Templi*,” 291–292, but with the year 1304

Ugguccione di Vercelli is not known as a *cubicularius* after 1302.⁹⁷ Olivier de Penne, apparently a Provençal, seems no longer to have been a *cubicularius* by November 1308.⁹⁸

Italian popes mostly had Italian *cubicularii*, one exception being the Portuguese Templar in exile, João Fernandes, in 1296.⁹⁹ The Hospitaller *cubicularius* or *cubicularii* of 1303 are frequently overlooked. The Hospital's Giacomo da Pocopalea was a *cubicularius* at least from 1288 to 1297, as was the Hospitaller Gerardo da Gragnana in 1299; however Gerardo was on Cyprus at the time of the Anagni assault in 1303.¹⁰⁰ A *cubicularius* very possibly at Anagni was the Hospitaller Martino di Santo Stefano, while Benedict XI, pope from 1303 to 1304, had a *cubicularius* named Bernardus;¹⁰¹ possibly he was the Hospitaller Raimundus Bernardus de Funel who held that position in 1308 but no longer by 1310.¹⁰² In June 1312 a layman, Garcias de Preyssaco, was a papal *cubicularius seu cambrerius*.¹⁰³ On 18 October 1307, following the Templars' arrests, the pope held a consistory attended by more than one *cubicularius*; the Templar *cubicularius* or *cubicularii*, one being Giacomo da Montecucco, were at that point free under papal protection but were confined to their lodgings.¹⁰⁴

At a disputed date, sometimes placed between 1296 and 1304, either Giotto or another artist painted at Assisi in "The Dream of Gregory IX" a sleeping pope with four attendants, one wearing a black Hospitaller mantle and a Hospitaller cross; no Templar was indicated. The two attendants in another fresco at Assisi showing "The Dream of Innocent III" did not wear a cross. A manuscript illumination of 1343 from Perugia depicted Benedict XI, pope from 1303 to 1304, with three very similar attendants, one of them wearing a dark Hospitaller mantle and a Hospitaller cross; the other two possibly reflected a memory of Templars.¹⁰⁵

as uncertain. If, hypothetically, Montecucco confronted Nogaret at Anagni in 1303, that might have influenced his flight from France in 1308.

⁹⁷ Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 103–104, 366.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 204–205; Tommasi, "Fratres quondam Templi," 266–267.

⁹⁹ Josserand, "Troubles," 368–371.

¹⁰⁰ Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 538; Tommasi, "Giovanniti," 304, 306–307, 310–312, 317–319.

¹⁰¹ Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 613; Tommasi, "Giovanniti," 312–313; id., "Fratres quondam Templi," 266–267.

¹⁰² Tommasi, "Fratres quondam Templi," 266–267 n. 111.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Finke, *Papsttum*, II: 59–60; Tommasi, "Fratres quondam Templi," 266–267.

¹⁰⁵ Luttrell, *Studies*, part XVII, 32–33; illumination reproduced in *Gli Ordini di Terrasanta*, ed. Baudin, Merli, and Santanicchia, 485 (fig. 5).

Crosses may have been added or removed from these pictures after the Temple was suppressed in 1312.¹⁰⁶

APPENDIX 2

A Hospitaller Witness in a Templar Trial: Cyprus 1311

Little was recorded by way of Hospitaller reactions to the accusations against the Templars made in and after 1307; the Hospitallers, themselves under possible threat, may have felt a need for restraint.¹⁰⁷ A partial exception was the testimony given in June 1311 during the trial of the Templars on Cyprus by Symon de *Sarezariis*, the Prior of the Hospitallers' church in Nicosia, who was possibly French.¹⁰⁸ Symon testified that he had heard by letter from an unidentified *Lacterius*, whom he described as the Hospitaller "Prior in France," that the Templar Master and some brethren had confessed that they denied Christ and spat on the cross. Symon had heard, but said he could not remember from whom, that the Templars did not believe in the sacraments and he had been told by a Franciscan that they were ordered not to believe in the eucharist. Symon claimed that the Templars had to promise not to leave their order and that their receptions were held in secret; these things he had heard from Templar brethren. He had also heard, again without remembering from whom, that the Templars adored idols.

Assuming that *Lacterius* was a highly corrupt form, conceivably for *Iterius*, the prior involved was either Itier de Nanteuil or, less probably, Simon le Rat, the Marshal, who succeeded Itier as Prior of France. The two reached Cyprus from Rhodes

¹⁰⁶ Chiara Frugone, "In margine a Templari e Flagellanti," in *Milites Templi: il patrimonio monumentale e artistico dei Templari in Europa*, ed. Sonia Merli (Perugia: Volumnia, 2008), 287–290 (fig. 4), proposes the Templar *cubicularius* Bonvicino, but he disappears after 1260. These problems require further study.

¹⁰⁷ Background in Luttrell, *Studies*, part V.

¹⁰⁸ Text in Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, II: 398–399, but Finke, *Acta*, I: 391, read *Suzeraitis*: Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 657. Claverie, *L'Ordre du Temple*, II: 295, gave him, without evidence, as from Sarcelles near Paris. However, id., "Les nouvelles tendances de l'Historiographie de l'Orient latin (2005–2014)," *Le Moyen Âge* 121 (2015): 730 n. 59, stated that he was a Northern Italian named "Sarezarii."

together on 26 July 1310.¹⁰⁹ Itier had had a distinguished career as a royal envoy¹¹⁰ and would have been well informed about affairs in France. Itier was apparently in France on 2 June 1309.¹¹¹ He may have travelled to Rhodes with the Hospitaller *passagium* early in 1310. Itier would presumably have still been Prior of France in July 1310 since Simon le Rat was then still Marshal; in fact, Itier was still the Prior of France in October 1310.¹¹² By October 1312 Itier was no longer prior, having perhaps died. Simon le Rat had at various times been Marshal, and so probably in the East, since 1299,¹¹³ and he was perhaps less likely then than Itier de Nanteuil to have written to Symon de *Sarezariis*. Simon le Rat was presumably Prior of France at latest by 17 October 1312 since by then Tertitius de Lorgne was the Marshal and was on Rhodes.¹¹⁴

The evidence of Symon de *Sarezariis* might be regarded as simply a report on matters which were common knowledge and well known to Itier de Nanteuil, a leading Hospitaller who had been close to developments in France. Yet Symon's testimony, seemingly disguised as hearsay, suggests a certain hostility towards the Templars on the part of leading Hospitallers as they stood to acquire the Temple's wealth on Cyprus as elsewhere.

APPENDIX 3

A Hospitaller Statute of 1320

An official statute of the Hospitallers' chapter general of 1320 envisaged the possibility that former Templars might enter or have entered the Hospital or might hold or have held office in it.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. franç. 13,531, fol. 61r–61v.

¹⁰⁹ Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 308, 656.

¹¹⁰ Luttrell, *Studies*, part V, 613–614 n. 106; Roger, "F. Jean de Nanteuil," 247, 252–253.

¹¹¹ Roger, "F. Jean de Nanteuil," 247.

¹¹² Ibid., 247–248, where, however, Itier is considered as ill or dead on 16 June 1311 when a chapter of his priory was presided over by a lieutenant of the Master; possibly he was still alive in the East.

¹¹³ Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 655–656.

¹¹⁴ Luttrell, *The Town*, 17; Burgtoft, *The Central Convent*, 655–656, has Simon le Rat as Prior of France "from 1313."

Item statutum est quod per capitulum generale seu provinciale nulli frati de cetero prioratus, bailivia, preceptoria vel domus aliqua comitatur nisi in Hospitali vel quondam Templi ordinibus fuerit per quinque annos completos, cum per novicios vel fratres novellos multa dampna et mala gravamina hactenus fuerint in ordinibus ipsis ex parte, et si forte in presenti sint aliqui qui preceptorias, bailivias vel domus teneant et dictorum Hospitalis vel quondam Templi ordinum per quinquenium fratres non fuerint eas dimittere teneantur.

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