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of Change and Crisis



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## CONTENTS

### I. STUDIES AND ARTICLES

<i>Alan Forey</i> (Kirtlington) A Hospitaller <i>Consilium</i> (1274) and the Explanations Advanced by Military Orders for Problems Confronting them in the Holy Land in the Later Thirteenth Century .....	7
<i>Shlomo Lotan</i> (Jerusalem) Empowering and Struggling in an Era of Uncertainty and Crisis – The Teutonic Military Order in the Latin East, 1250–1291 .....	19
<i>Sylvain Gouguenheim</i> (ENS Lyon) Die Vorschläge zum Zusammenschluss der Ritterorden am Ende des 13. und Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts Eine Konsequenz der Kritike oder eine Chance? .....	29
<i>Klaus Militzer</i> (Köln) Die Übersiedlung Siegfrieds von Feuchtwangen in die Marienburg .....	47
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton) Die Templer auf Ruad (1300–1302) .....	63
<i>Magdalena Satora</i> (Toruń) The Role of Cardinals in the Templars' Affair (1307–1308) .....	93
<i>Marek Smoliński</i> (Gdańsk) Die Johanniter und die Eroberung Pommerellens durch den Deutschen Orden .....	105
<i>Jürgen Sarnowsky</i> (Hamburg) Herausforderung und Schwäche: die Johanniter und die Anfänge der äußeren Bedrohung von Rhodos, 1428–1464 .....	125
<i>Stefan Kwiatkowski</i> (Szczecin) Verlorene Schlachten und Gefallene in der geistigen Tradition des Deut- schen Ordens .....	141

<i>Roman Czaja</i> (Toruń)	
Die Krise der Landesherrschaft. Der Deutsche Orden und die Gesellschaft seines Staates in Preußen in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts .....	159
<i>Johannes A. Mol</i> (Leeuwarden / Leiden)	
Crisis in Prussia, crisis in the bailiwicks? The case of Utrecht 1440–1470 .....	173
<i>Karl Borchardt</i> (München)	
Zucker und Mohren: Zur Krise der Johanniter auf Zypern im 15. Jahrhundert .....	191
<i>Grischa Vercamer</i> (Warschau)	
Ein Hochmeister wird zum Herzog: Reaktionen und Schicksal der letzten Ordensbrüdern in Preußen um das Jahr 1525 .....	213
<i>Udo Arnold</i> (Bonn)	
Hochmeisterverlust, Bauernunruhen und Reformation -Krisenbewältigung unter den Deutschmeistern Dietrich von Cleen und Walter von Cronberg .....	241
<i>Matthias Asche, Magnus von Hirschheydt und Mathis Mager</i> (Tübingen)	
Legitimationsdefizite, Bedrohungspotenziale und Bewältigungsstrategien der europäischen Ritterorden in der Krisenzeit der 1520er Jahre – Fallbeispiele und allgemeine Reflexionen .....	259
<i>Juhan Kreem</i> (Tallinn)	
Der Deutsche Orden in Livland unter Hermann von Brüggenei: Bemerkungen zu Regierungspraxis und Religionspolitik .....	303
II. MISCELLANEOUS AND OTHER MATERIALS	
<i>Jochen Burgtorf</i> (Fullerton))	
Die erste urkundliche Erwähnung eines Großpräzeptors der Templer im Heiligen Land: Edition von Paris, Bibl. nat. de France, nouv. acquis. lat. 21, fol. 5 und 25 bis .....	319
III. BOOK NOTICES .....	323



ALAN FOREY (Kirtlington)

A HOSPITALLER *CONSILIUM* (1274)  
AND THE EXPLANATIONS ADVANCED  
BY MILITARY ORDERS FOR PROBLEMS  
CONFRONTING THEM IN THE HOLY LAND  
IN THE LATER THIRTEENTH CENTURY

In 1977 an allegedly unedited document from the Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône was published, which provided advice about what should be said on behalf of the writer's military order at the Council of Lyon in 1274.<sup>1</sup> The editor concluded that it was a Templar composition, emanating from the house of Arles, and this attribution has been generally accepted by Templar and Hospitaller historians who have since commented on the document.<sup>2</sup> Yet Prutz, who had in fact already edited this *consilium* in 1888, considered it a Hospitaller work.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Amargier, *La défense du Temple devant le Concile de Lyon en 1274*, in: *1274, année charnière. Mutations et continuités*, Paris 1977, pp. 495–501.

<sup>2</sup> A. Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ. Les ordres religieux-militaires au moyen âge (XIe–XVIIe siècle)*, Paris 2002, p. 150; idem, *Les Templiers. Une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge*, Paris 2005, p. 398; B. Frale, *L'ultima battaglia dei Templari. Dal codice ombra d'obbedienza militare alla costruzione del processo per eresia*, Rome 2007 edn., pp. 8, 65–66, 84, 300; eadem, *The Chimon Chart. Papal Absolution to the Last Templar Master Jacques de Molay*, *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), p. 115; J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land. Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274*, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 130–131; D. Carraz, *L'ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124–1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, Lyon 2005, pp. 484, 509; P. V. Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIIIe siècle*, 3 vols, Nicosia 2005, 2, pp. 207–209. H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*, Leicester 1993, p. 122, regards it as a joint production of the Templars and Hospitallers, but its wording clearly indicates that it was produced by one order.

<sup>3</sup> H. Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, Berlin 1888, pp. 103–105, 313–

The text does not explicitly state which order was responsible for the document, but the *consilium* provides two indications that it was in fact drawn up by a Hospitaller. The first occurs in the opening paragraph, where it is suggested that the master of the Temple (*Magister militie Templi*) and leading brothers of both orders should make an approach to each of the cardinals at the Council. The way in which the Templar master is mentioned is significant. When referring elsewhere to his own order and its members and houses, the compiler uses the word *noster* (*fratres nostri ordinis, nostra religio, ordo noster, domuum nostrarum*). As he does not allude to the Templar master in this way (e.g. *magister noster, magister nostri ordinis*), it may be concluded that he was not referring to the head of his own order. The master of the Temple was mentioned because he was likely to speak on behalf of the military orders at the Council, since the Hospitaller master, Hugh Revel, did not go to Lyon in 1274. As is apparent from *L'Estoire de Eracles* and from a comment made by the later Templar master James of Molay, the leading Hospitaller present was William of Courcelles, who had at one time held the post of marshal.<sup>4</sup>

A second indication that the document was written by a Hospitaller is found in the section relating to the brothers' charitable activities. It refers to assistance given not only to pilgrims and the poor in hospitals, but also to orphans, pregnant women and newly-born babies, as well as to the sick in general, for whom care was provided following the advice of doctors. These duties were undertaken 'in accordance with the order's regulations' (*ex institutione ordinis*). Although the Templar rule imposed an obligation to give alms,<sup>5</sup> it can hardly be claimed that the whole range of activities mentioned in the document is covered in Templar

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–314; see also idem, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, Berlin 1908, pp. 456–458. P. Josserand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique. Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)*, Madrid 2004, p. 307 n. 45, although aware of Prutz's edition, does not commit himself on the document's provenance. The two editions of the document differ from each other on various minor points.

<sup>4</sup> *L'Estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquête de la Terre d'Outremer*, XXXIV, 17, in: *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols, Paris 1844–1895, 2, p. 464; G. Lizerand, *Le dossier de l'affaire des Templiers*, Paris 1964, p. 2; see also R. Filangieri, *I registri della cancelleria angioina*, 49 vols, Naples 1950–2006, 11, p. 136; Bronstein (as n. 2), p. 153; J. Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)*, Leiden 2008, pp. 679–680. It has sometimes been stated that Hugh Revel was at the Council: P. A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: a Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda*, Amsterdam 1940, p. 227; S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis. The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314*, Oxford 1991, p. 37; C. Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel, Master of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, 1258–1277*, Chichester 1994, p. 56; but no evidence has been provided.

<sup>5</sup> *La règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon, Paris 1886, pp. 37–38 cap. 29.

regulations. No comment is made in Templar decrees about maintaining hospitals for outsiders, and when Innocent III approved the regulations of the Teutonic order in 1199, he stated that the latter institution followed the customs of the Temple for clerics and knights but those of the Hospital for the poor and sick.<sup>6</sup> During their trial in the early fourteenth century many Templars further stated that they were not obliged to provide hospitality.<sup>7</sup> It has certainly been claimed that the Temple did in practice maintain some hospitals for outsiders, but the evidence is often questionable.<sup>8</sup> The charitable duties set out in the document can be much more easily related to the Hospital. Statutes issued for that order in the later twelfth century, for example, state not only that doctors should be engaged to care for outsiders but also that children abandoned by their parents should be taken in and that cradles should be provided for babies born to women staying in the order's hospitals.<sup>9</sup> There can be little doubt that the *consilium* reflects the charitable obligations of the Hospital and not those of the Temple.

The document was written in the East and not in France. This is apparent from the author's use of the terms 'beyond the sea' and 'this side of the sea': he states that revenues from houses 'on this side of the sea' had been almost entirely lost, and places the order's establishments in France and England among the 'overseas houses' (*domus transmarine*). His references to the sultan and to Muslim awareness of the situation in the Holy Land also suggest an eastern origin; and he knew that the master of the Hospital was not attending the Council. He was also sufficiently well-informed to be able to refer to a papal edict about exemption, although he was not totally correct in calling it *Volentes contra nos*. But there is nothing further which helps to identify him: the wording and phrasing of the *consilium* are not

<sup>6</sup> E. Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis theutonici*, Berlin 1869, p. 266 doc. 297.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, 2 vols, Berlin 1887, 2, pp. 221, 250, 255, 268, 303, 372–373; A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus. A Complete English Edition*, Leiden 1998, pp. 158, 194, 201–202, 218, 263, 401. For a discussion of comments made by Templars on trial, see A. J. Forey, *The Charitable Activities of the Templars*, *Viator*, 34 (2003), pp. 136–139.

<sup>8</sup> I have tried to discuss some of the evidence in *Charitable Activities* (as n. 7), pp. 126–140; for a recent survey of sources relating to north-west Italy, see E. Bellomo, *The Templar Order in North-West Italy (1142–c.1330)*, Leiden 2008, pp. 68–73.

<sup>9</sup> J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem* (henceforth *CH*), 4 vols, Paris 1894–1906, 1, pp. 425–429 doc. 627; see also B. Z. Kedar, *A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital*, in: *The Military Orders. Volume 2. Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. Nicholson, Aldershot 1998, pp. 3–26; S. B. Edgington, *Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s*, *Crusades*, 4 (2005), pp. 21–37.

sufficiently close to that of any other surviving document to suggest an author. Nor is it known how the document reached its present location.

This *consilium* can, however, be set alongside many letters sent by members of military orders in the East to secular rulers, colleagues and others in the West in the second half of the thirteenth century, when the orders were assuming growing responsibilities in the crusader states and when the latter were under increasing threat and territory was being lost to the Mamluks.<sup>10</sup> Some of these letters – especially those dispatched jointly by masters of military orders and other leading figures in the crusader states – merely relate happenings in the Holy Land or discuss the problems encountered in the East in purely general terms, without specific reference to the orders, although in letters of the latter kind there is the implication that the problems which were mentioned affected the military orders as well as others; but some letters do specifically allude to the orders' difficulties and call for assistance. Both in the *consilium* and in letters stress was placed on the orders' lack of resources at a time when heavy demands were being made on them, and reasons for this shortage are given.

The *consilium* mentions briefly losses of territory and revenues to Muslims in the East, but this point is elaborated more fully in some letters. Hugh Revel pointed out in 1268 that Hospitaller property outside Acre was under Muslim control, and that although some other cities and strongholds remained in Christian hands, nothing could be obtained from lands outside them; and a few years later the Templar master William of Beaujeu commented in a letter to the English King Edward I that most of his order's lands had been devastated by the infidel.<sup>11</sup> Although the *consilium* does not allude to sterility and crop failures in the East, these are frequently mentioned elsewhere. In 1261 the Templar master referred to the *malitia temporis* in the East, and Hugh Revel in 1268 drew attention to drought in Armenia as well as to deserted lands, while in a letter to Rudolf of Hapsburg in 1275 William of Beaujeu similarly mentioned the shortage of food in the Holy Land resulting from a lack of rain as well as from devastation by Muslims.<sup>12</sup> In 1279 the brothers of St Thomas of Acre told Edward I that both

<sup>10</sup> For a list of letters sent from the East to England in the thirteenth century, see S. Lloyd, *English Society and the Crusade, 1216–1307*, Oxford 1988, pp. 248–252.

<sup>11</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 4, pp. 291–293 doc. 3308; C. Kohler and C. V. Langlois, *Lettres inédites concernant les croisades (1275–1307)*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 52 (1891), pp. 55–56.

<sup>12</sup> *Annals of Burton*, in: *Annales monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series 36, London 1864–1869, 1, pp. 491–495; *CH* (as n. 9), 4, pp. 291–293 doc. 3308; *Monumenta Boica*, 60 vols, Munich 1763–1956, 29.2, pp. 197–202; O. Redlich, *Eine Wiener Briefsammlung zur Geschichte des deutschen Reiches und der österreichischen Länder in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Mittheilungen aus dem Vaticanischen Archive, 2, Vienna 1894, pp. 63–64 doc. 55; see also *Diplomatic Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, 1101–1272*, ed. P. Chaplais,

Cyprus and Syria were agriculturally unproductive, and a few years later the same king was told of the lack of rain, as well as of other pestilences, by the Hospitaller Joseph of Cancy.<sup>13</sup> The dispatch of responsions in this period in the form of food supplies is indicative of the situation, and food shortages are also mentioned in correspondence sent by others from the Holy Land.<sup>14</sup>

The *consilium* also mentions the difficulties caused by poor harvests in the West, but in explanations of lack of aid from western provinces more emphasis was usually placed on the effects of warfare. The *consilium* itself claims that in 1274 wars were being fought in almost every western country except France and England. Six years earlier Hugh Revel had also blamed wars in England for the lack of assistance coming from there: he was referring to the opposition which Henry III faced within his kingdom. He also mentioned the effects of warfare in Tuscany.<sup>15</sup> In 1254 the marshal of the Teutonic order had informed Alfonso X of Castile that because of conflict between empire and papacy, his order was receiving no assistance from Germany.<sup>16</sup> That the orders' revenues were widely thought to be considerably reduced by warfare in the West is apparent from concessions granted to make good losses, such as donations by the English King Henry III in 1256 and by Boniface VIII in 1299 for damage suffered by the Hospitallers in Gascony in times of war between the French and English kings.<sup>17</sup>

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London 1964, pp. 264–266 docs 385–386; T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, litterae, et cujuscunque generis acta publica*, 4 vols, London 1816–1869, 1.1, pp. 395–396.

<sup>13</sup> L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, 3 vols, Paris 1852–1861, 2, pp. 82–83; *Lettres de rois, reines et autres personnages des cours de France et d'Angleterre*, ed. J. J. Champollion-Figeac, 2 vols, Paris 1839–1847, 1, pp. 288–295; see also Kohler and Langlois (as n. 11), pp. 52n, 56.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Rymer (as n. 12), 1.2, pp. 586–587, and the lists of shipments in J. H. Pryor, *In Subsidiu[m] Terrae Sanctae: Exports of Foodstuffs and War Materials from the Kingdom of Sicily to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1265–1284*, *Asian and African Studies*, 22 (1988), pp. 144–145.

<sup>15</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 4, pp. 291–293 doc. 3308; see also H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, 3 vols, Berlin 1908–1922, 3, pp. 145–146 doc. 45.

<sup>16</sup> J. M. Rodríguez García and A. Echevarría Arsuaga, *Alfonso X, la Orden Teutónica y Tierra Santa. Una nueva fuente para su estudio*, in: *Las órdenes militares en la península ibérica. Volumen I: Edad media*, ed. R. Izquierdo Benito and F. Ruiz Gómez, Cuenca 2000, p. 509.

<sup>17</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 2, p. 802 doc. 2783; 3, p. 760 doc. 4450; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1247–1258*, London 1908, p. 459; *Les registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. G. Digard, M. Faucon, A. Thomas and R. Fawtier, 4 vols, Paris 1884–1939, 2, pp. 356–357 doc. 2960. In 1338 it was noted that prolonged war prevented the Hospitallers from gaining any revenues from their lands in Scotland: L. B. Larking, *The Knights Hospitallers in England*, Camden Society 1857, p. 129; see also D. Carraz, *Christi fideliter militantium in subsidio Terre Sancte. Les ordres militaires et la première maison d'Anjou (1246–1342)*, in: *As ordens militares e as ordens de cavalaria entre o ocidente e o oriente*, ed. I. C. F. Fernandes, Palmela 2009, p. 556. Letters sent by the orders tactfully

The *consilium* argues that because of a lack of resources due to these factors the Hospital had to take out loans, on which the interest to be paid equalled the amount due to be sent to the East in responsions. Six years earlier Hugh Revel had similarly stated that the Hospital had contracted so many debts that it would be necessary to sell lands to repay what was owed, and in 1260 the Templar master had complained further that because of the absence of the Genoese he had not been able to raise loans in the East, and that it might be necessary not only to alienate a considerable amount of property in the West but even to abandon the defence of the Holy Land.<sup>18</sup> Contemporaries certainly accepted that the orders were having difficulties with debts. In 1253 Innocent IV allowed the Templars to alienate property in various parts of the West to the value of 15,000 marks in order to ease their burden of debt, and two years later Alexander IV gave the Templars 10,000 marks and the Hospitallers 2,000 marks from redemption payments and other moneys because they had difficulty in meeting usury demands, while in 1259 Henry III asked tenants of the Temple in England to assist in discharging the order's debts in the Holy Land.<sup>19</sup>

Where the *consilium* differs, however, from surviving letters is in the detailed consideration it gives to what was seen as the danger of being subjected to episcopal jurisdiction. The author devotes more attention and space to this point than to any other issue. He argues that prelates were making use of a papal decree to assert their authority over the Hospital, and he maintains that if his order became subject to bishops, it would have more trouble protecting its possessions from the episcopate than from Muslims: if the pope gave aid to the Holy Land but subjected the Hospital to prelates, he would be taking away with one hand what had been given with the other. The author was referring to a decree known as *Volentes* issued by Innocent IV – not Innocent II, as has sometimes been stated<sup>20</sup> – in 1250 or

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omit to mention the effects of royal and papal taxation introduced in the thirteenth century and of encroachments on the orders' privileges by some secular rulers.

<sup>18</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 4, pp. 291–293 doc. 3308; *Annals of Burton* (as n. 12), pp. 491–495; *Monumenta Boica* (as n. 12), 29.2, pp. 197–202. The marshal of the Teutonic order in 1254 similarly alluded to the possibility of having to alienate property to meet usury payments: Rodríguez García and Echevarría Arsuaga (as n. 16), p. 508; see also Kohler and Langlois (as n. 11), p. 56. The claim that the Holy Land might have to be abandoned was apparently commonly made by the orders, as is put into the mouth of a Templar advocate by Jacquemart Gielée in his poem *Renart le nouvel*, lines 7574–7575, ed. H. Roussel, Paris 1961, p. 306.

<sup>19</sup> *Les registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. E. Berger, 4 vols, Paris 1881–1920, 3, p. 159 doc. 6237; *CH* (as n. 9), 2, pp. 797–799, 864–865 docs 2772, 2775, 2906; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls, 1258–1266*, London 1910, pp. 99, 112.

<sup>20</sup> Amargier (as n. 1), p. 496; Claverie (as n. 2), 2, p. 208.

early in 1251, which had sought to define rights of exemption.<sup>21</sup> In the following decades popes repeatedly made clear in bulls sent both to the Hospitallers and to other military orders that there had been no intention to encroach on their privileges,<sup>22</sup> but the decree – the wording of which invited misinterpretation – was clearly being used repeatedly by prelates for this purpose: shortly after the Council of Lyon Gregory X in fact again sought to reassure both the Hospitallers and the Templars.<sup>23</sup>

It is hardly to be expected that this issue would be raised in correspondence with secular rulers or brothers in the West, but the *consilium* and letters are alike in placing emphasis on external factors when explaining the orders' problems; and obviously the comments on these influences did have some justification, and the actions of kings and popes indicate that contemporaries accepted many of the orders' claims. Yet in the later thirteenth century there was growing criticism of the military orders themselves, particularly their alleged misuse of resources and the bitter rivalry which was said to exist especially between the Templars and Hospitallers: at the Council of Lyon the dean of Lincoln maintained that there was a widely-held view that the orders had sufficient possessions for undertaking the defence of the Holy Land if they were utilised properly, and it was also there that a union of military orders to obviate rivalry was first proposed.<sup>24</sup> Yet weaknesses and faults within the orders are hardly mentioned in the *consilium* or correspondence emanating from their central officials. It would obviously not have been advisable to draw attention to internal failings when appealing for aid to western rulers, and only a few oblique references occur: the brothers of St Thomas of Acre in 1279 asked the English king to encourage their master to return to the East, as his absence was harming the order,<sup>25</sup> and when he was in the West in the mid 1290s

<sup>21</sup> J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols (Venice, 1759–1798), 23, p. 669; VI 5.7.1, in A. Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, 2 vols, Leipzig 1879–1881, 2, pp. 1082–1083. On the date, see S. Kuttner, *Die Konstitutionen des ersten allgemeinen Konzils von Lyon*, *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris*, 6 (1940), pp. 76, 118–119.

<sup>22</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 2, pp. 706–707, 708, 734, 741, 759, 784–785 docs 2556, 2560, 2617, 2643, 2680, 2742; H. Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Tempelherren und der Johanniter*, Munich 1883, pp. 59–60, 68–69 nos 244, 255, 311; A. Ferreira, *Memorias e noticias historicas da celebre ordem militar dos Templarios*, 2 vols, Lisbon 1735, 2, pp. 899–902; Strehlke (as n. 6), pp. 371, 372–373 docs 523, 526; *Registres d'Innocent IV* (as n. 19), 2, pp. 206–207, 219 docs 5161, 5233.

<sup>23</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 3, p. 315 doc. 3559; *Les registres de Grégoire X*, ed. J. Guiraud, Paris 1892–1960, pp. 401–402 doc. 1045.

<sup>24</sup> *Councils and Synods with Other Documents relating to the English Church*, 2, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, Oxford 1964, p. 815; Lizerand (as n. 4), pp. 2–4.

<sup>25</sup> Mas Latrie (as n. 13), 2, pp. 82–83.

James of Molay informed Edward I that he had come to Europe to seek to remedy the Temple's poverty and that he was therefore summoning a general chapter. This comment was, of course, made after the collapse of the crusader states, but reflected a situation of long standing. Yet the Templar master did not allude explicitly to failings within the order.<sup>26</sup> But even in correspondence to western colleagues about the situation in the Holy Land there is usually a lack of comment. The only significant reference to shortcomings is in the letter of the Hospitaller master Hugh Revel in 1268 to the prior of St Gilles. In this the Hospitaller official Philip of Egly was criticised for causing losses by siding with Charles of Anjou against the latter's opponents in South Italy and Sicily and for not paying debts which he had earlier contracted in France, although in this instance external influences were in fact a contributing factor, as Philip had been encouraged by Clement IV to give military support to Charles.<sup>27</sup>

Yet criticisms of the military orders made the task of seeking aid more difficult. It may, of course, be argued that strictures, although having some basis in fact, were not always fully justified. There were inevitably some disagreements between these orders. Records of disputes are encountered in the sources relating to any religious institution, and in the Holy Land clashes between military orders might be particularly expected, for a growing proportion of the lands under Christian rule there passed into the control of these orders; and differences on political issues in the kingdom of Jerusalem were encouraged by the lack of a strong central authority. Yet is to be doubted whether there was the 'institutionalised' rivalry, especially between the Templars and Hospitallers, to which critics alluded: there are numerous examples of a more cordial relationship.<sup>28</sup> Those who censured the orders also had an exaggerated view of the extent the latter's resources, and they did not consider the strength of the Muslim opposition in the East during the later thirteenth century. Nor did the suggestion, made by some critics, that most brothers should be stationed in the East, with very few in western Europe, take into account the problems which this arrangement would have caused.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Deux lettres inédites de Jacques de Molay*, Bulletin de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts de Belgique, 2<sup>nd</sup> series, 38 (1874), pp. 234–235.

<sup>27</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 3, p. 164 doc. 3279; 4, pp. 291–293 doc. 3308; Carraz, *Christi fideliter militantium* (as n. 17), p. 553. It had been at the wishes of Charles and Clement IV that Philip had been given office in the Sicilian kingdom: *CH* (as n. 9), 3, p. 140 doc. 3221.

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, references to the Hospitallers in Templar regulations: *Règle du Temple* (as n. 5), pp. 114, 126–127, 230, 299 caps 145, 167–168, 421, 576; *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. J. Upton-Ward, Woodbridge 2003, p. 70 cap. 165.

<sup>29</sup> A. J. Forey, *The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries*, *Traditio*, 36 (1980), pp. 327–331.

There is little evidence, however, to indicate that these orders sought publicly to rebut charges against them in writing in the second half of the thirteenth century, as some other religious orders did when criticised. The earliest surviving written attempt to question the proposal for a union of the military orders was that which James of Molay submitted to the pope in 1306.<sup>30</sup> Although the orders' chaplains were expected to have some degree of literacy, and a few brothers were trained in law,<sup>31</sup> the military orders were not as well equipped as other religious institutions to engage in disputation. In the early fourteenth century the orders did admittedly produce several crusading proposals besides James of Molay's comments on union.<sup>32</sup> Yet these proposals were composed at a time when the recovery of the Holy Land had already been much discussed: it was much more difficult to produce a refutation of accusations about waste and rivalry which would convince those who firmly believed that these charges were valid. The 1274 *consilium* itself does not present a well-balanced exposition of the Hospital's difficulties. But even a competently-written defence of the orders' position would probably have had little effect on their public image, as it would have been read or heard by very few.

The orders were, however, obviously very conscious of the criticism which was being voiced and of the impression they created among outsiders. The wording used in admission ceremonies for recruits, for example, mentions the widespread view that brothers were amply provided for. Templar postulants were told: 'you see us with fine horses and fine equipment, and good food and good drink, and fine robes, and so it seems to you that you would live very comfortably.'<sup>33</sup> They were also aware of the tendency to hold the military orders responsible for setbacks in the Holy Land: in 1254 the marshal of the Teutonic order informed Alfonso X of Castile that his order had given the French King Louis IX all the help it could on his Egyptian crusade, 'so that it might not be falsely claimed that we would serve him better if we were of his tongue or had possessions and convents in his lands', and that it had done the same later in Syria so that its reputation would

<sup>30</sup> Lizerand (as n. 4), pp. 2–14.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. Brundage, *The Lawyers of the Military Orders*, in: *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber, Aldershot 1994, pp. 346–357.

<sup>32</sup> E. Baluze, *Vitae paparum avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, 4 vols, Paris 1914–1927, 3, pp. 145–149; J. Petit, *Mémoire de Foulques de Villaret sur la croisade*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 60 (1899), pp. 602–610; *CH* (as n. 9), 4, pp. 105–110 doc. 4681; B. Z. Kedar and S. Schein, *Un projet de "passage particulier" proposé par l'ordre de l'Hôpital, 1306–1307*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, 137 (1979), pp. 221–226; J. Paviot, *Projets de croisade (v.1290–v.1330)*, Paris 2008, pp. 183–233; R. Irwin, *How Many Miles to Babylon? The Devise des Chemins de Babiloine redated*, in: *The Military Orders* (as n. 31), pp. 57–63.

<sup>33</sup> *Règle du Temple* (as n. 5), pp. 338–339 cap. 661; see also *CH* (as n. 9), 2, pp. 536–561 doc. 2213 cap. 121.

not be tarnished.<sup>34</sup> When the Templar master William of Beaujeu explained his order's difficulties to Edward I in 1275 and said that it might become necessary to abandon the Holy Land, he asked for aid so that the loss of the crusader states could not be blamed on the Templars.<sup>35</sup>

It is also clear that attempts were in fact made in the later thirteenth century to remedy the orders' failings. Although a full and detailed examination of what they did in practice to eradicate abuses cannot be undertaken here, it may be noted that Hospitaller general chapters did seek on various occasions to root out extravagance in clothing and equipment in the later thirteenth century, even if the repetition of decrees implies that these were not fully observed.<sup>36</sup> To eradicate abuses throughout any large international religious order was not easy. In the second half of the thirteenth century several determined efforts were also made to ensure the rapid settlement of disputes between military orders. In 1258 the masters of the Temple, Hospital and Teutonic order set out a detailed procedure – including provision for arbitration and penalties – for the settling of differences about property and rights, with certain exceptions, in the Holy Land, Cyprus and Armenia; and at the same time it was ruled that members of one order should not take up arms against those of another. The text of the agreement was to be read out annually at the orders' general chapters.<sup>37</sup> The implementation of this agreement is apparent in an arbitration between Templars and Hospitallers in 1260,<sup>38</sup> while on a petition from the Hospitallers it was confirmed by Gregory X in 1275, which suggests that it was then still considered valid.<sup>39</sup> In 1262 the masters of the Temple and Hospital further submitted some disputes apparently not covered by the earlier agreement to the judgement of the bishop of Bethlehem and others.<sup>40</sup> That there was a concern to allay criticism by settling differences speedily is further apparent

<sup>34</sup> Rodríguez García and Echevarría Arsuaga (as n. 16), pp. 507–508.

<sup>35</sup> Kohler and Langlois (as n. 11), pp. 55–56.

<sup>36</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 3, pp. 43–54, 118–121, 186–188, 225–229, 450–455, 525–529, 638–640 docs 3039 (cap. 9), 3180 (cap. 9), 3317 (cap. 5), 3396 (caps 15, 23), 3844 (cap. 3), 4022 (cap. 15), 4234 (cap. 1). Extravagance in dress was not, of course, limited to the military orders: see, for example, J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 1945, p. 340.

<sup>37</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 2, pp. 859–863 doc. 2902; Strehlke (as n. 6), pp. 98–103 doc. 116.

<sup>38</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 2, p. 885 doc. 2943.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, pp. 318–319 doc. 3565; Strehlke (as n. 6), pp. 118–119 doc. 127; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents concernant les Templiers extraits des archives de Malte*, Paris 1882, p. 42 doc. 31.

<sup>40</sup> *CH* (as n. 9), 3, pp. 30–33, 35, 57–60 docs 3026–3029, 3032, 3044–3045; Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents* (as n. 39), pp. 31–37 docs 21–24; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden* (as n. 22), pp. 69–74 docs 314–315, 317. On measures to settle disputes, see J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050–1310*, London 1967, pp. 443–450.

from letters sent during the Council of Lyon by William of Beaujeu and William of Courcelles, in which Templars and Hospitallers in Aragon were exhorted to settle rapidly a dispute involving the neighbouring townships of Novillas, which was under Templar authority, and Mallén, which belonged to the Hospitallers: the Templar master wrote that 'between ourselves and the venerable order of the Hospital ... peace and concord should be fostered, so that no opportunity for rumour-mongering is given to others, thus bringing ill-repute to both orders'.<sup>41</sup>

Yet once the notions that Templars and Hospitallers were bitter rivals and that the orders were characterised by an extravagant lifestyle had become firmly entrenched in the minds of a public which wanted scapegoats for failings in the Holy Land, attempts at remedial action were likely to have little effect on public attitudes. A succession of victories against the infidel would have had a greater impact on opinion, but this was beyond the capabilities of the military orders in the later thirteenth century.

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<sup>41</sup> Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ordenes religiosas y militares, San Juan de Jerusalén, Pergaminos, Casas Antiguas 46; A. J. Forey, *A Thirteenth-Century Dispute between Templars and Hospitallers*, *Durham University Journal*, 80 (1988), pp. 185–186.