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THE TEMPLARS AND THE SEA

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ABSTRACT

The sea was most important to the Templars for the transport of men and goods. Brothers and supplies had to be dispatched to the East, but the administration of the Order also necessitated numerous voyages, while Templars were further used as envoys by popes and rulers. Goods were sent not only to the Holy Land, and the Order did engage in some trading by sea. Templars used both merchant ships and their own vessels, and the latter carried pilgrims and merchants as well as brothers. The Order's experience led kings and princes to employ Templars at times in matters relating to maritime transport. The Templar's involvement in maritime warfare was limited and occurred mainly in the eastern Mediterranean against Christian as well as Muslim opponents. Only occasional references survive about Templars' fighting at sea in the West. Templar ships appear to have been crewed mainly by non-Templars, but little is known about the numbers and specifications of the Order's ships, and it is not clear whether the Templars were active in the construction of vessels.

The Templars were primarily a land force. Their first function was to protect pilgrims travelling through the Holy Land, but they quickly extended their activities and began to provide contingents for military campaigns and to undertake the defence of castles, both in the crusader states and in the Iberian Peninsula. Later, and to a lesser degree, they were also active in eastern Europe

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and the Latin Empire. To the Templars, however, the sea was important in two main respects. It was often the means for transporting men and supplies, especially across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land and later to Cyprus, as western provinces provided support for the Order in the East. Shipments were also made, however, to various other destinations. Secondly, the Templars engaged to a limited extent in maritime warfare, chiefly in the eastern Mediterranean. The maritime activities of the Temple and other military orders have not been altogether neglected by historians. Yet some studies are limited to an examination of a particular region;¹ and surveys of maritime activities of a more general nature, whether of the Temple or of all the leading military orders, have tended to be brief and to concentrate on the shipping of men and goods across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land and on maritime warfare along the easterly coasts of that sea.² There is scope for a more wide-ranging and comprehensive discussion of Templar maritime transport and warfare at sea throughout western Christendom. The ways in which the Temple acquired its own ships, both for transportation and for warfare, and the numbers, specifications and manning of these vessels also merit further consideration.

1. TRANSPORTING BY SEA

1.1. *Transporting of Templar Personnel*

From a very early stage the Order was sending men out to the East from western Europe. In the late 1120s the master Hugh of Payns was reported to have taken many mounted and foot troops to the Holy Land from France: these no doubt

¹ See, for example, Jean-Claude Bonnin, "Les Templiers et la mer: l'exemple de La Rochelle," in *La commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and León Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2002), 307–315; Damien Carraz, "Causa defendende et extollende christianitatis: La vocation maritime des ordres militaires en Provence (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," in *Les ordres militaires et la mer*, ed. Michel Balard (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2009), 21–46; Marie-Anna Chevalier, "Les ordres militaires et la mer en Arménie cilicienne (milieu du XII^e–fin XIV^e siècle)," in *ibid.*, 61–78; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, "Carrefour de la Méditerranée et arrière pays de la croisade: les ordres militaires et la mer au royaume de Sicile," in *ibid.*, 103–110.

² These include Jürgen Sarnowsky, "The Military Orders and their Navies," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 4, *On Land and by Sea*, ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 41–56; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "Quelques réflexions sur les activités navales des ordres militaires," in *Les ordres militaires*, ed. Balard, 9–19; *id.*, "La marine du Temple dans l'Orient des croisades," in *ibid.*, 47–59; Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, "La orden del Temple y el mar," in *Entre Deus e o rei: o mundo das ordens militares*, vol. 2, ed. Isabel Cristina F. Fernandes (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2018), 733–743.

included recruits to the Temple as well as crusaders.³ As most of the brothers serving in the crusader states had been received into the Order in western Europe, Templars – especially knights – were frequently being sent out to the Holy Land and after 1291 to Cyprus. They were usually dispatched fairly shortly after their admission to the Order: of the knights without office interrogated in Cyprus in 1310 during the Templar trial, more than 80% had less than ten years' service at the time when they were questioned.⁴ Those travelling with Hugh of Payns probably sailed to the East, but there is little evidence about routes taken in the 12th century: at that time a number of crusading expeditions did travel overland. But certainly in time the journey came normally to be made by sea. Obviously many brothers died in the East, but those who survived usually remained there for only a limited period, before returning to the West. This is apparent not only from statistics based on the trial proceedings in Cyprus, but also from other evidence. William of Torrage, for example, who was interrogated by papal commissioners in Paris in 1311, stated that he had sailed out to the East in his first year as a Templar and had remained there for a year and a half, and similar comments were made by other knights during the trial;⁵ and Peter of San Justo, who in 1291 returned from Cyprus to the Aragonese province, where he had earlier held no office, lived until the early 1320s.⁶ Although fewer returned to the West than had set out for the East, there was clearly a constant flow of brothers in both directions across the Mediterranean. How many Templars were usually dispatched to serve in the East at any one time is not known. A Templar who testified in 1308 at Poitiers stated that at a chapter held in Paris about ten years earlier it had been ruled that 300 brothers should be sent out to the East and that he was one of those sent.⁷ Yet the

³ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, ed. Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix, 2000), 259; *De passagiis in Terram Sanctam*, ed. Georg M. Thomas (Venice: F. Ongania, 1879) (not paginated); *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, vol. 1, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens, CCCM 63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), 620, XIII, cap. 26.

⁴ Alan J. Forey, "Towards a Profile of the Templars in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. Malcolm Barber (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1994), 200.

⁵ *Le Procès des Templiers*, vol. 2, ed. Jules Michelet (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1851), 12; *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, vol. 2, ed. Konrad Schottmüller (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1887), 19; Alain Demurger, "Outre-mer: le passage des Templiers en Orient d'après les dépositions du procès," in *Chemins d'outre-mer: Etudes d'histoire sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, vol. 1, ed. Damien Coulon a.o. (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), 222.

⁶ Alan J. Forey, "The Career of a Templar: Peter of St Just," in *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, presented to Malcolm Barber*, ed. Norman Housley (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 183, 194.

⁷ *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. 2, *Quellen*, ed. Heinrich Finke (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1907), 335, no. 155.

figure seems to be much exaggerated: only seventy-six Templars were later interrogated in Cyprus; and chronicle sources assert that there were in all 118 brothers in the island when the Templars were arrested.⁸ Sizeable replacements would, however, have been needed after serious setbacks in the Holy Land: after the Hospitallers had lost forty brothers when Tripoli fell in 1289, the master John of Villiers ordered that each priory should send men to make good this number.⁹ No precise evidence survives, however, about the size of Templar contingents sent out after severe losses had been sustained, as in 1244 and 1291. Matthew Paris reported that in 1244 both the Templars and the Hospitallers recruited many new brothers and sent them out to the Holy Land, but he gave no indication of numbers.¹⁰

Templars crossing the Mediterranean were not always going to serve in the East or returning from service there. Western provincial masters, who were possibly appointed for terms of four years,¹¹ were recalled to the Order's headquarters at intervals. Numerous references survive to the journeying of western provincial masters to the kingdom of Jerusalem or Cyprus,¹² but it is not known how frequently in practice they usually travelled to the East, although the Aragonese provincial master Berenguer of Cardona is known to have visited Cyprus only

⁸ *Der Untergang*, 2, ed. Schottmüller, 166–374; *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, trans. Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 77–404; *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. René de Mas Latrie (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891), 286; “Chronique de l'île de Chypre, par Florio Bustron,” ed. René de Mas Latrie, in *Mélanges historiques*, vol. 5 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1886), 167.

⁹ *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 3, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 541 no. 4050.

¹⁰ Matthaeus Westmonasteriensis, *Flores historiarum*, vol. 2, *A.D. 1067 – A.D. 1264*, ed. Henry R. Luard, Rolls Series 95 (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890), 287.

¹¹ *Acta Aragonensia*, vol. 3, ed. Heinrich Finke (Berlin: Walther Rothschild, 1922), 10 no. 5.

¹² For references to journeys to the East by English provincial masters, see: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1242–1247*, ed. Ernest G. Atkinson and Robert F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1916), 19; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1254–1256*, ed. Alfred E. Stamp and Kenneth H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1931), 423; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1259–1261*, ed. Alfred E. Stamp and Kenneth H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1934), 480; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III, vol. 6, A.D. 1266–1272*, ed. John G. Black and Robert F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1913), 541–542; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I: A.D. 1301–1307*, ed. John G. Black (London: HMSO, 1898), 346–347; *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I, vol. 5, A.D. 1302–1307*, ed. William H. Stevenson and Cyril T. Flower (London: HMSO, 1908), 137–138, 172, 208; Marie L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), 366–367 (Source edition no. 8).

twice while he was Aragonese provincial master between 1291 and 1307.¹³ Few central officials, however, visited the western provinces of the Order: the master James of Molay was unusual in journeying at least twice to western Europe.¹⁴ Some brothers in western provinces were dispatched to the Order's central convent for judgement on alleged offences: one version of the Templar Customs reports that several Catalan brothers were sent to Acre to be judged in a case involving forged seals.¹⁵ Conversely, when the Templar marshal Stephen of Sissy was held to be responsible for a heavy defeat suffered by a Templar contingent in 1261, he was sent to Rome for judgement; later, in March 1265, when he was absolved from excommunication by Clement IV, the pope ruled that he should return to the East on the next passage and serve there as a simple brother for a year. At the end of that term he was to sail on the following passage and report to the pope.¹⁶ Some brothers in the West were even granted permission to travel to the Order's central convent whenever they wished: this privilege, presumably given so that favoured Templars could seek to advance their own careers, was accorded to Peter of San Justo when he left the East in 1291, and to Berenguer Guamir, commander of Barcelona, in 1305.¹⁷

In performing their duties some Templars made shorter journeys by sea both in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. A version of Templar regulations mentions a brother chaplain who died while journeying on board ship from Tripoli

¹³ On his visits, 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): Travelling on Christ's Business*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf and Helen J. Nicholson (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2006), 65–74.

¹⁴ Alain Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: Le crépuscule des Templiers* (Paris: Payot et Rivages, 2002), caps. 5, 8. Philippe Josserand, *Jacques de Molay: Le dernier grand-maître des Templiers* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2019), 117–118, argues, on the basis of a report by the Genoese Manuel Zaccaria, that Molay also briefly journeyed as far as Brindisi late in 1292. The statement is explicit, but it raises a number of questions.

¹⁵ *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 M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), 76–78, clause 174.

¹⁶ *Les Registres de Clément IV*, ed. Edouard Jordan (Paris: Thorin et Fils/Boccard, 1893–1945), 8 no. 22, 326–327 no. 836; Telesforo Bini, "Dei Tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana," *Atti della Reale Accademia Lucchese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* 13 (1845): 452–455 (Source edition no. 5). On the career of this Templar, see: Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 659–661.

¹⁷ Forey, "Letters," 160–161 no. 2, 164 no. 9.

to the kingdom of Jerusalem.¹⁸ At the other end of the Mediterranean the Aragonese provincial master was expected to visit the Templar convent on the island of Mallorca, and conversely the commander of Mallorca had to sail from there to a Catalan port in order to attend the annual provincial chapter.¹⁹ As Templar houses in Ireland were subject to the English provincial master, he had to visit the Order's houses there, and the heads of these had similarly to cross the Irish Sea to attend chapters although, according to some witnesses during the Templar trial, they did so only every two or three years.²⁰ The English Channel was crossed not only by English brothers travelling to or from the East, but also by some senior western officials: the Templar visitor Hugh of Pairaud, based in France, is known to have visited England in 1299,²¹ and in 1260 the English provincial master had crossed the Channel to attend a chapter in Paris.²² During his stay in the West in the mid 1290s James of Molay also journeyed to England.²³

Templar contingents were also at times transported by sea in the Mediterranean in order to participate in crusading expeditions. Members of the Order sailed from the Holy Land to assist in Egypt during the fifth crusade and Louis IX's first crusade, and in 1269 some Aragonese Templars, including the provincial master Arnold of Castellnou, accompanied James I on his aborted journey to the East in 1269.²⁴

¹⁸ *La Règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Renouard, 1886), 294–295, clause 563; *Il Corpus normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in italiano*, ed. Giovanni Amatuccio (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2009), 298, clause 15; *The Catalan Rule*, ed. Upton-Ward, 68, clause 161.

¹⁹ For undated summonses by the Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Mallorca to attend chapters, see: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (henceforth as: ACA), Cancillería Real, Cartas Reales Diplomáticas, Jaime II, cajas 137–142, Templarios (henceforth as: CRDT) 185, 403, 457.

²⁰ *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I: A.D. 1281–1292*, ed. John G. Black, Robert F. Isaacson, and G. J. Morris (London: HMSO, 1893), 77. For journeys of local Templar officials to Ireland, see: *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1231–1234*, ed. Charles Trice Martin and Alfred E. Stamp (London: HMSO, 1905), 404; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1234–1237*, ed. Charles Trice Martin, Robert F. Isaacson, and Anthony S. Maskelyne (London: HMSO, 1908), 183; *Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, vol. 1, ed. Helen J. Nicholson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), 125–126.

²¹ *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, ed. Henry Cole (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), 160–161, 163.

²² *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III*, vol. 5, *A.D. 1258–1266*, ed. John G. Black and Robert F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1910), 78.

²³ Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 119–120; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 119.

²⁴ Oliver of Paderborn, “Historia Damiatina”, in *Die Schriften des Kölner Domscholasters, späteren Bischofs von Paderborn und Kardinalbischofs von S. Sabina Oliverus*, ed. Hermann Hoogeweg (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1894), 176; Paul Riant, “Six lettres relatives aux

Several Templars and Hospitallers also travelled with Richard of Cornwall on his crusading expedition in 1239, but they were acting as papal envoys who had been deputed by Gregory IX to take out to the East the crusading monies promised to Richard and to hand these over when they reached the Holy Land.²⁵ Templars in fact very commonly made sea crossings in various regions in the role of envoys. During the Templar trial Stephen of Cellario stated that *fuit ultra mare quater vel quinques tanquam messengerius ordinis*.²⁶ Envoys crossing the Mediterranean were usually travelling on behalf of the Temple or of the Holy Land.²⁷ Those acting in this way in the interests of the Order included brothers who in 1273 brought the master's seal and purse to William of Beaujeu, who was in the West when he was elected,²⁸ and in the following year Arnulf was one of the Templar representatives sent to the Council of Lyon.²⁹ Templars were also among those reporting on the state of the Holy Land and seeking aid from the West. In 1232 Gregory IX asked the patriarch of Jerusalem and several Templars and Hospitallers to come and inform him on the condition of the crusader states; in 1280 the Templar Pons of Bruet was dispatched to the West to report on the situation in the East, and the pope sent him on to Alfonso X of Castile; and in the same way the Templar Hertand was part of a delegation which met the English king Edward I in 1289 after it had told Nicholas IV of the fall of Tripoli.³⁰ Not all Templar envoys travelling by sea, however, were acting in the interests of the Order or on behalf of the Holy Land. They were employed by others in a variety of circumstances. In 1204

croisades," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881): 389–390 no. 4; *Les quatre grans cròniques*, vol. 1, *Llibre dels feïts del rei En Jaume*, caps. 487–488, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2007), 474–475.

²⁵ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 2, ed. Lucien Auvray (Paris: Fontemoing, 1907), 974–975 no. 4268.

²⁶ *Le Procès*, 2, ed. Michelet, 244–245.

²⁷ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "Les Templiers informateurs de l'Occident à travers leur correspondance," in *As ordens militares: Freires, guerreiros, cavaleiros*, vol. 2, ed. Isabel C. F. Fernandes (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2012), 718–719.

²⁸ Riant, "Six lettres," 390–391 no. 5.

²⁹ *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 303 no. 3528; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 7, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1957), 136 no. 224.

³⁰ *Epistolae saeculi XIII e regesta pontificum Romanorum*, vol. 1, ed. Carl Rodenburg (Berlin: Weidmann, 1883), 377–378 no. 468, 382 no. 474; *Les Registres de Nicolas III*, ed. Jules Gay (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1898–1938), 307 nos. 676–677; *Documentos de Nicolás III (1277–1280) referentes a España*, ed. Santiago Domínguez Sánchez (León: Universidad de León, 1999), 394–396 nos. 146–147; *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Ernest Langlois (Paris: Fontemoing, 1886–1893), 541 no. 4049; *Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiuscumque generis acta publica*, vol. 1, no. 2, ed. Thomas Rymer (London: Eyre and Strahan, 1816), 712; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 541 no. 4049.

the Latin emperor sent the former Templar master of Lombardy as an envoy to Innocent III to announce the capture of Constantinople.³¹ In 1277 a Templar was deputed to accompany the remains of queen Beatrice, the first wife of Charles of Anjou, when these were transported by sea from Naples to Marseille.³² A brother of the Order was used as an envoy to the pope by Maria of Antioch when she was asserting her claims to the kingdom of Jerusalem,³³ and a later pope, Nicholas IV, in 1288 entrusted the *pallium* for the new bishop of Nazareth to the hands of the Templar Durand Bujerii.³⁴ In 1292 brother Hugh of Monterotundo was among those sent by sea by Charles II to receive oaths of fealty and homage in Hungary,³⁵ and in the 13th century Templars commonly crossed the Channel as envoys of the English king Henry III.³⁶

Those in the employ or service of the Temple also at times travelled by sea. The entourages which journeyed with brothers included non-Templars, such as squires; and when horses were being sent to the East, they had to be accompanied by grooms.³⁷ A notary giving evidence during the Templar trial further stated that the master William of Beaujeu had assembled at Ancona numerous *servientes*

³¹ *Die Register Innocenz' III.*, vol. 7, ed. Othmar Hageneder, Andrea Sommerlechner, and Herwig Weigl (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 234–236 no. 147.

³² Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Genealogia di Carlo I di Angiò: Prima generazione* (Naples: Vincenzo Priggiobra, 1857), 15, 163.

³³ *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 19, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1964), 193 no. 302; Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super Terrae Sanctae recuperatione et conservatione* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 227, III, part 12, cap. 15; *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro (1243–1314): La caduta degli stati crociati nel racconto di un testimone oculare*, ed. Laura Minervini (Naples: Liguori Editore, 2000), 126, cap. 133 (369).

³⁴ *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, 28 no. 175.

³⁵ Francesco Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò nei rapporti politici e commerciali con Venezia e l'Oriente* (Bari: Vecchi, 1911), 165; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 40, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1993), 74 no. 23, 85 no. 2, 86 no. 4; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 45, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2000), 82 no. 33.

³⁶ *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1216–1225*, ed. John G. Black and Charles Trice Martin (London: HMSO, 1901), 558; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III*, vol. 4, *A.D. 1247–1258*, ed. John G. Black and Robert F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1908), 118, 133, 326, 364; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 5, ed. Black and Isaacson, 189; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1251–1253*, ed. Percival V. Davies, Alfred E. Stamp, and Kenneth H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1927), 108, 187–188, 225; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1256–1259*, ed. Kenneth H. Ledward (London: HMSO, 1932), 326–327.

³⁷ Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 451–453 (Source edition no. 3).

who had undertaken to help defend Templar strongholds, although disputes about pay led to their deserting him before they set out for the East.³⁸ The “Templar of Tyre” also relates that in 1292 crews for two Templar galleys in Cyprus were being transported out to the East in four Venetian galleys, while in 1274 the Templar preceptor of Barletta reported that two Muslim slaves who had been brought from the East had later fled to the Muslim colony at Lucera.³⁹

Many Templars and others in their service who travelled across the Mediterranean or journeyed elsewhere by sea would have had no experience of sailing and would no doubt have shared the common dread of the sea which was frequently seen as an obstacle to crusading recruitment.⁴⁰ Humbert of Romans poured scorn on those who were deterred by the *periculis maris* and the *angustiis in navi*; but he probably never sailed out to the East.⁴¹ Those who did were likely to experience at least some of the hazards and discomforts of sea voyages. A number of reports survive of disasters and difficulties encountered by ships carrying members of the military orders. In 1201 the Hospitaller master reported that a ship had been wrecked off the coast of Tripoli and that many brothers of his order had been drowned, and in 1226 a Hospitaller ship foundered and was looted near Brindisi.⁴² It may further be noted that a treaty in 1282 between the Templars and the sultan Qalāwūn, like several other agreements between Christians in the Holy Land and Muslim rulers, included clauses about shipwrecks.⁴³ The Hospitaller master in 1201 also wrote that after several days at sea ships carrying his envoys from Acre had lost their masts and had been forced to seek shelter at Tripoli, while a Templar vessel which was returning from Acre to Sicily in 1270(?) was unable because of winds and storms to reach the island and had to put in at Otranto.⁴⁴ After he

³⁸ *Le Procès des Templiers*, vol. 1, ed. Jules Michelet (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841), 646.

³⁹ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 256, cap. 301 (537); *I registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 11, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1958), 55 no. 143.

⁴⁰ Palmer A. Throop, *Criticism of the Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda* (Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1940), 151–154.

⁴¹ Humbert of Romans, *De predicatione crucis*, ed. Valentin Portnykh, CCCM 279 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), 70–71, cap. 19; Edward T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans: His Life and Views of Thirteenth-Century Society* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984), 7–8.

⁴² *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 2, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 1–3 no. 1131; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. 17, ed. Martin Bouquet and Léopold Delisle (Paris: Palmé, 1878), 613; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 4, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 51 (London: Longman and Trübner, 1871), 185; *Documenti tratti dai registri vaticani (da Innocenzo III a Nicola IV)*, ed. Domenico Vendola (Trani: Vecchi, 1940), 137–138 no. 157.

⁴³ Peter M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalāwūn with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 68; see also: *ibid.*, 52, 84.

⁴⁴ *I Registri*, 7, ed. Filangieri, 17–18 no. 43.

had sailed out to Cyprus in 1300 the Aragonese provincial master Berenguer of Cardona had intended to go to Rome but because of bad weather (*mal tems*) he was obliged to return to Cyprus, where he had to spend the whole winter.⁴⁵ Even if storms and adverse winds were avoided, there were still the problems of seasickness and of cramped and unhealthy conditions aboard ship. It is not surprising that Templar regulations allude to the *anguisse* and the *travail* likely to be experienced by brothers travelling back to the West by sea.⁴⁶

1.2. Transporting of Templar livestock and goods

Animals, like men, suffered on sea journeys, for Templar cargoes often included livestock. Most of the animals dispatched across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land or Cyprus from western Europe were horses, although mules were also sent at times.⁴⁷ Shipments of forty to fifty horses from Catalonia in the later 13th century are recorded,⁴⁸ and in 1278 Charles I allowed the Templars to send twenty-five mounts from South Italy to Acre.⁴⁹ The Angevin rulers did sometimes prohibit the dispatch of warhorses (*equi ad arma*), but the ban was not constantly maintained, and there is no evidence of such a restriction on exports from Spain.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Mallorca, 23 April [1301], Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 181.

⁴⁶ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 281, clause 537; *Il Corpus*, ed. Amatuccio, 276, clause 188.

⁴⁷ On the shipment of horses, see: John H. Pryor, "The Transportation of Horses by Sea during the Era of the Crusades: Eighth Century to 1285 A.D.," *The Mariners' Mirror* 68 (1982): 9–27, 103–125.

⁴⁸ Alfonso III to the bailiff of Calatayud, 1 March 1286, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 63, fol. 89r; Alfonso III to the bailiff of Calatayud, 27 April 1286, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro, Registro 66, fol. 57v; Alfonso III to the bailiff of Calatayud and other officials, 27 April 1286, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 66, fol. 58r; Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 451–453 (Source edition no. 3); Martín Fernández de Navarrete, "Disertación histórica sobre la parte que tuvieron los españoles en las guerras de ultramar o de las cruzadas," *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia* 5 (1817): 174–175 (Source edition no. 16).

⁴⁹ *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 44, no. 2, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1999), 630 no. 308. In 1281 Charles I allowed the Hospitalers to send sixty horses and forty mules to the East: *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 414–415 no. 3758. John H. Pryor, "In subsidium 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): 134, states that the Templars exported only foodstuffs from the South Italian kingdom, whereas the Hospital sent horses and mules as well to the East; but further publication of the reconstituted Angevin registers has revealed that the Templars did dispatch animals; see also: *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 35, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1985), 108–109 no. 267.

⁵⁰ *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 47, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2003), 285; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 338 no. 3599, 414–415 no. 3758, 596 no. 4163.

Although the dispatch of horses and mules was usually to the crusader states or later to Cyprus, in 1294 Charles II allowed Eustace of Guercheville, the Templar preceptor of Achaia, to take seven horses and a mule to Greece.⁵¹ Some of these animals may have been part of the preceptor's own entourage, for horses belonging to individual Templars sometimes accompanied them when brothers were journeying by sea. In 1296 Guy of Foresta, after relinquishing his post as English master, was given permission to take three horses with him when he went out to Cyprus, and ten years later, when the Aragonese Templar Peter of San Justo was summoned to the central convent, arrangements were made for the transport of his mounts across the Mediterranean.⁵²

Some export licences also mention the dispatch of arms and harness to the East, but no precise details about these survive.⁵³ Much more information is available about shipments of foodstuffs to the Holy Land or Cyprus. The most frequent cargoes were of corn, mainly wheat and barley, but occasionally also oats.⁵⁴ Corn was exported from Spain, southern France and the South Italian kingdom, but the most detailed sources relate to the last of these; references to the dispatch of corn from the kingdom of Aragon do not usually state the quantities being sent. In 1293 Charles II allowed the Templars to transport 2,000 *salme* of wheat and the same amount of barley to Cyprus, and two years later he made an agreement with James of Molay, by which the Temple was to be permitted to export 4,000 *salme* of wheat annually on the condition that this amount was to include the 1,000 *salme* which Charles undertook to provide for the support of impoverished noble refugees who had escaped to Cyprus after the fall of Acre in 1291.⁵⁵ The reconstituted Angevin registers contain numerous other licences which specify the amounts of corn which the Templars could send to the East, and in some a condition was in-

⁵¹ *Actes relatifs à la principauté de Morée, 1289–1300*, ed. Charles Perrat and Jean Longnon (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967), 91 no. 86.

⁵² *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I*, vol. 3, *A.D. 1288–1296*, ed. William H. Stevenson and C.H. Woodruff (London: HMSO, 1904), 511; Peter of Castellón to John of Villamore, the commander of the passage at Marseille, 14 June [1306], Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 334.

⁵³ General instruction from Alfonso III, 1 May 1286, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 66, fol. 61v; Alfonso III to the Templar master William of Beaujeu, 27 April 1290, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 73, fol. 80v; *Acta Aragonensia*, 3, ed. Finke, 9–10 no. 5; Fernández de Navarrete, "Disertación histórica," 174–175 (Source edition 16); *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, 5, ed. Stevenson and Flower, 137–138.

⁵⁴ Fernández de Navarrete, "Disertación histórica," 174–175 (Source edition no. 16).

⁵⁵ Norman Housley, "Charles II of Naples and the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Byzantion* 54 (1984): 534–535 (Source edition no. 1).

served that the grain exported had to be from the Order's own estates.⁵⁶ The corn carried had also, of course, to include provisions for the journey: one Angevin licence for the export of horses stated that ten *salme* of wheat could be shipped for the sustenance of the men on board as well as an allowance of oats for the horses.⁵⁷

Other foodstuffs commonly sent by sea to the East included salted meat, lard, legumes, cheeses, wine and oil. A licence issued by Charles of Anjou in 1279 allowed the Templars to dispatch to Acre 300 *vegetes* of wine, 400 sides of salted meat and 30,000 cheeses.⁵⁸ In 1290 his successor approved a petition of the Templar master William of Beaujeu for permission to ship to the Holy Land 1,000 *salme* of wine and 10,000 *salme* of oil;⁵⁹ and five years later Charles II granted a licence for the export of 500 *salme* of legumes.⁶⁰ Following a request from the grand master, the Aragonese provincial master Berenguer of Cardona in 1301(?) instructed the commander of Mallorca to provide fifteen sides of salted meat, a quantity of lard and 500 cheeses for shipment to Cyprus.⁶¹

Assistance for the Templars in the East was not usually sent in the form of money. An arrangement made in 1304 to transfer 1,000 marks to Cyprus as the re-sponsion of the Aragonese province was unusual.⁶² As many commodities could not readily be acquired in the East, respersions from western Europe were normally sent in kind.

The Templars were shipping the Order's goods not only from the West to the Holy Land or Cyprus. In the 13th century supplies were being dispatched from Cyprus to the crusader states.⁶³ Farther west, in 1304 the Aragonese Templars were sending supplies by ship to the Murcian frontier at a time when a Muslim invasion

⁵⁶ See, for example, Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1852), 91–92; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 2, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1951), 58 no. 206, 124 no. 473; *I Registri*, 35, ed. Filangieri, 108–109 no. 267.

⁵⁷ *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 630 no. 308; see also: *Actes relatifs*, ed. Perrat and Longnon, 91 no. 86.

⁵⁸ *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 631 no. 308.

⁵⁹ *I Registri*, 35, ed. Filangieri, 108–109 no. 267.

⁶⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: 91–92.

⁶¹ The Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Mallorca, 1 May 1301(?), Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 68.

⁶² Agreement between the Aragonese provincial master and the Barcelona merchant Jacob of Cerviá, 20 August 1304, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Pergaminos, Jaime II, 2071 and 2073.

⁶³ Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle*, vol. 2 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2005), 430–434 (Source edition no. 17).

was threatened.⁶⁴ One licence granted by Charles I in 1269 allowed the transporting of wheat by sea from Barletta to Brindisi, and in another issued ten years later permission was given to ship corn from Manfredonia to Zara.⁶⁵ Legumes were also being sent from South Italy to Hungary in 1278.⁶⁶ Wine was shipped from Gascony both to England and to northern Spain,⁶⁷ and the English Templars dispatched wool to Flanders.⁶⁸

Some licences allowing the Templars to export goods to the East included phrases such as *pro vita et sustentatione confratrum eiusdem domus et familie ipsorum et equorum in ipsis partibus commorantium* and *pro usibus fratrum et personarum domus ipsius*,⁶⁹ while in 1295 Boniface VIII similarly asked rulers to give consent to exports *pro sustentatione ipsorum [Templariorum]*.⁷⁰ It was assumed that goods dispatched to the Holy Land or Cyprus were normally for the Templars' own use. More specifically, when in 1296 the English King Edward I agreed to the export of worsted cloth, it was stated that this was to be used in making robes for brothers in Cyprus.⁷¹ As restrictions were commonly imposed on exports, measures were also taken to ensure that goods sent to the East were not diverted to other purposes. In 1272 the Aragonese king James I sought an oath to the effect that exported Templar goods were only for the Order's own use.⁷² In

⁶⁴ The Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Peñíscola, 18 February [1304], Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 618.

⁶⁵ *I Registri*, 2, ed. Filangieri, 58 no. 206; *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 593–594 no. 198.

⁶⁶ Carabellese, *Carlo d'Angiò*, 166.

⁶⁷ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. Thomas Duffy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1835), 113; *Patent Rolls, 1216–1225*, ed. Black and Martin, 517; *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1225–1232*, ed. John G. Black and Charles Trice Martin (London: HMSO, 1903), 24, 105, 368; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office: Henry III*, vol. 3, *A.D. 1232–1247*, ed. John G. Black and Robert F. Isaacson (London: HMSO, 1906), 113; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1227–1231*, ed. Charles Trice Martin and Alfred E. Stamp (London: HMSO, 1902), 368, 477.

⁶⁸ *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, ed. Trice Martin and Stamp, 518–519; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 6, ed. Black and Isaacson, 594; see also: *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. 1, ed. Thomas Duffy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1833), 214.

⁶⁹ *I Registri*, 11, ed. Filangieri, 122 no. 145; *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 619–620 no. 283; see also: Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: 91–92; James I gives permission to the Aragonese provincial master to export goods, 4 November 1272, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 21, fol. 71r.

⁷⁰ *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, 1, no. 2, ed. Rymer, 823; *Les Registres de Boniface VIII*, vol. 1, ed. Georges Digard, Maurice Faucon, and Antoine Thomas (Paris: Thorin, 1884), 170 no. 489.

⁷¹ *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, 3, ed. Stevenson and Woodruff, 511.

⁷² James I gives permission to the Aragonese provincial master to export goods, 4 November 1272, see above (note 69).

some licences it was further stated that goods were to be transported only to Acre or, after 1291, to Cyprus.⁷³ There was also a requirement in some cases that certificates of unloading in the Holy Land or Cyprus were to be produced: in 1293, for example, when the Templar master James of Molay was allowed to export grain and legumes from Apulia to Cyprus, it was on condition that *recipiatur debita cautio ut de exoneracione... debite referantur*.⁷⁴ Apparently the only reference to the selling of food shipped across the Mediterranean by the Templars occurs in the agreement between Charles II and James of Molay in 1295 relating to the export of 4,000 *salme* of wheat annually. Angevin officials were instructed to permit

[...] *prenominatum magistrum vel statutos suos salmarum frumenti quatuor millium ad predictam generalem mensuram ferendarum per mare vel ad predictam insulam [Ciprensem] vel alioquocunque voluerint extra regnum, ad terras scilicet amicorum nostrorum, de quibuscumque jurisdictionis vestre statutis portubus extrahere vel extrahi facere aut vendere cuicumque*.⁷⁵

Yet these terms were agreed in exceptional circumstances, and there is no evidence to indicate that the Templars actually sold any of the grain exported from the West.

The consignment of wheat being sent by sea from Barletta to Brindisi in 1269 was similarly said to be *pro usu et substentatione fratrum Templi ibidem morantium*, and a guarantee was sought on this point.⁷⁶ Yet in the West Templar produce was often sold – summonses to Aragonese provincial chapters normally included a statement that commanders could sell corn and other crops in order to pay their responsions in money⁷⁷ – and some Templar goods carried by sea in the West were clearly intended for sale. In 1225 Henry III granted permission for a ship carrying wine belonging to the Templar master of Poitou to sail to England *ad vina illa vendenda*, and in 1242 the English king similarly allowed the commanders of

⁷³ *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 3, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1951), 239 no. 715.

⁷⁴ *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 48, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 2005), 148; see also, *I Registri*, 3, ed. Filangieri, 239 no. 715; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 6, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1954), 42 no. 147.

⁷⁵ Housley, "Charles II of Naples," 534 (Source edition no. 1); cf. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, "The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993): 201–227, especially 226.

⁷⁶ *I Registri*, 2, ed. Filangieri, 58 no. 206; see also: *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 593–594 no. 198.

⁷⁷ The Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Corbins, 15 January, no year, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 249; the Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Mallorca, first Tuesday of December, no year, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 403.

Epoux and La Rochelle – and their men – to trade in wine and *et alias res suas venales*.⁷⁸ Templar wine exported from Gascony to England may in fact have been mainly for sale. Although wine was produced on some English estates⁷⁹ and although Henry III commonly made a gift of wine for the annual provincial chapter in England,⁸⁰ many English Templar houses had brewhouses⁸¹ and there are also a number of references in English Templar sources to cider and cider presses.⁸² Ale seems in fact to have been the normal drink for religious in England.⁸³ It is likely that the wine on a ship sent by the Templar master of Poitou to the lands of the king of León in 1214 was similarly intended for sale.⁸⁴ The wool which the Templars exported to Flanders was also sold: in 1231 Henry III allowed the Order to send its wool there *ad comodum suum inde faciendum*.⁸⁵ Templar wool was, however, at times purchased in advance by Italian merchants, and the Templars did not always export it themselves.⁸⁶

There may also have been local trading in the eastern Mediterranean by the Templars in goods produced in the crusader states; but evidence is lacking and, as

⁷⁸ *Patent Rolls, 1216–1225*, ed. Black and Trice Martin, 517; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 3, ed. Black and Isaacson, 330; *Rôles gascons*, vol. 4, ed. Michel Francisque and Charles Bémont (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1885), 69–70 no. 521.

⁷⁹ An account for Gislingham compiled when Templar estates were under royal control in 1309 includes a reference to *vineis scindendis*: London, The National Archives, E 358/20 mem. 24; see: Helen J. Nicholson, *The Everyday Life of the Templars: The Knights Templar at Home* (Stroud: Fonthill, 2017), 82.

⁸⁰ *Close Rolls, 1234–1237*, ed. Trice Martin, Isaacson, and Maskelyne, 94; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office: A.D. 1237–1242*, ed. Robert F. Isaacson and Anthony S. Maskelyne (London: HMSO, 1911), 54, 273, 301, 426; *Close Rolls, 1242–1247*, ed. Atkinson and Isaacson, 22, 182, 192, 307, 422.

⁸¹ See, for example, Joseph M. Jefferson, “The Templar Lands in Lincolnshire in the Early Fourteenth Century” (PhD. Diss., University of Nottingham, 2016), 59, 61–62, 68 and Appendix 1.

⁸² William H. Blaauw, “Sadelescombe and Shipley, the Preceptories of the Knights Templars in Sussex,” *Sussex Archaeological Collections relating to the History and Antiquities of the County* 9 (1857): 240, 253; Gearóid MacNiocaill, “Documents relating to the Suppression of the Templars in Ireland,” *Analecta Hibernica* 24 (1967): 196; Keeper’s Account, Upleadon, 1308–1309, London, The National Archives, E 358/18 mem. 2; Keeper’s Account, Keele, 1308–1309, London, The National Archives, E 358/18 mem. 4; Keeper’s Account, Swanton, 1308, London, The National Archives, E 358/18 mem. 25; Keeper’s Account, Roydon, 1308, London, The National Archives, E 358/19 mem. 52.

⁸³ Barbara Harvey, “Monastic Diet, XIIIth–XVIth Centuries: Problems and Perspectives,” in *Alimentazione e nutrizione secc. XIII–XVIII*, ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Florence: Le Monnier, 1997), 628.

⁸⁴ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. Duffy, 113.

⁸⁵ *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, ed. Trice Martin and Stamp, 518–519; see also: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 6, ed. Black and Isaacson, 594.

⁸⁶ Nicholson, *The Everyday Life*, 85.

they lost their lands in the crusader states, opportunities for selling produce must have quickly dwindled.⁸⁷ It has, however, sometimes been asserted that it was for trading purposes that the Templars in 1300 hired a ship at Famagusta from the Genoese Peter Rubeo which was to go to Tortosa, Tripoli, Tyre and Acre, which were then all in Muslim hands.⁸⁸ Yet horses were the the only part of the cargo specifically mentioned, and it is unlikely that the Templars would have been trading in horses in Muslim ports. In fact, there seems to be no evidence that the Templars engaged in trade in Muslim lands in any part of the Mediterranean. The hiring of the Genoese ship is more plausibly to be linked with the attacks on Muslim territories in which the Templars participated in that year: the reference to *proficuum* is to be interpreted as booty rather than a trading profit.⁸⁹

It is further possible that they sent eastern products, such as sugar cane, to western Europe to be sold. Like the Hospital and the Teutonic order, the Temple had plantations, such as that at Doc, near Acre; and it has been assumed that the Hospitallers exported sugar from Acre.⁹⁰ The same assumption could be made about the Temple, but clear evidence is lacking.

⁸⁷ Judith Bronstein, *The Hospitallers in the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), 51; and ead., “The Hospitallers: From Land to Sea – an Examination of the Hospitallers’ Naval Activities in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *Medieval History Journal* 22 (2019): 60, asserts that at Canamella in Cilicia the Hospitallers had the right to trade in timber and may have done so; but the source mentioned appears to state merely that, in return for a loan, Leo of Armenia pledged to the Hospital for two years royal dues on the sale of timber and of other goods: *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 165–166 no. 1427; cf. Marie-Anna Chevalier, *Les ordres religieux-militaires en Arménie cilicienne* (Paris: Geuthner, 2009), 374.

⁸⁸ Nicholas Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), 133; Bronstein, “The Hospitallers: From Land to Sea,” 72. Coureas does, however, revise his interpretation in “The Role of the Templars and Hospitallers in the Movement of Commodities involving Cyprus, 1291–1312,” in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2, *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 263–264. For the text of the agreement, see: Cornelio Desimoni, “Actes passés à Famaguste de 1299 à 1301 devant le notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto,” *Archives de l’Orient latin* 2, no. 2 (1884): 42–43 no. 74; *Actes de Famaguste du notaire génois Lamberto di Sambuceto (décembre 1299–septembre 1300)*, ed. Michel Balard, William Duba, and Chris Schabel (Nicosia: Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2012), 83–86 no. 74.

⁸⁹ See below. *Lucrum* was employed in a similar sense in a document recording the hiring for the Hospital of galleys which were to be used in maritime warfare: Paolo Accame, *Notizie e documenti inediti sui Templari e Gerosolimitani in Liguria* (Finalborgo: Tipografia Rebbaglietti, 1902), 124–136 (Source edition no. 4).

⁹⁰ Judith Bronstein, Edna J. Stern, and Elisabeth Yehuda, “Franks, Locals and Sugar Cane: A Case Study of Cultural Interaction in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,” *Journal of Medieval History* 45, no. 3 (2019): 325–327; Edna J. Stern, Nimrod Getzov, Anastasia Shapiro, and Howard Smithline, “Sugar Production in the ‘Akko Plain from the Fatimid to the Early Ottoman Peri-

1.3. Shipping

For transporting men and goods, the Templars, like the Hospitallers, used both their own ships and those owned by merchants. The Order presumably relied on hired ships in its early stages, and the hiring of ships or places on ships was a practice which continued throughout the Order's history, both in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. That the Order still made considerable use of merchant ships in the later 13th century is suggested by the statement in one document that in 1272 four merchant ships were carrying Templar supplies from Barletta to Acre.⁹¹ Few details have survived about the owners of ships who transported Templars and their goods to the East or elsewhere: very few hiring agreements survive, and licences to export rarely specify on whose ships cargoes were to be carried. It is clear, however, that in the second half of the 13th century the Aragonese Templars commonly made use of ships belonging to the Marquet family of Barcelona.⁹²

Information about the costs of hiring is also limited. When in 1301 the Aragonese provincial master Berenguer of Cardona returned from Cyprus to Barcelona, accompanied by six brothers, twelve squires and sixteen other persons, the total charge was set at 270 *lib.* in Barcelona currency, although this was later reduced to 200 *lib.*⁹³ On other occasions costs per person were specified. In 1282 for

ods," in *The Origins of the Sugar Industry and the Transmission of Ancient Greek and Medieval Arab Science and Technology from the Near East to Europe*, ed. Konstantinos D. Politis (Athens: National and Kapodistriako University of Athens, 2015), 79–112; Brigitte Porée, "Les moulins et fabriques à sucre de Palestine," in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), 402.

⁹¹ *Codice diplomatico sui rapporti veneto-napoletani durante il regno di Carlo I d'Angiò*, ed. Nicola Nicolini (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1965), 47–48 no. 59; *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 9, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1957), 293–294 no. 22.

⁹² The commander of Barcelona to the merchant Bernardon Marquet, 10 July 1301, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Pergaminos, Jaime II 1605; the Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Mallorca, May [1301], Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 646; Josseland, *Jacques de Molay*, 451–453 (Source edition no. 3); *Notai genovesi in oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (3 luglio 1300 – 3 agosto 1301)*, ed. Valeria Polonio (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1982), 256–258 no. 219, 305–306 no. 258; Maria T. Ferrer i Mallol, "Catalan Commerce in the Late Middle Ages," *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012): 41. On the Marquet family, see: ead., "Una família de navegants: Els Marquet," in *El "Llibre del Consell" de la ciutat de Barcelona: Segle XIV: les eleccions municipals*, ed. Carme Battle i Gallart a.o. (Barcelona: CSIC, 2007), 135–267. On 9 August 1283 Peter III thanked the Templars for the assistance they had given on one occasion to Michael Marquet with regard to his ship and its cargo: Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 46, fol. 99v.

⁹³ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, 256–258, doc. 219; the commander of Barcelona to the merchant Bernardon Marquet, 10 July 1301, see above (note 92); the Aragonese provincial master to the commander of Mallorca, May [1301], see above (note 92).

a journey from Barcelona to Acre the Order paid a mark of silver for each knight and two and a half marks for a horse and groom.⁹⁴ By comparison, Louis IX in 1246 agreed to pay five marks for the passage of each horse and groom from Marseille to the East, and for his second crusading expedition the Venetians in 1268 charged him four and a half marks for a horse and groom and two and a quarter marks for a knight below decks.⁹⁵ But costs depended on the size of the berth and its location on a ship, and Templar sources provide no information about these. When the Aragonese Templars arranged for a resposion of 1,000 marks to be transferred to Cyprus in 1304, however, it was agreed that a Barcelona merchant should pay this sum from the proceeds of the cargo he was to sell in the East: the Order was in turn to pay him up to 10,166s. 8d. in Barcelona currency to compensate him for the profit which he might have made from a new cargo brought to the West, but the precise amount was to be calculated on the gains which would have been made on certain goods.⁹⁶ For the hire of an entire Genoese ship in 1300 at Famagusta for the period from mid-March to mid-July the Templars were charged 3,000 besants but, as has been seen, this was probably intended for military use, and the risks would therefore have been greater.⁹⁷

The Templars themselves appear to have owned ships shortly after the middle of the 12th century. In a treaty between Genoa and Narbonne in 1166 reference was made to the transporting of pilgrims in one ship a year, *quae tamen non sit Hospitalis vel Templi*,⁹⁸ and the statement in 12th-century Templar regulations that *li vaissel de mer qui sont de la maison d'Acre sont au comandement dou Comandour de la terre* was presumably alluding to ships owned by the Order.⁹⁹ In the early 1230s the Templars had two ships – named *Templare* and *Buscarde* or *Buszarde* – which

⁹⁴ Jossierand, *Jacques de Molay*, 451–453 (Source edition no. 3).

⁹⁵ *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vol. 2, ed. Alexandre Teulet (Paris: H. Plon, 1866), 632–633 no. 3537; *Documenti inediti riguardanti le due crociate de san Ludovico IX*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano (Genoa: Luigi Beuf, 1859), 381–382 no. 7; Pryor, “The Transportation of Horses,” 106, 108.

⁹⁶ Agreement between the Aragonese provincial master and the Barcelona merchant Jacob of Cerviá, 20 August 1304, see above (note 62); Alan J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 325.

⁹⁷ Desimoni, “Actes passés a Famagouste,” 42–43 no. 74; *Actes de Famagouste*, ed. Balard, Duba, and Schabel, 83–86 no. 74. For costs of hiring ships for transport, see: Michel Mollat, “Le ‘Passage’ de Saint Louis à Tunis: sa place dans l’histoire des croisades,” *Revue d’histoire économique et sociale* 50 (1972): 293; Pryor, “The Transportation of Horses,” 108; Jean Richard, “Le transport outre-mer des croisés et des pèlerins (XII^e–XV^e siècles),” in *Maritime Aspects of Migration*, ed. Klaus Friedland (Cologne: Böhlau, 1989), 31–32.

⁹⁸ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, vol. 8 (Toulouse: Edouard Privat, 1879), 263–266.

⁹⁹ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 99, clause 119; *Il Corpus*, ed. Amatuccio, 72, clause 68.

carried goods from Gascony to England and Flanders.¹⁰⁰ In the 13th century several Templar ships are recorded as sailing between Marseille and Acre: the *Bonne Aventure* in 1248, the *Alegranza* in 1271, *La Rose* in 1283, 1288 and 1290 and the *Sancta Euphonia* in 1283.¹⁰¹ Those journeying from South Italy and Sicily to the East included the *Angelica* in 1270, the *Sancta Maria de Bethlehem* in 1279, and the *Potta Johannis* in 1299;¹⁰² and the *Sancta Anna* sailed from Famagusta to Genoa in 1302.¹⁰³ The *Falcon*, at one time commanded by Roger of Flor, was at Acre in 1291, when the city fell, and at Famagusta in 1301, before sailing to Marseille.¹⁰⁴ The evidence about Templar vessels based in Catalonia is, however, not altogether conclusive. No Templar ships sailing from Catalan ports are known by name. In 1286 Alfonso III ordered officials to allow the provincial master to transport mules to the East in Templar ships without hindrance: but as this is a royal, and not a Templar, document it could be referring to ships hired by the Order.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, ed. Trice Martin and Stamp, 368, 477; *Patent Rolls, 1225–1232*, ed. Black and Trice Martin, 368. Bonnin, “Les Templiers et la mer,” 312, states that there were three ships, but it seems that *Buszarde* and *Buscarde* were just variant spellings.

¹⁰¹ *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen âge*, vol. 2, ed. Louis Blancard (Marseille: Barlatier-Feissart, 1885), 272 no. 952, 436 no. 49, 446, no. 79; *I Registri*, 6, ed. Filangieri, 42 no. 147; *De rebus regni Siciliae (9 settembre 1282 – 26 agosto 1283): Documenti inediti estratti dall'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona*, ed. Giuseppe Silvestri (Palermo: “Lo Statuto,” 1882), 273 no. 359.

¹⁰² *I Registri*, 7, ed. Filangieri, 17–18 no. 43; *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 631 no. 308; Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: 97–98.

¹⁰³ *Notai genovesi in oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro da Lamberto di Sambuceto (gennaio–agosto 1302)*, ed. Romeo Pavoni (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1987), 132–133 no. 104, 179–180 no. 150, 184–185 no. 155, 192 no. 162.

¹⁰⁴ *Les quatre grans croniques*, vol. 3, *Crònica de Ramon Muntaner*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2011), 324, cap. 194; *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, 291–292 no. 246; Favreau-Lilie, “The Military Orders,” 210–211. The names of ships by themselves cannot be taken as an indication of ownership, as ships often shared the same name: for ships called *Bonne Aventure* and *Alegranza*, see: *Codice diplomatico dei re aragonesi di Sicilia, Pietro I, Giacomo, Federico II, Pietro II e Ludovico dalla rivoluzione siciliana de 1282 sino al 1355*, vol. 1, *anni 1282–1290*, ed. Giuseppe La Mantia (Palermo: Boccone del Povero, 1917), 173–176 nos. 87–88, 192–193 no. 95; Michel Balard, “Les transports maritimes génois vers la Terre Sainte,” in *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1986), 149–150; *Le imbreviature del notaio Adamo de Citella a Palermo (1° Registro: 1286–1287)*, ed. Pietro Burgarella (Rome: Centro di Ricerca, 1981), 150–151. The Hospitallers had both a *Bonne Aventure* and a *Falcon*: David Jacoby, “Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean,” in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean, and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 68–69.

¹⁰⁵ General instruction issued by Alfonso III, 27 April 1286, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 66, fol. 57v.

Yet probably most Templar cargoes were insufficient to fill a whole ship, and it would usually have been simpler to hire places in a merchant vessel rather than to engage the vessel itself. The hiring of a ship was more likely to happen when it was to be used for maritime warfare by the Order, as in the case of the Genoese ship at Famagusta in 1300. James I's *Llibre dels feits* further mentions a Templar ship which accompanied him when he set out for the East in 1269.¹⁰⁶ The Templar contingent must have been relatively small, and again the hiring of a whole merchant vessel would not have been justified. A reference to a *comanador de la nau* in an undated letter of the Aragonese provincial master, Berenguer of Cardona, could also signify a Templar ship.¹⁰⁷ It may further be noted that in 1226 the English king Henry III purchased from the master of Castile and León a Templar ship which had presumably been based in northern Spain.¹⁰⁸

1.4. *Transporting of men and goods for others*

Templar ships carried not only the Order's own men and supplies. They may have been transporting pilgrims shortly after the middle of the 12th century, and according to an agreement confirmed in 1216 they were allowed to carry unlimited numbers of pilgrims from Marseille to the East, and a similar concession was granted at Toulon in 1224.¹⁰⁹ After disputes, however, it was agreed in 1233 that the Templars and Hospitallers could each load two ships at Marseille each year – one for the Easter passage and the other in August – and a limit of 1500 pilgrims per ship was imposed.¹¹⁰ Yet it would be surprising if Templar ships were capable of carrying many more than that number.¹¹¹ A Templar vessel was reported to have been carrying 600 pilgrims from South Italy to Acre in 1279,¹¹² but usually

¹⁰⁶ *Les quatre grans*, 1, ed. Soldevila, 474, cap. 487.

¹⁰⁷ Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Peñíscola [1302], Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, CRDT 357.

¹⁰⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, vol. 2, ed. Thomas Duffy (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1844), 154; see also: *Patent Rolls, 1216–1225*, ed. Black and Trice Martin, 492.

¹⁰⁹ *Gallia Christiana Novissima*, vol. 5, ed. Joseph H. Albanès and Ulysse Chevalier (Valence: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1911), 90–93 no. 146; *Acta imperii inedita*, vol. 1, *Urkunden und Briefe zur Geschichte des Kaiserreichs und des Königreichs Sizilien in den Jahren 1192 bis 1273*, ed. Eduard Winkelmann (Innsbruck: Wagner'sche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1880), 117 no. 139; cf. *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 186 no. 1464.

¹¹⁰ *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 462–464 no. 2067.

¹¹¹ Michel Balard, "Les transports des occidentaux vers les colonies du Levant au moyen âge," in *Maritime Aspects of Migration*, ed. Friedland, 14–15; John H. Pryor, "The Naval Architecture of Crusader Transport Ships: A Reconstruction of some Archetypes for Round-hulled Sailing Ships," *The Mariners' Mirror* 70 (1984): 374–375.

¹¹² *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 631 no. 308.

the numbers of pilgrims recorded as sailing on ships to the Holy Land are rather smaller.¹¹³

Both at Toulon and Marseille the Order was permitted to carry an unlimited number of merchants, and these clearly made frequent use of Templar vessels. Limited detailed evidence survives, however, about these merchants and their cargoes carried across the Mediterranean to the East on Templar ships. Evidence from Marseille reveals that in the 13th century several individuals took sums of money to Syria on Templar vessels: these were presumably to be invested in oriental goods;¹¹⁴ and in 1248 Denis Ancone transported four bales of cloth to Syria on the Templar ship *Bonne Aventure*, while in 1288 *La Rose's* cargo included fourteen pounds' worth of *pacotille de usage* which was being shipped out to Acre by Raymond Massone.¹¹⁵ Yet presumably on journeys out to the East the Templars' own goods commonly made up a considerable part of many cargoes. The Order would, however, have wanted to obtain merchants' goods for sailings back to the West. Yet again meagre information survives about these return journeys, although on one voyage in 1301 the Templar ship *Falcon* was carrying sugar, cotton, silk and other goods from Famagusta to Marseille for the Piacenzan merchant Daniel of Meti.¹¹⁶ The Templars also provided for money transfers to the West. In 1302 the Templar in command of the *Sancta Anna* received 900 besants from Bernard Agustín of Barcelona and agreed to make a payment in Genoa of 180 *lib.* in Genoese currency; and the Genoese merchants Leonello of Vindercio and Jacob Pichus, who travelled on that ship, had similarly received Cypriot besants in Famagusta in order to make payments in Genoese currency in Genoa.¹¹⁷ Muntaner relates that in 1291 the Templar ship *Falcon* also conveyed a considerable number of refugees from Acre to Cyprus, although it has been pointed out that the "Templar of Tyre" does not mention this and focuses on the use of vessels which probably did not belong to the Order.¹¹⁸

When the Templars were carrying non-Templar personnel and goods, these were in many cases liable for the payment of dues at the port of exit, whereas broth-

¹¹³ Eugene Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1930), 86, 100, 107; Balard, "Les transports maritimes," 167–168.

¹¹⁴ *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille*, vol. 1, ed. Louis Blancard (Marseille: Barlatier-Feissart, 1884), 28–29 no. 22, 102–103 no. 68, 134–136 no. 87; *Documents inédits*, 2, ed. Blancard, 446 no. 79.

¹¹⁵ *Documents inédits*, 2, ed. Blancard, 272 no. 952, 436, no. 49.

¹¹⁶ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, 291–292 no. 246.

¹¹⁷ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Pavoni, 179–180 no. 150, 184–185 no. 155, 192 no. 162.

¹¹⁸ *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 324, cap. 194; García-Guijarro Ramos, "La orden del Temple y el mar," 738–740.

ers themselves and Templar goods were usually exempt. An exemption of this kind for the Order itself was included in the agreements made at Toulon in 1224 and at Marseille nine years later. Templars were also allowed to transport pilgrims and their possessions freely from both of these ports, but dues were to be exacted from merchants and their goods transported on the Order's ships.¹¹⁹ Licences to export issued by Angevin rulers in south Italy also commonly mention the exemption for the Order's own possessions,¹²⁰ although in 1299 dues were exacted when the Templars were allowed to export 300 *salme* of wheat in addition to the grain which had been the subject of licences granted earlier in that year.¹²¹ These exemptions were mainly concerned with goods which were being sent to the Holy Land or later to Cyprus, although in 1279 Charles of Anjou allowed the Templars to send 100 *salme* of wheat from Apulia to Zara *sine aliquo iure exiture*.¹²² In 1295 Charles II even granted freedom from taxes on the 4,000 *salme* of wheat which the Templars were to be allowed to send to Cyprus each year, even though he envisaged that the Order might sell some of this grain; but the king in return was obtaining transport for the wheat which he was dispatching for noble refugees on the island.¹²³ Yet, as Angevin licences often state that foodstuffs exported by the Templars themselves were to be for the consumption of brothers in the East, it may be concluded that goods carried by merchants on Templar ships were normally subject to dues.¹²⁴

Problems sometimes arose, however, when the Templars were carrying people who were *persone non grate* at the ports at which they called. In 1283, shortly after Peter III had conquered Sicily from Charles of Anjou, the Order was obliged

¹¹⁹ *Gallia Christiana Novissima*, 5, ed. Albanès and Chevalier, 90–93 no. 146; *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 462–464 no. 2067.

¹²⁰ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: 91–92; *I Registri*, 3, ed. Filangieri, 239 no. 715; *I Registri*, 45, ed. Filangieri, 108 no. 56.

¹²¹ Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre*, 2: 97–98. Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle*, vol. 3 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2005), 293–294 no. 341, is misleading in stating that in 1250 Innocent IV ruled that the Order was to be allowed to transport its western produce free of taxes: see: *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. Rudolf Hiestand (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1985), 386–387 no. 193. In 1246 and 1247 he did, however, seek to ensure that at Marseille the Templars could load freely their ships which were destined for the Holy Land: 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), 502.

¹²² *I Registri della cancelleria angioina*, vol. 42, no. 2, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1995), 593–594 no. 198.

¹²³ Housley, "Charles II of Naples," 534–535 (Source edition 1). In the kingdom of South Italy and Sicily the Templars were also freed from the obligation on ships of supplying crossbows to the king: see, for example, *I Registri*, 47, ed. Filangieri, 303 no. 250.

¹²⁴ On the dues usually exacted, see: Pryor, "In subsidium," 129.

to obtain a safe-conduct from him for Provençal and other crewmen on a Templar ship sailing from Marseille; and in the same year, after a Templar vessel on its way back from the East had put in at Trapani in Sicily, envoys were sent to the Aragonese king, seeking safe conduct for the Provençal merchants on board. But as the ship sailed again before this had been received, Peter III ordered it to be seized if it stopped at any other Sicilian port.¹²⁵ A papal ruling on differences between Henry II of Cyprus and the military orders in 1299 also allowed the king's representative to board Templar and Hospitaller ships arriving in Cyprus to ensure that *persone periculose vel suspecte* did not enter the island.¹²⁶

Templar ships, like those of other owners, were on some occasions either hired or commandeered by rulers for transport purposes. In February 1230 the English King Henry III allowed a Templar vessel to leave Portsmouth, provided that the Order guaranteed that it would be back there by Palm Sunday so that it could then accompany the king.¹²⁷ In 1252, two years after he had taken the cross, Henry wrote not only to the Temple, but also to the Hospital and the Teutonic order, demanding that, as they had good ships, vessels should be made ready so that horses, arms and other goods could be transported to the East in preparation for his crusade; he also required ships to be made available in the following year when he and his followers were planning to sail to the East.¹²⁸ Henry never fulfilled his vow, but in 1254 Louis IX left the Holy Land on a Templar ship when returning from his crusade,¹²⁹ and in 1267 Alphonse of Poitiers was similarly seeking a vessel from the Templars of Poitou when he was preparing for his crusading expedition.¹³⁰

¹²⁵ *De rebus regni Siciliae*, ed. Silvestri, 273 no. 359, 290, nos. 384–385; instruction by Peter III to officials and others in Sicily, 19 January 1283, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 53, fol. 126v.

¹²⁶ Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2: 440–441 (Source edition no. 19); *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters concerning Cyprus, 1196–1314*, vol. 2, ed. Christopher Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010), 253 no. 0-40.

¹²⁷ *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, ed. Trice Martin and Stamp, 291.

¹²⁸ *Foedera, conventiones, litterae*, 1, no. 1, ed. Rymer, 282; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 4, ed. Black and Isaacson, 158. The Teutonic Order apparently did not have ships of its own in the Mediterranean: Hubert Houben, "Between Sicily and Jerusalem: The Teutonic Knights in the Mediterranean (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries)," in *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291 – c. 1798*, ed. Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 162.

¹²⁹ Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Natalis de Wailly (Paris: Renouard, 1868), 221, cap. 122.

¹³⁰ *Correspondance administrative d'Alfonse de Poitiers*, vol. 1, ed. Auguste Molinier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1894), 61–62 no. 96.

1.5. *Templars involved in shipping arrangements*

Two Templar officials involved in transport by sea are mentioned in the surviving sources: a *commendator navis* and a *commendator passagii*. The former was master of a ship: among those who held this position were Peter Carbonellus, who in 1271 was commander of the ship *Alegranza*, and Vassal, who was having his ship repaired at Brindisi when he gave employment to the young Roger of Flor; and Roger himself later had charge of the Templar ship called *The Falcon*.¹³¹ *Commendatores passagii* included William of Gonesse in 1255, Henry of Dole in 1267 and 1274 and John of Villamore probably in the year 1306.¹³² The distinction between the two posts was apparently similar to that made in a Hospitaller statute of 1268, which differentiates between a *fratris/commendator navis* and a *commendator qui super fratres erit*.¹³³ While the *commendator navis* was master of the ship, the *commendator passagii* had charge of the men, animals and goods being dispatched to the East. One brother giving evidence during the Templar trial thus said that he was received into the Order at Marseille about the year 1303 by Simon of Quiniaco, *presidentem tunc fratribus transeuntibus ultra mare* and in the presence of other Templars who were about to journey out to Cyprus.¹³⁴ *Commendatores passagii* were sometimes also heads of houses in the West – Henry of Dole was commander of Chalon-sur-Saône in 1267 and of Bure in 1274 – and were placed in charge of brothers travelling with them out to the Holy Land or Cyprus.¹³⁵ Such a post was especially necessary if the journey was made in a ship which did not belong to the Temple: John of Villamore, for example, was apparently hiring a ship for the journey he was undertaking in the early 14th century.

¹³¹ *I Registri*, 6, ed. Filangieri, 42 no. 147; *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 323, cap. 194; cf. Berenguer of Cardona to the commander of Peñíscola [1302], see above (note 107); *Actes de Famagouste*, ed. Balard, Duba and Schabel, 236–237 no. 222.

¹³² Jean Richard, “Les Templiers et les Hospitaliers en Bourgogne et en Champagne méridionale (XII^e–XIII^e siècles),” in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein and Manfred Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen XXVI (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1980), 233; Peter of Castellón to John of Villamore, the commander of the passage at Marseille, 14 June [1306], see above (note 52).

¹³³ *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 186–188 no. 3317, clause 6.

¹³⁴ *Le Procès*, 1, ed. Michelet, 564.

¹³⁵ Demurger, “Between Barcelona and Cyprus,” 65, states: “At Marseille, a *maître du passage* [...] supervised all the maritime activities of the Order of the Temple in the western Mediterranean;” see also: id., *Les Templiers: Une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2005), 340. It is true that a *commendator passagii* is recorded at Marseille on several occasions, but as the post was sometimes combined with that of commander of a Templar house which was not nearby it was clearly not a long-term appointment; and sailings were made from other western ports as well as Marseille. A *commendator passagii* appears to have been appointed to have charge of a single shipment and to have travelled with it out to the East.

As members of military orders were commonly employed by secular rulers and popes in various administrative capacities, it is hardly surprising that Templars were at times used by them in matters regarding transport by sea. Although for much of John's reign in England the leading official in maritime matters was William of Wrotham, the archdeacon of Taunton,¹³⁶ he later sided with the rebels against the king, and in the closing months of 1215 the Templar Roger, who was the king's almoner, undertook various maritime responsibilities.¹³⁷ These included the acquiring and hiring of ships, the exaction of freight dues, the payment of wages or allowances to sailors, the provision of compensation for losses suffered by sailors and the assessing of storm damage to ships. He was essentially an administrator, but ten years later the Templar Thomas was placed in command of Henry III's *magna navis*, and in January 1226 ship-masters and seamen were ordered to obey him during a voyage of Henry's fleet to Gascony.¹³⁸ In 1246 the French provincial master Rainald of Vicherio was among those sent by Louis IX to Genoa and Marseille to negotiate the hire of ships for his crusading expedition,¹³⁹ and Templars were similarly employed in 1269 by Alphonse of Poitiers in obtaining ships and supplies for his *passagium*.¹⁴⁰ In 1275 the local Templar preceptor and his Hospitaller counterpart were asked by Charles of Anjou to supervise the construction of a lighthouse at Brindisi,¹⁴¹ and the masters of the Temple in Acre were often requested by Angevin rulers to provide certificates of the unloading of

¹³⁶ Frederick W. Brooks, "William de Wrotham and the Office of Keeper of the King's Ports and Gallies," *English Historical Review* 40 (1925): 570–579.

¹³⁷ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 1, ed. Duffy, 228–234, 237.

¹³⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 2, ed. Duffy, 33; *Patent Rolls, 1225–1232*, ed. Black and Trice Martin, 11, 14. In 1190 Robert of Sablé, who became Templar master in 1191, had been named as one of the *ductores* and *constabularii* of Richard I's crusading fleet: Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 3, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 51 (London: Longman and Trübner, 1870), 36; see also: *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, vol. 2, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 49 (London: Longman, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1867), 110; but Robert had not by then entered the Order, and as his colleagues included the archbishop of Auch and the bishop of Bayonne, it cannot be assumed that his appointment indicated naval expertise.

¹³⁹ *Documenti inediti*, ed. Belgrano, 28–32, 369–373; *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, 2, ed. Teulet, 632–633 no. 3537.

¹⁴⁰ *Correspondance administrative d'Alphonse de Poitiers*, vol. 2, ed. Auguste Molinier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1900), 358–359 no. 1755, 374–375 no. 1779, 385–386 no. 1796, 390–392 no. 1801, 396 no. 1808, 399–400 no. 1814, 411–412 no. 1832.

¹⁴¹ Georges Yver, *Le commerce et les marchands dans l'Italie méridionale au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1903), 168.

merchant cargoes which had been sent to the Holy Land from the South Italian kingdom.¹⁴²

1.6. Ports

In western Europe Templar maritime activity tended to be centred on certain ports. Supplies to the East from Aragonese lands were usually sent from Barcelona and Port Fangós, which was the port for the city of Tortosa. In Italy most sailings were from the Apulian ports of Brindisi, Barletta and Manfredonia, although Messina was on occasion used. In southern France probably most sailings were from Marseille. On the Atlantic coast of France La Rochelle was the normal outlet for shipping to northern Spain and England. There were in fact attempts at times to ensure that Templar shipping used only certain ports. In 1233, in return for certain concessions, the Templars and Hospitallers agreed not to use any ports between Collioure and Monaco other than Marseille.¹⁴³ In 1271, when Alfonso X of Castile was seeking to promote the development of Alicante and Cartagena, he decreed that the Temple and Hospital and others who wanted to go to the East should always sail from those ports and not from any others.¹⁴⁴ Yet at times Templar exports from Castile were sent through Aragon and shipped from Catalan ports: in 1286 the Aragonese king Alfonso III gave permission for horses from Castile to be brought through his realms by the Templars for dispatch to the Holy Land.¹⁴⁵

In some places Templars either possessed their own harbours or had easy access to the sea. In the crusader states the remains of a jetty on the south side of the stronghold of Atlit have survived, and there were apparently also harbours on the west and north of the castle.¹⁴⁶ When writing of the construction of this stronghold Oliver of Paderborn wrote "*habet hec structura portum naturaliter bonum, qui artificio adiutus poterit esse melior.*"¹⁴⁷ The Templar castle at Tortosa appears to

¹⁴² *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 618 no. 361; *Codice diplomatico*, ed. Nicolini, 1–3 no. 2, 120–125 nos. 139–140, 126–129 no. 142, 163–164 no. 163, 179–181 no. 175, 217–218 no. 205; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 208–209 no. 3360. See also: Vic and Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, 8: 1743.

¹⁴³ *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 462–464 no. 2067.

¹⁴⁴ *Fueros y privilegios de Alfonso X el Sabio al reino de Murcia*, ed. Juan Torres Fontes (Murcia: Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1973), 111 no. 100.

¹⁴⁵ Alfonso III to the bailiff of Calatayud, 1 March 1286, see above (note 48).

¹⁴⁶ Cedric N. Johns, "Guide to 'Atlit: The Crusader Castle, Town and Surroundings," in id., *Pilgrims' Castle ('Atlit), David's Tower (Jerusalem) and Qal'at ar-Rabad ('Ajlun)*, ed. Denys Pringle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), essay 1, 49–50, 68, 70–71.

¹⁴⁷ Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hoogeweg, 171, cap. 6.

have had several harbours or anchorages, although some could accommodate only small boats.¹⁴⁸ The Order's compound at Acre bordered on the sea, but a 13th-century nautical guide advised ships to keep their distance from the coast near the Templar site and the church of St Andrew because of a sandbank;¹⁴⁹ the Templars did, however, have an underground channel running eastwards from their compound towards the city harbour, thus giving them access to the port.¹⁵⁰ At Ayas in Armenia, the Templars had their own jetty (*discarrigatorium*) in the later 13th century.¹⁵¹ In the West they were given the right in 1224 to construct buildings near the shore in Toulon, and their house in Marseille looked out onto the port.¹⁵² The Order also in a few instances had lordship over port towns, such as Port Bonnel in Armenia, Sibenik on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and after 1294 Peñíscola in Valencia.¹⁵³ These provided the Order with revenues from shipping as well as harbours. But the Templars did not always have quick access to the ports which they used: Port Fangós was some miles from the Templar convent in the city of Tortosa.

2. MARITIME WARFARE

2.1. Warfare against Islam

The Templars had become involved in maritime warfare before the end of the 12th century. In a letter to the English King Henry II the Templar grand precep-

¹⁴⁸ Mathias Piana, "A Bulwark never conquered: The Fortifications of the Templar Citadel of Tortosa on the Syrian Coast," in *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders*, ed. Mathias Piana and Christer Carlsson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 133–171; Balázs Major, "Observations on Crusader Settlements between the Nahr al-Kabir and the Nahr as-Sinn," in *Le comté de Tripoli: État multiculturel et multiconfessionnel (1102–1289)*, ed. Gérard Dédéyan and Karam Rizk (Paris: Geuthner, 2010), 122–123.

¹⁴⁹ *Il compasso da navigare: opera italiana della meta del secolo XIII*, ed. Bacchisio R. Motzo (Cagliari: Università, 1947), 62.

¹⁵⁰ Adrian J. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlement, and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c. 1120–1291)* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2006), 29.

¹⁵¹ Cornelio Desimoni, "Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279 à L'Aïas (Petite Arménie) et à Beyrouth par devant des notaires génois," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 1 (1881): 495 no. 4; *Notai genovesi in oltremare: atti rogati a Laiazzo da Federico di Piazzalunga (1274) e Pietro di Bargone (1277, 1279)*, vol. 2, ed. Laura Balletto (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1989), 291–292 no. 64.

¹⁵² *Gallia Christiana Novissima*, 5, ed. Albanès and Chevalier, 90–93 no. 146; Carraz, "Causa defendende," 24–25.

¹⁵³ Chevalier, "Les ordres militaires et la mer," 64; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2005), 385; *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), 198–209 no. 172.

tor Terricus reported that when Saladin was besieging Tyre in 1187 Conrad of Montferrat led a fleet of seventeen galleys and ten other ships and attacked Muslim galleys with the aid of the Templars and Hospitallers: eleven enemy ships were captured.¹⁵⁴ Yet he gives no further information about the orders' role in this engagement, and little detailed evidence about Templar participation in naval warfare in the eastern Mediterranean survives until the later part of the 13th century. In 1219, during the fifth crusade, Honorius III sent 2,500 marks each to the Templars and Hospitallers to be spent *in galeis sive in machinis aliis seu in alio apparatu*, but it is not known how these sums were employed.¹⁵⁵ The Order did suffer shipping losses and damage in Egypt at this time, but in the fifth crusade Templar ships appear to have been used mainly as transports and siege towers. When performing these tasks Templar ships did, however, at times come under attack from Muslim vessels. During the siege of Damietta a Templar ship ferrying brothers across the Nile was driven by the wind towards the walls of the city, where it was attacked by Muslim ships equipped with grappling irons and was boarded: the encounter ended with the destruction of the Templar vessel.¹⁵⁶ Templar galleys also participated in Louis IX's Egyptian crusade: Joinville mentions that, in order to pay Louis's ransom, money being held on one of them was seized.¹⁵⁷ But again further information is lacking. A little more evidence survives from the later decades of the 13th and early years of the 14th centuries, although the Templars and Hospitallers played only a subordinate role. When Gregory X sought to provide interim aid for the Holy Land in 1272, he asked the Templars, if necessary, to take out a loan of up to 25,000 marks to provide for men and galleys,¹⁵⁸ but he turned to Venice, Genoa, Charles of Anjou and Philip III for shipping: the first three were each required to provide three galleys.¹⁵⁹ Although in September 1289 Nicholas IV announced that he was sending twenty galleys for a year in aid

¹⁵⁴ *Gesta Henrici Secundi*, 2, ed. Stubbs, 40–41; Roger of Hoveden, *Chronica*, vol. 2, ed. William Stubbs, Rolls Series 51 (London: Longman and Green, 1869), 346–347.

¹⁵⁵ Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2: 411–412 (Source edition no. 1).

¹⁵⁶ Oliver of Paderborn, *Historia Damiatina*, ed. Hoogeweg, 181 cap. 11, 194 cap. 21, 271 cap. 74; Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres de la cinquième croisade*, ed. Robert B. C. Huygens and trans. Gaston Duchet-Suchaux (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 116; *Quinti belli sacri scriptores minores*, ed. Reinhold Röhricht (Geneva: J.-G. Fick, 1879), 44, 80, 121, 145.

¹⁵⁷ Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. Wailly, 135–136, cap. 75.

¹⁵⁸ *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, ed. Jean Guiraud (Paris: Thorin et Fils, 1892–1960), 53 no. 159, 136 no. 348.

¹⁵⁹ Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2: 428–430 (Source edition no. 14); *Les Registres de Grégoire X*, ed. Guiraud, 135 no. 343, 137–138 nos. 356–359, 336 nos. 799–800, 339, no. 811; Pietro M. Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, vol. 2 (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1651), 413 (Source edition no. 124).

of the Holy Land, it was only a year later that he stated that the military orders should be consulted about the appointment of a captain to have charge of them: they had not been mentioned in earlier bulls on the subject.¹⁶⁰ When in August 1291, following the collapse of the crusader states, the pope was planning to send further ships to the eastern Mediterranean, he sought to finance the expedition partly by commandeering half of the responsions and of any other aid which the heads of Templar and Hospitaller provinces in western Europe normally sent to their orders' headquarters: the orders' role was to provide money, not shipping.¹⁶¹ This fleet was commanded by the Italian Roger of Thodino.¹⁶² The *Annales Iannuenses* were presumably referring to this episode when they stated that the pope decreed that twenty galleys were to be maintained continuously at the expense of the Templars and Hospitallers to protect Cyprus and Armenia as well as to engage in offensive action.¹⁶³ Before the end of 1291, however, Nicholas IV in addition instructed the Temple and the Hospital to maintain galleys for operations in the eastern Mediterranean, including the defence of Armenia.¹⁶⁴ In 1292 the Genoese Manuel Zaccaria was hiring eight galleys in the name of Boniface of Calamandran, the Hospitaller master *deça mer*, and these served in the East for six months.¹⁶⁵ Manuel Zaccaria was also at that time undertaking naval activities on behalf of the cardinals, who were seeking to continue Nicholas IV's measures to provide a maritime force in the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁶⁶ There is no evidence that Manuel Zaccaria was providing galleys for the Templars, but chronicle sources report that in 1293 four Venetian galleys were sailing to the East in the service of the Temple and that they carried crews for a further two galleys which the Temple had in Cy-

¹⁶⁰ *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, 396–397 nos. 2257–2258, 640 no. 4387; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 544–545 no. 4054; *Bullarium Cyprium*, 2, ed. Schabel, 154–156 no. n-11, 163–164 no. n-17. A papal letter of 15 October 1290 refers to the Venetian Jacob Tepuli as the captain of the galleys sent by the pope, but he was apparently then back in the West and had presumably had charge only on the journey out: *Bullarium Cyprium*, 2, ed. Schabel, 167–168 no. n-21.

¹⁶¹ *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 598–599 no. 4168; *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, 903 nos. 6796–6799; Alan J. Forey, "Royal and Papal Interference in the Dispatch of Supplies to the East by the Military Orders in the Later Thirteenth Century," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 5, *Politics and Power*, ed. Peter W. Edbury (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 101.

¹⁶² *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, 913 no. 6856.

¹⁶³ *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori, dal MXCIX al MCCXCII*, vol. 5, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano (Genoa: Istituto sordi-muti, 1929), 143–144.

¹⁶⁴ *Les Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, 913 nos. 6854–6855; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 602 no. 4177, 604 no. 4183.

¹⁶⁵ Jossierand, *Jacques de Molay*, 453–456 (Source edition no. 4); see also: Accame, *Notizie e documenti*, 124–136 (Source edition no. 4).

¹⁶⁶ *Annali genovesi*, 5, ed. Belgrano, 144; Jossierand, *Jacques de Molay*, 453–456 (Source edition no. 4).

prus.¹⁶⁷ All that is known about the fate of these ships is that on the journey out they encountered a group of Genoese galleys and were worsted by them. After the Order's headquarters had been transferred to Cyprus in 1291 maritime activities inevitably increased in importance and its involvement in maritime warfare was sufficient to cause Henry II of Cyprus to impose restrictions on the military orders' use of shipping, as is indicated by Boniface VIII's ruling in 1299, when he was seeking to settle differences in Cyprus, that

[...] *quando rex Cipri galeas vel alia vasa marina armare voluerit, maxime contra inimicos fidei, in auxilium fidelium, aut alias vasis uti marinis, et archiepiscopus vel ejus suffraganei, magistri Hospitalis et Templi, aut eorum vicarii seu fratres Hospitalis et Templi, aut aliquis ex eis armare voluerint et huiusmodi vasis uti marinis, cum armis vel sine armis [...] hoc libere facere possint.*¹⁶⁸

In July of the following year the king of Cyprus, the Templars and the Hospitallers did undertake a joint naval campaign with a fleet which, according to the "Templar of Tyre", consisted of sixteen galleys, five saities and several panfiles. They attacked Rosetta, Alexandria and Acre, unloading their horses and raiding on land. The size of the Templar contribution is not known, but the commander of the galleys was Baldwin of Picquigny and not a Templar.¹⁶⁹ Later in the same year the island of Ruad, near Tortosa, was seized and the Templars raided from there, capturing some Muslim shipping.¹⁷⁰ In 1306 farther west Imbert Blanche, the master of the Auvergne province, together with a citizen of Marseille, was planning to launch a naval expedition and *tam infideles eosdem quam etiam impios Christianos, qui contra prohibitionem prefatam ad predictas partes [infidelium] ferrum,*

¹⁶⁷ *Annali genovesi*, 5, ed. Belgrano, 167; *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 256, cap. 301 (537); *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, ed. Mas Latrie, 230. On the date, see: Josserand, *Jacques de Molay*, 115–116.

¹⁶⁸ *Bullarium Cyprium*, 2, ed. Schabel, 252 no. 0-40; Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2: 440 (Source edition no. 19). The issue was raised again in relation to the Hospital in 1306: *Regestum Clementis papae V*, vol. 1 (Rome: Typographia Vaticana, 1885), 232–233 nos. 1247–1248; *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 4, ed. Joseph Delaville Le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), 132–134 nos. 4727–4728.

¹⁶⁹ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 300, cap. 379 (615). According to Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum*, 242, III, part 13, cap. 10, only seven galleys took part. The ship which the Templars had hired from the Genoese in February 1300 was to be at their disposal from March until mid-July: Desimoni, "Actes passés à Famaguste," 42–43 no. 74; *Actes de Famagouste*, ed. Balard, Duba and Schabel, 83–86 no. 74; see above. It may have been used for preliminary raids, or possibly the planned expedition started later than was originally intended.

¹⁷⁰ Makrizi, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks, de l'Égypte*, vol. 2, no. 2, trans. Etienne M. Quatremère (Paris: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1845), 190; Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple dans l'Orient des croisades en Orient* (Brussels: De Broeck, 2014), 322.

lignamina, et alia vetita commercia differunt et differi faciunt, ibi et alibi ubicunque invadere, capere [...], although apparently nothing is known of the outcome of this proposal.¹⁷¹

In their discussions of shipping some, but not all,¹⁷² crusader theorists of the last decade of the 13th century and opening years of the fourteenth refer to the Templars. Charles II of Naples, when arguing that the pope should decree that fifty galleys and fifty *huissiers* should be engaged to attack Muslim coasts, stated that he had heard that the Templars, the Hospitallers and the king of Cyprus each maintained ten galleys to protect Christian lands.¹⁷³ The Hospitaller master Fulk of Villaret thought that when the cross began to be preached twenty-five galleys should be sent to the East and these *cum armamento per illustrem regem Cipri, per Templum et nos faciendo*, could prevent war materials from being supplied to the infidel by Christian merchants. He further argued that afterwards fifty or sixty galleys should attack Muslim coasts for a year before a crusade was launched; but he did not say who should provide these.¹⁷⁴ These writers apparently saw the military orders as playing a limited role in naval warfare, but the Templar master, James of Molay, seems to have been wary of committing his Order. He was in favour of a large passage and wanted Genoa, Venice and other maritime regions to provide ships for transporting horses and food to the East as quickly as possible. He also suggested that the pope should provide ten galleys which would cross the Mediterranean to defend Cyprus and prevent Christian merchants from carrying prohibited goods to the Muslims. As commander of these galleys he favoured Rogeron, the son of Roger of Lauria. He was averse to having a Templar or Hospitaller in charge of the galleys, for fear of reprisals by the Venetians and Genoese.¹⁷⁵ In adopting this stance he could obviously be criticised for placing the interests of

¹⁷¹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, I: 191–192 no. 1035.

¹⁷² Fidentius of Padua, for example, in his *Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte* advocated the use of thirty to fifty galleys, but did not state who should provide them: *Projets de croisade (v. 1290 – v. 1330)*, ed. Jacques Paviot, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 20 (Paris: L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 2008), 138.

¹⁷³ Georges I. Brătianu, "Le conseil du roi Charles: Essai sur l'internationale chrétienne et les nationalités à la fin du moyen âge," *Revue historique du sud-est européen* 19 (1942): 355.

¹⁷⁴ *Informatio et instructio super faciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*, in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Paviot, 192–193.

¹⁷⁵ "Conseil sur le saint passage," in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Paviot, 186–188; on theorists' proposals to stop the supply of war materials to Muslims, see: Sophia Menache, "Papal Attempts at a Commercial Boycott of the Muslims in the Crusader Period," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 63 (2012): 252; Antony Leopold, *How to recover the Holy Land: The Crusade Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 132. A link has been suggested between James of Molay's treatise and the proposed naval expedition of the master of Auvergne: Carraz, "Causa defendende," 37; Demurger, *Jacques de Molay*, 209–210; but

his Order before those of the Holy Land, but within a few years the Hospitallers were to experience revenge of this kind after they had apprehended a Genoese vessel.¹⁷⁶ Yet the task of stopping trade in prohibited goods was one which could not easily be entrusted to the Venetians or Genoese, and it was one which the military orders could have undertaken.

That the military orders made only a limited contribution to warfare against Islam at sea in the eastern Mediterranean is further suggested by the fact that the Hospital did not create the post of admiral, who was to have charge of his order's warships, until 1300,¹⁷⁷ and that the Temple had still not established this office by the time that proceedings against the Order began. It has admittedly sometimes been asserted that there was a Templar admiral by the beginning of the 14th century,¹⁷⁸ but the only source for this claim is a demand by a Famagusta merchant in 1301 for a *cartam sive scripturam factam ex parte domini admirati sive capitanei vel comiti Templi* in relation to a deposit.¹⁷⁹ He seems to have been merely asking for a confirmation from the appropriate Templar official, whatever his title, and the document cannot be taken to indicate that the office of admiral in fact existed at that time.

In the western Mediterranean some Spanish military orders became involved in maritime warfare against Islam. In 1253 an agreement was made between Alfonso X and Santiago, by which the king assigned a galley to the order, which in turn was to provide a crew of 200 men and give service with the ship for three months each year;¹⁸⁰ and the short-lived Castilian order of Santa María de España was engaged in naval warfare.¹⁸¹ There is less evidence of Templar participation in actions at sea against Muslims in the western Mediterranean, but in 1305 the com-

the master of Auvergne's intention to attack Christian ships carrying prohibited goods hardly reflects James of Molay's wariness on this point.

¹⁷⁶ Joseph Delaville Le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310-1421)* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913), 10-11. For an earlier Genoese attack on Hospitaller ships, see: Maria T. Ferrer i Mallol, "Incidència del cors en les relacions catalanes amb l'Orient (segles XIII-XIV)," in *Els Catalans a la Mediterrània oriental a l'edat mitjana*, ed. ead. (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2003), 261.

¹⁷⁷ *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roux, 810-816 no. 4515, clause 13.

¹⁷⁸ Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 103, note 8; Coureas, "The Role of the Templars," 258-259.

¹⁷⁹ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, 493-494 no. 413.

¹⁸⁰ *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. 2, ed. Julio González (Madrid: CSIC, 1951), 172-174; *Diplomatario andaluz de Alfonso X*, ed. Manuel González Jiménez (Seville: El Monte, Caja de Huelva y Sevilla, 1991), 33-34 no. 37.

¹⁸¹ Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la edad media (siglos XII-XV)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2003), 108-112; Juan Torres Fontes, "La orden de Santa María de España," *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana* 3 (1977): 73-118.

mander of Peñíscola, on the Valencian coast, was reported to be equipping a ship to be used against Granada and Morocco, only to be stopped by the Aragonese king James II, who at that time wanted peace with these Muslim states.¹⁸² After the end of the Templar trial, however, the former brother Bartholomew of Villafranca, who had earlier been a captive in Egypt, was in 1316 intending to accompany the archdeacon of Barcelona on a naval expedition against Muslim shipping then being planned by the *cofradía* of Barcelona.¹⁸³

2.2. Warfare against Christians and Piracy

Templar ships were used not only in maritime warfare against hostile Muslim powers. In a peace agreement between the Genoese and the Templars in 1267 the former gave up all claims for damage caused *per quascumque galearum et ligna alia ipsius domus [Templi] in Cypri vel in alio quocumque loco, in terra vel mari*.¹⁸⁴ No details were given, but more is known about the use of ships in the conflict between the Templars and Bohemund VII of Tripoli in the next decade. The “Templar of Tyre” reports that the master William of Beaujeu took galleys and other ships to Gibelet, and besieged it for several days, and later armed thirteen galleys which sailed to Gibelet and then to Tripoli, although five ran aground in bad weather.¹⁸⁵ In 1293 the Templar William de la Tour was killed in the encounter between Venetian and Genoese galleys, but he was merely a passenger on a ship which was then under Venetian control.¹⁸⁶

Very few Templars in western Europe became involved in fighting at sea against Christians. It has been claimed that the brother called Thomas, who had charge of Henry III’s *magna navis*, engaged in a *guerre de course* in the seas between

¹⁸² Maria T. Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l’Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i Sarraïns al País Valencià* (Barcelona: CSIC, 1988), 239–241 (Source edition no. 19); James II to the Templar provincial master, 1 February 1304, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 235, fol. 184r.

¹⁸³ James II to Bartholomew of Villafranca, 17 April 1316, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 277, fol. 160r. On maritime actions at this time, see: Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), 583–584; Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera*, 109.

¹⁸⁴ *I Libri iurium della Repubblica di Genova*, vol. 1, no. 5, ed. Elisabetta Madia (Genoa: Ministerio per i beni culturali e ambientali, 1999), 13–16 no. 824.

¹⁸⁵ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 146 cap. 156 (392), 150 cap. 163 (399); see also: Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum*, 228, III, part 12, cap. 17.

¹⁸⁶ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 301, cap. 301 (537). There seems to be no justification for stating that he was commanding or piloting the Venetian flotilla: Paul Crawford, “The Military Orders and the Last Decade of the Thirteenth Century,” *Epeterida* 33 (2007): 81.

England and the western coast of France in the 1220s.¹⁸⁷ He certainly seized ships which carried cargoes from enemy territories. But one was detained in the unidentified port of *Baspal*: it was, in fact, not uncommon for ships to be seized when they were in port.¹⁸⁸ Ships were, however, also at times taken at sea: in 1212 thirteen Norman *naves* were captured by vessels commanded by Geoffrey of Lucy.¹⁸⁹ Yet these were taken by galleys, whereas a large round ship was not the most suitable for maritime action of this kind. But Thomas may have had the assistance of galleys, for in several documents it was stated that ships had been seized *in veniendo de Wasconia*.¹⁹⁰ But if Thomas was engaging in naval warfare, he was doing so in only a personal capacity, just as only a few individual Templars participated in land campaigns conducted by English kings.¹⁹¹ It has also been asserted that Peter III of Aragon commandeered Templar vessels to resist the French in 1285, but no surviving source appears to support this contention, although Alfonso III did later complain that Hospitaller ships had given assistance to the invading forces of Philip III.¹⁹² Naval defence off the Catalan coast in 1285 was undertaken by ten to twelve royal galleys under the command of Raymond Marquet and Berenguer Mallol, who were later joined, with reinforcements, by Roger of Lauria.¹⁹³ There is no evidence that Templars participated in the maritime defence of Catalonia, even though recruiting difficulties were experienced by the Aragonese king at that

¹⁸⁷ Demurger, *Les Templiers*, 375; see also: Helen J. Nicholson, "The Military Orders and the Kings of England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *From Clermont to Jerusalem: The Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 213, note 33.

¹⁸⁸ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 2, ed. Duffy, 62; *Close Rolls, 1227–1231*, ed. Trice Martin and Stamp, 291, 368, 477; Susan Rose, *England's Medieval Navy, 1066–1509: Ships, Men and Warfare* (Barnsley: Seaforth Publishing, 2013), 35.

¹⁸⁹ Beryl E. R. Formoy, "A Maritime Indenture of 1212," *English Historical Review* 41 (1926): 556–557.

¹⁹⁰ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, 2, ed. Duffy, 110, 112, 113.

¹⁹¹ Alan J. Forey, "Military Orders and Secular Warfare in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Viator* 24 (1993): 86; Helen J. Nicholson, "The Hospitallers' and Templars' Involvement in Warfare on the Frontiers of the British Isles in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," *Ordines Militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica: Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 17 (2012): 107–111; ead., "Holy Warriors, Worldly War: Military Religious Orders and Secular Conflict," *Journal of Medieval Military History* 17 (2019): 69–71.

¹⁹² Demurger, *Les Templiers*, 338; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 518–519 no. 4007.

¹⁹³ Maria T. Ferrer i Mallol, "Les flottes catalanes, XII^e–XV^e siècles," in *The Sea in History: The Medieval World: La mer dans l'histoire: Le moyen âge*, ed. Michel Balard (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 286.

time.¹⁹⁴ The task assigned to the Aragonese Templars was in fact to supply mounted troops and footmen in order to oppose any French landing.¹⁹⁵

In the opening years of the 14th century the Tunisian ruler claimed that at a time when Aragon and Tunis were at peace three ships had been fitted out *a salir en corso* at Peñíscola, which was then under Templar lordship, but these and other ships prepared elsewhere at that time for the same purpose were not under Templar command.¹⁹⁶ After he had deserted from the Temple, however, Roger of Flor did engage in piratical activities, as described by Muntaner,¹⁹⁷ and similar action was taken after the Templar trial by the former Templar sergeant James Más. He was meant to be residing at the Templar house of Aiguaviva in northern Catalonia, but in June 1316 it was reported that he had fitted out a ship in Sicily and had robbed a Christian merchant, who lost goods worth 10,000 shillings.¹⁹⁸ James II ordered his arrest, but in August of the same year the ex-Templar had robbed another merchant, and on this occasion the king ordered that his Templar pension should be assigned to his victim until the latter had recovered his losses.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Lawrence V. Mott, "Serving in the Fleet: Crews and Recruitment Issues in the Catalan-Aragonese Fleets during the War of Sicilian Vespers (1282–1302)," *Medieval Encounters* 13, no. 1 (2007): 70–73.

¹⁹⁵ Peter III to the Aragonese provincial master, 7 June 1285, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 25, fol. 242r and Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 56, fol. 124r; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 479–480 no. 3903; Stefano M. Cingolani, *Historiografia, propaganda i comunicació al segle XIII: Bernat Desclot i les dues redaccions de la seva crònica* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2006), 748; *Les quatre grans cròniques*, vol. 2, *Crònica de Bernat Desclot*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2008), 294, cap. 139.

¹⁹⁶ Ángeles Masiá de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte de África: Política de Jaime II y Alfonso IV en Egipto, Ifriquiá y Tremecén* (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Estudios Mediterráneos, 1951), 196; Maria T. Ferrer i Mallol, "La guerra en cors amb els països musulmans occidentals en els primers anys del regnat de Jaume II (1291–1309)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 38 (2008): 862; cf. the demand by the commander of Peñíscola on 22 January 1307 for a share in the booty gained at sea by a local inhabitant: Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Pergaminos, Jaime II 2360.

¹⁹⁷ *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 325–326, cap. 194; see also: *Diplomatari de l'Orient català (1301–1400)*, ed. Antoni Rubio i Lluch (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2001), 5–8 nos. 4–8, 98 no 78, 723–724 no. 699.

¹⁹⁸ James II to the former Templar Dalmacio of Timor, 3 June 1316, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 251, fol. 116r.

¹⁹⁹ James II to his official Bertrand of Valle, 6 August 1316, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 277, fol. 242r. He appears to have been in possession of his pension again by 1319: Joaquim Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona: Casa Provincial de Caritat, 1910), 392.

3. SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT TEMPLAR SHIPS

Although it can be shown that the Templars were constantly transporting men and goods by sea and were engaging to some extent in maritime warfare, there remain a number of questions relating to Templar ships. It is not clear how the Templars normally acquired their own vessels, either for transporting goods or for maritime warfare. The chronicler Muntaner reported that their large ship called the Falcon, which assisted in the evacuation of refugees from Acre in 1291, had been bought from the Genoese, and this is not the only instance of the purchase of ships by military orders.²⁰⁰ Yet it was stated in an agreement which was confirmed by Frederick II in 1216 that the Templars had the right at Marseille *facere et habere navem vel naves*,²⁰¹ and it has been suggested that a Templar and a Hospitaller named in 1234, when a further agreement about Templar and Hospitaller rights at Marseille was confirmed by the city authorities, had responsibilities which included the building of ships at Marseille. But although the Hospitaller William of Valence was called *commendator navium*, implying that he had more wide-ranging functions – though unspecified – than the command of one ship, the Templar William of Capmeiller was called merely *commendator navis Templi*.²⁰² It may also be noted that this later agreement only stated that the two orders could each *habere et honerare et exhonerare* two of their own vessels every year: no reference to the building of ships was included.²⁰³ In 1216, however, the Hospital had complained that the archbishop of Arles and his suffragans had tried to exact *pedagium* when brothers *de diversis mundi partibus pro navibus fabricandis [...] super aquas et terras deferant*.²⁰⁴ It may also be presumed that the Hospitallers had built the

²⁰⁰ *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 323–324, cap. 194; *Notai genovesi in oltremare: atti rogati a Cipro: Lamberto di Sambuceto (31 marzo 1304 – 19 luglio 1305, 4 gennaio–12 luglio 1307), Giovanni di Rocha (3 agosto 1308 – 14 marzo 1310)*, ed. Michel Balard (Genoa: Università di Genova, 1984), 172–173 no. 103, 180–181 no. 110, 185–186 no. 115.

²⁰¹ *Acta imperii inedita*, 1, ed. Winkelmann, 117 no. 139. For a similar concession to the Hospitallers, see: *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 186 no. 1464.

²⁰² *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 469 no. 2079; Sarnowsky, “The Military Orders and their Navies,” 48–49; id., “The Ships of the Knights of St John,” in *The Sea in History*, ed. Balard, 360; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 150.

²⁰³ *Cartulaire générale*, 2, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 462–464 no. 2067. The agreement was made in October 1233.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 203 no. 1518. Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098–1197)* (Amsterdam: Hakker, 1989), 17; and ead., “The Military Orders,” 207, claims, on the basis of this document that the Hospitallers built ships in the East with timber imported from the south of France. Yet it would hardly have been economical to export timber when ships could be built in the West, except

new galley which they sold to Charles I in 1273.²⁰⁵ A Hospitaller *darsana* in Acre was mentioned in a document of the mid 13th century, and it has been asserted that this was a shipyard;²⁰⁶ but it has been pointed out that it was some distance from the shore and was presumably a workshop.²⁰⁷ Although the surviving sources imply that the Hospital built some of its ships, evidence of Templar shipbuilding is completely lacking. The Order certainly did not have a shipyard in Acre.²⁰⁸ It may also be noted that in 1278 Charles I's vice-admiral paid for the repair or refitting of the Templar ship called *Sancta Maria* at Brindisi: the Order did not undertake the work itself.²⁰⁹ This would suggest that the Templar vessel which was being repaired at Brindisi when Roger of Flor entered the Order's service was not in a Templar shipyard.²¹⁰ Shortly after the siege of Játiva in 1244 James I of Aragon did give the Temple a half of the *daraçana* at Denia in southern Valencia.²¹¹ Yet the Templars had few possessions and no commandery in the southern part of that kingdom: the donation was probably a source of revenue for the Temple rather than a base for shipbuilding. In 1273 the Aragonese king also granted the inhabitants of Peñíscola in Valencia the right to cut timber for the construction of ships, but there is no indication that the Templars were building ships there after they had acquired lordship over Peñíscola in 1294.²¹² Although the building of ships did not necessarily require the creation of permanent facilities,²¹³ there is no surviving evidence to indicate that the Templars did have their own shipyards, and it may be questioned whether the number of ships which the Order owned would have justified the establishment of its own yards.

perhaps in the case of small boats. The reference to *super aquas* may have been to river transport in the West.

²⁰⁵ *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 288–289 no. 3502.

²⁰⁶ Cornelio Desimoni, "Quatre titres des propriétés des Génois à Acre et à Tyre," *Archives de l'Orient latin* 2, no. 2 (1884): 222–224 no. 3; Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, 23; ead., "The Military Orders," 207–208; Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 92.

²⁰⁷ Jacoby, "Hospitaller Ships," 61.

²⁰⁸ In *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. Judi M. Upton-Ward (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1992), 49, clause 119; 54, clause 143, the term *voute* is translated as "shipyard," but this is misleading.

²⁰⁹ Fulvio Bramato, *Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia*, vol. 2, *Le Inquisizioni; Le Fonti* (Rome: Atanòr, 1994), 152 no. 337.

²¹⁰ *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 323, cap. 194.

²¹¹ *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragon*, vol. 2, 1237–1250, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María D. Cabanes Pecourt (Valencia: Anubar Ediciones, 1976), 181, doc. 393.

²¹² James I to the inhabitants of Peñíscola, 12 May 1273, Barcelona, ACA, Cancillería Real, Registro 21, fol. 147v.

²¹³ Rose, *England's Medieval Navy*, 80.

Templar commanders normally had charge of the Order's ships, but little detailed evidence survives about the men who served under them as seamen or crossbowmen. It would seem, however, that these were not usually brothers. Roger of Flor was employed on Templar ships before being admitted as a brother sergeant, and that the Order had to obtain a safe-conduct from Peter III in 1283 only for Provençal and other seamen suggests that these were not Templars.²¹⁴ The "Templar of Tyre" further reported that in 1292 men-at-arms for two Templar galleys were being conveyed to Cyprus in Venetian ships,²¹⁵ while a document drawn up in Famagusta in June 1301 mentions five individuals who were contracted to serve on a Templar ship for two months, although it does not state in what capacity they were to be employed.²¹⁶ Two years earlier Boniface VIII, when seeking to settle the differences between the military orders and Henry II of Cyprus, had ruled that the Templars and Hospitallers could equip their vessels *et habere homines ad hos aptos gratis vel ad stipendia*: apparently some served with these orders voluntarily, as they did on land, while others were paid.²¹⁷ The situation seems to have been similar to that on Hospitaller ships. A Hospitaller statute of 1293 mentions men-at-arms on ships who were paid from that order's treasury, and a similar comment is found in a further statute enacted in 1300.²¹⁸ The Hospital also later imposed an obligation of naval service on the Greek population of Rhodes.²¹⁹ Little information, however, survives about the size of crews, although the *navis* hired by the Templars from the Genoese in 1300 was to be provided with fifty-five men.²²⁰ As even sailing ships had large crews, and galleys might employ from fifty to 250 rowers,²²¹ the Temple would not have been able to man their ships by using

²¹⁴ *Les quatre grans*, 3, ed. Soldevila, 323, cap. 194; *De rebus regni Siciliae*, ed. Silvestri, 273 no. 359.

²¹⁵ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 256, cap. 301 (537).

²¹⁶ *Notai genovesi*, ed. Polonio, 493–494 no. 413.

²¹⁷ Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple*, 2: 440 (Source edition no. 19); *Bullarium Cyprium*, 2, ed. Schabel, 252 no. 0-40.

²¹⁸ Anthony Luttrell, "The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller 'Corso' at Rhodes, 1413 and 1416," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 10 (1995): 179; *Cartulaire générale*, 3, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 810–816 no. 4515, clause 13.

²¹⁹ Anthony Luttrell, "The Servitudo Marina at Rhodes: 1306–1462" in id., *The hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440. Collected studies*, part 4, Variorum collected studies series 77 (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1978), 50–65.

²²⁰ Desimoni, "Actes passés à Famagouste," 42–43 no. 74; *Actes de Famagouste*, ed. Balard, Duba, and Schabel, 83–86 no. 74. Some of the galleys hired for the Hospitallers in 1292 were to carry 140 men: Accame, *Notizie e documenti*, 124–136 (Source edition 4).

²²¹ Charles-Emmanuel Dufourcq, *La vie quotidienne dans les ports méditerranéens au moyen âge (Provence – Languedoc – Catalogne)* (Paris: Hachette, 1975), 64, 70; Byrne, *Genoese Shipping*, 10, 23, 31; Pryor, "The Naval Architecture," 375.

brothers; and members of the Order would in any case often have lacked the necessary skills for undertaking such employment.

Lastly, little is known about the numbers and specifications of Templar ships. Varying estimates of the former have been made, and differing views have been expressed as to whether the Temple had a fleet or not.²²² But “fleet” is a rather imprecise term. It has, however, been asserted that none of the military orders had more than four to six large vessels and that in the 1230s the Temple did not possess more than a dozen transports.²²³ But many sources mention unnamed Templar ships used as transports, and these documents are probably referring to vessels owned by the Order rather than hired by them: it is therefore impossible to provide any exact estimates of numbers. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the Templars were able to put out fleets of seventy or more galleys, as the Genoese and Venetians could.²²⁴ Although the Order possessed both galleys and ships which relied primarily on sail, including *teride*²²⁵ as well as *naves*, no precise information survives about their design and size. The *Falcon* was said by the chronicler Muntaner to have been the greatest ship to have been built at the time, but no surviving documents provide detailed information about the design and size of Templar ships, such as is found in agreements between Louis IX and the Genoese, who were to provide transport for the French king’s crusade in 1248: these specified not only the dimensions of hulls but also provided information about masts, sails, anchors and armaments, as well as numbers of crewmen.²²⁶ Although it is clear that the Temple was commonly using ships for transport and also engaged in maritime warfare, some questions about the Order’s own ships cannot therefore be fully answered.

²²² Sarnowsky, “The Military Orders and their Navies,” 45; Toomaspoeg, “Carrefour de la Méditerranée,” 106; Demurger, *Les Templiers*, 339; Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 2; Damien Carraz, *Les Templiers et la guerre* (Clermont-Ferrand: Lemme, 2012), 85.

²²³ Claverie, “Quelques réflexions;” id., *L’ordre du Temple*, 1: 382.

²²⁴ *Cronaca del Templare*, ed. Minervini, 270 caps. 320–321 (556–557), 272–274 caps. 324 (560), 326–327 (562–563).

²²⁵ *I Registri*, 44, no. 2, ed. Filangieri, 631 no. 308.

²²⁶ Luigi T. Belgrano, “Une charte de nolis de S. Louis,” *Archives de l’Orient latin* 2, no. 2 (1884): 231–236; René Bastard de Péré, “Navires méditerranéens du temps de Saint Louis,” *Revue d’histoire économique et sociale* 50 (1972): 327–356.

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