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TEMPLAR PROVINCIAL CHAPTERS IN THE LATER THIRTEENTH AND EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

KEYWORDS

history; the Middle Ages; military orders; Templars; conflicts; chapters of faults; councils; legislation

ABSTRACT

By the later thirteenth century Templar provincial chapters in the West were being held annually, usually in the spring or early summer. In the French province they were always convened in Paris, but in some other provinces meetings took place in various convents. Those who attended were mostly heads of convents, and it seems that those present usually totalled some forty to fifty brothers: in many provinces the majority were sergeants. Provincial masters normally presided, but occasionally the grand master or visitor had charge. Heads of convents were expected to pay their responsions at the chapter and present a statement about the condition of their houses. There seems, however, to have been no general review of appointments. Moreover, the chapter also acted as a chapter of faults. Yet any current business could also be raised at a meeting, although little is known about the process of decision-making. Provincial chapters appear to have lasted for only a few days, whereas at other times in the year provincial masters tended to seek counsel from smaller groups of commanders.

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Most general and regional studies of the Templars contain little comment on provincial chapters.¹ This is hardly surprising. Although they probably began to be held by the middle years of the twelfth century,² for most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the surviving sources provide only occasional references to provincial chapters. The section in the order's regulations on the holding of chapters is concerned mainly with their function as chapters of faults, and makes no specific comment about provincial assemblies.³ There is, however, a little more evidence relating to western Europe in the decades before the Templar trial, although it does not cover all provinces. Some information about provincial chapters is to be found in the testimonies given by brothers when they were interrogated and in other sources relating to the Templar trial, such as the claims made by those who had been in receipt of corrodies or pensions from the order in England.⁴ A collection of Templar paper documents in the Crown Archive in Barcelona is also a useful source,⁵ and additional information is contained

¹ See, for example: Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Alain Demurger, *Les Templiers: une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2005); Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: The Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, c.1100–c.1300* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999); Evelyn Lord, *The Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2002); Damien Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312): ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales* (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005). There is, however, a useful discussion in Elena Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142–c.1330)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 113–118.

² The wording of possible early references to provincial chapters is often ambiguous, as the terms *capitulum generale* and *capitulum provinciale* did not come into use until later, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, "The Origins of the Commandery in the Temple and the Hospital," in *La commanderie: institution des ordres militaires dans l'occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), 14, and the references given there. In 1153 the Templar master of Provence and certain parts of Spain made a concession to the Hospitallers with the consent *totius capituli nostri*, see: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 169 no. 220. A few years later the English master acted with *totius capituli Anglie conventus*, see: *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: The Inquest of 1185 with Illustrative Charters and Documents*, ed. Beatrice A. Lees (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), 165–166.

³ *La règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Renouard, 1886), 216–284 clauses 386–543; *Il Corpus normativo templare: edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in italiano*, ed. and trans. Giovanni Amatucciono (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2009), 198–280 clauses 89–192.

⁴ *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Henry Cole (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), 139–230.

⁵ Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (henceforth as: ACA), Cancillería Real, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Jaime II, cajas 137–142, Templarios.

in the registers of the Aragonese kings and in the rolls containing copies of letters dispatched by the royal chancery in England.

In the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries provincial chapters were normally held annually. The Templar Guy of Cietica, when questioned in Florence in 1311, stated that *omni anno congregabantur capitula per provincias*,⁶ and a question to English Templars interrogated at Lincoln also referred to annual chapters,⁷ while the Close Rolls of the English King Henry III indicate that he made an annual gift of ten deer for the order's provincial chapter.⁸ In no province are provincial chapters recorded every year for any length of time in the surviving sources, but claims for corrodies and pensions in England during the Templar trial mention chapters in fifteen of the seventeen years between 1291 and 1307.⁹ Testimonies of Italian Templars similarly appear to allude to chapters of the northern Italian province in most of the years from 1300 to 1307.¹⁰ Occasionally, however, for particular reasons, a chapter was not summoned. The Aragonese provincial master Berenguer of Cardona went out to the East in the summer of 1300 and was absent for a whole year, and in March 1301 his lieutenant wrote to the commander of Mallorca, stating that as he had not heard from Berenguer *no avem assignat ne manat capitol*.¹¹

⁶ Telesforo Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana," *Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese* 13 (1845): 480; Jules Loiseleur, *La doctrine secrète des Templiers* (Paris: A. Durand et Pedone-Lauriel, 1872), 190.

⁷ *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, vol. 1, ed. and trans. Helen J. Nicholson, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 240.

⁸ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1234-1237*, ed. C. Trice Martin, R.F. Isaacson, and A.S. Maskelyne (London: HMSO, 1908), 427; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: 1247-1251*, ed. E.G. Atkinson and A.E. Stamp (London: HMSO, 1922), 189, 309-310 and 491; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1251-1253*, ed. P.V. Davies, A.E. Stamp, and K.H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1927), 104 and 370-371; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1254-1256*, ed. A.E. Stamp and K.H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1931), 115.

⁹ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 139-230, passim.

¹⁰ Bini, "Dei Tempieri," 478-479 and 485-486; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 189, 196; Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 116-17. The Templars were, of course, speaking from memory, but they were referring back only a few years.

¹¹ Peter of Tous to Peter of San Justo, 27 March 1301, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 566. On Berenguer's journey, see: Alan J. Forey, "Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 45 (2001): 153-154; Alain Demurger, "Between Barcelona and Cyprus: The Travels of Berenguer of Cardona, Templar Master of Aragon and Catalonia (1300-1)," in *International Mobility in the Military Orders, Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf and Helen J. Nicholson (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 65-74.

Whether provincial chapters had always been held annually is not altogether clear. Yet Henry III's instructions about the gift of deer sometimes allude to an earlier charter by John,¹² and in some instances to a grant made by Henry's grandfather Henry II:¹³ this would suggest that the practice of holding annual chapters may have been well-established already in the second half of the twelfth century. Other orders which held provincial chapters, including the Hospital, the Teutonic order and the Dominican order, certainly held annual assemblies; and as the Hospital appears to have adopted this practice as early as 1123, it is not unlikely that the Temple quickly followed the Hospitallers' example.¹⁴

In the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries each province convened its chapter at approximately the same time every year, namely in the spring or early summer. In the province of France the chapter was referred to as the *capitulum beati Johannis Baptiste*,¹⁵ although it was not necessarily convened exactly on 24 June. In Templar financial accounts the first entry under that heading in 1295 was dated 4 July, and in 1296 1 July.¹⁶ In England documents issued at the provincial chapter were similarly dated with reference to St Barnabas (11 June), but many were drawn up in the week preceding that date.¹⁷ The Aragonese provincial chapter was not linked in this way to a particular festival, but was normally summoned to meet in April or May, and always met on a Sunday. When a chapter was called by the provincial master Berenguer of Cardona to be held on the last Sunday in February, he acknowledged that this was unusual and referred to the *temps que el capitol*

¹² See, for example: *Close Rolls: 1247–1251*, ed. Atkinson and Stamp, 189, 309–310 and 491; *Close Rolls: 1251–1253*, ed. Davies, Stamp, and Ledward, 104 and 370–371.

¹³ *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1231–1234*, ed. C. Trice Martin and A.E. Stamp (London: HMSO, 1905), 90; *Close Rolls: 1234–1237*, ed. Martin, Isaacson, and Maskelyne, 440–441. John's charter may have been a confirmation of a grant by Henry II.

¹⁴ *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1890), 59 no. II(b); Georgina R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order, 1216–1350* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), 54; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070–1309* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 97 and 194; *Cartulaire*, 1, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 61–62 no. 69.

¹⁵ Léopold Delisle, *Mémoire sur les opérations financières des Templiers* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1889), 176, 208.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 176 and 208.

¹⁷ For the dates of documents issued by the chapter, see: *Documents*, ed. Cole, 139–230, *passim*. In the Teutonic Order the provincial chapter in Prussia was to meet on the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September): *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 161–162; *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, part 1, ed. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 50 (Marburg: Elwert Verlag, 2002), 3–5 no. 2.

es acostumat de celebrar.¹⁸ There is less evidence about the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, but chapters held by masters of Castile and Leon in 1272 and 1307 were both held in May.¹⁹ In his testimony given at Florence the Templar Guy of Cietica similarly stated that chapters of the northern Italian province were held each year in May, and a Templar questioned at Cesena said that he had been received into the order at a provincial chapter in May.²⁰ Occasionally, however, it was not possible to adhere to the date assigned for a chapter. In one year the Aragonese chapter could not be held on the designated date because the provincial master had, together with prelates and nobles, received a summons from James II to be at Gerona on 1 May: the provincial chapter was therefore moved to the last Sunday in April.²¹ Similarly, in 1304 the Templars were stationed on the frontier when the Aragonese chapter was due to assemble on the second Sunday in May, and the chapter had to be delayed.²² The fairly uniform practice discernible in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had not, however, always been characteristic of earlier periods. In the Aragonese province a chapter at Monzón in 1212 had been convened in December.²³ It has further been claimed, on the evidence of documents issued in the first three-quarters of the thirteenth century, that chapters in the northern Italian province had earlier met either in autumn or towards the end of the winter; and some earlier English chapters had met at Easter.²⁴

¹⁸ Alan J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 318, 337, and 413 (Source edition no. 43).

¹⁹ Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, *Dissertaciones históricas del orden y cavallería de los Templarios* (Madrid: Antonio Pérez de Soto, 1747), 30–31; Lope Pascual Martínez, “Los Templarios en el Reino de Murcia,” in *Homenaje al Prof. Muñoz Cortés*, vol. 2, ed. Joaquín Hernández Serna (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1976–1977), 885–886 no. 7.

²⁰ Bini, “*Dei Tempieri*,” 480; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 190; Francesco Tommasi, “Interrogatorio di Templari a Cesena (1310),” in *Aciri 1291: la fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. Francesco Tommasi (Perugia: Quattroemme, 1996), 293. In 1303 a German provincial chapter was held in April: *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte des Templerordens im Bereich des Bistums Cammin und der Kirchenprovinz Gnesen*, ed. Winfried Irgang (Cologne: Böhlau, 1987), 75–77 no. 78. On the dates of the chapter of the Hospitaller priory of St Gilles in the later thirteenth century, see: *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1289*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Damien Carraz and Alain Venturini (Paris: CRNS, 2015), xxxii.

²¹ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Ambel, (Saturday before 25 March, between 1297–1301), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 278.

²² *Acta Aragonensia*, vol. 1, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin: Walter Rothschild, 1908–1922), 146–147 no. 99.

²³ Grant of Ribarroja by the provincial master and chapter to Arnold of Miravet, 16 December 1212, Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 12–6–1/M–83, doc. 14.

²⁴ Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 118; *Il Libro Rosso del comune di Chieri*, ed. Ferdinando Gabotto and Francesco Guasco di Bisio (Pinerolo: Brignolo, 1918), 83–86 no. 46; Giuseppe A.

In the province of France the chapter was always held in Paris. In 1311 a Templar sergeant reported that he had heard that *Parisius tenebantur capitulia generalia*,²⁵ and the records of the trial proceedings in Paris contain numerous references to chapters held there.²⁶ Chapters at Paris are also mentioned in Templar financial accounts, and earlier Matthew Paris had written that *Templari omnes cis-montani temporibus ac terminis suis ad generale eorum capitulum conveniunt* at the Paris house.²⁷ From 1291 onwards the English provincial chapter was always held at Dinsley in Hertfordshire,²⁸ although in the later 1270s and in the 1280s it had been convened on several occasions at Bisham, in Berkshire,²⁹ and there had earlier been chapters in London.³⁰ Almost all the references to provincial chapters in Provence found in the testimonies of Templars interrogated at Aigues-Mortes, Nîmes and Alès are to assemblies at Montpellier, although a meeting at St. Gilles was mentioned on one occasion.³¹ In the later thirteenth century the chapters of

di Ricaldone, *Templari e Gerosolimitani di Malta in Piemonte dal XII al XVIII secolo*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Instituto Internacional de Genealogía y Heráldica, 1980), 419; Maria P. Alberzoni, "Sub eadem clausura sequestrati: uomini e donne nelle prime comunità umiliate lombarde," in *Uomini e donne in comunità*, Quaderni di storia religiosa 1 (1994): 105–106; Pietro M. Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, vol. 2 (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1651), 178; Ezio Trota, "L'ordine dei cavalieri templari a Modena e l'ospitale del ponte di S. Ambrogio," *Atti e memorie della Deputazione di storia patria per le antiche provincie modenesi*, series 11, no. 6 (1984): 48–49, 50–52; *Calendar of the patent rolls, preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry III*, vol. 5, 1258–1266, ed. J.G. Black and R.F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1910), 586–87; *Documents*, ed. Cole, 206, 211–12; *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda camera, Essex*, ed. Michael Gervers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 46–48 nos. 77–78.

²⁵ *Procès des Templiers*, vol. 2, ed. Jules Michelet (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1851), 51.

²⁶ See, for example: *Procès des Templiers*, vol. 1, ed. Jules Michelet (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), 245, 257, 305, 319, 323, 399, 400, 413, 429, 501, 514, 535, 553, 627–628.

²⁷ Delisle, *Mémoire*, 176, 208; Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, vol. 5, ed. Henry R. Luard, Rolls Series 57 (London: Longman, 1880), 478.

²⁸ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 139–230, passim. The chapter had also been held at Dinsley in 1265 and 1271: *Calendar*, 5, ed. Black and Isaacson, 586–587; *Cartulary*, ed. Gervers, 46 no. 77.

²⁹ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 142–143, 145, 157, 168–169, 177, 181.

³⁰ *Close Rolls: 1234–1237*, ed. Martin, Isaacson, and Maskelyne, 440 (in 1237); *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: 1242–1247*, ed. E.G. Atkinson and R.F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1916), 307 (in 1245); *Documents*, ed. Cole 199; *Records*, ed. Lees, 246–249 and 266–268; *Cartulary*, ed. Gervers, 46–48 no. 78; Helen J. Nicholson, "At the Heart of Medieval London: The New Temple in the Middle Ages," in *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2010), 4–5.

³¹ Léon Ménard, *Histoire civile, ecclésiastique et littéraire de la ville de Nismes avec des notes et les preuves*, vol. 1 (Paris: Hugues D. Chaubert et Claude Hérisant fils, 1744), Preuves, 176, 179, 187, 194, 203 and 211; see also: *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 158 and 363. Templar witnesses during

the northern Italian province were usually convened at either Piacenza or Bologna,³² although earlier in the century there had also been meetings elsewhere, including Asti.³³ Up to the middle years of the thirteenth century the Aragonese provincial chapter had commonly met at Monzón, the most important of the castles granted by Raymond Berenguer IV when the Templars had entered the *reconquista* in 1143.³⁴ Yet later it was also held in various other convents, including Miravet³⁵,

the trial also mentioned chapters of the province of Aquitaine held at Auzon and chapters of the Auvergne province convened at Paulhac and La Marche: *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 224, *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 125, 135, 206 and 207; but the evidence is insufficient to provide a clear pattern.

- ³² Bini, “Dei Tempieri,” 461, 464–465, 471, 473–474, 479, 485–486 and 492; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 173–174, 176, 182, 184, 189, 196 and 202–3; Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 115–117. There is also a reference to one chapter at Rome: Bini, “Dei Tempieri,” 464; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 175–176.
- ³³ *Il Libro*, ed. Gabotto and Guasco di Bisio, 83–86; Alberzoni, “Sub eadem clausura,” 105–106; Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 114.
- ³⁴ 1225: Grant of a *carta de población* by the provincial master and chapter to Cantavieja, April 1225, Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional (henceforth as: AHN), Códice 493/660B, 3–6; Códice 494/661B, 1–4; c.1230: Manuel Albareda y Herrera, *Fuero de Alfambra* (Madrid: Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos, 1926), 39–41; 1234: Agreement between the provincial master and chapter and the inhabitants of Aberín, 7 May 1234, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 916, no. 11; 1237(?): Agreement between the provincial master and chapter and the inhabitants of Oteiza, 21 December 1237(?), AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 916, nos. 14, 15; 1246: Appointment of a proctor by the provincial master in a dispute with the church of Tudela, 26 February 1246, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 908, no. 8; 1251: Confirmation by the provincial master of an agreement with the inhabitants of Ribaforada, 14 March 1251, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 908, no. 10; 1252: *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón: 1251–1257*, vol. 3, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María D. Cabanes Pecourt, (Valencia, Zaragoza: Editorial Anubar, 1978), 61–66 no. 590; *Aranceles aduaneros de la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIII)*, ed. María D. Sendra Cendra (Valencia: Editorial Anubar, 1966), 63–64 no. 7; *Vocabulario del comercio medieval: colección de aranceles aduaneros de la Corona de Aragón: siglos XIII y XIV*, ed. Miguel Gual Camarena (Tarragona: Excelentísima Diputación Provincial, 1968), 94–102 no. 8. I am extremely grateful to Luis García-Guijarro for ascertaining the current *signaturas* of Templar parchments in the AHN, as these have been completely re-numbered since I examined them.
- ³⁵ 1255: Albareda y Herrera, *Fuero*, 46; 1260: Agreement between the commander of Cantavieja and the inhabitants of Cantavieja, 11 September 1260, AHN, Códice 493/660B, 18–20 and Códice 494/661B, 17–19 no. 4; 1275: Grant of a *carta de población* for Belloque and Cambor by the grand master and chapter, 7 May 1275, AHN, Códice 467/649B, 442 no. 424; 1296: Grant of a *beneficium personale* by the provincial master and chapter to the scribe Raymond González, 10 April 1296, ACA, Cancillería Real, Pergaminos, Jaime II 633; c.1300: *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 449; c. 1306: Testimony of the Templar Peter Jiménez de Peralta, 8 November 1309, Barcelona, Archivo Capitular, Codex 149A, fols 7v–8.

Tortosa³⁶, Gardeny³⁷ and Horta³⁸. Less evidence survives for the province of Castile and Leon. Provincial chapters in 1272 and 1307 met in Zamora, but earlier assemblies had been held elsewhere in the province.³⁹ There was clearly no uniform practice regarding the location of chapters. Various factors may have been taken into consideration. It would be convenient to hold chapters in a fairly central position geographically. The practice of holding Aragonese provincial chapters in places farther south than Monzón in the later thirteenth century may possibly be explained by the expansion of the province southwards following James I's conquest of Valencia. In some instances the holding of chapters in more than one place may have been occasioned by a wish not to place too great a financial burden on one convent. This was apparently a factor which was taken into account in the Dominican order, where between 1282 and 1302 its Provence chapter was held in sixteen different locations.⁴⁰ Particular circumstances may also have influenced

³⁶ 1263: Grant of irrigation canals by the *concejo* of Pina to the Templars, 8 May 1263, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 710, no. 2; 1289: Pere Sanahuja, *Història de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Balaguer: Pagès Editors, 2002), 65.

³⁷ 1281: Appointment of a proctor by the provincial master and chapter in a dispute with the monastery of San Pedro in Barcelona, 6 May 1281, ACA, Cancillería Real, Pergaminos, Pedro II (III) 252; 1286: *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes*, ed. Enric Guinot Rodríguez (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991), 414–415 no. 214; 1294: *Diplomatari del Masdeu*, vol. 5, ed. Rodrigue Tréton (Barcelona: Pagès Editors, 2010), 2699 no. 71 sexto; 1303: Forey, *The Templars*, 413 (Source edition no. 43) (1303 seems a more likely date than c. 1301, which is given there); Reduction of rents in the commandery of Gardeny by the provincial master, 8 March 1303, ACA, Ordenes Religiosas y Militares, San Juan, Pergaminos, Gardeny 231–236, 238–244 and 383–395; c.1305: *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 16–17; *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. 2, *Quellen*, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1907), 370 no. 157; Testimony of the Templar William of Montornés, 8 January 1310, Barcelona, Archivo Capitular, Codex 149A, fols 42v–43v.

³⁸ 1307: Forey, *The Templars*, 415–419 (Source edition no. 45). The chapter was held at Monzón in 1271 and 1293: terms granted to settlers at Villastar by the provincial master and chapter, 13 May 1271, AHN, Códice 466/648B, 41–42 no. 43; confirmation by the provincial master and chapter of a compromise with the inhabitants of Teruel, 11 May 1271, AHN, Ordenes Militares, legajo 8344, no. 2; *Cartas pueblas de las morerías valencianas y documentación complementaria. I. 1234–1372*, ed. Manuel V. Febrer Romaguera (Zaragoza: Editorial Anubar, 1991), 93–94 no. 45; *Diplomatari*, 5, ed. Tréton, 2699 no. 71 ter. An incompletely dated summons indicates that it was also convened there probably in 1300: Berenguer of Cardona to Peter of San Justo, commander of Corbins, 15 January 1300(?), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 249.

³⁹ Gonzalo Martínez Diez, *Los Templarios en la Corona de Castilla* (Burgos: Editorial La Olmeda, 1993), 67. It was also at Zamora that the visitor, Berenguer of Cardona, held a chapter in 1302: Berenguer of Cardona to Arnold of Banyuls, commander of Peñíscola, 29 May 1302, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 322.

⁴⁰ Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 60.

the choice of location: in May 1263, when the Aragonese chapter met at Tortosa, the provincial master, William of Pontons, was heavily involved in disputes with the bishop of Tortosa, the noble Raymond of Moncada and the inhabitants of the city about rights there.⁴¹ The importance of the Paris convent as a financial centre may, however, have overridden considerations of these kinds. It was also necessary, of course, to select a convent which could accommodate all the brothers who attended.

During their trial Templars provided very varying estimates of the numbers attending provincial chapters. An Italian preceptor asserted that he had been at a provincial chapter in Rome where eight brothers were present and at another at Piacenza which had been attended by about twelve brothers.⁴² By contrast, two Templars interrogated in Paris said that they had been at chapters in that city when about 200 had been present, and the commander of Aberín, in Navarre, claimed that about a hundred had attended a chapter in which he had participated in Catalonia.⁴³ Most estimates, however, fell between these extremes, and the most common assessments were in the range of forty to fifty.⁴⁴ Of, course, not all provincial chapters were necessarily of the same size, but the differences could hardly have been as great as these figures suggest. Chapters were normally attended by heads of convents within a province, but in many provinces it is difficult to calculate the exact number of convents as it is not always possible to differentiate between convents and granges or dependencies. In England, Templars from thirty-five houses were arrested, and there were several other houses in Scotland and Ireland, but the status of these houses is not always known.⁴⁵ A document drawn up at the Aragonese chapter in 1307, however, lists thirty-six convents,⁴⁶ and as the sources for that province are fuller than for others, it is clear that this was an accurate figure. A fairly full attendance by heads of convents would be expected, as the

⁴¹ *Els Templers de les terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa): de Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'orde (1213-1312)*, vol. 2, ed. Laureà Pagarolas i Sabaté (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1999), 117-127 nos. 100-103.

⁴² Bini, "Dei Tempieri," 462, 464; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 174, 175.

⁴³ *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 407, 627-628; *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 16-17.

⁴⁴ Tommasi, "Interrogatorio," 288, 293; Bini, "Dei Tempieri," 464, 485-486 and 492; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 176, 196, 202-203. For estimates of twenty, thirty and seventy, see: Bini, "Dei Tempieri," 464 and 479; Loiseleur, *La doctrine*, 176, 190; *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 535.

⁴⁵ Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles, 1308-1311* (Stroud: The History Press, 2009), 72. The same comment may be made about the estimate of fifty-seven preceptories in the British Isles in Eileen Gooder, *Temple Balsall: The Warwickshire Preceptory of the Templars and their Fate* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1995), 144-146.

⁴⁶ Forey, *The Templars*, 415-419 (Source edition no. 45).

problems of distance which prevented some abbots from attending every general chapter of their orders⁴⁷ would have been of little significance within most Templar provinces, although the Templar Michael of Baskerville stated that brothers in Ireland sometimes attended English provincial chapters only every other year, and another Templar said that they were present only every two or three years.⁴⁸ It would seem therefore that the very low estimates of the size of provincial chapters are misleading, as provinces would usually have had rather more than eight or twelve convents. Documents issued at provincial chapters which give names of commanders who were present do not, however, provide a very clear indication of the number of commanders who actually attended chapters. Thirty heads of Aragonese convents were listed in a document drawn up at a chapter held in 1252, and twenty-four were named in one written at another convened in 1263,⁴⁹ while twenty-six and nineteen commanders were listed in documents issued by northern Italian provincial chapters at Piacenza in 1268 and 1271.⁵⁰ Yet many documents drawn up during such assemblies name only a handful of commanders. A reference to an Aragonese chapter held at Miravet in 1255 gives the names of only five commanders, and eight commanders were listed in a document drawn up at a chapter of the same province in 1286, while six were named ten years later in a grant made in a chapter at Miravet.⁵¹ But many documents also refer to other unnamed brothers who were present, and on some occasions these can be shown to have included heads of convents. A document drawn up at the Aragonese chapter held at Monzón in 1271 gives the names of twenty preceptors, but also refers to other preceptors and brothers who were present, and a further document issued at what ap-

⁴⁷ See, for example: Jean-Berthold Mahn, *L'ordre cistercien et son gouvernement des origines au milieu du XIII^e siècle (1098–1265)* (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1951), 179; David H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998), 40.

⁴⁸ *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson, 125–126.

⁴⁹ *Documentos*, 3, ed. Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, 61–66 no. 590; *Aranceles*, ed. Sendra Cendra, 63–64 no. 7; *Vocabulario*, ed. Gual Camarena, 94–102 no. 8; Grant of irrigation canals by the *concejo* of Pina to the Templars, 8 May 1263, see above (note 36).

⁵⁰ Trota, “L’ordine,” 48–49, 50–52; Cristina Dondi, “Missale vetus ad usum Templariorum: l’ordine dei cavalieri templari in area modenese nei secoli XII–XIV,” *Aevum* 68, no. 2 (1994): 347, 350. The financial accounts of the Templar house in Paris list some twenty commanders of the province of France in entries made at the time of chapters in 1295 and 1296, but these do not necessarily include all who were present: Delisle, *Mémoire*, 176–178, 208–210.

⁵¹ Forey, *The Templars*, 390–391 (Source edition no. 21); *Cartes*, ed. Guinot Rodriguez, 414–415 no. 214; Grant of a *beneficium personale* by the provincial master and chapter to the scribe Raymond González, 10 April 1296, see above (note 35).

pears to be a Templar provincial chapter in Aragon in May 1290 had the consent of six named preceptors and *plurium aliorum preceptorum et fratrum nostrorum*.⁵²

These references to unnamed brothers as well as commanders who were present would imply that attendance was not wholly limited to heads of convents. There is, however, certainly no evidence of elected representatives at chapters, as there were at chapters in the Dominican order.⁵³ Yet it may be pointed out that some of those who, when interrogated, said that they had attended provincial chapters at Montpellier cannot be shown to have been heads of houses:⁵⁴ but no complete lists of the latter can be compiled. Commanders of houses in the kingdoms of Navarre and Mallorca who attended provincial chapters in Aragonese lands were given safe-conducts by the Aragonese kings not only for themselves but also for their *familia*, but the latter did not necessarily include members of the order.⁵⁵ The Templar sergeant Gerard of Passagio did, however, state in his testimony during the trial that he had accompanied the commander of Trier to a chapter in Paris, and when the commander of Mallorca attended a chapter in 1290 he was given a safe conduct for his *socius*, who would have been a knightly brother.⁵⁶ But only knightly commanders had *socii*. Nor should it be assumed that any who accompanied commanders to provincial chapters actually participated in the proceedings. Certainly the summonses to chapters which have survived in the Aragonese province required the attendance only of the head of a house,⁵⁷ and the Eng-

⁵² Confirmation by the provincial master and chapter of a compromise with the inhabitants of Teruel, 11 May 1271, see above (note 38); Grant of a corrody by the provincial master and chapter to the vicar of Ademuz, 18 May 1290, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 522, no. 480. A Hospitaller document emanating from a priorial chapter of St. Gilles in 1283 lists forty-five preceptors by name and mentions *multi alii fratres preceptores* who were present: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 448–449 no. 3839.

⁵³ Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 61–62.

⁵⁴ Ménard, *Histoire*, I, Preuves, 180–181, 187, 194, 203.

⁵⁵ *Diplomatari*, 5, ed. Tréton, 2696–2697, 2699 docs 71 ter, sexto; safe conduct granted by Peter III to the commander of Ribaforada, 22 February 1285, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 56 fol. 7; Safe-conduct granted by Alfonso III to the commander of Mallorca, 15 January 1290, ACA, Registro 81 fol. 13. Brothers' esquires were not members of the order.

⁵⁶ *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 215–216; Safe-conduct granted by Alfonso III to the commander of Mallorca, 15 January 1290, see above (note 55).

⁵⁷ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, Saturday after *Apparitio Domini*, 1303(?), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 185; Berenguer of Cardona to Peter of San Justo, commander of Corbins, 15 January 1300(?), see above (note 38); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, first Sunday of December 1302(?), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 403; Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, 16 December 1302(?), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 457; Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Grañena, 22 February 1296(?), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas,

lish Templar Alexander of Althon testified that only commanders went to provincial chapters,⁵⁸ while Templars interrogated at Lincoln agreed with the statement that commanders of England, Ireland and Scotland attended the English provincial chapter.⁵⁹ Yet, if convents normally sent only their commander to the provincial chapter, there remains the question of the role of members of the house in which a provincial chapter was being held.⁶⁰ Some of those who said that they had attended chapters but who cannot be traced as commanders could have been members of the convent where a chapter was being held: in particular, it may be mentioned that the sergeant Peter Brocart, who described himself as an *agricola* of the Templar house in Paris, asserted that he had been present at a dozen provincial chapters there.⁶¹ Yet at a provincial chapter held at Gardeny in Catalonia in 1212 brothers of that house acted only as witnesses to a document drawn up in the name of the provincial master and a number of commanders.⁶² This would suggest that the Templars of a house where a chapter was being held would not participate in discussions, although they no doubt attended religious services alongside the commanders who had come to the assembly.⁶³ The inclusion of members of the house where a chapter was held would in any case not have greatly increased its numbers: in England, only three brothers from Dinsley were arrested in 1308, and only one from Bisham,⁶⁴ and although it has been calculated that twenty-four Templars from Montpellier were detained, at least ten of these were based in granges

Templarios 507; Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Peñíscola, (1299–1306), ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 607; Forey, *The Templars*, 413 (Source edition no. 43).

⁵⁸ *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson 237.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 240–259.

⁶⁰ Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1904), 316, assumed that prioral chapters in the Hospital included the members of the leading house in the priory.

⁶¹ *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 293; Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1887), 62.

⁶² Grant by the provincial master and chapter to the church of Gardeny, 22 October 1212, ACA, Ordenes Religiosas y Militares, San Juan, Pergaminos, Gardeny 604. In this document the sub-preceptor of Gardeny was included among those who were acting with the provincial master, but this was apparently an isolated occurrence. No other documents drawn up in chapters allude to the presence of sub-commanders, and this was a post which was not constantly in existence. In the Aragonese province, with the exception of the convent of Masdáu, there are no references to the office after 1242: Forey, *The Templars*, 268–269; *Diplomatari*, 5, ed. Tréton, 2905.

⁶³ In the Dominican order, friars of the host house were not members of the provincial chapter: Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 63.

⁶⁴ Nicholson, *The Knights*, 72.

and dependencies of the convent.⁶⁵ A provincial chapter would, however, have required the presence of some chaplains: one English Templar said that when penances were being imposed the brother presiding over the chapter was assisted by two chaplains.⁶⁶ In many western provinces, of course, some commanders were ordained brothers, but this was not the case in the Aragonese province. It is possible, however, that the chaplain of the provincial master was normally present, and the latter's knightly companion may also have assisted at meetings,⁶⁷ although only heads of houses are listed as giving advice and counsel. But even if chapters included chaplains and some members of the master's entourage, commanders appear to have constituted the main element in provincial chapters. The larger estimates of numbers present given by brothers may therefore be questioned: as there were thirty-six convents in the Aragonese province, the claim that about a hundred brothers had attended a chapter at Gardeny is not very plausible. Those who, when interrogated, provided middling numbers were probably the most accurate. Certainly the Templars did not feel the need to adopt the practice encountered in other orders of appointing *diffinitores* to form a committee within a chapter with the purpose of facilitating decision-making in large assemblies.⁶⁸

Those who attended Aragonese provincial chapters were mostly knights, as only a few sergeants had charge of convents there.⁶⁹ In western provinces where the order had no military role, however, knights were few in number and the commanders who were present at chapters included many who were sergeants and a few who were chaplains: the knightly element did not always predominate.

Although the provincial master normally presided over the annual chapter, this role was occasionally assumed by the grand master or visitor. William of Beaujeu, grand master from 1273 until 1291, held a *capitulum generale* at Miravet in

⁶⁵ Vincent Challet, "Entre expansionisme capétien et relents d'hérésie: le procès des Templiers du Midi," in *Les ordres religieux militaires dans le Midi (XII^e–XIV^e siècle)*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 41 (Toulouse: Privat, 2006), 163 note 12; Ménard, *Histoire*, I, Preuves, 198–208.

⁶⁶ *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson, 352.

⁶⁷ On the entourage of the Aragonese provincial master, see: Forey, *The Templars*, 315.

⁶⁸ It has been suggested that a Dominican provincial chapter, in which *diffinitores* were appointed, might consist of nearly 200 friars: Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 63, 69. For *diffinitores* in other orders, see: Ludo Milis, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise: son histoire et son organisation, de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)* (Bruges: De Tempel, 1969), 565–573; Mahn, *L'ordre*, 190–193; Jacques Hourlier, *Le chapitre général jusqu'au moment du grand schisme* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1936), 226–234; Herbert E. Salter, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, Canterbury and York Society 29 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), xv, 144–146.

⁶⁹ Alan J. Forey, "Templar Knights and Sergeants in the *Corona de Aragón* at the Turn of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in *As ordens militares e as ordens de cavalaria na construção do mundo ocidental*, ed. Isabel Cristina F. Fernandes (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2005), 634–635.

May 1275, and this was presumably the annual chapter of the Aragonese province;⁷⁰ and James of Molay held a chapter in Paris during his stay in the West in the 1290s and another in June 1307.⁷¹ In the early years of the fourteenth century the visitor Hugh of Pairaud presided over chapters in Paris held near the end of June,⁷² and he appears to have presided over the English provincial chapter in 1299. This meeting was convened on 19 May and not in June but, as there is no record of another English provincial chapter in that year, it seems that the chapter was held earlier than was usual at the behest of Hugh of Pairaud.⁷³ Yet visits to the West by grand masters were rare, and the offices of provincial master and visitor were sometimes held by the same person, as happened in the Aragonese province during the ten years up to 1307.⁷⁴

Provincial chapters were reported to have begun after Matins had been heard and a sermon had been preached. The preacher, who was often a friar, then left.⁷⁵ The business conducted in the chapter covered a wide range of issues. An essential part of its work was the receiving of responsions and other dues from commanders. In summonses heads of Aragonese convents were instructed to bring their responson in gold or silver, and permission was given to sell corn and other goods for this purpose.⁷⁶ A list compiled at the Aragonese chapter at Horta in 1307 states the amounts paid, and sometimes not paid,⁷⁷ while the financial accounts of the Templar house in Paris for 1295 and 1296 also provide details of sums received from commanders at the time of the provincial chapter.⁷⁸ But

⁷⁰ Grant of a *carta de población* for Belloque and Cambor by the grand master and chapter, 7 May 1275, see above (note 35).

⁷¹ *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 475, 553, 627–628; *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson, 192; Alain Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: le crépuscule des Templiers* (Paris: Payot et Rivages, 2002), 364–365.

⁷² *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 292, 501; see also: *ibid.*, 407, 628; *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 35–36.

⁷³ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 153, 159–160, 161, 163, 172; *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson, 192.

⁷⁴ Forey, *The Templars*, 329; see also: Christian Vogel, *Das Recht der Templer* (Berlin: W. Hopf, 2007), 285.

⁷⁵ Ménard, *Histoire*, I, Preuves, 176, 179, 187, 190–192; *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 141, 181, 199, 392, 420; *Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 158; cf. Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 130.

⁷⁶ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, Saturday after *Apparitio Domini*, 1303(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to Peter of San Justo, commander of Corbins, 15 January 1300(?), see above (note 38); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, first Sunday of December, 1302(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, 16 December 1302(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Grañena, 22 February 1296(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Peñíscola, (1299–1306), see above (note 57); Forey, *The Templars*, 413 (Source edition no. 43).

⁷⁷ Forey, *The Templars*, 415–419 (Source edition no. 45).

⁷⁸ Delisle, *Mémoire*, 176–178, 208–210.

at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, when the order had lost most of its estates in the eastern Mediterranean, heads of houses were also often required to bring any available surplus: the Aragonese summonses sent out by the provincial master required commanders to bring *tot ço de que ajudar nos podretz*.⁷⁹ Although some houses were unable to pay their responsions, the surpluses in some others were considerable: in 1307 Monzón provided 4,000 Jaca shillings.⁸⁰ As chapters were held in the spring or early summer, arrangements could then be made to send supplies to the East on the autumn passage.⁸¹ A provincial chapter was admittedly not the only time when payments might be made by the heads of convents,⁸² but it was the occasion when responsions were normally paid. Commanders were also required to bring a report on the state of their houses: in the Aragonese province this was called an *albara*. Some of those which were presented at the Aragonese provincial chapter in 1289, which was held at Tortosa at the end of May, have survived.⁸³ These provide information about the weapons and military equipment held in convents and give details about the numbers of slaves and animals possessed by a house. The amounts of wine, grain and other foodstuffs held are also specified, and comment is sometimes in-

⁷⁹ Forey, *The Templars*, 413 (Source edition no. 43); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, Saturday after *Apparitio Domini*, 1303(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, first Sunday of December, 1302(?), see above (note 57); Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Grañena, 22 February 1296(?), see above (note 57).

⁸⁰ Forey, *The Templars*, 415–419 (Source edition no. 45).

⁸¹ For arrangements made in the Aragonese province, see: *ibid.*, 326–327.

⁸² The accounts of the Templar house in Paris mention payments made at other times of the year, especially in the early months of 1296: Delisle, *Mémoire*, 197–200; see also: Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Torres, 17 March 1294, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 290.

⁸³ Joaquim Miret y Sans, *Cartoral dels Templers de les comandes de Gardeny y Barbens* (Barcelona: L'Avenç 1899), 29–30; *id.*, “Inventaris de les cases del Temple de la Corona d’Aragó en 1289,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 6 (1911): 62–69; *Els Templers*, 2, ed. Pagarolas i Sabaté, 186–187 no. 162; Forey, *The Templars*, 320–321. The chapter was in session on 31 May, and had presumably been convened on Sunday, 29 May: Sanahuja, *Història*, 65. Most of the reports had been drawn up in May, but one had been compiled in April, while that for Huesca, dated 19 June, must have been submitted late. Some of the early-fourteenth-century inventories which have been published in Maria Vilar Bonet, *Els béns del Temple a la Corona d’Aragó en suprimir-se l’orde (1300–1319)* (Barcelona: Pagès Editors, 2000), 113–132 nos. 1–19, were probably also *albaras* submitted to the provincial chapter or preliminary statements about parts of a commandery which would then have been used in the compilation of *albaras*: several were drawn up in May, and one reports that payments had been made up to the time of the chapter.

cluded about debts owed either to or by a house.⁸⁴ The heads of convents were therefore merely stating what was in their houses and showing that they were adequately stocked: they were not presenting accounts of income and expenditure, as was apparently done at provincial chapters by heads of houses in the Teutonic order, who were required to provide *computaciones debitorum [et] reddituum*.⁸⁵

In the Teutonic order the presentation of accounts was linked to the resignation of offices which took place in that order's provincial chapters,⁸⁶ but there is no clear evidence of this procedure in Templar chapters. A Templar sergeant who was interrogated at Alès stated that at provincial chapters *mutabantur quidam et creabantur quidam preceptores, aliquando et aliqui grangiarum*, and this comment was echoed by several of his colleagues, one of whom said that this happened *aliquando*.⁸⁷ Yet these remarks imply merely that some appointments were made in provincial chapters, rather than that there was a general review of offices. It has also been shown that in the Aragonese province some commanders were appointed to or removed from office in April or May, when the provincial chapter was usually held, but many nominations to the post of commander were made at other times of the year.⁸⁸ Nor, of course, did provincial chapters have any voice in the appointment of heads of provinces, as happened in the Dominican order.⁸⁹

It is to be doubted whether Templar provincial chapters possessed any legislative powers, as those in the Dominican order had.⁹⁰ The only evidence of such powers in the Temple is a set of decrees issued at a chapter which had been held at *Mausonium* in Italy in the third quarter of the twelfth century.⁹¹ It might, of course, be suggested that the chapter was merely publicizing decrees issued in

⁸⁴ In November 1253 similar reports were drawn up for several Hospitaller houses when visitations were undertaken on the orders of the prior of St. Gilles; but little is known about visitations by Templar provincial masters: Alan J. Forey, "Visitations in Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Viator* 46, no. 3 (2015): 117, 119–120.

⁸⁵ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 59–60 no. II(b).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Ménard, *Histoire*, I, Preuves, 179, 192, 194.

⁸⁸ Forey, *The Templars*, 265–266.

⁸⁹ Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 64.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 72, 76–77.

⁹¹ Alois Knöpfler, "Die Ordensregel der Tempelherren," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1887): 691–695; *Il Corpus*, ed. Amatuccio, 396–402. On the dating, see: Simonetta Cerrini, "Nuovi percorsi templari tra i manoscritti latini e francesi della Regola," in *Atti del Convegno I Templari in Piemonte: dalla storia al mito*, ed. Renato Bordone (Turin: Società Piemontese di Archeologia e Belle Arti, 1995), 40–41; ead., "La tradition manuscrite de la règle du Temple: études pour une nouvelle édition des versions latine et française," in *Autour de la première croisade*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), 209–210.

the East,⁹² but the text states that they were being made with the counsel of the brothers at the chapter and it concludes with the warning: *Hanc institutionem omnes fratres indesinenter teneant, ita ut nihil inde pretermittant, nisi licentia maioris magistri, qui in his Italie partibus moratur*. They would appear therefore to be provincial rulings.⁹³ Yet this did not apparently become a normal practice. Many brothers, when questioned during the trial, stated that they received regulations from the order's headquarters in the East,⁹⁴ and no decrees issued by provincial chapters have survived from the later thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

Like other chapters in the order, provincial chapters were chapters of faults, at which wrongdoings were examined and penances imposed. One version of Templar regulations discusses a case of the forgery of papal seals which was brought before the Aragonese provincial chapter, although on this occasion the sentencing of the culprits was referred to the grand master and convent in the East.⁹⁵ Templar testimonies also provide examples. The sergeant John of Vanbellant described how, after apostatizing from the order, he had been received back at a provincial chapter in Paris, where a year's penance was imposed upon him; and the knight William of Reses, another deserter, claimed that at a provincial chapter the provincial master of Auvergne allowed him to leave the order.⁹⁶

Yet while some matters formed an essential part of the proceedings of a provincial chapter, these assemblies also engaged in a variety of other types of business. Templar testimonies include frequent references to the admission of recruits at provincial chapters.⁹⁷ In England many, though not all, corrodies and pensions for which claims were made during the Templar trial had been granted dur-

⁹² A set of rulings for Prussia issued by the Teutonic Order's visitor in 1251/2 had already received approval from the master and convent in the East: *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 161–162; *Visitationen*, 1, ed. Biskup and Janosz-Biskupowa, 3–5 no. 2.

⁹³ Amatuccio has suggested that the reference to the *maior magister* may allude to the presence in Italy of the master of the Temple, Arnold of Torroja, in 1184: *Corpus*, ed. Amatuccio, xiv. Yet, if this were so, the ruling about obtaining a dispensation would have been of very short-term validity. The reference is presumably to the leading Templar official residing in that part of Italy. A master of Italy was first mentioned in 1167: Fulvio Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia: le fondazioni* (Rome: Atanòr, 1991), 157; Bellomo, *The Templar Order*, 91; on provincial organisation in Italy, see: *ibid.*, 83–90.

⁹⁴ See, for example: *Proceedings*, 1, ed. Nicholson, 240, 245, 249–250, 256–258.

⁹⁵ *The Catalan Rule of the Templars: A Critical Edition and English Translation from Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cartas Reales, MS 3344*, ed. and trans. Judi Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 76–78 clause 174.

⁹⁶ *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 553; Schottmüller, *Der Untergang*, 2: 19. William of Reses asserted that he then stayed with his brother; but according to Templar regulations, he should have entered a stricter order.

⁹⁷ See, for example: *Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 407, 413, 429, 501, 514, 535, 599.

ing chapters.⁹⁸ In the Iberian peninsula, it was not uncommon for *cartas de población* to be issued at a chapter,⁹⁹ and other matters relating to tenants, including the size of rents, irrigation rights, and the appointment of local officials in Templar lordships, were also discussed.¹⁰⁰ Proctors were sometimes nominated to act for the order in disputes,¹⁰¹ and settlements of conflicts with neighbours or other outsiders were at times ratified: a chapter at Piacenza, for example, in 1271 approved an agreement with the commune of Modena about the hospice of Sant' Ambrogio there.¹⁰² Any current issue might be brought before the provincial chapter.

In the section on the correction of faults, Templar regulations refer to the acceptance of majority decisions,¹⁰³ but it is not known how matters were normally decided in provincial chapters. In England there was certainly a capitular seal, although the surviving sources do not indicate who had charge of it. This seal was used to authenticate many of the grants of corrodies and pensions about which claims were made during the Templar trial, and it had already existed in the twelfth century.¹⁰⁴ By contrast, there is no evidence of a similar seal in the Aragonese province, and it was sometimes stated that the provincial master's seal had been attached to documents drawn up during a provincial chapter.¹⁰⁵ The seal of the provincial master, Rodrigo Yañez, was similarly used to authenticate a document issued at the provincial chapter of Castile and Leon in 1307; and that of the German master Frederick of Alvensleben was attached to a document drawn up at a chapter at Lietzen in 1303.¹⁰⁶ It is also known that in the Aragonese province the

⁹⁸ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 139–230, passim.

⁹⁹ Grant of a *carta de población* for Belloque and Cambor by the grand master and chapter, 7 May 1275, see above (note 35); *Cartes*, ed. Guinot Rodriguez, 414–415 no. 214; *Cartas*, ed. Febrer Romaguera, 93–94 no. 45.

¹⁰⁰ Reduction of rents in the commandery of Gardeny by the provincial master, 8 March 1303, see above (note 37); Confirmation by the provincial master of an agreement with the inhabitants of Ribaforada, 14 March 1251, see above (note 34); Albareda y Herrera, *Fuero*, 46; Forey, *The Templars*, 390–391 (Source edition no. 21).

¹⁰¹ Campi, *Dell'istoria*, 2: 178; Trota, "L'ordine," 48–49; Appointment of a proctor by the provincial master and chapter in a dispute with the monastery of San Pedro in Barcelona, 6 May 1281, see above (note 37).

¹⁰² Trota, "L'ordine," 50–52.

¹⁰³ *La règle*, ed. Curzon, 218, 223 clauses 391, 405; *Il Corpus*, ed. Amatuccio, 200, 206 clauses 92, 102.

¹⁰⁴ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 140–143, 198–199, 217–218, 220–222, 224–225, 228–229; see also: *Cartulary*, ed. Gervers, 46–48 nos. 77–78.

¹⁰⁵ Confirmation by the provincial master and chapter of a compromise with the inhabitants of Teruel, 11 May 1271, see above (note 38); Confirmation by the provincial master of an agreement with the inhabitants of Ribaforada, 14 March 1251, see above (note 34); *Cartas*, ed. Febrer Romaguera, 93–94 no. 45.

¹⁰⁶ Pascual Martínez, "Templarios," 2: 885–886 no. 7; *Urkunden*, ed. Irgang, 75–77 no. 78.

date and location of the chapter were decided by the master in consultation with some leading colleagues some two months before the meeting was to be held: thus in 1297 letters of summons for the chapter on the second Sunday of April were dispatched by the master Berenguer of Cardona on 22 February.¹⁰⁷ The decision was not taken at the preceding assembly, as happened in the Dominican order.¹⁰⁸

The surviving evidence suggests that the business of provincial chapters was normally completed in a few days. A Templar questioned at Poitiers in 1308 stated that he had been at a provincial chapter in Paris which had lasted for three days,¹⁰⁹ and all but one of the payments made by heads of houses in the province of France at the time of the provincial chapter in 1295 were recorded in entries made from the fourth to the sixth of July,¹¹⁰ while the sums received in 1296 were entered between the first and the fourth of July.¹¹¹ It has also been maintained that in the Aragonese province chapters did not usually last beyond the Wednesday after the Sunday on which they had been convened.¹¹² This limit of four days had been advocated in the Dominican order in the mid-thirteenth century, although in 1276 it was decreed that they should not last more than a week.¹¹³ English sources, however, might seem to imply that Templar chapters in England at times lasted this length of time or even longer. Documents issued at the chapter in 1300 bear dates between Tuesday, 7 June, and Tuesday 14 June,¹¹⁴ and in 1307 the dates range from Tuesday, 6 June, to Sunday, 11 June.¹¹⁵ The original documents do not, however, survive, and are known only from instructions issued by the royal chancery during the Templar trial. As there are three references to the Tuesday before St Barnabas in 1300, and only one to the Tuesday after St Barnabas, it seems probable that on one occasion a scribe erroneously wrote *post* instead of *ante*. In 1307 twelve documents were dated Tuesday, 6 June, and only one gave St. Barnabas, 11 June: in this instance a scribe may not have been using St. Barnabas in a precise sense, just as in

¹⁰⁷ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Grañena, 22 February 1296(?), see above (note 57).

¹⁰⁸ Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 59.

¹⁰⁹ *Papsttum*, 2, ed. Finke, 335 no. 155. That a Hospitaller prioral chapter might last three days has been suggested on the basis of a document issued by Honorius III in 1224: Riley-Smith, *The Knights*, 198; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 326–327 no. 1792.

¹¹⁰ Delisle, *Mémoire*, 176–178. A second payment was made by the preceptor of Etampes on 11 July.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 208–210.

¹¹² Forey, *The Templars*, 318.

¹¹³ Galbraith, *The Constitution*, 72.

¹¹⁴ *Documents*, ed. Cole, 139, 149, 157 and 167.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 142, 143–144, 146–147, 150–151, 160, 163, 165–166, 168, 170–171, 179 and 190.

France the chapter was referred to as the chapter of St. John, although it did not necessarily meet on that date.

Chapters which met for only a few days each year could have only a limited role in the day-to-day administration of a province. For most of the year, a provincial master took counsel with small groups of advisers. When he was visiting a convent, a master was often joined by the heads of neighbouring houses, and he would act in conjunction with them. In 1273, for example, the Aragonese provincial master Arnold of Castellnou and a group of commanders in southern Aragon – namely those of Cantavieja, Alfambra and Villed – granted pasturage to the *concejo* of Teruel.¹¹⁶ Alternatively, the master might summon certain commanders in order to discuss important issues. In an undated letter the lieutenant of the commander of the Valencian house of Peñíscola was informed that the provincial master had *ordenat a tenir conseyll a Gardeyn* and that his presence was required, and a document issued by the Aragonese provincial master in August 1306 refers to certain commanders who were gathered *in consilio* at Miravet, while in October of the following year, after the Aragonese Templars had heard of the arrests of brothers in France, the commander of Miravet wrote to the commander of Peñíscola, telling him to come to Miravet as soon as possible as the provincial master was already there with four or five commanders and *lo conseyl es remudat a Miravet per algun gran feyt*.¹¹⁷ It would seem that, at least in the Aragonese province, the seeking of advice had become institutionalized with the emergence of a council. Yet, if provincial chapters were of only limited importance in the daily government and administration of a province, they were the occasion when dues were regularly paid and when the state of all commanderies was checked. They were also the sole occasion when brothers from a whole province met, and this must have helped to give a sense of identity to the Templars belonging to that province.

¹¹⁶ Arnold of Castellnou grants pasturage to the *concejo* of Teruel, 7 June 1273, AHN, Códice 466/648B, 45–46 no. 45.

¹¹⁷ The commander of Miravet to the commander of Peñíscola, 24 October 1307, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 173; the lieutenant of the commander of Peñíscola to brother Peter of Castellón, undated, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 606; Berenguer of Cardona exempts the inhabitants of the commandery of Miravet from certain dues, 10 August 1306, AHN, Ordenes Militares, carpeta 610, no. 78; see also: Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Grañena, 12 October 1295, ACA, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Templarios 52.

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