



The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars

History, Organization, and
Personnel (1099/1120-1310)

Jochen Burgtorf

BRILL

The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars

History of Warfare

Editor

Kelly DeVries
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Founding editors

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Paul Chevedden

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By

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Summary: From their humble beginnings in Jerusalem as a late eleventh-century hospital and an early twelfth-century pilgrim escort, Hospitallers and Templars evolved into international military religious orders, engaged in numerous charitable, economic, and military pursuits. At the heart of each of these communities, and in many ways a mirror of their growth and adaptability, was a central convent led by several high officials and headquartered first in Jerusalem (to 1187), then in Acre (1191-1291), and then on Cyprus (since 1291), from where the Hospitallers conquered Rhodes (1306-1310), and where fate in the form of a heresy trial caught up with the Templars. The history, organization, and personnel of these two central convents to 1310 are the subject of this comparative study.

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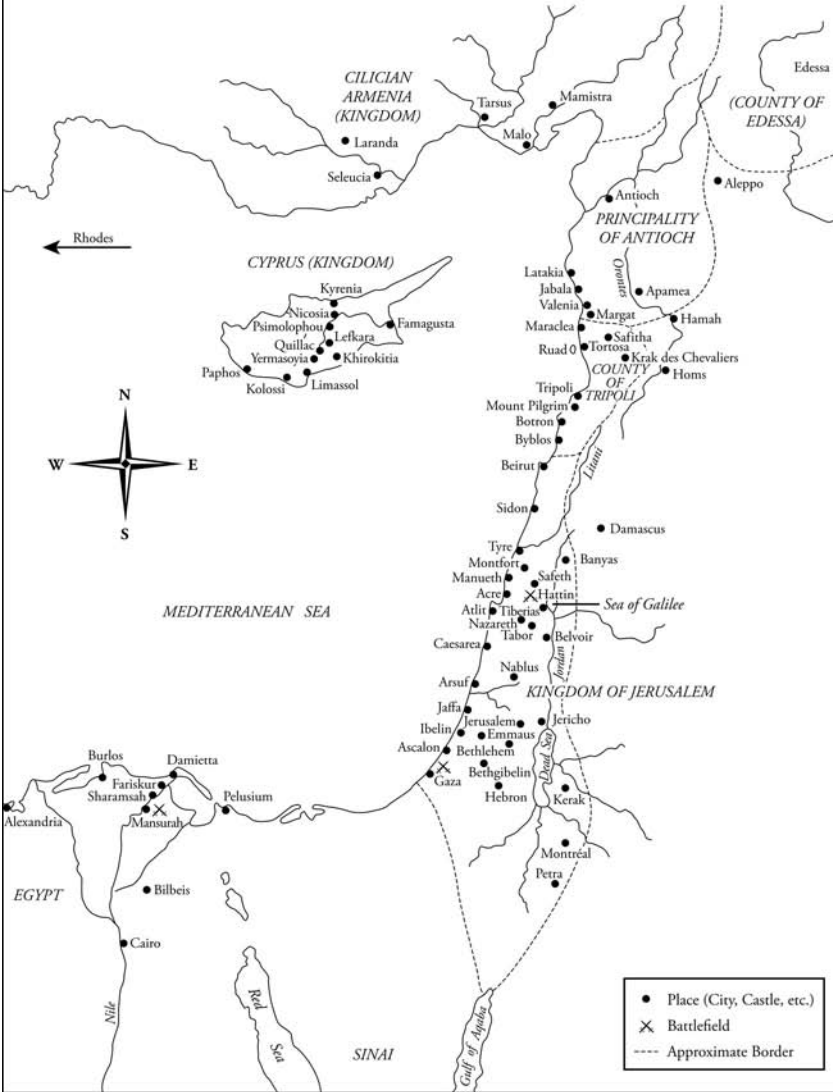
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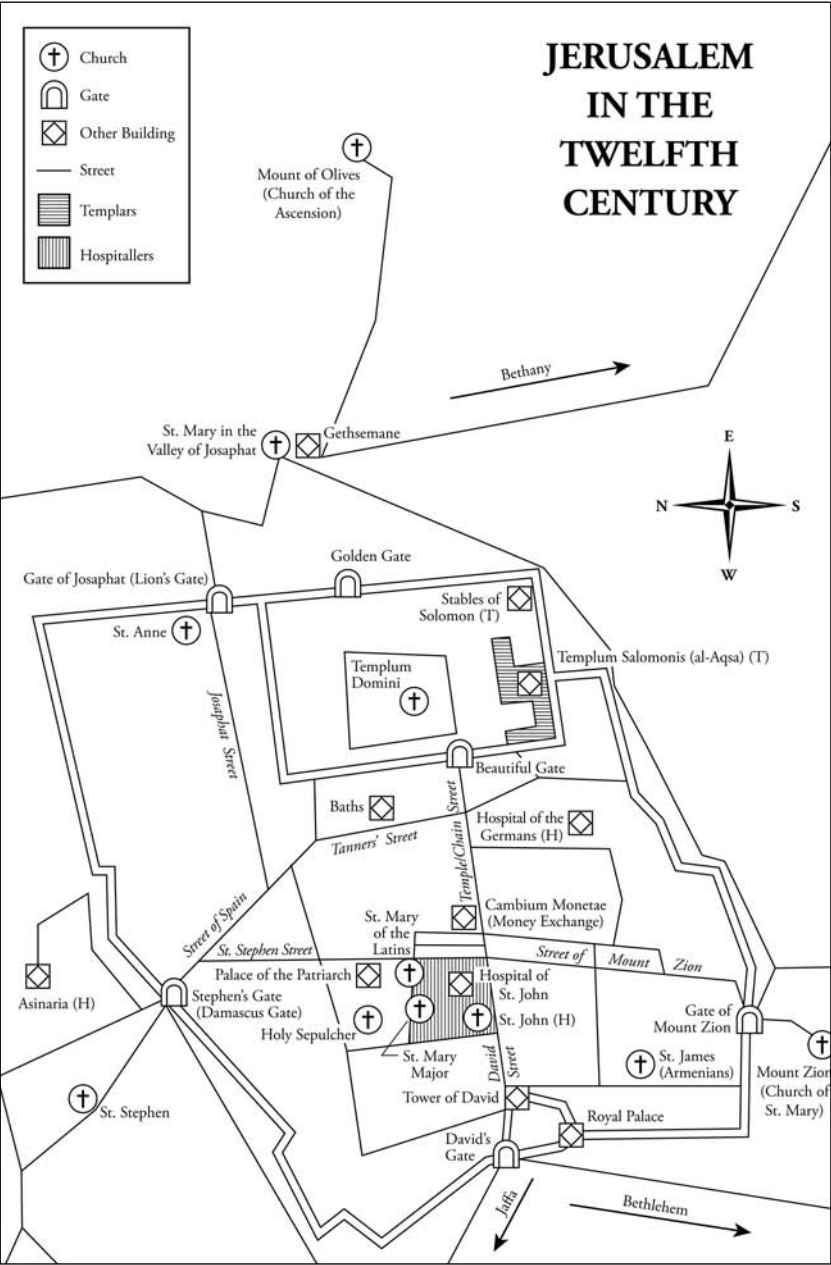
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THE NEAR EAST IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES



JERUSALEM IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

- ⊕ Church
- ⌒ Gate
- ⊠ Other Building
- Street
- ▨ Templars
- ▤ Hospitallers



ACRE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

St. Lazarus Gate

Custodia Templarium (T)

St. Lazarus

Maupas Gate

Boveria (Stables) (T)

Auberge (H)

Carmelites

St. Catherine

Burgus Templi (Suburb) (T)

St. Egidius

Franciscans

St. Denis

St. Anthony

Custodia Hospitalarium (H)

Gate of St. Anthony

Custodia Venetorum

Tower of the English

Tower of King Hugh

Tower of King Henry

Cursed Tower

St. Nicholas Gate/Tower

Macelary Bridge/Tower

Gate/Tower of the Patriarch/Legate

Genoese Towers

Arsenal

PORT

MEDITERRANEAN SEA

OLD ACRE

Venetians

Patriarchate

Holy Cross

House of the Teutonic Order

German Tower

Tower of the Pilgrims

St. John (H)

Infirmary (H)

Stables

Hospital (H)

Hospital Gate

Gate of Our Lady

New Gate

St. Michael's Gate

St. Michael

Dominicans

Genoese

Templar Castle (T)

St. Andrew

Pisans

Iron Gate

St. Sabas

Legend:

- Church
- Gate
- Other Building
- Street
- Templars
- Hospitallers



PREFACE

Following their humble beginnings in Jerusalem as a late eleventh-century hospital and an early twelfth-century pilgrim escort, Hospitallers and Templars became exempt orders of the Latin Church, built ‘international’ networks, and engaged in a wide range of charitable, military, and economic pursuits. Each of these communities was governed by a master, an official elected for life, but at their heart, and in many ways a mirror of their growth and adaptability, was a central convent led by several high officials and headquartered first in Jerusalem (to 1187), then in Acre (1191–1291), and then on Cyprus (since 1291), from where the Hospitallers conquered Rhodes (1306–10), and where fate in the form of a heresy trial caught up with the Templars. The history, organization, and leadership personnel of these two central convents to 1310 are the subject of this comparative study which is intended as a contribution to the history of the crusades and the Latin east, institutional history, and medieval prosopography.

This book is based on my Ph.D. dissertation (Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf, 2001), and I owe a debt of gratitude to many, none more so than Rudolf Hiestand who stimulated my interest in medieval history, the crusades, and the military orders, and who directed my research with vigilance, encouragement, and patience. For insightful comments on the original thesis manuscript, I am also obliged to Josef Semmler. To Werner Paravicini and Rolf Große (DHI Paris, at the time of writing), Gustav Kühnel (Görres-Gesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft), and Klaus Herbers (Pius-Stiftung für Papsturkundenforschung), I am indebted for considerable logistical support. Since my appointment at California State University, Fullerton (2001), William Haddad (Department of History) and Thomas Klammer (College of Humanities and Social Sciences) have been very helpful in procuring funds for research and conference trips, and I thank them both.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographical Abbreviations

<i>AA</i>	H. Finke, <i>Acta Aragonensia, 1291–1327</i> , I–III (Berlin, 1908–22; reprint Aalen, 1966–8).
— Nachträge	H. Finke, “Nachträge und Ergänzungen zu den <i>Acta Aragonensia</i> ,” <i>SpF</i> 4 (1933), 355–536 (reprint <i>AA</i> III, Aalen, 1968, 585–768).
<i>ACA</i>	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona)
—, CRD	Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona), Cartes reales diplomáticas
<i>Amadi</i>	“Chronique d’Amadi,” ed. R. de Mas Latrie, in <i>Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi</i> , I (Paris, 1891).
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l’Orient latin</i> , I–II (Paris, 1881–4).
<i>Barber</i>	M. Barber, <i>The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple</i> (Cambridge, 1994).
<i>BECh</i>	<i>Bibliothèque de l’Ecole des chartes</i>
<i>BN</i>	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris)
—, fr.	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), (fonds) français
—, lat.	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), (fonds) latin
—, n.a.fr.	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), nouvelles acquisitions françaises
—, n.a.l.	Bibliothèque nationale (Paris), nouvelles acquisitions latines
<i>Bresc-Bautier</i>	G. Bresc-Bautier, <i>Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> (Paris, 1984).
<i>Bronstein</i>	J. Bronstein, <i>The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274</i> (Woodbridge, 2005).
<i>Bulst-Thiele</i>	M. L. Bulst-Thiele, <i>Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens, 1118/19–1314</i> (Göttingen, 1974).
<i>Bustron</i>	Florio Bustron, <i>Chronique de l’île de Chypre</i> , ed. R. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1886).
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> ; various volumes, cf. Bibliography.
<i>CH</i>	J. Delaville Le Roulx, <i>Cartulaire général de l’ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310</i> , I–IV (Paris, 1894–1905); cited by volume and document number.

Claverie	P.-V. Claverie, <i>L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle</i> , I–III (Nicosia, 2005).
Coll. d'Albon	Paris, BN, n.a.l. 1–71 (A. d'Albon, <i>Cartulaire de l'ordre du Temple</i> , ms. s. XIX–XX).
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> ; various volumes, cf. Bibliography.
CS	Variorum Collected Studies Series
<i>CT</i>	A. d'Albon, <i>Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119²–50</i> (Paris, 1913); <i>Fascicule complémentaire</i> , ed. P. Fournier (Paris, 1922); cited by document number.
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
Delaville Le Roulx	J. Delaville Le Roulx, <i>Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310</i> (Paris, 1904).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Eracles	“L'estoire de Eracles empereur,” in <i>RHCr Occ II</i> (Paris, 1859), 1–481.
Finke	H. Finke, <i>Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens</i> , I–II (Münster, 1907).
Forey	A. Forey, <i>The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries</i> (Toronto, 1992).
Forey, Aragón	A. Forey, <i>The Templars in the Corona de Aragón</i> (London, 1973).
<i>Gestes</i>	<i>Les gestes des Chiprois</i> , ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887).
Graesse	J. G. T. Graesse, F. Benedict, and H. Plechl, <i>Orbis latinus: Lexikon lateinischer geographischer Namen des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit</i> , I–III (Braunschweig, 1972).
Guillaume de Tyr	Guillaume de Tyr, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. R. B. C. Huygens, I–II (Turnhout, 1986).
<i>HRG</i>	<i>Handwörterbuch zur Deutschen Rechtsgeschichte</i> , I–V (Berlin, 1964–98).
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JL	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesie ad annum 1198</i> , ed. P. Jaffé (Berlin, 1851); ed. S. Löwenfeld, F. Kaltenbrunner, and P. Ewald, I–II (Leipzig, 1885–8).
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>

Joinville	Jean de Joinville, <i>Vie de Saint Louis</i> , ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995).
<i>LdMA</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , I–IX (Munich, 1977–99).
Le Blévec-Venturini	D. Le Blévec and A. Venturini, <i>Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1129–1210</i> (Paris, 1997).
<i>LThK</i>	<i>Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche</i> , 2nd ed., I–XIV (Freiburg, 1957–68); 3rd ed., I–XI (Freiburg, 1993–2001).
Manosque	Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 68 (Inventaire de Manosque a. 1531).
Marsy	A. de Marsy, “Fragment d’un cartulaire de l’ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte,” in <i>AOL</i> II (1884), documents, 121–57.
Mayer	H. E. Mayer, <i>Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem</i> , I–II, MGH Schriften 40.1–2 (Hanover, 1996).
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
— <i>SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores</i>
— <i>SS rer Germ</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
MNL, AOSJ	Malta National Library (La Valletta), Archives of the Order of St. John
<i>MP</i>	<i>Medieval Prosopography</i>
<i>NA</i>	<i>Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde</i>
Nicholson	H. Nicholson, <i>Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291</i> (Leicester, 1993).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, I–CCI (Paris, 1844–65).
Potthast	<i>Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, 1198–1304</i> , ed. A. Potthast, I–II (Berlin, 1874–5).
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims’ Text Society
<i>Procès</i>	J. Michelet, <i>Le procès des Templiers</i> , I–II (Paris, 1841–51).
Rey	E. G. Rey, “L’ordre du Temple en Syrie et à Chypre,” <i>Revue de Champagne et de Brie</i> 24 (1888), 241–56, 367–79.

<i>RHCr Doc Arm</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Documents Arméniens</i>
— <i>Hist Occ</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux</i>
— <i>Hist Or</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux</i>
— <i>L</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Lois</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
Riley-Smith	J. Riley-Smith, <i>The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310</i> (London, 1967).
Röhricht	R. Röhricht, <i>Geschichte des Königreichs Jerusalem, 1100–1291</i> (Innsbruck, 1898).
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
Rothelin	“Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin,” in <i>RHCr Hist Occ</i> II (Paris, 1859), 483–639.
Rozière	E. de Rozière, <i>Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem</i> (Paris, 1849).
<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, 1097–1291</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893); <i>Additamentum</i> (Innsbruck, 1904).
RS	Rolls Series
<i>RT</i>	H. de Curzon, <i>La règle du Temple</i> (Paris, 1886); cited by paragraph.
Santoni	P. Santoni, “Les deux premiers siècles du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'ordre de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem,” in <i>Guillaume de Villaret: Des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, de Chypres et de Rhodes hier aux Chevaliers de Malte aujourd'hui</i> (Paris, 1985), 114–83.
Schottmüller	K. Schottmüller, <i>Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens, I–II</i> (Berlin, 1887).
<i>Sitzungsberichte</i>	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu München), Philosophisch-philologische (und historische) Klasse</i>
<i>SpF</i>	<i>Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft</i>
Strehlke	E. Strehlke, <i>Tabulae ordinis Theutonici</i> (Berlin, 1869; reprint ed. H. E. Mayer, Jerusalem, 1975).
Tafel-Thomas	G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, <i>Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig, I–III</i> (Vienna, 1856–7).
Trudon des Ormes	A. L. A. Trudon des Ormes, “Liste des maisons et de quelques dignitaires de l'ordre du Temple en Syrie, en Chypre et en France d'après les pièces

- du procès," *ROL* 5 (1897), 389–459; 6 (1898), 156–213; 7 (1900), 223–74, 504–89; cited by *ROL*-volume number and page number.
- UT* G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* (Freiburg, 1903); cited by paragraph.
- VOP* Vorarbeiten zum Oriens Pontificius I–III: *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. R. Hiestand (Göttingen, 1972); *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge*, ed. *id.* (Göttingen, 1984); *Papsturkunden für Kirchen im Heiligen Lande*, ed. *id.* (Göttingen, 1985).
- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
- ZKG* *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*

General Abbreviations Used in Tables and Indices

A	arbiter	cast.	castellan
abs.	absence	c. Eur.	central Europe
Ac.	Acre	CG	consent-giver
adm.	admiral	Cha.	Champagne
agreem.	agreement	chap.	chaplain
Amp.	Amposta (Aragón)	conc.	concerning
Ant.	Antioch	confer.	conferral
Aquit.	Aquitaine	confirm.	confirmation
Arag.	Aragón	Cyp.	Cyprus
archbp.	archbishop	Dam.	Damietta
archbpr.	archbishopric	Dat.	<i>datum</i> (part of a document)
Arm.	Armenia		
Auv.	Auvergne	deac.	deacon
Barl.	Barletta	donat.	donation
Belm.	Belmont	drap.	draper
Belv.	Belvoir	Em.	Emmaus
Benev.	Benevento	Engl.	England
Betha.	Bethany	EU	Europe (the west)
Beth.	Bethgibelin	exch.	exchange
bp.	bishop	Fam.	Famagusta
br.	brother	Fran.	France
Burg.	Burgundy	G	guarantor
C	charter	gen.	general
Caes.	Caesarea	Germ.	Germany
camp.	campaign	gprec.	grand preceptor

H	Hospitaller/s	PA	party to an
Hosp.	Hospital		agreement
hosp.	hospitaller	patr.	patriarch
	(conventual official)	Port.	Portugal
Hung.	Hungary	prec.	preceptor
I	issuer, author	priv.	privilege
IS	inscription	Prov.	Provence
Jer.	Jerusalem	R	recipient
kg	king	Ram.	Ramla
kgd.	kingdom	rep.	representative
Krak	Krak des	S	South
	Chevaliers	Safi.	Safitha
L	letter		(Chastelblanc)
Lan.	Langres	Seleu.	Seleucia
Lat.	Latin	sen.	seneschal
layp.	layperson	Sep.	Sepulcher (Holy
leg.	legate/s		Sepulcher)
lieut./lt.	lieutenant	serg.	sergeant
Lim.	Limassol	St.Gi.	St. Gilles (southern
M	mention		France)
mar.	marshal	Syr.	Syrian
Marg.	Margat	T	Templar/s
mast.	master	Tib.	Tiberias
Mess.	Messina	TO	Teutonic Order
Nab.	Nablus	Tort.	Tort.
Nav.	Navarre	TR	trial record
Naz.	Nazareth	treas.	treasurer
Nic.	Nicosia	Trip.	Tripoli
Norm.	Normandy	TS	<i>Terra Sancta</i> (Holy
NS	narrative source		Land, the east)
NT	normative text	turc.	turcopolier
n.tit.	no title	Tusc.	Tusculum
OF	Old French	visit.	visitor
P	petitioner	W	witness

Abbreviations of Names Used in Tables

AdaB	Adam Brion (T)	AimJ	Aimery Jaureo (T)
AdaC	Adam of	AimO	Aimo of Oiselay (T)
	Cromwell (T)	AlbR	Albert Romanus (H)

AlbS	Albert of Schwarzburg (H)	BerC	Berengar of Cenagona (H)
AlbV	Albert (of Vienne) (T)	Bere	Berengar (H)
AlpP	Alphonso of Portugal (H)	Bern	Bernard (H)
AmaR	Amaury of La Roche (T)	BerP	Bernard of Portaclara (H)
Ambl	Amblard (of Vienne) (T)	BerT	Bernard of Tremelay (T)
AmiA	Amio of Ays (T)	BeSJ	Berengar of St. Just (T)
Amor	Amoravius (H)	BeTe	Bertrand of Thessy (H)
AndM	Andrew of Montbard (T)	Bien	Bienvenu (T)
AndP	Andrew Polin (H)	BonC	Boniface of Calamandrana (H)
AnsL	Anselm of Lucca (H)	Bore	Borell (H)
Arch	Archembald (H)	CasM	Castus of Murois (H)
ArmA	Armengaud of Asp (H)	Craph/Cra	Craphus (H)
ArmP	Armand of Périgueux (T)	DurP	Durand of Praepositura (H)
ArnC	Arnold of Castellnou (T)	EveB	Everard of Barres (T)
ArnM	Arnold of Montbrun (H)	FerB	Ferrand of Barras (H)
ArnT	Arnold of Torroja (T)	FloV	Florentin of Villa (T)
ArtB	Artaud (of Beaumont) (T)	FulB	Fulk Bremont (H)
AyA	Aymar of L'Ayron (H)	FulV	Fulk of Villaret (H)
BalA	Baldwin of Andria (T)	GaMe	Garin of Melna (H)
BarC	Bartholomew of Chinsi (T)	GaMo	Garin of Montaigu (H)
BarM	Bartholomew of Moret (T)	GarN	Garnier of Nablus (H)
BeCa	Berengar (of Castelpers) (T)	GarX	Garcias Ximenes (H)
BeCh	Bernard of Chemin (H)	GeoC	Geoffrey of Charny (T)
BeCo	Bertrand of Comps (H)	GeoD	Geoffrey of Donjon (H)
BerB	Bertrand of Blanchefort (T)	Geof	Geoffrey (H)
		Geof	Geoffrey (T)

GeoF	Geoffrey Fulcherii (T)	HugJ	Hugh of Jouy (T)
GeoM	Geoffrey Morin (T)	HugM	Hugh of Montlaur (T)
GeoR	Geoffrey Le Rat (H)	HugP	Hugh of Payns (T)
GeoT	Geoffrey of Tours (T)	HugR	Hugh Revel (H)
GeoV	Geoffrey of Vendat (T)	HuSQ	Hugh Salomonis of Quily (T)
GeRa	Geoffrey of Reillanne (H)	Irme	Irmengaud (T)
Geral	Gerald (H)	Isem	Isembard (H)
Gerar	Gerard (H)	JamB	James of Bois (T)
GerG	Gerard of Gragnana (H)	JamD	James of Dammartin (T)
GerH	Gerald Hugonis (H)	JamM	James of Molay (T)
GerR	Gerard of Ridefort (T)	JamT	James of Tassi (H)
GeSA	Gerald of St. Andrew (H)	Jo1T	Joscelin (I) of Tournel (H)
GilA	Gilbert of Assailly (H)	Jo2T	Joscelin (II) of Tournel (H)
Gile	Giles (T)	JohL	John of Loches (H)
GirE	Girbert Eral (T)	John	John (H)
Golf	Golferius (H)	JohR	John of Ronay (H)
GonM	Gonsalve Martin (T)	JohV	John of Villiers (H)
Gouf	Goufier [of Salvaign] (T)	JoLa	John of Laodicea (H)
Guer	Guerin (H)	Josb	Josbert (H)
GuiL	Guiscard (of Lentini) (H)	JosC	Joseph of Cancy (H)
GuyB	Guy of Bazainville (T)	JoVi	John of Villa (T)
GuyF	Guy of Foresta (T)	Lamb	Lambert (H)
GuyG	Guy of La Guespa (H)	MarG	Martin Gonsalve (H)
GuyM	Guy of Mahón (H)	MarL	Martin of Lou (T)
GuyS	Guy of Séverac (H)	MarS	Martin Sanche (H)
HenF	Henry of Fürstenberg (H)	MatC	Matthew of Clermont (H)
Henr	Henry (H)	MatS	Matthew Sauvage (T)
HerD	Herbert of Dunières (H)	NicL	Nicholas Lorgne (H)
Huba	Hubald (H)	NN	no personal name given
		Nun	Nun (H)
		O.	O. (H)
		Odo	Odo (T)
		OdoP	Odo of Pins (H)
		OdSA	Odo of St. Amand (T)

OgeB	Ogerius of Balben (H)	RaSM	Raymond of St.
Oger	Ogerius (H)		Michael (H)
OVen	O. (of Vend.) (T)	RayB	Raymond of
Palm	Palmerius (H)		Beaulieu (H)
Pe	Peter (H)	RayM	Raymond Motet (H)
PeCa	Peter of Castellón (T)	RayP	Raymond of Puy (H)
PeMa	Peter of Manaia/ Mone(t)a (T)	RayR	Raymond of Ribells (H)
PeMo	Peter of Montaigu (T)	RayT	Raymond of Tiberias (H)
PeSR	Peter of St. Romanus (T)	ReyV	Reynald of Vichiers (T)
PetA	Peter of Aramon (T)	RicB	Richard of Bure (T)
PetB	Peter of Beaune (H)	Rich	Richard (H)
PetC	Peter of Campagnolles (H)	RicL	Richard Le Lo(u)p (T)
PetG	Peter Galterii (H)	RicR	Richard of Ravello (H)
PetH	Peter of Hagham (H)	RobA	Robert Anglicus/ Thesaurarius (H)
PetK	Peter of K(e)rak (H)	RobB	Robert (II Burgundio) (T)
PetM	Peter of Mirmande (H)	RobC	Robert of Camville (T)
PetR	Peter of (la) Recazi/ Raiace (T)	Robe	Robert (H)
PetS	Peter of Sevrey (T)	RobF	Robert Fraissnel (T)
PetV	Peter (I) of Vieillebride (H)	RobM	Robert of Merdogne (H)
PeVa	Peter of Vares (T)	RobS	Robert of Sablé (T)
PhiN	Philip of Nablus (T)	RobV	Robert of Vineis (H)
PhiP	Philip of Plessis (T)	RodP	Roderic Petri (H)
Piot	Piotus (H)	RodR	Roderic Roderici (H)
PMon	Peter of Montcada (T)	RogM	Roger of Moulins (H)
PoBo	Pons Boschant (H)	RogV	Roger of Vere (H)
PonB	Pons Blan (H)	RolB	Roland (Burgund(i)ensis) (H)
Pons	Pons (H)	RorC	Roric of La Courtine (T)
Pons	Pons (T)	Rost	Rostagnus (H)
Ra/Raym	Raymond (H)	Sais	Sais (H)
RaiC	Raimbaud (II) of Caromb (T)	Segu	Seguin (H)
Raim	Raimbaud (H)	SimR	Simon Le Rat (H)
RaPe	Raymond Petri (H)	SimT	Simon of La Tor (T)
		SimV	Simon of Villey (H)
		SteB	Stephen of Brosse (H)
		SteC	Stephen of Cissei (T)
		SteM	Stephen of Meses (H)

SteO	Stephen of Ostricourt (T)	WilC	William of Chartres (T)
Step	Stephen (H)	WilF	William of Forges (H)
Terri	Terricus (T)	WilG	William of La Guerche (T)
ThiG	Thibaut Gaudini (T)	Will	William (H)
ThoB	Thomas Berardi (T)	Will	William (T)
ThoM	Thomas Mausü (H)	WillL	William Lombardus (H)
UrsA	Urs of Alneto (T)	WilM	William of Marolh (H)
VelM	Velasco Martini (H)	WilP	William of Pontóns (T)
WalA	Walter Anglicus (H)	WilR	William of Roc(c)aforte (T)
WalB	Walter (II) of Beirut (T)	WilS	William of Senlis (H)
WalL	Walter of Liencourt (T)	WilT	William of Tyneriis (H)
WiAc	William of Acerra (H)	WilV	William of Villiers (H)
WiBe	William of Beaujeu (T)	WiMo	William of Montaigu (H)
WiCa	William Cadel (T)	WiSo	William of Sonnac (T)
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INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of his pontificate, Pope Clement V (1305–14) contemplated a new crusade to reconquer the Holy Land which had been lost to the Mamluks in 1291. He invited the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, the two most prominent military orders, to submit logistical advice, as well as comments regarding the question of whether their orders should be merged to facilitate the crusade. While the logistical advice of both the Templar Master James of Molay and the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret has come down to us, only Molay's response to the proposed merger has survived. It is an almost complete refutation of the idea, and it is safe to assume that Villaret shared this opinion. In one of his counterarguments, Molay addressed a significant structural problem that such a merger would entail: 'The convent of the Hospital has a marshal, a commander, a draper, and other officials, and it is the same in the convent of the Temple. Thus, [in the case of a merger] there could be great strife and discord since both orders would want to keep their respective officials in place.'¹ The underlying issue is not a specifically medieval one. Hostile takeovers in the business world generate similar debates, and the discussions about the merger of political and academic institutions after the reunification of Germany (1989/90) underscore the relevance of Molay's concern. The Templar master's statement suggests that the convent was an institution sufficiently known by contemporaries, certainly the pope, to be featured in such a memorandum, that it was structured similarly in both orders, and that its officials were held in high esteem by and

¹ J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, I–IV (Paris, 1894–1905), IV 4680: *Item conventus Hospitalis habet mariscalum, commendatorem, draparium et alios plures officiales. Et hoc idem e[st] in conventu Templi. Unde ex hoc posset briga maxima et discordia inter ipsos oriri, quia quilibet vellet tenere suos officiales in statu*; cf. A. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late-Thirteenth and Early-Fourteenth Centuries," *Traditio* 36 (1980), 323–5; S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274–1314* (Oxford, 1991), 76, 109, 197; N. Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford, 1992), 206–7; M. Barber, "The Trial of the Templars Revisited," in H. Nicholson, *Welfare and Warfare, The Military Orders 2* (Aldershot, 1997), 335–6; A. Demurger, *Jacques de Molay: Le crépuscule des Templiers* (Paris, 2002), 205–7, 296–7; M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2007), 36–7.

beyond their orders. It is therefore worthwhile to compare the history, organization, and personnel of the central convent² of Hospitallers and Templars, and this book intends to do just that.

Since the late eleventh century, Latin Christians had been introduced to an unprecedented variety of religious lifestyles, among them the ‘Peace of God’ movement as well as the reform orders of Cîteaux and Prémontré. In the twelfth century, a new religious lifestyle emerged, namely that of the military orders. They surfaced first in the crusader states and later on the Iberian Peninsula (both regions of Christian-Muslim interaction), and Templars and Hospitallers were the oldest and most ‘international’ of these orders. In 1120, the Templars entered the stage in Jerusalem as a community for the protection of pilgrims. They received their rule at the council of Troyes in 1129, and the pope elevated them to the rank of an exempt order of the Church in 1139. The Hospitallers had their origins even before the First Crusade (1095–9), namely in the second half of the eleventh century, as a charitable foundation providing care to pilgrims in Jerusalem. However, they remained a lay community until the adoption of a rule (sometime before 1153), and they did not obtain a papal privilege granting them the status of an exempt order until 1154. Due to the crusader states’ lack of manpower, the original activities of these two communities were soon augmented by responsibilities for the defense of the Latin east and offensive actions against the neighboring Muslims.³

In the course of the twelfth century, Hospitallers and Templars grew into international organizations and found themselves challenged to develop adequate forms of internal administration and external representation. What makes the comparison of the two orders interesting is that the Templars focused on armed service from the beginning, while the Hospitallers added it to their charity work over time. Consequently, there was competition as well as bi-directional imitation. Molay’s aforementioned statement indicates that the leadership structures of both Hospitallers and Templars ultimately featured a collective as well as an individual element: the convent and its officials. Each order

² When the singular (central convent) is used like this it denotes the two separate central convents of the two orders. Unless otherwise indicated the terms ‘central convent’ and ‘convent’ are used synonymously in this study.

³ R. Hiestand, “Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens,” *ZKG* 99.3 (1988), 300–1, 307, 311–12; *id.*, “Die Anfänge der Johanniter, in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas* (Sigmaringen, 1980), 55, 58, 64.

had originally been led by one official, a master, even though the title only gradually caught on for the leader of the Hospital. The master was an official elected for life (which did not stop a few masters from resigning), and when he was present, he resided at and presided over the convent. The convent can thus be defined as both a location and a community. In terms of ‘location’ it signified the headquarters of an order, the actual infrastructure of its main house—in the case of the Hospitallers and Templars first located in Jerusalem (to 1187), then in Acre (1191–1291), and then on Cyprus (since 1291) from where the Hospitallers conquered Rhodes (1306–10), and where fate in the form of a heresy trial caught up with the Templars. In terms of ‘community,’ the convent denoted those who lived and worked at the headquarters, specifically the high officials who, *partes pro toto*, embodied the conventual identity.⁴ This identity became even more important as the original location turned into a mere reference: the convent was still a reality even after Jerusalem had become a dream.

There was, in the words of a modern historian, a “power structure at the center.”⁵ This structure emerged as each community delegated certain functions to some of its members, thereby creating ‘functionaries’⁶ who received, often with a certain delay, titles that were more or less descriptive of their assigned tasks. Originally some of these tasks may have been only temporary, but permanent offices were established before long. Once there were several officials they formed a collective within the convent, a hierarchical level below the master but above all others. By the thirteenth century, this conventual collective was relatively exclusive. The masters of both orders were absent from their headquarters rather frequently, namely at least fifteen to twenty percent of the time (not counting short trips within the east).⁷ During these absences, the conventual collective maintained its responsibility for the governance of its respective order.

Speaking of the convent, Molay had mentioned three particular officials, namely the marshal who was responsible for most things military;

⁴ Cf. A. Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ: Les ordres religieux-militaires au moyen âge* (Paris, 2002), 117.

⁵ A. Forey, “Constitutional Conflict and Change in the Hospital of St. John during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” *JEH* 33.1 (1982), 15.

⁶ J. Mehne, “Personen als Funktionsträger in den mittelalterlichen Quellen,” in *Prosopographie als Sozialgeschichte? Methoden personengeschichtlicher Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1978), 18.

⁷ Cf. Chapter Four.

the commander (or, as he will be called throughout this study, ‘preceptor’)⁸ who was in charge of administration, provisions, and some of the conventual finances; and the draper who oversaw the members’ outward appearance. He could have listed several other officials, namely for both orders the treasurer, the turcopolier (responsible for auxiliary troops), and the prior (in charge of the conventual church); for the Hospitallers the hospitaller (in charge of his order’s central care facility) as well as the admiral (responsible for his order’s navy); and for the Templars the seneschal (originally his order’s second-in-command).⁹ Molay made no reference to the orders’ masters as obstacles to the proposed merger, maybe because humility regarding one’s own office was appropriate when addressing the pope. Yet, it should be noted that the master was not one of the conventual officials. Unlike them, he served for life, and all power of command, including theirs, ultimately derived from his authority. The Templar masters and Hospitaller masters of this time period have received considerable scholarly notice.¹⁰ Thus, they will only be mentioned with regard to their relations to the conventual officials, or if they themselves served in any of the conventual offices. Likewise, the minor conventual offices will be addressed only as far as they pertained to the high offices. I have shown elsewhere that they would merit more scholarly attention, but to fully include them here would have gone beyond the scope of this volume.¹¹

When studying the Latin east, one has to come to terms with the fact that most of the archives of the crusader states are lost. No royal, patriarchal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, princely, comital, baronial, or

⁸ The sources use the titles *commendator* (Latin), *comandeur* (Old French), and *praeceptor* (Latin) synonymously, however, *praeceptor* appeared first and continued to be used throughout the time period studied here.

⁹ Unlike his counterpart in the Hospitaller convent, the Templar prior is a rather elusive official. He appears in very few documents and none of his order’s normative texts; cf. Chapter Five. For the alleged Templar admiral cf. Chapter Three. As for the Templar seneschal, no one seems to have been appointed to the office after 1195.

¹⁰ M. L. Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae Templi Hierosolymitani magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens, 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen, 1974), *passim*; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310* (Paris, 1904), 34–284; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050–1310* (London, 1967), 15–226.

¹¹ J. Burgtorf, “Wind Beneath the Wings: Subordinate Headquarters Officials in the Hospital and the Temple from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries,” in Nicholson, *Welfare*, 217–24.

communal archive has survived.¹² What we do have are about two-hundred scattered charters of the royal chancery,¹³ the archive of the royal Seneschal Joscelin (now part of the archive of the Teutonic Order),¹⁴ the two cartularies of the chapter of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher,¹⁵ the archive of the abbey on Mount Tabor (now part of the Hospitaller archive),¹⁶ parts of the archive of the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat,¹⁷ the cartulary of St. Sophia in Nicosia,¹⁸ the so-called 'Berlin cartulary' of the Teutonic Order,¹⁹ fragments of the cartulary of the Order of St. Lazarus,²⁰ and—as by far the largest body of documents—substantial parts of the Hospitallers' central archive.²¹ In addition, there is a considerable number of papal documents for both orders scattered all over Europe for the time period until 1198, and at least partially listed in the papal registers for the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.²² The calendars of the English royal chancery contain significant material for the western careers of Hospitaller and Templar officials.²³ Some letters have survived as well.

The most catastrophic event in the archival history of the Latin east was not Saladin's conquest of Jerusalem in 1187. The city surrendered

¹² The best initial access to the existing documentation is still via *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani, 1097–1291*, ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893); *Additamentum* (Innsbruck, 1904).

¹³ Cf. H. E. Mayer, *Die Kanzlei der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, I–II, MGH Schriften 40.1–2 (Hanover, 1996), *passim*. Hans Eberhard Mayer's edition of these charters is expected in the near future.

¹⁴ *Id.*, "Die Seigneurie de Joscelin und der Deutsche Orden," in Fleckenstein and Hellmann, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 171–216.

¹⁵ E. de Rozière, *Cartulaire de l'église du Saint Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1849); G. Bresc-Bautier, *Le cartulaire du chapitre du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1984).

¹⁶ *CH* II, appendix.

¹⁷ H.-F. Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de N.-D. de Josaphat* (Paris, 1880); C. Kohler, "Chartes de l'abbaye de N.-D. de la vallée de Josaphat en Terre-Sainte, 1108–1291," *ROL* 7 (1900), 108–97.

¹⁸ J. L. La Monte, "A Register of the Cartulary of the Cathedral of Santa Sophia of Nicosia," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30), 439–522; N. Coureas and C. Schabel, *The Cartulary of the Cathedral of Holy Wisdom of Nicosia* (Nicosia, 1997).

¹⁹ E. Strehlke, *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici* (Berlin, 1869; reprint ed. H. E. Mayer, Jerusalem, 1975).

²⁰ A. de Marsy, "Fragment d'un cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint-Lazare en Terre Sainte," in *AOL* II (1884), documents, 121–57.

²¹ *CH*.

²² *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Archivberichte und Texte*, ed. R. Hiestand, VOP I (Göttingen, 1972); *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge*, ed. *id.*, VOP II (Göttingen, 1984); for the papal registers of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries cf. the Bibliography.

²³ For these calendars cf. the Bibliography.

after a short siege, and documents were probably transported to Tyre²⁴ and from there, in 1191, to Acre. Rather, it was al-Ashraf's conquest of Acre in 1291, because the city was taken by storm and razed to the ground. The military orders' central archives included their provincial archives for the kingdom of Jerusalem. The individual eastern preceptories and castles had their own archives which have not survived. Some time before 1291, the Hospitallers must have sensed that their days in mainland Syria were numbered. Precious relics²⁵ as well as thousands of charters from the central archive were sent to southern France. These charters were apparently not incorporated into the Hospitallers' subsequent central archives on Cyprus (1291–1310) or Rhodes (1310–1522). They were inventoried in southern France in the sixteenth century²⁶ and, after a number of them had been brought to the new central archive on Malta (1530–1798), inventoried again in the eighteenth century. In 1741/2, the remaining charters were sent to Malta where they never arrived.²⁷ Some of the charters that had been brought to Malta earlier from both Rhodes and southern France were edited by Sebastiano Pauli in the 1730s.²⁸ In the late nineteenth century, Joseph Delaville Le Roulx revisited the Maltese archive, launched a search of other European archives, and published his *Cartulaire général* (1894–1906) which remains the most extensive collection of pre-1310 Hospitaller charters and normative texts.²⁹ While he strove for completeness with regard to the Latin east, Delaville Le Roulx only included a representative sample of documents from the order's western provinces, and recent editions of western cartularies suggest that more treasures wait to be unearthed.³⁰ With regard to the Hospitallers' post-1310 history,

²⁴ A. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Early Written Records," in J. France and W. G. Zajac, *The Crusades and Their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton* (Aldershot, 1998), 138, suggests that the Hospitallers brought their archive to one of their castles in 1187. In light of Saladin's conquering spree which affected many a crusader castle, this seems unlikely. The coastal city of Tyre offered at least a maritime escape route.

²⁵ Delaville Le Roulx, 39; cf. *CH* III 3797; *RRH* 1448a.

²⁶ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 68 (*Inventaire de Manosque* a. 1531); cf. *VOP* II, 19. An edition of this inventory is being prepared by Rudolf Hiestand.

²⁷ *VOP* I, 23, 48–50, 52, 55; *VOP* II, 19.

²⁸ S. Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta*, I–II (Lucca, 1733–7); cf. *VOP* I, 27.

²⁹ *CH*.

³⁰ Recent editions of charters include S. A. García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén*, I–II (Pamplona, 1957); M. Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera Essex* (Oxford,

an edition of even the most important charters and normative texts remains a *desideratum*.

The Templars' central archive is lost. During the siege of Acre in 1291, the Grand Preceptor Thibaut Gaudini managed to transfer some of the order's treasury, including relics, to Cyprus.³¹ This is corroborated by the fact that the head reliquary of St. Euphemia, which had been in the Holy Land prior to 1291, was later on display in the Templar church at Nicosia.³² Thibaut also must have taken the order's most important charters as the Templars did not have to ask the pope for the renewal of their privileges after 1291.³³ In fact, when the bishop of Lleida told the Templar preceptor of Gardeny—in the course of a dispute that had begun in 1288 and lasted several years—to produce certain original documents, the preceptor informed him that they were on Cyprus.³⁴ After the dissolution of the order (1312), the Templars' possessions were transferred to the Hospitallers. Since the latter had moved their headquarters to Rhodes by 1310, the Templars' central archive on Cyprus probably became part of the Hospitallers' Cypriote provincial archive which was apparently lost during the island's Turkish conquest in 1517.³⁵ The loss of the Templars' central archive reduces our knowledge of the activities in the order's convent, however, the careers of the conventual officials whose names are known can be traced through the order's western archives. Some time around 1900, the French Marquis André d'Albon began to make copies of Templar charters, trial records, inventories, and normative texts available in French and foreign archives. A few months after his death (1913), the

1982); *id.*, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Prima Camera Essex* (Oxford, 1996); *Libro de privilegios de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Castilla y León (siglos XII–XV): Ms. H 211 del Museum and Library of the Order of St. John de Londres*, ed. C. de Ayala Martínez (*s.l.*, 1995); D. Le Blévec and A. Venturini, *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1129–1210* (Paris, 1997).

³¹ "Excidium Aconis," ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in *The Fall of Acre 1291* (Turnhout, 2004), 92. M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), 311, has speculated that the order's central archive may have been kept at Atlit, not Acre. However, this would have impaired the convent's legal activities in the capital.

³² F. Tommasi, "I Templari e il culto delle reliquie," in G. Minnucci and F. Sardi, *I Templari: Mito e storia* (Siena, 1989), 197–8, 208.

³³ R. Hiestand, "Zum Problem des Templerzentralarchivs," *Archivalische Zeitschrift* 76 (1980), 35–6.

³⁴ A. Forey, "Sources for the History of the Templars in Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia," *Archives* 21 (1994), 16–17.

³⁵ Hiestand, "Zum Problem," 19, 36–8.

first volume of his *Cartulaire*, covering the period until 1150, appeared in print; and a summary of the volume's charters and an index followed a few years later.³⁶ D'Albon's widow bequeathed her husband's collection to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France and initiated the publication of an *Introduction* to its contents; however, this *Introduction* lacks precise references and contains numerous errors.³⁷ This book utilizes the entire Collection d'Albon which has been neglected by scholars but has proven to be a gold-mine for prosopographical research. Modern publications indicate that there is still considerable editorial work to be done with regard to the Templars' western archives.³⁸ As for the order's eastern history, Pierre-Vincent Claverie has recently edited additional pieces and presented a catalog of documents.³⁹

Many of the Hospitallers' pre-1310 normative texts have been published in Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire général*, and while these editions do not meet present-day scholarly standards they may be used, albeit with caution, until new editions become available.⁴⁰ The Hospitallers' normative texts can be divided into four groups, namely the order's rule, compiled during the mastership of Raymond of Puy and confirmed by Pope Eugenius III (1145–53);⁴¹ secondly, the statutes of the order's general chapters which may have been held annually but did not generate new legislation every time,⁴² with those issued at Margat in

³⁶ A. d'Albon, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple, 1119?–50* (Paris, 1913); *Fascicule complémentaire*, ed. P. Fournier (Paris, 1922).

³⁷ BN, n.a.l. 1–71 (A. d'Albon, *Cartulaire de l'ordre du Temple*, ms. s. XIX–XX); cf. H. Omont, "Nouvelles acquisitions, 1921–3, du Département des Manuscrits," *BECh* 85 (1924), 11–16. E.-G. Léonard, *Introduction au cartulaire manuscrit du Temple, 1150–1317, constitué par le Marquis d'Albon et conservé à la Bibliothèque Nationale suivie d'un tableau des maisons françaises du Temple et de leurs précepteurs* (Paris, 1930).

³⁸ Forey, "Sources," 16; D. Le Blévec and A. Venturini, "Cartulaires des ordres militaires, XII^e–XIII^e siècles," in O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse, *Les cartulaires* (Paris, 1993), 452. Recent editions of charters include J. M. Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la casa del Temple de Barberà, 945–1212* (Barcelona, 1997); R. Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gerdany, 1070–1200*, I–II (Lleida, 1999); L. Paragolas i Sabaté, *Els Templers de les terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa): De Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Orde, 1213–1312* (Tarragona, 1999); A. Forey, "Letters of the Last Two Templar Masters," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 45 (2001), 145–71.

³⁹ P.-V. Claverie, *L'ordre du Temple en Terre Sainte et à Chypre au XIII^e siècle*, I–III (Nicosia, 2005), II, 411–50 (editions); III, 39–620.

⁴⁰ *CH*; cf. Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Early Written Records," 135–54; *id.*, "The Hospitallers' Early Statutes," *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 14 (75) (2003), 9–22. For a recent edition of a Madrid manuscript of the Hospitallers' early statutes cf. R. Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos antiguos de la orden de San Juan de Jerusalén: Versión original occitana y su traducción al español, según el código navarro del AHN de Madrid, 1314* (Pamplona, 1999).

⁴¹ *CH* I 70; *RRH* 111a; cf. *VOP* I, 361 n. 172; Hiestand, "Anfänge," 58.

⁴² For most of the Hospitallers' pre-1310 normative texts, the existing Old French

1204/6 being particularly significant for the role of the convent and its officials;⁴³ thirdly, the *esgarts*, namely rulings of the brothers on certain issues and specific cases; and fourthly, the *usances*, namely the order's customs,⁴⁴ with *usance* 109 (dated to 1239/71 but probably reflecting earlier practices) containing detailed information about the appointment of conventual officials.⁴⁵ We owe much of our knowledge of the order's early normative texts to William of St. Stephen who served as Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus *c.* 1300. In an Old French manuscript commissioned by him (Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852) and presumably written in Acre between 1278 and 1283, Katja Klement has recently discovered some unknown statutes of the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins (1177–87) dealing with daily life in the order's Jerusalem hospital.⁴⁶ By 1303, William had compiled another collection of normative texts (available in a later copy: BN, fr. 6049). This collection contains his own

versions are older and thus to be preferred. However, if one applies the *lectio difficilior* principle there are a few cases in which the Latin versions are to be preferred: the rule (*CH* I 70; *RRH* 111a); the statutes of '1176–7 (before III 23)' (*CH* I 494 and 504; *RRH* 547 and 539e); and the statutes of '1181 III 15 (Christmas style) or 1182 III 7 (Easter style)' (*CH* I 627; *RRH* 614a). The collection of statutes issued by Hugh Revel in 1262 (*CH* III 3039; *RRH* 1319b) may either summarize this master's first four general chapters (1258–61) since there is no reason to believe that this famous legislator would have waited until four years after his accession to hold his first general chapter, or the collection may date at least as far back as 1244, as § 10 discusses what was to be done when a master was captured by the Muslims, which suggests that this statute may have been passed after 1244 X 17, when Master William of Châteauneuf was captured at the battle of Gaza. Delaville Le Roulx's edition of the statutes of 1270 includes the statutes of 1274 and 1276 (*CH* III 3396; *RRH* 1374a). For the alleged Hospitaller general chapter of 1225 cf. Chapter Four.

⁴³ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

⁴⁴ *CH* II 2213 (collection of *esgarts* and *usances*); *RRH* 1093a. Delaville Le Roulx dated the first group of these texts (§ 1–20: *esgarts*), which mostly seem to reflect earlier practices, to 'before 1239 IV 5,' cf. *CH* II, p. 536. The second group (§ 21–87: *esgarts*; § 88–130: *usances*) probably dates '1239 IV 5–1271 IV 8' because *usance* 109 was likely written before the fall of the Krak des Chevaliers (1271 IV 8). According to its own introduction, the third group (§ 131–7: *usances*) was written down after the second group, and the contents suggest 'after 1291;' it was certainly recorded prior to 1303 when the collection that was later copied into BN, fr. 6049 (G. de Saint-Etienne, Règles de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, ms. s. XIV), was compiled. *CH* IV 4553, 4586, 4613–21, 4624, are early fourteenth-century *esgarts*, cf. *CH* II, p. 536. In the Templars' normative texts, the term *esgart* first appears in the Old French version of the rule, denoting the master's exclusive right to make changes to the rule, cf. *RT* 73.

⁴⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* n. 1093a.

⁴⁶ K. Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen und Ärzten: Eine unbekannte Verfügung des Johannitermeisters Roger des Moulins, 1177–87 im Codex Vaticanus Latinus 4852" (Dr. jur. dissertation, Universität Salzburg, 1996), 151–217 (facsimile edition, transcription, and German translation). For a recent edition and English translation of this text cf. S. Edgington, "Administrative Regulations for the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem dating from the 1180s," *Crusades* 4 (2005), 21–37.

thoughts about his order's leadership structures,⁴⁷ but it also shows that there was a considerable degree of confusion, especially with regard to the *esgarts* and *usances*.⁴⁸ It should be noted, furthermore, that William's efforts cannot be taken as evidence that rank-and-file Hospitallers around 1300 had a better grasp on their order's normative texts than their counterparts in the order of the Temple.

Only very few copies of the Templars' normative texts have survived, which does not mean that there were not many more prior to the trial against the order.⁴⁹ Eight different groups of texts can be distinguished, and all of them, with the exception of the first one, are undated. The 'primitive' rule (prologue, § 1–76) was the result of the council of Troyes (1129). It exists in an older Latin version, edited by Gustav Schnürer (1903), and in an Old French version, probably written by the late 1130s and edited by Henri de Curzon (1886) who also published the order's other Old French normative texts; a new edition by Simonetta Cerrini is expected shortly.⁵⁰ The second group, namely the *retraits* (claims) or 'Hierarchical Statutes' (§ 77–197), has been dated to c.1165 and is of great importance for this study as it describes the conventual offices and lists the particular claims of the office-holders

⁴⁷ BN, fr. 6049, f. 260^v–265; cf. L. Delisle, "Maître Jean d'Antioche et frère Guillaume de St. Etienne," in *Histoire littéraire de France*, XXXIII (Paris, 1906), 25–40.

⁴⁸ For example BN, fr. 6049, f. 215^v–216^v: *Ces sont aucunes usances de nostre maison les queles nous nen auons / peues metre avec les autres usances quar les trouames quen cestres autres chouses furent faites. Et por ce las aue(ns) mises yci apres des esgart[s] & por non fause les rubriques qui estoien daua(n)t.*

⁴⁹ The trial inventories, which remain largely unpublished, suggest that the royal officials in France found copies of the order's normative texts which are now lost; cf. Coll. d'Albon 8 (Arles), f. 48 (*unum librum paruum... continens quasdam regulas ipsius ordinis*), 380 (*quendam librum papirem continentem regulam templariorum in Romano... librum statutorum*). Thus, any argument that the Hospitallers had their normative texts in circulation, while the Templars did not, is hard to sustain.

⁵⁰ I follow Henri de Curzon's division of the Templars' normative texts into paragraphs. G. Schnürer, *Die ursprüngliche Templerregel* (Freiburg, 1903); H. de Curzon, *La règle du Temple* (Paris, 1886); S. Cerrini, "Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: L'ordre du Temple, 1120–1314: Étude et édition des règles latine et française" (Thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris IV, Paris-Sorbonne, 1997); cf. *ead.*, "La tradition manuscrite de la règle du Temple: Etudes pour une nouvelle édition des versions latine et française," in M. Balard, *Autour de la première croisade*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris, 1996), 203–19; Cerrini, "A New Edition of the Latin and the French Rule of the Temple," in Nicholson, *Welfare*, 207–15; Cerrini, "I Templari: una vita da 'fratres,' ma una regola anti-ascetica: una vita da cavalieri, ma una regola anti-eroica," in *I Templari: La guerra e la santità*, ed. *ead.* (Rimini, 2000), 19–48; *ead.*, *La révolution des Templiers* (Paris, 2007); cf. J. Verdegall, "La tradición traductora de la orden del Temple," in *Las Órdenes Militares: Realidad e Imaginario*, ed. M. D. Burdeus, E. Real, and J. Verdegall (Vila-real, 2000), 325–53; C. Vogel, *Das Recht der Templer* (Berlin, 2007), 71–102.

with regard to entourage and equipment.⁵¹ Thirdly, there are provisions concerning the election of the Templar master (§ 198–223) which take into account that a candidate might be residing in the west, which was the case in 1179/80 when Arnold of Torroja was elected in absence; thus, they were probably added at that time. What follows, fourthly, are a first set of disciplinary regulations (§ 224–67) and the *retraits* of the chaplain brothers (§ 268–78), probably issued between 1165 and 1187. The fifth group consists of statutes concerning conventual life (§ 279–385); these were based on the *retraits* and recorded prior to 1187.⁵² Then, sixthly, come the statutes regarding the holding of a chapter (§ 386–543); they were issued after 1218 as they mention the castle of Atlit which was built that year.⁵³ Seventhly, there is a second set of disciplinary regulations (§ 544–656) composed between 1257 and 1268 because of a reference to the Mongol invasion of 1257⁵⁴ but none to the loss of Gaston in northern Syria in 1268. The latter is mentioned in the Catalan fragment of the Templar rule which has recently been edited by Judith Upton-Ward and contains a number of unique variants.⁵⁵ The final group of the Templars' normative texts deals with the reception into the order (§ 657–86); it seems to have been issued before 1291 as it takes the order's presence in mainland Syria for granted.⁵⁶ Thus, legislation in the Temple took forms that were rather different from those employed by the Hospital.⁵⁷ This is not surprising. The Templars had been involved in military tasks from the beginning. Once their basic organization was in place, namely by the second half of the twelfth century, it only needed to be fine-tuned as needed. The Hospitallers, on the other hand, transformed themselves into a military order with a strong charitable branch over a much longer period of time. Their

⁵¹ J. Upton-Ward, *The Rule of the Templars: The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templars* (Woodbridge, 1992), 13. The existence of statutes beyond the rule was acknowledged in papal documents by 1179, cf. VOP II, 100. Against the dating to c.1165, Cerrini, *Révolution*, 196, has suggested that the earliest *retraits* may have been recorded even before 1139; Vogel, *Recht*, 104–8, on the other hand, has argued in favor of a much later date, possibly even after 1191. The traditional view, namely c.1165, still seems the most plausible.

⁵² RT 326; cf. Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 14–15.

⁵³ RT 408; cf. H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), 124.

⁵⁴ RT 576.

⁵⁵ J. Upton Ward, *The Catalan Rule of the Templars* (Woodbridge, 2003), § 180 (Gaston).

⁵⁶ RT 661; Vogel, *Recht*, 108, dates this group to the mid-1260s.

⁵⁷ Cf. K. Toomaspoeg, "I cavalieri templari e giovanitti," in C. Andenna and G. Melville, *Regulae—Consuetudines—Statuta: Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo* (Münster, 2005), 387–401.

dual role required additional legislative work, especially since whenever the kingdom of Jerusalem lost its capital, as in 1187 and 1291, they lost their headquarters as well as their central care facility. Thus, the argument based on a comparison of the two orders' normative texts that the Templars lacked structural adaptability or showed themselves less willing to be reformed⁵⁸ is hard to sustain.

There is a body of material for the history of the Templars that, although tragic, contains a wealth of information about the central convent and its officials, namely the records of the fourteenth-century trial which led to the order's dissolution. At the beginning of the affair, the master and the grand preceptor of the east were in France while the other conventual officials (the marshal, the preceptor of Cyprus, the draper, the turcopolier, and the treasurer) remained on Cyprus. It is therefore fortunate that considerable portions of the French trial records, edited by Jules Michelet (1841/51), and the Cypriote trial records, edited by Konrad Schottmüller (1887) and translated by Anne Gilmour-Bryson (1998), have survived.⁵⁹ The trial records of other European countries, particularly Aragón and Britain, also feature numerous references to conventual officials.⁶⁰

There are few narrative sources for the orders' conventual history in the twelfth century. William of Tyre (d.1186), the author of the most important chronicle, was not a friend of the military orders because their exempt status was a thorn in the flesh of the Latin clergy to which William belonged; thus, he rarely referred to the conventual officials.⁶¹ The travel accounts of pilgrims at least offer descriptions of the orders'

⁵⁸ J. Riley-Smith, "The Structures of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital in c.1291," in S. Ridyard, *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2004), 125–43; *id.*, "Towards a History of Military Religious Orders," in K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert, and H. Nicholson, *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean, and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell* (Aldershot, 2007), 281.

⁵⁹ J. Michelet, *Le procès des Templiers*, I–II (Paris, 1841–51); K. Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens*, I–II (Berlin, 1887), II.3, 141–400; A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition* (Leiden, 1998); cf. N. Coureas, *The Latin Church in Cyprus, 1195–1312* (Aldershot, 1997), 141–53.

⁶⁰ J. M. Sans i Travé, *El procés dels Templers catalans* (Lleida, 1990); until the publication of the new edition of the British trial which is being prepared by Helen Nicholson, I use the transcriptions in Coll. d'Albon 61–3.

⁶¹ Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, I–II (Turnhout, 1986); cf. R. Hiestand, "Zum Leben und Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus," *DA* 34 (1978), 345–80; P. Edbury and J. G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), 124, 129.

Jerusalem headquarters.⁶² For the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the narrative sources become more detailed. Next to the various Old French continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle, the *Annales de Terre Sainte* and the chronicle of the so-called 'Templar of Tyre' contain references to the convent and its officials.⁶³ Jean de Joinville (d.1317), the biographer of King Louis IX of France, remembered a number of Templar officials he had met personally in the mid-thirteenth century.⁶⁴ For the Cypriote phase of the orders' history, there is the chronicle of Amadi, the fifteenth-century Old Italian translation of a lost Old French chronicle written shortly after 1310.⁶⁵ With regard to Arabic narrative sources, the chronicle of Ibn al-Furat (d.1405) is especially revealing as it refers to the close personal relationship between the Templar Preceptor Matthew Sauvage and the Mamluk Sultan Baybars.⁶⁶ Finally, inscriptions, memorial sources (such as the *martyrologium*

⁶² Particularly Theodericus, "Libellus de locis sanctis," ed. R. B. C. Huygens, in *Peregrinationes tres* (Turnhout, 1994), 143–97; B. Z. Kedar, "A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital: A Provisional Edition of Clm. 4620, f. 132v–139v," in Nicholson, *Welfare*, 3–26 (reprint CS 868 X).

⁶³ "L'estoire de Eracles empeur," in *RHCr Occ II* (Paris, 1859), 1–481; "Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr de 1229 à 1261, dite du manuscrit de Rothelin," in *RHCr Hist Occ II* (Paris, 1859), 483–639; *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr, 1184–97*, ed. M. R. Morgan (Paris, 1982). Related to these continuations is the *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871). Cf. J. H. Pryor, "The Eracles and William of Tyre: An Interim Report," in B. Z. Kedar, *The Horns of Hattin* (Jerusalem, 1992), 270–93; P. Edbury, "The Lyon Eracles and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre," in B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith, and R. Hiestand, *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer* (Aldershot, 1997), 139–53; *id.*, "Crusader Sources from the Near East, 1099–1204," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 132 (2007), 30–1, 36–7; *id.*, "The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition," *Crusades* 6 (2007), 69–105; *id.*, "The Old French William of Tyre and the Origins of the Templars," in N. Housley, *Knighthoods of Christ: Essays on the History of the Crusades and the Knights Templar, Presented to Malcolm Barber* (Aldershot, 2007), 151–64. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. R. Röhrich and G. Raynaud, in *AOL II* (1884), documents, 427–61. *Les gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887); "Les gestes des Chiprois," ed. G. Paris, L. de Mas Latrie, and C. Kohler, in *RHCr Doc Arm II* (Paris, 1906), ccxix–cclxiv, 651–872 (a reprint of Raynaud's 1887 edition); *Cronaca del Templare di Tiro, 1243–1314*, ed. L. Minervini (Naples, 2000), with an Italian translation; *The Templar of Tyre: Part III of the Deeds of the Cypriots*, ed. P. Crawford (Aldershot, 2003), with extensive commentary.

⁶⁴ Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. J. Monfrin (Paris, 1995).

⁶⁵ "Chronique d'Amadi," ed. R. de Mas Latrie, in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi*, I (Paris, 1891); cf. P. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge, 1991), 125; Coureas, *Latin Church*, xi.

⁶⁶ Ibn al-Furat, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes, and Crusaders: Selections from the Tarikh al-Duwal wa'l-Muluk*, ed. U. Lyons, M. C. Lyons, and J. Riley-Smith, I–II (Cambridge, 1971).

of the Templars of Rheims),⁶⁷ and *realia* (such as seals, medieval maps, and archaeological evidence) contribute to our understanding of the convent and its officials.⁶⁸

Modern scholars have acknowledged the convent's significant role as both a location and a community providing leadership. In terms of location, Jonathan Riley-Smith (1967) has referred to the convent as a 'seat of government;' Alain Demurger (2002)—almost in passing—has hinted at its importance as a 'religious edifice;' and Klaus Militzer (2005) has listed its various physical components: it was the residence of the master and the conventual officials, the repository for the order's treasury and its most important documents, and the place where, at least in theory, general chapters and magisterial elections were to be held.⁶⁹ In short, if one were to compare the military order to a body, the convent would have to be considered its heart. Secondly, scholars have discussed the conventual community and its composition. According to Delaville Le Roulx (1904), the convent consisted above all of the officials in charge of the order's central administration. Riley-Smith (1967) has identified four distinct groups that made up the convent, namely the conventual officials (also known as 'conventual bailiffs'), the master's companions, the ancient brothers (i.e. individuals who had belonged to the order a certain number of years), and the conventual brothers. Meanwhile, Demurger (2002) has pointed out that the Templars used the term 'convent' primarily to refer to the order's 'fighting brothers' (knights and armed sergeants), while the Hospitallers employed it as a label for the council of the (eventually seven) conventual bailiffs (i.e. grand preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, treasurer, draper, turcopolier, and admiral).⁷⁰ However, as one can see from James of Molay's statement quoted at the beginning of this introduction, both orders shared the idea of the convent as a community of high-ranking officials. Thirdly, scholars have speculated about the various models that may have inspired the military orders as they devised their conventual structures. Alan Forey (1992) has acknowledged the influence of contemporary lay administration, considering that the military orders utilized titles and

⁶⁷ BN, lat. 15054 (Martyrologium of the Templars of Rheims, ms. a. 1533), f. 38^v–54, 77–82.

⁶⁸ Cf. particularly the recent synthesis, A. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders* (London, 2006).

⁶⁹ Riley-Smith, 279; Demurger, *Chevaliers*, 117; K. Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart, 2005), 22.

⁷⁰ Delaville Le Roulx, 314; Riley-Smith, 279–83; Demurger, *Chevaliers*, 117.

offices known “in most royal and princely courts of the time.” Demurger (1993) has detected a Cistercian influence in the military orders’ emphasis on chapter meetings as well as traces of ‘feudal organization’ (*organisation féodale*) in the orders’ practice that inferiors had to provide counsel while superiors had to take counsel. Militzer (1999) has observed that, in creating their administrative structures, the orders also allowed themselves to be inspired by one another: the Hospitallers, for example, at least partially adopted Templar structures (and this study will show that such imitation worked both ways).⁷¹

Fourthly, scholars have commented on the relationship between convent and master. With regard to the Hospitaller convent, Delaville Le Roulx (1904) has spoken of the ‘assistance’ it provided to the master in the order’s ongoing administration, and Militzer (1999) has reiterated that the military orders’ top administrative level (i.e. the conventual officials) had originally been created to provide ‘relief’ to the master. Yet, according to Riley-Smith (1967), there was also an element of ‘control,’ and Judith Bronstein (2005) has argued that, while the Hospitaller master was ‘assisted’ by the conventual officials, his authority was ‘counterbalanced’ by the general chapter. With regard to the Templars, Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele (1974) has stated that the master’s authority was ‘limited’ by the convent and the chapter. Malcolm Barber (1994) has preferred the neutral term ‘consultation’ when characterizing the interaction between master and convent (or chapter). Claverie (2005) has emphasized the hierarchical element in the order’s leadership structures, but Christian Vogel (2007) has claimed that master and convent could only act ‘together,’ and that there were therefore no ‘lonely’ decisions of the order’s master.⁷² Based on a key statement in the Templars’ normative texts, namely that ‘all brothers of the Temple had to obey the master and that ‘likewise the master had to obey his convent,’ Marion Melville (1951/74) has concluded that directives in the order probably came primarily from the master’s council, namely a small group of high officials and distinguished knights who formed the master’s entourage, and that the general chapter was then called

⁷¹ A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1992), 157; A. Demurger, *Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple, 1120–1314*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1993), 103; K. Militzer, *Von Akkon zur Marienburg: Verfassung, Verwaltung und Sozialstruktur des Deutschen Ordens, 1190–1309* (Marburg, 1999), 115.

⁷² Delaville Le Roulx, 314; Militzer, *Von Akkon*, 115; Riley-Smith, 279; J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land, Financing the Latin East, 1187–1274* (Woodbridge, 2005), 7–8; Bulst-Thiele, 63; Barber, 187; Claverie I, 103–36; Vogel, *Recht*, 249.

upon to affirm their decisions. Consequently, in Helen Nicholson's view (1993), the convent advised the master in theory, but in practice this was done by a "a smaller group of older and more experienced brothers."⁷³ The relationship between master and convent certainly shows that hierarchy and collective leadership were not mutually exclusive. Finally, scholars have acknowledged the military orders' structural flexibility. According to Hans Prutz (1908), the structures that had been devised for the orders' humble beginnings turned out to be 'extraordinarily expandable.' Forey (1992) has pointed out that the orders' administration developed "as needs required" and subsequently remained flexible. Most recently, Riley-Smith (2007) has declared the "ability to adapt to new circumstances" an "abiding feature of the history" of the military orders,⁷⁴ and this study will show that this is true for the central convent of both Hospitallers and Templars.

Prosopographical research has a long tradition in the study of the crusades and the Latin east. As early as the seventeenth century, Charles Du Cange presented his work on the *Familles d'Outremer* (critically revised by Emmanuel Rey in 1869) which contains lists of the Templar and Hospitaller masters. Then, based on Eugène Rozière's edition of the cartulary of the Holy Sepulcher, Adolphe Tardif compiled lists of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries mentioned in the cartulary (1852). In 1887, Reinhold Röhricht published his *Syria sacra*, an overview of the personnel of the Latin church in the crusader states.⁷⁵ In the last two decades of the twentieth century, Röhricht's work was continued at Heinrich-Heine-Universität Düsseldorf in the form of a database project ('Prosopographie des lateinischen Klerus der Kreuzfahrerstaaten') which has resulted in several publications.⁷⁶ In addition, there are

⁷³ RT 98: *Trestous les freres dou Temple doivent estre obedient au Maistre, et li Maistres si doit estre obedient a son covent*; M. Melville, *La vie des Templiers*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1974), 102; H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester, 1993), 4.

⁷⁴ H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden* (Berlin, 1908), 258; Forey, 149; Riley-Smith, "Towards a History," 284.

⁷⁵ C. Du Cange, *Les familles d'Outremer*, ed. E. G. Rey (Paris, 1869), 869–94; A. Tardif, "Cartulaire de l'église du Saint-Sépulcre de Jérusalem," *BECh*, 3e série, 3 (1852), 513–32; R. Röhricht, "Syria sacra," *ZDPV* 10 (1887), 1–48.

⁷⁶ For example R. Hiestand, "Der lateinische Klerus in den Kreuzfahrerstaaten: Geographische Herkunft und politische Rolle," in H. E. Mayer, *Die Kreuzfahrerstaaten als multikulturelle Gesellschaft: Einwanderer und Minderheiten im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 1997), 43–68; W. Antweiler, *Das Bistum Tripolis im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Düsseldorf, 1991); C. Tischler, *Die Burgenses von Jerusalem im 12. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt, 2000); also (written as a Ph.D. dissertation at Kiel University), T. Eck, *Die Kreuzfahrerbistümer Beirut und Sidon im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert auf prosopographischer Grundlage* (Frankfurt, 2000).

prosopographical studies of individual crusades.⁷⁷ With regard to the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple, we have several prosopographical *prolegomena*. In 1888, Rey published lists of Templar officials in a two-part essay, and these lists were later augmented by Laurent Dailliez (1980).⁷⁸ On the basis of the records of the Templar trial, Amadée Trudon des Ormes compiled lists of officials for the later period of the order's history (1897–1900).⁷⁹ Even though he was not the first to do so, Delaville Le Roulx submitted lists of Hospitaller officials, first on the basis of Pauli's *Codice diplomatico* (1883), then on the basis of his own *Cartulaire général* (1904), and his lists are already rather precise.⁸⁰ In recent years, Bronstein has presented an annotated list of the Hospitallers' eastern personnel between 1187 and 1274, and Claverie has done the same for the Templars' conventual officials in the thirteenth century.⁸¹ While their lists serve as supplementary material and, thus, utilize very few references, Chapter Nine of this book makes a first attempt to list and, whenever necessary, briefly comment on all references available for the conventual officials. Only a few conventual officials (again, not counting masters) have received individual attention so far, among them the Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii and the Hospitaller Preceptor Boniface of Calamandrana.⁸²

This study combines institutional history and prosopography. The latter has been defined as “collective or comparative biographical studies

⁷⁷ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1997); J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–21* (Philadelphia, 1986).

⁷⁸ E. G. Rey, “L'ordre du Temple en Syrie et à Chypre,” *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 24 (1888), 241–56, 367–79, 241–56, 367–79; S. Rovik, “The Templars in the Holy Land during the XIIth Century,” (D. Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1987), largely follows Rey's lists; L. Dailliez, *Les Templiers: Gouvernement et institutions*, I (Nice, 1980), 144–71. The Templar prosopography by J.-L. Alias (2002) is not a scholarly work.

⁷⁹ A. L. A. Trudon des Ormes, “Liste des maisons et de quelques dignitaires de l'ordre du Temple en Syrie, en Chypre et en France d'après les pièces du procès,” *ROL* 5 (1897), 389–459; 6 (1898), 156–213; 7 (1900), 223–74, 504–89.

⁸⁰ Prior to Delaville Le Roulx: P. A. Paoli, *Dell'origine ed istituto del sagro militar ordine di S. Giovambattista Gerosolimitano, detto poi di Rodi, oggi di Malta, dissertazione* (Rome, 1781), 264–329, chapters XIII–XIV (very fragmented lists of conventual officials); chapter XVIII (a list of the Hospitallers at the time of Gerald, the Hospital's first ‘master’); K. Herquet, *Chronologie der Grossmeister des Hospitalordens während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1880), 38 (“Uebersicht über die Grosspräceptoren”), 209–27; Delaville Le Roulx, 407–34. The lists in B. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte des Malteserordens* (Vienna, 1969), 61–8, contain numerous errors.

⁸¹ Bronstein, 147–154; Claverie II, 321–39.

⁸² E. G. Rey, “Geoffrey Foucher: Grand-commandeur du Temple, 1151–70,” *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 30 (1894), 259–69; J. Burgdorf, “A Mediterranean Career in the Late Twelfth Century: The Hospitaller Grand Commander Boniface of Calamandrana,” in Borchardt *et al.*, *Hospitallers*, 73–85.

of given groups of people set off from the rest of society by office, occupation, social status, and the like... [which] generally... include the study of social, familial, and geographical origins, careers, common interests and ties."⁸³ The collective study is the precondition for the comparative study, and only the comparative study allows for links between personal biography and institutional history.⁸⁴ If one were to describe the conventual organization and officials merely on the basis of normative texts one would obtain the institutional history of the orders' 'ideal' structures. By linking institutional history and comparative biography, a somewhat more complete picture emerges, even though the picture remains incomplete due to gaps in the historical record.

The question of comparability arises on various levels, beginning with the sources. Since much of the Hospitallers' central archive has survived but that of the Templars is lost, information concerning the Hospitaller convent is more dense. Because of the way the orders' normative texts have come down to us (namely in the case of the Hospitallers in several small, usually datable groups of statutes, but in the case of the Templars in a few blocks of only approximately datable statutes) the development of the Hospitaller convent can be traced in more detail than that of the Templars. The question of comparability also presents itself with regard to the chronology in which the officials appear in various source types.

Table 1 shows that some cases are definitely more comparable than others. For example, in both communities the office of preceptor seems to have emerged roughly at the same time, while approximately seventy years elapsed between the first charter evidence for a Hospitaller treasurer and the first charter evidence for a Templar treasurer, which needs to be taken into account in a comparative study of the two orders' financial administration. The issue of comparability continues on the purely numerical level. Any prosopography is a work in progress; thus, quantifying statements must be made with caution. This study discusses nine Hospitaller offices and eight Templar offices. The sum total of individuals who occupied these respective offices is 250 in a ratio of 3 to 2, namely 147 Hospitallers and 103 Templars (including all known lieutenants, but not considering that several persons held the same office more than once).

⁸³ G. Beech, "The Scope of Medieval Prosopography," *MP* 1.1 (1980), 6.

⁸⁴ L. Stone, "Prosopography," in F. Gilbert and S. Graubard, *Historical Studies Today* (New York, 1972), 134.

Table 1: The Conventual Officials' First Appearance in Various Source Types⁸⁵

office	Hospitallers				Templars			
	charters	normative texts	narrative sources	other sources	charters	normative texts	narrative sources	other
seneschal	[1141]	[1204/6]	—	—	1129/30 TS 1132 EU	1129	(1179) (Arabic)	—
preceptor	1150	1177/83	1250	—	1155	c.1165	1250	—
gprec.	1180	1204/6	1258	—	1179/80	c.1165	1239	—
marshal	1165	1204/6	1191	—	1188	c.1165	1189	IS: (1153) L: 1187
hospitaller	1162	1176/7	—	—	—	—	—	—
draper	1221	1204/6	1250	—	1241	1135/47	1308	—
treasurer	1135	1204/6	(1187)	IS: 1206	(1204)1207	c.1165	(1221)1250	—
prior	1136 EU; 1163 TS	1177/83	1256	—	[1148] chap.	[c.1165] chap.	—	L: 1225 TR: 1271
admiral	1299	1300	—	—	[1301]	—	—	—
turcopolier	1248	1303	—	—	1262	before 1244	1308	—

Table 2: A Numerical Overview of the Conventual Officials

office (Hospitallers)	number	office (Templars)	number
masters	24	masters	23
—	—	seneschals	12
preceptors	42 + 11 lieutenant	preceptors	34
—	—	prec. (Ac.) 1191–1291	8
prec. (Cyp.) from 1291	3	—	—
marshals	28 + 11 lieutenant	marshals	20 + 21 lieutenants
hospitallers	19	—	—
drapers	11 + 11 lieutenant	drapers	8 + 11 lieutenant
treasurers	21	treasurers	8
priors	13 + 11 lieutenant	priors	3
admirals	3	—	—
turcopoliers	3	turcopoliers	7
total (without masters)	143 + 4 lieutenants	total (without masters)	100 + 3 lieutenants

⁸⁵ Dates in square brackets refer to officials who did not hold a sufficient rank in their respective order to permit comparability (e.g. the Hospitaller seneschal's status was not comparable to that of the Templar seneschal). Dates in round brackets indicate that the respective office is 'described' but not explicitly mentioned in the source, or that the date is inferred. Unless otherwise indicated all references pertain to the east.

Table 2 suggests, again, that some cases are more comparable than others. For example, considering the Hospitaller-Templar ratio of 3 to 2, the marshals and drapers of both orders are numerically comparable, while the treasurers are not comparable at all (but then the office of Templar treasurer was only gradually separated from that of preceptor of the land). The 250 officials mentioned above do not equal 250 individuals, because it was possible to occupy several offices in the course of one career. The ‘actual’ number of individuals is 230, namely 136 Hospitallers and 94 Templars (the ratio still being 3 to 2). Since the documentation is more extensive for the Hospitallers, it is not surprising that we know more of this order’s officials. That the time period under consideration here is about twenty years shorter for the Templars (1120–1310) than for the Hospitallers (1099–1310) does not play into this numerical ratio, because the first official to appear in either order’s headquarters (apart from the master) was the Templar seneschal (1129/30), while the first Hospitaller official, the treasurer, did not appear until five years later (1135). The question of comparability also exists on the level of persons. How can one compare the Templar Adam of Cromwell for whom there is one piece of evidence with the Hospitaller William of Villaret for whom there are over one hundred pieces of evidence (both were drapers of their respective orders)? The solution lays in the criteria for the comparison. Their careers cannot be compared, however, their tenure as drapers can, because only two pieces of the documentation for William of Villaret refer to his activities as draper.

In prosopographical work, identifiability is another key concern. Of the 230 persons mentioned above, only 21 (10 Hospitallers and 11 Templars) are not known by name and cannot be identified with any other person. The members of the military orders were aware of this problem. In 1311, the Templar Adalbert of Porta stated during the French trial that he had attended the reception of two knights into the order ‘whose names and cognomina he did not know.’⁸⁶ Adalbert probably realized that one simple name would not have sufficed to identify a person. The distinguished diplomatic historian Paul Kehr once remarked ‘that the name Leo was as common in medieval Rome as blackberries in England,’ and the same is true of all the Johns,

⁸⁶ *Procès II*, 172: *quorum nomina et cognomina ignorat*.

Peters, and Williams in the crusader states.⁸⁷ At the Hospitallers' twelfth-century headquarters, the name Stephen was extraordinarily common. A survey of charters issued between 1136 and 1184 indicates that there were at least four different Stephens in 1141, and while there was never more than one Stephen per charter from 1150 on, this does not mean that we are not dealing with several different Stephens who held various offices. One Stephen may have alternated between the offices of treasurer and hospitaller between 1167/73 and 1181, but since this cannot be verified, we must operate under the assumption that there were at least two different persons.⁸⁸

When it comes to avoiding identification errors, cognomina are very useful. At least seven different types of cognomina can be distinguished, namely an additional first name (e.g. Gonsalve *Martin*); secondly, a patronym (e.g. Peter *Galterii*); thirdly, a family name (e.g. Albert of *Schwarzburg*); fourthly, a toponym (which could refer to an individual's actual geographical origin, his prolonged stay at a certain place, or a key event in his life that had occurred at this place, such as the reception into an order; e.g. Amblard of *Vienne*); fifthly, a personal characteristic (e.g. Nicholas *Lorgne*, 'the cross-eyed'); sixthly, a former title turned cognomen (e.g. Robert *Thesaurarius* who was probably identical with someone formerly known as Robert *Anglicus*); and finally, a title pertaining to an actual office (e.g. Berengar *senescalcus*).⁸⁹ However, the use of a title pertaining to an actual office does not necessarily prove that the person in question held the office at the time the document was written. For example, the Templar Aimo of Oiselay, who was present at numerous receptions into the order, is frequently referred to as the order's marshal in the records of the Templar trial. This does not mean that he held the post when these various receptions took place but, rather, that he was marshal when the respective trial depositions were made. The determination of who occupied a certain office at a certain time

⁸⁷ P. Kehr, *Ueber eine römische Papyrusurkunde im Staatsarchiv zu Marburg* (Berlin, 1896), 17; Hiestand, "Der lateinische Klerus," 51–2.

⁸⁸ For the dates and resulting sequence of these charters cf. Mayer II, *passim*; *RRH* 457, 201, 205, 204, 215, 226, 257, 274, 458, 434a, 502, 501, 516, 535, 547, 540, 558, 611, 603, 607, 640; cf. Chapter Nine: Stephen (H) treasurer, Stephen (H) hospitaller.

⁸⁹ P. Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: Les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille, 1252–1369* (Madrid, 2004), 382–390, distinguishes between simple names, double names (including *nomina paterna*, *nomina loci*, and nicknames), and complex names (containing additional information about lineage or a nickname).

is only possible on the basis of prosopographically corroborated lists of officials.

This study consists of three parts. The first part is an analytical history of the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars, with one chapter devoted to the Jerusalem phase (1099/1120–1187/91), one to the Acre phase (1191–1291), and one to the Cypriote phase (1291–1310). Each of these chapters compares the infrastructure, constituency, officials, and leadership structures of the two convents, followed by a discussion of selected issues, namely the conventual leadership structures as an imitation of a princely court; the Hospitaller convent and the resignation of Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170), which was the test by fire of that order's conventual leadership structures; the two convents and the Third Crusade (1187–91), a time when, at least temporarily, both orders had to function without a master and their accustomed headquarters; the Hospitallers' general chapter of 1204/6 which defined that order's leadership structures in a normative text with far-reaching consequences; the various roles of the conventual officials during the major crusades of the thirteenth century; the Hospitaller convent's opposition against their Masters Odo of Pins and William of Villaret (1295–1300), which sheds light on some very different interpretations of a military order's leadership structures; the two convents and the governmental crisis on Cyprus (1306–10), which found the Hospitallers on the side of King Henry II and the Templars on the side of his brother, Amaury of Lusignan; and finally, the Templars' conventual officials during the trial against the order (1307–14). In the second part, we turn to the specifics of conventual organization. Chapter Four considers how the conventual officials fit into their orders' hierarchies, namely their individual and collective titles, how they were installed into their respective offices, their insignia, the length of their tenure, their accountability, their entourage and equipment, as well as other manifestations of hierarchy, such as witness lists, command structures, judicial organization, and mechanisms of representation. Chapter Five discusses the conventual officials' various functions, and Chapter Six analyzes conventual collectives in action by looking at joint responsibilities, control mechanisms, and the charters issued or witnessed by groups of conventual officials. The third part focuses on the leading personnel. Chapter Seven explores their careers, namely their social, spatial, and hierarchical mobility, as well as career-impacting factors, service 'in the world,' and the double duty performed by some of them. Chapter Eight attempts to approach the officials' personalities by studying three different source types, namely letters

and charters, the records of the Templar trial, and narrative sources, to determine what criteria for the assessment of these personalities might be employed. Chapter Nine is a detailed prosopographical catalogue of the leading conventual officials, addressing (if necessary or if the pertaining information is available) name, origin, family, identity, and status; listing key literature; and presenting, in the form of chronologically ordered *regesta*, the evidence.

A few technical remarks. Diacritics have been omitted. Medieval names have been anglicized whenever possible (e.g. William of Senlis, not Guillelmus Silvanectensis; Stephen of Cissei, not Esteve de Soizy) because there is, in some cases, no scholarly consensus with regard to an individual's origin (e.g. William of St. Stephen, not Guglielmo di Santo Stefano or Guillaume de Saint Etienne). Medieval names have only been retained if their English equivalent, in the author's subjective judgment, is too different from the original or too modern-sounding (e.g. Terricus, not Theoderic or Terry). In all chronologically ordered lists, evidence that cannot be dated exactly is entered at the latest possible point. Dates and locations that have been inferred from depositions made during the Templar trial, as well as all other dates, parts of dates, and locations that are inferred rather than explicitly mentioned in the evidence, are given in round brackets. The maps of Jerusalem and Acre are largely based on medieval maps and therefore not to scale (and the eastern extent of Acre continues to be the subject of a scholarly debate). No lists of conventual officials have been added at the end of this book, because Chapter Five already contains updated and fully documented lists of these officials (Tables 17–34).

PART ONE

HISTORY

CHAPTER ONE

JERUSALEM (1099/1120–1187/91)

Infrastructure

Modern-day visitors to Jerusalem look largely in vain for the medieval headquarters of the Hospitallers because, with the exception of the Church of St. John the Baptist, the order's buildings served as a quarry for the rebuilding of the city's walls in the sixteenth century and, beginning in 1893, the Church of the Redeemer was erected on a section of the Hospitallers' former premises.¹ Yet, the rectangular area to the south of the Holy Sepulcher is still called 'muristan,' an Arabic word of Persian origin meaning 'hospital,' which is a reminder that the Hospitallers' origins predated the First Crusade and have to be seen in the context of the city's earlier Islamic medical services.² The Templars' Jerusalem headquarters, on the other hand, are still very visible as they used to be in and around al-Aqsa Mosque, an eighth-century structure standing on the foundations of an older basilica on the Haram al-Sharif (Temple Mount). To the crusaders, al-Aqsa was the temple or palace of Solomon (or the location of the same), however, the crusaders' changes and additions to al-Aqsa were undone by Saladin in 1187, and between 1938 and 1942, when extensive renovations were undertaken, the remaining crusader structures were dismantled and moved into the Islamic Museum which stands on the grounds of the former Templar refectory.³ All medieval maps of Jerusalem feature the Templars' headquarters, but only a few those of the Hospitallers. This is not surprising. The Templars' headquarters were associated with Solomon and therefore a *locus sanctus* (holy place) visited by pilgrims. The hospital of St. John, on the other hand, originally belonged to the compound of the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary of the Latins, an eleventh-century foundation which is listed on almost all medieval

¹ Dickie, "Lower Church," 43–5; Miller, "Knights," 729; Pringle, *Churches*, III, 192–207.

² Kedar, "Note," 9–11; cf. Schick, "Muristan," 42–56; Folda, *Art 1098–1187*, 274–81.

³ Lundgreen, "Geschichte," 671–2; Boase, "Ecclesiastical Art," 87; Folda, *Art 1098–1187*, 441–56; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 21; Pringle, *Churches*, III, 417–34. For the inscriptions cf. Sandoli, *Corpus*, 120–1 n. 159; Pringle, "Templar Inscription," 197–201; Sandoli, "Iscrizione," 19–20; Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 330.

maps. By 1099/1100, the hospital of St. John had become a separate, independent entity but was not considered a *locus sanctus* even though the Hospitallers would make every effort to attain that status.⁴

Table 3: The Jerusalem Headquarters of Templars and Hospitallers on Medieval Maps

map	date	Templars	Hospitallers	archive/source
Jerusalem (quadrangular)	c.1150	<i>Domus Militiae Templi, Stabula Salomonis</i>	<i>Hospitale sancti Iohannis</i>	Cambrai ⁵
Jerusalem (round)	c.1160	<i>Templum Salomonis, Clastrum Templi Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Paris ⁶
Jerusalem (round)	c.1170	<i>Templum Salomonis, Clastrum Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Den Haag ⁷
Jerusalem (round)	c.1180, copy s. XIV/XV	<i>Templum, Clastrum Salomonis</i>	<i>Hospitale</i>	Florence/Uppsala ⁸
Jerusalem (round)	c.1180, copy s. XIV	<i>Templum Salomonis, Clastra Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Copenhagen ⁹
Jerusalem (round)	c.1180	<i>Templum Salomonis, Clastra Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Stuttgart ¹⁰
Jerusalem (round)	1150/1200	<i>Templum Salomonis, Salomonis Clastrum</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Brussels ¹¹
<i>Terra Sancta</i> (road map)	c.1200	<i>Templum Salomonis</i>	<i>Hospitale Peregrinorum</i>	London ¹²
Jerusalem (quadrangular)	s. XII	<i>Templum Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	Montpellier ¹³
Jerusalem (round)	s. XII	<i>Templum Salomonis, Clastrum Salomonis</i>	— (only <i>Ecclesia Latina</i>)	St. Omer ¹⁴
<i>Terra Sancta</i> (focus: Acre)	c.1252	<i>Templum Salomonis</i>	—	Matthew Paris ¹⁵
Jerusalem (perspective)	(1320s)	<i>Domus Salomonis</i>	—	Marinus Sanutus ¹⁶

⁴ Delaville Le Roulx, *De prima origine*, 97–115; Hiestand, “Anfänge,” 39.

⁵ Röhricht, “Karten,” III, plate 4 (n. 3); Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 306.

⁶ Röhricht, “Karten,” IV, plate 5 (n. 9); Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 391.

⁷ Röhricht, “Karten,” IV, plate 3 (n. 7); Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 413.

⁸ Röhricht, “Karten,” IV, plate 1 (n. 5); Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 420; cf. Levy-Rubin, “Rediscovery,” 162–7 (this map, formerly kept at Florence, is now at Uppsala, University Library, ms. C 691); Beltjens, “Maison,” 275–96.

⁹ Röhricht, “Karten,” IV, plate 2 (n. 6); Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 443.

¹⁰ Röhricht, “Karten,” IV, plate 4 (n. 8); Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, lviii.

¹¹ Von den Brincken, *Kartographische Quellen*, plate 9; Sandoli, *Itinera*, II, 306.

¹² Röhricht, “Karten,” III, plate 5 (n. 4); Sandoli, *Itinera*, III, 6.

¹³ Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 190.

¹⁴ Sandoli, *Itinera*, I, 232.

¹⁵ Lago and Galliano, *Terra Santa*, 42–3.

¹⁶ Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” x; Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 446.

Shortly after the First Crusade, a pilgrim named Saewulf (1102/3) came to Jerusalem and visited a hospital dedicated to St. John the Baptist.¹⁷ Thirty years later, Rorgo Fretellus found a hospice for pilgrims as well as a hospital for the sick in the city, and he was probably referring to institutions run by the Hospitallers.¹⁸ Around 1170, the German pilgrim Theoderic reported that the Hospitallers cared for the elderly, the sick, and the feeble.¹⁹ An anonymous travel account written shortly thereafter (c.1180) relates that the Hospitallers provided services to men and women (including pregnant women) regardless of their nationality, social status, constitution (excluding leprosy), or religion (including Jews and Muslims), and that they looked after the city's orphans.²⁰ These accounts suggest that the Hospitallers expanded their activities in the course of the twelfth century, transforming a simple hospital or hospice into a complex charitable institution. John of Würzburg (1160/5) claimed to have heard that the Hospitallers could care for up to 2,000 patients at once, and he was convinced that even the order's officials were unable to fully comprehend the sum of their expenses.²¹ According to Theoderic, the hospital certainly had over 1,000 beds.²² After the Frankish victory over Saladin at Montgisard on 25 November 1177, the Hospitaller master reported that 750 of the severely injured were cared for in the hospital (*in hospitali*), and that 900 patients of the order's hospice (*nostrī hospitii*) had participated in a prayer before the battle, which confirms that the Hospitallers, at least by 1177, were operating both a hospital and a hospice.²³ The anonymous travel account of c.1180 lists eleven separate stations in the hospital and adds that, in case of emergency, the brothers' dormitory was used to accommodate the sick as well.²⁴ The hospital's activities were supported by a number of subsidiary departments: quarters for special guests (*nobiles peregrini*),²⁵

¹⁷ Saewulf, "Certa relatio," 67.

¹⁸ Rorgo Fretellus, ed. Boeren, 33; (Rorgo) Fretellus, ed. Macpherson, 39.

¹⁹ Theodericus, "Libellus," 157; cf. Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 23.

²⁰ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 18, 24, 25.

²¹ John of Würzburg, "Descriptio," 131–2; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 46; Mitchell, *Medicine*, 64.

²² Theodericus, "Libellus," 158.

²³ Ficker, "Invaliden-Paß," 170–2; Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, 127–8. Röhricht incorrectly gives the name of the Hospitaller master as Raymond; at that time, the office was held by Roger of Moulins.

²⁴ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 19; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 45.

²⁵ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 25–6. In 1184, for example, the Hospitallers hosted Duke Henry of Bohemia, cf. Röhricht, *Beiträge*, II, 321.

the *chambre de la karavane* where patients deposited their personal belongings,²⁶ and the *palais des malades* where patients took their meals.²⁷ In addition to a granary²⁸ there were two ovens,²⁹ two kitchens,³⁰ certain sections of Jerusalem's business streets owned by the Hospitallers,³¹ a cemetery,³² stables for the pack animals (*asinaria/asnerie*) near Stephen's Gate (modern-day Damascus Gate),³³ as well as baths.³⁴ Benjamin Kedar has argued that the hospital of St. John in Jerusalem, while less advanced than its Muslim and Byzantine counterparts in the east, was "an entirely new departure" compared to the hospitals in the west.³⁵ Even Saladin recognized its significance: in 1187, when he erased almost all vestiges of the Templars in Jerusalem, he expanded the hospital of St. John and gave permission to ten Hospitallers to continue their medical services in Jerusalem for one more year.³⁶ The Hospitallers' main church (St. John the Baptist), a structure dating back to the fifth century, received an elaborate addition in the twelfth century.³⁷ According to Rorgo Fretellus, its relics included one of the jars used at the Biblical wedding of Cana where Jesus had turned water into wine (John 2:1–11).³⁸ In 1269, the former Hospitaller Draper Roger of Vere brought a jar used at this same miracle from the Holy Land to England, which indicates that the Hospitallers took their relics with them when they left Jerusalem in 1187/8.³⁹ In 1143, Pope Celestine II placed the hospital of the Germans in Jerusalem under the Hospitallers' authority.⁴⁰ However, the latter did not have a hospital monopoly in

²⁶ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 170–1.

²⁷ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 168–71.

²⁸ Manosque, f. 284 28 M; *CH* I 494; *RRH* 547.

²⁹ Mayer I, 424.

³⁰ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 20.

³¹ 1143: the street leading to Mount Zion (Bresc-Bautier, 164–5 n. 68; Rozière, 158–9 n. 80; *RRH* 223); 1156: the street leading to the Gate of St. Stephen (*CH* I 249; *RRH* 329); 1174: the street between the Hospital and St. Mary of the Latins (*CH* I 464; *RRH* 516).

³² Rothelin, 502.

³³ *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latric, 199–200; Rothelin, 499–500; cf. Schein, "Latin Hospices," 82–3; Mayer II, 164; Boas, *Archaeology*, 48.

³⁴ Boas, *Archaeology*, 203.

³⁵ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 12.

³⁶ Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 396; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 40–1; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 78; cf. Röhricht, 463.

³⁷ Guillaume de Tyr XVIII.3, 812–13.

³⁸ (*Rorgo*) *Fretellus*, ed. Macpherson, 2–3.

³⁹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Roger of Vere.

⁴⁰ VOP III, 169–72 n. 50–1; *RRH* 214; cf. Röhricht, 241–2; Müller, *Jerusalem*, 6. For the hospital of the Germans cf. also John of Würzburg, "Descriptio," 133.

the holy city and its vicinity. The Armenians had a sizable hospital,⁴¹ which must have been considerably older since their community had been established in Jerusalem since late antiquity, and there was the lepers' hospital of St. Lazarus.⁴²

Unlike the Hospitallers, the Templars were a new creation of the crusader states. An incident at Easter 1119 may have played a part in the launching of this new community: Muslims had attacked a group of pilgrims between Jerusalem and the Jordan Valley (Jericho) on a road known for its dangers since Biblical times (Luke 10:30),⁴³ and the assault had shown the precarious position in which pilgrims found themselves once they left the *loca sancta* (holy places) controlled by the Franks to visit the more remote places mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. In 1120, Hugh of Payns and a group of knights appeared before the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, vowed to live permanently like regular canons in celibacy, obedience, and poverty, and made it their goal to protect the pilgrims. To ensure its viability, the new community was endowed both physically and legally. The king allowed them to use (originally only intended for a limited time) parts of al-Aqsa as living quarters, and the canons of the *Templum Domini* (Dome of the Rock/Qubbat al-Sakhra) gave them a piece of land near al-Aqsa to build workshops and storage facilities; and according to William of Tyre, it was this proximity of their living quarters to the *Templum Domini* that gave them their name. Moreover, they received a number of privileges and donations to keep them supplied.⁴⁴ In 1129, the Templars obtained their rule at the council of Troyes but remained subordinate to the patriarch of Jerusalem until Pope Innocent II elevated them to the rank of an exempt order by issuing the bull *Omne datum optimum* in 1139.⁴⁵

Even in the middle ages, there was some confusion about the fact that the priory (and later abbey) of the *Templum Domini* and the pilgrim-escorting community housed in the *Templum Salomonis* were two

⁴¹ John of Würzburg, "Descriptio," 133.

⁴² Jankrift, *Leprose*, 30–85.

⁴³ Albert of Aachen, *Historia*, 880; cf. Barber, "Origins," 224.

⁴⁴ Guillaume de Tyr XII.7, 553–4; date: Hiestand, "Kardinalbischof," 317. William of Tyre (*ibid.*) claims that the first group of Templars consisted of only nine individuals. According to the chronicle of Michael, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (1166–99), the first Templar community consisted of 30 *cavaliers*: *Chronique de Michel*, ed. Chabot, III, 201. Luttrell, "Earliest Templars," 193–202, has argued on the basis of the account left by Bernard le Trésorier, that the earliest Templars belonged to a community of knights subordinated to the prior of the Holy Sepulcher, and that they may have lived in the Hospitaller compound. Cf. Edbury, "Old French," 154–5.

⁴⁵ Hiestand, "Kardinalbischof," 300–1.

separate institutions (as well as two separate buildings), but no major conflict seems to have ensued from this confusion.⁴⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux wrote in his *Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae militiae* that the Templars were living in the temple of Jerusalem which was, as far as its structure was concerned, not the same as the old and very famous temple of Solomon, but certainly not inferior to the latter in fame.⁴⁷ The *Chronique d'Ernoul* points out that al-Aqsa was the richest of all the royal buildings in Jerusalem.⁴⁸ Even after it had been given to the Templars, al-Aqsa continued to host the coronation banquets of the kings of Jerusalem⁴⁹ and accommodated state visitors, among them the German King Conrad III (1148).⁵⁰ Jerusalem pilgrims were particularly impressed by the stables located underneath the al-Aqsa complex. John of Würzburg claimed that they could house 2,000 horses or 1,500 camels, and Theoderic even spoke of 10,000 horses,⁵¹ which does not mean that there were ever that many animals stabled there. The Templars built workshops and storage facilities in and around al-Aqsa, including a granary and a latrine,⁵² and began the construction of a new church.⁵³ Nonetheless, they also allowed Muslims (at least Usamah Ibn Munqidh) to enter the al-Aqsa complex to pray there.⁵⁴

The Templar rule (1129) and *retrais* (c.1165) contain detailed information about their convent's infrastructure. The community's accommodations in the former royal palace (or palace of Solomon) is hinted at in the rule's statement that the brothers should be taking their meals in the palace or, better said, in the refectory (*palatio, sed melius dicitur in refectorio*), and it may have been the palatial surroundings that caused

⁴⁶ Engermann, "Tempel," 532. In 1131, Alphonso I of Aragón issued a charter for the Holy Sepulcher, the Hospital, and the *Templum Domini [sic] cum militibus qui ad defendendum christianitatis nomen ibi vigilant*: CT 40.

⁴⁷ Bernard de Clairvaux, *Eloge*, 72, 74.

⁴⁸ *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 9. The other royal buildings in Jerusalem included the Tower of David and a palace in its vicinity. For a contemporary description of al-Aqsa cf. Saewulf, "Certa relatio," 68; Theodericus, "Libellus," 164; "Pilgerfahrt," ed. Leskien, 29.

⁴⁹ *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 118; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 21; Amadi, 52; Bustron, 288; cf. Mayer, "Pontifikale," 159–60.

⁵⁰ *Ottonis Episcopi Frisingensis et Rahewini Gesta Friderici*, ed. Schmale, 264.

⁵¹ John of Würzburg, "Descriptio," 134; Theodericus, "Libellus," 164–5; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 20, 24.

⁵² Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 51; Ibn al-A'tyr, "Extrait," I, 704; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 21, 24.

⁵³ John of Würzburg, "Descriptio," 134–5. For the other buildings cf. Theodericus, "Libellus," 164–5; cf. also Boas, *Archaeology*, 24.

⁵⁴ Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, 163–4; cf. Irwin, "Usamah," 74.

the authors of the rule to remind the brothers to exhibit humility at the table.⁵⁵ However, this exercise in humility was short-lived as the *retrais* speak of the tables of the palace (*tables dou palais*) where the conventual brothers ate in shifts.⁵⁶ The order's statutes list several other tables, such as the table of the infirmary where the best food was served to the community's sick members, the table of the turcoples, and the table of the household where the servants took their meals.⁵⁷ Apart from these dining facilities, the *retrais* mention the church (at first *mostier*),⁵⁸ then (probably referring to a new construction) the chapel,⁵⁹ the dormitory,⁶⁰ the master's private quarters,⁶¹ the infirmary,⁶² a room close to the latter for those who were severely ill,⁶³ and the house of the almoner where brothers served their penances.⁶⁴ With regard to storage facilities, the *retrais* refer to the lockable rooms of the treasury (including an especially secure room for valuable items),⁶⁵ the marshalcy,⁶⁶ the *quarravane* for equipment of all, but mostly the military kind,⁶⁷ the clothing store,⁶⁸ the wine cellar,⁶⁹ and the granary.⁷⁰ There were separate stables for horses, pack animals, pigs, and chickens,⁷¹ as well as workshops,⁷² the smithy, the farrier's workshop, the kitchen, the oven, and the garden,⁷³ as well as baths.⁷⁴ Like medieval monasteries, the convent of Hospitallers and Templars strove to be self-sufficient.

⁵⁵ UT 8; cf. RT 23.

⁵⁶ RT 292.

⁵⁷ RT 95, 270–1, 299; cf. Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 83, who suggests that the sergeants ate after the knights.

⁵⁸ RT 146, 194, 266.

⁵⁹ RT 318.

⁶⁰ RT 145.

⁶¹ RT 86, 194.

⁶² RT 194.

⁶³ RT 194; the term *l'hospital* is used as well: RT 138.

⁶⁴ RT 266. The almoner is also mentioned in the 'primitive' rule: UT 15; RT 29.

⁶⁵ RT 81, 113.

⁶⁶ RT 318.

⁶⁷ RT 80.

⁶⁸ RT 318.

⁶⁹ RT 196, 291.

⁷⁰ RT 319.

⁷¹ RT 78, 175, 196.

⁷² RT 318, 321.

⁷³ RT 196, 302.

⁷⁴ Boas, *Archaeology*, 203.

Constituency

The wide range of titles given to those somehow affiliated with Hospitallers and Templars in the early decades of the twelfth century complicates the task of the historian seeking to shed light on the two communities' constituency.⁷⁵ The traditional division into knight brothers, sergeant brothers, and priest or chaplain brothers, intended to reflect an ideal society consisting of those who fight, those who toil, and those who pray, is not the organizational point of departure but the result of a development over time. Until the adoption of a rule (sometime before 1153), the Hospitallers remained, strictly speaking, a lay community. The oldest label, probably in use since the Hospitallers' origins in the later eleventh century, was that of 'brother' (*frater*). An 1112 charter issued by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem uses the expanded form 'poor brothers of the Hospital' (*Hospitalis fratres pauperes*).⁷⁶ The term 'co-brother' (*confrater*) was originally used as a synonym for 'brother'⁷⁷ and only later restricted to those who wished to be affiliated with the community but were unwilling or unable to join as full members because their social or marital status. By c.1100, the Hospitallers were called *hospitalarii*, and this label was not limited to those working in the Jerusalem hospital. It was also used for Hospitallers in the west⁷⁸ where the title *hospitalarius* (hospitaller) was employed as early as 1109 to designate a subordinate official in the community's house at Béziers.⁷⁹ Priests who served in the Jerusalem hospital (without being 'priest brothers') can be found by 1119.⁸⁰ The distinction between cleric brothers and lay brothers (*fratribus, clericis et laicis*) appears in the east in an 1150 charter, and the hierarchical order, namely listing the cleric brothers first, is undoubtedly intentional.⁸¹ The rule of the Hospitaller Master Raymond of Puy, confirmed by Pope Eugenius III (1145–53), contains the same distinction (*clericorum et laycorum fratrum*) and adds the ranks of ordination of those clerics serving in the hospital (priest,

⁷⁵ Magnou, "Oblature," 377–97, pointed out as early as 1961 that there is a need for clarification with regard to the wide range of terms used by the military orders to denote affiliation.

⁷⁶ CH I 28; RRH 68a.

⁷⁷ Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 43 (1141, EU).

⁷⁸ CH I 2; cf. Beltjens, *Origines*, 156–7.

⁷⁹ CH I 17.

⁸⁰ CH I 53; RRH 90a; date: Mayer I, 65, 446; II, 852.

⁸¹ CH I 192; RRH 257.

deacon, subdeacon, and acolyte).⁸² The statutes of 1181/2 represent another step in the development: they speak of cleric, lay, and converse brothers (*clericis et laicis et conversis fratribus*), and, for the first time in a normative text, also of brothers-at-arms (*fratribus armorum, quos sacra domus honoranter tenebat*).⁸³ According to James of Vitry (d.1240), the Hospitallers followed the 'Templars' example when they admitted knights and sergeants to their community.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, James does not give us the date when this imitation took place. One Gilbert, *miles et frater Hospitalis* (knight and brother of the hospital), who appears in a charter issued in the east at the time of the Second Crusade, was formally affiliated with the Hospitallers, but that does not make him a 'knight brother'.⁸⁵ In the west, knights formally associated with the Hospitallers can be found even earlier (by 1144 at the latest).⁸⁶ The status of sergeant brother also developed over time. The Old French term *sergent* is the equivalent of the Latin *serviens*. The problem is that it can denote a servant (in Latin also known as *famulus*) or a squire (in Latin also known as *armiger* or *scutifer*), and 'squire' implies a distinct social relationship to a knight.⁸⁷ According to *Quam amabilis Deo*, the privilege granted to the Hospitallers by Pope Innocent II some time between 1140 and 1143, the Hospitallers retained sergeants for the protection of pilgrims (*servientes, quos fratres eiusdem domus ad hoc officium specialiter deputatos propriis sumptibus retinent*),⁸⁸ but these sergeants were not 'brothers,' they were mercenaries (in the positive sense of the word).⁸⁹ This particular wording remained unchanged whenever *Quam amabilis Deo* was reissued in the following decades—until 1179, when the pope let it be known that the brothers of the Hospital themselves did not shy away from giving their lives for their brothers, together with sergeants (not 'sergeant brothers') and horsemen delegated for this purpose (*fratres eiusdem domus non formidantes pro fratribus suis animas ponere cum serviens et equitaturis ad hoc officium specialiter deputatis*).⁹⁰ Neither the sergeants nor

⁸² CH I 70, preamble, § 3; RRH 111a.

⁸³ CH I 627; RRH 614a.

⁸⁴ Iacobus de Vitriaco, "Historia," chap. 65.

⁸⁵ Marsy, 127 n. 6; RRH 251; cf. Forey, "Militarisation," 78.

⁸⁶ CH I 81 (1128; this date is debatable, cf. *ibid.*, p. 76); CH I 159 (1144); cf. Beltjens, *Origines*, 318–19.

⁸⁷ Cf. Ayala Martínez, "Sergents," 227 (based on the Order of Santiago).

⁸⁸ VOP II, 160.

⁸⁹ Hiestand, "Anfänge," 71.

⁹⁰ VOP II, 160.

the horsemen seem to have been ‘brothers’ at this time. Yet, while the terms ‘knight brother’ (*frere chevalier*) and ‘sergeant brother’ (*frere sergent*) for members of the order of the Hospital do not appear until the statutes of 1204/6,⁹¹ these statutes seem to merely codify an organizational development that must have occurred shortly after 1179.

Unlike the Hospitallers who, probably due to their affiliation with the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary of the Latins, were called ‘brothers’ even before they had a rule, the Templars were not referred to as ‘brothers’ until they received their rule in 1129. Until then, both in the east and the west, the term *militēs* (knights) was used for them.⁹² The prologue of their rule calls those who appeared with Hugh of Payns in Troyes in 1129 ‘brothers.’⁹³ Thus, it was only in 1129 that the Templars became a *nova militia* (new knighthood) because their rule combined the lifestyles of those who fought and those who prayed. A charter issued in the west in 1130, one year after Troyes, even referred to the Templar Hugh Rigauldi as *servus et miles et frater predictae militie Templi Iherosolimitani*,⁹⁴ thereby combining all three, namely the one who worked (*servus*), the one who fought (*miles*), and the one who prayed (*frater*). Another charter calls him ‘co-brother’ (*confrater societatis eorum*),⁹⁵ and two years later we find him as co-brother, brother, and co-servant (*confrater societatis...frater et conservus*).⁹⁶ The term ‘knight brother’ (*frere chevalier*) appears in the Old French version of the rule⁹⁷ which may have been written in the late 1130s.⁹⁸ The *retrais* use the phrase ‘brothers of the convent’ (*freres dou covent*)⁹⁹ without any further explanation, but the context makes it clear that the convent in question was the order’s central convent. The clerics and priests (*clerici et sacerdotes*) the Templars were allowed to admit to care for their spiritual well-being first appear

⁹¹ CH II 1193, p. 35–6; RRH 800a.

⁹² Cf. CT 2–3. Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 162–3, refers to Fulk of Anjou, who stayed with the Templars in 1120, as a *confrater*, and claims that Hugh of Troyes, in 1125, entered the “order” as a “fully professed brother.” Considering that there was no ‘order’ of the Temple at that time, this terminology is problematic.

⁹³ UT iii; RT 7.

⁹⁴ CT 32.

⁹⁵ CT 33.

⁹⁶ CT 44.

⁹⁷ RT 51. The Latin version, in its corresponding paragraph, only speaks of *militēs*: UT 30.

⁹⁸ Cerrini, *Révolution*, 244.

⁹⁹ RT 79.

in *Omne datum optimum* (1139),¹⁰⁰ the charters feature Templar priests as early as 1140,¹⁰¹ and the later part of the *retrai*s (1165/87) dedicates a longer passage to the chaplain brothers (*freres chapelains*) who were to be held in particular esteem.¹⁰² It seems that sergeants (both servants and squires) were not considered ‘brothers’ at first. They are mentioned in the Latin rule (*armigeri, clientes, famuli*), but even the Old French version does not refer to them as ‘brothers.’¹⁰³ The pope was more inclusive: *Omne datum optimum* speaks of *fratres tam milites quam seruientes*¹⁰⁴ as well as *familias et seruientes uestros*,¹⁰⁵ and while the former refers to ‘brothers, both knights and sergeants,’ the latter means simple household servants (who were not yet considered ‘brothers’). At least some of the latter were included in the ‘brotherhood’ by the order’s *retrai*s which speak of the ‘sergeant brothers of the workshops’ (*freres sergents des mestiers*) who could, if need be, be equipped with eastern-style arms.¹⁰⁶ For ‘sergeant brothers-at-arms,’ the Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii used the term *fratres clientes* in an 1164 letter addressed to King Louis VII of France, and the same letter also mentions the order’s turcopolos (*de fratribus nostris ceciderunt in ore gladii sexaginta milites fortissimi, praeter fratres clientes et turcopolos*).¹⁰⁷

The turcopolos are one of the remarkable intercultural phenomena of the crusader states.¹⁰⁸ The Greek term *τουρκόπουλοι* (descendants of Turks) leaves some room for interpretation. Were these turcopolos the Christianized sons of Muslim fathers and Christian mothers,¹⁰⁹ or merely members of the indigenous Syrian population?¹¹⁰ Both

¹⁰⁰ VOP II, 99.

¹⁰¹ *CT* 202.

¹⁰² *RT* 268–78, here 268.

¹⁰³ *UT* 14, 17, 20; cf. *RT* 29, 31, 68.

¹⁰⁴ VOP II, 98.

¹⁰⁵ VOP II, 102.

¹⁰⁶ *RT* 102.

¹⁰⁷ *RHGF* XVI, 62–3 n. 197; *RRH* 404.

¹⁰⁸ For the turcopolos cf. Richard, “Turcoples,” 259–70; Savvides, “Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers,” 122–36 (however, he confuses Templars and Hospitallers, *ibid.*, 128–9); cf. also Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 111; Marshall, *Warfare*, 58–9; Sterns, “Teutonic Knights,” 338. By the thirteenth century, there were also turcopolos on the Iberian Peninsula. Berengar ‘the turcopole’ appears in the Templar charters of Tortosa (Spain) in 1229 and 1234: Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 44–6 n. 36, 53–4 n. 43.

¹⁰⁹ *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 569 (index); Richard, “Turcoples,” 260; Savvides, “Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers,” 122, 126–7.

¹¹⁰ Savvides, “Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers,” 128; according to Richard, “Turcoples,” 264, a Muslim captured by the Christians could avoid slavery by

Byzantines and crusaders employed them as auxiliary troops fighting on horseback with light weaponry.¹¹¹ It was either the specific equipment or the eastern style of combat that became the determining factor for the use of the term ‘turcopole.’ Turcopoles appeared in the service of the Hospitallers for the first time in 1168.¹¹² The Templars’ *retrais* also mention turcopoles,¹¹³ and while these were probably mercenaries in the twelfth century, there were turcopole brothers of the Temple in the thirteenth century.¹¹⁴ Thus, eventually even Latin Christians could be turcopoles, which shows that what had been a label denoting origin had become a label denoting function.¹¹⁵ The leader of the turcopoles, whether he was employed by the crusaders or by a military order, was referred to as the *turcop(o)lerius* (Latin) or *turcop(o)l(i)er* (Old French), and he always seems to have been a Latin Christian.¹¹⁶ The turcopoles were by no means the only ones affiliated with Hospitallers and Templars who were, at least initially, not members of these communities. In the order of the Hospital, the employment opportunities ranged all the way from slaves to physicians.¹¹⁷ The Templars’ casalia were supervised by the *freres caseliers* (casalia brothers), but the real work was done by the *vilains de lor casaus* (casalia villeins), and the Templars, too, had slaves.¹¹⁸ For special tasks, for example when brothers needed medical care, the Templars turned to specialists (physicians) outside of the order.¹¹⁹ The Templar rule did not just allow for permanent membership in the order. It permitted knights, chaplains, and sergeants to serve for a limited time, and according to the *retrais*, squires (*escuiers*) could pledge their services for a limited time as well.¹²⁰ The rule allowed married

converting and becoming a turcopole, and there were probably also eastern Christians among the turcopoles.

¹¹¹ Richard, “Turcoples,” 259; Savvides, “Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers,” 129–30.

¹¹² *CH* I 402; *RRH* 452.

¹¹³ *RT* 77, 99, 101, 110, 120, 125.

¹¹⁴ *RT* 519.

¹¹⁵ Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 237 (commentary by Riley-Smith).

¹¹⁶ Savvides, “Late Byzantine and Western Historiographers,” 123.

¹¹⁷ Slaves: *CH* I 128; *RRH* 183a; For the military orders’ slaves in the Latin east cf. Favreau-Lilie, “Vorstellung,” 21–8. Physicians: *VOP* I, 361 n. 172; cf. Mitchell, *Medicine*, 66–70.

¹¹⁸ Villeins (who probably belonged to the indigenous population): *RT* 135. Slaves: *RT* 113; cf. *UT* 49.

¹¹⁹ *RT* 198.

¹²⁰ Knights: *UT* 1; *RT* 9; cf. *UT* 5; *RT* 65. Chaplains: *UT* 3–4; *RT* 64. Sergeants: *UT* 59; *RT* 67. Squires: *RT* 142.

men to join the order's confraternity,¹²¹ and the *retrais* contained provisions for lay knights visiting Jerusalem who wished to be affiliated with the order (*chevaliers dou siecle qui sont en Jerusalem et sont affis de la maison*).¹²² The charter evidence suggests that there were also Templar *conversi*, individuals who lived in or close to the community without taking vows.¹²³ The rule's Old French version mentions the *freres anciens* (ancient brothers), presumably individuals who had been members for a long time, and they were allowed to gather after Compline for special deliberations.¹²⁴ In the *retrais*, the term *prodomes* is introduced for these more experienced brothers, and two *prodomes* were supposed to be in the master's entourage.¹²⁵ In modern French, a 'prudhomme' is an arbiter, and the 'conseil des prudhommes' is a court of arbitration. The *prodomes* in the Templar master's entourage were to advise him in his decision-making, and the master was not allowed to exclude them when he wanted to take counsel with a smaller group of brothers.¹²⁶ The Hospitallers, too, would come to use the term 'prudhommes' to refer to their community's experienced and influential members.

Officials

After 1099, the first known official in the Hospitallers' Jerusalem headquarters was the community's leader, Gerald (d. 1120), who never seems to have used the title of 'master' (*magister*) but, rather, employed other labels, including *elemosinarius*, *prior*, *procurator*, *hospitalarius*, (*h*)*ospitator*, and *senadoxius*.¹²⁷ This suggests that Gerald exercised several charitable and administrative functions that later had to be assigned to separate officials, namely the almoner, the prior, and the hospitaller. What could still be

¹²¹ *UT* 53; *RT* 69. Women, however, were not to be received: *UT* 54; *RT* 70.

¹²² *RT* 124.

¹²³ West: Accame, *Notizie*, n. ii; "Regesti," ed. Bramato, n. 4; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 7. East: Marsy, 125–7 n. 5; *CT* 512; *RRH* 252.

¹²⁴ *UT* 17; *RT* 31. In 1146, a charter issued in the west used the phrase *seniores militie Templi*: *CT* 415.

¹²⁵ *RT* 79.

¹²⁶ *RT* 79.

¹²⁷ For these titles cf. Hiestand, "Anfänge," 54. During the first decades of the twelfth century, there was at least one other Hospitaller named Gerald who was mostly active in southern France, and since the leader of the Jerusalem hospital occasionally traveled to the west, we cannot always be sure which Gerald we are dealing with; cf. Luttrell, "Earliest Hospitallers," 49. For the Hospital's leadership prior to 1099 cf. Saige, "Ancienneté," 552–60.

overseen by one person in the early twelfth century eventually had to be delegated as the volume of donations increased and as the community took on additional responsibilities. Gerald's successor Raymond used the title of *magister* by 1125 but employed other titles as well.¹²⁸ Ultimately the Hospitallers' leading official would come to be known as *magister* or, on his own seal, *custos* (guardian).

In 1126, a constable and a chancellor (to be addressed later in this chapter) appeared in or near the Hospitallers' headquarters, however, neither office established itself in the community's central administration during the time period considered here. The first conventual office that would achieve considerable importance was that of the treasurer. In 1135, in the east, a treasurer named Raymond witnessed a charter addressed to the Hospitallers.¹²⁹ The community's house of St. Gilles in southern France had even featured a treasurer five years earlier.¹³⁰ In the Hospitallers' institutional history, the office of the treasurer is one of the oldest, both in the central convent (under the community's overall leader) as well as locally (under the official in charge of a Hospitaller house). The volume of donations received by the Hospitallers in the early decades of the twelfth century throughout Latin Christendom caused the community to create a separate office dealing with finances on both the top and the local levels. In its early days, the office of treasurer was held by two individuals at the same time,¹³¹ presumably as a control mechanism, but this practice was soon abandoned. In the 1180s, the conventual treasurer traveled to the west while in office to receive donations there,¹³² and his administrative reach seems to have extended well beyond the east.¹³³ The treasurer does not appear in the Hospitallers' normative texts until 1204/6.¹³⁴ In the narrative sources, it may be possible to trace him a little earlier. In 1187, a so-called *comandierres* (commander/preceptor) of the Hospital in Jerusalem, after consulting

¹²⁸ 1125: *CH* I 72; *RRH* 107. For Raymond's other titles cf. Hiestand, "Anfänge," 77. The title of 'preceptor' used for Raymond in the *inscriptio* of Delaville Le Roulx's edition of *Venerabilia et Deo* (*CH* I 217; *RRH* 280b) is incorrect and must be replaced with *praepositus*; cf. VOP II, 210–12 n. 7. Beltjens, *Origines*, 277–8, suggests that there may have been one or two 'masters' who held office after Gerald, but before Raymond. However, the Hospitallers' medieval lists of masters do not support this suggestion.

¹²⁹ *CH* I 115; *RRH* 159.

¹³⁰ Santoni, 146.

¹³¹ Delaville Le Roulx, 412; cf. Chapter Five.

¹³² Yans, "Cartulaire," 75–8 n. 22.

¹³³ Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; *CH* I 835; cf. Luttrell, "Ermengol," 16.

¹³⁴ *CH* II 1193, p. 39–40; *RRH* 800a.

with fellow Hospitallers, agreed to let the funds that King Henry II of England had deposited with the Hospital for a future crusade be paid to Saladin as a ransom for the inhabitants of Jerusalem. This official may have been the conventual treasurer, especially considering that Borell, the conventual (grand) preceptor was in Tyre at that time.¹³⁵

The next conventual office to appear may have been that of the prior—assuming that the charter to be used as evidence is not a forgery. Hubald, the so-called ‘grand prior (*magnus prior*) of the holy house of the Hospital and its convent,’ is named as a petitioner in a charter issued by King Roger II of Sicily in Palermo in 1136.¹³⁶ As a label for someone traveling and gathering donations on behalf of the Jerusalem hospital, the title of *prior* had been used in the west since at least c.1101.¹³⁷ By the 1120s it could also denote the leader of a local Hospitaller house in the west as well as the east.¹³⁸ In 1136, Hubald cannot have been responsible for the clerics of the order because there were, at that time, neither Hospitaller clerics nor a Hospitaller order. However, there was a church (St. John) in Jerusalem attached to the hospital, and there were the spiritual needs of the growing Hospitaller lay community and of those entrusted to its care. Yet, the Hospitaller rule, confirmed by 1153, uses the term *prior* only in general terms, namely to refer to a superior, while it employs the title of *magister ecclesie* (master of the church) to refer to the official later known as the conventual prior.¹³⁹ The *prior clericorum* (prior of the clerics) surfaces in the Hospitaller convent’s report about the resignation of the Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170).¹⁴⁰ The title of *prior de la mayzo* (prior of the house) appears in at least one manuscript of the statutes of 1176/7, but the reference pertains to a local official.¹⁴¹ The statutes of 1177/83

¹³⁵ Eracles, 90; cf. Chapter Nine: NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/(treasurer?) 1187; cf. *ibid.*: Borell.

¹³⁶ Lünig, *Codex*, II, 1635–8 n. 1; *CH* I 119; *RRH* 1296; cf. Matzke, “De origine,” 4, who, on the basis of the research of Carlrichard Brühl, considers this document a forgery; against this cf. Chapter Nine: Hubald. The adjective *magnus* may very well have been an addition of the royal chancery of Sicily.

¹³⁷ *CH* I 6.

¹³⁸ West: *CH* I 60. East: *CH* I 75; *RRH* 113b.

¹³⁹ *CH* I 70, § 7 (*magister ecclesie*), 17 (*alter frater non eum diffamare debet neque populo neque priori*, here in the sense of ‘superior’); *RRH* 111a.

¹⁴⁰ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223, 225.

¹⁴¹ Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 89 (rubric), 91, § 9. The corresponding paragraph in *CH* I 504 speaks of the *comandear de la maison* or *preceptor illius domus*.

mention the conventual prior,¹⁴² and in the statutes of 1181/2 he is referred to as the *prior des clers de l'Ospital* (prior of the Hospital's clerics), entrusted with all affairs pertaining to the order's churches.¹⁴³ However, considering the conventual prior's future role as one of his order's most prominent international envoys, and considering the fact that, by the 1130s, the Jerusalem hospital certainly could have used a separate official caring for the sick pilgrims' and the growing Hospitaller community's spiritual needs, we cannot rule the charter of 1136 out as the first evidence for this official. All other evidence suggests that the office of the Hospitallers' conventual prior was certainly established by the middle of the twelfth century.

As the Hospitaller master found himself increasingly occupied by affairs outside of Jerusalem,¹⁴⁴ an official to oversee the convent's local affairs was needed, someone who could serve as the master's lieutenant. At the top of the rather long witness list of a charter addressed to the Hospitallers and issued in the Holy Land in 1150, we find the first known conventual preceptor, an individual named Berengar.¹⁴⁵ In the west, the Hospitallers had been using the title *praeceptor* to denote the leader of a local house since at least 1119.¹⁴⁶ In the normative texts, he appears for the first time in the statutes of 1177/83 with the Old French title *comandeor* (a synonym of the Latin title *praeceptor*), responsible for leading the procession when the brothers visited the sick in the hospital.¹⁴⁷ Unlike 'treasurer,' a title clearly alluding to financial affairs, or 'prior,' a title with a considerable tradition in ecclesiastical history, the title of 'preceptor' or 'commander' is neutral and simply denotes an official empowered to give orders. The choice of this neutral label was probably deliberate. It allowed for considerable flexibility, which would have been an important consideration in a rapidly growing institution like the Hospital. A preceptor could be appointed *ad hoc*, his was not an office that would have to be filled at all times, and the extent of a preceptor's authority could be defined as needed. Arguably, the Hospitallers' grand preceptor (*praeceptor magnus*), who appeared in 1180,¹⁴⁸ was

¹⁴² Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 194–7.

¹⁴³ *CH* I 627; *RRH* 614a. Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 91–4.

¹⁴⁴ Santoni, 139; cf. Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁵ *CH* I 192; *RRH* 257.

¹⁴⁶ *CH* I 49.

¹⁴⁷ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 198–203; for the title cf. Lückcrath, "Komtur," 1295.

¹⁴⁸ *CH* I 576; *RRH* 597; cf. Mayer II, 386–402. This charter was issued by Balian,

not intended as a new official but, rather, as a variation or intensification of the existing title of *praeceptor*, which explains the statement in the statutes of 1204/6 that there had been times when there had been a grand preceptor and times when there had been none.¹⁴⁹

By the middle of the twelfth century, the master's activities outside of Jerusalem and the Hospitallers' charitable works in Jerusalem had grown to such an extent that another separate official had to be appointed. In 1162, the convent in Jerusalem featured a *custos infirmorum* (guardian of the infirm) named Piotus.¹⁵⁰ The Hospitaller house at Acre had had an official with the same title as early as 1155,¹⁵¹ which may suggest that the Hospitallers' charitable activities in that city were also reaching considerable proportions. According to a charter known as the Hospitallers' 'bread statute' of 1176/7, the *hospitalarius* (the conventual official in charge of the sick) had two casalia at his disposal to ensure that the Jerusalem hospital would be supplied with bread, and the charter's phrase *hospitalario et omnibus aliis suis successoribus* (to the hospitaller and all others who succeed him) constitutes the first evidence (apart from the evidence for the office of the master) that a conventual office was intended to be more or less permanently occupied.¹⁵² According to Timothy Miller, the emergence of this office marked the Hospitallers' decisive step from mere care for the pilgrims and the poor to actual care for the sick.¹⁵³ The hospitaller should, however, not be confused with the infirmarer, the official later put in charge of the order's sick brothers.¹⁵⁴

The Hospitallers' militarization seems to have begun as early as the 1120s; however, it did not become evident in the central convent until the 1160s.¹⁵⁵ In 1165, Prince Walter of Galilee gave two casalia to the

lord of Nablus and Ibelin, and his wife, Maria Comnena, the widow of King Amalric, for the Hospitallers. It is conceivable that the Hospitallers wanted to see themselves adequately represented in this transaction, and thus added the adjective *magnus* to Garnier of Nablus's title of *praeceptor*.

¹⁴⁹ CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a.

¹⁵⁰ Manosque, f. 481' 53 B; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40; cf. CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c.

¹⁵¹ CH I 237; RRH 311; cf. Chapter Nine: [Pons (H) hospitaller 1155].

¹⁵² CH I 494; RRH 547; cf. Bonnet, "Privilège," 259–72.

¹⁵³ Miller, "Knights," 718.

¹⁵⁴ King, *Knights*, 74, considered the two offices one and the same.

¹⁵⁵ Burgdorf, "Leadership Structures," 379–82, and below in this chapter. According to most scholars, this militarization began in the 1130s, cf. Ambraziejutė, *Studien*, 31–2; Riley-Smith, 52; Prawer, *Histoire*, I, 491; Hiestand, "Anfänge," 68; Forey, "Militarisation," 89; Forey, 18; Nicholson, 2; Smail, *Crusading Warfare*, 95–6.

Hospitallers, and at least one of these was located near the permanently threatened frontier with the Muslims in southeastern Galilee. As recipients, Walter's donation charter mentions the master, who was in the west at the time, the preceptor, and a certain Raymond *Marescalcus, domus Tiberiadis magister*.¹⁵⁶ It is conceivable that the marshal, who would become the most powerful conventual official next to the preceptor (and, of course, the master), was originally in charge of the Hospitaller house at Tiberias. This would mean that his office did not originate in the convent but out of the new, more dangerous responsibilities the Hospitallers had taken on outside of Jerusalem, particularly in the Galilee.¹⁵⁷ The Hospitallers' normative texts do not mention the marshal until 1204/6 when he was already a key conventual official.¹⁵⁸ Theoretically at least, the master remained the community's chief military leader, but Hospitaller marshals soon began to display minds of their own. During the Third Crusade, for example, the Hospitaller marshal did not wait for King Richard of England's orders and launched an attack against the Muslims at Arsuf (1191).¹⁵⁹

Apart from the five officials discussed so far (treasurer, prior, preceptor, hospitaller, and marshal) who all went on to become high dignitaries in the Hospitaller convent, two other officials need to be mentioned for the Jerusalem phase of the order's history, namely the almoner and the official *de Asinaria*. The almoner (*elemosinarius*) appears in the charters in 1177 and in the statutes of 1181/2.¹⁶⁰ He supervised the care for the poor and, according to the statutes of 1204/6, was still considered one of the convent's high officials shortly after the order's headquarters had been established at Acre.¹⁶¹ Between 1156 and 1186 various Hospitallers with the cognomen *de Asinaria* can be found in the charters, and they were probably responsible for the order's stables outside of the city of Jerusalem.¹⁶² According to Hans Eberhard Mayer, they may have been involved with the order's charters in the court of the *vicecomes* of Jerusalem.¹⁶³ They also may have played a role with regard

¹⁵⁶ *CH* I 345; *RRH* 414; cf. Riley-Smith, 483, 486 (casale Desaut); Mayer II, 869.

¹⁵⁷ For the situation in the Galilee cf. Runciman, *History*, II, 370–1.

¹⁵⁸ *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁵⁹ *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 171 v. 6426; *History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 104 v. 6418; cf. Chapter Nine: NN (H) marshal 1191.

¹⁶⁰ 1177: *CH* I 508; *RRH* 540. 1181/2: *CH* I 627; *RRH* 614a.

¹⁶¹ *CH* II 1193, p. 39–40; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁶² Schein, "Latin Hospices," 82–3.

¹⁶³ Mayer II, 164.

to the Hospitallers' possessions in and around Jerusalem as almost all the charters featuring them deal with real estate.¹⁶⁴ However, neither the almoner nor the official *de Asinaria* had a significant function in the Hospitallers' leadership structures after the twelfth century.

The rule of the Templars emphasizes that the master (*magister*), a title used by the leader of this community since at least 1125,¹⁶⁵ had the original power of command in all areas, but that he could not (or no longer) deal with everything himself. It refers to 'the master or the one who would have that office after [i.e. subordinate to] the master' (*magistro vel cui est debitum ministerium post magistrum*), as well as 'the master or the proctor subordinate to him' (*magistri vel post eum procuratoris*),¹⁶⁶ using 'proctor' not as the title of a specific official but as the label for someone who would act *pro cura* (on behalf) of the master. In the order of the Temple, all power of command derived from the master's authority. Apart from the master, the Templar rule mentions a few other officials whose titles differ, at times considerably, in the Latin (1129) and Old French (late 1130s) versions, illustrating how the order's convent evolved in its early years. Thus, we now turn to the Templars' seneschal and draper.

According to the Latin rule, Templar brothers had to hand presents given to them to the master or the seneschal (*magistro vel dapifero*), and only officials (*ministratores*) who had been especially charged with this responsibility (namely the receiving of presents) were exempt from this policy.¹⁶⁷ Instead of *ministratores*, the Old French version speaks of *comandours* and *baillis* (this being the first mention of the term 'bailliff' for the Templars), and it mentions presents of victuals that the

¹⁶⁴ Undated: Pauli, *Codice*, 235–6 n. 190; *RRH* 483 (income from real estate). 1156: *CH* I 249; *RRH* 329 (exchange of houses). 1163: *CH* I 312; *RRH* 391 (purchase of land). 1167: *CH* I 372; *CH* IV, p. 248–9; *RRH* 434a (acquisition of a house). In a certain 1173 charter (*CH* I 450; *RRH* 501), the official involved was, in my opinion, not the *magister Asinariae* but the *magister cl(er)icor(um)*. 1174: *CH* I 464; *RRH* 516 (transfer of a street with a permit for construction). 1175: *CH* I 469; *RRH* 535 (purchase of a house). 1177: *CH* I 508; *RRH* 540 (transfer of a house). 1178: *CH* I 537; *RRH* 559 (sale of a house). 1178: *CH* I 538; *RRH* 558 (sale of a house). 1181: *CH* I 610; *RRH* 607 (tithes in the archdiocese of Petra). 1186: *CH* I 803; *RRH* 651 (confirmation of house ownership).

¹⁶⁵ Tafel-Thomas I, 90–4 n. 41; *RRH* 105; cf. Barber, "Origins," 226; Claverie, "Débuts," 550–1.

¹⁶⁶ *UT* 34; *RT* 40. Similar wording can be found in *UT* 41; *RT* 43, 50.

¹⁶⁷ *UT* 40. The almoner may have been among the officials excluded from this policy, cf. *UT* 15; *RT* 29. The terms *dapifer* and *senescalcus* had been used synonymously since Frankish times, cf. Kreiker, "Truchseß," 1069.

brothers had to hand over either to the master or the preceptor of victuals (*comandor de la viande*), making no reference to the seneschal in this context.¹⁶⁸ According to Gustav Schnürer, the title *comandor de la viande* replaced the term *dapifer* because the latter would soon (next to *senescalcus*) become the title of the order's second-in-command. In the Latin rule, Schnürer argued, *dapifer* had been used in its monastic sense, denoting an official in charge of the cellar and the meals; the Old French version clarified this by explaining that the presents in question were victuals.¹⁶⁹ Yet, there is at least one reason why the *dapifer* of the Latin rule may have been a 'real' seneschal after all, and that is the Latin rule's wording *magistro vel dapifero*. Both in the rule as well as later in the *retrais*,¹⁷⁰ the *dapifer* or *seneschau* appears as the master's lieutenant. This official very quickly rose to considerable prominence. In 1132, he received a present on behalf of the order in the west, far from the central convent, and this present did not consist of victuals but, rather, of what would become one of the order's most important castles, Barberà.¹⁷¹ With regard to the draper, the Latin rule assigned the responsibility for the brothers' clothing to 'the proctor [i.e. him who had the care] of this office' (*procurator huius ministerii*) who is also called the 'distributor of the garments' (*dator pannorum*). A few years later, the Old French version assigned the same task to the draper or his lieutenant (*le drapier ou celui qui est en so leu*).¹⁷² This shows the development from the mere description of a function to the title expressing the function. Considering how early the draper appears in the Templars' normative texts, it is noteworthy that he does not appear in the order's charters until a century later (1241).¹⁷³ Incidentally, the Hospitaller draper is also conspicuously absent from the charters until 1221.¹⁷⁴ We may not be dealing with a case of missing charters but, rather, with internal policies and procedures that excluded the conventual draper of both orders from legal transactions (insofar as these were recorded in charters) well into the thirteenth century. In the order of the Temple, the

¹⁶⁸ *RT* 44.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. *UT*, p. 30–1.

¹⁷⁰ *RT* 99, 100.

¹⁷¹ Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 102–3 n. 27; *CT* 47.

¹⁷² *UT* 20; *RT* 18, 19. The rule of the Teutonic Knights adopted the wording of the Latin rule of the Templars and, thus, circumscribed the office of draper: Perlbach, *Statuten*, 39, § 11.

¹⁷³ *CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102.

¹⁷⁴ *CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945.

office of draper also existed outside of the central convent. According to the *retrais*, there was a draper for the county of Tripoli and one for the principality of Antioch.¹⁷⁵

Apart from a few exceptions, the members of the Templar clergy seem to have remained in the background. In 1148, Peter, a Templar chaplain, wrote and witnessed Barisan of Ibelin's charter for St. Lazarus in Jerusalem. The charter's eschatocol states that Barisan did not have his own seal at his disposal, and that he had therefore seen to it that the charter would be sealed 'by the hand of the Lord Peter, a brother and chaplain of these knights [i.e. the Templars]' (*per manum domini Petri, fratris atque capellani eorundem militum*).¹⁷⁶ What is interesting here is that the order's seal was wielded by the chaplain and not the seneschal (Andrew of Montbard) who was present as well. A few years later, the *retrais* stipulated that the seneschal would seal with a seal like that of the master in the latter's absence.¹⁷⁷ Also according to the *retrais*, the master's personal entourage included a chaplain,¹⁷⁸ but it is unlikely that Peter, the chaplain of 1148, was the master's personal chaplain as the master was absent. In the Templar convent, the chaplain never became one of the high officials or attained a rank comparable to that of the Hospitallers' conventual prior. Instead, 'chaplain' became a title used by Templar clerics, and there could be more than one.¹⁷⁹ Nonetheless, the *retrais* made it clear that the Templars' chaplain brothers were to be especially honored.¹⁸⁰ In the thirteenth century, the Templar convent did have its own prior.¹⁸¹

Apart from the master, the Templars' most important military official was the conventual marshal. An undated inscription from Ascalon states that the Templar Marshal (*mareschaudus*) Hugh Salomonis of Quily was killed by a catapulted stone.¹⁸² Since the Templars participated in the 1153 siege of Ascalon and, led by the Master Bernard of Tremelay, suffered severe losses there on 16 August of the same year, the inscription

¹⁷⁵ *RT* 131.

¹⁷⁶ Marsy, 125–7 n. 5; *CT* 512; *RRH* 252.

¹⁷⁷ *RT* 99.

¹⁷⁸ *RT* 77.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363; date: VOP III, 354.

¹⁸⁰ *RT* 268.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Chapters Two and Five.

¹⁸² Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; cf. Chapter Nine: Hugh Salomonis of Quily; [NN (T) marshal 1153] against Claverie, "Débuts," 578.

has been dated to 1153.¹⁸³ With regard to the Templars' normative texts, the conventual marshal (*mareschau dou couvent del Temple*) makes his first appearance in the *retrais*.¹⁸⁴ Thus, within three decades of their original foundation, the Templars had changed from a small pilgrim escort into a military force that required the creation of an office (in addition to that of the master) in charge of combat and everything related to it. According to the *retrais*, the Templars' military activities clearly extended beyond the actual kingdom of Jerusalem. The order's provinces of Tripoli and Antioch had their own marshals who were subordinate to the conventual marshal only in matters pertaining to the entire order.¹⁸⁵

In the west, the Hospitallers had used the title of 'preceptor' as early as 1119, while the Templars seem to have waited until the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁶ Five years after a preceptor had surfaced in the Hospitaller convent (1150), the Templar convent, too, featured an official referred to by that title. Much like the Hospitallers, the Templars used the title (and its synonyms) with considerable flexibility. In their convent, we find Odo as *commendator* in 1155,¹⁸⁷ Geoffrey Fulcherii as *Hierosolymitanae domus Templi praeceptor* in 1164,¹⁸⁸ the same individual in the same year as *domorum pauperis militiae Templi procurator*,¹⁸⁹ Walter of Beirut as *praeceptor* in 1169,¹⁹⁰ and Robert Fraissnel as *magnus praeceptor* in 1179/80¹⁹¹—interestingly enough the same year a *magnus praeceptor* surfaced in the Hospitaller convent. The problem is that the Templars' *retrais* speak of a 'preceptor of the land of Jerusalem and of the kingdom' (*comandeor de la terre de Jerusalem et dou royaume*) who served as the conventual treasurer (*tresorier dou couvent*)¹⁹² and is also referred to as

¹⁸³ Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; Rey, 255; Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouveau monuments," 462–3 n. 7; Schlumberger, "Communication," 146. Cf. Chapter Nine: Hugh Salomonis of Quily (also for the doubts recently shed on this dating). For the events at Ascalon in 1153 cf. Bulst-Thiele, 55; Nicholson, "Before William," 112–14.

¹⁸⁴ *RT* 80, 84, 87, 93, 101–9.

¹⁸⁵ *RT* 104, 127; according to Forey, *Aragón*, 314, there were provincial marshals in the west as well.

¹⁸⁶ Hospitallers: *CH* I 49. Templars: Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 241–2 n. 129.

¹⁸⁷ Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41, 127–9 n. 46, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 110–13 n. 56, 117–20 n. 59, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 299, 300, 301; date: Mayer II, 862–3.

¹⁸⁸ *RHGF* XVI, 62–3 n. 197; *RRH* 404.

¹⁸⁹ *RHGF* XVI, 60–1 n. 195; *RRH* 403.

¹⁹⁰ Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; *RRH* 462.

¹⁹¹ Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis.

¹⁹² *RT* 89, 111. Unless otherwise specified, 'preceptor of the land' in this study always refers to the preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

the ‘grand preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem’ (*grant comandeor dou royaume de Jerusalem*) to distinguish him from the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem (*comandor de la cité de Jerusalem*).¹⁹³ Did Geoffrey Fulcherii in 1164 serve as preceptor of the city or preceptor of the kingdom, or both, either successively or simultaneously? Does the title *praeceptor in Ierusalem*, which appears in an 1184 letter,¹⁹⁴ unequivocally refer to the preceptor of the city? It is impossible to say. With the conquest of Jerusalem in 1187 the office of the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem disappeared, and things became slightly more transparent. However, two additional complications arose. Around 1179/80, the office of a grand preceptor who would take the master’s place (*grant comandeor qui tiegne leu de maistre*) during the interim between the death of the old and the election of the new master was created, and this official was not identical with the (grand) preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem) whose powers were considerably more extensive.¹⁹⁵ Secondly, from the early thirteenth century on, we find the title of ‘treasurer’ in the order of the Temple, and this treasurer was not identical with the preceptor of the land because occasionally we find both offices at the same time.¹⁹⁶ One possible explanation is that when the office of seneschal was no longer filled after 1195 the responsibilities of the preceptor of the land had to be divided, at least temporarily, between an administrator and a financial officer. Especially for the twelfth century, when the conventual leadership structures of Hospitallers and Templars were still very much in flux, one needs to be careful when trying to identify a certain title with a certain office (this is particularly true for the various preceptors). Normative texts reflect the ‘ideal’ state of things and frequently codify things *ex post facto*, while charters, letters, and even the narrative sources are much closer to ‘reality.’

¹⁹³ *RT* 123.

¹⁹⁴ Abel, “Lettre,” 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 122, 360 n. 1, 415; Claverie III, 623.

¹⁹⁵ *RT* 198. The election of the master was presided over by the *comandeor de l’eslection*, cf. *RT* 207. Robert Fraissnel may have been grand preceptor of the interim in 1179/80 (cf. Chapter Nine), while Girbert Eral was grand preceptor of the land in 1183 (cf. *ibid.*), because in Robert’s case there was no master (Arnold of Torroja may have just been elected in absence), while in Girbert’s case the master was present.

¹⁹⁶ Joinville, § 381–4.

Leadership Structures

The development of conventual leadership structures can not only be seen from the emergence of particular offices, but also from the emergence of certain collectives involved in the governance of the two communities. The brothers participated in leadership by advising their leader, the master, who was, to the outside world, the primary agent. The charters make this quite clear. In 1125, for example, the Hospitaller Master Raymond reached an agreement with the church of Tripoli ‘through the counsel of his brothers’ (*per consilium suorum fratrum*).¹⁹⁷ In the documentation for the Hospitallers (not counting the Sicilian charter of 1136 mentioned above), the term ‘convent,’ denoting a collective in the community’s headquarters involved in advising and decision-making, first appeared in a charter issued on the Iberian Peninsula in 1140. According to this text, the Hospitaller Master Raymond had traveled to Spain ‘with the counsel and directive of the lord patriarch of Jerusalem and the entire convent of the abovementioned Hospital’ (*consilio ac precepto domini patriarche Iherosolimitani totiusque conventus suprascripti Ospitalis*).¹⁹⁸ The mentioning of the patriarch illustrates that, in 1140, the Hospitallers were not yet an exempt order, and that the convent’s decisions were still subject to outside consultation (maybe even approval). As for the order’s normative texts, the term ‘convent’ appears in the statutes of 1181/2 to denote the community of brothers at the headquarters in whose presence the feeding of the poor was to take place.¹⁹⁹ Raymond of Puy’s rule, confirmed by 1153, employs the term ‘chapter’ and explains that the rule was agreed upon ‘by the counsel of the entire chapter, [namely] the cleric and lay brothers’ (*cum consilio totius capituli*). All offenses, affairs, and complaints not expressly addressed by the rule were to be dealt with in chapter, i.e. the chapter was intended to (and would in fact) play an important role, on a case-by-case basis, with regard to the community’s legal issues.²⁰⁰ According to Riley-Smith, Hospitaller sources seem to use the terms ‘convent’ and ‘chapter’ synonymously.²⁰¹ If there is a distinction at all it may be that the term ‘chapter’ emphasizes the procedure (a formal meeting)

¹⁹⁷ CH I 72; RRH 107.

¹⁹⁸ CH I 136; RRH 197a.

¹⁹⁹ CH I 627; RRH 614a.

²⁰⁰ CH I 70, preamble, § 14; RRH 111a.

²⁰¹ Riley-Smith, 286.

while the term ‘convent’ emphasizes the constituency (the brothers and officials of a certain house—in our case, the main house).

The participants at the council of Troyes knew they were entering *terra incognita* when they gave a rule to the Templars. There would have to be room for improvement, and thus they bestowed considerable powers, including the right to change the rule itself, upon the master.²⁰² However, the rule also mentions the chapter (*capitulum*) as the collective which had agreed to the rule and which, together with the master, was to decide about the reception of new members.²⁰³ Yet, while the master was expected to ask for the wise brothers’ counsel in important matters, such as the allocation of land and the reception of new members, once he had heard the chapter’s advice he alone had the power of decision-making.²⁰⁴ The master’s authority would not remain so absolute for long. In 1139, ten years after Troyes, Innocent II’s *Omne datum optimum* stipulated that the customs (*consuetudines*) which had been observed and in writing for some time should only be changed by the master with the consent of the *senior pars* of the chapter (i.e. its most important members).²⁰⁵ By the time the *retrais* were compiled, about twenty-five years after *Omne datum optimum*, an order issued by the master or the convent (the wording emphasizing the brothers and officials of the order’s main house) was only to be relaxed or expanded by the convent (*par le convent*). With regard to starting a war or concluding a truce in the territories that were under the order’s lordship, master and convent were to decide together.²⁰⁶ At the end of the master’s *retrais*, we read that all brothers of the Temple had to obey the master and that the master had to obey ‘his’ convent (*trestous les freres dou Temple doivent estre obedient au maistre, et li maistres si doit estre obedient a son convent*).²⁰⁷ Thus, the Templars emphasized joint governance before joint governance became a serious issue of debate in the order of the Hospital, namely in the context of the crisis caused by the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

²⁰² UT 72; RT 73.

²⁰³ Approving the rule: UT iv; cf. RT 8. Receiving members: RT 11: *les freres en chapistre*. The older Latin version only speaks of *convocatis fratribus* (UT 56), which shows that the chapter was gradually institutionalized.

²⁰⁴ UT 57; cf. RT 36.

²⁰⁵ VOP II, 97.

²⁰⁶ RT 85.

²⁰⁷ RT 98.

The Templars' *retrais* also mention, for the first time, the general chapter (*chapitre general*), namely as the collective that, together with the master, made the decisions when it came to the appointment of the order's top officials in the east and the west.²⁰⁸ The term 'general chapter' (rather than just 'chapter') was certainly appropriate as this collective also decided other international issues, including the sending of brothers to the west.²⁰⁹ In the order of the Hospital, the term 'general chapter' first appeared in the east in 1176/7, when the Hospitaller Master Josbert, with the consent of 'his' general chapter (*de comuni et concordii voluntate et assensu fratrum locius mei presentis capituli generalis*) assigned two casalia to the hospitaller and his successors to ensure that the Jerusalem hospital would be supplied with bread.²¹⁰ There is, however, no list of participants of this general chapter.

Beyond the conventual leadership structures, two additional titles surfaced during the Jerusalem phase of the two communities' history that would later feature prominently in their organizational structures, namely 'castellan' (*castellanus*) and 'bailiff' (*bailli*). The first Hospitaller castellan, an official in charge of the castle of Bethgibelin near Jerusalem, appears in a charter issued by Count Amalric of Ascalon in 1155.²¹¹ Not so much in the twelfth, but certainly in the thirteenth century, the castellans of the Krak des Chevaliers in the county of Tripoli (held by the Hospitallers 1142–1271) and of Margat in the principality of Antioch (held by the order 1187–1285) occupied a prestigious position in the order's hierarchy.²¹² They ranked immediately below the convent's high officials, but above the preceptors of Armenia and Cyprus, as well as above the representatives of the order's western provinces.²¹³ The

²⁰⁸ RT 88. Riley-Smith, "Structures," 136, discusses the use of "terms like *capitulum generale* or *commune*" in the Templars' early history, however, the examples he cites are problematic. (1): Grauert, "Tempelherrenurkunde," 294, reads: *ego Bertrandus per dei gratiam milicie templi magister totius capituli communi assensu et approbatione*; grammatically, *capituli* belongs to *totius*, while *communi* belongs to *assensu et approbatione*, which means that the document makes no reference to a 'communal chapter.' (2): CT 448, p. 280 (1147, Paris) does not contain the term 'general' or 'communal' in conjunction with 'chapter,' and the chapter in question was extraordinary as both the pope and the king of France were in attendance. (3): CT 589, p. 362 (1150, Paris) was indeed issued *communi capitulo*, but the phrase was probably only used because the order's master was present. For the general chapters of Hospitallers and Templars cf. Chapter Four.

²⁰⁹ RT 93.

²¹⁰ CH I 494; RRH 547.

²¹¹ Manosque, f. 287^v 28 X.

²¹² Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 146–79; Mayer II, 269, 878.

²¹³ CH II 2213, *usage* 109; RRH 1093a.

castellan of Margat would, in fact, become the order's highest official in the principality of Antioch,²¹⁴ and the same was true of the castellan of the Krak with regard to the county of Tripoli. The title of *bailli*, which will be discussed in Chapter Four, first appears in the statutes of 1181/2 to denote 'all the order's officials on the other side of the [Judean] mountains' (*baylivi omnes partium ultramontane*), and in the list of these officials we find, apart from the prior of Mount Pilgrim (Tripoli) and the prior of Constantinople, the *bailli* of Antioch (*baylivus vero Antiochie*) and the *bailli* of Tiberias (*baylivus de Tabarie*).²¹⁵ The charters feature a Hospitaller *bailli* of Acre by 1184.²¹⁶ An 1186 charter mentions a Hospitaller 'bailiff of the houses' (*bajulus domorum*) who had to be informed when houses from which the order received regular income were to be sold.²¹⁷ Much like the title of 'preceptor,' the title of *bailli* was used in a very flexible fashion to denote an official who had been assigned certain responsibilities or territories.

The Templars' *retrais* provide us with the first comprehensive view of the order's leadership structures both in the central convent as well as the eastern provinces. The order in which the *retrais* deal with the various offices reflects the hierarchy at the top of the order. The master appears first, followed by the seneschal, the conventual marshal, the preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem) who was also the conventual treasurer, the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem, the preceptors of the lands of Tripoli and Antioch, and finally the conventual draper.²¹⁸ What follows are the *retrais* of those knight brothers who served as the preceptors of houses, the *retrais* of the preceptor of the knights who was a subordinate of the marshal, the *retrais* of the knight brothers, and the *retrais* of the sergeant brothers. Among the latter there were five who held subordinate, but nonetheless important conventual offices: the under-marshal, the carrier of the order's banner, the conventual cook, the conventual smith, and the preceptor of the vault at the sea at Acre (who received and stored the provisions arriving by boat).²¹⁹ The *retrais* were later amended, which is clear from the fact that the offices mentioned in the later *retrais* ranked, hierarchically speaking,

²¹⁴ Burgtorf, "Military Orders," 226–7; Burgtorf, "Herrschaft," 44–6.

²¹⁵ *CH* I 627; *RRH* 614a; cf. Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Twelfth-Century Constantinople," 230.

²¹⁶ *CH* I 663; *RRH* 640.

²¹⁷ *CH* I 803; *RRH* 651.

²¹⁸ *RT* 77–131.

²¹⁹ *RT* 132–43.

not below the offices just listed but, rather, either attained prominence later or were created later. These offices included the ‘brother turcopolier’ who became important as the order’s military activities grew,²²⁰ the sergeant brothers serving as preceptors of houses in the east,²²¹ the brothers in charge of casalia,²²² the infirmarer (who had actually already been mentioned in the rule),²²³ and the preceptor of a (local) house (*comandeur de la maison*).²²⁴ While the Old French version of the rule had already employed the title of *bailli*,²²⁵ the term for a bailiff’s responsibilities or area of office, namely *baillie* (bailiwick), first appeared in the *retrai*s denoting the responsibilities of the ‘preceptors appointed by the general chapter’ (*comandeurs fait par chapitre general*)²²⁶ as well as circumscribing the temporal boundaries of the office of the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem who was allowed to carry the order’s banner for ‘as long as his bailiwick would last’ (*tant come sa ballie dure*).²²⁷

The Templars’ seneschal, preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem), and preceptors of the lands of Tripoli and Antioch were considered ‘preceptors on this side of the sea’ (*comandeurs deça mer*),²²⁸ and this group did not include the marshal and the draper whose respective titles contained the phrase ‘of the convent,’ indicating that they were, at least initially, supposed to focus on the affairs of the order’s headquarters.²²⁹ The order’s province of *Terra Sancta* consisted of three (sub)provinces, namely the ‘lands’ of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli: the statutes concerning the election of the Templar master mention the ‘preceptors of the three provinces’ (*les comandeurs de iii provinces*) who should, if possible, participate in the election.²³⁰ The seneschal did not have a province of his own since he acted on behalf of the master wherever the latter was absent.²³¹ Unlike the Hospitallers, the Templars subordinated the castellans of their major castles to their respective

²²⁰ *RT* 169–72, cf. *ibid.* 103.

²²¹ *RT* 180.

²²² *RT* 181.

²²³ *RT* 190–7; for the infirmarer cf. *UT* 51; *RT* 61.

²²⁴ *RT* 184.

²²⁵ *RT* 44.

²²⁶ *RT* 88; for the term *baillie* (bailiwick) cf. Chapter Four.

²²⁷ *RT* 121.

²²⁸ *RT* 108 leaves no doubt that the seneschal and the preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem belonged to this group.

²²⁹ Tripoli and Antioch had their own marshals and drapers, cf. *RT* 127.

²³⁰ *RT* 203.

²³¹ *RT* 99–100.

provincial preceptors,²³² even though these castles, especially Tortosa (1152–1291), Safitha (1171–1271), Atlit (1218–91), and Safeth in the Galilee (1240–66),²³³ were at least as important for the defense of the crusader states as the Hospitallers' Krak or Margat.

Beyond the east, the Hospitallers began to build an international network shortly after the First Crusade in cooperation with the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, and the Templars would join this 'advertising venture' soon after 1120.²³⁴ Two envoys (*latores*), sent to the west by the Hospital's leader, are already mentioned by Pope Paschal II (1113).²³⁵ In 1113, the same pontiff confirmed to the Hospitallers seven hospitals in the west (namely St. Gilles, Asti, Pisa Bari, Otranto, Tarent, and Messina) of which there is no trace prior to that date (St. Gilles being the only possible exception).²³⁶ From the very beginning, the convent in Jerusalem was the heart of the Hospitallers' international network. One key instrument of centralization were the responsions (*responsiones*) which, according to James of Vitry (d.1240), both Hospitallers and Templars had to send to their headquarters every year.²³⁷ Visitation was another instrument of centralization. An early precursor of the visitor or the grand preceptor of the west may have been the Preceptor Raymond of Tiberias who, in 1164, appeared in St. Gilles with the title *praeceptor Iherosolimitani xenodochii*.²³⁸ He was, however, not the conventual preceptor (an office held, at that time, by Guy of Mahón).²³⁹ It seems that the convent had sent Raymond to the west at the rank of 'preceptor of the Jerusalem hospital' to take care of some special business. This, again, shows the flexibility of the title of 'preceptor' which could be used on all levels of the Hospitallers' hierarchy. The statutes of 1181/2 give us an idea of the extent the Hospital's international organization had reached. They list the officials of the western and eastern houses

²³² *RT* 126.

²³³ Cf. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 124–9, 132–41.

²³⁴ Donation to the Holy Sepulcher and the Hospitallers: *CH* I 6 (c.1101). Early donations to Templars and Hospitallers: *CT* 82 (1134), 149 (1137/8). The idea that the emancipation and international organization of Jerusalem's pilgrim hospital of St. John was an integral part of the First Crusade, cf. Matzke, "De origine," 11, should be rejected. Until 1099, nobody (not even the pope) would have been able to predict that the crusade would turn into a success.

²³⁵ *VOP* I, 203 n. 1.

²³⁶ *VOP* II, 194–8 n. 1, here 196; cf. Luttrell, "Earliest Hospitallers," 44.

²³⁷ Iacobus de Vitriaco, "Historia," chap. 65.

²³⁸ Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 323; *CH* I 333.

²³⁹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Guy of Mahón.

and provinces who had to send certain materials to the community's Jerusalem hospital, namely the officials in charge of France, St. Gilles (Provence), Italy, Pisa, Venice, Antioch, Mount Pilgrim (Tripoli), Tiberias, and Constantinople.²⁴⁰ Thus, these houses and provinces were closely linked to the needs of the central convent.

The Templars, too, began to develop an international network within a few years of their original foundation. Their seneschal was sent to the west in the early 1130s to receive several significant donations;²⁴¹ a Templar usually in charge of their alms in the east traveled to the west in 1133/4;²⁴² in the 1140s Templar envoys (*missi*) appeared in Italy and France;²⁴³ and a number of Templars in groups of two and three traveled all over the west between 1125 and 1148 to receive donations.²⁴⁴ The western members, properties, houses, and provinces were firmly tied to the Templars' central convent. In 1139, Innocent II's bull *Omne datum optimum* determined that the house in Jerusalem was, for all times, to be considered the community's *caput et magistra* (head and mistress).²⁴⁵ It even seems that, in the very early years, one could only be received into the order in Jerusalem.²⁴⁶ According to the *retrais*, Jerusalem and the kingdom of the Jerusalem respectively were considered 'the head of the house and the sovereign province of the entire Temple' (*le chief de la maison et la souveraine province de tout le Temple*),²⁴⁷ and by then 'the entire Temple' already included, apart from the three eastern provinces, England, France, Poitiers (i.e. Aquitaine), Aragón, Portugal, Apulia, and

²⁴⁰ CH I 627; RRH 614a.

²⁴¹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Robert (II Burgundio).

²⁴² CT 60: *Willelmus Falco, qui helemosinas militum Templi extra mare in custodia habebat*. The charter was written from a western perspective and may be the earliest evidence for a Templar almoner.

²⁴³ Italy: Accame, *Notizie*, n. i-v; Capone, *Templari*, appendix 2, 37-44 n. 1-5; "Regesti," ed. Bramato, n. 3-4, 6-8; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 6-7, 10. France: CT 21.

²⁴⁴ Two recipients: CT 4, 16, 18, 21, 47, 48, 52, 81, 83, 101, 102, 125, 128, 129, 142, 157, 162, 163, 253, 260, 263, 415, 501; three recipients: *ibid.* 28, 191, 203, 254, 257, 264; five recipients: *ibid.* 202; six recipients: *ibid.* 238. Based on my reading of Coll. d'Albon 1-71, I would say that this practice disappeared soon after 1150, and that donations were henceforth made 'into the hand(s)' of the master (who was usually not present), the local official, and the order.

²⁴⁵ VOP II, 97.

²⁴⁶ The Latin version of the rule stipulates that a petition for reception into the order was to be heard in the presence of the local bishop by the *fratribus in ultramarinis partibus*, and that the candidate was then to be sent *ad magistrum et ad fratres, qui sunt ad templum, quod est in Ierusalem*, where he could be received if he was worthy, cf. UT 63. In the (younger) Old French version the reference to Jerusalem is missing, cf. RT 12.

²⁴⁷ RT 200.

Hungary.²⁴⁸ Like the Hospitallers, the Templars used visitation as an instrument of centralization, with master and general chapter jointly appointing the visitors.²⁴⁹ The various trips that the Templar masters still personally undertook to the west in the twelfth century, undoubtedly also contributed to keep the periphery and the central convent connected. However, as Forey has shown for Aragón, as long as the western provinces sent their responsions to the east on a regular basis, the convent did not meddle in their internal affairs.²⁵⁰

The Imitation of the Princely Court

The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars featured officials, such as the seneschal, the constable, and the marshal, that one would usually expect at a princely court. How is this to be interpreted? Constitutional historians have shown that the so-called ‘court offices’ developed out of the basic functions of the royal household, eventually becoming positions of higher administration and honor.²⁵¹ The Ottonian court, for example, featured four main court offices (seneschal, marshal, butler, and chamberlain) that were ceremonially held by the dukes of the realm during the coronation, and the French court, too, had an exclusive group of four court officials from the eleventh century on (seneschal, constable, marshal, and chamberlain).²⁵² In the twelfth century, European nobles imitated the royal courts, and “the ability to support a sizeable retained household was considered one of the essential aristocratic trappings of the age.”²⁵³ However, the right to retain certain types or numbers of officials also became a means of social delimitation. In the German empire, only princes of the realm (*Reichsfürsten*) were permitted to have four court officials.²⁵⁴ According

²⁴⁸ *RT* 87. Curzon and Upton-Ward have speculated that England and France may have been governed by one preceptor, cf. *RT*, p. 80; Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 41. However, one has to distinguish between the preceptors (plural) of the respective lands and the visitor (singular) in charge of various lands. The text speaks of *le Comandour de la terre de Triple et d’Anthioche, celui de France et d’Engleterre*; as Tripoli and Antioch both had their own preceptors, cf. *RT* 125, the same may be assumed for France and England.

²⁴⁹ *RT* 87–8.

²⁵⁰ Forey, *Aragón*, 332.

²⁵¹ Laufs, “Hofämter,” 197.

²⁵² Rösener, “Hofämter,” 68; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 114.

²⁵³ Barton, *Aristocracy*, 58–9.

²⁵⁴ Rösener, “Hofämter an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen,” 495, 511; Rösener, “Hofämter,” 68.

to the *Livre des Assises* of John of Ibelin (d.1266), only the four baronies of Jaffa-Ascalon, Galilee, Sidon-Caesarea, and Tripoli were considered grand baronies in the kingdom of Jerusalem because they each had their own constable and marshal.²⁵⁵

The leaders of the First Crusade had brought their own court officials with them to the east.²⁵⁶ The French crusaders certainly had an idea of the court of King Philip I; for those from Lorraine the court of the Emperor Henry IV may have been the point of reference; and the Normans of southern Italy must have been familiar with the court of Roger I of Sicily. In the newly formed crusader states, court officials became integral components of secular and religious courts. As can be gathered from Table 4, Hospitallers and Templars took their cues from these princely courts. Unlike other new orders of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Templars saw both the top secular and the top religious authorities, namely the king and the patriarch of Jerusalem, involved in the creation of their new community, and the Hospitallers emerged from a community very much centered around the patriarch and were soon backed by both the king and the episcopate.²⁵⁷ Thus, both Hospitallers and Templars, with regard to their leadership structures, looked for inspiration to those who were promoting them. In doing so, they understandably paid more attention to the king than to the patriarch, because the royal court already had clear structures when that of the Latin patriarch was still in its formative stage, and because both communities strove to emancipate themselves from the patriarch's control. As early as 1125, both the leader of the Hospitallers and the master of the Templars witnessed a charter issued by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem for the doge of Venice.²⁵⁸ In 1148, both the Templar master and the Hospitaller master participated in a *curia regis* (a formal meeting of the royal court) discussing the further course of the Second Crusade.²⁵⁹ In the second half of the twelfth century, the two orders' importance for the military security of the kingdom was so pronounced that their masters served as members of the royal council where their voices had the same weight as those of the members of the

²⁵⁵ John of Ibelin, *Livre*, 601–2; *John of Ibelin*, ed. Edbury, 113–14; Jean d'Ibelin, "Livre," 417–19; cf. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 16.

²⁵⁶ La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 254–5; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 19, 87, 230–2.

²⁵⁷ Hiestand, "Templer- und Johanniterbistümer," 146–7.

²⁵⁸ Tafel-Thomas I, 90–4 n. 41; *RRH* 105.

²⁵⁹ Guillaume de Tyr XVII.1, 761; *RRH* 250.

high nobility.²⁶⁰ Thus, when Templars and Hospitallers created court offices in their central convent they were not only heeding the needs of their ever growing institutions by creating more complex forms of administration, they also sought forms of representation that would be in keeping with their rising social status. In the language of medieval public communication, when the Templar master arrived at the royal court, in the company of his seneschal and marshal, he could feel that he was the equal of the count of Tripoli.

Table 4: The First Appearance of Court Officials in the Latin East in the Twelfth Century²⁶¹

n.	court office→ court↓	seneschal	constable	marshal	butler	chamberlain or treasurer	chancellor
1	kingdom of Jerusalem	1104	1108	1125	1107	1108	1115
2	principality of Antioch	1149	1098	1140	1140	1138	1119
3	county of Tripoli	1117	1106	1142	?	1137	1125
4	principality of Galilee	1121	1121	1121	?	?	1119
5	patriarchate of Jerusalem	1167	?	1167	1167	1112?	1135
6	Templars	1129/30	—	(1153)	—	(c.1165)	—
7	Hospitallers	1141	1126	1165	1141	1135	1126

The first court official to surface in or in close proximity to the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars was the Hospitallers' constable. On 17 January 1126, Barisan, constable of Jaffa, donated the casale Algje to the Hospitallers, and this transaction was witnessed by *Durandus, Hospitalis constabularius*.²⁶² This was a transaction of military relevance. Algje was located on the frontier. Durand had probably been playing a leading role in the Hospital's international community since 1110. The office of constable, with regard to Barisan, Durand, and the crusader states overall, implied the duties of a high-ranking military functionary.²⁶³ In the kingdom of Jerusalem, the constable was the most important court

²⁶⁰ Smal, *Crusading Warfare*, 95–6.

²⁶¹ (1)–(3): La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 252–60. (1): Mayer I–II, *passim*; Du Cange, *Familles*, 615, 619, 624, 633, 637. (2): *RRH* 35, 178b, 194–5, 253; Rey, “Dignitaires,” 117; Du Cange, *Familles*, 649, 651–3. (3): *RRH* 183a, 212, 217; Du Cange, *Familles*, 657, 660. (4): *RRH* 92–3; Rheinheimer, *Kreuzfahrerfürstentum*, 174. (5): *RRH* 68, 153, 204, 431; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 303–5. (6): *RRH* 133; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; *RT* 111. (7): *RRH* 112–14, 159, 204, 414. For the chancellors cf. Mayer II, 923–4. The information for the other ‘obvious’ courts (e.g. the county of Edessa and the patriarchate of Antioch) is too sparse to be included here.

²⁶² *CHI* 74; *RRH* 112.

²⁶³ Burgtorf, “Leadership Structures,” 379–82; cf. Claverie, “Débuts,” 548.

official.²⁶⁴ His office and that of the marshal are the only two offices at the royal court of Jerusalem described in the *Livre au Roi* (c.1200).²⁶⁵ Why, then, did this office only appear as a Hospitaller office in 1126? As has been mentioned above, according to the *Livre des Assises* (1266), only the four grand baronies of the kingdom of Jerusalem had a constable and a marshal of their own. Is it possible that the king or the *Haute Cour*, the high court of the kingdom of Jerusalem, instructed the Hospitallers, as a means of social delimitation, to refrain from using the title of constable? This would also explain why the title of marshal did not appear in the convent of Hospitallers and Templars until the second half of the twelfth century. By then, the two communities had become so indispensable that it would have been imprudent on the part of the king to prohibit their using a certain title, apart from the fact that by then the masters of both communities were members of the *Haute Cour*. With regard to the marshal, there is a similarity between the actual court official and the official in the central convent of the military orders. When a king held court, the marshal was responsible for the organization or at least the logistics of the event.²⁶⁶ The Templar marshal played a key role for the holding of chapters after the death of the order's master, and the Hospitaller marshal, during the absence of the master, selected the brothers that would represent the central convent at a general chapter.²⁶⁷ This suggests that, in the imitation of the princely court, the military orders adopted the titles as well as the functions that came with these titles.

It is unknown why the Hospitallers' office of chancellor, which can be found in 1126 and shortly after 1136, did not survive (although it did reappear in the fourteenth century).²⁶⁸ The Hospitallers' office of treasurer was held by two individuals in the early days, and there is an interesting parallel to that in the financial administration of the English court in the second half of the twelfth century when two 'chamberlains

²⁶⁴ La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 117–18.

²⁶⁵ *Livre*, ed. Greilsammer, 157–76.

²⁶⁶ Kreiker, "Marschall," 324.

²⁶⁷ Templars: *RT* 198–201. Hospitallers: *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a.

²⁶⁸ 1126: *CH* I 77; *RRH* 114. Shortly after 1136: *CH* I 399; *RRH* 457; date: Mayer I, 531. The chancellor mentioned in these two documents, an individual named Peter William, resurfaced in 1141 as a 'brother' without any title (*RRH* 204–5), in 1143 as a *clericus* (*RRH* 215), and in 1144 as a 'brother' without any title (*RRH* 226). Cf. Forey, "Literacy," 197–8.

of the treasury' oversaw the royal treasury at Winchester.²⁶⁹ Between 1141 and 1151/2, we find a 'butler' (*pincerna*) in the Hospitaller convent, but there is little reason to believe that his duties were anything like those of the royal butler for, by 1177/83, he was referred to as the *bouteillier des malades* (butler of the sick),²⁷⁰ which suggests that he worked in the order's hospital (however, the Hospitallers routinely spoke of their patients as 'our lords, the sick,' and thus the imitation of the princely court may have extended to the order's main charitable institution).²⁷¹ The butler resurfaced threefold in the early fourteenth century, namely as an official in the respective households of the master, the grand preceptor, and the marshal, which shows that the central convent's high officials eventually created smaller 'courts' of their own in imitation of the master's household.²⁷²

The Templar seneschal (*dapifer*) is already mentioned in the Latin rule (1129).²⁷³ The first known occupant of the office was one William who, in 1129/30, witnessed a charter issued by the prior of the Holy Sepulcher for the abbey of St. Mary in the valley of Josaphat. In the document's witness list, he appears after King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and before Count Hugh of Troyes, which underscores his importance.²⁷⁴ The Templar seneschal would remain his order's second-highest official in the twelfth century.²⁷⁵ The Hospitallers, too, experimented with the office but on a much more modest level. In 1141, Patriarch William of Jerusalem gave a garden to the Hospitallers in exchange for two market stalls, and *Robertus dapifer* witnessed this transaction as the last of thirteen Hospitallers.²⁷⁶ There is no scholarly consensus whether or not this Seneschal Robert was identical with a Hospitaller of the same name who, together with the master and other Hospitallers, received a donation made by Count Raymond II of Tripoli to the Hospitallers in 1142. The document in question states that the donation was made

²⁶⁹ Hospitallers: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; cf. Chapter Five. England: Hollister, "Origins," 264.

²⁷⁰ 1141: Gerard (*CH I* 138, 140). 1150: Robert (*CH I* 192). 1151/2: Henry (*CH I* 202). 1177/83: Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 198–203.

²⁷¹ The 'court office' of the butler can be traced back at least as far as Old Testament Egypt (Genesis 40).

²⁷² *CH IV* 4574, § 4–9; cf. Chapter Four.

²⁷³ *UT* 40.

²⁷⁴ Bresc-Bautier, appendix, 347–8 n. i; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43–5 n. 17; *RRH* 133.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter Four.

²⁷⁶ *CH I* 138; *RRH* 204.

into the hands of *fratris Raimundi dicti Hospitalis magistri et Rotberti comitis Alverniensi... et aliorum fratrum*.²⁷⁷ Delaville le Roulx first supported and then rejected the idea that this Robert may have been Count Robert of Auvergne.²⁷⁸ *Comitis* may just have been a cognomen (a second first name, a patronymic, or a family name), and not a title, much like in the case of a certain Hospitaller who appeared in an 1131 charter as *Martini Regis* (in the genitive case) and who was not royalty.²⁷⁹ If *Comitis* is a cognomen, then *Alverniensis* may have been a simple toponym. Recently, Riley-Smith has revived the idea that the Robert of 1142 was the count of Auvergne and argued that he was also identical with the Hospitaller Seneschal Robert of 1141 because the latter was the only known Hospitaller seneschal of the high middle ages and because the office of the seneschal was held in such high regard that it would be most suitable for a count of Auvergne who had temporarily joined the Hospitallers.²⁸⁰ However, the Hospitallers' office of seneschal was also occupied in 1199 and 1201;²⁸¹ the Seneschal Robert of 1141 appeared in a very subordinate position (unsuitable for a count) in the witness list of the aforementioned charter, which is why Delaville le Roulx had ultimately excluded the seneschal from the central convent's high offices and considered him one of the "officiers de la maison du grand-maître;"²⁸² moreover, in the twelfth century, the name Robert was 'as common as blackberries in England.' All this suggests that, with regard to the two documents of 1141 and 1142, we are dealing with two different Roberts. In the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, the seneschal is listed as a sergeant brother in the master's household, reminiscent of the court office but with no major part to play in the central convent.²⁸³ One possible reason why the Hospitaller seneschal became (or remained) a subordinate official and why the Templars, after decades of the seneschal being the order's second-in-command, abolished the office at the end of the twelfth century, may be the fact that the title of 'seneschal' had undergone a change of meaning in France, the military orders' main recruiting ground. As a court office, it had been left vacant, and from

²⁷⁷ *CH* I 144; *RRH* 212; date: Mayer II, 858–9.

²⁷⁸ Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 79, 285 (*errata*); *CH* I, p. 118.

²⁷⁹ *CH* I 94; *RRH* 139.

²⁸⁰ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 164, citing *CH* I 138, 144.

²⁸¹ Delaville Le Roulx, 413.

²⁸² Delaville Le Roulx, 413. The Hospitaller Seneschal Simon who appeared in 1199 and 1201 definitely belonged to the Hospitaller master's entourage.

²⁸³ *CH* II 1193, p. 37; *RRH* 800a.

1180 on ‘seneschal’ was used as a title for the king’s local and regional officials in the south (in the north, their title was *bailli*).²⁸⁴ When the title of ‘seneschal’ no longer reminded the brothers of the prestigious court official but, rather, only of a minor official, it had become obsolete as the title of a high conventual official.

Several charters issued in 1141 suggest that the Hospitallers were experimenting with offices and titles, and that in doing so they had the princely court in mind. In 1141, Patriarch William of Jerusalem confirmed a layperson’s donation to the Hospitallers and mentioned as the Hospitallers’ witnesses *Raimundus Palacii*, *Stephanus Capelle*, *Petrus thesaurarius*, *Raimundus*, *Girardus pincerna*.²⁸⁵ In the same year, he issued another charter in the same matter, and this time the document lists as the Hospitallers’ witnesses (in the ablative case) *Stephano videlicet de Antiochia*, *Petro Willelmo*, *Raimundo de Palatio*, *Stephano Lauret*, *Arnoldo Guasconi*, *Stefano diacono*, *Stefano de Capella*, *Petro thesaurario*, *Raimundo thesaurario*, *Girardo pincerna*, *Bernardo Vasconi*.²⁸⁶ Finally, the patriarch confirmed an exchange involving the Hospitallers, and his charter named as their witnesses (again in the ablative case) *Stephano de Antiochia*, *Petro Willelmi*, *Stephano Lauret*, *Arnoldo Wasco*, *Petro Novello*, *Raimundo de Palacio*, *Stephano Diacono*, *Stephano de Capella*, *Petro thesaurario*, *Raimundo thesaurario*, *Geraldo pincerna*, *Bernardo Wasco*, *Roberto dapifero*.²⁸⁷ The titles of treasurer, butler, deacon, and seneschal are obvious. Peter William, listed in the last two documents, was the Hospitallers’ chancellor in 1126 and shortly after 1136.²⁸⁸ There are various cognomina that seem to suggest clear responsibilities in the Hospitallers’ central convent,²⁸⁹ including those for the ‘palace’ (*Palacii*, *de Palatio*, *de Palacio*), presumably the refectory of the Jerusalem hospital,²⁹⁰ and the ‘chapel’ (*Capelle*, *de Capella*), presumably the conventual church. There are other examples, such as one *Geraldus*

²⁸⁴ Andermann, “Seneschall,” 1632; Matteijet *et al.*, “Seneschall,” 1751–4; Baldwin, *Government*, 104; Rösener, “Hofämter an mittelalterlichen Fürstenhöfen,” 509; Mitteis, *Staat*, 205, 288.

²⁸⁵ *CH I* 139; *RRH* 201.

²⁸⁶ *CH I* 140; Bresc-Bautier, 226–7 n. 107; Rozière, 114–15 n. 140 (where the title of *thesaurarius* is accidentally omitted for Raymond); *RRH* 205.

²⁸⁷ *CH I* 138 (Delaville Le Roulx read *Dianero* instead of *Diacono*); *RRH* 204.

²⁸⁸ 1126: *CH I* 77; *RRH* 114. Shortly after 1136: *CH I* 399; *RRH* 457; date: Mayer I, 531.

²⁸⁹ Burgtorf, “Wind,” 219. For further examples cf. Bronstein, 146.

²⁹⁰ Klement, “Von Krankenspeisen,” 168–71; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 43, who suggests that it may have been the palace of the Hospitaller master.

de Camera of 1150,²⁹¹ who was not the treasurer of the central convent but who may have held a subordinate administrative office.

The military orders did not confine the imitation of the princely court to their central convent. They did so as well, albeit on a more modest scale, on the level of their provincial administration.²⁹² The Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles, for example, had his own seneschal (1171–97) and butler (1186–7).²⁹³ Both orders continued to pay attention to the structures of the princely court beyond the twelfth century. The kingdom of Cyprus featured a royal admiral by 1298 and a royal turcopolier by 1306.²⁹⁴ The Hospitallers elevated both these offices to the highest level of their leadership structures, namely that of the conventual bailiffs, by 1299 and 1303 respectively.²⁹⁵ The dates for the royal court and the Hospitaller convent are so close together that one must wonder who was imitating whom. There was, however, a fundamental difference between the court offices at the princely courts of the high middle ages and their equivalents in the central convent of the military orders. The occupants of the former often held these offices for life or at least rather long periods of time.²⁹⁶ Court offices even became hereditary in certain families.²⁹⁷ This could not be reconciled with the military orders' philosophy that an office was intended to be more of a burden than an honor, or with the orders' policies and procedures when it came to appointments.²⁹⁸ It is a remarkable piece of evidence for intercultural perception at the time of the crusades that even the Muslims seem to have detected elements in the leadership structures of the military orders that reminded them of their own princely courts. Ibn al-Furat's history refers to a *vizier of the Hospitallers* for the year 1269, and Riley-Smith has suggested that the individual behind this title may have been

²⁹¹ *CH I* 192; *RRH* 257.

²⁹² Forey, *Aragón*, 315.

²⁹³ Seneschal: *CH I* 781; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 61, 99, 118–19, 127, 234, 268–9, 282, 292, 303, 306, 369. Butler: *CH I* 829; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 284, 303, 314, 328.

²⁹⁴ BN, n.a.fr. 6797, f. 287, 289.

²⁹⁵ Cf. Chapters Three and Five.

²⁹⁶ The *Constitutio domus regis* (c.1136), which describes the English court, adds the adjective *assiduus* (constant, continuous) to several offices: "Constitutio," ed. Johnson, 130–1.

²⁹⁷ Mayer, "Herrschaft," 21–2; Mayer, *Varia*, 172, for the Tírel family's claim to the office of marshal in Antioch.

²⁹⁸ Delaville Le Roulx, 325. For the period studied here, there is no evidence of nepotism with regard to a specific office.

the order's Grand Preceptor Boniface of Calamandrana.²⁹⁹ The vizier, the sultan's (and formerly the caliph's) prime minister, can certainly be compared, both with regard to his administrative responsibilities and his high rank, to the Hospitallers' grand preceptor who, by then, was serving as the master's lieutenant.

*The Resignation of the Hospitaller
Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170)*

The Hospitallers' first major internal crisis involving the order's conventual officials was caused by the resignation of the Master Gilbert of Assailly. The exact dating of the events has been controversial for some time.³⁰⁰ The contemporary sources are two letters, and they are among the most detailed accounts we have for the inner workings of the Hospitaller convent in the twelfth century: an undated letter sent by the Hospitaller convent in Jerusalem to Pope Alexander III (henceforth 'letter 1') and Alexander III's mandate *Constitutis in praesentia nostra*, written on 20 June 1172 in Tusculum, and addressed to the Hospitaller Preceptor O. (whose full name is unknown) as well as the other brothers in Jerusalem (henceforth 'letter 2').³⁰¹

Gilbert of Assailly may have been considering resignation ever since the failure of King Amalric of Jerusalem's Egyptian campaign in the last quarter of the year 1169. The master had invested considerable funds and personnel into this operation. In fact, he had encouraged the campaign, which is why William of Tyre blamed him for its failure.³⁰² According to letter 1, Gilbert first revealed his intentions of resigning to the king to obtain permission to do so, but the king tried to dissuade him.³⁰³ This conversation probably took place in the summer of 1170, possibly in July. Shortly after the strong earthquake of 29 June 1170,

²⁹⁹ Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 132–3, 234 (commentary by Riley-Smith). For Boniface cf. Burgdorf, "Mediterranean Career," 73–85.

³⁰⁰ VOP II, 222.

³⁰¹ Letter 1: VOP II, 222–7 n. 19 (dated by Hiestand to "fall 1171 at the earliest, but more likely spring 1172"); CH I 403; RRH 480. Letter 2: VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; CH I 434; RRH 492a. VOP II, 226, claims that 'O.' stands for 'Odinus.' However, the name Odinus does not appear in either one of the two letters. Cf. Chapter Nine: O. (H) preceptor (1170)–72.

³⁰² Guillaume de Tyr X.5, 917.

³⁰³ VOP II, 223.

Amalric had given the castles of Archas and Jibel Akkar, which had been ruined by this natural catastrophe, to the Hospitallers.³⁰⁴ The master must have realized that the losses of the Egyptian campaign, combined with the obligations from taking over these castles, would stretch his order beyond its limits, and he found himself unable to bear the responsibility. Thus, according to letter 1, he traveled to Jerusalem without the king's permission,³⁰⁵ presumably to set his affairs in order.

Gilbert's intentions of resigning came to the attention of the preceptor, Pons Blan, who, according to letter 1, was 'preceptor of the house when these things began,' and the other brothers, but only after Gilbert had left the convent again. Thus, the preceptor, the hospitaller (*procurator infirmorum*, presumably Piotus), maybe also the prior (presumably Bernard), and other brothers intercepted the master and presented him with a letter from the marshal (presumably Raymond of Tiberias) and the convent which prohibited the master from proceeding with his intentions without first asking the pope and the chapter.³⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that the preceptor and those with him only delivered this letter, while the marshal and the convent are listed as its authors. The marshal had only surfaced in the charters five years earlier³⁰⁷ but had obviously become a key official in the central convent. Gilbert, however, disregarded the intervention, went to a cave, placed his magisterial insignia (belt, seal, and purse) onto an altar, and released the brothers from the oath that bound them to him as their master.³⁰⁸

After this 'first' resignation, which probably took place in August 1170, the preceptor consulted with the hospitaller, the castellans of Bethgibelin and Belmont (which shows that the shockwaves of Gilbert's resignation had now spread beyond the convent), as well as some of the brothers, and then turned for advice to Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem, the bishops of Bethlehem and Lydda, as well as the abbots of Mount Zion and St. Mary in the valley of Josaphat. Together they went to Gilbert and admonished him to return to the mastership. When Gilbert ignored this, the patriarch, with the advice and consent of all present (namely, in addition to the aforementioned officials, at least thirty

³⁰⁴ CH I 411; RRH 477; date: Mayer II, 870; cf. Amiran *et al.*, "Earthquakes," 270.

³⁰⁵ VOP II, 223.

³⁰⁶ VOP II, 223 (the gap in the text is long enough for *una cum priore*), 226 (for Pons Blan's tenure). Cf. Chapter Nine: Pons Blan; Piotus; Bernard (H) prior 1170–82, 1187; Raymond of Tiberias.

³⁰⁷ CH I 345; RRH 414.

³⁰⁸ VOP II, 223.

Hospitaller brothers), ordered the master by virtue of papal authority and under threat of excommunication to resume the office of master which, according to the patriarch, he was not allowed to renounce without papal consent. Gilbert obeyed and returned to the convent where he was honorably received by the preceptor, the brothers, and many of Jerusalem's citizens.³⁰⁹ It seems that the preceptor had hastened back to the city to prepare for the master's arrival which probably took place in September 1170.

The day after Gilbert's return, the patriarch, accompanied by the aforementioned bishops, followed a request of the preceptor and many brothers, came to the Hospitaller convent and re-conferred the office of master upon Gilbert by virtue of apostolic authority, whereupon the preceptor, the hospitaller, and several brothers invested the master with his insignia. Later, the patriarch made an appearance in the Hospitallers' chapter where he prohibited the master under threat of excommunication from renouncing his office without papal approval, and prohibited the brothers from opposing the master and from electing another master until they would have received a papal mandate to that end. The preceptor and the brothers who supported him (the wording suggests that the convent had begun to split into factions) followed the patriarch's example and also issued an *appellatio* and an *interdictum*. *Appellatio* suggests an appeal that had yet to be sent to the pope, while *interdictum* refers to both the prohibition addressed to Gilbert to stop him from resigning again, as well as the prohibition addressed to the brothers to stop them from electing a new master. Obviously, these *interdicta* were necessary. According to letter 1, not all brothers approved of Gilbert's return. Some even asked him why he had returned at all.³¹⁰ It is also possible that the preceptor wanted to make sure that it did not look like the patriarch was taking over. The Hospitallers were, after all, an exempt order.

The following day, Gilbert, accompanied by Archdeacon Heraclius of Jerusalem and the hospitaller, sought out the patriarch, and asked him to drop the idea of an *appellatio* (to the pope) and, also, to lift the penance (imposed on the master), but the patriarch refused. Back in the order's chapter, Gilbert was admonished by all the brothers to keep

³⁰⁹ VOP II, 223–4.

³¹⁰ VOP II, 224. It seems that the patriarch intended to appeal to the pope. While there is a gap in the respective sentence, it ends with the phrase *ad] Romane ecclesie dignitatem appellauit*, and the patriarch had been the agent in the previous sentence.

the mastership, however, under the condition that he would amend his conduct in office, namely that he would no longer accept castles and fortresses in frontier regions, that he would not longer burden the order with superfluous and extravagant expenses, and that he would not enter into any important negotiations without the knowledge of the brothers and the chapter.³¹¹ According to William of Tyre, Gilbert had left his order with debts of 100,000 gold coins when he resigned.³¹² Riley-Smith has suggested that this scene may represent the first *esgart* or attempt to obtain a judgment of the brothers. The brothers challenged the master to submit his future conduct in office to their oversight.³¹³ Gilbert refused, resigned from the mastership again, and released the brothers from the oath of obedience that bound them to him. As he was getting ready to lay down his insignia, Pons Blan and the brothers who supported him rose, renewed their *appellatio* to the pope, and prohibited Gilbert from renouncing his office without papal consent. However, this did not stop Gilbert who now pushed for the election of a new master. Together with twelve electors, Gilbert (who, in letter 1, is from now on referred to as ‘brother,’ not ‘master’) withdrew from the chapter, at which point Pons Blan and his faction rose again, addressed him as ‘master,’ and prohibited him by virtue of apostolic authority from resigning. Nonetheless, a new master was elected, and the majority of the chapter gave its consent. Pons Blan remained silent, which means that he did not approve.³¹⁴ According to letter 2, Gilbert had made the chapter promise prior to the election that they would accept its outcome. The individual elected was Castus.³¹⁵ Pope Alexander III was duly notified of the election, but the news had not yet reached him on 9 February 1171 in Tusculum when he addressed a copy of the bull *Christianae fidei religio* to the Hospitaller Master Gilbert.³¹⁶ Since it took several months for news to travel between the east and the west, and since news did get lost on occasion, this bull cannot be used as evidence that Gilbert was still in office at the beginning of 1171. We do learn from letter 2 that the pope eventually confirmed Castus’s election, but the respective document is lost.³¹⁷

³¹¹ VOP II, 224–5.

³¹² Guillaume de Tyr X.5, 917–18: *Ipse etiam postmodum desperans, officium suum deserens et administrationi renuntians, in centum milibus aureorum Domum dimisit obligatam.*

³¹³ Riley-Smith, 264.

³¹⁴ VOP II, 225.

³¹⁵ VOP II, 229.

³¹⁶ VOP I, 260–1 n. 61.

³¹⁷ VOP II, 229.

After Castus's election, Gilbert announced his resignation in front of the sick (in the order's hospital in Jerusalem), acknowledging their status as 'our lords, the sick,' and retreated to his cave. However, the order's high officials did not acquiesce. The preceptor, the prior, the marshal, the priors of Apulia and Messina, and Brother Piotus (the hospitaller) wrote a letter (which has not survived), to the pope, the contents of which remained unknown to the majority of the brothers. The presence of the officials from southern Italy was probably a coincidence. They may have come to Jerusalem for a general chapter. Four months later, according to letter 1, a 'far from minor' dispute arose in the convent, as some brothers considered Castus's election as valid while others considered it invalid. Pons Blan, who had held the office of preceptor at the beginning of the entire affair, and the new preceptor (O.) went to the king, where Pons renewed his *appellatio* and placed himself, his companions, and all those who had called them (namely to be speakers for the opposition) under apostolic protection. The new preceptor then asked Pons why he had, contrary to the Hospitallers' customs, appealed to the pope even though he had been assured, following his own demand to that end, that he would receive full justice. This shows that Pons's violation of the order's customs lay not in the *appellatio* as such but in his *ex post facto* rejection of a legal procedure that he himself had demanded and been granted. He had requested an *esgart* but had changed his mind once he realized that the majority of the brothers would probably find against him. Pons responded to the new preceptor that he had subjected himself to a higher judgment and could therefore not be forced to come before the chapter. Consequently, the new preceptor forced Pons and his companion P. (presumably Piotus) to surrender their equipment and prohibited them from traveling to the papal court.³¹⁸ It now becomes clear why letter 1 constantly refers to Pons Blan by name. The letter was addressed to the pope who, should Pons show up at his court, was to be left in no doubt that Pons was acting disobediently and in contempt of his own order's central convent.

Seeing the dispute that his resignation had caused, Gilbert decided to travel to the pope. Meanwhile, the king, the patriarch, the prelates and barons of the kingdom, the Templar preceptor, Hospitaller brothers

³¹⁸ VOP II, 225–6. The hospitaller's name, [*Pio*]/*to*, is based on Paoli's reading of the text (cf. *ibid.*). Pons's response to the new preceptor is reminiscent of St. Paul's *appellatio* to the emperor in Rome (Acts 25:11).

from both sides of the disagreement, and the citizens of Jerusalem gathered for an extraordinary assembly in the chapter of the Holy Sepulcher, where they, too, decided to present the entire matter to the pope.³¹⁹ Letter 1 was the tangible result of this assembly, and it must have been written at the beginning of 1171 for various reasons. First of all, the Templar preceptor (presumably Walter of Beirut who had previously been seneschal)³²⁰ and not the Templar master participated in the assembly, which makes sense at the beginning of 1171 when the master's office was vacant because Philip of Nablus, presumably in accordance with the king's wishes, had resigned as Templar master to travel to Constantinople and prepare the king's visit to the Bosphorus.³²¹ King Amalric was actively involved in orchestrating Philip's succession, as we find the future master, Odo of St. Amand, the king's former butler, as a member of the Templars by 4 February 1171.³²² Odo was elected master shortly thereafter, but in the interim the Templar preceptor seems to have been the order's highest official in Jerusalem and therefore participated in the assembly at the Holy Sepulcher. It is remarkable that the Templar convent seems to have sailed smoothly past its master's resignation, while the Hospitaller master's resignation was turning into a crisis of international proportions. Another reason why letter 1 should be dated to the beginning of 1171 is that it mentions the election of Gilbert's successor (Castus), but not the successor's death which must have occurred prior to 10 March 1171 when Josbert was serving as the new Hospitaller master.³²³

According to letter 2, the pope did confirm Castus's election, however, by then the latter had probably already passed away. After the pope had been notified of his death, he sent guidelines for the election of future masters to the Hospitallers. The Hospitallers, however, elected their new master (Josbert) before these guidelines could arrive in the east. Alexander III ultimately confirmed Gilbert's resignation, ordered him to be silent about the whole affair, and declined the request of the patriarch, the king, and others to re-elevate Gilbert to the mastership after Castus's death,³²⁴ which means that there must have been

³¹⁹ VOP II, 226–7.

³²⁰ He had served as Templar preceptor in 1169: *CH* I 409; *RRH* 466.

³²¹ Bulst-Thiele, 82.

³²² *RRH* 487; cf. Mayer II, 870.

³²³ *CH* I 422; *RRH* 492; cf. Mayer II, 870–2.

³²⁴ VOP II, 229.

another letter (which has not survived) or a delegation from the east to present this request to the pontiff. All this explains why it took the pope until 27 June 1172 to finally settle things by issuing letter 2, the mandate *Constitutis in praesentia nostra*. It is noteworthy that Alexander III does not mention the new Hospitaller Master Josbert at all in this document, even though Archdeacon Heraclius of Jerusalem, who knew of Josbert's election,³²⁵ was at the papal court in 1172 and would have mentioned it to the pope. Moreover, the Hospitaller prior, B. (presumably Bernard),³²⁶ whom the Hospitallers' central convent in Jerusalem had sent to the pope, also would have told Alexander III about Josbert. It seems that the pope addressed letter 2 to the preceptor of the central convent for good reason. It was a letter about the office of the master, and the pope could have had no interest to drag the new holder of this office into the crisis created by the resignation of one of his predecessors. In fact, Alexander III worded his stipulations for the behavior of the Hospitaller master by utilizing the future past tense—'he who will have been accepted into the mastership of your house'³²⁷—which shows that the pope knew that a new master had been elected. The crisis in the central convent does not seem to have extended much beyond 1172. In 1173/5, Josbert was able to write to Archbishop Henry of Rheims 'together with the entire convent of the brothers' (*cum omni fratrum conventu*).³²⁸ As for Gilbert of Assailly, he did eventually travel to the west where he met a dreadful end by drowning in the English Channel in 1183.³²⁹

We now turn to the alleged Anti-Master Rostagnus who left a seal with the circumscription +*ROS·TAG·NVS·CVSTOS*, who was supposedly elevated to the mastership when the opposition against Castus reached its peak, but who is not mentioned in letters 1 and 2, which raises the question whether this anti-master is fictional and, particularly, whether his seal is a magisterial seal at all.³³⁰ In the order of the Temple, the seneschal had a seal like that of the master.³³¹ Is it not possible that the Hospitaller preceptor, in the early days, also had a seal like that

³²⁵ Josbert and Heraclius appear together in an 1171 charter: *CH* I 422; *RRH* 492.

³²⁶ *VOP* II, 228.

³²⁷ *VOP* II, 229; *ille, qui fuerit in magistrum domus uestre assumptus*.

³²⁸ *CH* I 438; *RRH* 505.

³²⁹ Mayer, "Zur Geschichte," 150.

³³⁰ King, *Seals*, 9, 11, 21; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 233 n. 168. For Rostagnus cf. Riley-Smith, 62.

³³¹ *RT* 99.

of the master? After all, a certain Rostagnus had occupied the office of preceptor in the central convent in 1162.³³² Herquet explains that nothing else is known about this anti-master because he lost out and, thus, did not get listed in the order's annals.³³³ However, while such a damnation of memory may have worked inside the order, Alexander III would have taken note, and William of Tyre would not have missed the opportunity to discuss a schism in the Hospitallers' central convent.

By 1170, there was a well-functioning collective in the Hospitaller convent, ready to function as a counterweight to the office of the master, much like there were collectives serving as counterweights to individual holders of power on other levels of medieval society. In the kingdom of Jerusalem, as Luis García-Guijarro Ramos has pointed out, the power of the king was counterbalanced by the *Haute Cour*, the high court of the kingdom of Jerusalem.³³⁴ Yet, while the Hospitallers still had to demand participatory rights from their master in the form of an *esgart* in 1170, the Templars, as we have seen above, already had these rights.³³⁵ The Hospitallers' crisis of 1170–2 involved the entire state. Only the king could have informed the conventual officials about Gilbert's initial intentions. The officials themselves, after making only one oral and one written attempt to stop Gilbert, turned to the highest representatives of the kingdom's clergy, and an extraordinary state assembly decided to hand the affair to the pope. The conventual officials played key roles as the events unfolded. The marshal co-authored the convent's letter to the master. The preceptor and the hospitaller served as speakers of the convent as well as participants in the investiture of the master. It is noteworthy that the treasurer is not mentioned at all, especially considering that the order's finances were in such a desolate state at the time. He is, however, mentioned indirectly. Castus, the new master, was a former treasurer and may actually still have held the office in 1170.³³⁶ Gilbert may have promoted him as the magisterial candidate most likely to restore order to the community's finances. The preceptor of the early 1170s was still very much connected to the master, which makes sense considering that his office had probably been

³³² Manosque, f. 481' 53 B (legal content); Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40 (witness list); cf. *CH* I 300; *CH* IV, p. 247; *RRH* 376c.

³³³ Herquet, *Chronologie*, 44.

³³⁴ García-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado*, 198–9.

³³⁵ *RT* 85.

³³⁶ Cf. Chapter Nine: Castus of Murols.

invented to provide relief to an overextended master: Pons Blan lost the office after Gilbert's 'second' resignation, which may explain why he fought so hard for Gilbert to stay master. The actions of the new Preceptor O. reveal two important functions of this official. He saw to it that internal legal processes (*esgarts*) were respected, and he made sure that the central convent's property (e.g. Pons Blan's equipment) was not carried off. With regard to the Hospitaller master's resignation, nobody seems to have objected to involving the pope. The patriarch appealed to the pope, so did the officials of the central convent who eventually wrote to the pope, and ultimately the entire extraordinary assembly of the kingdom decided to put the matter before the pope. Yet the pope was to be kept out of the order's internal matters. Pons Blan's appeal to the pope was not acceptable because he had asked for and been granted an *esgart*, which he had then tried to get out of, and that amounted to a refusal of obedience.

Gilbert of Assailly's resignation also raises the question whether there was greater flexibility with regard to an individual's ties to the community in the military orders than in other orders in the twelfth century. The Templars were not an order until 1129, and the Hospitallers, strictly speaking, remained a lay community for about two decades beyond that, which means that any comparison with other orders before these times makes little sense. Secondly, both communities offered individuals the opportunity to join for a limited time, and the contemporary sources do not reveal who had joined for life and who had only joined *pro tempore*. In monasteries, too, there were opportunities to belong to the *familia* (house or household) without being a monk.³³⁷ Thirdly, as Bernard of Clairvaux had emphasized, the Templars were a 'new knighthood,' a new form of communal living, and the Hospitallers, too, especially when they began to take on a military identity, were a whole new experiment. The papacy certainly promoted an individual's firm commitment to these communities and prohibited those who had joined from leaving them,³³⁸ but the papacy of the twelfth century also found itself weakened by two major schisms, and the new semi-religious communities were not foremost on its mind. The king of Jerusalem naturally saw to

³³⁷ Interestingly enough, the Muslim 'ribat,' "a type of fortified convent with charitable functions located in a frontier region," also permitted service for a limited time: Lourie, "Confraternity," 160, 168–70, 175.

³³⁸ For the Templars, this prohibition is in *Omne datum optimum* (1139): VOP II, 96–103, here 98; for the Hospitallers, in *Christianae fidei religio* (1154): VOP II, 130–5, here 134.

the interests of his own kingdom. He disapproved of Gilbert's resignation, which ultimately questioned his own royal policies, but seems to have been the one who caused the Templar Master Philip of Nablus to resign. The Templar Amio of Ays, after serving as his order's highest official in the west (*magister cis mare*) and second-in-command in the east (seneschal), left the order in 1198 and subsequently worked for the king of Jerusalem until 1211. This cannot have been a secret to Pope Innocent III, and yet, for all we know, nobody gave Amio serious grief about leaving the Templars.³³⁹ During the first century of their history, Templars and Hospitallers certainly strove to tie their members firmly to their respective communities, and the Church supported this through the unequivocal wording of papal bulls, but both communities found themselves in uncharted territory as far as church law was concerned. The precarious situation of the crusader states demanded a high degree of flexibility, and, both then and today, exceptions are always made for those who are well connected.

The Third Crusade (1187–91)

The year 1187 brought catastrophe to the crusader states, and both Templars and Hospitallers found themselves at the heart of the crisis. On 1 May 1187, the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins, the Templar Marshal Robert Fraisel, the illustrious Templar Jacquelin of Maillé, and probably also the Templar Seneschal Urs of Alneto were killed at the springs of Cresson during a battle that the Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort (who managed to escape) had provoked against a considerably larger Muslim force.³⁴⁰ On 4 July 1187, the army of the kingdom of Jerusalem lost the battle of Hattin against Saladin's troops. King Guy of Jerusalem and several key figures of the kingdom were carried off into captivity, the Templar Terricus, of future prominence, had managed to escape from the battlefield, and those Templars and Hospitallers who found themselves captured by the Muslims were executed, the exception being Gerard of Ridefort for whom Saladin would later demand a ransom. On 2 October 1187, the Franks surrendered their capital,

³³⁹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Amio of Ays.

³⁴⁰ Nicholson and Nicolle, *God's Warriors*, 58, have pointed out that this battle was not a case of "suicidal overconfidence" but, rather, according to the Arabic sources, "a close-run thing fought out in the forest" with the Christians having the element of surprise on their side.

Jerusalem, to Saladin whose troops had besieged it since 20 September; at the time, there were still several Hospitallers in the city, probably including the conventual treasurer.³⁴¹ By October 1187, Templars and Hospitallers found themselves without masters or headquarters, facing an unprecedented crisis of personnel and logistics.³⁴²

After the death of the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins, the conventual preceptor, Borell, had taken over his order's leadership.³⁴³ Borell had already served as preceptor during Roger's lifetime and even once, in the latter's absence, functioned as grand preceptor.³⁴⁴ There is no conclusive evidence that he participated in the battle of Hattin.³⁴⁵ Shortly after Hattin, Borell appeared in Tyre as *praeceptor Hospitalis*, at the side of Terricus, the *praeceptor Templi*, to witness a charter issued by the prelates and barons of the east for the Genoese.³⁴⁶ Terricus had escaped at Hattin, and some narrative sources occasionally (albeit incorrectly) refer to him as *magister*.³⁴⁷ It is likely that Terricus had served as preceptor prior to Hattin as he seems to have taken over the leadership of his order without any complications (the order's seneschal may have perished at Hattin). In his 1187 letters concerning the situation of the Holy Land, Terricus continued to refer to himself as *praeceptor*, only in the letter to the officials and brothers of his own order did he use the title of *magnus praeceptor*,³⁴⁸ either to emphasize his authority or because it had taken the few remaining brothers in the east a while

³⁴¹ Runciman, *History*, II, 452–60, incorrectly labels Jacquelin of Maillé the Templar marshal. For the extensive evidence for the individuals mentioned above cf. Chapter Nine: Gerard of Ridefort, Jacquelin of Maillé, NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/(treasurer?) 1187, Robert Fraissnel, Terricus, and Urs of Alneto. According to some sources, a Hospitaller named Henry lost his life at Cresson in a heroic fashion as well, which may have been a stylistic means to have a Hospitaller parallel to Jacquelin of Maillé, the Templar hero: Ligato, "Magister," 519.

³⁴² Bronstein, 11–14.

³⁴³ That Armengaud of Asp was elected master on 20 July 1187 is the uncorroborated and incorrect statement of a seventeenth-century collection of material: BN, lat. 8985, f. 268: *Ermengardus d'Aps 20 iulii di An 1187 a fratribus in hierusalem existentibus...eligitur*; Du Cange, *Familles*, 893 (Rey's revised version), repeats this claim, which does not make it true.

³⁴⁴ *RRH* 647, 649.

³⁴⁵ King, *Knights*, 126–8, claims that Borell did participate.

³⁴⁶ *RRH* 659.

³⁴⁷ *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 70; cf. Chapter Nine: Terricus. Ferreira, *Supplemento*, I, 316, 324–5, claims incorrectly that Terricus had been Arnold of Torroja's successor, that Saladin had spared him at Hattin due to King Guy's intervention, and that he had then been succeeded by Gerard of Ridefort. Gerard had held the office of Templar master since 1184/5, cf. Chapter Nine: Gerard of Ridefort.

³⁴⁸ *RRH* 660 (listing the various versions).

to bestow that title on him. While the Hospitaller master was known to have fallen at Cresson, the fate of the Templar master after Hattin was, at least at first, unclear. Saladin wrote after the battle: *A number of the leaders of his [i.e. King Guy's] state and the great men of his false religion were taken prisoner, while the dead numbered more than forty thousand. Not one of the Templars survived.*³⁴⁹ The statement is ambiguous as Gerard of Ridefort was certainly a 'great man of the false religion,' and thus could have been among the prisoners, but was also a Templar. Christian and Muslim sources report the execution of those Templars and Hospitallers who had survived the battle of Hattin.³⁵⁰ A survey of the letters that were sent from the east to the west shows the uncertainty. In the Hospitallers' letter to Archembald, the order's Italian master, Terricus's flight from the battlefield is mentioned, but Gerard's fate is passed over with silence.³⁵¹ The letters sent to Pope Urban III by the Genoese consuls and by Patriarch Heraclius of Jerusalem contain no information regarding Gerard's fate.³⁵² Terricus himself does not speak of Gerard's fate in his letters to the pope, to Count Philip of Flanders, and to the officials and brothers of his own order, but then, in his letter to all of Christianity, reports that Gerard had ended up in captivity,³⁵³ suggesting that this letter may have been written after definite news had finally been obtained.

Both Borell and Terricus surfaced in Tyre shortly after Hattin. As a port city, Tyre offered a maritime escape route and communication channels to the west. The Hospitallers had had a house in the city by the 1140s,³⁵⁴ and where they were the Templars were usually not far. In 1187, the number of Hospitallers and Templars in the city must have been small, as the losses of both communities at Hattin had been devastating: Terricus's letters speak of the 'almost entirely annihilated convent.'³⁵⁵ The defense of Tyre lay in the hands of Conrad of Montferrat. Conrad's brother William (d.1177) had been the first husband of Queen Sibylla, but Sibylla was now married to Guy of Lusignan,

³⁴⁹ Melville and Lyons, "Saladin's Hattin Letter," 212.

³⁵⁰ "Anonymi Chronicon," ed. Prutz, 73; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 30–1.

³⁵¹ Ansbart, *Historia*, 2–4; *RRH* 661; "Magni presbyteri Annales," ed. Wattenbach, 508.

³⁵² Consuls: Hampe, "Ungedruckter zeitgenössischer Bericht," 277–80; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 80–2. Patriarch: VOP III, 324–7 n. 149.

³⁵³ *RRH* 660 (listing the various versions).

³⁵⁴ *CH* I 166, 184; *RRH* 242, 254.

³⁵⁵ *RRH* 660.

the king of Jerusalem captured by Saladin at Hattin. In October 1187, both Borell and Terricus appeared with the title of *magnus praeceptor* in the company of Conrad of Montferrat and the prelates and barons of Jerusalem in four charters issued in Tyre *in domo Hospitalis*,³⁵⁶ which suggests that the Hospitaller house in the city must have been at least adequate for such an illustrious assembly. Yet, the two grand preceptors were not the only representatives of their orders present. Terricus was accompanied by Geoffrey Morin, the preceptor of Tyre, who would, by May 1188, take over the office of marshal,³⁵⁷ as well as by Achardus, the chaplain of the Templars. Borell was accompanied by Armengaud of Asp, the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles. Earlier in the year, Armengaud, with the consent of the Hospitaller Treasurer Geoffrey, had conferred certain locations, among them Sigena, to Queen Sancha of Aragón for the establishment of a convent of female Hospitallers. The charter was issued in the west in October 1187, when Armengaud was already in the east. The Treasurer Geoffrey was not present for the *actum* or the *datum* of this transaction because his name, unlike Armengaud's, does not appear in the document's witness list.³⁵⁸ It is unknown whether Geoffrey was identical with the Hospitallers' unnamed *comandierres* who, after consulting with his fellow Hospitallers, had agreed in late September or early October to heed the request made by Balian of Ibelin, the Patriarch Heraclius, and the citizens of Jerusalem, to let the funds that King Henry II of England had deposited with the Hospital for a future crusade be paid to Saladin as a ransom for the inhabitants of Jerusalem.³⁵⁹ The actions taken by this *comandierres* show that the Hospitaller convent was functional even in its very last days in Jerusalem. After 2 October 1187, by Saladin's permission, ten Hospitallers continued to care for the sick in Jerusalem for one more year.³⁶⁰ The loss of their respective headquarters must have been traumatic for both Hospitallers and Templars. In a letter to the English king written after the fall of Jerusalem, Terricus referred to himself as 'the former grand preceptor of the house of the Temple at Jerusalem' (*quondam magnus praeceptor domus Templi Jerusalem*). The word 'former' used here

³⁵⁶ *RRH* 665–8; cf. Mayer, "On the Beginnings," 443–57.

³⁵⁷ *RRH* 675; this charter also features Terricus, Borell, and Armengaud of Asp.

³⁵⁸ Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; *CH* I 835; cf. Luttrell, "Ermengol," 16.

³⁵⁹ Eracles, 90.

³⁶⁰ *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 40–1; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 78; cf. Röhrich, 463.

did not mean that he had lost the office of grand preceptor. It meant that Jerusalem had been lost.³⁶¹

Borell and Terricus stayed with Conrad of Montferrat in Tyre where they can be traced in January and May 1188 (in the latter month again accompanied by Armengaud of Asp and Geoffrey Morin).³⁶² Things changed in June 1188 when Saladin released the Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort from captivity.³⁶³ Terricus disappeared completely until 1199.³⁶⁴ It is possible that Gerard ostracized him for his support of Conrad of Montferrat who had positioned himself against King Guy who, in turn, enjoyed Gerard's support.³⁶⁵ Now that the Templars had their master back, the Hospitallers seem to have been unable to postpone their magisterial election much longer, and they elevated Armengaud of Asp to the mastership. According to Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, Armengaud won the race against Archembald, the Hospitaller master of Italy, to whom the Hospitallers had written in 1187,³⁶⁶ because Armengaud had arrived in the east before Archembald.³⁶⁷ Even though Armengaud only stayed in the office of master for a short time and then surrendered it, he did serve as master.³⁶⁸ In October 1188, probably still in Tyre, Armengaud (*Domini patientia Christi pauperum servus et fratrum sancti Hospitalis Jerusalem provisor humilis*) confirmed the rule of the female Hospitallers at Sigena, and listed among the witnesses Borell, who appeared with the programmatic title of *praeceptor Jerusalem*, which shows that the Hospitallers were far from surrendering their claim to their former headquarters, as well as Archembald, preceptor of Italy, Arlebert, preceptor of Germany, and Lambert, the second marshal of the order known by name.³⁶⁹ One possible reason why the Hospitallers did not elevate Borell to the mastership might have been that he was less prominent than Armengaud.

³⁶¹ *RRH* 669.

³⁶² *RRH* 670, 675.

³⁶³ Cf. Chapter Nine: Gerard of Ridefort.

³⁶⁴ *RRH* 751; cf. Chapter Nine: Terricus.

³⁶⁵ Bulst-Thiele, 118–9.

³⁶⁶ *RRH* 661.

³⁶⁷ Favreau, “Zur Pilgerfahrt,” 41. For Armengaud cf. Luttrell, “Ermengol,” 15–19.

³⁶⁸ Herquet, *Chronologie*, 20–6. Armengaud's magisterial seal, bearing the circumscription +ARMENGAVDVŠ CVSTOS +HOSPITALIS IHERUSALEM, was found at Tyre: Chandon de Briailles, “Bulles,” 296; *ibid.*, plate 14 (n. 7); Delaville Le Roulx, 408; Mayer, *Varia*, 193–4. Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960.

³⁶⁹ *CH* I 860; *RRH* 677.

In 1189, after Conrad of Montferrat had refused to hand Tyre over to King Guy, the latter moved to Acre where he laid siege to the city which Saladin had conquered in 1187.³⁷⁰ Gerard of Ridefort and the Templars followed the king immediately, while the Hospitallers may have held out in Tyre a little longer. On 4 October 1189, Gerard and the Templar marshal (presumably Geoffrey Morin) lost their lives outside of Acre.³⁷¹ Thus, the Templars were again without master, and this time there does not seem to have been a seneschal or a preceptor around to assume the temporary leadership. The order's new master, Robert of Sablé, who came to the east during the Third Crusade, was a liegeman of King Richard of England and was not elected until 1191.³⁷² In the interim, the central convent may have been led, at least for a while, by its chaplain (W.), who appears as his order's only official in a charter issued outside of Acre in April 1190,³⁷³ and this hypothesis is not so unlikely given the prominent role played by the Templars' conventual chaplain during the Second Crusade.³⁷⁴ Yet, in 1190, two prominent Templars from the west arrived outside of Acre and took over the offices of seneschal and grand preceptor, as well as the leadership of the central convent, until the spring of 1191: Amio of Ays, the order's *magister cis mare* (master of the west), and Girbert Eral, the former provincial master of Spain and Provence³⁷⁵ who also brought experience as the order's grand preceptor of the east (1183) to the table.³⁷⁶ It is, however, unknown why Amio was replaced by Roric of La Courtine by May 1191,³⁷⁷ and also why Girbert returned to the west prior to the Third Crusade's conquest of Acre (12 July 1191).³⁷⁸ There is a chance that the two clashed and thus went (or were told to go) their separate ways. A few years later, Girbert returned to the east as master, while Amio left the order in 1198 to continue his career at the royal court of Jerusalem. As for the Hospitallers, Armengaud of Asp resigned as master in the fall of 1190 and took over his order's castellany of Amposta in

³⁷⁰ Runciman, *History*, III, 22–3.

³⁷¹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Gerard of Ridefort, Geoffrey Morin.

³⁷² Bulst-Thiele, 125.

³⁷³ Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 23.

³⁷⁴ Marsy, 125–7 n. 5; *CT* 512; *RRH* 252.

³⁷⁵ Amio (without title): Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 23. Amio (seneschal) and Girbert (grand preceptor): Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1; Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13, 911–14 n. 14.

³⁷⁶ *RRH* 631.

³⁷⁷ *RRH* 705; cf. Chapter Nine: Roric of La Courtine.

³⁷⁸ Cf. Chapter Nine: Girbert Eral.

Aragón³⁷⁹ which he had already governed in 1188 during his tenure as prior of St. Gilles.³⁸⁰ In his place, the Hospitallers elected Garnier of Nablus, who had served as grand preceptor in the east in 1180 and who was, at the time, prior of England. Garnier arrived outside of Acre in the entourage of King Richard of England in June 1191.³⁸¹ In the interim, namely between Armengaud's departure and Garnier's arrival, the central convent was led by Ogerius, the former prior of St. Gilles, who had come to Acre to take the office of *magnus praeceptor*.³⁸² Right after Garnier's arrival, Ogerius returned to the west to take over the Hospitaller priory of France.³⁸³ As we have seen, the new Hospitaller master (Garnier of Nablus) and the new Templar master (Robert of Sablé) had ties to King Richard. If he was behind their advancement his choices turned out to be of little consequence. Garnier died on 31 August 1192, a few days before Richard's departure for the west, and Robert passed away on 23 September 1193.³⁸⁴ Between 1187 and 1191, the personnel carousel of Templars and Hospitallers was constantly in motion, but that does not appear to have caused any kind of crisis in the central convent. Mechanisms had been put in place well before the *annus horribilis* of 1187 that ensured that the hearts of these two communities would continue to beat.

Finally, where were the headquarters of Templars and Hospitallers between 1187, the loss of Jerusalem, and 1191, the conquest of Acre? While Templar historians do not seem to have concerned themselves with this issue, some scholars have suggested that the Hospitallers moved their headquarters to the castle of Margat in 1187,³⁸⁵ where they remained, according to King until the early thirteenth century,³⁸⁶ according to others until 1285, the year Margat was lost to the Mamluks.³⁸⁷ As evidence in favor of such a move one could cite an 1188 letter sent by Armengaud of Asp to Duke Leopold of Austria which mentions that Saladin had captured almost all castles in the principality of Antioch

³⁷⁹ CH I 901.

³⁸⁰ Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; CH I 835; cf. Luttrell, "Ermengol," 16.

³⁸¹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Garnier of Nablus.

³⁸² *RRH* 697a, 705.

³⁸³ Cf. Chapter Nine: Ogerius.

³⁸⁴ Delaville Le Roulx, 116, 408; Runciman, *History*, III, 74; Bulst-Thiele, 133.

³⁸⁵ Du Cange, *Familles*, 893; Prutz, "Exemte Stellung," 100; Riley-Smith, "Further Thoughts," 756; Boas, *Archaeology*, 50.

³⁸⁶ King, *Knights*, 159, 170.

³⁸⁷ Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 53–5; Zwehl, *Nachrichten*, 13; Barz, *Malteserorden*, 14.

with the exception of Margat;³⁸⁸ the fact that the Hospitallers used the place in 1191 to incarcerate Isaac of Cyprus whom King Richard had entrusted to them as a state prisoner;³⁸⁹ the chapter held there in 1193 according to a charter issued by the Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon;³⁹⁰ the general chapter celebrated there in 1204/6 during the mastership of Alphonso of Portugal;³⁹¹ and the fact that Margat was the center of a new Hospitaller lordship.³⁹² However, the evidence against such a move weighs more heavily. In 1187, Margat was a brand new acquisition of the Hospitallers,³⁹³ the order was facing heavy competition from the Templars in the castle's immediate vicinity,³⁹⁴ Saladin was generally so successful in his conquest of castles that Margat would have been a risky choice (even though he ultimately found it too strong to even attempt a siege),³⁹⁵ but most importantly Margat was too remote for any kind of involvement in the affairs of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Between 1189 and the middle of 1191, the action was outside of Acre, and after 12 July 1191, the action was in Acre, the capital of the 'second' kingdom of Jerusalem. Thus, it was to Acre that the headquarters of Templars and Hospitallers relocated in 1191. Before that, namely between October 1187 and 1189, both orders probably had their temporary headquarters in the port city of Tyre. Between 1189 and 1191, their headquarters were in the tents of their officials outside of Acre, and it was in these tents that crusade deliberations took place.³⁹⁶ The years of 1187–91 showed that the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars was prepared to master just about any crisis of personnel and logistics that would come its way.

³⁸⁸ Ansbart, *Historia*, 4–5: *excepta Margato castro nostro munitissimo*; CH I 863; RRH 678.

³⁸⁹ Eracles, 169; cf. Röhrich, 551.

³⁹⁰ CH I 941; RRH 708.

³⁹¹ CH II 1193; RRH 800a.

³⁹² Burgtorf, "Herrschaft," 27–57.

³⁹³ Mayer II, 269, 878.

³⁹⁴ Burgtorf, "Herrschaft," 29–32.

³⁹⁵ In early 1189, the Hospitallers had lost the castle of Belvoir, located above the Jordan river and heavily fortified. The Muslims seem to have considered Belvoir as (one of) the order's headquarters, cf. Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 388.

³⁹⁶ *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 274 v. 10254–5; *History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 165 v. 10226–7.

CHAPTER TWO

ACRE (1191–1291)

Infrastructure

The city of Acre, located on the Mediterranean coast to the north of Haifa, was conquered by King Baldwin I of Jerusalem in 1104. It soon became the main port of the realm,¹ an important commercial center, a first stopover for many pilgrims from the west, a port of arrival and departure for members of the military orders,² and a favorite royal residence.³ Compared to Jerusalem, Acre's climate was more pleasant and its atmosphere less sacred, even though there were spiritual reasons to visit the city.⁴ Both Hospitallers and Templars established major houses in Acre as they sought to be in the vicinity of the king. The Hospitallers obtained a royal confirmation of their property in Acre as early as 1110,⁵ were exempt from paying tithes in the diocese of Acre by the 1130s,⁶ systematically acquired real estate in the city from 1149 on,⁷ and had, by 1155, not only a preceptory, led by the *magister de Accon* (master of Acre), but also a hospital with its own *custos infirmorum* (guardian of the sick).⁸ By the 1160s (at the latest), the Templars also had a house in Acre, governed by the *comandeur d'Acre* (preceptor of Acre),⁹ there were storage facilities in which a sergeant brother, known as the *comandeur de la vote de la mer d'Acre* (preceptor of the vault at the sea in Acre), kept provisions,¹⁰ and by 1175, the order's house in Acre served as a payment office where the Templars paid the fees for the casalia they were renting.¹¹ Around 1170, Theoderic admired the buildings of

¹ Stickel, *Fall*, 11.

² The Templar Geoffrey Fulcherii arrived at Acre in 1164: *RHGF* XVI, 38–9 n. 124; *RRH* 398.

³ Usamah Ibn-Munqidh, *Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, 61, 226 (King Fulk, King Baldwin III); *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 35 (King Guy).

⁴ Michelant and Raynaud, "Pelrinages," 235.

⁵ *CH* I 20; *RRH* 57; cf. Jacoby, "Communes," 200.

⁶ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 148.

⁷ 1149: *CH* I 180 (exchange and purchase); *RRH* 256; date: Mayer II, 860. 1155: *CH* I 237 (donation and lease); *RRH* 311.

⁸ *CH* I 237; *RRH* 311; cf. Chapter Nine: [Pons (H) hospitaller 1155].

⁹ *RT* 87, 93.

¹⁰ *RT* 143, cf. *ibid.* 609.

¹¹ Manosque, f. 561 64 P, 578^r 67 J; *CH* II, p. 907 n. xvii; *RRH* 535a.

both communities, the Templar house on the coast and the Hospitaller house in the city.¹² When Saladin conquered the city in 1187, he had the Hospitaller buildings converted into schools, but took possession of the Templar quarter where he built a new tower.¹³ On 12 July 1191, the crusaders reconquered Acre, and both Hospitallers and Templars were soon reinstated in their former possessions (the Hospitaller possessions were confirmed by King Guy on 31 January 1192).¹⁴ The king of Jerusalem had every interest to tie the military orders to his new capital. Due to their existing buildings, it was probably fairly easy for the two communities to establish their central convent in Acre, but infrastructural expansions were inevitable.

According to medieval maps, Acre consisted of Old Acre and the Montmusard suburb. The thirteenth-century map of Matthew Paris, which is not very detailed, places the Templar house into Old Acre and that of the Hospitallers mostly into the Montmusard. However, the two much more detailed fourteenth-century maps of Peter Vesconte (sometimes ascribed to Marinus Sanutus) and Paulinus of Pozzuoli (Paolino Veneto) indicate that both communities held properties in Old Acre and the Montmusard.

Table 5: The Acre Headquarters of Templars and Hospitallers on Medieval Maps

map	date	Templars	Hospitallers	source
<i>Terra Sancta</i> (focus: Acre)	c.1252	<i>le Temple</i> (Old Acre)	<i>la maison del hospital saint Johan</i> (mostly Montmusard)	Matthew Paris ¹⁵
<i>Acre (Ciuitas Acon siue Ptolomayda)</i>	(1320s)	<i>Templum</i> (Old Acre); <i>burgus Templi</i> , <i>bovaria Templi</i> (Montmusard); <i>custodia Templariorum</i> (Montmusard walls)	<i>hospitale</i> (Old Acre); <i>hospitium hospitalis</i> (Montmusard); <i>custodia Hospitalariorum</i> (Montmusard walls)	Peter Vesconte (sometimes ascribed to Marinus Sanutus) ¹⁶

¹² Theodericus, “Libellus,” 186; cf. Jacoby, “Communes,” 204–5.

¹³ Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 295–6, 345–6; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 108; cf. Röhrich, *Beiträge*, I, 153; Röhrich, 442–3, 471; Pringle, “Templars,” 30.

¹⁴ *CH* I 917; *RRH* 698; date: Mayer II, 881; cf. Favreau, *Studien*, 55; Jacoby, “Evolution,” 100.

¹⁵ Lago and Galliano, *Terra Santa*, 42–3; cf. Harvey, “Matthew Paris’s Maps,” 165–77.

¹⁶ Pringle, “Churches,” 116–17; Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” xi; Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 488; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 50.

Table 5 (*cont.*)

map	date	Templars	Hospitallers	source
Acre	(1320s–30s)	<i>domus Templi</i> (Old Acre); <i>boveria Templi</i> (Montmusard, twice)	<i>hospitale, ecclesia, domus infirmorum</i> (Old Acre); <i>albergium hospitalis</i> (Montmusard)	Paulinus of Pozzuoli/ Paolino Veneto ¹⁷

Matthew Paris's map features eighty percent of the Hospitallers' headquarters on the Montmusard, with twenty percent extending into Old Acre, quasi on the walls separating the two parts of the city. This stands in contradiction to the archaeological evidence. The same map shows the Templars' headquarters in Acre shaped like al-Aqsa, which suggests that this map is mostly a product of Matthew Paris's imagination. The two fourteenth-century maps show a large Hospitaller building, the *herberge*, on the Montmusard, and Paulinus's map indicates, in the topographically correct order, that the Hospitaller compound in Old Acre consisted of a main house, a church, and the *domus infirmorum* (hospital/house of the infirm). The Templars owned extensive stables (*bovaria/boveria*), probably used for oxen, in the northern part of the Montmusard, and there was also a Templar quarter (*burgus Templi*) in the southwestern part of the Montmusard (which Paulinus falsely labeled *boveria*).¹⁸ Apart from the destruction brought by al-Ashraf's conquest of Acre in 1291, most damage to the Hospitaller and Templar buildings was done by modern construction projects, especially those of Ahmed Pasha who, after 1799, built a new city wall, probably utilizing the ruins of the Templar compound, and a new mosque, at least in part situated on top of the vaults of the Hospitallers' hospital. While some of the western part of medieval Acre is now below sea level, remnants of the Templar castle are still visible, and the ongoing archaeological excavations have brought to light a number of impressive vaulted halls of the Hospitallers' former headquarters.¹⁹

¹⁷ I am grateful to Dr. Ruthi Gertwagen (Haifa) for a copy of this map which is also printed, but incorrectly ascribed to Marinus Sanutus, in Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 545.

¹⁸ Benvenisti, "Bovaria-babriyya," 132–4; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 238; Jacoby, "Montmusard," 208. For these maps cf. Kedar, "Outer Walls," 157–80; Claverie I, 245–9; Boas, *Archaeology*, 29; Boas, *Crusader Archaeology*, 32–4; Pringle, "Churches," 115–17.

¹⁹ Goldmann, "Couvent," 8–18; *id.*, "Hospice," 182–9; *id.*, "Réfectoire," 14–18; Murphy-O'Connor, *Holy Land*, 162–7; Jacoby, "Crusader Acre," 1–45; Boas, *Archaeology*, 31.

When the Hospitallers moved from Jerusalem to Acre, they increased the spatial dimensions of their headquarters by a good sixty percent, and they divided their headquarters into two physically separate entities, the *herberge* on the Montmusard and the compound in Old Acre which consisted of a main house, a church, and a hospital.²⁰ The main house in Acre was known as the *palais* (palace, main house), probably because it contained the residence of the master.²¹ A charter issued in 1252 calls it the *grand manoir des freres* (grand manor of the brothers).²² To distinguish it from the *herberge* on the Montmusard, the Hospitallers referred to this main house as the *premier convent* (first convent), and it was there that the brothers took their meals (however, while healthy brothers ate at the table of the convent, sick brothers had their own table).²³ According to the Hospitallers' customs (1239/71), the meals of the convent were the responsibility of the seneschal of the palace,²⁴ a new subordinate official (and we remember that the Hospitaller seneschal of 1141 mentioned in Chapter One had been a subordinate official as well, unlike his counterpart in the order of the Temple). The Hospitaller compound in Old Acre also featured chambers for the brothers and a dormitory.²⁵ On the Montmusard, the Hospitallers had another palatial house, the *herberge*, which was supervised by a subordinate official known as the *aubergere*.²⁶ The *herberge* was considered the 'second convent,' and according to the *Gestes des Chiprois*, it served as the residence of the marshal and the convent.²⁷ There was another

²⁰ Kesten, *Old City*, 73–9.

²¹ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a. This palace and individual locations within the palace appear as places where charters were issued: *CH* II 2150; *RRH* 1074 (1236: *camera magistrī*). *CH* III 3414; *RRH* 1373 (1271: *Accon, in domo Hospitalis, in palatio magistrī*); cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 55.

²² *CH* II 2612; *RRH* 1200.

²³ *CH* III 3396, § 13; *RRH* 1374a. The distinction between the first and the second convent already appears in the statutes of 1204/6: *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a. *CH* III 3317, § 1, excludes several office-holding sergeant brothers from the 'table of the brothers,' which might indicate that it was primarily reserved for knight brothers; *RRH* 1360a. Table of the sick/infirm: *CH* II 1193, p. 32; *RRH* 800a. *CH* II 2213, *esgarts* 58, 77; *RRH* 1093a.

²⁴ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 107; *RRH* 1093a. In 1237, we encounter *frere Audebert seneschal dou palais*: Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b.

²⁵ Chambers: *CH* II 1193, p. 32, 36; *RRH* 800a. Dormitory: *CH* II 2213, *esgart* 58; *RRH* 1093a.

²⁶ *Gestes*, 220 § 439; cf. Benvenisti, *Crusaders*, 109. For the *aubergere* cf. *CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091.

²⁷ *CH* III 3317, § 2; *RRH* 1360a. Those who were serving in the second convent did not have to go to the first convent to take their meals. *Gestes*, 253 § 502; cf. Riley-Smith, 99.

dormitory there (*dortoir à la herberge*), and there were additional quarters for the master and the high officials (*chambre dou maistre et des baillis*); former officials who had just arrived from the west and who, during their first year in the east, were not allowed to hold office were also housed at the *herberge*.²⁸ Discussing the function of the *herberge*, Riley-Smith has pointed out that the Hospitallers “were religious first and soldiers or nurses second, and [that] the demands of the religious life meant that they should spend much of their lives in enclosure, which provided the ambience for prayer and contemplation.”²⁹ Yet, the *herberge* was certainly not (always) a quiet place. In 1286, it hosted two weeks of festivities after Henry of Lusignan’s coronation as king of Jerusalem,³⁰ which suggests that the Hospitaller *herberge* at Acre served a purpose similar to that of the Templars’ headquarters in Jerusalem, namely that of a royal guesthouse and banquet facility. Richard of Cornwall may have stayed at the *herberge* in 1240; Charles of Anjou’s vicar general was probably housed there in 1277, as were Henry of Lusignan’s envoys in 1286.³¹

After the Third Crusade’s conquest of Acre, the Hospitallers claimed that they had a papal privilege stipulating that there could be no hospital in the city that was not subordinate to them.³² Their own hospital was located in Old Acre, to the south of their abovementioned *palais*, in an eleventh-century Fatimid caravansary.³³ A 1252 charter refers to it as *l’ospital des malades* (hospital of the sick), thirteenth-century Hospitaller liturgy speaks of the *palais des seignors malades en Acre* (palace of [our] lords, the sick, in Acre), and Paulinus of Pozzuoli’s map labels it the *domus infirmorum* (house of the infirm).³⁴ While the conventual hospitaller retained a general oversight over this institution, there was now another subordinate official, the *seneschal dou palis des malades* (seneschal of the palace of the sick), who ran the hospital’s day-to-day operations.³⁵

²⁸ CH III 3180, § 4; RRH 1338a. CH III 4022, § 9; RRH 1480a.

²⁹ Riley-Smith, “Further Thoughts,” 762, 764.

³⁰ *Gestes*, 253 § 502; cf. Amadi, 217, 225; cf. also Hill, *History*, II, 181; Stickel, *Fall*, 10, who incorrectly states that the festivities took place in the Hospitaller master’s palace; Mayer, *Geschichte*, 330–1; Boas, *Archaeology*, 57, who incorrectly states that Henry’s coronation took place there.

³¹ 1240: Eracles, 421; cf. Röhrich, 851. 1277: Riley-Smith, “Crown,” 55. 1286: Amadi, 216.

³² *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 99.

³³ Murphy-O’Connor, *Holy Land*, 165; Jacoby, “Communes,” 201.

³⁴ CH II 2612; RRH 1200. Le Grand, “Prière,” 333–6, citing BN, fr. 1978 and 6049. For Paulinus’s map cf. above in this chapter; cf. also Boas, *Archaeology*, 56.

³⁵ CH II 2213, *usance* 125; RRH 1093a.

Pilgrims visiting the Acre hospital and participating in certain processions could earn an indulgence,³⁶ and, reminiscent of Saladin's admiration for the order's Jerusalem hospital, Sultan Malik al-Kamil (d.1238) was rumored to have remembered the Acre hospital in his last will.³⁷ Like the Jerusalem hospital, the one at Acre was probably open to all (except lepers), but we now also find a separate *enfermerie* (infirmary) for the Hospitaller brothers (1204/6), together with its own baths.³⁸ The official in charge of the infirmary was the *enfermier* (infirmarer).³⁹ He was assisted by the *frere de l'enfermerie* (brother of the infirmary), the *karavanier* (an official in charge of the patients' personal belongings), as well as hired physicians.⁴⁰ Between the *palais* or main house (where the infirmary was probably located) and the hospital proper stood the order's main church of St. John.⁴¹ The Hospitallers' conventual prior was in charge of this church.⁴² He also supervised the order's clergy serving in the main church, the hospital, and the church of St. Michael in the western part of Old Acre.⁴³

Many of the Hospitallers' storage facilities and workshops were probably in the large vault or vaulted street in Old Acre mentioned in a 1252 document.⁴⁴ There were storerooms for foodstuffs,⁴⁵ the arsenal for weapons and other military equipment (1250),⁴⁶ and the *parmenderie* which, subordinate to the conventual draper, manufactured, altered, and

³⁶ Michelant and Raynaud, "Pelrinages," 235.

³⁷ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 486.

³⁸ Infirmary: *CH* II 1193, p. 32; *RRH* 800a. *CH* III 3039, § 33; *RRH* 1319b. Baths: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 102; *RRH* 1093a. *CH* II 2612; *RRH* 1200; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 203.

³⁹ *CH* II 2213, *esgart* 71, *usance* 110; *RRH* 1093a. By 1193, the Hospitaller house at St. Gilles had its own infirmarer: Santoni, 146. The conventual infirmarers identified so far are John (1235: *CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063), Andrew (1237: Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b. 1238: *CH* II 2212; *RRH* 1084a), and Bernard Corbel (1248: *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164; cf. Bronstein, 148).

⁴⁰ *CH* III 3039 § 33; *RRH* 1319b.

⁴¹ *CH* II 2612; *RRH* 1200. Conrad of Montferrat, who was assassinated in 1192, may have found his last resting place in this Hospitaller church, cf. Röhrich, 614–15. Cf. also Jacoby, "Society," 113; Stern, "Church," 157; Boas, *Archaeology*, 56; Pringle, "Churches," 127–8. According to the statutes of 1204/6 (*CH* II 1193, p. 32; *RRH* 800a), sick brothers were to take their meals separate from the convent but close to the infirmary and the *moustier* or *monasterium*, the latter being a part of the church, if not the church itself. This would mean that the infirmary was located in or near the southeastern part of the main house (or magisterial palace).

⁴² *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a.

⁴³ *CH* III 3075, § 5; *RRH* 1329b.

⁴⁴ *CH* II 2612; *RRH* 1200.

⁴⁵ Cf. Riley-Smith, 309.

⁴⁶ *RRH* 1187; cf. Favreau-Lilic, *Italiener*, 23.

stored clothing (1239/71).⁴⁷ The Hospitallers owned vineyards outside of the city,⁴⁸ mills in Acre and its vicinity (and these were repeatedly the objects of disputes with the Templars),⁴⁹ ovens on the Montmusard,⁵⁰ stables for oxen, pigs, and poultry in the city⁵¹ and further stables outside of the city.⁵² The order had its own carpenter's workshop⁵³ as well as shipyards on the western coast of Acre where boats could be repaired.⁵⁴ Both charters and normative texts mention some of the personnel employed in the aforementioned facilities: a charter issued in 1193 was witnessed by *Petrus de Fuare* and *Petrus de Coquina*⁵⁵ who presumably worked at the ovens and in the kitchen, and the *usances* (1239/71) refer to the *maistre escuier* (master squire) who was responsible for military equipment and the *frere de la permentarie* (brother of the clothing store) who was responsible for the tailoring department.⁵⁶ In the course of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers expanded their headquarters at Acre by purchasing houses in its vicinity.⁵⁷ Until 1187, the Hospitallers' real estate in and around Jerusalem had probably been administered by the conventual treasurer.⁵⁸ In thirteenth-century Acre, things seem to have become more complex. We now find Hospitallers with striking cognomina such as *de Domibus* (of the houses) and *de Fabrica* (of the building workshop), or titles such as *bailli des maisons* (bailiff of the houses) and *casalarius* (an official in charge of casalia), and they appear in charters dealing with real estate in and around Acre.⁵⁹ One

⁴⁷ CH II 2213, *esgart* 39, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

⁴⁸ The best known of these vineyards, the *vigne neue*, must have had its own representative buildings since the Hospitaller master repeatedly spent time there (cf. Röhricht, 855–6, 896–903) and since a general chapter was held there some time prior to 1262 (CH III 3039, preamble; RRH 1319b). Another Hospitaller vineyard near Acre is mentioned in a 1232 charter (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; CH II 2034; RRH 1039).

⁴⁹ CH II 1144, 2107, 2117; cf. Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 206–8; Röhricht, 853–4.

⁵⁰ CH III 3202; RRH 1342a.

⁵¹ CH III 3396, § 8; RRH 1374a.

⁵² Amadi, 209, mentions a Muslim attack on these stables (1267).

⁵³ CH III 3396, § 8; RRH 1374a.

⁵⁴ Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 238.

⁵⁵ CH I 941; RRH 708.

⁵⁶ CH II 2213, *usance* 110; RRH 1093a.

⁵⁷ 1235: CH II 2126; RRH 1063. 1255: Manosque, f. 168^v 18 H: *medietatem unius domus site in Accon prope magnam domum dicte Hospitalis cum omni suo terreno, fundamento, edificio*; CH II 2733; RRH 1234a.

⁵⁸ Burgtorf, "Wind," 221–2.

⁵⁹ 1219: *frater Guillelmus de Domibus* and *frater Bernardus de Fabrica* (CH II 1656; RRH 923). 1235: *frater Renaldus de Domibus* (CH II 2126; RRH 1063). 1237: *frere Elyes li*

can certainly consider city walls a type of real estate as well, and the Hospitallers were responsible for the defense and presumably also the upkeep of a section of Acre's walls, the so-called *custodia Hospitalariorum* which ran from the Maupas Gate to the Gate of St. Anthony; the Templars, too, were responsible for a section of the walls at Acre, namely the *custodia Templariorum*, located in the northern part of the Montmusard.⁶⁰ The Hospitaller compound must have been very secure and massive as it was repeatedly besieged unsuccessfully.⁶¹ Until 1291, most of the damage it sustained probably came from earthquakes, particularly the one of 1202, and the War of St. Sabas, a civil war which raged through Acre between 1256 and 1258.⁶²

The most detailed description of the Templars' headquarters in Acre can be found in the *Gestes des Chiprois* which claim that the Templar castle was the most fortified place in the city, a statement corroborated by Thadeus of Naples who referred to it as *tutissima Templi menia* (the most secure castle of the Temple).⁶³ In 1229, Frederick II unsuccessfully laid siege to it, and in 1291, the Templar castle did not fall until 28 May, ten days after al-Ashraf's troops had conquered the city itself.⁶⁴ The *Gestes* relate that the castle's gate tower had four corner turrets, each with its own gilded lion, and that the tower's walls were twenty-eight feet (8.5344 meters) strong.⁶⁵ The tower's *grant porte* (grand gate) is also mentioned in the Templar statutes.⁶⁶ The compound included another tower which, according to Arab chroniclers, Saladin had constructed in 1187, and which the Templars would later use to house their trea-

Casalers and *frere Joffre de maisons* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b). 1255: *frater Girardus de Domibus* (*CH* II 2714; *RRH* 1212). 1260: *frater Girardus de Domibus* (*CH* II 2949; *RRH* 1291). 1269: *frere Hugue, bailli des maisons del Hospital de saint Johan à Acre* (*CH* III 3334; *RRH* 1364). 1273: *frater Reginaldus, casalaris Hospitalis* (*CH* III 3514; *RRH* 1389). 1274: *frère Bernard, casalier des maisons de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem* (*CH* III 3557; *RRH* 1400a). 1275: *frater Bernardus Cassallerius Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani* (Manosque, f. 331' 33 L).

⁶⁰ *CH* III 3771; *RRH* 1442a. Jacoby, "Montmusard," 211–12.

⁶¹ For example in the early 1240s by Odo of Montbéliard and Balian of Beirut, cf. Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 208; Röhricht, 855–6.

⁶² 1202: Amiran *et al.*, "Earthquakes," 270, 294. War of St. Sabas: Runciman, *History*, III, 282–6.

⁶³ *Gestes*, 252–3 § 501; *Magistri Thadei Neapolitani Hystoria*, ed. Riant, 13–14; "Magister Thadeus," ed. Huygens, 109.

⁶⁴ 1229: Röhricht, 793–4. 1291: Stickel, *Fall*, 79–80.

⁶⁵ *Gestes*, 252–3 § 501; cf. Amadi, 224–5; Bustron, 123–4; cf. also Bulst-Thiele, "Warum," 33–4; Barber, 241.

⁶⁶ *RT* 486.

sury.⁶⁷ One of the subordinate officials mentioned in the statutes, the *frere de la monie* (brother of the exchange/money), may have worked in this tower,⁶⁸ and in 1291, the Grand Preceptor Thibaut Gaudini was able to rescue some of the order's treasury, presumably from this very tower, to Cyprus.⁶⁹ The palace of the Templar master stood close to the castle compound, and it was there that in 1198 the German hospital community of St. Mary was transformed into a military order.⁷⁰ Just as the Hospitallers' main house in Old Acre was managed by a seneschal of the palace, the Templar master's palace had its own preceptor of the palace.⁷¹ Between 1191 and 1291, the Templars at Acre hosted a number of illustrious guests, among them King Philip II of France (1191), possibly King Richard I of England, maybe Acre's knightly families who, in 1197, fled to the Hospitallers and Templars to escape from the ill-behaved German crusaders, and probably King Louis IX of France (1250).⁷²

The Templar compound contained a church which served as the (not so) final resting place of Duke Hugh III of Burgundy (d.1192; his body was later transferred to Cîteaux).⁷³ In 1291, some of the relics kept in this church were brought to Cyprus by Thibaut Gaudini.⁷⁴ It was, however, not the order's only church in Acre since the church

⁶⁷ Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 108; Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 345–6; *Gestes*, 252–3 § 501; cf. Röhricht, 442–3; Pringle, “Templars,” 30, 32.

⁶⁸ *RT* 616.

⁶⁹ “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 782; “Excidium Acconis,” ed. Huygens, 92.

⁷⁰ *Gestes*, 252–3 § 501; cf. Röhricht, 677–8; Pringle, “Templars,” 30–1.

⁷¹ Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 107; *RRH* 1093a. 1237: *frere Audebert seneschal dou palais* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b). Templars: 1240: Reynald of Vichiers (Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096). 1250: NN (Joinville, § 412–14; Claverie II, 322). 1257/68: James of Ravane (*RT* 610; Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 202).

⁷² Philip II: *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, III, 123; cf. Runciman, *History*, III, 51–2. Richard I: On 13 October 1191, after Philip's departure, Richard issued a charter *in domo Templi*: Müller, *Documenti*, 58–9 n. 35; *RRH* 706; date: Mayer II, 440. 1197 fugitives: *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 187; cf. Röhricht, 669. Louis IX: *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, V, 164: *apud Achon sub custodia Templariorum commorans et Hospitaliariorum et aliorum qui in civitate fuerant Christianorum*. This wording implies that Louis stayed with the Templars, especially since they are listed first, but it also suggests that he may have stayed with the Hospitallers and others in Acre; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 226.

⁷³ *Gestes*, 252–3 § 501; Röhricht, 548.

⁷⁴ “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 782; *Excidium Acconis*, ed. Huygens, 92; cf. Richard, *Histoire*, 478. For these relics cf. also Pringle, “Templars,” 31.

of St. Catherine's on the Montmusard had its own Templar prior in 1232.⁷⁵ The hall *in quo tenebatur capitulum* (in which the chapter was held)⁷⁶ was presumably located in the Templar castle. Some of the central convent's high officials seem to have had rooms of their own. The trial records mention that, in 1271, the preceptor of the land, the preceptor of Acre, the draper, and the marshal participated in deliberations in the *camera secreta* (separate chamber) of the Templar Prior Anthony.⁷⁷ There was also a prison (*camera priuatorum*) where delinquent brothers could be held,⁷⁸ the house of the almoner where brothers served their penances,⁷⁹ as well as rooms for the sick known as *ospital* (hospital) or *enfermerie* (infirmary).⁸⁰

Since the archaeological evidence for the Templar castle in Acre is very sparse, and since the order owned considerable real estate on the Montmusard,⁸¹ it cannot be said with certainty where their various storage facilities and workshops were located. The order's vault at the sea in Acre, managed by a preceptor who was a sergeant brother, had already been operational in the twelfth century.⁸² This preceptor of the vault and the order's ships at Acre were subordinate to the preceptor of the land,⁸³ not the marshal, which indicates that the Templars may have seen their naval activities as primarily commercial rather than military (of course, a military order's commercial activities always have logistical and, thus, military implications). The normative texts list the *chabestreria* where arms were kept;⁸⁴ a granary managed by a *frere dou grenier* (brother of the granary) who reported to the preceptor of the

⁷⁵ Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; *fratre B. de Benraiges, domus Templi priore S. Katherine*, CH II 2034; *RRH* 1039. It is unknown whether this individual was identical with or related to Baldwin of Beuvrages, the Templar master of Cyprus between 1219 and 1232, cf. Claverie II, 324, *et passim*. For St. Catherine's cf. Pringle, "Churches," 112–13.

⁷⁶ *Procès* I, 418.

⁷⁷ *Procès* I, 646.

⁷⁸ Abel, "Lettre," 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 122, 360 n. 1, 415; Claverie III, 623; cf. Pringle, "Templars," 29; Forey, "Judicial Processes," 88.

⁷⁹ *RT* 654.

⁸⁰ *RT* 470, 634.

⁸¹ In 1240, for example, the Templars gave to the order of St. Lazarus *locum quam habemus in Monte Musardo*: Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.

⁸² *RT* 143.

⁸³ *RT* 119. The Templar property known as *la Chaene* (*RT* 616), which was managed by a brother of the order, was probably located toward the port of Old Acre.

⁸⁴ Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 135.

aforementioned vault;⁸⁵ a wine cellar;⁸⁶ an oven, mills, and a kitchen;⁸⁷ gardens, as well as a vineyard worked by specific brothers;⁸⁸ and stables for the oxen on the Montmusard. These stables had their own main gate (*porta Boverie Templi*),⁸⁹ were surrounded by walls, and supervised by a subordinate preceptor (*comandour de la boverie*)⁹⁰ who may have also overseen the stables for the camels and pigs⁹¹ as well as the dovecote.⁹² The stables for the Templars' pack animals were located to the north of Acre at a casale known as the *somelaria Templi*.⁹³

Some scholars have argued that, after 1218, the Templars moved their central convent to the castle of Atlit (*Castrum Peregrinorum*/Château Pèlerin), located to the south of Acre.⁹⁴ According to Oliver Scholasticus, the construction of Atlit was to enable the Templar convent to withdraw from the 'sinful and obscene' city of Acre, and to stay under the protection of this castle until the walls of Jerusalem would have been rebuilt.⁹⁵ Much could be said to support the hypothesis of such a relocation. There was always potential for conflict in Acre, particular with rival institutions such as the Hospitallers.⁹⁶ There was hardly enough space in the city for a truly large garrison, and the Templar castle's location in the southwestern corner of the city made it impossible to leave Acre in any speedy fashion by land.⁹⁷ Atlit was used by the order as a place where statutes were issued and, thus, as a place where chapters were held.⁹⁸ Finally, Atlit did house important relics,

⁸⁵ *RT* 609; cf. Boas, *Archaeology*, 199.

⁸⁶ Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 192.

⁸⁷ *RT* 662. For the mills cf. *CH* II 1144, 2107, 2117; cf. also Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 206–8; Röhrich, 853–4.

⁸⁸ *RT* 616; Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 189–90.

⁸⁹ Pauli, *Codice*, I, 287 n. 8; *RRH* 746.

⁹⁰ *RT* 591.

⁹¹ *RT* 662.

⁹² *RT* 591.

⁹³ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 266–7; Ellenblum, *Frankish Rural Settlement*, 209–10.

⁹⁴ Röhrich, 728; Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 58; Demurger, "Templer," 536; Pringle, "Templars," 30 (hesitatingly).

⁹⁵ Hiestand, "Castrum," 40, where the respective text passages from Oliver's *Historia Damiatina* are edited; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 14, which essentially copies Oliver's text.

⁹⁶ Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 58.

⁹⁷ Kesten, *Old City*, 70–1.

⁹⁸ *Procès* I, 458.

including the head reliquary of St. Euphemia.⁹⁹ However, the arguments against the relocation hypothesis weigh more heavily. Oliver does not claim that the Templar convent moved to Atlit; he merely envisioned such a move and used the future tense: 'it will reside' (*residebit*). Secondly, Oliver's disparaging remarks with regard to Acre were propaganda as there was an indulgence to be earned by those who would help to build Atlit,¹⁰⁰ which is why the project had to be presented as spiritually meritorious. Thirdly, Atlit was not a sparse and frugal construction project that would have reinforced an ascetic lifestyle. In 1251, Peter of Alençon, Louis IX's son, was born and baptized there,¹⁰¹ which suggests that the place was fit for royalty. Even today the archaeological remains of Atlit reflect its former glory and splendor.¹⁰² Fourthly, Hiestand has pointed out that not a single charter issued at Atlit has come down to us.¹⁰³ Much like the Hospitallers never moved their central convent to Margat, the Templars never moved theirs to Atlit (and it is also doubtful that the Teutonic Knights ever moved theirs to Montfort/Starkenbergl). In keeping with the role they played for the protection of the kingdom, they kept their headquarters in the capital of the kingdom.

Constituency

The Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, which seem to be much more a document of achievements to date rather than new legislation, show that the order had successfully been transformed from a hospital community into a military order. They refer to the brothers in general as *freres de la maison*¹⁰⁴ and the members of the central convent as *freres de covent*, emphasizing that the latter should, if possible, be represented when a general chapter was held.¹⁰⁵ Reflecting social criteria, the statutes make a basic distinction between priest brothers (*freres prestres*), knight brothers (*freres chevaliers*), and sergeant brothers (*freres sergents*).¹⁰⁶ Reflecting func-

⁹⁹ Sandoli, *Itinera*, IV, 58; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 167.

¹⁰⁰ Röhrich, 728–9.

¹⁰¹ Joinville, § 514.

¹⁰² A tomb stone from Atlit is in Jerusalem's Rockefeller Museum: *Display of Crusader Sculpture*, 23 n. 31. The fragments of a stained-glass window from Atlit can be seen in Jerusalem's Israel Museum.

¹⁰³ Hiestand, "Castrum," 31.

¹⁰⁴ CH II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁰⁵ CH II 1193, p. 33–4; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁰⁶ CH II 1193, p. 35–6; *RRH* 800a.

tional criteria, the statutes set the high officials or bailiff brothers (*freres baillis*) aside as a class of their own,¹⁰⁷ and go on to declare the knight brothers and armed sergeant brothers (*les freres chevaliers et les freres sergens qui servent d'armes*) a class of their own as brothers-at-arms (*freres d'armes*) who were to be subordinate to the marshal.¹⁰⁸ The *usances* (1239/71, although this dating continues to be debated) distinguish between *baillis*, conventual brothers, and serving brothers (*freres d'offices*), and point out that the *baillis* were subordinate to the master, the conventual brothers to the marshal, and the serving brothers to the grand preceptor.¹⁰⁹ Thus, if we try to connect the statements of the statutes of 1204/6 and those of the *usances*, the brothers-at-arms (of the convent) mentioned in the statutes and the conventual brothers of the *usances* would be one and the same group as, in both texts, they are subordinate to the marshal. Moreover, the non-armed sergeant brothers implied by the statutes and the serving brothers of the *usances* would be one and the same group. Yet, this still leaves the priest brothers who were not armed and not subordinate to the marshal, but who belonged to the convent.¹¹⁰ The priest brothers' superior, the prior, was the convent's only high official who was not considered a capitular bailiff.¹¹¹ Thus, the priest brothers belonged to the convent and the chapter, but were not conventual brothers (as they were not armed). They and their prior formed a class of their own.

The Templars' twelfth-century normative texts had already mentioned the ancient brothers (*freres anciens*) and the prudhommes.¹¹² As for the Hospitallers, the *anciens et sages freres* (ancient and wise brothers) appear in the statutes of 1204/6 as those called upon to confirm the community's old customs, which suggests that the Hospitallers had recognized these old brothers as a special group for some time as well.¹¹³ In 1221, Pelagius, the papal legate and cardinal bishop of Albano, settled a dispute 'after obtaining the counsel of the ancient brothers of both the Hospital and the Temple' (*habito consilio...etiam fratrum antiquiorum Hospitalis et Templi*).¹¹⁴ According to the *usances*, the *freres plus anciens*

¹⁰⁷ CH II 1193, p. 36; RRH 800a.

¹⁰⁸ CH II 1193, p. 37–8; RRH 800a.

¹⁰⁹ CH II 2213, *usance* 110; RRH 1093a.

¹¹⁰ CH II 1193, p. 35–6; RRH 800a.

¹¹¹ CH II 2213, *usance* 89; RRH 1093a.

¹¹² UT 17; RT 31, 79.

¹¹³ CH II 1193, p. 32; RRH 800a.

¹¹⁴ CH II 1739; RRH 949.

(most ancient brothers) of each *lengue* (tongue) advised the Hospitaller master and were expected to suggest, after separate deliberations, a candidate for the office of grand preceptor.¹¹⁵ Since the dating of the *usances* continues to be debated, not too much should be made of this. In the order's future history, i.e. particularly after 1300, the tongue, a brother's geographical origin as evidenced by the language or dialect he spoke, would become a career-determining factor. By the early fourteenth century, there would be seven such tongues: Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England, and Germany.¹¹⁶ However, there is no plausible reason why the idea of grouping the brothers according to tongue should not have arisen earlier in the thirteenth century. The term 'prudhomme' first appears in the Hospitallers' *usances*, but as the *usances* were customs put into writing after they had become an established practice, and as the Templars had already used the term in the twelfth century, it is safe to assume that the Hospitallers, too, had had prudhommes for some time. These prudhommes were to advise the master in personnel matters, and, if possible, only a prudhomme should serve as the lieutenant of a capitular bailiff (i.e. an official appointed by the general chapter).¹¹⁷ In a charter issued in 1254, the brothers accompanying the master, namely the castellan of the Krak des Chevaliers, the draper, the master's companion (*compaignon*), the future marshal, and the preceptor of Tripoli are listed as the *prodes homes* who had advised the master and agreed to his decision.¹¹⁸ Thus, both Hospitallers and Templars used the term prudhommes for brothers who served as advisors on the highest levels of leadership.

The thirteenth century also brought further clarification with regard to other members of the Hospitaller constituency. The *usances* contain regulations for the reception of co-brothers, and the reception of sisters is detailed in the statute collection of 1262.¹¹⁹ There had, of course, already been convents of female Hospitallers in Sigena (Aragón) since

¹¹⁵ CH II 2213, *usances* 89, 109; RRH 1093a.

¹¹⁶ CH IV 4574, § 14. One version of the statutes of Alphonso of Portugal (1204/6), edited in Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 97–100, makes mention of the seven tongues. It is a later redaction (1314), as the reference to the tongues is missing in the pre-1291 Old French manuscript of this text, cf. CH II 1193, p. 35–6; RRH 800a.

¹¹⁷ CH II 2213, *usances* 90, 92–3; RRH 1093a. The marshal, as well as those capitular bailiffs who served as envoys on behalf of the master and the prudhommes, were allowed to name their own lieutenants.

¹¹⁸ CH II 2670; RRH 1204.

¹¹⁹ Co-brothers: CH II 2213, *usance* 122; RRH 1093a. Sisters: CH III 3039, § 22; RRH 1319b.

1187/8 and in Buckland (England) since the 1180s.¹²⁰ As a result of the order's militarization, the Hospitallers' turcoples gained in importance. They are mentioned in the statutes of 1204/6; a 1248 charter features a Hospitaller brother holding the office of turcopolier; and in 1254, a turcopole witnessed a charter (however, unlike the other Hospitaller witnesses, he is not referred to as 'brother').¹²¹ It is one of the remarkable intercultural phenomena of the medieval Middle East that there were equivalents for the knight brothers, sergeant brothers, and turcoples on the Muslim side. According to a 1267 truce agreement between the Mamluk Sultan Baybars and the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel, the compensation for the killing of individuals on either side was a knight for a knight, a foot soldier for a foot soldier, and a turcopole for a turcopole.¹²²

The Templar community's basic structures remained largely unchanged in the thirteenth century. Like the Hospitallers, the Templars seem to have considered their priest brothers or chaplain brothers as belonging to the central convent, but did not refer to them as conventual brothers. The Templars' *retrais* (c.1165) use the label 'sergeant brothers of the convent' to refer to armed sergeant brothers, particularly to five special sergeant brothers who were granted an extra horse because they were important officials, namely the under-marshal, the carrier of the order's banner, the conventual cook, the conventual smith, and the preceptor of the vault at the sea at Acre.¹²³ The Templar statutes detailing the reception into the order (in their present form probably written in the thirteenth century prior to 1291) stipulate that a sergeant brother (here denoting a non-armed serving brother) could request to be promoted to the status of conventual brother (*s'il est frere sergent et il veuille estre frere de covent*). Thus, there was a chance for upward social mobility, but the applicant's sincerity was tested rigorously. He was told that he would, at first, only do the most menial tasks (such as working in the kitchen and the stables).¹²⁴ On another level of the Templars' basic structures, the thirteenth century saw a major shift. While the

¹²⁰ Sigena: Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; *CH* I 835, 860; *RRH* 677. Buckland: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 831–9 n. 25, here 837; cf. Chapter Nine: Garnier of Nablus.

¹²¹ 1204/6: *CH* II 1193, p. 37; *RRH* 800a. 1248: *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164. 1254: *CH* II 2693; *RRH* 1220.

¹²² Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 33–41 n. 1, here 41, § 30.

¹²³ *RT* 138, 141, 143.

¹²⁴ *RT* 662.

order's rule had emphatically excluded women,¹²⁵ the statutes regarding the holding of chapters (composed after 1218) mention co-sisters (*nos consuers*),¹²⁶ probably referring to the Templars' female benefactors who were included in the order's memorial prayers. It also continued to be possible to affiliate oneself with the order without entering it as a member. One famous example is a notary, Master Anthony Sici of Vercelli, who discussed his service as the Templars' *clericus et notarius* in the east during the trial against the order (1311), and whose statements with regard to the personnel in the order's central convent around 1271 are corroborated by charter evidence.¹²⁷

Officials

Just as the makeup of the Hospitallers' constituency becomes more transparent in the thirteenth century, so do the order's conventual leadership structures. The statutes of 1204/6 mention for the first time the master's lieutenant (*qui tenra leu de maistre*) to whom all should be subordinate when the master was absent, and the *usances* (1239/71) claim that there were certain prerogatives reserved for the master or for 'him who held his place, and none other' (*celui qui tient son leuc, et non autre*).¹²⁸ In 1203, Peter of Mirmande served as 'general preceptor' after the death of the Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon and before the arrival of the new Master Alphonso of Portugal who had been elected in absence.¹²⁹ This shows that the statutes of 1204/6 in discussing the role of the master's lieutenant codified an already established practice. In the course of the thirteenth century, we encounter two other general preceptors of the Hospitallers in the east: Raymond Motet (1222–5), who apparently served during Master Garin of Montaigu's long trip to the west, and John of Ronay (1245),¹³⁰ who was Master William of

¹²⁵ *UT* 54; *RT* 70.

¹²⁶ *RT* 541. In July 1249, Margaret, the widow of John of Castellione, appeared in a charter as a *consoror* of the Templars: Coll. d'Albon 54, f. 213.

¹²⁷ *Procès* I, 642–3; cf. *ibid.*, 645. For the charter evidence cf. *CH* III 3414, 3422; *RRH* 1373, 1378.

¹²⁸ 1204/6: *CH* II 1193, p. 37–8; *RRH* 800a. 1239/71: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a.

¹²⁹ 1203 III 1: Manosque, f. 374 38 @. 1203 III 4: Manosque, f. 404 43 J; *CH* II 1156; *RRH* 787b. 1203: Hiestand, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 585–98 n. viii, here 589; *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV (*PL* 214), cli–clix, here cliv; *RRH* 794.

¹³⁰ Raymond Motet: Manosque, f. 456 49 P. John of Ronay: *CH* II 2353; *RRH* 1135.

Châteauneuf's lieutenant while William was a captive in Egypt. The title of 'general preceptor' again confirms the flexibility and adaptability of the title of 'preceptor.'

In early 1192, the Hospitaller William of Villiers appeared within about a week as *domus Acconensis bajulus* (bailiff of the house at Acre) and then *praeceptor hospitalis Acconis* (preceptor of the Hospital at Acre).¹³¹ This made Delaville le Roulx uneasy enough to exclude William from his initial list of conventual (grand) preceptors. However, in a footnote four pages later, he referred to him as grand preceptor, and eventually, seventeen pages later, he listed him as one of the preceptors of Acre.¹³² Until the Third Crusade's conquest of Acre, the leaders of the local Hospitaller house had used a variety of titles, including *magister de Accon* (1155) and *bajulus in Accon* (1184).¹³³ In 1193, Martin Gonsalve was simply *praeceptor* with no further addition to the title.¹³⁴ In 1194, the title of *commendator*, namely 'commander of the house of the Hospital at Acre' (*commendator domus Hospitalis Acconensis*) was briefly used in the central convent (it had been employed in the west for some time).¹³⁵ In 1201, William Lombardus was referred to as *praeceptor domus Hospitalis Accon*, and the list of confusing titles continues.¹³⁶ How do these various officials fit into the hierarchy of the central convent? The statutes of 1204/6 provide some clarification. They first mention the order's bailiff of Acre (*bailli d'Acre*), albeit only in passing (one of his squires was to eat with the turcopoles).¹³⁷ They then turn to the preceptor (*comandeor*), stipulating that the decision whether the sons of nobles, who had been raised in the order, should be made knights was up to the master or the preceptor, based on the brothers' counsel.¹³⁸ Thus, continuing his twelfth-century role, the preceptor was to act

¹³¹ *CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23–4 n. 26–7; *RRH* 699, 701; date: Strehlke, *ibid.*; Mayer II, 881.

¹³² Delaville Le Roulx, 409–10, 414, 431. Riley-Smith, 366, leaves the issue undecided as well.

¹³³ *CH* I 237, 663; *RRH* 311, 640.

¹³⁴ *CH* I 941; *RRH* 708. Cf. Chapter Nine: Martin Gonsalve.

¹³⁵ *CH* I 972; *RRH* 717. For the use of this title in the west cf. for example *CH* I 578 (1180).

¹³⁶ *CH* II 1145–6; *RRH* 783–4; for the other titles cf. Chapter Five.

¹³⁷ *CH* II 1193, p. 37; *RRH* 800a.

¹³⁸ *CH* II 1193, p. 39: *par la volenté dou maistre ou dou comandeor, et par conseil des freres de la maison*. In the Latin version, which is a later translation based on the Old French text, this passage reads *de voluntate magistri et praeceptoris, et de consilio fratrum domus*. In my opinion, the Latin *et* (instead of the Old French *ou*) between 'master' and 'preceptor' is an error of the translator and not indicative of a change in practice; *RRH* 800a.

in lieu of the master within clearly defined parameters. The statutes further confirm this role a few lines down. If the master and the convent agreed to appoint a preceptor, the latter was to be installed first (namely before any other official); he should have the master's wax seal and use it wherever the master was not present; all places on this side of the sea should be under his command; and he should receive the responsions arriving from the west during the master's absence.¹³⁹ Only then follows a paragraph concerning the grand preceptor (*grant comandeor*). According to the statutes of 1204/6, there had been times when there had been such an official, and times when there had been none; sometimes he had had greater power, and sometimes he had been less powerful, depending on a respective agreement between the master and the general chapter.¹⁴⁰ Taken together, this suggests that the Hospitaller *bailli* of Acre was (at some point) a permanent official, that there was a preceptor (originally) only when master and convent agreed to appoint one, and that there was a grand preceptor (originally) only when master and general chapter agreed to install one. Thus, in 1192, William of Villiers may have been the Hospitaller *bailli* of Acre who was elevated to the office of preceptor when master and convent agreed to do so. Somehow, this is all too neat. At times, the statutes of 1204/6 sound like an attempt on the part of the order to make sense of its own institutional history. The Hospitaller *bailli* of Acre disappears from the charters after 1192, and thus the statutes of 1204/6 merely acknowledge an office of the past. According to Delaville le Roulx, the *parvus praeceptor* (little preceptor) or the *bailli des maisons del Hospital de Saint Johan à Acre* (bailiff of the houses [plural] of the Hospital of St. John at Acre) may have been the continuations of this office,¹⁴¹ but there is no conclusive proof that they were. It seems to me that, fairly shortly after 1191, the preceptor evolved from an *ad hoc* official to a permanent official whose responsibilities included those of the former *bailli* of Acre, and that he, at first only occasionally but from 1250 on almost always, came to be referred to as the 'grand preceptor.' This hypothesis is corroborated by the charter evidence,¹⁴² and the develop-

¹³⁹ CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a.

¹⁴⁰ CH II 1193, p. 39: *Tens fu que grant comandeor estoit en l'Ospital, et tens fu que n'en y estoit. Et en aucun tens fu que il avait plus grant pooir, et en aucun tens que il avait menor pooir, selon la concorde et la volenté dou maistre et dou general chapistre*; RRH 800a.

¹⁴¹ Delaville Le Roulx, 431. Little preceptor (1235): CH II 2126; RRH 1063. Bailiff of the houses (1269): CH III 3334; RRH 1364.

¹⁴² Cf. Chapter Five.

ment may have been the result of the prolonged captivity of the Master William of Châteauneuf (1244–50). During William's absence, John of Ronay served as the master's lieutenant in the order's convent, and during the eight years after William's release (1250–8), the master was frequently represented by the Grand Preceptor Hugh Revel, presumably because the years of captivity had taken their toll on William's health.¹⁴³ According to the *usances*, the grand preceptor was the first to render the account of his office during a general chapter, and his office also came first when the general chapter appointed new officials.¹⁴⁴ He became the superior of all serving brothers, while the marshal became the superior of all (armed) conventual brothers.¹⁴⁵

Due to its inherent flexibility and adaptability, the title of 'preceptor' (or Old French *comandeor*) continued to be used on a variety of levels. The statutes of 1204/6 placed a special *comandeor* in charge of the magisterial election,¹⁴⁶ maybe in imitation of the similar procedure used by the Templars.¹⁴⁷ However, instead of adopting the Templars' grand preceptor of the interim, the Hospitallers entrusted their order's leadership during the time period between the old master's death and the new master's election to the central convent as a collective.¹⁴⁸ The title of 'preceptor' also came to be used in the Hospitallers' naval history: we encounter a *comandeor de la nave* in 1268.¹⁴⁹ The title of 'proctor' (*procurator*) which had been used by Gerald, the Hospitallers' first twelfth-century leader, resurfaced in the second half of the thirteenth century for the master's official representative during legal proceedings.¹⁵⁰

Establishing the (grand) preceptor as a permanent official had a considerable impact on one of the Hospitaller convent's oldest officials, the

¹⁴³ Cf. Chapter Nine: Hugh Revel, John of Ronay, William of Châteauneuf.

¹⁴⁴ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

¹⁴⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 110; *RRH* 1093a.

¹⁴⁶ *CH* II 1193, p. 35–6; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁴⁷ *RT* 207.

¹⁴⁸ *CH* II 1193, p. 35; *RRH* 800a. For the Templar preceptor of the interim cf. *RT* 198.

¹⁴⁹ *CH* III 3317, § 6; *RRH* 1360a.

¹⁵⁰ 1261: *frère Simon, procureur dudit grand-maître* (*CH* III 2995; *RRH* 1306a). 1267: *frère Simon de Rocco, domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Hierusalem syndicus et procurator et religiosi viri domini fratris Hugonis Revel magistri et conventus dicte domus Hospitalis* (Manosque, f. 614 74 #). 1269: *frère Richart, procureur de meimes la maison* (*CH* III 3236; *RRH* 1367). 1271: *frère Richard, procureur de la maison de l'Hospital de saint Jean de Hierusalem* (*CH* III 3429; *RRH* 1383a). 1285: *frère Jean de la Croix, procureur de la maison de saint Jean de Hierusalem* (*CH* III 3901; *RRH* 1455a).

treasurer. The latter had appeared in the charters in 1135,¹⁵¹ but in the normative texts not until the statutes of 1204/6, when it was stipulated that he was to be appointed after the grand preceptor, but before the hospitaller and the almoner.¹⁵² The witness lists of thirteenth-century charters indicate that the treasurer was gradually losing ground in the conventual hierarchy.¹⁵³ By the 1280s, he was almost a subordinate of the grand preceptor as he had to render a monthly account of his office (*conte dou tresor/compotum thesauri*) in the presence of the master or, if the master was absent, the grand preceptor, as well as the prudhommes.¹⁵⁴ A comparison of Hospitallers and Templars with regard to the offices of preceptor and treasurer suggests that the Templars came to appoint a treasurer in addition to the preceptor when needed, while the Hospitallers, who had installed their treasurer a long time ago, began to subordinate him to the preceptor once the latter had become a permanent fixture in their conventual hierarchy. Thus, via different routes, both orders ended up with a rather strong preceptor and a comparatively weak treasurer, and parallel leadership structures in both orders certainly facilitated interaction, albeit not necessarily agreement, between Hospitallers and Templars. Had it not been for the long and successful tenure of Joseph of Cancy (1248–71), the Hospitallers' conventual treasurer probably would have lost his clout even faster.¹⁵⁵

According to Riley-Smith, the thirteenth century saw “the rise of the office of the marshal” in the Hospitaller convent.¹⁵⁶ The statutes of 1204/6 state that the marshal was to be the leader of the convent in the master's absence.¹⁵⁷ We have, in fact, already seen him in this very role, namely in 1170, when the marshal and the convent wrote a letter to the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly prohibiting him from resigning, a position that was then reiterated by the conventual preceptor sent to the master.¹⁵⁸ The *usances* refer to the marshal as the superior of the conventual brothers and stipulate that he should be appointed

¹⁵¹ *CH* I 115; *RRH* 159; cf. Chapter One.

¹⁵² *CH* II 1193, p. 39–40; *RRH* 800a. By the time the *usances* were recorded (1239/71), this order had changed: in the *usances*, the grand preceptor comes first, followed by the hospitaller and the treasurer, who in turn are followed by the marshal and the draper: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

¹⁵³ Cf. Chapter Four.

¹⁵⁴ *CH* III 3844, § 2; *RRH* 1451a. *CH* III 4022, § 2; *RRH* 1480a.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Chapter Nine: Joseph of Cancy.

¹⁵⁶ Riley-Smith, 122.

¹⁵⁷ *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁵⁸ *VOP* II, 223; cf. Chapter One.

during a general chapter, which must have been a newer development as the statutes of 1204/6 had not listed him in their procedures for the appointment of officials.¹⁵⁹ The marshal's growing prestige is corroborated by the fact that, in the course of the thirteenth century, three former Hospitaller marshals were eventually elected master, namely Garin of Montaigu, William of Châteauneuf, and Nicholas Lorgne.¹⁶⁰ Not surprisingly, the Hospitallers' military activities transformed the conventual leadership structures. In 1248, the order's turcopolier made his appearance in the charters, and in a 1256 charter he was even listed before the treasurer.¹⁶¹

As the Hospitallers ran a hospital in Acre, the hospitaller remained one of the convent's key officials, which can be seen from his position in the witness lists of charters.¹⁶² According to the statutes of 1204/6, he was to be appointed after the grand preceptor and the treasurer, but before the almoner.¹⁶³ Like the *bailli* of Acre discussed earlier in this chapter, the almoner was largely an official of the past, recognized one last time by the statutes of 1204/6 before disappearing from the charters and the normative texts of the thirteenth century. According to Riley-Smith, his duties were probably taken over by the hospitaller.¹⁶⁴ However, while headquartered in Acre, the Hospitallers added the office of the infirmarer who was responsible for the sick brothers, and the order's ever expanding military activities must have kept him rather busy. Among the Hospitallers' conventual officials, the status of the prior of the church remained unique. According to the *usances*, he was not considered a capitular bailiff.¹⁶⁵ It is unknown how or for how long he was appointed. It is conceivable that he was appointed by the master to serve for life or until he was entrusted with other permanent or temporary tasks. Prior John, who held the office in 1248, may have returned to the office by the late 1260s, and John of Laodicea, who

¹⁵⁹ *CH* II 2213, *usances* 109–10; *RRH* 1093a. For the procedures of 1204/6 cf. *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Chapter Nine: Garin of Montaigu, Nicholas Lorgne, William of Châteauneuf.

¹⁶¹ 1248: *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164. 1256: *CH* II 2810; *RRH* 1247. However, a few years later, the turcopolier appeared after the treasurer again. 1259/61: Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte, 56 H 4059; Manosque, f. 289 28 #. 1271: *CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a.

¹⁶² Cf. Chapter Four.

¹⁶³ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁶⁴ Riley-Smith, 337.

¹⁶⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a.

served as prior between 1299 and 1313, ultimately became bishop of Limassol.¹⁶⁶

The Hospitallers' draper (*drapier/draperius*) is first mentioned in the statutes of 1204/6, but the text provides no clue how he or the marshal were to be appointed.¹⁶⁷ According to the later *usances*, he was to be appointed during a general chapter.¹⁶⁸ That his office was not new can be inferred from the statutes' use of the past tense (*le pooir dou drapier estoit itel*), and considering that the Templars had had a draper since their earliest days, the Hospitallers probably created a similar office in the course of the twelfth century.¹⁶⁹ In the convent of both Hospitallers and Templars, the draper gained prestige in the course of the thirteenth century. He appears in the charters of the Hospital from 1221 and in those of the Temple from 1241.¹⁷⁰ There are at least two possible explanations for this development. First of all, the charge of the wardrobe was, much like the tasks of other conventual officials, associated with an old court office which, for example, had existed at the papal court since the eighth century, and we have seen in the previous chapter that the military orders strove to imitate the princely court.¹⁷¹ Secondly, to dress appropriately and correctly was part of establishing oneself as an order of the church. The wardrobe (*vestiarium*) appears in the rule of St. Benedict, and the official in charge of the wardrobe (*vestiarius*) is mentioned in the rule of St. Augustine.¹⁷² The rules and regulations with regard to the brothers' outfits had to be implemented, and as the Hospitallers added many such statutes in the thirteenth century, the draper had his work cut out for himself.¹⁷³

In the Templar convent, the seneschal disappeared after 1195, probably because in France, the order's main area of recruitment, the office had changed from a court office to a much less prestigious regional and local one.¹⁷⁴ In fact, we already find a 'lesser' seneschal in the entourage

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Chapter Nine: John (H) prior 1248, 1268–9, John of Laodicea.

¹⁶⁷ *CH* II 1193, p. 39–40; *RRH* 800a.

¹⁶⁸ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

¹⁶⁹ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a. For the earliest Templar draper cf. *UT* 20; *RT* 18–19.

¹⁷⁰ *CH* II 1718, 2280; *RRH* 945, 1102.

¹⁷¹ Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, 1080; cf. Chapter One.

¹⁷² *Règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. de Vogüé and Neufville, II, 626–33, chap. 58; *Règle de Saint Augustin*, ed. Verheijen, 428–9, chap. V.1.

¹⁷³ Cf. Chapter Five.

¹⁷⁴ *Liber iurium*, I, 411–12 n. 410; *RRH* 724; cf. Chapter One.

of the Templar master of Provence and parts of Spain by 1194.¹⁷⁵ As we have seen above, the Hospitallers, too, utilized seneschals on subordinate levels. There was, for example, a seneschal of the master, a seneschal of the palace, and a seneschal of the hospital. As far as the marshal was concerned, the Templars had not confined the office to their central convent. The *retrais* (c.1165) indicate that there were marshals in the order's provinces of Tripoli and Antioch;¹⁷⁶ in 1194/6, we find a Templar marshal for Provence and parts of Spain;¹⁷⁷ in the middle of the thirteenth century, the Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia had his own provincial marshal;¹⁷⁸ another provincial marshal surfaced in León-Castile in 1272;¹⁷⁹ and by 1304, the Templars' conventual draper had a marshal in his personal entourage.¹⁸⁰ However, the conventual marshal receives so much attention in the Templars' normative texts (second only to the master) that there can be no doubt about his hierarchical position above all other marshals. The case of the Templar Marshal Stephen of Cissey in the 1260s further demonstrates the prestige that came with the office. When Pope Urban IV attempted to depose Stephen, the latter presented himself in the pontiff's court with the insignia of his office, declared himself outside papal jurisdiction, then went into hiding, and only submitted himself to Urban's successor when the latter had initiated a reconciliation.¹⁸¹ Apart from the abovementioned draper's marshal of 1304 (who can be seen as further evidence that, by 1300, the conventual officials of Hospitallers and Templars had begun to surround themselves with court officials of their own), the Templars' other marshals, namely the conventual marshal and the provincial marshals, were military officials, and this explains why the office outside of the Holy Land primarily became popular on the Iberian Peninsula where the Templars were involved in the *reconquista*. The order's conventual draper, who had been mentioned in both the Old French rule and the *retrais*, began to appear in the charters in 1241 (twenty years later than the Hospitaller draper), which shows that his

¹⁷⁵ Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 926–8 n. 631.

¹⁷⁶ *RT* 104, 127.

¹⁷⁷ 1194: Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 926–8 n. 631. 1196: Coll. d'Albon 24, f. 289–289'.

¹⁷⁸ Forey, *Aragón*, 314.

¹⁷⁹ Campomanes, *Dissertaciones*, 31.

¹⁸⁰ *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.

¹⁸¹ Cf. Chapter Eight; cf. also Chapter Nine: Stephen of Cissey.

office had gained in status.¹⁸² Even for the thirteenth century, the information about the chaplains and priests of the central convent is sparse. However, while the normative texts are silent about the conventual prior of the Temple, there is evidence that the order did eventually create the office, maybe in imitation of the Hospitallers' conventual leadership structures. In 1225, Pope Honorius III sent a letter to the Templars' conventual prior, asking him to play a mediating role in the Antiochene patriarchate; in 1243, Pope Innocent IV told the prior to investigate the recent episcopal election in Tripoli; and around 1271, the prior held chapter meetings in his chamber, presumably because he was physically disabled (*impotens tibiis et pedibus*).¹⁸³

Next to their stipulations regarding the marshal and the draper, the Templars' twelfth-century *retrais* had already discussed the preceptor of the land, the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem (who was no longer needed after 1187), and the preceptor of Acre.¹⁸⁴ While the Hospitallers apparently transformed the office of their conventual (grand) preceptor into a permanent office over time, the Templar convent's various preceptors seem to have been permanent officials fairly early on (at least if we retain the dating of the order's *retrais* to the mid-1160s). In the charters issued between 1191 and 1291, the Templar preceptor of Acre can always be distinguished from the convent's highest-ranking preceptor, because the Templars, unlike the Hospitallers, never used the toponym 'of Acre' for their grand preceptor (or preceptor of the land/kingdom).¹⁸⁵ In the order's hierarchy, the preceptor of Acre stood below the grand preceptor (or preceptor of the land/kingdom). However, the office of the latter continued to be adaptable, as evidenced by the titles used for him in the sources, which range from that of *praeceptor* (1207/8), whose high rank we can only infer since the same individual appears with the title of *magnus praeceptor* three years earlier, to that of *magnus praeceptor dicte militie in regno Jerusalem* (1240).¹⁸⁶ Thus, whether they

¹⁸² Early references to the draper: *RT* 18, 87, 93, 130, 131. 1241 charter: *CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102.

¹⁸³ 1225: *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 5568; Claverie III, 468–9 n. 528. 1243: *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 188; cf. Antweiler, *Bistum*, 137–9; Claverie II, 161, 323. (1271): *Procès* I, 646.

¹⁸⁴ *RT* 87.

¹⁸⁵ 1198: Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a. 1204: *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. 1262: *CH* III 3028–9, 3044–5; *RRH* 1318–19, 1321–2. 1277: Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

¹⁸⁶ 1207/8: *CH* II 1250–1; *RRH* 818–19; cf. *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. 1240: Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.

had temporary or permanent conventual preceptors, both Hospitallers and Templars expanded or reduced these officials' responsibilities as needed. In the order of the Temple, it was certainly possible to split the office. In 1249 and 1250, Stephen of Ostricourt served as preceptor of the land, but in 1250 there was a certain Giles who functioned as grand preceptor, and in the same year there was a treasurer who was not identical with the preceptor of the land.¹⁸⁷ At that time, the needs of King Louis IX's crusade may, of course, have superseded the neat categories laid down in the Templars' normative texts.

According to the Templars' *retrais*, the preceptor of the land was originally also the treasurer of the convent.¹⁸⁸ The order's later statutes concerning conventual life, which may still have been composed prior to 1187, then mention a treasurer without any reference to the preceptor of the land. The brothers were to entrust all money to the treasury or, if there was no treasurer, to the preceptor of the palace or the preceptor of the house in which they were staying.¹⁸⁹ Thus, these statutes seem to assume the existence of a treasurer who was no longer or not necessarily identical with the preceptor of the land. In the thirteenth century, the Templars' conventual treasurer occasionally appeared together with the order's highest conventual preceptor. The first conventual treasurer who actually used the title of *thesaurarius*, Geoffrey of Tours, surfaced in 1207 when the office of preceptor was held by Peter of Mone(t)a.¹⁹⁰ In 1250, Stephen of Ostricourt served as preceptor, and an unnamed individual (not identical with Stephen) functioned as treasurer.¹⁹¹ In a charter issued on 18 December 1262, the treasurer (Bienvenu), the grand preceptor (William of Montañana), and the preceptor of Acre (Gonsalve Martin) appear together.¹⁹² It is significant that this charter features the treasurer as the last of eight witnesses, a position that would have been inappropriate for the preceptor

¹⁸⁷ Cf. Chapter Nine: Giles; NN (T) treasurer 1250; Stephen of Ostricourt.

¹⁸⁸ *RT* 89, 111.

¹⁸⁹ *RT* 335; date: Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 14–15.

¹⁹⁰ Treasurer: *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; *RRH* 823. Preceptor: *CH* II 1250–1; *RRH* 818–19. For an earlier 'treasurer' cf. Chapter Nine: William of Turre, who may have held the office in 1204.

¹⁹¹ Preceptor: a 1249 charter refers to him as *praeceptor terre regiminis hierusalem*: Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176. In early 1250, the Grand Preceptor Giles is mentioned in the narrative sources, which suggests that Stephen was preceptor of the land but not grand preceptor: Rothelin, 604–5. Treasurer: Joinville, § 381–4; cf. Chapter Nine: NN (T) treasurer 1250, Stephen of Ostricourt.

¹⁹² *CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321.

of the land. This shows that the office of treasurer, when separated from that of the preceptor of the land, found itself on a much lower hierarchical level. We have seen earlier in this chapter that both Hospitallers and Templars, in the course of the thirteenth century, ended up with a rather strong preceptor and a comparatively weak treasurer, which may have been a conscious attempt to create parallel leadership structures to facilitate interaction. Such parallel leadership structures can be seen in a 1262 charter which features as guarantors first the marshals of both orders, then the grand preceptors of both orders, then two high-ranking Templar officials (namely the preceptor of Acre and the preceptor of the knights) and the two companions of the order's master, and finally two high-ranking Hospitaller officials (namely the hospitaller and the draper) and three Hospitaller brothers (among them a former marshal).¹⁹³

There is yet more to be said about the title of 'preceptor' which could appear on so many different hierarchical levels, from the preceptor of the land to the preceptor of the livestock.¹⁹⁴ The preceptor of the palace may already have existed in the Templars' Jerusalem headquarters, however, it is not until the thirteenth century that we actually know the names of individuals who held this office, among them the future Master Reynald of Vichiers.¹⁹⁵ The Templars' preceptor of the palace at Acre and the order's preceptor of Acre were two different officials. The latter was a high-ranking capitular bailiff while the former was a subordinate conventual official who supervised meals and handled financial matters when the treasurer was not available (and was, thus, comparable to the Hospitallers' seneschal of the palace).¹⁹⁶ In his biography of Louis IX, Joinville relates that he had entrusted a certain sum of money to the Templars' preceptor of the palace (*commandeur du palais du Temple*) when he was in Acre (1250). When he sent someone to reclaim his money, the preceptor of the palace stated that he had noth-

¹⁹³ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.

¹⁹⁴ RT 87, 591.

¹⁹⁵ 1240: Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; RRH 1096 (Reynald of Vichiers). 1250: Joinville, § 412–4 (NN); date: *ibid.*, liii. 1257/68: RT 610 (James of Ravane). For the Jerusalem period cf. RT 299; date: Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 14–15.

¹⁹⁶ Preceptor of Acre: RT 87, 93. Preceptor of the palace: RT 299, 335, 610. Rey, 372, and Bulst-Thiele, 226, considered Reynald of Vichiers the preceptor of Acre, probably because he later held the office of marshal and eventually advanced to the mastership. However, in the 1240 charter they cite, he appears as *praeceptor palatii domus nostre Accon*, which actually makes his career even more interesting: Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; RRH 1096.

ing of Joinville's and that he did not know who Joinville was. Joinville complained to the Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers, who initially rejected his claim. Four days later, Reynald informed Joinville that the money had been found and that the preceptor of the palace had been discharged from his post.¹⁹⁷ This story sheds some light on the Templar convent's leadership structures. In 1250, the treasurer and the preceptor of the land had spent time in Egypt,¹⁹⁸ and the headquarters' financial affairs had probably been entrusted to the preceptor of the palace. In the case of Joinville's grievance, the Templar master first protected his official, maybe because he had once been a preceptor of the palace himself and knew of the challenges that came with that office. He certainly bought himself enough time to investigate the matter.¹⁹⁹

From the few thirteenth-century charters with information regarding the Templar convent's personnel one does get the impression that the order's high officials, much like those of the Hospitallers, presented themselves as an exclusive group (occasional disagreements within that group notwithstanding).²⁰⁰ By the second half of the twelfth century, the expectation that a prince would appear surrounded by the members of his court, who would provide him with counsel, had been transferred in full to the masters of the military orders. They presented themselves surrounded by their convent's high officials. Thus, in the thirteenth century, when there were long periods in the kingdom of Jerusalem without any royal court, the leaders of the high nobility and clergy, as well as the masters of the military orders, found ways to fill the vacuum of social communication created by the absence of the king and his court.

Leadership Structures

According to the statutes of 1204/6, consulting with the brothers remained the most important form of collective leadership in the

¹⁹⁷ Joinville, § 412–14; date: *ibid.*, liii.

¹⁹⁸ Joinville, § 381–4; cf. Chapter Nine: NN (T) treasurer 1250; Stephen of Ostricourt.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Reynald of Vichiers.

²⁰⁰ Charters with at least three high officials (apart from the master): 1198: Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a. 1204: *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. 1249: Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176. 1262: *CH* III 3028–9, 3044–5; *RRH* 1318–19, 1321–2. 1277: Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413. Cf. Chapter Six. One major disagreement among the Templars' conventual officials that took place in 1250 is discussed later in this chapter.

Hospitaller convent. After his election, the master had to promise that he would conduct all important negotiations based on the brothers' counsel (*par le conseil des freres*).²⁰¹ To ensure this, but maybe also to imitate a practice established by the Templars' *retrais*, the statutes of 1204/6 stipulated that the Hospitaller master was to have two knight brothers in his permanent entourage, and that the grand preceptor, too, was to travel with a *compaignon* when he moved from one of the order's houses to another.²⁰² In 1248, when John of Ronay served as grand preceptor and lieutenant master during the captivity of the Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf, he had his own *socius vice-magistri* (associate/companion of the 'vice master'),²⁰³ and in the second half of the thirteenth century, on the order's provincial level, the prior of St. Gilles had a *socius prioris* (associate/companion of the prior).²⁰⁴

Between 1191 and 1291, the Hospitaller convent's high officials, namely the preceptor, the marshal, the hospitaller, the draper, and the treasurer, became an exclusive group.²⁰⁵ When the master issued or featured prominently in a charter, they regularly joined him.²⁰⁶ Their appointment was a key agenda item for the general chapter, and the fact that they were chosen during the general chapter included them in the ranks of the 'capitular bailiffs' (*baillis par chapitre*).²⁰⁷ Yet, even among the 'capitular bailiffs' they formed a special group; as leading officials at their order's headquarters they were referred to as 'conventual bailiffs,'

²⁰¹ CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

²⁰² CH II 1193, p. 37, 39; RRH 800a. From 1235 on, we know some of the master's companions by name, and it seems that the number of companions may have been increased to three in the fourteenth century. 1235: *frater Thomas Lorrne et frater Rolandus, socii nostri* (CH II 2126; RRH 1063). 1254: *frere Guillelme de S. Dieri, compaignon do maistre* (CH II 2670; RRH 1204). 1299: *Robert de lo Maistre* (CH III 4463). 1312: *Fratre Henrico de Mayneriis, Fratre Arnoldo de Solerio, Fratre Artaudo de Chava nouo, nostri Magistri Sociis* (Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8). For the Templar master's companions cf. RT 79.

²⁰³ CH II 2482; RRH 1164.

²⁰⁴ St. Gilles: Santoni, 160–1.

²⁰⁵ This list reflects the order in which they had to render account at the general chapter: CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

²⁰⁶ 1204: CH II 1197; RRH 797a (confirmation of a testament by a papal legate). 1221: CH II 1718; RRH 945 (agreement between the Hospitallers and the bishop of Acre, sealed by a papal legate). 1256: CH II 2819; RRH 1247 (arbitration between the Hospitallers and the lord of Jaffa). 1259/61: Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte, 56 H 4059; Manosque, f. 289 28 # (charter of the Hospitaller master for Balian of Arsuf). 1269: MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313 (document concerning the Hospitallers' intended takeover of the lordship of Arsuf). 1273: CH III 3519; RRH 1391a (exchange between the Hospitallers and the abbey of St. Chaffre in Auvergne). Cf. Chapter Six.

²⁰⁷ CH II 2213, *usances* 89, 109; RRH 1093a.

and according to the *usances*, once the chapter was concluded, the prior had to offer the peace greeting first to the master and then to them (*tous les bayllis par chapitre general, especialment les baillis deu covent avant*).²⁰⁸ One of the consequences of being a military order was that the convent and its officials had to be itinerant when needed. In May 1199, Leo I of Armenia wrote to Pope Innocent III that the count of Tripoli, together with the masters and convents of Templars and Hospitallers (*magister et conventus Templi, magister et conventus Hospitalis*), had traveled to Antioch; in 1221, the master, preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, and draper of the Hospital were in Egypt for the Fifth Crusade; and in 1250, the Hospitaller draper lost his life in Egypt fighting in the crusade of King Louis IX of France.²⁰⁹ The Templar convent was itinerant as well. One example for this is a case mentioned in the order's normative texts to illustrate that brothers who beat Christians would lose their habit. One time, when the convent was at Jaffa (*le couvent estoit a Japhes*), orders were given at midnight to get ready to depart; thereupon one brother grabbed another one by the hair and threw him to the ground, which was witnessed by other brothers. The following day, when the convent arrived at Arsuf (*vint le covent au jor a Arsuf*), a chapter was convened to hold the attacker accountable.²¹⁰

That the Hospitallers paid more than just lip service to the idea of collective leadership can be seen from their use of seals. A charter issued by the Master Bertrand of Comps in 1239 mentions a 'lead seal of the chapter of our house' (*seel de plum deu chapitre de nostre mayson*).²¹¹ This may be the earliest reference to the so-called 'conventual seal' which, according to its circumscription, was really the seal of the master and the convent. Its front featured a group of Hospitallers (presumably the master and the conventual bailiffs) kneeling in front of a *crux gemata* (flanked by the letters *A* and *Ω*) and the skull of Adam, while its back featured a sickbed. Its circumscription read + *BVLLA: MAGISTRI: ET: CONVENTVS* (front), + *HOSPITALIS: I[H]ERUSALEM* (back). Later, probably after 1310, the adjective *M(AGNI)* was added before *MAG-ISTRI*, and the number of those kneeling was apparently increased

²⁰⁸ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 129; *RRH* 1093a.

²⁰⁹ 1199: *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV (*PL* 214), 810–12 n. 252; *RRH* 756. 1221: *CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945. 1250: *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; *CH* II 2521; *RRH* 1191.

²¹⁰ *RT* 590, 592.

²¹¹ *CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091; cf. Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, 565.

whenever the number of conventual bailiffs was increased.²¹² That the conventual seal was not intended to counter the seal of the master but, rather, to emphasize joint action, can be seen from a statement made by Matthew Paris that the Hospital's lead bull, presumably the conventual seal, was suspended during the captivity of the Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf (1244–50).²¹³ The statutes of 1278 ordered that the bull of the master and the convent should be used for all major property transactions (namely certain donations, sales, and exchanges) as well as the recall of officials, and that it should be kept under the seal of the master in the custody of the treasurer, and there (i.e. in the treasury) under the seal of the grand preceptor, the marshal, and the hospitaller.²¹⁴ The statutes of 1302 stipulated that either the grand preceptor or the marshal, and additionally the hospitaller, the treasurer, and the individual who recorded the decisions of the chapter, had to be present when the conventual seal was used (and these officials were only allowed to send their lieutenants when they had previously been excused due to sickness).²¹⁵

An agreement reached between Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights in 1258 offers a glimpse into these orders' leadership structures in the Holy Land in the thirteenth century. It states that, in the case of a dispute between the orders, an attempt to settle the matter should first be made by the *magni praeceptores nostrarum domorum regnorum Ierosolimitani, Cypri et Armenie ac etiam terre Antiochene et Tripolitane, et castellani Crati et Margati, et praeceptor Tripolitanus*.²¹⁶ Both Hospitallers and Templars had (grand) preceptors in the three kingdoms of Jerusalem, Cyprus, and Armenia. While the Templars appointed grand preceptors to oversee their properties in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, the Hospitallers placed their castellans of the Krak des Chevaliers and

²¹² Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 244 n. 224; cf. Lagleder, *Ordensregel*, 65. The description of the master's lead seal in BN, fr. 6049, f. 298^v, raises the question whether what is depicted on the back of the conventual seal is indeed a sickbed and not, like on the back of the master's seal, a corpse in front of a tabernacle.

²¹³ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, V, 211: *Magister autem Hospitalis pro maxima pecuniae quantitate redemptus et liberatus est, pro quo bulla Hospitalis, quae plumbea est, donec constaret de illius liberatione, juxta Hospitalis consuetudinem est suspensa*.

²¹⁴ *CH* III 3670, § 1–2; *RRH* 1424a. In the Teutonic Order, the conventual seal was also under lock and key, and three keys, kept by the master, the grand preceptor, and the treasurer, were necessary to obtain access to it: Perlbach, *Statuten*, 103, customs, § 18.

²¹⁵ *CH* IV 4574, § 11.

²¹⁶ *CH* II 2902; *RRH* 1269.

Margat in charge of their respective properties in these two crusader states.²¹⁷ The preceptors and castellans mentioned in the agreement of 1258 constituted a hierarchical level below the master and above the central convent, except for the grand preceptor residing in the kingdom of Jerusalem because he was identical with his respective order's highest-ranking conventual preceptor. On 13 March 1275, at Lyons, Pope Gregory X confirmed the procedures established by the agreement of 1258, which suggests that they must have been somewhat effective.²¹⁸

The agreement of 1258 was to be proclaimed annually during the orders' general chapters (*quolibet anno...in capitulis nostris generalibus*).²¹⁹ That general chapters were or could be held annually is confirmed by the fact that we have the statutes of the Hospitallers' general chapters held in 1262, 1263, 1264, and 1265.²²⁰ The general chapter of a military order was not an assembly that always involved all representatives of all provinces or that always issued new statutes. The general chapter celebrated annually in the Hospitallers' central convent was, first and foremost, the provincial chapter for the order's province (or provinces) of *Terra Sancta*, but as it was held at the headquarters it could issue statutes that affected the entire order. The Hospitallers' high officials in the west were expected to come to the general chapter in the east every five years to render an account of their respective offices.²²¹ Both Hospitallers and Templars used the term 'general chapter' not just for the general chapters celebrated at the central convent but also, in a somewhat inflationary manner, for supraregional chapters all over western Europe that were not (or not necessarily) attended by the master or other representatives of the central convent.²²² However, a general chapter convened by the Hospitaller master was supposed to involve the central convent or its representatives. Thus, in 1299, when the master was in southern France and the convent was on Cyprus, the master's

²¹⁷ Templars: *RT* 530. Hospitallers: Burgdorf, "Military Orders," 226–7. The Hospitaller preceptor of Antioch was merely the official in charge of the city of Antioch; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 431. He seems to have been considerably less important than the two castellans and the preceptor of (the city of) Tripoli who repeatedly witnessed charters together: *CH* II 2280, 2670; *RRH* 1102, 1204.

²¹⁸ *CH* III 3565.

²¹⁹ *CH* II 2902; *RRH* 1269.

²²⁰ *CH* III 3039, 3075, 3104, 3180; *RRH* 1319b, 1329b, 1333a, 1338a.

²²¹ *CH* III 4462, p. 771.

²²² Cf. Chapter Four.

invitation to a general chapter to be held in southern France resulted in the convent's opposition.²²³

Forey has shown that the Templars from Aragón-Catalonia usually traveled to the east with the fall passage, and that the office of provincial master changed hands every four years or, if an individual held the office beyond that, after a number of years divisible by four.²²⁴ This suggests that the Templars' general chapters in the Holy Land were held in the fall, and that the order's high officials in the west were expected to travel to the east every four years. Like the Hospitallers, the Templars probably celebrated a general chapter at their central convent every year, and the western officials came to these general chapters whenever their four-year terms were up.²²⁵ Due to death, severe illness, disciplinary proceedings, the needs of a prince or the order itself to employ a capable official on a special mission, as well as other reasons, not every official was able to serve a full term, and a replacement had to be appointed. Consequently, it was probably a different constellation of western officials that made its way to the east every year, which was certainly beneficial for the order's international communication.

The extent of the Templars' thirteenth-century network can be gathered from the stipulations for the reception of a new member. The candidate was to be told that if he wanted to stay on this side of the sea he might be sent to regions on the other side of the sea; if he wanted to be at Acre he might be sent to Tripoli, Antioch, or Armenia, or to Apulia, Sicily, Lombardy, France, Burgundy, or England or any of the other regions where the order had houses and possessions (interestingly enough, the Iberian Peninsula is not explicitly mentioned here).²²⁶ In the course of the thirteenth century, we find several Templars in the west who bore the title of *magister passagii*, and who may have been responsible for the logistics of sending personnel and supplies to the east.²²⁷ From the middle of the thirteenth century, the Templars further strengthened the contact between the center and the periphery by employing two visitors. Instead of the one *magister cis mare* (master on this side of the sea)

²²³ Cf. Chapter Three.

²²⁴ Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 332.

²²⁵ For Templar general chapters in the thirteenth century cf. Claverie I, 139. The term 'general' before 'chapter' does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with a chapter of the order's top leadership. The so-called 'general' chapters held at Montpellier in 1293 and at Arles in 1296 were, in fact, provincial chapters that attracted dignitaries from outside the province.

²²⁶ *RT* 661.

²²⁷ Richard, "Templiers," 233.

whom the order had relied upon in the twelfth century, there was now one visitor for the Iberian Peninsula and one for France, England, and Germany.²²⁸ However, the communication between center and periphery was not always perfect. On 8 April 1258, Pope Alexander IV declared that, while some Templar preceptors in France had been paying the tithe for the past forty or more years because they were unaware of the order's exemption from paying the tithe, this did not obligate them to pay it in the future.²²⁹ For the Hospitallers' international network, it was crucial to be represented at the papal court in Rome where all diplomatic threads came together. The order had its own proctors there since at least 1228, and in 1231, the Hospitaller Brother Marquisius appeared with the impressive title of *sindicus, actor et procurator in omnibus causis... in Romana curia* (syndic, agent, and proctor for all cases... at the Roman [papal] court)²³⁰ To keep the periphery tied to the center, the Hospitallers' conventual officials occasionally had to be ready to travel to the west. In the 1250s, the Marshal Raimbaud went to the west twice; in 1270, William of Villaret, while still holding the office of draper, traveled to southern France where he soon took over the order's priory of St. Gilles; several conventual priors were sent on special missions to the west as well.²³¹ In the twelfth century, several Hospitaller masters had taken trips to the west.²³² In the thirteenth century, only the Master Garin of Montaigu seems to have made the journey, namely between 1222 and 1225 to Italy, France, England, and maybe Spain.²³³ By and large, the international network of both orders was so effective that the masters and the eastern officials only had to take overseas trips under the most extraordinary circumstances.

The Hospitallers' General Chapter of 1204/6

In 1299, the Hospitaller marshal and convent sent a negative response to Master William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter to be

²²⁸ Forey, *Aragón*, 328–9. It seems that Italy was close enough to the east and thus not served by a visitor.

²²⁹ Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 66–7 n. 294.

²³⁰ 1228: *CH* II 1911; *RRH* 987. 1231: *CH* II 1997; *RRH* 1029, part I.

²³¹ Cf. Chapter Nine: Hubald; Bernard; Gerard (H) prior 1255–64; John of Laodicea; NN (H) prior 1244; Raimbaud; William of Villaret.

²³² Cf. Chapter Four.

²³³ Cf. Chapter Four; cf. also Chapter Nine: Garin of Montaigu. William of Villaret was in the west when he was elected master in absence.

held in Avignon in 1300. They stated that, as long as the seat of the master and the central convent had been in the kingdom of Jerusalem, not a single general chapter had ever been celebrated outside of the kingdom—with one exception: once it had been convened at Margat in the principality of Antioch, but as this had been contrary to good order, the master had been deposed for his unwise conduct of office and his inappropriate behavior toward the prudhommes.²³⁴ This 1299 version of the events is contradicted by the late medieval Chronicle of the Deceased Masters which states that, during the mastership of Alphonso of Portugal, the good customs from the time of Master Roger (of Moulins) had been confirmed at Margat, and the master himself (Alphonso) had also issued good statutes, but he had then given certain orders to his convent, and because the convent did not obey him, he had resigned from the office of master and had thrown away the bull (i.e. the magisterial seal).²³⁵ Both texts speak of tensions between the master and the prudhommes or the convent, but they differ on how the conflict was resolved. The 1299 letter does not question the results of the general chapter held at Margat (1204/6). On the contrary, it repeatedly refers to the statutes of Margat and affirms their validity. The Chronicle, too, praises the results of the general chapter held at Margat. Two questions shall be discussed here, namely why the general chapter of 1204/6 was held at Margat, and why its statutes are so significant.

Following the death of Master Geoffrey of Donjon (late 1202/early 1203), Alphonso of Portugal was elected in absence to succeed him.²³⁶ Alphonso arrived at Acre in 1204, by 19 July at the latest;²³⁷ in December 1204, he seems to have been in the county of Tripoli;²³⁸ in March 1205, he received a donation made by Bohemond IV, presumably at Antioch;²³⁹ by 21 September 1206, he was back at Acre;²⁴⁰ and his suc-

²³⁴ CH III 4462, p. 773: *l'en seit que le siege dou maistre et dou covent de nostre maison, puis qu'ele fu fondée, si a esté au roiaume de Jherusalem, et ne se trovera onques par remembrance de home ne d'escriptures [que] james chapitre general fus tenus ors de celui royaume, sauve une fois au princé d'Antioche, s'est assavoir au Margat; auquel leuc, pour ce qu'il fu fait desordenément et por le non sage gouvernement dou maistre, [qui] ne fist tel portement com il dult ver[s] ses prodeshomes, il fu fore de la maistrerie.*

²³⁵ "Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797: *Postea fuit magister Alfonsus de Portugalia, cujus tempore confirmatae fuerunt bonae consuetudines per magistrum Rogerium editae in Margato. Hic fecit bona statuta, et accidit quod aliquod conventui suo praecepit; et quia conventus non paruit sibi, magisterium resignavit et bullam projecit.*

²³⁶ Delaville Le Roulx, 119; Riley-Smith, 117.

²³⁷ CH II 1197; RRH 797a.

²³⁸ CH II 1198; RRH 800.

²³⁹ CH II 1215; RRH 802a.

²⁴⁰ ACA, CRD, extra series n. 20, n. 242.

cessor, Geoffrey Le Rat, took office later that same year.²⁴¹ This sparse itinerary shows that Alphonso certainly could have spent time at the castle of Margat in 1204/6, but it does not explain why he would have convened a general chapter there. To understand his rationale, we have to take a step back. According to a report addressed to Pope Innocent III in October 1204, Soffred, the papal legate and cardinal priest of St. Praxedis, had traveled to Antioch in 1203, accompanied by the Templar master (Philip of Plessis), an unnamed *generalis praeceptor Hospitalis* (presumably Peter of Mirmande), and other delegates from the kingdom of Jerusalem, because, following the death of Prince Bohemond III of Antioch (1201), a dispute over his inheritance had arisen between his younger son (Bohemond IV of Tripoli) and his grandson (Raymond Rupen, represented by his great-uncle, King Leo I of Armenia).²⁴² In the course of this trip, Soffred confirmed the Hospitallers' most important possession in the principality of Antioch, the castle and lordship of Margat, which the order had acquired from Bertrand of Mazoir in 1187.²⁴³ In 1203, the Hospitallers of Margat suffered a defeat at the hands of the Muslim lord of Hama,²⁴⁴ and in 1204/5, the sultan of Aleppo laid siege to Margat.²⁴⁵ In light of the dispute over the Antiochene succession and the hostilities between the Hospitallers of Margat and their Muslim neighbors, Alphonso may have decided to assemble the general chapter at Margat to emphasize the Hospitallers' presence in the principality. Another reason to hold the general chapter at Margat might have been the earthquake of 1202 which had caused severe damage at Acre, but does not seem to have affected Margat too much.²⁴⁶ Between 1204 and 1206, Acre may still have been a construction site, and Margat, easily accessible via sea or the coastal route, was a viable alternative.

²⁴¹ CH II 1231; RRH 816.

²⁴² Hiestand, "Die päpstlichen Legaten," 585–98 n. viii, here 589; *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV (PL 214), cli–clix, here cliv; RRH 794; cf. Röhrich, 706–10; Burgtorf, "Ritterorden," 176.

²⁴³ VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; CH I 783, 809; RRH 647, 649, 652; cf. Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6; Mayer II, 269, 878.

²⁴⁴ Major, "Al-Malik," 64.

²⁴⁵ Cahen, *Syrie*, 603–4.

²⁴⁶ Mayer, "Two Unpublished Letters," 306–10 n. 1–2; RRH 789; cf. Amiran *et al.*, "Earthquakes," 270, 294. Bronstein, 17, claims that Margat was "badly damaged." However, the Hospitaller master's report (Mayer, *ibid.*, 306–8 n. 1) contains a fairly hopeful statement: *Castra nostra Cratum et Margatum plurima gravata insultus tamen hostium adhuc parvipendunt, si sine maiore conserventur divinitus quassacione* (Our castles, Krak and Margat, [which are] so very much oppressed, nonetheless so far hold the enemies' attack in contempt, if, God willing, they will be preserved from a greater quake).

We now turn to the statutes of Margat. First of all, according to the preamble, the general chapter confirmed the normative texts that the order had issued to date based on the testimony of old and wise brothers (*par le tehmoignage des anciens et sages freres*).²⁴⁷ The statutes then list what a sick brother was expected to do and how he was to be cared for.²⁴⁸ Here, for the first time in the Hospitallers' normative texts, the issue was not the community's care for those sick who came or were brought to them from the outside but, rather, the care for the community's very own sick. The order's ever expanding military activities made the status of and the medical treatment for the order's injured brothers a pressing issue, and the volatile situation in northern Syria in the early thirteenth century, particularly around Margat, would have placed this topic high on the agenda of the general chapter. The statutes then turn to the issue of 'obedience.' The Templars' *retrais* (c.1165) had stipulated that the brothers had to obey their master, but that the master had to obey his convent.²⁴⁹ In their statutes of 1204/6, the Hospitallers phrased things somewhat more carefully. The brothers were 'held' (i.e. considered obligated) to obey the master, but the master, after his election, had to promise in chapter to keep the good customs of the house and the statutes, to tend to the affairs of the order only after consulting with the brothers, to abide by whatever the brothers would decide in general chapter, and to order all others to keep the same as well.²⁵⁰ The masters of both orders were expected to cooperate with the brothers (and they seem to have done so most of the time).

The regulations concerning the general chapter receive considerable attention in the statutes of 1204/6. The Hospitallers' high officials were to be appointed by the general chapter and thus referred to as *baillis establi par general chapistre*.²⁵¹ The Templars' *retrais*, written several decades before 1204/6, had stipulated that the high officials of east and west were to be appointed at a general chapter,²⁵² and the Hospitallers probably decided to follow this practice. According to the statutes of Margat, a general chapter was an assembly that, if possible, should be

²⁴⁷ CH II 1193, p. 32; RRH 800a.

²⁴⁸ CH II 1193, p. 32–3; RRH 800a.

²⁴⁹ RT 98.

²⁵⁰ CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

²⁵¹ CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

²⁵² RT 87, which only uses the term 'chapter' but probably means 'general chapter' since the paragraph immediately following (88) speaks of the 'general chapter.'

attended by the master, the convent, and the high officials (*baillis*).²⁵³ If the convent was unable to attend the chapter, the master—if he was with the convent—was to consult with the brothers and then send conventual representatives to the chapter. If the master was not with the convent, he was to instruct the marshal, the convent, and those high officials who were in the convent's vicinity (*bailliz en tor qui le covent est*) to send representatives.²⁵⁴ The statutes do not say that the general chapter had to be celebrated in a certain location. Both the master and the central convent were itinerant. The fact that the statutes give the master a key role in selecting or in commissioning the selection of the conventual representatives suggests that he probably set the general chapter's date and location, but it had to be ensured that the convent was adequately represented. In 1204, the master, the marshal, and the convent were in Acre, but later that year and in the following year the master was traveling in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, which means that Alphonso may have been *en route* when he convened the general chapter to Margat.²⁵⁵ The statutes of 1204/6 are the first of the Hospitallers' normative texts to mention the marshal, but they make it clear that he played a leadership role in the order's convent, especially in the absence of the master. We have already encountered him in this role during the crisis caused by Gilbert of Assailly's resignation in 1170.²⁵⁶ The office of marshal did change hands in 1204/6. In 1204, it was held by Albert Romanus, and in 1206, it was held by Pons.²⁵⁷ If Alphonso convened the chapter while traveling in the north, Albert Romanus may have been the marshal who helped select the conventual representatives for this chapter.

The similarities between the remaining statutes of 1204/6 and the Templars' pre-1187 normative texts are considerable. The Hospitallers' general chapter was to play a key role in sending brothers and officials to the west or in recalling them, and the Templars' general chapter, too, was responsible for sending brothers to the west after they had been pre-selected by several officials whom the master had charged with that responsibility.²⁵⁸ In the order of the Hospital, the election of the master

²⁵³ CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

²⁵⁴ CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

²⁵⁵ Acre: CH II 1197; RRH 797a. Tripoli: CH II 1198; RRH 800. Antioch: CH II 1215; RRH 802a.

²⁵⁶ Cf. Chapter One.

²⁵⁷ 1204: CH II 1197; RRH 797a. 1206: ACA, CRD, extra series n. 20, n. 242.

²⁵⁸ Hospitallers: CH II 1193, p. 34–5; RRH 800a. Templars: RT 93.

was to be done by thirteen electors, and these thirteen had to include priest brothers, knight brothers, and sergeant brothers; the Templars had been following the same procedure since the twelfth century.²⁵⁹ These similarities are no coincidence. As a result of becoming a military order, the Hospitallers had been imitating the Templars for quite some time. Incidentally, in 1199, Pope Innocent III had instructed the newest military order, the Teutonic Knights to follow the Hospitaller rule with regard to charity and the Templar rule with regard to being a military order.²⁶⁰

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, the statutes of 1204/6 contain important information about the Hospitallers' organization. They introduce the terms 'conventual brothers,' 'sergeant brothers,' and 'brothers-at-arms.' They are the order's first normative texts to mention the marshal, the draper, and the treasurer, and they explain the office of the preceptor and that of the grand preceptor. They also give detailed instructions with regard to the high officials' entourage, horses, and pack animals. Again, the Templars had already dealt with this particular issue in their twelfth-century *retrais*.²⁶¹ The Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 first discuss the respective claims of the master and the marshal, which underscores just how much this issue was one typical for a military order, and only turn to the grand preceptor's claims later in the text (and with the reservation that he was only to be thus equipped when he was traveling on behalf of the order).²⁶² By 1204/6, the office of the marshal had become a permanent fixture in the Hospitallers' central convent, while that of the grand preceptor was apparently still only filled as needed.

The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1204/6 was a defining moment in at least two respects. The fact that it was celebrated at Margat emphasized the order's claims in northern Syria in light of the Antiochene war of succession and the ongoing attacks by the Hospitallers' Muslim neighbors. Secondly, the statutes issued at this chapter are a milestone in the history of the Hospitallers' leadership structures. The community's basic structures, namely the various classes of brothers, are now clearly visible; the central convent's 'classic' high offices, namely preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, draper, and treasurer, are mentioned

²⁵⁹ Hospitallers: *CH* II 1193, p. 35–6; *RRH* 800a. Templars: *RT* 211.

²⁶⁰ Strehlke, 266 n. 297.

²⁶¹ Cf. Chapter Four.

²⁶² *CH* II 1193, p. 37, 39; *RRH* 800a.

for the first time together in one and the same text; and the general chapter emerges as the most important collective counterbalancing the office of the master. There is a retrospective element, almost like paying respect to the community's primarily charitable past, in mentioning the important twelfth-century office of almoner one last time. Finally, the statutes of 1204/6 reveal that the Hospitallers imitated some of the Templars' organizational makeup. However, similar structures did not necessarily mean similar interests as the crusades of the thirteenth century would reveal.

The Crusades of the Thirteenth Century

Among the various expeditions that brought crusaders from the west to the east in the course of the thirteenth century, three in particular had a major impact on the history of the crusader states and the military orders, namely the Fifth Crusade (1217/8–21), the crusade of the Emperor Frederick II (1228/9), and the first crusade of King Louis IX of France (1248–54). The role of the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars in these three undertakings will be discussed here. That both orders were involved in northern Syria's sideshow to the Fourth Crusade, namely the Antiochene war of succession, has been mentioned earlier in this chapter. They also participated in the Crusade of 1239–41, led by Thibaut IV of Champagne and Richard of Cornwall. Yet, neither one of these expeditions contributes significant insights with regard to the two orders' conventual leadership structures.²⁶³

The Fifth Crusade was part of the legacy of Pope Innocent III (d.1216) who had launched it and begun its preparation. By 1217, crusaders began to arrive in the east, but the decision to march against Egypt was not made until the spring of 1218. Conquering Egypt was viewed as a precondition for regaining control over Jerusalem.²⁶⁴ In May 1218, the crusaders entered Egypt. They were accompanied by contingents of Templars and Hospitallers, led by their respective masters, William of Chartres and Garin of Montaigu,²⁶⁵ and the two orders' top military officials, the marshals, were present as well. The first target was the city of Damietta in the northern part of the Nile

²⁶³ Lower, *Barons' Crusade*, 167, 175.

²⁶⁴ Mayer, *Geschichte*, 260.

²⁶⁵ Bulst-Thiele, 168.

delta. The Hospitaller Marshal Aymar of L'Ayron was the first of the military orders' high officials to distinguish himself: in October 1218, he assisted King John of Jerusalem in warding off a Muslim attack on the crusaders' camp.²⁶⁶ On 31 July 1219, the Templar master and the Templar marshal repelled a major Muslim offensive.²⁶⁷ This was followed by a counter-offensive of the crusaders in which the Templar marshal also seems to have played a part.²⁶⁸ However, the Templar Master William of Chartres sustained such heavy injuries that day that he resigned; he died on 26 August 1219, and the Templars elected as his successor Peter of Montaigu who was probably the biological brother of the Hospitaller master.²⁶⁹ On 29 August 1219, at Fariskur to the south of Damietta, the Hospitaller marshal was killed or taken into captivity which he did not survive.²⁷⁰ The order summoned his successor, Ferrand of Barras, from northern Syria where, in 1219, he had defended the castle of Antioch on behalf of Raymond Rupen against Bohemond IV during the still raging Antiochene war of succession.²⁷¹ Damietta fell on 5 November 1219 and remained in the hands of the crusaders until 8 September 1221.²⁷²

During the Fifth Crusade, the entire Templar convent was probably in Egypt (apart from the brothers needed to run the day-to-day operations of the order's headquarters at Acre). Since the order's marshal could serve as the master's lieutenant in all military matters and, also, as the leader of the convent,²⁷³ there was no problem when the new

²⁶⁶ Eracles, 333; cf. Amadi, 108–9, where this event is incorrectly dated to 9 October 1219; Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 155 (map). For the (debated) date cf. Röhrich, 733.

²⁶⁷ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 210 § 27; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 47–8, which essentially copies Oliver's text; cf. also Röhrich, 736; Bulst-Thiele, 168.

²⁶⁸ "Fragmentum," ed. Röhrich, 181.

²⁶⁹ Bulst-Thiele, 171; cf. Chapter Nine: Garin of Montaigu.

²⁷⁰ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 216–17 § 29: *Templarii triginta tres capti vel occisi sunt cum marescalco Hospitalis sancti Johannis et quibusdam aliis fratribus eiusdem domus*; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 50; Roger de Wendover, *Flores*, II, 244; cf. also Nicholson, 51–2; Powell, *Anatomy*, 213. Thus, he did not participate in the Templar offensive against Burlos the following year; cf. Van Cleve, "Fifth Crusade," 422, against Riley-Smith, 315; Bronstein, 20, 148; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 27.

²⁷¹ Eracles, 318; cf. Riley-Smith, 159; Runciman, *History*, III, 171.

²⁷² Mayer, *Geschichte*, 264, 267.

²⁷³ *RT* 106. It should be noted that a charter issued on 8 September 1220 in Damietta mentions the *commendatorem qui est loco magistri Templi* (Röhrich, *Studien*, IV, 73 n. 51; Claverie III, 94–5 n. 65). The marshal was the master's lieutenant in military matters, but in this particular instance the conventual preceptor was the master's lieutenant in a civil matter. He and the Hospitaller master were appointed proctors of the Bolognese community to receive a certain sum of money.

master, Peter of Montaigu, temporarily left the crusade in 1220 to assist King John when the latter had to return to the north to fight off Muslim attacks against the kingdom of Jerusalem.²⁷⁴ Because of their hospital, the Hospitallers, unlike the Templars, had to maintain a more substantial presence at Acre. According to a charter issued in August 1219, the Preceptor Isembard, the Treasurer Richard, and the Hospitaller Nun had remained in the city.²⁷⁵ Yet, in May 1221, all the order's high conventual officials, except for the treasurer, were in Egypt—at least temporarily—to ratify an agreement between their master and the bishop of Acre. In the document's witness list, the marshal, probably because the order was in the midst of a major military campaign, appeared before the preceptor, the hospitaller, and the draper.²⁷⁶ The last piece of evidence for one of the military orders' high officials on the Fifth Crusade comes from Oliver of Paderborn's *Historia Damiatina* which states that, in late August 1221, pirates robbed the goods of the Hospitallers and Templars, and killed a Templar knight who was defending these goods.²⁷⁷ This Templar may have been the order's conventual treasurer for, as we will see below, one of the Templars' future treasurers participated in the first crusade of Louis IX and also found himself defending the order's goods (albeit not against pirates but, rather, against fellow crusaders). With regard to the military orders' conventual leadership structures, the Fifth Crusade shows the key role played by the marshals who always seem to have fought in the first line of battle, and the apparent ease with which the orders accomplished personnel changes even during an ongoing military campaign, be it the election of a new Templar master or the summoning of a new Hospitaller marshal, who was a known military expert, from the other end of the Holy Land.

Apart from an eight-year truce with al-Kamil, the Fifth Crusade earned Latin Christianity nothing but casualties. On 7 September 1228, even before the truce expired, the Emperor Frederick II arrived in the east.²⁷⁸ He had been expected for some time (as he had taken the cross

²⁷⁴ Bulst-Thiele, 174–6.

²⁷⁵ *CH* II 1656; *RRH* 923.

²⁷⁶ *CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945; date: since Pelagius, who was present for this agreement, was in Acre by 15 May 1221 (Courcas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 44; *RRH* 944), the agreement must have taken place in early May when Pelagius was still in Egypt.

²⁷⁷ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 277 § 80: *Hospitalarios sancti Johannis et Templarios rebus suis spoliaverunt pirate, militem unum nobilem ac religiosum fratrem Templi in defensione depositorum interfecerunt.*

²⁷⁸ Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 149.

in 1215), and the pope had finally lost patience with Frederick's delays and excommunicated him, which is why the emperor was not considered a crusader in the eyes of the Latin church.²⁷⁹ Instead of using his military skills to reconquer Jerusalem, Frederick negotiated with the Muslims. On 18 February 1229, at Jaffa, he and al-Kamil's envoys concluded a ten-year truce. This agreement restored Jerusalem, with the exception of the Haram al-Sharif, to the Christians, but it prohibited the rebuilding of the city walls.²⁸⁰ The Templar Master Peter of Montaigu was one of the main opponents of the truce, after all, it did not permit the Templars to return to their original Jerusalem headquarters.²⁸¹ When Frederick stayed at Jerusalem on 17 and 18 March 1229, he was accompanied by Hermann of Salza, the master of the Teutonic Order, probably also by the Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Thessy, and by a preceptor of the Templars whose name is unknown. As for the Templar master, Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem reported three words: *magistro Templi absente* (while the Templar master was absent).²⁸² The Qadi Sams ad-Din an-Nabulusi (d.1263) who served as Frederick's Muslim guide in Jerusalem later claimed that Frederick only spent two nights in Jerusalem and then retreated to Jaffa for fear of the Templars who were allegedly planning to murder him.²⁸³ Whether such sinister plans existed or not, the relationship between the emperor and the Templars remained difficult. Before he left the Holy Land on 1 May 1229, Frederick even laid siege to the Templar castle at Acre, albeit without success.²⁸⁴ With regard to the military orders' high officials, only those of the Teutonic Order were true participants of Frederick's 'crusade'; the Hospitallers largely kept their distance, and the Templars were, at best, hostile observers.

When Frederick's truce with al-Kamil expired in 1239, the Muslims briefly reoccupied Jerusalem but were subsequently driven from the city by the crusade of Thibaut IV of Champagne.²⁸⁵ Due to a series

²⁷⁹ Mayer, *Geschichte*, 271–4.

²⁸⁰ Weiland, *Constitutiones*, II, 160–1 n. 120, § 2; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 87–8; *RRH* 997; cf. Atrache, *Politik*, 128–31; Röhrich, *Beiträge*, I, 91, 97.

²⁸¹ Bulst-Thiele, 181.

²⁸² Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 109; *RRH* 1001; cf. Bulst-Thiele, "Zur Geschichte," 208; Bulst-Thiele, 181–2; Van Cleve, "Crusade," 458; Burgdorf, "Ritterorden," 189–90.

²⁸³ Qadi Sams ad-Din an-Nabulusi (d.1263), cited in Atrache, *Politik*, 160. The alleged Templar conspiracies against Frederick have been discarded by modern scholarship: Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 165.

²⁸⁴ Röhrich, 793–4; Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 166.

²⁸⁵ Lower, *Barons' Crusade*, 174.

of strategic negotiations with the Muslim rulers of Damascus and Egypt, Jerusalem remained under Christian control for another four years.²⁸⁶ Even the Templars returned and seem to have planned the construction of a new fortification in the vicinity of Jerusalem.²⁸⁷ Yet, on 11 July 1244, the Hwarizmians, a Turkish tribe summoned by the sultan of Egypt against the Christians, stormed the city and executed, among others, the Hospitaller preceptor.²⁸⁸ On 17 October 1244, the Christians suffered a crushing defeat in the battle of La Forbie (Gaza). The military orders' casualties ranged in the hundreds, and the numbers of their survivors were minuscule. Of a combined force of the military orders of over 1,500, allegedly only thirty-three Templars, twenty-six Hospitallers, and three members of the Teutonic Order got away. The Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf was carried off to Egypt where he remained in captivity until 1250, and both the Templar Master Armand of Périgueux and the order's marshal, Hugh of Montlaur, were killed.²⁸⁹ Between 1244 and 1250, John of Ronay served as the leader of the Hospitallers' central convent, utilizing a wide range of titles.²⁹⁰ The Templars' central convent first found itself under the leadership of William of Roc(c)aforte, the *vicemagister domus militiae Templi*;²⁹¹ then a new master, Richard of Bure, took over between 1245 and 1247;²⁹² and in 1247, the latter's successor, William of Sonnac, came to the east.²⁹³ By then the preparations for the first crusade of King Louis IX of France were in full swing.

Louis had taken the cross in December 1244, after the Hospitallers' conventual prior had brought him the news of the loss of Jerusalem and the Frankish defeat at Gaza.²⁹⁴ In preparing his crusade, Louis employed the two highest-ranking officials of the Hospitallers and Templars in his kingdom. Both of them had served in the east before: Andrew Polin, the Hospitaller prior of France, had held the office of

²⁸⁶ Runciman, *History*, III, 216–17.

²⁸⁷ Pringle, "Templar Castles," 96.

²⁸⁸ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 159; *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 93; *RRH* 1123; cf. Bulst-Thiele, "Zur Geschichte," 222–3.

²⁸⁹ Bulst-Thiele, "Zur Geschichte," 224.

²⁹⁰ Cf. Chapter Nine: John of Ronay.

²⁹¹ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 337–44, here 337, 342; *CH* II 2340; *RRH* 1127.

²⁹² Bulst-Thiele, 211–15.

²⁹³ Bulst-Thiele, 218.

²⁹⁴ *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 163; *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 95; cf. Mayer, *Geschichte*, 302.

grand preceptor in the Holy Land in 1235, and Reynald of Vichiers, the Templar preceptor of France, had been his order's preceptor of the palace at Acre in 1240.²⁹⁵ In 1246, Andrew and Reynald traveled to Marseilles and Genoa to charter ships for the upcoming expedition, and afterwards reported back to the French king.²⁹⁶ Louis left France in August 1248 and spent the winter of 1248/9 on Cyprus. In the fall of 1248, the Templar master (William of Sonnac) and the Hospitaller marshal (William of Courcelles) kept him informed via letters from mainland Syria about ongoing negotiations between the Muslim rulers of Egypt, Damascus, and Aleppo.²⁹⁷ During the winter, the Templar master and the Hospitallers' lieutenant master (John of Ronay) arrived in the crusaders' camp on Cyprus to join the further planning of the crusade. Once again it was decided to attack Egypt.²⁹⁸ According to a charter issued on 12 May 1249, the Templar master was accompanied by several conventual officials, namely the marshal, the preceptor of the land, and the draper, and the office of marshal was now held by Reynald of Vichiers who had probably come to the east in the entourage of the French king.²⁹⁹

The crusade left Cyprus for Egypt on 13 May, arrived outside Damietta on 5 June, and took the city without a fight the following day.³⁰⁰ In the late fall, the crusaders marched against Cairo and, *en route*, found themselves drawn into various skirmishes with the Muslims. On 6 December, the Templar Marshal Reynald of Vichiers successfully ward off a Muslim attack.³⁰¹ However, on 8 February 1250, when the brother of the French king, Count Robert of Artois, launched an attack against the Muslim camp at Mansurah, he himself, all the Templars accompanying him, presumably including the order's Grand Preceptor Giles, lost their lives, and it fell to the Hospitallers' Lieutenant Master John of Ronay to bring Louis the news of his brother's death.³⁰² Three days later, on 11 February, John of Ronay as well as the Hospitallers' draper (presumably Martin Sanche) and the Templar Master William

²⁹⁵ Andrew Polin: *CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063. Reynald of Vichiers: Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.

²⁹⁶ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 369–73 n. 1; *id.*, “Charte,” 232; *CH* II 2413, 2425.

²⁹⁷ This correspondence is mentioned in a letter sent by Odo of Châteauroux, the cardinal legate, to Pope Innocent IV on 31 March 1249: D’Achéry *et al.*, *Spicilegium*, III, 625; *RRH* 1168–9.

²⁹⁸ *Gestes*, 147 § 262.

²⁹⁹ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176.

³⁰⁰ Furber, “Kingdom,” 614; Mayer, *Geschichte*, 305.

³⁰¹ Joinville, § 185–6; cf. Rothelin, 597.

³⁰² Joinville, § 219, 244; date: *ibid.*, li; Rothelin, 604–5.

of Sonnac were also killed in battle.³⁰³ The crusader army began to retreat toward Damietta, but on 5/6 April they had to surrender to the Muslims. The king of France, the preceptors of the Hospital and the Temple (not mentioned by name), as well as many barons and knights were carried off into captivity.³⁰⁴

The Muslims demanded an enormous ransom, so Joinville, at that time a young knight from Champagne, turned to the Templars' conventual officials and asked them to give him 30,000 pounds from the treasury they kept on their main galley.³⁰⁵ The Templar Preceptor Stephen of Ostricourt rejected this request, arguing that the money in question consisted of funds that had been entrusted to the order for safe-keeping, whereupon the Templar Marshal Reynald of Vichiers, who had helped to plan the crusade, suggested to Joinville that he himself should take the money from the treasury. Joinville invited the preceptor to witness this action, but the latter declined. When the Templar treasurer refused to hand the key to the treasury to Joinville, Joinville prepared to break the lock with an axe, at which point the marshal ordered the treasurer to surrender the key.³⁰⁶ According to Bulst-Thiele, this incident was a 'typical example of the order's rigid legalism to which even its highest officials subjected themselves.' For Barber, the incident showed "the lack of a single leader" caused by William of Sonnac's death.³⁰⁷ In my opinion, the incident presents the marshal as the clear leader of the Templar convent in the absence of a master. The preceptor, who had been the convent's highest financial officer since the twelfth century, was consulted, but in this emergency situation the marshal overruled both him as well as the treasurer, who seems to merely have carried the key. Once released from captivity, thanks to the funds thus procured, the French king showed his gratitude and saw to it that Reynald was elected master.³⁰⁸ Louis IX's first crusade saw former and current officials of the two orders' convents involved in its planning, fighting, and conclusion. While the crusade was not a success, one can only speculate how much worse it would have turned out without the military orders' expertise and resources.

³⁰³ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; *CH* II 2521; *RRH* 1191; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 223.

³⁰⁴ "Annales monasterii de Burton," ed. Luard, 288; *RRH* 1190.

³⁰⁵ A total of 200,000 pounds had to be raised: Delisle, *Mémoire*, 7–9.

³⁰⁶ Joinville, § 381–4; date: *ibid.*, lii–liii.

³⁰⁷ Bulst-Thiele, 226 (translation mine); Barber, 152.

³⁰⁸ Joinville, § 413; date: *ibid.*, liii.

CHAPTER THREE

CYPRUS (1291–1310)

Infrastructure

When relocating from Jerusalem to Acre (1187/91), both Hospitallers and Templars had been able to establish themselves in a pre-existing infrastructure of their own. The same was true when they moved from Acre to Cyprus; however, the Cypriote infrastructure lay outside the kingdom of Jerusalem in a different eastern province, which gave the central convent of both orders another chance to display its adaptability. The Templars' ties to Cyprus dated back to the Third Crusade. In 1191, Richard Lionheart had conquered the island and sold it to their master, Robert of Sablé.¹ The order established itself at Nicosia, but seems to have treated the natives so badly that there was an uprising in April 1192, and for a while, the Templars, led by Reynald Boschart, the order's preceptor of Cyprus, were under siege in the castle of Nicosia.² Though they managed to put down the uprising, the Templars decided to retreat from the island.³ Guy of Lusignan took over their financial obligations toward King Richard, and Cyprus became a kingdom in 1197.⁴ However, the order's retreat was not permanent. By 1210, the Templars had acquired new property, and according to their statutes, they used the island as a penal colony in the thirteenth century.⁵ They soon built or acquired a representative building or church at Nicosia which would serve as a final resting place for King Henry I of Cyprus (d.1253).⁶ The 1258 agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights suggests that all three orders had *magni praeceptores* (grand preceptors) in charge of their respective houses on the island,

¹ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 121.

² *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latric, 285; Amadi, 84; cf. Röhricht, 618–19; Hiestand, "Templer- und Johanniterbistümer," 150–1.

³ *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 134–7; Eracles, 190; Bustron, 49–52; cf. Edbury, *Conquest*, 112; Röhricht, 618–19.

⁴ Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten," 69–70.

⁵ Property: Edbury, "Military Orders," 102. Penal colony: *RT* 591.

⁶ Bustron, 109.

and a 1261 agreement between the Templar Master Thomas Berardi and the archbishop of Nicosia indicates that the extent of the order's property on Cyprus was considerable.⁷ However, when the Templars decided to support the Anjou claims to the throne of Jerusalem, their relationship with the royal house of Cyprus deteriorated.⁸ In 1279, King Hugh III of Cyprus and the Templar Master William of Beaujeu clashed over this issue at Tyre, and when Hugh returned to Cyprus he had the Templar house at Limassol destroyed and the order's possessions on the island confiscated.⁹ Years later, Pope Martin IV (1281–5) still had to admonish the king to refrain from his actions against the Templars.¹⁰ Thus, in 1291, when the brothers sought refuge on Cyprus after the fall of Acre, they were admitted, but probably not welcomed.

The Hospitallers were established on Cyprus by the early thirteenth century. In 1210, King Hugh I gave various properties to William of Beaune, then the order's preceptor of Cyprus, among them the casale Kolossi (ten kilometers west of Limassol) which would become an administrative center and maybe the seat of the Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus.¹¹ Before long, the Hospitallers had a palace, a hospital, and a church at Nicosia.¹² King Hugh I (d.1218), his son-in-law Henry of Antioch (d.1276), and the Hospitaller Master Raymond Berengar (d.1374) would be buried in this church.¹³ At Limassol, where the Hospitallers' central convent resided between 1291 and 1310, the order had built a fortified tower even before 1291.¹⁴ With regard to the military orders' pre-1310 buildings at Nicosia and Limassol the archaeological evidence is sparse, maybe due to an earthquake which caused considerable damage in 1330.¹⁵ In 1299, the Hospitaller convent had to remind Master William of Villaret that, following the fall of Acre, Cyprus had become the seat of the master and the convent (*siege dou maistre et dou*

⁷ 1258: *CH* II 2902; *RRH* 1269. 1261: Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 89.

⁸ Röhricht, 978.

⁹ Bustron, 116; cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 456 (A redaction, where this is incorrectly dated to 1276); cf. also Röhricht, 978; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 95–6.

¹⁰ Potthast 22194.

¹¹ *CH* II 1354; *RRH* 844; cf. Fedden and Thompson, *Kreuzfahrerburgen*, 101–2; Riley-Smith, 432.

¹² *Gestes*, 55 § 143; cf. Röhricht, 801–2.

¹³ Hugh I: Bustron, 57. Henry of Antioch: Röhricht, 987. Raymond Berengar: Bustron, 317.

¹⁴ *Gestes*, 45 § 130.

¹⁵ Bustron, 254.

covent),¹⁶ since William had not shown himself on the island since his election in absence in 1296. The order's headquarters were in the port city of Limassol in the southwestern part of Cyprus and not in the royal capital of Nicosia. This can be seen from the statutes of 1300 which stipulated that, as long as the master and the convent would have their seat in the kingdom of Cyprus, general chapters would be held at Limassol, and also from a 1303 *esgart*, which emphasized that a brother who had died at Nicosia had not died at the central convent.¹⁷ The statutes of 1300 and 1301 refer to the main building of the headquarters as a palace (*palais*), the same term previously used at Acre, and it was there that the brothers took their meals.¹⁸ However, the master could give permission to a brother to eat 'in his chamber or at his place' (*en sa chambre ou en sa place*), which probably meant that the *baillis* had chambers of their own while the rest of the brothers had assigned places in the dormitory.¹⁹ The normative texts of the early fourteenth century use different labels for the brothers' accommodations, but these labels may refer to the very same set of buildings. In 1301, we find inns (*erberges*) and hostels (*ostels*), and in 1304, the term 'dormitory' (*deurtor*) was used.²⁰ These conventual accommodations were supervised by the order's marshal.²¹

Very little is known of the Hospitallers' sacred buildings at Limassol. The statutes of 1294 mention the 'mother church of the Hospital' (*la maire glise de l'Ospital*) in general terms, without referring to a specific building in Limassol.²² The church at the order's headquarters served as a place of assembly for the brothers. It was there that the unnamed grand preceptor assembled the convent in 1299 to announce that the Master William of Villaret had issued an invitation to a general chapter to be celebrated at Avignon on 1 August 1300, an invitation subsequently rejected by the convent.²³ A *mostier* (the term can denote a 'church') is mentioned in the statutes of 1304.²⁴ It seems that the Hospitallers had intentions to expand their sacred buildings or at least

¹⁶ CH III 4462, p. 774.

¹⁷ 1300: CH III 4515, § 9. 1303: CH IV 4621.

¹⁸ CH III 4515, § 6; CH IV 4549, § 6.

¹⁹ CH IV 4549, § 6.

²⁰ 1301: CH IV 4549, § 28. 1304: CH IV 4672, § 8.

²¹ CH IV 4549, § 28; CH IV 4672, § 8.

²² CH III 4259, § 4.

²³ CH III 4462; cf. Melani, "Gran maestro," 38–63.

²⁴ CH IV 4672, § 8.

the size of their compound in Limassol. In 1304, Pope Benedict XI wrote to the bishop of Limassol that he should bring the Greeks in his city to give their oratory or chapel (*oratorium sive capellam*), which was adjacent to the order's headquarters, to the Hospitallers in exchange for something else.²⁵ The brothers also continued their medical charity and established a hospital.²⁶ The statutes of 1301 make reference to '[our] lords, the sick' (*seignors malades*); the statutes of 1303 mention the palace of the sick (*palais des malades*), a term which had already been used at Acre to denote the order's main hospital; and the liturgy used in the hospital on Cyprus has come down to us.²⁷ The mentioning of an infirmarer in the statutes of 1301 indicates that there were probably separate quarters for sick brothers at Limassol as well.²⁸

With regard to the storage facilities of the Hospitallers' Cypriote headquarters, the statutes issued between 1291 and 1310 frequently mention the treasury but rarely the treasurer, which seems to foreshadow a post-1310 development, namely the treasurer's loss of his status as a conventual bailiff, which will be discussed later in this chapter.²⁹ Like at Acre, there was a vault at Limassol. It was supervised by the preceptor of the vault who was assisted by the brother of the vault. It stored buckram, shoes, linen cloth, soap, iron, wool, leather, salt meat, and cheese. The serving brothers had to issue receipts for anything they took from the vault, and there was a monthly audit of these receipts.³⁰ Furthermore, there was a kitchen (supervised by the brother of the kitchen),³¹ a granary, and a wine cellar.³² According to the statutes, the wine for the convent came from the Hospitallers' vineyards at Rogera and Quillac.³³ A few scholars have suggested that the casale Kolossi near Limassol was the Hospitallers' headquarters or that it was being expanded to serve that purpose in the future.³⁴ Yet, for the order's preceptory of Cyprus and for the central convent, Kolossi was primarily a

²⁵ CH IV 4653; *Registre de Benoît XI*, ed. Grandjean, n. 760.

²⁶ Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Medical Tradition," 68; *id.*, "Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421," 280.

²⁷ 1301: CH IV 4549, § 19. 1303: CH IV 4612, § 2; cf. Le Grand, "Prière," 333–6, citing BN, fr. 1978 and 6049. Liturgy: Le Grand, *ibid.*, 336–8, citing BN, fr. 1978.

²⁸ CH IV 4549, § 15.

²⁹ Treasury: CH III 4234, § 2; CH III 4259, § 2; CH III 4515, § 10, 13, 16; CH IV 4549, § 3, 8, 32, 36–7; CH IV 4672, § 1–5. Treasurer: CH IV 4574, § 11.

³⁰ CH IV 4549, § 1; cf. Sinclair, "Hospital," 254–7.

³¹ CH IV 4549, § 1.

³² CH III 4515, § 4.

³³ CH III 4515, § 4; CH IV 4612, § 5.

³⁴ Fincham, *Order*, 4; Müller-Wiener, *Burgen*, 91–2; Riley-Smith, *Atlas*, 133.

“special center of supplies.”³⁵ The impressive buildings one can see at Kolossi today are fifteenth-century structures.³⁶ Nonetheless, between 1291 and 1310, Kolossi did not just serve an economic purpose. It was there that, in 1306, the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret negotiated with the Genoese concerning the upcoming conquest of Rhodes.³⁷

According to Konrad Schottmüller (and others following him), the Templars, too, established their post-1291 headquarters at Limassol.³⁸ However, there is reason to believe that the Templar convent did not (or not only) relocate to Limassol but, rather, to (or also to) Nicosia. The evidence is complex. The first general chapter celebrated by the Templars after their departure from mainland Syria was held at Nicosia in 1292, presumably around Easter (6 April), and it was allegedly attended by 400 brothers.³⁹ Yet, according to two depositions from the Templar trial referring to the time after 1291, the convent resided at Limassol.⁴⁰ The Templar Master Thibaut Gaudini wrote three letters at Nicosia.⁴¹ On 20 April 1292, the Templar Master James of Molay also issued a formal letter, witnessed by the order’s conventual officials, at Nicosia, presumably in the context of the aforementioned general chapter.⁴² In the following years, he composed at least two more letters at Nicosia.⁴³ However, in 1300, James issued a charter at Limassol, and in the following years, he wrote at least eight letters at Limassol.⁴⁴ The trial depositions mentioning receptions into the order speak of three at Nicosia, two at Limassol (receiving three brothers total), and one at Famagusta.⁴⁵ The Templars owned a castle at Limassol, and it may

³⁵ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 163; cf. *CH* IV 4549, § 20; cf. also Riley-Smith, 432.

³⁶ Bustron, 25; cf. Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291,” 161, 165–71.

³⁷ *Gestes*, 320 § 673.

³⁸ Schottmüller I.1, 465, 606.

³⁹ *Procès* II, 139; cf. Edbury, “Templars,” 193. This general chapter is addressed again later in this chapter.

⁴⁰ Schottmüller II.3, 132 (Hugh of Samaya), 155 (John Baubin).

⁴¹ Forey, “Letters,” 160–1 n. 1–3.

⁴² Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

⁴³ Forey, “Letters,” 164 n. 10–11.

⁴⁴ Charter: 1300: Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44. Letters: (1299?): Forey, “Letters,” 162 n. 5. (1300?): *ibid.*, 162–3 n. 6. (1301) IV 8: Bulst-Thiele, 366 n. 7. (1301) XI 8: Finke II, 3–4 n. 3. 1304 II 20: Forey, “Letters,” 163 n. 8. 1304 (after XII 25): *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint 677–8. 1305 I 20: Forey, “Letters,” 164 n. 9. (1306) IV 20: *ibid.*, 165–6 n. 12.

⁴⁵ 1293, Nicosia: Gerard of Passagio (*Procès* I, 213). 1295, Nicosia: Stephen of Safeth (Schottmüller II.3, 191–2). 1302, Famagusta: Gawain of Raval (Schottmüller II.3, 210–11). 1303, Limassol: Abraham of Castroalbo (Schottmüller II.3, 216). 1304, Limassol: Anthony of Vercelli and James of Rupella (*Procès* I, 562). 1307, Nicosia: Peter of Baneta (Schottmüller II.3, 173).

have been there that they kept their arsenal for, when the Cypriote Templars were arrested in 1308, substantial military equipment was found there.⁴⁶ The castle compound at Limassol probably included a palatial building because the trial records mention a preceptor of the palace in Limassol (*praeceptor palatii in Nimocio*), but they also mention two *praeceptores palatii* without any reference to location.⁴⁷ In the course of their careers, two of the aforementioned preceptors of the palace served as almoners (and another almoner served as infirmarer), and thus one might be tempted to locate the order's headquarters where the most alms were distributed, but that strategy, too, does not yield a winner.⁴⁸ The Templars were probably able to accommodate guests in various houses on Cyprus.⁴⁹ As for the master's household, the trial records mention the master's grand chamber (*magna camera magistri*) and its officials, as well as the master's storage facilities and stables and the officials working in those, yet, again, without reference to location.⁵⁰ The central convent had its own wardrobe, and it is noteworthy that, during the Templar trial on Cyprus, two non-Templars, namely a citizen of Genoa and a citizen of Nicosia, were questioned specifically about the order's draper.⁵¹ Had the order's wardrobe (and, thus, the official supervising it, namely the draper) been operating out of Nicosia? It seems fairly certain that the order's treasury was at Nicosia: in 1306, the Templar master referred to Peter of Castellón as the 'treasurer of

⁴⁶ Castle: Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85. Arsenal: Amadi, 289; Bustron, 169; cf. Demurger, *Vie*, 192; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," 167; Courcas, "Role," 257. Leontinos Makhairas, *Recital*, I, § 618, mentions the 'warehouses of the Templars' (τὰ μακζενία τοῦ Τέμπλου), but it is unclear where those were located.

⁴⁷ Limassol: Schottmüller II.3, 186 (John of Lisivis). Without location: Schottmüller II.3, 183 (Martin of Lamussa), 185 (John Anglicus).

⁴⁸ Almoners: John of Lisivis, also preceptor of the palace (Schottmüller II.3, 186; cf. Claverie II, 333); John Anglicus, also preceptor of the palace (Schottmüller II.3, 185–6; cf. Claverie II, 333); James of Vallebruna, also infirmarer (Schottmüller II.3, 184–5; cf. Claverie II, 332). Statements concerning the places where the Templars distributed alms: Acre and Cyprus (11 Templar statements): Schottmüller II.3, 224, 342, 345, 354, 356, 359, 361, 363, 365, 367, 369. Acre and Limassol (1 non-Templar statement): *ibid.*, 392. Nicosia and Limassol (2 Templar statements): *ibid.*, 244, 250. Nicosia and Limassol (2 non-Templar statements): *ibid.*, 395, 397. Nicosia (3 non-Templar statements): *ibid.*, 387, 388, 393. Limassol (3 Templar statements): *ibid.*, 253, 350, 352. Famagusta (1 non-Templar statement): *ibid.*, 389. Cf. Favreau-Lilie, "Military Orders," 226.

⁴⁹ In 1302, Raymond Lull stayed with the Templars on Cyprus: Bulst-Thiele, 311.

⁵⁰ Chamber officials: *Procès* I, 40 (Aimo of Barbona), 538 (Pons of Bono Opere); *Procès* II, 207–8 (George). Other officials working for the master: *Procès* I, 45; II, 294 (Peter of Saphet); *Procès* II, 289–90 (William of Giaco).

⁵¹ Schottmüller II.3, 161–2.

Nicosia;⁵² during the vacancy of the archdiocese of Nicosia, the pope entrusted its income to the Templars;⁵³ and in 1308, the Templars were able to transport a considerable part of their treasury from Nicosia to Limassol.⁵⁴ Templar clergy can be found at both Nicosia and Limassol,⁵⁵ and the order certainly had a sacred building (*monasterio*) in Limassol.⁵⁶ However, there can be no doubt that the order's main church on Cyprus, which even in 1381 was still referred to as *Santa Maria quondam Templi*, was in Nicosia.⁵⁷ It was there that the order kept the head reliquaries of St. Euphemia and St. Polycarp, and these belonged to the order's treasury.⁵⁸ The church at Nicosia is repeatedly mentioned in the trial records.⁵⁹ We read, for example, that James of Dammartin, the Templar preceptor of Cyprus, and the Marshal Aimō (of Oiselay) received communion there.⁶⁰ The non-Templars discussing the order's piety during the Cypriot trial almost exclusively referred to Nicosia.⁶¹ The list of the Templars' possessions on Cyprus, which were later given to the Hospitallers, begins with the church of the Temple at Nicosia (*la chiesa del Tempio in Nicosia*) and mentions Limassol only much further down.⁶² Last, but not least, Nicosia was the location of the Cypriot trial against the order. Nicosia was the royal capital and the seat of an archbishop. Yet, again, the king probably also had a palace at Limassol

⁵² Forey, "Letters," 164–5 n. 10–11.

⁵³ Cf. *CH* IV 4882; Claverie II, 442–7 n. 20–1 (the revocation documents of 1309).

⁵⁴ Amadi, 287.

⁵⁵ Nicosia: Guy, *presbyter capellanus domus Templi in Nicosia* (Schottmüller II.3, 384). Limassol: Stephen of Safeth, *presbyter prior domus Templi in Nimocio* (Schottmüller II.3, 191–2). It is unknown whether Hugh of Besançon, who is mentioned as *prior de ordine Templi* in the trial records, was a priest of the order or an official of the central convent at the time of the trial, since he had belonged to the order since the 1280s, and thus *prior* might refer to an office held earlier in his career (Schottmüller II.3, 167, 176, 178–81, 192, 199, 207, 263, 266, 269, 271).

⁵⁶ Amadi, 287.

⁵⁷ Luttrell, "Slavery," 97 n. 34.

⁵⁸ Tommasi, "Templari," 197–8.

⁵⁹ Schottmüller II.3, 384, 386. The order's *capella de Nicosia* is also mentioned in Amadi, 287.

⁶⁰ Schottmüller II.3, 396 (trial deposition made by Balian of Mirabell, a knight from Famagusta).

⁶¹ Schottmüller II.3, 156 (*eos vidit Nicossie in domo Templi, in ecclesiis et aliis locis horare*), 157 (*dixit, quod numquam vidit aliquos magis honorare et revereri crucem, quam fratres Templi, sicut ipse testis vidit in Syria et in Cypro, in Nicossia videlicet*), 158 (*in Nicossia et in Nimocio*), 159 (*vidit Nicossie fratres Templi... in ecclesia Templi flexis genibus adorantes crucem*), 159 (*vidit... fratres Templi Nicossie in ecclesia Templi audire divinum officium*), 164 (*vidit in Nicossia... aliquos fratres... de dicto ordine Templi venire ad ecclesias et ibi stare devote ad audiendum missas et divina officia*).

⁶² Bustron, 170–1; cf. *ibid.*, 246–7.

as well as Famagusta, and the archdiocese of Nicosia had been without an archbishop since 1303.⁶³ The Templar convent was, at least at times, itinerant. Thus, it is conceivable that the Templars had their military center at Limassol and their religious center at Nicosia. It is impossible to say which, to them, was more important, but in the opinion of this author the evidence points in the direction of Nicosia.

In the previous two chapters, we have rejected the idea that the Hospitallers moved their headquarters to the castle of Margat and the idea that the Templars moved their headquarters to the castle of Atlit. For the Cypriote phase of the orders' history, another castle has been offered as an alternative to one of the order's headquarters. Did the Templars, in 1300, transfer their headquarters or their convent to the island fortress of Ruad, located off the coast of mainland Syria opposite of the port city of Tortosa?⁶⁴ In November 1300, a Cypriote contingent, led by Amaury of Lusignan and accompanied by Templars and Hospitallers, conquered Tortosa, but retreated to Ruad when their allies, the Mongols of the Ilkhan Ghazan, did not show up, and when, instead, hostile Mamluks moved toward Tortosa. A Templar garrison under the command of the order's marshal, Bartholomew of Chinsi, was left to guard Ruad.⁶⁵ One year later, on 8 November 1301, the Templar Master James of Molay wrote from Limassol to King James II of Aragón, that Ghazan's arrival was once again expected, and that he therefore 'planned to go to the island of Tortosa (Ruad) where the Templar convent had stood [in readiness] the whole year with horses and arms' (*ad presens intendimus ad insulam Tortose, ubi noster conventus stetit cum equis et armis toto hoc anno presenti*).⁶⁶ Thus, in 1301, the master was on Cyprus and did not reside on Ruad. Half a year earlier, James had written to the English king, again from Limassol.⁶⁷ Yet, while the Templars did not restrict the term 'convent' to their order's headquarters—the statutes, for example, contain the phrase 'in all places where there is a convent' (*en tous les leus ou i y ait covent*)⁶⁸—the master, in his letter to the king of Aragón, had used the phrase 'our convent,' which certainly could be taken to mean the central convent. Moreover, the marshal, who was a

⁶³ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 73–4.

⁶⁴ As suggested by Luttrell, "Ospitalieri di San Giovanni," 79–80.

⁶⁵ Cf. Chapter Nine: Bartholomew of Chinsi; cf. also Jackson, *Mongols*, 171.

⁶⁶ Finke II, 3–4 n. 3.

⁶⁷ Bulst-Thiele, 366 n. 7.

⁶⁸ RT 288.

major player in the central convent, was also on Ruad. According to Marinus Sanutus, ‘the Templar master constructed buildings on the island in 1302 and kept the greater part of his convent there to harm the Turks as much as possible’ (*magister tamen Templi, MCCCII in insula Tortosae aedes aliquas erexit: ibique maiorem partem conuentus sui tenebat, ut Turchis pro posse noceret*).⁶⁹ The use of the verb *tenere* (hold/keep) implies that the greater part of the Templar convent was on Ruad because the master had ordered it to be, not because the Templars had moved their headquarters or their central convent there permanently. In mid-1302, after a very harsh winter, the Mamluks conquered Ruad, and the surviving Templars were carried off into slavery.⁷⁰ In the Latin Christians’ attempt to reconquer mainland Syria, Ruad was a bridgehead, no more, no less. The fact that the ‘greater part’ of the Templar convent spent two years on Ruad did not turn the island into the order’s headquarters. The master, as we have seen, remained on Cyprus (at least for most of this time period). Between 1218 and 1221, the Templar convent (or at least its greater part) was in Egypt, yet it is doubtful that anyone would propose that the order temporarily moved its headquarters to Damietta. Between 1300 and 1302, the Templar convent was itinerant, as it had been time and again since the community’s foundation. To call the Ruad expedition “no more than a swan song”⁷¹ belittles a serious effort. There is also no convincing evidence that it left the order “paralyzed.”⁷² The Templars discussed the loss of Ruad.⁷³ Their master sought an audience with Pope Benedict XI (however, the pontiff showed little enthusiasm).⁷⁴ When Benedict’s successor, Clement V, asked the Templar master’s opinion with regard to the logistics of a new crusade, Molay demonstrated that he had learned from the “disaster at Ruad” and argued in favor of a large-scale operation.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” 242; cf. Trunz, *Geschichte*, 23–4.

⁷⁰ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 105–6; Barber, *Trial*, 22, 286; cf. Chapter Nine: Hugh of Ampurias.

⁷¹ Boas, *Archaeology*, 218.

⁷² Riley-Smith, “Structures,” 142.

⁷³ A letter written by Ponsard of Gizey, the Templar preceptor of Payns, and introduced at the trial on 27 November 1309, states that Gerard of Villiers, the Templar preceptor of France, was blamed for the loss of Ruad at one of the order’s chapters in the west. Allegedly, Gerard and his friends had left the island prematurely. *Procès* I, 39; cf. Barber, *Trial*, 147; Riley-Smith, “Structures,” 142.

⁷⁴ *Registre de Benoît XI*, ed. Grandjean, n. 803.

⁷⁵ Barber, *Trial*, 35, 319.

Constituency

The statutes of 1301 offer a glimpse into the Hospitaller convent's constituency during this Cypriote phase. All brothers-at-arms (*freres d'armes*), with the exception of the master's companions, were subordinate to the marshal. In case of military action, this also applied to the *baillis* and others who were armed, the latter presumably referring to turcoples and navy personnel. However, if the master or his lieutenant were present, all were subordinate to them.⁷⁶ The wording suggests that, in the early fourteenth century, most military campaigns may have been conducted under the marshal's leadership. To have the *baillis* under the marshal's command was a departure from the statutes of 1204/6,⁷⁷ but the 1301 regulation only applied in the case of a military campaign conducted in the absence of the master or his lieutenant. Normally, the *baillis* (especially the capitular bailiffs) reported directly to master.⁷⁸ The statutes of 1301 also stipulated that the chaplain brothers (*freres chapellains*), a label here used as a synonym for the priest brothers (*freres prestres*) mentioned in the statutes of 1204/6, were subordinate to the prior, with the exception of the master's chaplain brothers.⁷⁹ For the serving brothers who were subordinate to the grand preceptor, the statutes of 1301 use the term *freres de mestier*.⁸⁰ Not all conventual brothers were either subordinate to the marshal, the grand preceptor, or the prior. The statutes of 1304 explain that the brothers working in the order's hospital (*freres qui seront au palais des malades*) had to report to the hospitaller.⁸¹ The basic structures of the Templar order seem to have remained the same during the Cypriote phase. However, the trial records often inform us whether an interrogated brother was a knight brother, a sergeant brother, or a priest brother, and they confirm that sergeant brothers did indeed serve as preceptors of houses, which had already been suggested by the order's twelfth-century *retrais* which had spoken of the 'sergeant brothers, preceptors of houses' (*freres sergens comandeors des maisons*).⁸²

⁷⁶ CH IV 4549, § 31.

⁷⁷ CH II 1193, p. 37; RRH 800a.

⁷⁸ CH IV 4549, § 33.

⁷⁹ CH IV 4549, § 21. For the 1204/6 statutes cf. CH II 1193, p. 35–6; RRH 800a.

⁸⁰ CH IV 4549, § 33.

⁸¹ CH IV 4672, § 1–5.

⁸² RT 180.

It is worthwhile to consider the numerical strength of the central convent at this time in the orders' history. After the losses of 1291, both Hospitallers and Templars had to replenish their conventual ranks. The Hospitaller statutes of 1292 set the size of the convent at 40 knights and 10 armed sergeants, to be assisted by a total of 50 squires and 50 grooms.⁸³ In 1301, it was ordered that there should be 70 knight brothers and 10 armed sergeant brothers from the various tongues (without any specific stipulations how many should come from each tongue). Moreover, there should be priest brothers and serving brothers as needed.⁸⁴ The statutes of 1302 allow us to calculate the convent's approximate numerical strength. Based on the Old French text, there would have been approximately 299 individuals: 6 top officials (master, preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, draper, treasurer), 68 members of these officials' entourage, 65 knight brothers, 15 armed sergeant brothers, 130 squires of the knight brothers, and 15 squires of the armed sergeant brothers.⁸⁵ However, this calculation does not yet include any visiting affiliates, prudhommes, priest brothers, serving brothers, turcoples, navy personnel, hospital personnel, and servants. Thus, according to a conservative estimate, we may assume that there were at least 400 (if not 500) people in the Hospitallers' central convent in the early fourteenth century. As for the regional distribution, according to the same statutes (1302), of the 65 knight brothers and 15 armed sergeant brothers, 41 came from the three 'French' provinces (France: 15, Provence: 15; Auvergne: 11), 14 from the Iberian Peninsula, 13 from Italy, 7 from Germany, and 5 from England.⁸⁶ This 'French' representation either diminished in the following years or was simply insufficient by the standards of the French king for, in 1309, Philip IV complained that the Hospitaller convent did not feature a sufficient number of French brothers.⁸⁷

The brothers' linguistic identity and geographic origin was becoming a key factor in the composition of the Hospitaller convent. As for the Templars, the trial records provide some insight into the composition of their convent. Of the 76 brothers interrogated on Cyprus in 1310, based on their statements about the locations where they had been

⁸³ Luttrell, "Ospitalieri di San Giovanni," 80, where this provision (which is not in *CH*) is edited.

⁸⁴ *CH* IV 4549, § 5.

⁸⁵ *CH* IV 4574, § 4–10, 14.

⁸⁶ *CH* IV 4574, § 14; cf. Claverie I, 206.

⁸⁷ *CH* IV n. 4831; date: *ibid.*, p. 198.

received into the order, 15 came from France, 15 from Burgundy, 8 from Provence or Auvergne, 1 from Guyenne, 4 from England, 12 from the Iberian Peninsula, 8 from Italy, 3 from Germany or Hungary, and 10 from the east (namely the Morea, Cyprus, and Armenia). Of the same 76 brothers, 47 were knight brothers, 26 were sergeant brothers, and 3 were priest brothers.⁸⁸ According to Schottmüller, the Burgundian party was rather strong because the Templar Master James of Molay hailed from Burgundy and had surrounded himself with compatriots.⁸⁹ In 1301, the Hospitallers had ordered that the various tongues should be represented in their convent, but had made no specific stipulations how many should come from each tongue.⁹⁰ The Templars' trial records suggest that the old tongues, namely the traditional French areas of recruitment, as well as the Iberian Peninsula where there was still a 'Saracen frontier,'⁹¹ enjoyed a strong representation. According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1301, the ratio between knight brothers and sergeant brothers in the order's convent was (supposed to be) 7 to 1.⁹² According to the Templars' trial records, the respective ratio in their central convent in 1310 was almost 2 to 1. However, the Templars had probably lost most of their conventual knight brothers in 1302 when the Mamluks had retaken Ruad. Moreover, considering the calculations made above for the numerical strength of the Hospitaller convent, it seems that the 76 Templars interrogated on Cyprus in 1310 did not represent the majority of the order's convent but, rather, only those who had been unable or unwilling to escape.

Officials

When the Hospitaller convent relocated to Cyprus in 1291, it had to integrate the order's existing administrative structures on the island into its conventual leadership structures. The office of the preceptor of Cyprus was kept;⁹³ however, since the order's headquarters were established at Limassol, it was the preceptor of Limassol who seems to have

⁸⁸ Schottmüller II.3, 141–400.

⁸⁹ Schottmüller I.1, 482–3.

⁹⁰ CH IV 4549, § 5.

⁹¹ The term *frontiere de Sarracins* appears, for example, in CH III 4194, § 2.

⁹² CH IV 4549, § 5.

⁹³ Between 1291 and 1310, this office was held by William of St. Stephen, Simon Le Rat, and Albert of Schwarzburg, cf. Chapter Nine (under these names).

become the highest-ranking conventual preceptor.⁹⁴ Only in the order's statutes does the latter's title appear without the adjective *magnus*.⁹⁵ When the Hospitaller convent wrote to the master in 1299, the letter made reference to the 'grand preceptor of Limassol who holds your [i.e. the master's] place on Cyprus' (*le grant comandor de Limasson, qui tient vostre luec en Chipre*).⁹⁶ The narrative sources for the same year refer to the same official, whose name is never mentioned, as the 'preceptor of the Hospital who holds the place of the master' (*commandator del Hospital, che teniva el loco del maestro*).⁹⁷ In a 1303 *esgart*, Raymond of Ribells appears as the 'grand preceptor of the land' (*grant comandor de la terre*),⁹⁸ a title reminiscent of that of the Templar preceptor of the land, but Raymond was not the preceptor of Cyprus, an office held, in 1303, first by William of St. Stephen and then by Simon Le Rat.⁹⁹ It seems that the Hospitallers used the toponym 'of Cyprus' only for the preceptor in charge of the order's houses on the island, while the titles used for the highest preceptor of the central convent could vary, as they had in the preceding centuries.¹⁰⁰ The treatise on Hospitaller seals in the collection of statutes originally compiled by William of St. Stephen (BN, fr. 6049) also distinguishes between the grand preceptor and the preceptor of Cyprus.¹⁰¹ However, the preceptor of Cyprus was integrated into the conventual leadership structures. In 1299, the letters of the convent listed him after the marshal, but before the hospitaller, the treasurer, the admiral, and the lieutenant draper.¹⁰²

While the Hospitallers maintained their preceptor of Cyprus in addition to their convent's grand preceptor, the Templars seem to have transferred the responsibilities of their preceptor of the land (or kingdom) of Jerusalem, who had been their highest-ranking conventual preceptor, to the land (or kingdom) of Cyprus. The titles, as they appear in the post-1291 sources, are rather varied. Berengar of St. Just was preceptor of the land (*comandor de la terre*) in 1292.¹⁰³ According to the

⁹⁴ King, *Rule*, 102; Riley-Smith, 432; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 175–6.

⁹⁵ CH III 4515, § 4.

⁹⁶ CH III 4462, p. 769.

⁹⁷ Amadi, 234; cf. *ibid.*, 236; Bustron, 131.

⁹⁸ CH IV 4613.

⁹⁹ BN, fr. 6049, f. 217; cf. CH I, p. lxxxiii; CH IV, p. 68.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Chapter Five.

¹⁰¹ BN, fr. 6049, f. 298–300.

¹⁰² CH III 4464 (without the lieutenant draper), 4468–9.

¹⁰³ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

trial records, Baldwin of Andria was ‘preceptor of the house of the Temple in the city of Nicosia’ (*praeceptor domus Templi civitatis Nicosiensis*) in 1293.¹⁰⁴ Yet, because Baldwin had served in the high office of marshal the previous year, because he was conducting a reception into the order in the absence of the master, because Nicosia may have been the seat of the order’s central convent, because the trial records are not known for precision when it comes to titles, and because we know of no other preceptor serving on Cyprus in 1293, he may very well have been the order’s highest-ranking conventual preceptor. A 1299 letter refers to Florentin of Villa as ‘preceptor of the sacred militia of the house of the Temple’ (*praeceptor sacre militiae domus Templi*).¹⁰⁵ A charter issued in 1300 features Peter of Vares as ‘preceptor of the house of the militia of the Temple’ (*praeceptor domus milicie Templi*).¹⁰⁶ In 1300, Raimbaud of Caromb was preceptor of Limassol (*praeceptor Nimocii*);¹⁰⁷ in the following years, he used a wide range of titles, including ‘grand preceptor,’ ‘preceptor of Cyprus,’ and ‘preceptor of the land;’ and in 1306, he traveled to the west in the entourage of James of Molay where he continued to be referred to as ‘preceptor’ or ‘grand preceptor’ combined with toponyms that pointed toward Cyprus or the east. Meanwhile on Cyprus, the office of conventual preceptor was held, from 1306 or 1307 on (i.e. from the time Raimbaud had left for the west) by James of Dammartin with titles very similar to those used by Raimbaud.¹⁰⁸ Raimbaud was obviously allowed to retain the title of conventual preceptor while traveling, but James was doing the work on Cyprus and, thus, was also allowed to use the title. The order in which the officials are mentioned in the witness lists of charters presumably continued to indicate their rank in the central convent. In 1292, the preceptor of the land appeared after the marshal (an order dating back to the twelfth-century *retrais*) and before the lieutenant draper.¹⁰⁹ However, in 1300, the preceptor of Limassol followed after the marshal, the draper, and the provincial preceptor of Portugal.¹¹⁰ Yet, this preceptor of Limassol was none other than the future grand preceptor, Raimbaud of Caromb.

¹⁰⁴ *Procès* I, 213; cf. Chapter Nine: Baldwin of Andria.

¹⁰⁵ *AA* I, 55–6 n. 41.

¹⁰⁶ Desimoni, “Actes passés à Famagouste,” 42–3 n. 74.

¹⁰⁷ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Chapter Five; cf. also Chapter Nine: James of Dammartin, Raimbaud (II) of Caromb.

¹⁰⁹ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36; cf. *RT* 87 for the respective twelfth-century *retrais*.

¹¹⁰ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.

Thus, it is conceivable that the Templars—somewhat similar to what the Hospitallers had implied in their statutes of 1204/6—determined the actual rank of their conventual preceptor by adding certain words to his title. A possible hierarchy of these words from top to bottom would be ‘grand’ (*magnus*), ‘of the land’ or ‘of Cyprus’ (*terrae* or *Cypri*), and lastly ‘of Nicosia’ or ‘of Limassol’ (*Nicosiensis* or *Nimocii*).

After 1291, the Templars finally seem to have separated the office of the conventual treasurer from that of the conventual preceptor. In a 1291 charter, both the preceptor of the land and the treasurer (*tressorer*) appear together.¹¹¹ In 1306 and 1307, Peter of Castellón functioned as treasurer (occasionally with toponyms such as ‘of Nicosia’ or ‘of Cyprus’ added to his title), while the Preceptor Raimbaud of Caromb was traveling in the west and the Preceptor James of Dammartin was serving on Cyprus.¹¹² During the Cypriote trial of the Templars, the order had both a preceptor and a treasurer in its convent for, in 1308, Amaury of Lusignan was able to report to the pope that the marshal, the preceptor, the turcopolier, the draper, and the treasurer (*mareschalcus, praeceptor, tricopolerius, draparius ac thesaurarius*) had surrendered to him.¹¹³ By 1308, Peter of Castellón, the former treasurer, had returned to the west and James of Dammartin was serving as preceptor (*praeceptor ordinis Templi in Cypro*),¹¹⁴ which leaves the office of treasurer for Albert (or Hubert) of Vienne. In the trial records, Albert appears as a ‘preceptor.’¹¹⁵ However, the chronicle of Amadi reports that, in 1310, a group of Templar officials had been placed under strict surveillance in their order’s house at Famagusta, namely the marshal, the preceptor of Apulia (Odo of Villaret/Valdric), the grand preceptor (*gran commandator*, probably the equivalent of the preceptor mentioned in Amaury’s letter to the pope), the ‘preceptor of the land’ (*commandator de la terra*, probably denoting the treasurer since, according to the Templars’ *retrai*s, the preceptor of the land was the treasurer of the convent), the turcopolier, and the draper.¹¹⁶

¹¹¹ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

¹¹² Cf. Chapter Nine: Berengar of St. Just, James of Dammartin, Martin of Lou, Peter of Castellón, Raimbaud (II) of Caromb.

¹¹³ Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l’ordre*, 193–5.

¹¹⁴ Schottmüller II.3, 192–3, 325–8.

¹¹⁵ Schottmüller II.3, 167, 223–5; date: *ibid.*, 145, 166, 219. Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial (Cyprus)*, 79, suggests that his name should be transcribed ‘Hubert.’

¹¹⁶ Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219, where the *gran commandator* is missing in the list of Templar officials imprisoned at Famagusta, maybe because the writer of this text at the end of the fifteenth century was unaware of the difference between the Templars’ (grand) preceptor and preceptor of the land, and thus only copied one of the two

Considering that the prestige of the Hospitallers' conventual treasurer had been diminishing for some time, it is conceivable that the same official in the Templar convent was looking for a new title, which would explain why both Albert of Vienne and James of Dammartin appear with the title of preceptor in the trial records.

While headquartered on Cyprus, the Hospitallers added two officials to the group of capitular bailiffs, namely one new official, the admiral, and one already existing official who was promoted to this high rank, the turcopolier. As we have seen in Chapter One, the military orders imitated the princely court, and it is remarkable that the individuals who held these two offices at the court of the king of Cyprus are known since 1298 (admiral) and 1306 (turcopolier) respectively.¹¹⁷ The word 'admiral' (*admiratus*) is derived from the Arabic term *al-amir* (commander). Admirals first appeared in Norman Sicily as administrators and military officials; the 'admiral of admirals' (*admiratus admiratorum*) eventually became one of the seven highest officials of the state; and Frederick II put the admiral in charge of the fleet.¹¹⁸ The Hospitallers' first 'admiral of the house' (*aumiraill de la maison*) was Fulk of Villaret. In 1299, when the convent rejected the plans of his uncle, Master William of Villaret, to hold the 1300 general chapter at Avignon, the Admiral Fulk of Villaret was one of the co-authors of the convent's letters of protest, listed among the *baillis de la maison* after the marshal, the preceptor of Cyprus, the hospitaller, and the treasurer, but before the lieutenant draper.¹¹⁹ The admiral then appeared in the statutes of 1300. He was declared commander-in-chief of all ships and their personnel; however, when the marshal was present, the office (i.e. the infrastructure and personnel) of the admiral, albeit not his person, was, at least for the time being, subordinate to the marshal. The admiral himself, as a capitular bailiff, responded directly to the master.¹²⁰ The island location of the Hospitallers' new headquarters certainly suggested a more sophisticated naval branch. In addition, the military orders, the kingdoms of Armenia and Cyprus, and the Mongols were negotiat-

from the source available to him. Traditionally (Schottmüller II.3, 225), the name of the Templar preceptor of Apulia has been given as 'Odo of Villaret.' Barber, *Trial*, 243, suggests 'Odo of Valdric.'

¹¹⁷ BN, n.a.fr. 6797, f. 287, 289.

¹¹⁸ Manselli, "Admiratus," 155–6.

¹¹⁹ CH III 4464 (without the lieutenant draper), 4468–9.

¹²⁰ CH III 4515, § 13.

ing the return of the Latin Christians to mainland Syria and a joint crusade against Egypt, all of which must have involved considerable naval planning.¹²¹ Thus, in appointing a supreme naval commander the Hospitallers were charting the future. As for the Hospitaller turcopolier, the first one known by name had surfaced in 1248.¹²² The turcopolier attained the rank of capitular bailiff in 1303, however, his office, albeit not his person, at least initially remained subordinate to the marshal because it was a military office.¹²³

Some scholars have claimed that the Templars, too, had their own admiral.¹²⁴ The evidence presented to support this is a charter issued on 16 June 1301 at Famagusta by a certain Master Henry of Tyre, a merchant and resident of Famagusta. The document states that Henry had received 150 *turonenses argenti* for safekeeping from five named individuals. The five had pledged to spend two months in the service of the Templars. Henry promised that he would return their money to them once they would present him with ‘a document from the admiral or captain or count of the Temple’ (*quandam cartam sive scripturam factam ex parte domini admirati sive capitanei vel comitti* [sic, misspelled or misread for *comitis*] *Templi*), confirming that they had, in fact, completed the two months of service. Until then, he would be their guarantor.¹²⁵ The wording seems to imply that the five were most likely going to be involved in the Templars’ maritime activities. Given the fact that the Templars had a garrison (namely the greater part of their convent) stationed on the island of Ruad in 1301, this makes sense. However, Henry of Tyre clearly had no idea what might be the title of the Templar official who would supervise their service. Thus, he offered several titles, including *admiratus*. Henry might have known that the Hospitallers had an admiral, and he may have concluded that the Templars had to have one, too. Yet, Henry’s charter is not conclusive proof that the Templars had an admiral in 1301. If there was such an official, it is noteworthy that he was conspicuously absent from the trial against the order. He may, of course, have escaped (presumably by boat).

¹²¹ For the Hospital’s early naval history cf. Jacoby, “Hospitaller Ships,” 57–72.

¹²² *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164.

¹²³ *CH* IV 4612, § 5.

¹²⁴ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 103; Coureas, *Latin Church*, 132; Coureas, “Role,” 258–9.

¹²⁵ Polonio, *Notai*, 493–4 n. 413.

Leadership Structures

Enlarging the group of capitular bailiffs while on Cyprus was part of a development in the Hospitallers' leadership structures that would become fully visible during their stay on Rhodes (1310–1522), namely the assigning of the central convent's highest offices to the order's tongues. The statutes of 1302 mention seven such linguistic and geographic entities: Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England, and Germany.¹²⁶ Jürgen Sarnowsky has shown that the high officials were elected from these tongues since 1330, and that it was clear by 1340 which tongue would provide which official. The grand preceptor would come from Provence, the marshal from Auvergne, the hospitaller from France, the draper from Spain, the admiral from Italy, and the turcopolier from England. It seems that the turcopolier was promoted to the rank of capitular bailiff in the early fourteenth century to have, for the English tongue, an office that had gained importance in the thirteenth century (the office of the treasurer had declined in importance and was, therefore, not really an option). The German tongue lost its coequal status among the seven tongues (much like the treasurer lost his position as a conventual bailiff and was subordinated to the grand preceptor), and it was not until 1428 that the office of grand bailiff, responsible for the visitation of the order's castles in Asia Minor, was created for the German tongue. In 1462, the honorary office of chancellor was assigned to the Castilian-Portuguese part of the Spanish tongue (while the chancellor's actual work was done by the conventual vice chancellor).¹²⁷ The strong self-image of the Hospitallers' conventual officials in the early fourteenth century can be seen from a contemporary treatise on the office of the master (*Ci dit dou propre office de nostre gouverneur*), probably authored by the Hospitaller William of St. Stephen. Alluding to Cicero's *Rhetoric*, the text compares the Hospitaller master to the helmsman of a ship, placed in charge of the rudder and, thus, the ship's direction, but not expected to meddle in the affairs of the ship's other officials. The master, so the treatise states, should provide care and instruction for these offices in a way that would make each official strive to discharge his respective responsibilities according to the law (i.e.

¹²⁶ CH IV 4574, § 14.

¹²⁷ Sarnowsky, "Konvent," 44–6, 59. For the treasurer cf. *id.*, "Rights," 269. For the chancellor cf. Luttrell, "Notes on the Chancery," 409.

the order's statutes), the needs of the office, and the circumstances.¹²⁸ What the treatise describes as an ideal scenario seems to have become a reality, as Jürgen Sarnowsky has characterized the order's leadership structures during the later phase of the order's stay on Rhodes as "the oligarchy at work."¹²⁹

During the first four years of their stay on Cyprus, the Hospitallers celebrated a general chapter at their headquarters every year.¹³⁰ In 1296, William of Villaret was elected master in absence, and since he stayed in the west, no general chapter was held at the headquarters for the following four years. William did in fact convene general chapters at Marseilles and Avignon in 1297, but the decisions of these assemblies were nullified in 1300, after William had come to the east, by a general chapter celebrated at Limassol,¹³¹ which also stipulated that, as long as the master and central convent would be in the kingdom of Cyprus, general chapters would be held at Limassol.¹³² Between 1300 and 1306, the general chapter met every year, but then there may have been a few years without such a meeting because the new master, Fulk of Villaret, first took a trip to the west and was then preoccupied with the conquest of Rhodes.¹³³ It seems that the next general chapter was actually celebrated on Rhodes in 1310.¹³⁴ One year later, another general chapter celebrated on Rhodes stipulated that future general chapters would be held on Rhodes at a location agreed upon by the master and the majority of the convent, but certainly 'on this side of the sea' (i.e. in the east).¹³⁵ Between 1324 and 1344, there were seven general chapters (approximately one every three years); due to the Great Schism, only four general chapters met between 1383 and 1420; and between 1421 and 1522, twenty-two general chapters were celebrated (with a varying number of years between the individual chapters).¹³⁶ It seems likely that

¹²⁸ BN, fr. 6049, f. 264; cf. *Marci Tullii Ciceronis Rhetoricae libri duo*, ed. Friedrich, 151.

¹²⁹ Sarnowsky, "Oligarchy," 267–76.

¹³⁰ CH III 4194, 4234, 4259, 4295.

¹³¹ CH III 4515, § 20.

¹³² CH III 4515, § 9.

¹³³ CH III 4515; CH IV 4549, 4574, 4612, 4672, 4703, 4734.

¹³⁴ According to Amadi, 370–1, the marshal and the priors of France, Germany, and Venice, came from Rhodes to Cyprus in 1310, and the international composition of this group suggests that they may have been on Rhodes for a general chapter.

¹³⁵ BN, fr. 6049, f. 300–300^r, § 3: *Establît es q(ue) capitols generals se deu tener e selebrar a rodas o lay ou le maistre e la plus gran partida del couent sacordara so es assaber de sa mar*; cf. Housley, *Later Crusades*, 215.

¹³⁶ Sarnowsky, "Oligarchy," 268–9.

even after 1310 an annual (provincial) chapter was held at the central convent. However, it was not until after 1310 that the Hospitallers' general chapters became true summits of the representatives of all (or almost all) the order's provinces and the central convent.

Little is known about the general chapters celebrated in the Templar convent during the Cypriote phase. One was held at Nicosia in 1292 and attended by 400 brothers, and it was at this general chapter that the new Templar Master James of Molay supposedly announced that he wanted to eradicate certain things in the order that concerned him.¹³⁷ That the Templars' general chapter did retain its prestige can be seen from correspondence between James of Molay and King James II of Aragón. In 1302, the king asked the master to depose Berengar of Cardona, the order's provincial master of Aragón-Catalonia, who was allegedly opposing the king.¹³⁸ The master replied that he would act on this request without delay if he were able to do so and if the request did not violate the order's statutes, according to which an office granted to someone by the chapter (i.e., on this high level of administration, the general chapter) for a certain time could not be taken away legally before the term of office had been completed. Meanwhile, he assured the king that he had admonished Berengar.¹³⁹ The following year, the king thanked the master, informed him that Berengar had become compliant and appealed to the king's mercy, and stated that Berengar could stay in office.¹⁴⁰ The incident shows that the Templar

¹³⁷ *Procès II*, 139 (trial deposition made by the Templar John Senandi): *dixit se audivisse, in civitate Nicosiensi, ab ore magni Magistri qui nunc est, quod ipse extirparet aliqua que erant in ordini sibi displicencia... et hoc fuit illo anno quo civitas Acconensis fuit perdita... in capitulo generali, in quo erant circiter quadringinti fratres*. Against Barber, 288, it has to be emphasized that there is no reason to doubt that this general chapter took place in 1292. The Templar Master Thibaut Gaudini had probably convened it to take place around Easter (6 April 1292). Thibaut died on 16 April 1292 (cf. Chapter Nine: Thibaut Gaudini), and by 20 April 1292, James of Molay had been elected master (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36). In April 1292, the year 'in which Acre was lost' (*quo civitas Acconensis fuit perdita*) was not yet over. It did not end until 18 May 1292 or, as far as the Templars were concerned, 28 May 1292. Claverie I, 139, dates this chapter incorrectly to 1291. For James of Molay's election at this chapter, cf. Demurger, *Jacques*, 97–106, in response to Fralé, *Ultima battaglia*, 22; Demurger is concerned that three days (i.e. the time span between Thibaut's death and James's election) might be insufficient to stage a magisterial election. This problem subsides if my hypothesis is correct and the chapter was already in session. In the Hospitaller convent in 1296, only nine days elapsed between the master's death and his successor's election.

¹³⁸ *AA I*, 115–16 n. 78.

¹³⁹ *AA I*, 122–3 n. 85.

¹⁴⁰ *AA I*, 127–8 n. 88.

master's authority continued to have clear boundaries when confronted by a decision taken by the general chapter, the order's most important form of collective leadership. We will see later in this chapter that the Hospitaller master's authority also had its boundaries that were carefully guarded by the convent.

After 1291, the military orders' international structures had to be adapted as well. Due to the loss of mainland Syria and the limited capacities on Cyprus, the Hospitaller statutes of 1292 established a means to limit the numbers of knight brothers and oblates (the latter were probably the younger sons of nobles and, thus, potential future knight brothers). In the west, the right to 'make' knight brothers and to receive oblates was reserved to the grand preceptor of the west, who here appears for the first time in the order's normative texts; in the east, it was reserved to the master. Only the Iberian Peninsula was exempt from this regulation because it had a 'Saracen frontier' and, thus, a need for knight brothers.¹⁴¹ In 1291, the office of grand or general preceptor of the west was held by *frater Bonifacius [de Calamandrana], generalis [praeceptor] Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in partibus cismarinis*, a brother of considerable international experience and prestige,¹⁴² and it probably took someone of his caliber to explain to Europe's nobility that the order of the Hospital, at least for the time being, no longer offered the career opportunities in the east that had once made it so attractive.

The administration of the military orders' possessions changed as well. The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1301 addressed the distribution of the so-called 'chambers' (*chambres/camere*). A chamber was ultimately a type of benefice, a set income from one of the order's properties (even an entire preceptory), assigned to an individual brother for a certain time (even for life) for his personal use. The respective brother could appoint someone to manage the chamber on his behalf, but was expected to pay the responsions due from the property to the central convent.¹⁴³ The Hospitaller statutes of 1301 stipulated that the chambers of the conventual brothers were at the discretion of the marshal. If a chamber became available, the marshal was to give it to a brother from the tongue of its previous holder. All other chambers

¹⁴¹ CH III 4194, § 2.

¹⁴² CH III 4177; cf. Burgtorf, "Mediterranean Career," 79–80.

¹⁴³ Riley-Smith, 351; cf. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, 119; Carraz, *Ordre*, 311–12.

were at the discretion of the grand preceptor. Those chambers assigned by Raymond of Ribells and Bernard of Chemin (and, thus, presumably also those chambers assigned to them) were to be exempt from these regulations.¹⁴⁴ According to the same statutes, if the master wanted to retain certain old prudhommes (*prodeshomes anciens*) in his entourage, he could assign them bailiwicks in their priories of origin, and the old prudhommes could then decide whether they wanted these managed by the local prior or a brother of their choice.¹⁴⁵ The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1302 added that such bailiwicks could be granted to the old brothers for a certain time or for life.¹⁴⁶ In 1302, the statute of the preceding year that no prior should have more than one priory was revoked.¹⁴⁷ In 1303, the western priors received permission to keep (up to) four bailiwicks (that had not been otherwise assigned) as chambers for themselves, provided they continued to pay responsions for them.¹⁴⁸ There are several ways to interpret these new regulations. The master, the marshal, the grand preceptor, and the western priors now had a means to advance the careers of certain brothers, but could also create dependencies and networks. On the other hand, these regulations added considerable flexibility to the administration of the order's possessions in that they made it possible to reward capable brothers and entrust them with more complex tasks.

With regard to the international level of the Templars' leadership structures, the trial records yield information about the order's general proctor at the papal court. At the time of the trial, the office was held by Peter of Bologna who was a priest brother and had joined the order in 1282 (*presbyter et generalis procurator totius ordinis milicie Templi*).¹⁴⁹ The Hospitallers' proctors at the papal court are known by name since the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁵⁰ It is likely that both orders established their permanent representation at the papal court at about the same time, and that we merely know less about the Templar proctors due to the loss of the order's central archive. To maintain discipline across the order's provinces, the Templars did not only utilize their own

¹⁴⁴ CH IV 4549, § 10; cf. Chapter Nine: Bernard of Chemin, Raymond of Ribells.

¹⁴⁵ CH IV 4549, § 18; cf. Chapter Four.

¹⁴⁶ CH IV 4574, § 19.

¹⁴⁷ CH IV 4574, § 20; cf. CH IV 4549, § 13.

¹⁴⁸ CH IV 4612, § 4.

¹⁴⁹ *Procès* II, 348; cf. *ibid.* I, 100, 165, 201; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 308, 333; Barber, 251, 304.

¹⁵⁰ CH II 1911; *RRH* 987.

personnel, but also the excellent organization of the Roman Church. On 21 July 1295, Pope Boniface VIII instructed all archbishops that they should, if the Templar master or his envoys formally requested them to do so, admonish rebellious Templars in their dioceses and cause them to listen to and obey their master.¹⁵¹ It is ironic that the same pope, only a few weeks later, would actively support a group of Hospitallers who were rebelling against their order's master, and it is to this incident that we now turn.

*Hospitaller Opposition against the
Order's Masters (1295–1300)*

At the end of the thirteenth century, there were considerable tensions among the Hospitallers' leadership. In 1295, some of the order's most prominent officials in the west turned against the Master Odo of Pins who was in the east, and even brought their complaints before the papal court. In 1299, the central convent in the east turned against the Master William of Villaret who was in the west. Both events provide insight into the order's leadership structures as well as the personalities of the individuals involved.

On 12 August 1295, Pope Boniface VIII sent an admonishing letter to Odo of Pins, informing him that he had been presented with complaints against the Hospitaller master.¹⁵² To justify himself, Odo seems to have planned a trip to the papal court, but then died on 17 March 1296 at Limassol before he could depart for the west.¹⁵³ What was going on? Earlier in 1295, several of the Hospitallers' capitular bailiffs, among them Boniface of Calamandrana, the grand preceptor of the west, and William of Villaret, the prior of St. Gilles and presumably also the speaker of the group, had sent a catalog of proposals for the reform of their order to the pope.¹⁵⁴ According to the rubric of the manuscript containing this catalog (BN, fr. 6049), the proposals were directed against the order's bad leadership (*por l'adreisement de nostre religion, qui lors estoit e[n] mal gouvernement*).¹⁵⁵ The catalog's introduction

¹⁵¹ *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, n. 490.

¹⁵² *CH III* 4293.

¹⁵³ Amadi, 233; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 249, 408; Bulst-Thiele, 319.

¹⁵⁴ *CH III* 4267.

¹⁵⁵ *CH III*, p. 655.

claims that the order's customs and statutes were in a state of decay. In a fitting metaphor, given the Hospitallers' medical charity, the self-appointed reformers compared their work to that of physicians who would counter dangerous diseases by prescribing measures for leading an orderly life.¹⁵⁶

Then follows the catalog's most radical proposal. As the order consisted of seven tongues, a brother from each tongue should be elected 'definitor of the order' (*definitor de la religion*) with the master being the representative of his tongue.¹⁵⁷ The structural model behind this seven-member group was probably the Cistercian *definitorium* established in the twelfth century, which was either 'a group of members of the order, elected or appointed at a general or provincial chapter, chaired by the order's superior, and endowed with the chapter's full decision-making authority (*suprema auctoritas*)' or 'the permanent council of the order's superior.'¹⁵⁸ The Hospitaller reformers of 1295 proposed that the definitors should be elected for life, that they should be knight brothers born into a legitimate marriage, and that they should hold no other office. When one of them died, the other six should elect his successor from the tongue of the deceased. When the master died, the other six should designate a lieutenant from the tongue of the deceased master, and this lieutenant should then convene the convent and the other bailiffs (*le covent et les autres baillis*)—a general chapter in all but name. At this assembly, seven brothers (one from each tongue) should be designated and join the other seven (i.e. the six surviving definitors and the master's lieutenant). This group should then proceed to elect the new master who would need at least a nine-vote majority. If the new master was not elected from among the definitors, the definitor who belonged to the same tongue as the new master was expected to resign. However, if the new master died before this definitor (i.e. the one who had resigned), the latter was to be reinstated as definitor.¹⁵⁹

The reform catalog of 1295 continues with stipulations for the definitors' conduct, probably a side-swipe at Odo of Pins whom the reformers considered an example of 'bad leadership.' A definitor should not be permitted to receive gifts. He should hand gold, silver, and jewels over to the administrator of the order's treasury. Was Odo susceptible to

¹⁵⁶ CH III 4267, p. 655.

¹⁵⁷ CH III 4267, p. 655.

¹⁵⁸ Cygler, "Definitor," 57 (translation mine).

¹⁵⁹ CH III 4267, p. 655–6.

bribes or making money for himself on the side? A definitor should be deposed if he was guilty of any of the following: heresy, perjury (after having been admonished three times), premeditated murder, sodomy, or cooperation with the Muslims (particularly *tant com le confanon seroit en estrat*, i.e. ‘while the banner stood,’ presumably referring to an ongoing military campaign against the Muslims). Was Odo at fault in any of these areas? A definitor, including the master, should be allowed to retire once he reached age 75, and if a definitor lost his mind or became senile, the other definitors should have the power to depose him.¹⁶⁰ It is unknown how old Odo was in 1295. He was certainly not a young man as he had served as the order’s draper in 1273.¹⁶¹ However, his opponents, namely Boniface of Calamandrana (on the historical record since 1267) and William of Villaret (on the historical record since 1269), were not young men either.¹⁶² This suggests that the reformers may have considered Odo as senile or as having lost his mind.

The manuscript’s rubric states that the reform proposals were presented to the pope for confirmation, and that William of Villaret in particular pressured the pope and the cardinals on the issue. Then, however, William left the papal court because of other matters, which is why the reforms were no longer promoted and remained pending. Nonetheless, so the rubric, the reform proposals were a laudable undertaking and because of them the order had started on a road toward improvement.¹⁶³ The ‘other matters’ that caused William to leave the papal court were important indeed. On 26 March 1296, only nine days after Odo’s death, the brothers on Cyprus had elected William—in absence—master.¹⁶⁴ It is doubtful that William, at that point, still had a pronounced interest in reforms that were intended to curb the authority of the master. According to the late medieval Chronicle of the Deceased Masters, the Hospitallers had endured a high degree of papal interference during Odo’s mastership due to that master’s ‘inappropriate conduct’ (*propter ejus inconveniens portamentum*).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁰ CH III 4267, p. 657.

¹⁶¹ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.

¹⁶² Cf. Chapter Nine: Boniface of Calamandrana, William of Villaret.

¹⁶³ CH III, p. 657–8.

¹⁶⁴ BN, fr. 6049, f. 245; cf. CH III, p. 681. The short interval between Odo’s death and William’s election shows that the Hospitallers could certainly stage a magisterial election within a few days. Thus, the election of the Templar Master James of Molay within three days of his predecessor’s death may not be so unusual.

¹⁶⁵ “Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797.

From what we have seen so far, one point of this statement needs to be corrected right away. The papal interference in 1295 was due to an initiative from within the order. Yet, how was Odo guilty of ‘inappropriate conduct?’

To answer this question, we need to take a closer look at the individuals involved in this crisis. Odo of Pins, a native of southern France, had held the office of draper in 1273 and had been elected master between 20 October 1293 and 30 September 1294 as the successor of John of Villiers who had survived the fall of Acre.¹⁶⁶ According to a sixteenth-century text, Odo’s election may have taken place under dubious circumstances, but the details are unknown.¹⁶⁷ Under Odo’s mastership, the order celebrated general chapters at Limassol in 1294 and 1295.¹⁶⁸ On 31 March 1295, Odo of Pins wrote to William of Villaret and ordered him hold back all Hospitallers who intended to travel to the east, with the exception of those from the grand preceptory of Spain and the grand priory of England, as well as those who would bring responsions to the convent.¹⁶⁹ There was nothing particularly scandalous about this instruction since, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, the Hospitaller general chapter of 1292 had also issued guidelines to limit the numbers of knight brothers and oblates.¹⁷⁰ According to the *Chronicle of Deceased Masters*, the pope sent admonishing letters to Odo, but Odo treated those with disrespect. Consequently, the pope rebuked him, whereupon Odo wanted to travel to the pope but then died on the way.¹⁷¹ There is something fictional about all this. The letter sent to Odo by Boniface VIII, dated 12 August 1295,¹⁷² was undoubtedly a ‘first’ admonishment. If it had been a ‘second’ admonishment or a rebuke, this particular pope would have used much stronger language. Between 12 August 1295 and Odo’s death on 17 March 1296,¹⁷³ there was simply not enough time for the exchange of blows between the pope and the master suggested by the chronicle. We now turn to Odo’s accusers. William of Villaret hailed from a noble family in Provence. He held the office of draper in 1269, which makes him one of Odo’s

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Chapter Nine: Odo of Pins.

¹⁶⁷ Luttrell, “Hospitallers’ Historical Activities, 1530–1630,” 58.

¹⁶⁸ *CH* III 4259, 4295.

¹⁶⁹ *CH* III 4276.

¹⁷⁰ *CH* III 4194, § 2.

¹⁷¹ “*Cronica magistrorum defunctorum*,” ed. Dugdale, 797.

¹⁷² *CH* III 4293.

¹⁷³ Amadi, 233.

predecessors in the office (maybe even his immediate predecessor). That same year he traveled to the west where, in 1270, he took over the Hospitaller priory of St. Gilles. In 1274, the pope appointed him his administrator of the papal county of Venaissin. William was at home in international politics. In 1293, he and Boniface of Calamandrana formally complained to King Edward I of England in a matter pertaining to Aquitaine. Boniface of Calamandrana, the other reformer of 1295, had kinship ties to the royal house of Aragón, was the Hospitallers' grand preceptor in the east between 1269 and 1271 (and maybe again in 1279), and became the order's general or grand preceptor of the west after the fall of Acre.¹⁷⁴ For reasons unknown there were tensions between Boniface of Calamandrana and Odo of Pins. In March 1295, King James II of Aragón brought these tensions to the pope's attention in a complaint against the Hospitaller master.¹⁷⁵ In the early and mid-1290s, William of Villaret and Boniface of Calamandrana were the highest-ranking Hospitallers in the west. When the order's former master, John of Villiers, died on Cyprus in 1293/4, William was in southern France and Boniface in Spain. They had no part in the election of the new master. Had they been overlooked, either as potential candidates or as senior officials entitled to participate in the election, or both, because they were relatively far away? If that was indeed the case, the reform proposals of 1295 might have been their revenge. Odo's death shelved the reform proposals because one of the reformers, William of Villaret, had become master himself: that, rather than reforming the order, may have been William's goal all along.

By electing William of Villaret, the Hospitallers had summoned one of their late master's harshest critics to duty and given him the opportunity to be an example of 'good government.' There seem to have been concerns, though. In a letter addressed to William on 3 April 1296, the convent communicated its vision to the new master. In their introduction, the conventual brothers used a New Testament metaphor and compared the master to the guardian of a vineyard (*gardien à cele vigne*) who was supposed to tend to the crop and tear out the weeds so that the crop could flourish and produce good fruit. In past times, so the brothers explained, this had not been done well, and the order's

¹⁷⁴ Cf. Chapter Nine: William of Villaret, Boniface of Calamandrana; Burgtorf, "Mediterranean Career," 79–84.

¹⁷⁵ AA III, 33–42 n. 20.

crop, particularly its good statutes and customs, had not been tended to (only a few months earlier, William had used the same argument at the papal court). The letter then complained about the masters of the past who had, among other things, reduced the claims of the capitular bailiffs and had taken for themselves what rightfully belonged to these bailiffs. Finally, the brothers told William that if we would promise to respect the order's good customs and statutes, the convent would confirm his election.¹⁷⁶ William probably made this promise, but he stayed in the west where, between 1296 and 1300, he left the priory of St. Gilles without a new prior and, instead, kept the priory for himself in personal union with the mastership.¹⁷⁷ In 1297, he celebrated general chapters at Avignon and Marseilles. There has been much speculation why William did not travel to the east during the first four years of his tenure as master. Was he ill and wanted to stay away from the Cypriote climate?¹⁷⁸ Was he trying to avoid King Henry II of Cyprus who had been crowned king of Jerusalem in 1286, because he (William) was a former advisor to Charles II of Anjou who claimed the throne of Jerusalem as well?¹⁷⁹ Was he just enjoying life in Provence because St. Gilles was not far away from his family's estates? Was he hesitant to leave the comforts of the old and prestigious priory of St. Gilles, which he had been managing for over twenty-five years, for the order's only five-year old new headquarters, probably a construction site, on an island in the eastern Mediterranean? It may have been a combination of all the above.

On 8 May 1299, William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter, to be held at Avignon on 1 August 1300, arrived on Cyprus,¹⁸⁰ and the order's grand preceptor, whose name is unknown and who served as the master's lieutenant on Cyprus, informed the convent accordingly.¹⁸¹ After several weeks of deliberations, the conventual brothers and officials issued a six-part dossier. Three of its documents are dated (3, 12, and 16 June 1299), but it is safe to assume that the three undated ones were written at about that same time.¹⁸² In the first document the

¹⁷⁶ CH III 4310. For the vineyard metaphor cf. John 15:1–8; Matthew 13:24–30, 36–43; Luke 3:8–9; 13:6–9.

¹⁷⁷ Santoni, 162.

¹⁷⁸ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 172.

¹⁷⁹ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 112.

¹⁸⁰ CH III, p. 766.

¹⁸¹ CH III 4462, p. 769.

¹⁸² Dated: CH III 4464, 4468–9. Undated: CH III 4461–3, written after 8 May

central convent asked the master to hold the general chapter scheduled for 1 August 1300 not in Avignon but on Cyprus, arguing that, since the foundation of the order, the masters had always lived with the convent (*les maistres ont toujours esté et vescu avec le covent*). The brothers appealed to the master to come to the east with the next Easter passage (1300) to celebrate the general chapter together with the convent, as his predecessors had done in accordance with the order's good and old regulations.¹⁸³ The dossier's second document contains a list of arguments to be used by the envoys who were to be sent to the master. Among other things, the envoys were to remind the master of certain transgressions. For example, during his thirty-year tenure as prior of St. Gilles, William had only come to the east twice, even though he should have come six times¹⁸⁴ (thus, the Hospitallers' high officials were expected to come to the east every five years; the Templars' high officials had to come every four years).¹⁸⁵ Then the brothers of the central convent quoted the statutes of Margat (1204/6) which had stated that the master, the convent, and the *baillis* should, if possible, all be together for the chapter; that, if it was not possible for the convent to come to the chapter, the master, if he was with the convent, should take counsel with the conventual brothers and then send delegates to the chapter; that, if the master was not with the convent, it fell to the marshal to participate in the selection of the conventual brothers who would be sent to the chapter. According to the authors of the 1299 dossier, these statutes of Margat were intended to ensure that chapters would be held at the seat of the convent, but not to establish the holding of chapters elsewhere. In their opinion, the decision to hold a general chapter lay with both the master and the convent (*ceste juridition de tenir chapitre general comun e[st] aussi dou covent come dou maistre*). This, however, was merely an opinion, uncorroborated by the Hospitallers' normative texts composed up until 1299. The document finally instructed the envoys to tell the master that, with the consent of the prudhommes (of the central convent), the general chapter could only be held on Cyprus, but not at Avignon.¹⁸⁶

1299, the day the invitation to the general chapter had arrived on Cyprus (*CH* III, p. 766), and by 16 June 1299, the day of the last dated document of the dossier (*CH* III 4469).

¹⁸³ *CH* III 4461.

¹⁸⁴ *CH* III 4462, p. 771.

¹⁸⁵ Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 332.

¹⁸⁶ *CH* III 4462, p. 773, 775; for the 1204/6 statutes cf. *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a.

The dossier's third document contains instructions on how the envoys were to conduct themselves. They should listen to everything together; they should present the master with their letters of recommendation issued by the central convent; they should first beg him, and only if that did not produce any results, present him with the abovementioned second document; and they should be prepared for any kind of reaction. As the proverbial last straw, the envoys were authorized to address the master on behalf of the conventual bailiffs and demand an *esgart* with regard to the master's invitation to the general chapter (*Maistre, les baillis dou covent... vous requièrent esgart de freres sur tel comendement, que vos leur avés fait*).¹⁸⁷ The dossier's fourth document is the written version of this *esgart*, authored by the marshal (Simon Le Rat), the preceptor of Cyprus (William of St. Stephen), the hospitaller (Raymond of Beaulieu), the treasurer (Bernard of Chemin), and the admiral (Fulk of Villaret, William's own nephew).¹⁸⁸ The dossier's fifth document is addressed to all Hospitaller priors, *baillis*, and brothers, and it presents the convent's position with regard to the master's invitation to the general chapter. The letter's *corroboratio* states that the marshal and the various officials (namely those who had authored the fourth document, now also joined by the lieutenant draper) used their own seals on the letter since the use of the conventual seal was not an option due to the absence of the master (*et por ce que, si com vos savés, de nostre bulle dou covent ne se peut buller quant le maistre non est o le covent, nous avons fait saeller ceste letre dou saell de nostre mareschal, qui est nostre chief et amé, et des autres baillis de la maison*).¹⁸⁹ This not only shows the marshal in his role as the convent's leader in the absence of the master, it also demonstrated to the recipients, namely Hospitallers on all levels of the order's hierarchy, that due to the master's four-year absence all matters requiring the use of the conventual seal (i.e. all major property transfers as well as charters recalling officials)¹⁹⁰ had probably been left as unfinished business. The dossier's sixth document is the central convent's letter of recommendation for its envoys, namely William of Chaus and the Prior John of Laodicea.¹⁹¹

It is evident that the Hospitaller convent left nothing to chance in its response to William of Villaret. An *esgart*, once it had been demanded,

¹⁸⁷ CH III 4463.

¹⁸⁸ CH III 4464.

¹⁸⁹ CH III 4468.

¹⁹⁰ CH III 3670, § 1; RRH 1424a.

¹⁹¹ CH III 4469.

was a summons that even a master could not afford to ignore.¹⁹² Consequently, William of Villaret traveled to the east in 1300 and, in November, celebrated a general chapter at Limassol. The statutes of this chapter stipulated that, as long as the master and the convent would have their seat in the kingdom of Cyprus, general chapters would be held at Limassol.¹⁹³ Yet, William had also been at Avignon. According to a charter issued by him on 19 August 1300, he had, on 1 August 1300 at Avignon, taken counsel with experienced ‘proctors’ of the order and settled a dispute between the convent of female Hospitallers at Sigena and the order’s castellany of Amposta.¹⁹⁴ While William did not refer to this gathering as a general chapter, it is clear that it was a meeting of prominent Hospitaller representatives, maybe even a general chapter in everything but name. Thus, William had not completely given in to the central convent and certainly used the meeting at Avignon to save face. It is important to note that the convent was not just being antagonistic. There were good reasons to want William of Villaret in Cyprus. Without the master, the convent could only act within a very narrow constitutional framework, and as we have seen above, certain actions simply had to be put on hold. Secondly, while William was in the west, there were important negotiations going on in the east, especially since the Mongols had indicated that they were interested in joining the kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia in campaigns against the Mamluks.¹⁹⁵ Thirdly, Boniface of Calamandrana’s death in 1298 had affected the order in several ways. The pope had confiscated the brother’s considerable fortune, and the central convent was now rightfully concerned that the same could happen to the master’s fortune, should he die in the west.¹⁹⁶ Due to his age and experience, Boniface of Calamandrana may have been the only Hospitaller official in the west with enough clout to rein in William of Villaret (even though the two usually seem to have been in agreement).

¹⁹² It is noteworthy that the Teutonic Order, at a general chapter held at Venice in 1297, had decided that a grand master (*Hochmeister*) who would thrice refuse his chapter’s invitation should be deposed. Perlbach, *Statuten*, 144, the laws of Geoffrey of Hohenlohe (1297), § 1: *Wir setzen daz, ob der hōmeister geladen wirt mit gewonlicher ladunge sines capiteles unde zu der dritten ladunge nicht enkumet, daz er danne ungehör̄sam sie worden, unde daz ime nieman sal gehorsam sîn, unde sines amtes ledic sal sîn unde daz man einen anderen nemen muge.*

¹⁹³ *CH* III 4515, § 9.

¹⁹⁴ *CH* III 4513.

¹⁹⁵ Amadi, 234; cf. Bustron, 131.

¹⁹⁶ *CH* III 4461.

It is worthwhile to consider the individuals involved in the convent's actions of 1299. The Marshal Simon Le Rat, the Hospitaller Raymond of Beaulieu, the Treasurer Bernard of Chemin, the Prior John of Laodicea, and the Admiral Fulk of Villaret (the master's nephew) all were *homines novi* (new men) about whose life before 1299 we know either little or nothing. The name of the lieutenant draper and the name of grand preceptor who had formally announced the master's invitation to the general chapter are unknown. But then there was William of St. Stephen, the preceptor of Cyprus, the only agent with a past.¹⁹⁷ Almost everything we know about the events between 1295 and 1300 is based on his writings. Around 1303, he compiled the respective documents in an important collection of normative and other texts (copied in BN, fr. 6049). It seems safe to assume that he was behind every single legal phrase of the 1299 dossier for, in 1278/83, while still in Acre, he had commissioned another collection of Hospitaller statutes (Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852) which includes the most important manuscript version of the much cited statutes of Margat (1204/6).¹⁹⁸ According to his own statements, William of St. Stephen had been in the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy some time before 1299.¹⁹⁹ There is a chance that this expert on the Hospitallers' constitutional past was present in 1295 when William of Villaret and Boniface of Calamandrana launched their attacks on the Hospitaller Master Odo of Pins at the papal court. He may even have provided them with the legal ammunition for their reform proposals. If that was the case, he might have been deeply disappointed when William of Villaret, after his own election, simply dropped these reform proposals. William of St. Stephen's transfer (if not deportation) from Lombardy to Cyprus may have been ordered by William of Villaret who may have found the former's presence in the west inconvenient, especially since after Boniface of Calamandrana's death William of St. Stephen may have been the only prominent Hospitaller left in the west who could remind William of Villaret of the earlier reform proposals. If that was the case, the master himself installed in the central convent the legal expert who must be considered the *spiritus rector* of the opposition in 1299. Thus, the "constitutional conflict"²⁰⁰ which preoccupied the Hospitallers

¹⁹⁷ Cf. Chapter Nine: William of St. Stephen.

¹⁹⁸ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 51.

¹⁹⁹ Delaville Le Roulx, "Statuts," 350, citing BN, fr. 6049.

²⁰⁰ Forey, "Constitutional Conflict," 20–7.

between 1295 and 1300 may very well have been a whole lot more personal than has been suspected so far. In the end, there was no real winner or loser. The office of the master was not damaged, and the convent had asserted its role in the order's leadership structures. In the course of the fourteenth century, some of the reform ideas of 1295 reemerged. While the Hospitallers did not form a *definitorium*, they did begin to assign their highest offices, the conventual bailiwicks, to the order's tongues, and the conventual bailiffs did become the supreme council of the master. William of Villaret may have advocated these reform ideas for a while, but they were probably the brainchildren of William of St. Stephen.

The Governmental Crisis on Cyprus (1306–10)

In the first decade of the fourteenth century, Cyprus was caught up in a fraternal feud as Amaury of Lusignan tried to take the place of his own brother, King Henry II. In this conflict, Hospitallers and Templars found themselves on opposing sides, and because both orders had their headquarters on the island, their involvement was considerable. The Hospitallers supported the king who, in 1286, had celebrated his coronation banquet at their *herberge* in Acre, while the Templars lent their counsel, aid, and money to Amaury.²⁰¹ In 1306, just as things were heating up, the masters of both orders, the Hospitaller Fulk of Villaret and the Templar James of Molay, were summoned to the papal court in France. Thus, they had to leave the political problems of Cyprus in the hands of their conventual officials.

On 26 April 1306, the barons of the kingdom of Cyprus, led by Amaury of Lusignan, presented the king with a list of grievances which stated that the land was inadequately prepared to defend itself, that there was poverty and hunger, that there were no diplomatic activities, and that the administration of justice had been left to decay. When the respective document was handed to Henry II, the Hospitaller master and the Templar master were still on Cyprus and attended as witnesses.²⁰² In light of such severe accusations against his government, Henry II found himself forced to agree to the appointment of his brother Amaury

²⁰¹ Hospitallers: *Gestes*, 253 § 502; Amadi, 217, 225. Templars: Menache, *Clement V*, 234.

²⁰² Mas Latrie, "Texte," 524–41; cf. Amadi, 247.

as regent.²⁰³ In the following year, Amaury wanted to see this appointment confirmed by a royal charter. Accompanied by several nobles and prelates, as well as the Hospitaller preceptor (Guy of Séverac), the Templar marshal (Aimo of Oiselay), and the Templar preceptor (James of Dammartin), he went to the king.²⁰⁴ According to Florio Bustron's Cypriote chronicle, the king and all those present signed the requested document, and when the Templar marshal left the royal chamber, he allegedly said, in a spell of heartlessness, 'What I have written, I have written.'²⁰⁵ To the medieval reader, this allusion to the statement made by Pontius Pilate (John 19:22) after the crucifixion of Christ would have been immediately apparent. By saying it, the marshal underscored the finality of the legal act and, at the same time, came across as someone who had passed judgment over someone who was innocent. The chroniclers have the Templar marshal subsequently involved in several incidents that make him appear in a less than flattering light. In 1307/8, for example, he pushed Amaury to have Rupen of Montfort, one of Henry II's supporters, arrested.²⁰⁶ Then, once Amaury had decided to put the king under house arrest, the marshal and the Templar Preceptor James of Dammartin, accompanied by an armed contingent, were lurking in Nicosia, waiting for the king to leave his palace which they intended to occupy. However, Isabella of Ibelin, the mother of both Henry II and Amaury, heard about this conspiracy and warned the king who then stayed in his palace.²⁰⁷ Yet, there were also attempts to reconcile the two brothers, and apart from the bishops of Limassol and Famagusta, and the seneschal of the realm, the Templar marshal and the Hospitaller preceptor were involved in these.²⁰⁸ The same two representatives of the military orders were present in January 1308, when Henry II was forced to confirm Amaury's appointment as regent for life.²⁰⁹ Shortly thereafter, in May/June 1308, the Templars had to abandon their active role in the governmental crisis of Cyprus. The trial against the order had reached the island, and they were forced to

²⁰³ Schottmüller I.1, 459.

²⁰⁴ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417; Bustron, 153.

²⁰⁵ Bustron, 153–4: *Partitissi dalla camera del re, el mariscalco di Templieri, a certo modo di abundantia di cuore, et fuor di proposito, disse: Quod scripsi, scripsi*; cf. Riley-Smith, 211.

²⁰⁶ Bustron, 154; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom*, 122.

²⁰⁷ Amadi, 260–1; Bustron, 149.

²⁰⁸ Amadi, 262; Bustron, 149.

²⁰⁹ Amadi, 266; Bustron, 149.

submit to the regent and, later, to arrest.²¹⁰ In order to secure the pope's goodwill, Amaury had no choice but to sacrifice the Templars who had been his allies in the past years.

Amaury now tried to bring the Hospitallers over to his side, since it became known that a new crusade was being planned, which would be led by the Hospitaller master and use Cyprus as its base of operations.²¹¹ As the success of the crusade would depend on stable political conditions on Cyprus, the Hospitallers probably took the pragmatic approach and sought ways to cooperate with Amaury who now wanted his brother to abdicate and go into exile. On 21 August 1309, the Hospitaller Preceptor Guy of Séverac went to Henry II on Amaury's behalf and tried to sway him (to no avail).²¹² The next negotiator on Amaury's behalf was the Hospitaller Marshal Simon Le Rat, but Amaury soon realized that Simon was siding with the king and therefore prohibited all further contact between the marshal and the king.²¹³ In February 1310, Henry II was taken into exile to Armenia which was, at that time, ruled by King Oshin, Amaury's brother-in-law (Amaury's wife Isabella was Oshin's sister).²¹⁴ Shortly thereafter, the Hospitallers moved their headquarters from Limassol to Rhodes which they had been conquering since 1306. Meanwhile on Cyprus, the trial of the Templars entered a new phase in May 1310 with the interrogations of the brothers who had been arrested two years earlier.

On 5 June 1310, when Raymond of Pins, the papal legate, and John of Laodicea, the Hospitaller prior who had probably just returned from a diplomatic mission to the west, came to Nicosia to request an audience with Amaury, it was discovered that the regent had been murdered by one of his favorites.²¹⁵ On the very same day, the Hospitaller Preceptor Guy of Séverac, who had just returned from a visit to Armenia where Henry II was in exile, anchored at Famagusta but did not disembark for fear of Amaury, whose death would not have been known to Guy

²¹⁰ Submission (27 May 1308): Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5. Arrest (1 June 1308): Amadi, 290–1; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom*, 121; Coureas, *Latin Church*, 140.

²¹¹ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 123; Riley-Smith, 224.

²¹² Amadi, 302; Bustron, 176.

²¹³ Bustron, 182; cf. Amadi, 311–2; cf. also Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," 166.

²¹⁴ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125.

²¹⁵ Amadi, 331; Bustron, 197; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125; cf. also Chapter Nine: John of Laodicea.

yet.²¹⁶ Once Guy heard of Amaury's assassination, he immediately returned to Armenia where he intended to free the king by presenting a forged letter, written under the name of the deceased. However, one of Amaury's former supporters, who was traveling in Guy's entourage, managed to reach Oshin first and announced that the Hospitallers were partially to blame for the death of Amaury, Isabella, and their children. When Guy noticed the premature disappearance of this individual, he stayed aboard his ship in the port of Malo, a city on the southern coast of Cilicia, and sent word to the king of Armenia that Amaury was dead and that he had come to request Henry II's release. Oshin for his part demanded that he be presented with a letter from his sister Isabella as evidence that she and her children were still alive, whereupon the Hospitaller preceptor returned to Famagusta.²¹⁷ Isabella probably wrote the letter, because her brother eventually agreed to Henry II's departure for Cyprus.

Meanwhile, negotiations about Henry II's restoration were underway on Cyprus between the Hospitallers, who supported the king, and the party of the deceased Amaury of Lusignan. On 26 June 1310, Guy of Séverac, accompanied by forty knight brothers, entered Famagusta, where he was joined by John of Laodicea, the Hospitallers' conventual prior, and the Knight Thomas of Picquigny; together they traveled to Nicosia.²¹⁸ On 22 July, Albert of Schwarzburg, the Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus, led forty additional knight brothers and fifty Cypriote knights from Famagusta to Nicosia.²¹⁹ All this suggests that troops faithful to the king were concentrated in the capital to secure the city for his return and to intimidate the supporters of the deceased regent. In the same month and while still in Armenia, Henry II appointed Aygue of Bethsan, a nobleman, and the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret his lieutenants in the kingdom of Cyprus. Fulk, who was busy on Rhodes, immediately turned this charge over to Albert of Schwarzburg.²²⁰ The Hospitallers continued to move troops from Rhodes to Cyprus. On 26 July, the Marshal Simon Le Rat, accompanied by the Hospitaller priors of France, Germany, and Venice, as well as eighty knight brothers and

²¹⁶ Amadi, 336.

²¹⁷ Bustron, 201–3.

²¹⁸ Amadi, 354, 358; Bustron, 214, 217.

²¹⁹ Amadi, 367; Bustron, 224–5.

²²⁰ Amadi, 368–9; Bustron, 224–5.

two hundred foot soldiers landed on the island.²²¹ Before Henry II could leave Armenia, one more delicate mission had to be accomplished. Isabella, Amaury's widow and Oshin's sister, had to be deported back to Armenia. The task was entrusted to the Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Guy of Séverac who had proven himself repeatedly during the diplomatic circus of 1310. Isabella accepted her fate but was sure to tell Guy that she appreciated him 'less than a pistachio.'²²²

On 27 August, Henry II returned to Cyprus. In the early days of his restoration, he was assisted by Albert of Schwarzburg, the Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus and lieutenant of the master on the island, who intervened with the king on behalf of Philip of Ibelin, the titular count of Jaffa, to obtain a more lenient form of detention for the latter.²²³ Philip had been one of Amaury's supporters but had voluntarily surrendered to the royal troops.²²⁴ One year after Amaury's assassination, Henry II learned that a dangerous time bomb was ticking in his kingdom. A conspiracy to murder the king was discovered in June 1311, and the Templar Marshal Aimo of Oiselay, who had been under arrest since 1308, was accused of being one of the conspirators.²²⁵ It is remarkable that the Templar marshal supposedly had such clout even three years after his arrest. The king ordered that the leaders of the conspiracy be drowned.²²⁶ The Templar marshal was incarcerated in the coastal fortress of Kyrenia in northern Cyprus where he died in 1316.²²⁷

The events that transpired on Cyprus between 1306 and 1310 show that the conventual officials of Hospitallers and Templars played key roles in the interior and foreign affairs of the kingdom. After the masters of both orders had left for the west, the Hospitallers found themselves under the leadership of their (Grand) Preceptor Guy of Séverac, while the Templars obviously stood under the command of their Marshal Aimo of Oiselay (the order's grand preceptor, Raimbaud of Caromb, had accompanied the master to the west, and the preceptor of Cyprus, James of Dammartin, ranked below the marshal in the conventual hierarchy). As Cyprus was considered the base of operations for future crusades, it was important to have political stability on the island. Both

²²¹ Amadi, 370–1; Bustron, 226.

²²² Amadi, 376, 378; Bustron, 231–2.

²²³ Amadi, 387.

²²⁴ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 129.

²²⁵ Amadi, 392; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom*, 130.

²²⁶ Bustron, 244.

²²⁷ Amadi, 398; Bustron, 244.

Hospitallers and Templars tried their best to gain influence there. In light of the Hospitallers' support for Henry II one may wonder whether, after Amaury had obtained the regency, the order's conquest of Rhodes was primarily an attempt to escape Amaury's control and establish an independent territorial base. From the moment when Henry II's restoration was in sight, the Hospitallers returned to Cyprus in force. That the king's restoration was accomplished without major complications may very well have been due to the fact that Amaury himself had in effect eliminated the single most significant force that might have opposed Henry's restoration: the Templars.

The Templar Trial (1307–14)

On 6 June 1306, Pope Clement V invited the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the Templar Master James of Molay to join him at the papal court in France to discuss plans for a new crusade.²²⁸ When the pope fell ill, the trip was postponed for a few months,²²⁹ but in the fall of 1306 both masters traveled to the west²³⁰ and arrived at the papal court in Poitiers in mid-May of 1307.²³¹ James of Molay was accompanied by the order's grand preceptor of the east, Raimbaud of Caromb, but the order's other conventual officials remained on Cyprus, namely the Marshal Aimé of Oiselay, the Preceptor James of Dammartin, the Draper John of Villa, the Turcopolier Bertrand of Gourdon, and the (presumed) Treasurer Albert of Vienne. It is the role that these officials played during the trial against the order that is of interest here.

According to Malcolm Barber, the Templar leadership at the time of the trial was "elderly,"²³² after all, James of Molay (the master), Hugh of Peraud (the visitor and grand preceptor of France), and Geoffrey of Charny (the grand preceptor of Normandy) had, in 1310, in the middle of the trial, been members of the order for 45, 43, and 40 (or 41) years respectively. In 1310, Geoffrey of Charny was 59, and Raimbaud of Caromb was 63.²³³ Assuming that 18 was a realistic age for joining

²²⁸ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 1033; Baluze, *Vitae*, II, 46.

²²⁹ Thier, *Kreuzzugsbemühungen*, 37, 50–1.

²³⁰ Fulk of Villaret left Cyprus after 3 November 1306: *CH IV* 4735. James of Molay arrived in Marseilles in November or December 1306: Demurger, *Jacques*, 213.

²³¹ Finke II, 33–6 n. 23; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 318.

²³² Barber, "Trial," 332.

²³³ For the evidence concerning the conventual officials mentioned in this part of the

the order;²³⁴ James of Molay and Raimbaud of Caromb would have been 63 in 1310 (both had been received into the order in 1265), the Marshal Aimo of Oiselay (received in 1276) would have been 52, the Turcopolier Bertrand of Gourdon (received in 1285) would have been 43, the Preceptor (of Cyprus) James of Dammartin and the Draper John of Villa (both received in 1295) would have been 33, and the Treasurer Albert of Vienne (received in 1303) would have been 25. Even if we add ten years to the age of each one of these individuals, we would still only be dealing with men aged 35 to 73. Thus, while the marshal was certainly not a young man, most of the order's conventual officials were not elderly at all. The Templar convent's knight brothers and sergeant brothers were probably rather young. The greater part of the convent had been lost in 1302 during the Mamluk reconquest of Ruad, and this had necessitated a replenishing of the ranks which was probably still going on when the arrest orders reached Cyprus in 1308.²³⁵ What is more: whether in a military order or in other walks of life, age does not necessarily equal weakness. The military orders held their prudhommes and ancient brothers in high regard and relied on them in various decision-making processes.

With regard to their geographical origin, the conventual officials all came from territories that we would consider 'French' today but that were separate political entities in the later thirteenth and early fourteenth century. James of Molay, Aimo of Oiselay, and James of Dammartin hailed from Burgundy; Raimbaud of Caromb, Bertrand of Gourdon, and Albert of Vienne probably came from Provence; and only John of Villa seems to have originated from the Ile-de-France. Six of these seven had known each other for some time. James of Molay and Raimbaud of Caromb were both on Cyprus in 1292. Aimo of Oiselay met James of Molay no later than 1295 when they both attended John of Villa's reception in Paris. In the same year, James of Molay received James of Dammartin into the order in Burgundy. Albert of Vienne was received by Aimo of Oiselay in 1303. Only Bertrand of Gourdon cannot be connected to the other six at an earlier stage. Aimo of Oiselay and

chapter, cf. Chapter Nine: Aimo of Oiselay, Albert (of Vienne), Bertrand of Gourdon, Geoffrey of Charny, James of Dammartin, John of Villa, Raimbaud (II) of Caromb; cf. also Bulst-Thiele, 299–301.

²³⁴ Geoffrey of Charny and Raimbaud of Caromb were both 18 years old when they were received into the order, cf. Chapter Nine (under their names).

²³⁵ Forey, "Towards a Profile," 196–204.

James of Dammartin both came to the east in 1303, which means that they were summoned there after the loss of Ruad. Bertrand of Gourdon was on Cyprus by 1304. John of Villa and Albert of Vienne cannot be traced in the east until 1308, but we do know that the offices of the draper and treasurer had changed hands some time prior to 1308. The former draper, Geoffrey of Charny, had become (grand) preceptor of Normandy (some time after 1304), and the former treasurer, Peter of Castellón, had returned to Spain (by 1306). Thus, in 1308, the conventual officials of the Temple were men in their 'best' years and, considering that most of them had known each other for some time, probably a team accustomed to working together.

On 14 September 1307, King Philip IV of France issued a secret order to all *baillis* and seneschals throughout his realm that they were to open and execute immediately on 13 October. Consequently, on that latter day, all Templars in the kingdom (who could be found) were arrested.²³⁶ The charges brought against them included heresy, the denial of Christ, homosexual practices, idol veneration, and severe errors in the areas of confession and penance. On 24 October, the order's master confessed to these charges, and he repeated his confession the following day in the presence of representatives from the university of Paris.²³⁷ Raimbaud of Caromb, who was traveling in the master's entourage, was interrogated in Paris on 9 November, and he was obviously tortured for, that same day, he 'corrected his statement' (*corrigendo dictum suum*) in the presence of the inquisitor's commissioner and added incriminating statements against the order.²³⁸ Almost two weeks later, the pope tried to take control of these proceedings that, until then, had solely been sponsored by the French crown. On 22 November, Clement V's bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae solio* ordered all Christian princes to arrest the Templars and to confiscate their possessions.²³⁹ The 'official' trial had begun. The fact that the pope had intervened may have given some hope to James of Molay who, on 24 December, in the presence of cardinals sent by the pope, recanted his earlier confession.²⁴⁰

Since Mediterranean travel usually came to a standstill during the winter months, it seems that *Pastoralis praeeminentiae solio* did not arrive

²³⁶ Lizerand, *Dossier*, 16–29 n. 2.

²³⁷ Barber, *Trial*, 78–80.

²³⁸ *Procès* II, 374; cf. Barber, *Trial*, 69, 83.

²³⁹ Schottmüller I.1, 654–5.

²⁴⁰ Barber, *Trial*, 292.

on Cyprus until 6 May 1308, at a time when the fraternal feud between Amaury of Lusignan and King Henry II was in full swing.²⁴¹ Only four months earlier, Henry II had been forced to confirm Amaury's appointment as regent for life.²⁴² Amaury must have felt at least somewhat ambivalent about the papal order. He had been enjoying the Templars' support against his brother, but he needed papal approval to solidify his position. Most importantly, though, *Pastoralis praeeminentiae solio* allowed him to seize the order's possessions on the island which were of economic, financial, and military interest to him as they included lands, funds, and arms. On 12 May, Amaury sent Balian of Ibelin, the titular prince of Galilee, to Limassol, where the Templar marshal and the order's convent were staying at this time, to present them with orders for their arrest and the confiscation of their possessions.²⁴³ The marshal supposedly reacted with a bold counteroffer. The Templars, he said, would never surrender their arms and their horses or, for that matter, their treasury, however, they might agree to retreat to one of their estates and stay there in the custody of secular knights until the pope would pronounce judgment.²⁴⁴ The marshal's proposal was clever. As the Cypriote trial would reveal, many secular knights had strong sympathies for the order. To Amaury, the marshal's response was, of course, not acceptable. On 19 May, Baldwin, a canon of the cathedral of Nicosia, was sent to threaten the Templars with the death penalty, should they continue to refuse to comply with the arrest orders. The Templars replied that they wanted to wait until the fall passage for news from the pope who, in the mean time, would have heard arguments from both sides. Thereupon, Amaury sent Andrew Tartarol, a canon from Famagusta, to the Templars who, by then, had retreated to the castle of Nisso (near Nicosia) which belonged to Raymond Visconte, a Cypriote nobleman. It was there that an agreement was reached on 24 May.²⁴⁵ Thus, it took Amaury three envoys and twelve days to get the Templars' central convent to yield. The order's leadership on Cyprus was strong and not easily swayed.

²⁴¹ Barber, *Trial*, 253; Iliéva, "Suppression," 214. For the Cypriote trial cf. also Gilmour-Bryson, "Templar Trials," 41–65.

²⁴² Amadi, 266; Bustron, 149.

²⁴³ Bustron, 165.

²⁴⁴ Amadi, 283–4; Bustron, 166; cf. Coureas, *Latin Church*, 139.

²⁴⁵ Bustron, 166–7; cf. Coureas, *Latin Church*, 139; Barber, *Trial*, 254.

On 27 May, 118 Templars, including the conventual officials, namely the marshal, the preceptor, the draper, the turcopolier, and the treasurer, as well as the preceptor of Apulia (Odo of Villaret/Valdric), presented themselves at Nicosia under guarantees for their safety, made a public confession of faith, and swore that they believed correctly and firmly in all the articles of faith and were faithful Christians (*credevano rettamente et fermamente tutti quelli articoli della fede, et...erano fideli christiani*).²⁴⁶ The presence of the order's preceptor of Apulia opens the slight possibility that the Templars might have heard of the things that had transpired in France via southern Italy, namely before the official arrival of *Pastoralis praeeminentiae solio* on Cyprus, which might explain their systematic resistance as well as the fact that the convent was in Limassol, a port city that offered a maritime escape route, when the arrest orders arrived. Of the abovementioned 118 Templars, 76 were interrogated in 1310, which suggests that 42 brothers, over a third, somehow managed to escape between 1308 and 1310. In a letter written shortly after 27 May, Amaury informed the pope that the Templars had submitted themselves and their possessions to him and, thus, to the pope and the Apostolic See (*submittentes se & sua mihi pro vobis & Apostolica sede*).²⁴⁷ There had been no arrests on 27 May, merely an acknowledgment of the regent's and the pope's jurisdiction. Amaury was now on the move: on 27 May, he publicized the papal order against the Templars everywhere;²⁴⁸ on 28 May, allegedly at an assembly held at night, he had the pope's letters, the reports from the trial in France, and the articles of accusations against the Templars read to the clergy, the knights, and the people;²⁴⁹ and on 29 May, he ordered that an inventory be prepared of all the things that were in the house of the Temple at Nicosia, namely the silver vases, the gold, and the treasury (*boliar et metter in scrittura tutte le cose che erano in la casa del Tempio a Nicosia, et vasi d'argento et oro et thesoro*). However, Amaury had to realize that not much was left. According to the chronicle of Amadi, the Templars had secretly transferred most of their belongings to Limassol.²⁵⁰ If they were thinking about moving their mobile possessions (or themselves) away from Cyprus, Limassol was a logical launching pad. At the end of May, only the Preceptor James

²⁴⁶ Bustron, 167.

²⁴⁷ Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5.

²⁴⁸ Bustron, 167–8.

²⁴⁹ Barber, *Trial*, 254.

²⁵⁰ Amadi, 287.

of Dammartin was left at Nicosia, while the marshal (in possession of the treasury) and the greater part of the convent had retreated to Limassol.²⁵¹ It was there that on 1 June a brief military “showdown”²⁵² took place that ended with the surrender and arrest of the Templars. Annetta Iliéva has pointed out that Leontios Makhairas, a fifteenth-century Cypriote chronicler, found this day particularly meaningful as it fell on the Saturday before Pentecost. At Easter 1192, the Templars had put down a Cypriote uprising against the order’s rule on the island. As Pentecost celebrated the redeeming arrival of the Holy Spirit, the Templars’ downfall in 1308 on the day before Pentecost was a divine punishment for the events of 1192. According to Leontios Makhairas, there was to be no redemption for the Templars.²⁵³

At the Templars’ Limassol compound, Amaury’s officials found mainly arms and food supplies, but only 120,000 white besants, and Barber has interpreted this as evidence that the Templars had probably managed to hide greater amounts elsewhere.²⁵⁴ The conventual officials were held separately, namely the Marshal Aimo of Oiselay and half of the brothers at casale Khirokitia, and the Preceptor James of Dammartin and the other half at casale Yermasoyia.²⁵⁵ The intention behind this was probably to break the convent’s unity. However, the resistance continued. Soon a plan was discovered that the Templars were planning to flee the island and had paid the Genoese for their aid in this endeavor. When Amaury was informed of this, he had the marshal, the preceptor, the draper, the turcopolier, the treasurer, and the preceptor of Apulia (who may have played a major part in this plan to flee from Cyprus) brought to casale Lefkara, which was located further inland, and placed under strict guard.²⁵⁶ It would take a while before this news reached the west. On 8 August 1308, Pope Clement V was under the impression that the Templar’s lieutenant master on Cyprus (i.e. the marshal) and the members of his convent were still at large, and summoned them to the west to respond to their accusers.²⁵⁷

Meanwhile in France, the trial continued and, at least temporarily, seems to have focused on the master and the order’s officials who were

²⁵¹ Amadi, 287; Bustron, 168.

²⁵² Edbury, *Kingdom*, 121; cf. Coureas, *Latin Church*, 140.

²⁵³ Leontinos Makhairas, *Recital*, I, § 12, 16–17; cf. Iliéva, “Suppression,” 212–19.

²⁵⁴ Barber, *Trial*, 254.

²⁵⁵ Amadi, 290; cf. Hill, *History*, II, 236.

²⁵⁶ Amadi, 291; cf. Barber, *Trial*, 254.

²⁵⁷ Claverie III, 206 n. 225.

in custody with him, namely Raimbaud of Caromb (preceptor of the east), Hugh of Peraud (preceptor of France), Geoffrey of Charny (preceptor of Normandy), and Geoffrey of Gonneville (preceptor of Poitou and Aquitaine). According to the bull *Faciens misericordiam*, issued by Clement V in the summer of 1308, the pope had originally intended to interrogate the master and the four abovementioned preceptors himself at Poitiers. However, when some of them had become ill and unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals (Berengar Frédel, cardinal priest of St. Nereus and Achilleus, Stephen of Suisy, cardinal priest of St. Cyriacus in Termis, and Landolpho Brancaccio, cardinal deacon of St. Angelus) to see them at Chinon. In the cardinals' presence these Templar officials had, among other things, confessed to and repented the denial of Christ and spitting on the cross that had taken place when they had been received into the order, whereupon the cardinals had granted them absolution.²⁵⁸ Two royal counselors (probably William of Nogaret and William of Plaisians) and the king's goaler (John of Janville) were apparently also present at Chinon (where interrogations took place between 17 and 20 August 1308),²⁵⁹ and this may very well have intimidated the Templars. The statements made at Chinon formed the basis for the remainder of the trial. The master and the four preceptors remained in the king's custody, but the pope, beginning with *Faciens misericordiam* (1308),²⁶⁰ repeatedly stated that he was reserving their trial for himself. This reservation also appeared in *Regnans in coelis* (1308, the invitation to the council at Vienne),²⁶¹ *Licet per ea* (1309, the trial instructions addressed to the French bishops),²⁶² and *Vox in excelso* (1312, the document announcing the dissolution of the order).²⁶³ In *Considerantes dudum* (1312, the constitution issued at the end of the council of Vienne), Clement V reiterated that he had reserved

²⁵⁸ *Procès* I, 2–7, here 4–6; Schottmüller II.3, 111–12. *Faciens misericordiam* is dated 12 August 1308, but the cardinals' interrogation of the high officials at Chinon did not begin until 17 August 1308. For this dating issue cf. Chapter Nine: Geoffrey of Charny, 1308 VIII 12. Frale, "Chinon Chart," 125, questions the assertion made in *Faciens misericordiam* that the officials were too ill to travel and suggests that the king may have detained them at Chinon to prevent a face-to-face encounter between the pope and the officials.

²⁵⁹ Frale, *Papato*, 197–215; cf. Finke II, 324–9 n. 154; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 327–8; Barber, *Trial*, 130, 333.

²⁶⁰ *Procès* I, 2–7.

²⁶¹ *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 7479.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, n. 5066–7, 5073.

²⁶³ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo, 312–19.

the trial of the abovementioned officials for himself but would leave the fate of the other Templars to the judgment of provincial councils.²⁶⁴ At the end of 1312, however, *Dudum in generali* transferred the trial of the order's high officials to a papal commission consisting of Arnold, cardinal bishop of Albano, Nicholas, cardinal priest of St. Eusebius, and Arnold, cardinal priest of St. Prisca; the document mentions all five, namely the master and the four preceptors, but it adds the adverb *quondam* to the title of the preceptor of the east,²⁶⁵ which suggests that Raimbaud of Caromb had meanwhile succumbed to the strains of the trial or the consequences of torture.²⁶⁶ On 18 March 1314, the papal commission in Paris condemned the Templar Master James of Molay and the three surviving preceptors (Hugh of Peraud, Geoffrey of Charny, and Geoffrey of Gonnevillle) to life in prison. James of Molay and Geoffrey of Charny recanted their confessions, which prompted Philip IV to have them burned as heretics on an island in the Seine the very same evening.²⁶⁷

The documents pertaining to the French trial seem to suggest that the Templars' eastern headquarters were not on the mind of the Templars living in the west, and considering that the master and the preceptor of the east were, in fact, in France at the time of the trial, this comes as no surprise. There is, however, one telling exception. On 1 April 1310, when the Templars imprisoned in Paris were told to nominate proctors for their defense, Reynald of Provins, the order's preceptor of Orléans, told the papal envoys 'that the Templars had a superior [i.e. the master] and a convent, that neither was present, that not even the greater part of the convent was present, and that they could not nominate proctors without the consent of these [meaning master and convent]' (*habemus superiorem et conventum qui non sunt hic presentes nec major pars ipsius conventus, sine quorum consensu non possumus facere vel ordinare*

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 323–5: *Nunc igitur volentes circa singulares easdem personas aut fratres plenius sicut expedit providere, fratres ipsos omnes praeter magistrum quondam dicti ordinis, visitatorem Franciae et Terrae Sanctae, Normanniae et Aquitaniae ac Pictaviae et provinciae Provinciae magnos praeceptores, quos dudum dispositioni nostrae specialiter reservavimus, et fratrem Oliverium de Penna dicti quodam ordinis militem, quem ex nunc dispositioni sedis apostolicae reservemus, iudicio et dispositioni conciliorum provincialium, sicut et hactenus fecimus, duximus relinquendos.*

²⁶⁵ Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 342; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10337; cf. Barber, *Trial*, 281; Pétel, "Templiers" (1909), 320.

²⁶⁶ Lea, *History*, III, 326; Schottmüller I.1, 563; Bulst-Thiele, 333–4; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 121, who, however, also considers that Raimbaud may have managed to escape.

²⁶⁷ Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique*, I, 402–3; cf. Barber, 314; *id.*, *Trial*, 282.

procuratores).²⁶⁸ This illustrates that the convent's role in the appointment of officials was known and respected even in the middle of the trial against the order.

At about the same time, the Cypriote trial finally commenced. The Templars on the island had been imprisoned since June 1308. In the spring of 1310, representatives of the papal court arrived on Cyprus, namely the Abbot Bartholomew of Alet and the Archpriest Thomas of St. John at Rieti.²⁶⁹ In early May, interrogations began at Nicosia in which the bishops of Limassol and Famagusta participated as inquisitors. The 76 Templars whose depositions have come down to us were not tortured and did not incriminate themselves.²⁷⁰ However, Amaury of Lusignan's assassination on 5 June 1310 interrupted the proceedings.²⁷¹ The political fate of the kingdom had to take precedence. The five repeatedly mentioned conventual officials and the preceptor of Apulia were transferred to Famagusta where they were placed under guard at their order's own house.²⁷² On 27 August 1310, Henry II left his Armenian exile and returned to Cyprus.²⁷³ In the following year, the trial continued with the depositions of witnesses who were not members of the order.²⁷⁴ Apart from a few hints at rumors, these testimonies were very favorable. Balian of Mirabell, a knight from Famagusta, stated that 'he had seen James of Dammartin, Aimo of Oiselay, and other Templar brothers devoutly receiving Holy Communion at the order's church at Nicosia just like other Christians' (*vidit fratrem Jacobum de Don Marin et fratrem Ayme marescalcum et alios fratres quam plures de dicto ordine in ecclesia Templi Nicosie communicare devote, ut faciunt alii christiani*).²⁷⁵ Consequently, the commission reported to the pope that nothing had been found against the Templars on Cyprus. To Clement V, this was not acceptable. On 25 August 1311, he gave orders to his legate, Bishop Peter of Rhodes, that in the territories of the east, where the order's guilt with regard to the accusations had thus far not been established, the appropriate confessions should now be obtained through the use

²⁶⁸ *Procès* I, 127; date: *ibid.* I, 119.

²⁶⁹ Coureas, *Latin Church*, 141.

²⁷⁰ Schottmüller II.3, 141–400; Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial (Cyprus)*, 448–50.

²⁷¹ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125.

²⁷² Amadi, 360; Bustron, 219.

²⁷³ Edbury, *Kingdom*, 129.

²⁷⁴ Date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125; *id.*, "Military Orders," 103.

²⁷⁵ Schottmüller II.3, 396.

of torture.²⁷⁶ In light of the numerous confessions that the pope had been confronted with in France, the results of the Cypriote trial must have made him doubtful with regard to that trial's validity. No records of a second Templar trial on Cyprus have survived, and there is no proof that such a trial was ever conducted. It is conceivable that the conspiracy against Henry II, which was discovered in June 1311 and in which the Templar Marshal Aimó of Oiselay was said to have been involved, preempted such a second trial.²⁷⁷ Aimó was incarcerated at Kyrenia where he died in 1316.²⁷⁸ On 7 November 1313, the decisions of the council of Vienne as far as they pertained to the Templars, namely the dissolution of the order and the transfer of its possessions to the Hospitallers, were solemnly proclaimed on Cyprus.²⁷⁹ Those Cypriote Templars who were still alive at this point and had not been implicated in the conspiracy against Henry II probably became recipients of pensions paid by the Hospitallers.²⁸⁰ Unlike the evidence available for the Templar province of Aragón-Catalonia,²⁸¹ no lists of pension recipients have survived for Cyprus. Thus, the fate of James of Dammartin, John of Villa, Bertrand of Gourdon, and Albert of Vienne remains a mystery.

To take up the title of an article by Annetta Iliéva, the end of the Templars came by "suppression,"²⁸² but the order's conventual officials, both as a collective and as individuals, fought against this as long as they could. Undoubtedly, the conditions for resistance were much more favorable on Cyprus than in France: the Cypriote Templars may have been warned; they definitely had enough time to move at least some of their possessions and to initiate plans for an escape; and their leadership structures continued to function even after the central convent had been split and its officials incarcerated in different locations. Yet, the Templars were rendered powerless when both secular and ecclesiastical powers joined forces against them. In France, James of Molay and the Templars had witnessed the full weight of these joined forces much more dramatically: even before 1314, some of their brothers

²⁷⁶ Schottmüller I.1, 494.

²⁷⁷ Amadi, 392; cf. Edbury, *Kingdom*, 130.

²⁷⁸ Amadi, 398; Bustron, 244.

²⁷⁹ Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 219.

²⁸⁰ Barber, *Trial*, 279.

²⁸¹ Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383–94; Alart, "Suppression," *passim*.

²⁸² Iliéva, "Suppression," 212–19.

there had been burned at the stake. Ultimately, both James of Molay in the west and Aimé of Oiselay in the east put up a fight until the very end—James by recanting his confession and suffering a horrible execution, and Aimé by participating in a conspiracy against the king and spending the rest of his life incarcerated at Kyrenia. To these two *milites Christi* surrendering to what they considered wrong and evil was not an option. The suggestion that the Templars, who had lost most of their convent in 1302 fighting to regain a foothold in mainland Syria, but were clearly in the process of rebuilding it, had become obsolete, that their leadership was old and weak, and that they were not taking their vows seriously anymore is hard to sustain.²⁸³ The Hospitallers, the Teutonic Knights, or any other military order for that matter, if they had been in the Templars' shoes between 1307 and 1314, would probably have suffered the same fate, and neither Rhodes nor the Marienburg would have been able to ensure their survival.

²⁸³ Cf. Barber, *Trial*, 285. For an insightful analysis of the motivation behind modern attempts to establish the Templars' guilt (or innocence) cf. Dette, "Rezeptionsgeschichte," 211–28.

PART TWO

ORGANIZATION

CHAPTER FOUR

HIERARCHIES

Individual and Collective Titles

Most of the titles used by the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple were explicit, namely either derived from a word associated with the office itself (e.g. treasurer, hospitaller, draper, and turcopolier) or historically linked to a certain function (e.g. seneschal, marshal, prior, and admiral). The exception was the neutral and flexible title of ‘preceptor’ which both orders used on all hierarchical levels by combining it with a range of adjectives and toponyms.

In the military orders’ organizational terminology, the title of ‘bailiff’ (*bailli/baiulus* or *baylivus*) and the term ‘bailiwick’ (*baillie/baylia*) played key roles. With the exception of the master and the prior, the conventual officials were considered bailiffs. The Old French equivalents of ‘bailiff’ and ‘bailiwick’ are based on the word *bail*, denoting the act of lending. In the middle ages, *bail* stood for ‘a number of different legal relationships, in which a person who had conferred (*bailler*) an item, a property, or a claim to exercise a certain right upon another person, held claims with regard to what had been conferred or with regard to the recipient on the basis of this conferral (*bail*).’¹ Consequently, a bailiff in the military orders was someone upon whom a person or a group, for example the master or the chapter (or both), had conferred an office (a bailiwick) for a certain time. This conferral came with rights and obligations, including some form of accountability. The Old French version of the Templar rule employs the term *bailli* for someone to whom a certain function had been assigned.² The Latin word *baiulus* (bearer/carrier) became one of the titles used for the superior of a local house. In the west, the Templars used it as early as 1135, the Hospitallers as early as 1152.³ The Hospitaller statutes of 1181/2 refer to the superiors of the order’s houses at Tiberias and Antioch as

¹ Guillot, “Bail,” 1353 (translation mine).

² *RT* 44; cf. *UT* 40.

³ Templars: *CT* 105. Hospitallers: *CH* I 211.

'bailiffs.'⁴ The so-called 'capitular bailiffs,' namely officials appointed by the (general) chapter, are mentioned in the Templars' *retrais* (c.1165) as *comandeurs par chapitre general*, and the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 use the phrase *bailli establi par general chapistre*.⁵ Among the capitular bailiffs who could be stationed in the east or the west, the 'conventual bailiffs' formed the exclusive group of high officials serving in the central convent. The term surfaced in the twelfth century in the Templars' *retrais*, in which the marshal is labeled a *bailli dou couvent*, and, with regard to the Hospitallers, in their thirteenth-century *usances*.⁶ The term 'bailiwick' is used in the Templars' *retrais* to denote, in general terms, the office of a preceptor, but also, more specifically, to refer to the term of office served by the preceptor of Jerusalem.⁷ It furthermore appears in the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 for the office of a bailiff, but also, more specifically, for the office of the treasurer as limited by space and time (he only operated in the kingdom of Jerusalem and only as long as he held the office).⁸ Discussing the term *bailli* in the crusader states, Jonathan Riley-Smith has distinguished between its general use for anyone with executive power and its specific use for someone who, for a certain time, served as the lieutenant of the king (or regent) when the latter was incapacitated or absent.⁹ The bailiff in the military orders embodied both aspects of this definition. He wielded executive power, but he did so on behalf of the master (as the master's lieutenant). A Hospitaller *usage* summarizes this as follows: 'In his bailiwick, each bailiff takes the master's place. And when the master is present, all are under his command.'¹⁰

The title of an official could be augmented by what we will refer to as 'title variables,' and in some cases these were used to add emphasis to an official's hierarchical position. In the military orders, the word *frater* (or, in a few cases, *soror*) was not really a title variable. It was a 'title constant' and frequently added to the names of those individuals who had taken vows and who were professed members of the community. For the sake of identification, the most important title variable

⁴ CH I 627; RRH 614a.

⁵ Templars: RT 88. Hospitallers: CH II 1193, p. 33; RRH 800a.

⁶ Templars: RT 106. Hospitallers: CH II 2213, *usage* 129; RRH 1093a.

⁷ RT 88 (*le comandeor de la baillie*), 121 (*tant come sa ballie dure*).

⁸ CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a; cf. CH II, p. 33, 38.

⁹ Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 185, 191.

¹⁰ CH II 2213, *usage* 94: *Chascun bailli en sa baillie est en leuc de maistre. Et quant le maistre est present, tous sont à son comandement*; RRH 1093a.

was the one stating institutional affiliation, often expressed in genitives such as *Hospitalis*, *domus Hospitalis*, *Templi*, or *militiae Templi* (and their respective variants). The title variable 'of the convent' (*dou couvent*) was used in the Templars' normative texts for the marshal, the treasurer, the draper, and two sergeant brothers entrusted with specific tasks, but merely for the sake of clarification because these offices also existed outside the central convent.¹¹ In the charters, this title variable is conspicuously absent, probably because the writers could assume that a document's contents would sufficiently identify the officials mentioned. One exception is a charter issued in Spain in 1308 which features the Hospitaller John of Laodicea as *prior conventus transmarini*, but then John was, at the time, far away from the order's central convent.¹² Another title variable was the toponym, and it could even be employed in a dramatic fashion. For example, in January 1188, the Templar Terricus referred to himself as 'the former grand preceptor of the house of the Temple at Jerusalem' (*quondam magnus praeceptor domus templi Jerusalem*), and in October of the same year, the Hospitaller Borell used the title 'preceptor of Jerusalem' (*praeceptor Jerusalem*).¹³ Both individuals were 'in office' at the time the respective documents were issued, but the Templar was expressing a historical reality (Jerusalem had been lost to Saladin) while the Hospitaller was voicing a continuing claim (Jerusalem had to be regained). The title variable 'by the grace of God' (*Dei gratia*) and its variants can be found for the Hospitaller master shortly after 1120, and for the Templar master from c.1137/43.¹⁴ The conventual officials did not use it, but it was utilized by officials of both orders in the west.¹⁵ Another title variable, the adjective *venerabilis*, appears for the Templar master as early as 1140/1, for the Hospitaller master in 1160, and while it remained one of the most important attributes added to the master's title in both orders, it was not exclusive to the mastership.¹⁶ In

¹¹ *RT* 101 (marshal; cf. the rubric), 111 (treasurer, cf. *ibid.*, 89), 130 (draper), 143 (conventual cook and conventual smith).

¹² *CH* IV 4797.

¹³ Terricus: *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 346–7; *RRH* 669. Borell: *CH* I 860; *RRH* 677. Cf. Burgdorf, "Selbstverständnis," 23.

¹⁴ Hospitaller master: *CH* I 46; *RRH* 98. Templar master: *CT* 145.

¹⁵ The Templar preceptor of Gardeny (Aragón) used *Dei gratia* in 1165 (Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 264–5 n. 149), the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (Aragón) used it c.1187/90 (Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 7–8 n. 2). A comprehensive and comparative analysis of the titles used by the military orders' officials in the west remains a *desideratum*.

¹⁶ Templar master: *CT* 205. Hospitaller master: *CH* I 296; *RRH* 355. *Venerabilis* was used by the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles in 1185 (*CH* I 721), by the Templar master

1170, the Hospitaller Guy of Mahón traveled in France as *venerabilis praeceptor fratrum Hospitalis*, possibly because he had come to the west as a member of a delegation sent by King Amalric of Jerusalem.¹⁷ In 1255, the Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Hugh Revel was referred to as *venerabilis vir*, which was appropriate considering that he had been carrying an enormous administrative load ever since the Master William of Châteauneuf had returned a presumably weakened man from six years of captivity in Egypt.¹⁸

The title variable *magnus* (grand) came to be particularly significant for the preceptor, but it appeared with other titles as well. Assuming that the respective document is not a forgery but, rather, an example of the peculiar style of Sicily's royal chancery, the Hospitaller Hubald was referred to as 'grand prior' as early as 1136.¹⁹ In 1181, Prince Bohemond III of Antioch (or, rather, John, his chancellor) labeled the Hospitaller master *magister magnus Hospitalis*, which, according to Hans Eberhard Mayer, was unique to the dictation of this particular document.²⁰ It is nonetheless striking that it was in or around 1180 that charters issued in the east featured a 'grand' preceptor (*magnus praeceptor*) for both Hospitallers and Templars;²¹ that, in 1182, a Spanish charter referred to the Templar Master Arnold of Torroja as *magister maior*;²² and that, in 1186, the Templars' provincial master of Spain was labeled *gran magister*.²³ The Templar master himself never used the title of 'grand' master, even though he was occasionally addressed as such, and the Hospitaller master did not use it before 1310.²⁴ With regard to the office of preceptor, the title variable *magnus* served to distinguish a 'grand' preceptor from the many other preceptors within the order, even within the central convent. It indicated that the individual thus referred to had been entrusted with particularly important responsibilities. Why the title variable *magnus* emerged in force around 1180 is unknown. It

of the west in 1215 (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 180–1), by the Templar preceptor of France in 1254 (Coll. d'Albon 44, f. 235–7), and by the Templar master of Spain in 1255 (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 314).

¹⁷ CH I 413; cf. Chapter Nine: Guy of Mahón.

¹⁸ CH II 2714; RRH 1212.

¹⁹ Lünig, *Codex*, II, 1635–8 n. 1; CH I 119; RRH 1296; cf. Chapter Nine: Hubald.

²⁰ CH I 614; RRH 610; cf. Mayer II, 526–7.

²¹ Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Garnier of Nablus: CH I 576; RRH 597; Templar Grand Preceptor Robert Fraissnel: Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis.

²² Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 603–7 n. 401.

²³ Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció*, 216–7 n. 135.

²⁴ For the Templar master cf. Bulst-Thiele, 289.

may have to do with both orders' successful defense of their privileges at the Third Lateran Council (1179). Another explanation may be the capture and death of the Templar Master Odo of St. Amand in 1179, which was followed by Arnold of Torroja's election in absence. This election may have necessitated the creation of a 'grand' preceptorate for the interim.²⁵ Finally, there was the title variable *generalis*. Connected to the title of the Hospitallers' conventual preceptor it appeared for Peter of Mirmande in 1203, after Master Geoffrey of Donjon had died and his successor, Alphonso of Portugal (who had been elected in absence), had not yet arrived in the east. It was also used for Raymond Motet around 1222/5 (with some reservations concerning the date), namely while Master Garin of Montaigu was traveling in the west; and it was used for John of Ronay in 1245, at a time when Master William of Châteauneuf was in Egyptian captivity.²⁶ All this suggests that the title variable *generalis* was used for the Hospitaller preceptor when the convent had to make do without a master for an extended period of time. Historians have yet to do full justice to these title variables; they may tell us more about the historical context than we have thus far realized.

Since the high-ranking conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple, with the exception of the master and the prior, were considered capitular bailiffs, the collective to which they owed this label, namely the general chapter, deserves some attention here. Hospitallers and Templars did not confine the use of the term 'general chapter' to their headquarters. Supraregional chapters all over western Europe that were not (or not necessarily) attended by the master or other conventual representatives were sometimes called 'general chapters' as well.²⁷ A general chapter was a special assembly of brothers and officials of one of the order's provinces, which could also be attended by representatives from other provinces. The annual assemblies of brothers and officials from the eastern province (*Terra Sancta*), which actually consisted of three and later five (sub)provinces (first Jerusalem, Antioch, and Tripoli, then also Cyprus and Armenia), always seem to have been referred to as 'general chapters.'²⁸ The decisions made at

²⁵ *RT* 198.

²⁶ Cf. Chapter Nine: John of Ronay, Peter of Mirmande, Raymond Motet.

²⁷ Cf. Chapters Two and Three. By the end of the thirteenth century, the Hospitaller convent expected to be represented at a general chapter convened by the master, and without the master no general chapter could be held at the order's headquarters.

²⁸ *RT* 203. *CH* II 2902; *RRH* 1269.

these assemblies were considered binding for the order as a whole, and the western provinces were expected to send representatives to these assemblies, probably every four or five years. The Hospitaller statutes of 1265 mention the master and the general chapter on ‘this’ side of the sea (from the perspective of Acre, *maistre et... chapistre general deça mer*), the wording alone suggesting that there were general chapters on the ‘other’ side of the sea (in the west). The same statutes then speak of a bailiff acting upon the counsel of ‘his’ general chapter (*le bailli, dou conseil de son chapistre general*), and *bailli* here refers to any high official of the order (east or west), corroborating that the term ‘general chapter’ was also used for assemblies outside (and presumably without additional representation from) the headquarters.²⁹ Thus, for example, a Hospitaller ‘general chapter,’ presumably of the province of France, was held in Normandy or Hainault in 1225,³⁰ a ‘general chapter’ of the province of France took place at Rambouillet in 1261,³¹ and a ‘general chapter’ of the priory of St. Gilles (i.e. the province of Provence) met at Trinquetaille in 1273.³² The decisions of the general chapters convened by

²⁹ CH III 3180, § 8, 13; RRH 1338a.

³⁰ CH II 1817: *de communi assensu et consilio fratrum nostrorum et capituli nostri generalis*. This general chapter did not take place at Tarsus, as has been alleged by Bronstein, 79–80; *ead.*, “Cambios,” 233. While the document’s editor, Delaville Le Roulx, gave ‘Tarse’ as the place where this document was issued, *apud Cerasas* does not refer to that famous city (*Tarsus*, *Tharsus*, *Juliopolis*, *Tarsensis*) in Cilician Armenia but, more likely, to Cerisy-la-Salle (Normandy), Cerisy-la-Forêt (Normandy), or Sirault (Hainault). The document’s legal contents pertain to the Hospitallers of Corbeil and the queen of France. The document contains the phrase, *si ipsi priori Francie et capituli generali ad hoc sufficiens videatur* (‘if it seems sufficient—with regard to this matter—to the prior of France and the general chapter’) which seems to refer to a provincial chapter of the Hospitaller priory of France. It may be that it was called a ‘general’ chapter’ because of the presence of the Hospitaller master. The document’s issuer, the Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu, was on an extended journey that had brought him to the west in 1222. He seems to have spent Christmas of 1224 at Palermo (Winkelmann, *Acta*, I, 244–5 n. 268), may then have traveled to Spain (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 29–31 n. 24), then to Auvergne (CH II 1818), was *apud Cerasas* in June of 1225 (CH II 1817), in Fontainebleau in September (CH II 1820), and probably back in the east by December of that same year (CH II 1828; RRH 973). It is important to note that the general chapters mentioned in the preamble of the 1262 collection of statutes all took place in the kingdom of Jerusalem (CH III 3039; RRH 1319b), which is in accordance with the 1299 complaint that only one general chapter had ever been held outside of the kingdom, namely that of 1204/6 which had been held at Margat in the principality of Antioch (CH III 4462).

³¹ *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, IV, 13 n. 4694: *in capitulo generali Hospitalariorum Francie apud Rampilionem congregato*.

³² CH III 3508: *capitulo generali fratrum Hospitalariorum sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani prioratus S. Egidii*.

Master William of Villaret at Marseilles and Avignon in 1297, which he seems to have intended as assemblies of the entire order, were later nullified, underlining the central convent's displeasure with 'magisterial' general chapters held outside of the order's headquarters.³³ However, the convent did participate in a general chapter held at Montpellier in 1330: not only was the master present, but appointments to all the high offices (prior, grand preceptor, hospitaller, marshal, admiral, turcopolier, draper, and treasurer) were made as well.³⁴ About the Templars' general chapters, at least about those held in the east, we are less well informed. There are references in the order's normative texts, albeit without dates, to general chapters celebrated in mainland Syria between 1187 and 1291.³⁵ A general chapter attended by 400 brothers was celebrated at the central convent at Nicosia in 1292.³⁶ However, the Templars, too, used the term 'general chapter' for major provincial assemblies in the west. It was employed in Aragón since the early thirteenth century.³⁷ In 1254, the Templars 'on this side of the mountains' (i.e. north of the Alps and Pyrenees) held a 'general chapter' in Paris.³⁸ In 1271, the Templars of northern Italy held one at Piacenza.³⁹ In 1293, a 'general chapter' was celebrated at Montpellier, and it was attended by the order's master, James of Molay, as well as representatives from England.⁴⁰ In 1295, the Templars of Aquitaine convened a 'general chapter' at Auson (in the diocese of Poitiers).⁴¹ In 1295, 200 brothers, including participants from Normandy, held one at Paris.⁴² In 1296, the Templars of Provence held one at Arles.⁴³ In 1299, another one followed at Paris,⁴⁴ and in 1303, Paris was again

³³ CH III 4515, § 20; cf. Chapter Three.

³⁴ Tipton, "1330 Chapter General," 301.

³⁵ RT 562, 569, 585 (before or by 1244 because Hugh of Montlaur is named as present), 606, 616 (before or by 1256 because Reynald of Vichiers is named as master).

³⁶ Procès II, 139; cf. Chapter Three.

³⁷ Forey, *Aragón*, 317; Riley-Smith, "Structures," 136.

³⁸ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, V, 478: *Templarum omnes cismontani*.

³⁹ Manfredi and Dondi, "Pergamene," 97–100: *in domo templi de Placentia in suo generali capitulo*.

⁴⁰ Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Deux lettres," 234–5; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 305.

⁴¹ Procès II, 206–7: *in capella domus Templi de Auson in capitulio generali*.

⁴² Procès I, 627–8: *in generali capitulo Parisius celebrato, in quo capitulo adfuerunt circa ducenti fratres*.

⁴³ *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, n. 1508: *in generali capitulo apud civitatem Arelatensem noviter celebrato*.

⁴⁴ Procès I, 407: *in capella domus Templi Parisius...in capitulio generali, in quo erant circiter ducenti fratres*.

the location of a 'general chapter'.⁴⁵ Yet, in both orders (at least until 1310), only general chapters held in the presence of the central convent were supposed to (or did in fact) install capitular bailiffs, and only these general chapters issued normative texts that applied to all members in the east and the west.⁴⁶

We now turn to collective titles, the labels used for the conventual officials as a group. The terms 'capitular' and 'conventual' bailiff have already been mentioned, and we have seen that, generally speaking, the former emphasized the appointment procedure while the latter emphasized the area of responsibility.⁴⁷ In the Templars' *retrais*, the term *comandeors fait par chapitre general* (capitular commanders/bailiffs) first appears without any explanation who these individuals might have been, but the stipulation immediately preceding in the text suggests that it refers to the seneschal, the marshal, the preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem), the preceptors of the cities of Jerusalem and Acre, the draper, as well as the preceptors of the lands of Tripoli, Antioch, England, France, Poitou, Aragón, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary. These were to be appointed by the master with the consent of the chapter (which, in this particular sentence, is not called a 'general chapter').⁴⁸ The *retrais* then call the marshal a 'conventual' bailiff (*bailli dou couvent*), probably to emphasize that his office pertained to the convent's 'home,' the kingdom of Jerusalem (since there were Templar marshals elsewhere), and that he stood in the hierarchy below the master (or the master's lieutenant) as well as the seneschal.⁴⁹ The *retrais* also use the title variable *dou couvent* for two other high officials, namely for the preceptor of the land, who served as the treasurer of the convent, and for the draper: both were 'conventual' bailiffs whose offices originally

⁴⁵ *Procès* I, 501: *in capitulio generali Parisius*.

⁴⁶ The statutes of the general chapters held by Master William of Villaret in the west prior to 1299 were subsequently annulled: *CH* III 4515, § 20. The existence of the Templars' Catalan rule shows that there were normative texts that applied to certain provinces only, much like there were separate statutes for the Hospitallers in Germany: *CH* IV 4550. However, many of the statutes issued by the Hospitallers' general chapters in the east, and many of the normative texts contained in the Templars' French rule that seem to be based on the decisions of general chapters held in the east, make it quite clear that they were valid beyond the two orders' eastern provinces.

⁴⁷ Cf. Chapters One-Three.

⁴⁸ *RT* 88 (here the term *comandeor* is used as a synonym for *bailli*); cf. *RT* 87 (in the Dijon manuscript, the draper is named before the preceptor of Acre, cf. Coll. d'Albon 64, f. 72).

⁴⁹ *RT* 106. For the other marshals cf. *RT* 104, 127; according to Forey, *Aragón*, 314, there were provincial marshals in the west as well.

focused on the order's headquarters.⁵⁰ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, the order's grand preceptor, treasurer, and hospitaller were apparently appointed during a general chapter, which made these three officials 'capitular' bailiffs.⁵¹ The same statutes stipulate that the preceptor was appointed based on an agreement between master and convent; they use the phrase 'marshal of the convent;' and they state that the draper's office pertained 'to all the convent' (and beyond that presumably to the kingdom of Jerusalem). Thus, these three officials were 'conventual' bailiffs.⁵² In the Hospitallers' thirteenth-century *usances*, the marshal is listed among the 'capitular' bailiffs (but not the prior).⁵³ The *usance* describing the holding of general chapters explains that the grand preceptor, the hospitaller, and the treasurer, as well as the marshal and the draper were to be appointed during the general chapter, indicating that these five officials were considered 'capitular' bailiffs.⁵⁴ For these very same officials, the statutes of 1300 use the expression 'the five bailiffs of the convent' (*V baillis dou covent*).⁵⁵ That there was a hierarchical distinction between 'capitular' and 'conventual' bailiffs can be seen from one of the thirteenth-century *usances*: at the end of a chapter meeting, the prior was to offer the peace greeting to the master and the capitular bailiffs, but among the latter the conventual bailiffs were to receive it first.⁵⁶ In the organizational hierarchy of the Hospital and the Temple, the conventual bailiffs formed an exclusive group among the capitular bailiffs, and their status was higher than that of the other capitular bailiffs. To illustrate this further: in 1306, when the Templar Master James of Molay refuted the idea of a merger of the two orders, he said that there were certain officials in the Hospitaller convent (*officiales...in conventu*), among them a marshal, a commander, and a draper; the same was true of the Templar convent. According to him, a merger would cause discord because both orders would insist on retaining these officials 'in place' (*in statu*).⁵⁷ This underscores the high prestige enjoyed by the conventual bailiffs.

⁵⁰ *RT* 101 (marshal; cf. the rubric), 111 (treasurer, cf. *ibid.*, 89), 130 (draper), 143 (conventual cook and conventual smith).

⁵¹ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

⁵² *CH* II 1193, p. 37, 39–40; *RRH* 800a.

⁵³ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a.

⁵⁴ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

⁵⁵ *CH* III 4515, § 10. In 1300, the admiral was considered a capitular bailiff, but not yet a conventual bailiff; the turcopolier was a capitular bailiff by 1303; cf. Chapter Three.

⁵⁶ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 129: *tous les bayllis par chapitre general, especialment les baillis deu covent avant*; *RRH* 1093a.

⁵⁷ *CH* IV 4680.

Another collective title for the conventual officials appears in a charter issued on 19 July 1204. In this document, two papal legates, namely Soffred, cardinal priest of St. Praxedis, and Peter, cardinal priest of St. Marcellus, confirm to the masters of the Hospital and the Temple the testament of an Aragonese individual, which had originally been issued at Acre on 11 June 1204. The legates relate in their charter's *narratio* that, 'from your colleges...the officials of your houses' (*de collegiis vestris...officiales domorum vestrarum*) had come to have the testament confirmed, namely, from the Templars, the grand preceptor, the marshal, the preceptor of Acre, and a brother without title (possibly the treasurer), and from the Hospitallers, the marshal and three brothers without titles (based on their names known from other documents probably the preceptor, the hospitaller, and the treasurer).⁵⁸ The phrase *de collegiis vestris...officiales domorum vestrarum* suggests that the legates saw the masters and the conventual officials as leadership collectives. In the order of the Temple, the term *officiales* had been used since the early twelfth century.⁵⁹ When writing to the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars, the popes had employed the term *collegium* to describe these communities since the first half of the twelfth century. For the Templars, we find it, next to *militia*, *domus*, *ordo*, and *religio* (to name the other most frequently used labels), in *Omne datum optimum* (1139), for the Hospitallers in *Quanto in Iherosolimitano* (1138/43), both charters issued by Pope Innocent II.⁶⁰ When the pope wrote to the Templars, the traditional address was 'to the master and the brothers' (*magistro...et fratribus*).⁶¹ This was different with regard to the Hospitallers. All the early papal documents, from *Pie postulatio uoluntatis* (1113), *Ad hoc nos* (1119), and *Quanto in Iherosolimitano* (1138/43) to *Venerabilia et Deo* (1153) are exclusively addressed to the Hospitallers' leader⁶²—with one important exception, namely the first version (and all subsequent versions) of *Christianae fidei religio* (1137), which is addressed to the Hospitaller

⁵⁸ CH II 1197; RRH 797a.

⁵⁹ CT 21 (1129/49): *nuntii et officiales et commilitones militantium Christo, in sacrosancto Templi Domini Ierusalem, quorum militia sine dubio vera est et Deo gratissima.*

⁶⁰ Templars: VOP II, 96–103, here 98: *in sacro collegio uestro*. Hospitallers: VOP I, 210–11 n. 4: *collegium uestrum*.

⁶¹ VOP I, 204–10 n. 3 (1139: *Omne datum optimum*); *ibid.*, 218–20 n. 13 (1150: *Officii nostri auctoritate*).

⁶² VOP II, 194–8 n. 1 (1113); *ibid.*, 198–201 n. 2 (1119); VOP I, 210–11 n. 4 (1138/43); VOP II, 210–12 n. 7 (1153).

master and his brothers, and which, in its 1154 version, elevated the Hospitallers to the rank of an exempt order of the Church.⁶³ It appears that the papacy began to realize in the late 1130s that the Hospitallers were on their way to becoming something that the Templars had been since 1129, namely an order. Consequently, the address used in the papal documents had to be adjusted accordingly. Soffred and Peter, the issuers of the 1204 charter mentioned above, were themselves members of a college, namely the college of cardinals which, since the days of the eleventh-century reform papacy, had certainly been a very eminent leadership collective.⁶⁴ Thus, their wording *de collegiis vestris... officiales domorum vestrarum* shows that, to them, the conventual officials surrounded the military orders' masters like the cardinals surrounded the pope.

The term 'sovereign' (*souverain*), used to denote a superior in the organizational hierarchy, appears in one of the Hospitallers' thirteenth-century *usances* to emphasize that even superiors had to observe the order's rule and customs, otherwise the brothers subordinate to them could demand *esgarts* against them.⁶⁵ In his treatise on the master's office (c.1303), William of St. Stephen uses the phrase 'sovereign offices' (*souei-rans offices*) for the offices of the conventual bailiffs to stress that the master was not supposed to interfere with these offices.⁶⁶ This was, however, wishful thinking, as the master remained the order's highest-ranking 'sovereign.' Another collective title can be found in the Hospitallers' liturgical texts. The sick in the order's hospital at Acre were supposed to pray 'for the Hospitaller master and for the brothers who are the guardians of the sacred house of the Hospital' (*por le maistre de l'Hospital et por les frères qui sont gardiens de la sainte maison de l'Hospital*).⁶⁷ In the Cypriote version, this is reduced to a prayer 'for our master who is the guardian of the sacred house of the Hospital' (*por nostre maistre qui est gardien de la sainte maison de l'Hospital*).⁶⁸ Thus, the Acre version suggests collective leadership (or, for that matter, collective guardianship), while the Cypriote version seems to make the master's role more prominent. This is particularly noteworthy considering that all Hospitaller masters

⁶³ 1137: *CHI* 122. 1154: *VOP* II, 105–6. In 1154, the pope addressed the Hospitaller master and the brothers in *Sicut nostri amministratione*: *VOP* I, 231–2 n. 24.

⁶⁴ Painter, "Western Europe," 26.

⁶⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 88; *RRH* 1093a.

⁶⁶ BN, fr. 6049, f. 264.

⁶⁷ Le Grand, "Prière," 335.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 337.

elected during the Cypriote phase of the order's history, namely Odo of Pins, William of Villaret, and Fulk of Villaret, seriously antagonized their order's high officials.

During the Templar trial, Anthony Sici of Vercelli, a notary, stated that the '[elder] officials of the order' (*majores ordinis*), namely the preceptor of the land, the draper, and the marshal, had held chapter meetings in the chamber of the order's prior of Acre around 1271.⁶⁹ As a notary, Anthony must have been aware of lexical nuances. He certainly could have used different labels, such as *majores conventus*, *majores domus Acconensis*, or *majores ordinis in illis partibus*. The phrase *majores ordinis* suggests that the abovementioned officials, in the eyes of this legal expert who had spent many years in the Templars' service, played a key role in the leadership of the order as a whole, not just the central convent. The Templars' high conventual officials were also counted among the prudhommes, namely those who gave advice to the master when decisions had to be made. In a charter issued by the Templar Master James of Molay in 1292, the phrase 'with the guarantee of our prudhommes' (*o la guarentye de nos prodes homes*) is used to introduce the witnesses, and these were the marshal, the preceptor of the land, the lieutenant draper, the turcopolier, three brothers without titles, the under-marshal, the treasurer, and the preceptor of the vault.⁷⁰ While the term 'prudhommes' was not reserved for officials, it is noteworthy that the abovementioned list opens with two (and the lieutenant of a third) of the convent's top officials. Looking beyond this study's horizon of 1310, a collective title given to the Hospitallers' conventual officials in the fifteenth century elevates their advisory function to a historical plain. In 1489, Guillaume Caoursin, the order's vice chancellor, reedited the Hospitallers' rule and statutes, and added his own introductions to them, including a commentary on the origins of the conventual bailiffs. According to Caoursin, the 'predecessors' (i.e. the Hospitallers of the past) had imitated the 'vestiges' (i.e. the models) of the ancestors and of a well-ordered polity by instituting a 'senate' and council to assist the master; and they had assigned earnest men, equipped with the titles of dignitaries, to this senate.⁷¹ Their masters' exalted position notwith-

⁶⁹ *Procès* I, 646.

⁷⁰ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

⁷¹ MNL, AOSJ, Libr. 244, f. 72': *nostri predecessores maiorum ac bene institute rei publice vestigia imitati senatum consiliumque, quod magistro adesset, instituerunt et viros graves titulis dignitatum insignitos senatu ascripserunt* (cited in Sarnowsky, "Das historische Selbstverständnis," 320); cf. Bosio, *Statuti*, 122 (*titolo* 10).

standing, both Hospitallers and Templars viewed the way their orders were led as a case of joint governance.

Installation and Insignia

Caoursin's statement raises the question of how the conventual officials were installed in their offices, and what their installation, as well as their role in the installation of others, and also their insignia, might reveal about their position in the military orders' hierarchy. The master's prominent status was underscored by the procedure that elevated him to his office. Early on, the popes had guaranteed to Hospitallers and Templars the free election of their respective superior.⁷² Both orders eventually settled on an electoral committee of thirteen to select the new master (ultimately inspired by the twelve apostles whose head was Christ). With regard to the Hospitallers, this committee can be found in 1170, and it is mentioned again in the statutes of 1204/6; the Templars outlined the task of this committee in their statutes for the election of the master (c.1180).⁷³ Other military orders followed, among them the Portuguese order of Avis.⁷⁴ In the Hospital and the Temple, the master was the only official of whom we can be sure that he was supposed to retain his office for life; this alone justified the elaborate installation procedure.

According to the Templars' *retrais*, the order's high officials, namely the seneschal, the marshal, the preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem), the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem, the preceptor of Acre, the draper, and the preceptors of the lands of Tripoli, Antioch, France, England, Poitou, Aragón, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary, were not elected but, rather, appointed by the master with the consent of the chapter. This chapter was probably a general chapter, minimally a general chapter of the order's three eastern provinces. All other

⁷² The Hospitallers received this right (1113) in *Pie postulatio uoluntatis* (VOP II, 194–6 n. 1, here 196), the Templars (1139) in *Omne datum optimum* (VOP II, 96–103, here 97).

⁷³ Hospitallers: 1170: VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 225. 1204/6: *CH* II 1193, p. 35–6; *RRH* 800a. The version of these statutes edited in Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 97–100, is a later redaction (1314) as it makes mention of the seven tongues, a reference missing in the pre-1291 version of the text edited in *CH*. Templars: *RT* 198–223. Vogel, *Recht*, 271–4, points out that the Italian communes had similar electoral procedures earlier than the military orders. They, too, however, may have been inspired by the Biblical precedent.

⁷⁴ Cunha, “Eleição,” 105, 107.

preceptors of lands and bailiffs could just be appointed by the master, either with the assistance of the chapter (the word ‘consent’ is not used here) or with the assistance of a group of prudhommes.⁷⁵ Two statements concerning the installation of officials show that the Templar marshal occupied a key position in the conventual hierarchy. All preceptors on ‘this side of the sea’ (i.e. the east), with the exception of the seneschal and the preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem), could be excluded from the chapter without prior thanks for their services when the appointment of the marshal stood on the agenda.⁷⁶ This probably means that the seneschal and the preceptor of the land had to be present when the marshal was appointed (and not that they could actually be excluded once they had been thanked). Since it is doubtful that officials who had not been ‘thanked’ (i.e. who had not yet rendered an account of their conduct in office and obtained an official discharge) were even considered as candidates for the office of marshal, this stipulation suggests that the marshal’s appointment took place in an extremely controlled environment, and that two conventual officials, namely the seneschal and the preceptor of the land, had a major say in the matter. Secondly, the marshal could only be excluded from the appointment of the preceptors of the order’s eastern provinces after the convent had thanked him for his service.⁷⁷ Since the marshal’s authority in military matters actually extended over the offices of these preceptors,⁷⁸ this stipulation suggests that the marshal who was in office when these preceptors were to be appointed was probably consulted as to who might be suitable.

In the order of the Temple, the decision concerning who would be sent to the west to take care of the order’s business eventually involved the marshal, the preceptor of the land, the draper, and the preceptor of Acre. These four compiled a list of all potential candidates on behalf of the master, and the master, assisted by the chapter and the abovementioned officials, made the decision.⁷⁹ In the order’s early days, this decision may have been the master’s alone: a charter issued by Bishop Simon of Noyon in 1130/1 features a Templar ‘to whom

⁷⁵ RT 87.

⁷⁶ RT 108: *tous les comandeors deça mer puet l’en geter dou chapistre por faire mareschau sans avoir mercis de lor baillies, fors le seneschau et le comandor dou royaume de Jerusalem.*

⁷⁷ RT 108: *se li couvent ne li aura ançois faite mercis de sa baillie.*

⁷⁸ RT 104, 106.

⁷⁹ RT 93.

Hugh, the master of the knights of the Temple, had at that time assigned the care of their affairs in those parts' (*cui Hugo, magister militum Templi, curam rerum suarum tunc temporis commiserat in partibus istis*).⁸⁰ Just a few years later, the decision was apparently made by a collective: a charter of Archbishop Henry of Sens was issued in 1135/42, 'during the time of the Lord Raymond, who had been sent to the aforementioned place by the knights of the Temple' (*temporibus domini Raimundi, qui ad prefatum locum a militibus Templi missus fuerat*).⁸¹ The committee of four making a pre-selection on behalf of the master thus stood at the end of an organizational development. According to the *retrais*, the appointment of a lieutenant master who was to be sent to the west was made by the master with the consent of the chapter, and while all bailiffs could be excluded from the chapter during this procedure, the seneschal could not.⁸² Considering that the seneschal served *ex officio* as the master's lieutenant wherever the master was not,⁸³ it made sense to have him involved in this appointment. In the order's early days, the seneschal himself had been sent to the west, but this practice was soon abandoned.⁸⁴

The Hospitallers' statutes of 1204/6 discuss the installation of the conventual officials in a certain order, which might reflect the organizational hierarchy at that time. They first speak of the preceptor who was to be installed if the master and the convent agreed on his appointment. There was only to be a grand preceptor if the master and the general chapter agreed that there should be one. Then follows the installation of the treasurer, the hospitaller, and the almoner (who was probably already an official of the past, here once more recognized by a normative text).⁸⁵ While the marshal and the draper are both mentioned, nothing is said about their installation. This suggests that, in the Hospitaller convent around 1200, the preceptor and the grand preceptor, who were appointed as needed to provide relief to the master, ranked above the official in charge of the order's finances; the latter in turn ranked above the officials in charge of the order's main hospital and charity; and the marshal, as well as the draper, had yet to

⁸⁰ CT 31.

⁸¹ CT 113.

⁸² RT 92; cf. *ibid.*, p. 83.

⁸³ RT 99, 100.

⁸⁴ Cf. Chapter Nine: Robert (II Burgundio).

⁸⁵ CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a.

be admitted to the top level of the order's leadership. Things changed in the course of the thirteenth century. The *usance* describing the holding of general chapters explains that when the general chapter turned to the installation of new officials, all old brothers and a prudhomme appointed by the master withdrew to discuss the appointment of the grand preceptor. The prudhomme first asked the prior and then the other old brothers for their opinion. Following that, he sent the master's companions to fetch the master to seek his input, whereupon the discussion continued without the master. Once an agreement had been reached, the prudhomme announced in front of all (i.e. the general chapter) who had been selected, and added that the chosen one was a prudhomme and 'ancient' (with reference to his number of years in the order rather than his age), that he had done things well wherever he had served so far, and that he would, God willing, do well in this office (*il est prodoume et ancien, et en tous les leus que il aye esté el a bien fait e fara bien en ceste bailie, si Dieu plaiste*). Then the master called out the chosen individual, gave him the peace greeting, and handed him the insignia of his office, namely a purse and a seal. After that, the hospitaller and the treasurer were selected together, according to the same procedure, and then the marshal and the draper.⁸⁶ This *usance* shows that the grand preceptor had become a permanent official who enjoyed a particularly high status among the top officials, and that the marshal and the draper now belonged to this exclusive group as well. The fact that the hospitaller and treasurer on the one hand, the marshal and draper on the other hand, were selected together may indicate that these officials were expected to work closely with one another: the first pair in running the order's main hospital, the second pair in equipping the brothers with horses, arms, and clothing.

With regard to the Hospitallers' pre-1310 history, it is unclear how the prior of the central convent obtained his office. According to Jonathan Riley-Smith and Alan Forey, he may have been appointed (possibly for life) by the pope, following a recommendation by the order's master.⁸⁷ Considering that the prior's work was largely confined to the central convent, such a procedure seems extravagant. It is just as conceivable that he was elected (possibly for life) by and from among the priest brothers of the central convent, and that he was then confirmed by the

⁸⁶ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

⁸⁷ Riley-Smith, 338; Forey, 182.

master. At the general chapter celebrated at Montpellier in 1330, the prior was appointed by that assembly before all other officials (grand preceptor, hospitaller, marshal, admiral, turcopolier, draper, and treasurer), but presumably just like these only for a tenure of ten years.⁸⁸ Like the Templars, the Hospitallers made the sending and recalling of bailiffs and other brothers (*bailliz et autres freres*) between east and west the business of the general chapter, and this was stipulated by the statutes of 1204/6.⁸⁹ If a capitular bailiff died before the end of his tenure or had to leave office due to disciplinary reasons, the master, after consultations with the brothers, set the affairs of that office in order and then appointed a lieutenant to manage the office until the next general chapter.⁹⁰ Thus, in both orders, the installation of high officials was an agenda item for the general chapter, and this added to the prestige of the conventual leadership elite.

We now turn to the high officials' insignia, particularly their seals. According to Hans Eberhard Mayer, in the crusader states, 'the right to use a lead bull was a prime indicator of sovereignty.'⁹¹ Thus, in the military orders, the right to carry and use a lead bull, maybe even to use any kind of seal at all, may initially have been a prerogative of the master. A 'seal of the prior and convent of the sacred house of the Hospital' (*sigillum prioris et conventus sacre domus Hospitalis*) is mentioned in a charter issued in southern Italy in 1119, and because no toponym is given, and because the leader of the Hospitallers at that time used the title of 'prior' (among others), this seal probably belonged to the community's leader in Jerusalem.⁹² In 1170, when the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly resigned, he placed the insignia of his office, namely his belt, his bull, and his purse, onto the altar of the cave to which he had retreated.⁹³ The belt, used to carry both the bull and the purse, was an insignium exclusive to the master; it emphasized his superior rank in the order's hierarchy. Of the three insignia, the bull was the most important one, though. According to the statutes of 1204/6, the master had to give it to a brother whom he trusted when he was mortally ill, and this brother had to hand it over to the convent after the master

⁸⁸ Tipton, "1330 Chapter General," 301.

⁸⁹ *CH* II 1193, p. 35; *RRH* 800a.

⁹⁰ 1204/6: *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a. 1239/71: *CH* II 2213, *usances* 90–1; *RRH* 1093a.

⁹¹ Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, 5.

⁹² *CH* I 49; cf. Hiestand, "Anfänge," 54.

⁹³ *VOP* II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223; cf. Chapter One.

had passed away; according to the same statutes, the master also had his own wax seal.⁹⁴ When he resigned in 1206, the Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal threw down his magisterial bull.⁹⁵ Before long, most brothers of the central convent probably had a seal (this seems a safe assumption for the knight brothers). One of the order's thirteenth-century *esgarts* stipulates that a brother was supposed to give his seal (*sa boule*) to another brother before he died; after his death, the other brother had to present it to the chapter.⁹⁶ In 1251, Pope Innocent IV instructed Templars as well as Hospitallers that the seals of their provincial preceptors and provincial priors should not contain the names of the office-holders;⁹⁷ as far as the pontiff was concerned, the authority of the office took precedence over that of the individual who occupied it. The Hospitaller statutes of 1276 mention the seals of the capitular bailiffs; they also state that the seal of a provincial prior in the west was to be kept in a box with four (presumably different) locks, that the prior should have one of the keys, and that three prudhommes should have the other three keys, so that the prior would not be able to seal anything without the counsel of his priory's prudhommes.⁹⁸ Apart from the seals associated with certain individuals, there were the various seals of the community, first and foremost the seal of the order. A charter issued in the east in 1184 mentions 'the seal of the Hospital' (*sigillum Hospitalis*) and 'the seal of the brothers of the Temple' (*sigillum fratrum Templi*), and it is noteworthy that the former refers to an institution while the latter refers to a collective of individuals.⁹⁹ By 1262, the Hospitallers' infirmary, which cared for the sick brothers, had its own seal.¹⁰⁰ The order's conventual bull receives considerable attention in the statutes of 1278 and 1302,¹⁰¹ and if the master's lead bull was the indicator of this highest official's individual sovereignty, the conventual bull was the central convent's indicator of collective sovereignty.

Some of the Hospitallers' conventual officials had initially used the master's wax seal. According to the statutes of 1204/6, the (conventual) preceptor had the master's wax seal; he used it wherever the master

⁹⁴ CH II 1193, p. 35, 39; RRH 800a.

⁹⁵ "Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797.

⁹⁶ CH II 2213, *esgart* 75; RRH 1093a.

⁹⁷ *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 4970, 5108.

⁹⁸ CH III 3396, § 18, 22; RRH 1374a.

⁹⁹ Broussillon, "Charte," 50–3; RRH 637a.

¹⁰⁰ CH III 3039, § 37; RRH 1319b.

¹⁰¹ 1278: CH III 3670, § 1–2; RRH 1424a. 1302: CH IV 4574, § 11. Cf. Chapter Two.

was not; and all places 'on this side the sea' (i.e. in the east) were under his command. Meanwhile, the treasurer sealed on behalf of the master with the latter's wax seal.¹⁰² The text says nothing about the use of seals by other officials. The thirteenth-century *usance* describing the holding of general chapters provides details with regard to the officials' insignia. At the general chapter, the grand preceptor, the marshal, the hospitaller, the draper, and the treasurer one by one rendered their accounts and returned their insignia. Each one had to return his purse (*burce*) which symbolized the material goods entrusted to him. Only the grand preceptor, the marshal, and the hospitaller had to return a seal (*bulle*), which suggests that these three, more so than the draper and the treasurer whose activities focused on the central convent, had come to be involved in legal transactions that required means of corroboration beyond a written sign or signature. The marshal also had to return his banner (*confanon*), the symbol of his military leadership.¹⁰³ With regard to the convent's internal hierarchy, the insignia mentioned in this *usance* are quite revealing. Apart from the master, the marshal was the only official carrying three insignia, which shows the scope of his functions; yet, the *usance* lists him only after the grand preceptor. The draper and the treasurer, who were both in charge of repositories, namely those for clothing and money, did not have seals of office; yet, according to the same *usance*, the treasurer's installation came before that of the marshal. The *usance* shows the development of the Hospitallers' conventual hierarchy in three ways. First of all, the installation procedure reflects the 'old' hierarchy (grand preceptor, hospitaller, treasurer, marshal, and draper)—apart from one change of position which, compared to 1204/6, now placed the hospitaller above the treasurer. Secondly, the accountability procedure indicates the 'new' hierarchy (grand preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, draper, and treasurer). Thirdly, the marshal's number of insignia shows the extent to which the order had changed from a charitable institution to a military order (and the conventual preceptor merely retained an honorary precedence over the marshal because he was, for the time being, considered the master's lieutenant). There is little evidence for the actual use of the abovementioned insignia, but it seems that they became particularly important when the master was absent. On 27 June 1286, when the Hospitaller Master

¹⁰² CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a.

¹⁰³ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

John of Villiers, who had been elected in absence, had not yet arrived at Acre, the Grand Preceptor James of Tassi sealed a charter of King Henry II of Cyprus with his preceptor's seal.¹⁰⁴ In 1299, the Hospitallers' conventual officials (marshal, preceptor of Cyprus, hospitaller, treasurer, admiral, and lieutenant draper) had to use their own seals for a letter addressed to their Master William of Villaret because, during the latter's absence, the conventual seal could not be used.¹⁰⁵ However, in 1307, the Hospitaller (grand) preceptor, presumably Guy of Séverac, added two seals to the charter appointing Amaury of Lusignan regent of Cyprus, and while one of these was probably his preceptor's seal, the other one may have been the conventual bull for which new regulations (making the master's presence optional) had been in place since 1302.¹⁰⁶

A short treatise, written between 1319 and 1330, is our most important textual source for the Hospitallers' seals.¹⁰⁷ The order in which it lists the officials reflects the order's organizational hierarchy, but it does so in a somewhat retrospective fashion because it is partially based on an older thirteenth-century text. The treatise does not mention the admiral who had attained the rank of a capitular bailiff by 1299.¹⁰⁸ This suggests that the text which served as the basis for the treatise was written prior to 1299. Unlike the abovementioned *usance* describing the holding of general chapters, the treatise lists the draper and the treasurer with seals of their own, but after the preceptors of Cyprus and Armenia, as well as the castellans of Margat and the Krak des Chevaliers. At the time the manuscript containing the treatise was compiled (c.1330), these two castles were no longer in the order's possession. The Hospitallers had acquired the Krak in 1142 and lost it in 1271; they had taken over Margat in 1187 and lost it in 1285. Since the Krak had come into the order's possession before Margat, its castellan was usually listed before the castellan of Margat.¹⁰⁹ The treatise, however, lists the castellan of

¹⁰⁴ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 671–3; *RRH* 1466; for this seal cf. King, *Seals*, 42, plate 8 (n. 1).

¹⁰⁵ *CH* III 4468–9; cf. Chapter Three.

¹⁰⁶ “Cronicha di Strambaldi,” ed. Mas Latrie, 23 (dated 1306): *et hanno fatto scritture per via de notaro con suo fratello il signor de Tiro, et l'hanno sigillato con li lor sigilli et con duoi sigilli del comendator del Hospital; et lo sottoscriverono tutti li vescovi et priori et canonici*. For the statutes of 1302 cf. *CH* IV 4574, § 11.

¹⁰⁷ BN, fr. 6049, f. 298–300 (*Ci dit des bulles que le maistre et les autres baillis de hospital bullent*); Delaville Le Roulx, “Note,” 52–4.

¹⁰⁸ *CH* III 4468–9.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. for example *CH* II 2693, 2902; *RRH* 1220, 1269; cf. also Burgtorf, “Herrschaft,” 44–5.

Margat first. This probably means that the thirteenth-century text which served as the basis for the treatise was written after 1271 but before 1285 (after 1285, when both castles had been lost, the text could have gone back to the traditional hierarchy). That the castellans continued to be listed even after the loss of their castles indicates that the order maintained its claims and intended to regain them (comparable to bishoprics *in partibus*). More importantly, though, the two castellans split the Hospitallers' conventual officials into two groups: an 'upper' group (grand preceptor, marshal, and hospitaller) whose seals are described in detail, and a 'lower' group (draper and treasurer) whose seals are not described at all. The treatise is, however, only partially based on an older text, since it does list the prior of Catalonia whose office was not established until 1319.¹¹⁰ Thus, its author used traditional information for the order's eastern provinces, but new information for its western provinces. Table 6 shows the contents of the treatise. The fact that the master, his lieutenant in the west (i.e. the grand preceptor of the west), and the hospitaller (i.e. the Hospital's proto-master) used the same wax seal, may illustrate the Hospitallers' awareness of their own history: in the early days, the community's leader had traveled considerably between east and west, and he had been the chief administrator of the Jerusalem hospital.

Table 6: The Hospitaller Officials' Seals according to BN, fr. 6049

official	material	image
master	(1) lead; (2) wax, black	(1) front: master, kneeling before a cross; back: <i>cors come mort</i> in front of a tabernacle; (2) bust
grand preceptor of the west	wax	like that of the master
grand preceptor of the east	wax, green	<i>griffin</i>
marshal	wax, green	knight in full armor, carrying a banner
hospitaller	wax, black	sick person, laying on a bed, and a (Hospitaller) brother, feeding the sick person
preceptor of Cyprus	(not specified)	ship without mast and sail
preceptor of Armenia	(not specified)	half-lion
castellan of Margat	(not specified)	<i>oriflamme</i>

¹¹⁰ Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Early Written Records," 146.

Table 6 (*cont.*)

official	material	image
castellan of the Krak des Chevaliers	(not specified)	castle
draper	(not specified)	(seals with 'his seal')
treasurer	(not specified)	(seals with 'his seal')
prior of St. Gilles	wax, black	<i>Agnus Dei</i>
prior of France	wax, green	eagle between two lilies
grand preceptor of Germany	wax, red	St. John the Baptist
preceptor of Spain	wax, green	eagle
castellan of Amposta	wax, green	castle
prior of Navarre	(not specified)	(seals with 'his seal')
prior of Castile	wax, black	castle
prior of Catalonia	wax, green	seal of the kings of Aragón and a cross

In the order of the Temple, the master's seal is first mentioned in a charter issued by Master Bertrand of Blanchefort in 1160.¹¹¹ Like in the order of the Hospital, the seal and the purse were among the Templar master's insignia. In 1273, the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel wrote to the count of Flanders that the Templar Master Thomas Berardi had died on 25 March 1273, that William of Beaujeu had been elected master in absence, and that some prudhommes had traveled to the west to bring William the purse and the seal.¹¹² Yet, before we even hear of the Templar master's seal, we encounter the seal of the Templar community. In 1148, Barisan of Ibelin confirmed a donation that had been made to St. Lazarus in Jerusalem. According to the charter's eschatocol, Barisan did not have his own seal at his disposal at the time, which is why he agreed to the counsel and petition of those present, and saw to it that the document was sealed by Peter, the Templars' chaplain, 'through the impression of the seal of the knights which are called "of the Temple"' (*impressione sigilli militum qui de Templo nuncupantur*).¹¹³ Thus, it seems that the idea of joint governance found its expression in the Templars' seal long before it did so in the Hospitallers' conventual seal.

The Templars' normative texts contain little information about the insignia of the order's officials. Several of them (namely the seneschal,

¹¹¹ Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363.

¹¹² *CH* III 3507; Riant, "Six lettres," 390–1 n. 5; *RRH* 1387.

¹¹³ Marsy, 125–7 n. 5; *RRH* 252; cf. Jankrift, *Leprose*, 45.

the preceptor of Jerusalem, the preceptors of Tripoli and Antioch, and—in the case of a military charge—the marshal) were entitled to banners (*confanon bauçan*).¹¹⁴ While the Templars had been a community with a focus on armed activities from the start, the Hospitallers grew into a military order over time, and even in the thirteenth century, their marshal seems to have been the only one who had a banner as one of his insignia.¹¹⁵ In the order of the Temple, visitors and preceptors, who had been recalled by the (general) chapter, had to send their seals and purses to the master and the central convent.¹¹⁶ The Templar seneschal had a seal that was like that of the master (*bolle come li maistres*) and, similarly to the Hospitaller preceptor (as defined by the statutes of 1204/6), he served as the master's lieutenant wherever the master was not.¹¹⁷ Until the election of a new Templar master, the grand preceptor of the interim sealed with the 'seal of the master' (*boule du maistre*), which suggests either that there were, at least at some point, magisterial seals without personal names, or that 'seal of the master' was a synonym for the seal of the order.¹¹⁸ Templar officials who fell ill had to surrender their seals and purses prior to entering the infirmary.¹¹⁹ According to Paul de Saint-Hilaire, the Templars used differently colored waxes for different kinds of legal transactions.¹²⁰ This was definitely not the case in the order of the Hospital where the color of the seal depended on the office it represented.¹²¹ Just how highly the seal was regarded as an insignium can be seen from the story of the Templar Marshal Stephen of Cissei. In the 1260s, Pope Urban IV demanded that Stephen be deposed and brought to the papal court. Yet, the Templar Master Thomas Berardi did not depose Stephen and, instead, allowed him to travel with the seal of the marshalcy. At the papal court, Stephen refused to surrender his seal because he believed that he was only obliged to

¹¹⁴ *RT* 99, 121, 125, 164.

¹¹⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

¹¹⁶ *RT* 88.

¹¹⁷ *RT* 99. For the Hospitaller preceptor cf. *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

¹¹⁸ *RT* 205.

¹¹⁹ *RT* 634.

¹²⁰ According to Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 29, green wax was used for the originals of irrevocable treaties or agreements that bound both parties for a very long time, as well as property sales and transfers; yellow (or natural) wax for agreements of a limited duration and correspondence; brown wax for copies and confirmations of old treaties; red wax for matters pertaining to the rule or judicial matters; and black wax for dissents, complaints, admonitions or exhortations, as well as disputes.

¹²¹ BN, fr. 6049, f. 298–300.

return it to those who had conferred it upon him (namely the master and the general chapter), and left the pontiff's presence without handing over his seal.¹²²

Tenure and Accountability

In 1303, the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret demanded an *esgart* against a brother whom he had accused of not coming to the east in a timely fashion. The accused responded that he had come as quickly as he could, since the master's letter had stated that he should come appropriately equipped (*à harnois bien et onorément*) and with his previous offices left debt-free and in good shape (*ses baillies quites de detes et en bon estat*). The brothers hearing the *esgart* sided with the accused.¹²³ They may have remembered that William himself had not been a good role model for, during his thirty-year tenure as prior of St. Gilles, William had only come to the east twice, even though he should have come six times.¹²⁴ The case shows that it mattered greatly in what state an official left his office at the end of his tenure. Thus, we now turn to questions of tenure and accountability, namely how long the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple held their respective offices, how they rendered account, and what all this might reveal about their orders' organizational hierarchy.

The only Hospitaller or Templar official who was supposed to keep his office for life was the master (which did not stop several masters from resigning). All other officials were appointed for a certain time and were expected to render an account of their conduct in office, whereupon they could either be reinstated in the same office (since there were no term limits), or entrusted with a different office, or not appointed to any office at all. It appears that the conventual officials had to render account and surrender their insignia and, thus, their offices at every general chapter (i.e. if the general chapter met annually, they had to render account every year). The high officials in the west were expected to come to the central convent periodically to render account: for example, the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles was supposed to do this every five years, and the Templar provincial master of Aragón-Catalonia

¹²² Cf. Chapter Nine: Stephen of Cissey.

¹²³ CH IV 4615.

¹²⁴ CH III 4462, p. 771.

was supposed to do this every four years.¹²⁵ In the order of the Temple, an appointment made by the general chapter was not to be tampered with. In 1302, when the king of Aragón asked the Templar master to dismiss the order’s provincial master of Aragón-Catalonia with whom the king was in conflict, the master refused to do so, replying that it would be a violation of the order’s statutes to take someone’s office before his tenure was up.¹²⁶ The crusaders’ Muslim counterparts were well aware that office-holders changed periodically. A 1271 truce agreement between Sultan Baybars and the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel states: *If the castellans of al-Marqab change, and a new castellan comes, he shall proceed according to the contents of this truce, and not depart from this text.*¹²⁷ Table 7 features the tenure of the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple for the time period between 1099 and 1310.¹²⁸

Table 7: Office Tenure in the Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars, 1099–1310

year	Hospitallers							Templars						
	mast.	prec.	prec. (Cyp.)	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	mast.	sen.	prec.	prec. (Ac.)	mar.	drap.	treas.
1099–1120	Geral							HugP						
1121														
1122														
1123														
1124														
1125														
1126	RayP													
1127														
1128														
1129									Will					
1130														
1131														
1132									RobB					
1133														
1134														
1135						Raym								
1136														
1137								RobB						
1138														
1139														

¹²⁵ Hospitallers: Santoni, 154 (Ferrand of Barras served as prior of St. Gilles for 25 years); *CH* III 4462, p. 771 (William of Villaret served as prior of St. Gilles for 30 years). Templars: Forey, *Aragón*, 313.

¹²⁶ *AA* I, 115–16 n. 78, 122–3 n. 85.

¹²⁷ Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 49–57 n. 3, § 18.

¹²⁸ For the data that this table is based on cf. Chapter Nine.

Table 7 (*cont.*)

year	Hospitallers							Templars																			
	mast.	prec.	prec. (Cyp.)	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	mast.	sen.	prec.	prec. (Ac.)	mar.	drap.	treas.													
1180		GarN						ArnT																			
1181															Step PetG												
1182																											
1183		Gerar																									
1184																											
1185		Arch																									
1186																											
1187		Bore								HerD						BerC											
1188																											
1189																Geof											
1190	ArmA																										
1191		GarN																									
1192																											
1193																											
1194																											
1195																											
1196																											
1197																											
1198																											
1199																											
1200																											
1201																											
1202																											
1203		AlpP			PetM																						
1204																											
1205																											
1206																											
1207																											
1208																											
1209																											
1210																											
1211																											
1212																											
1213																											
1214																											
1215																											
1216																											
1217																											
1218																											
1219																											
1220																											
1221																											

Table 7 (*cont.*)

year	Hospitallers							Templars						
	mast.	prec.	prec. (Cyp.)	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	mast.	sen.	prec.	prec. (Ac.)	mar.	drap.	treas.
1222		RayM								WiCa				
1223														
1224														
1225														
1226														
1227														
1228														
1229	BcTe									NN				
1230														
1231	Guer	WiT												
1232				ArnM				ArmP						
1233						WiMo					JamB			
1234														
1235		AndP			RobV		Sais							
1236														
1237	BcCo	PetV					John			BarM				
1238														
1239							Sais							
1240	PetV	WiS												
1241				WiCh						PeSR			PetA	
1242												HugM		
1243	WiCh													
1244		NN								WilR				
1245		JohR						RicB						
1246														
1247								WiSo						
1248				WiCo		MarS	JosC							
1249										StcO		ReyV	AimJ	
1250										Gile				
		NN								NN				
										StcO				NN
1251		HugR						ReyV				HugJ		
1252														
1253										NN				
1254				PetB		GuiL								
1255				Raim	Henr									
1256										GuyB		NN		
1257								ThoB						
1258														
1259	HugR	HenF			BerP									
				GuiL										
				RodP										
1260						SimV								
1261					Craph					MatS	GonM	StcC		

Table 7 (*cont.*)

year	Hospitallers							Templars						
	mast.	prec.	prec. (Cyp.)	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	mast.	sen.	prec.	prec. (Ac.)	mar.	drap.	treas.
1303		RayR		SimR	GerG					in EU (but retain- ing the title until 1312)		AimO		
1304		FulV	SimR	GerG		WalA							GeoC	
1305														
1306	FulV	Jo2T		AlbS	VclM		DurP							PcCa
1307		GuyS	AlbS			RicR								
1308														
1309													JoVi	AlbV
1310										JamD (on Cyp.)				

The interpretation of this table has to be approached with caution, because the gaps in the historical record may lead to wrong impressions. For example, the fact that, when compared to 1262, a completely new group of officials appeared in the Templar convent in 1270/1 does not mean that these new officials were installed in 1270/1 but, rather, that there is no evidence for the years between 1263 and 1269. The table shows that we are well informed about the tenure of the masters of the two orders (there are very few gaps). With regard to all other offices, we cannot be sure that any one of them was continually occupied during the time period studied here (longer or shorter vacancies probably occurred in each one of them). Distinct intervals in which offices changed hands or a tenure of a set number of years (which, as we have seen, seems to have existed for the officials of the two orders in the west) cannot be ascertained for the conventual officials. Compared to the columns for the other officials, the column for the Hospitaller preceptor has the fewest gaps. This is interesting in light of the claim made by the statutes of 1204/6 that this office, at least in the twelfth century, had been filled as needed (obviously, the need to appoint a preceptor had arisen rather frequently).¹²⁹

In the time period between 1150 and 1191, the Hospitallers had 12 preceptors and 11 treasurers, but only 4 hospitallers. However the preceptor and treasurer also appear earlier and more frequently in the charters than the treasurer. Between 1191 and 1291, the Hospitallers

¹²⁹ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

had 25 preceptors, 22 marshals, and 8 treasurers. This is noteworthy because the offices of the preceptor and treasurer had seen almost the same number of personnel changes between 1150 and 1191, but in the thirteenth century the treasurers seem to have remained in office much longer (especially Richard, 1207–19, and Joseph of Cancy 1248–71). Thus, while the office of the treasurer was losing its clout and, as a result, may have become less desirable, it is also possible that some of the treasurers kept being reappointed because they had proven themselves reliable. The table also shows that it was possible for an individual to return to a previously held office which, in the meantime, had been occupied by someone else. This can be seen particularly well for the Hospitaller preceptor (who is favored by the historical record because he played an important role when the master was absent): Garin of Melna, Garnier of Nablus, Isembard, Boniface of Calamandrana, Nicholas Lorgne, and Fulk of Villaret all held the office of preceptor or grand preceptor twice. However, other officials also returned to offices they had held before (for example, among the Hospitaller treasurers, Raymond, Gerald of St. Andrew, Stephen, Gerard, and Sais; among the Hospitaller marshals, Roderic Petri, Nicholas Lorgne, and Simon Le Rat; also, the Templar Seneschal Urs of Alneto and the Templar Grand Preceptor Girbert Eral). This raises the question why officials who had proven themselves in certain offices were not simply reinstalled over and over again. First of all, the orders may have wanted to test their personnel in a variety of functions. Secondly, high officials who became too established in their offices could become competition for the master's authority. Thirdly, the orders may have been eager to keep their members on their toes. The Templars told candidates for reception into their order that they would probably not be sent to the places they desired.¹³⁰ Things may have been similar for officials who appeared overly ambitious.

In twenty-first century democracies, the election of a new president, chancellor, or prime minister often results in the appointment of a new cabinet of secretaries or ministers. Such complete personnel changes did not occur when a new Hospitaller master or a new Templar master was elected, because the magisterial election and the installation of conventual officials were two entirely separate procedures. Yet, in the order of the Hospital, the election of a new master was often followed

¹³⁰ *RT* 661.

by the installation of a new preceptor. This seems to have been the case in 1163, 1170, 1177/8, 1193, 1203/4, 1206/7, 1231, 1236/7, 1240, 1258/9, 1277, and 1305/6. In the last three cases, the (grand) preceptor himself was elevated to the mastership (Hugh Revel, Nicholas Lorgne, and Fulk of Villaret), which necessitated the appointment of a new preceptor. The table suggests that the conventual personnel carousel was constantly in motion. Considering that the conventual officials were appointed at general chapters, each personnel change listed in the table is also an indication that a general chapter had been held some time prior to the appearance of the new official. The only statements that can be made with some certainty regarding the tenure of the conventual officials is that they served from one general chapter to the next and that they could be reappointed.

The likelihood of reappointment was probably determined by their conduct in office, which is why they had to render an account. In the order of the Hospital, accountability procedures are first mentioned in the statutes of 1177/83. These stipulate that the *karavane* (a specific storage facility) had to be emptied twice a year to ascertain whether the things, particularly the clothing, that the hospital's patients had deposited there could still be accounted for. The hospitaller had to replace any clothing items that were found to be missing.¹³¹ Things soon got to be more complex. The statutes of 1204/6 mention that the bailiffs were expected to present the state of their offices at the general chapter (maybe in the form of an oral report), and that their presentations were subsequently discussed by the brothers.¹³² The *usance* describing the holding of general chapters reflects the next level of these accountability procedures. At the general chapter, the grand preceptor, the marshal, the hospitaller, the draper, and the treasurer had to rise from their seats (when it was their turn), give an oral presentation of the state of their offices, surrender their insignia, and hand over their 'rolls' (*rolles*, i.e. their written reports, or maybe even the documents accumulated in the course of their tenure). The grand preceptor had to present his written report even before he handed over his insignia, while no written report is mentioned for the treasurer. The accounts of these five officials were followed by those of the eastern officials (*bail-lis de Surie*) and then by those of the western officials (*baillis d'outremer*).

¹³¹ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 202–5.

¹³² CH II 1193, p. 34: *adonc doit dire chascun bailli l'estat de sa baillie*; RRH 800a.

The written reports were read aloud, and they could be contested by means of the *esgart* procedure.¹³³ There were, however, limits to such contesting. In 1303, when the new Hospitaller Marshal Gerard of Gragnana demanded an *esgart* against his predecessor, Simon Le Rat, the latter replied (among other things) that he had rendered his account and presented the state of his office, and therefore did not have to give an answer to Gerard.¹³⁴ Gerard presumably would have had to file his complaint earlier, certainly before he himself took over as marshal. That the abovementioned *usance* exempted the treasurer from the obligation to hand over a written account indicates that, by this time in the thirteenth century, this official was already subjected to other forms of accountability.¹³⁵ These other forms appear in the statutes of 1283 which state that the master, accompanied by some of the prudhommes, should once a month attend the 'account [or balancing] of the treasury' (*le conte dou tresor/compotum thesauri*). If the master was unable to attend, he was to send the grand preceptor or another prudhomme in his place.¹³⁶ Thus, the treasurer was well on his way to becoming subordinate to the grand preceptor. The Hospitallers' conventual prior was held accountable as well. In 1268, the Grand Preceptor Boniface of Calamandrana authenticated an inventory in which the Prior John had listed the liturgical instruments of the order's church at Acre.¹³⁷ Unlike the conventual and capitular bailiffs, the prior did not have to render an account during the general chapter. This underlines his unique role in the order's convent, and it corroborates that neither his appointment nor his tenure (which was possibly for life) had anything to do with the general chapter (prior to 1310).

We have seen earlier in this chapter that, in 1302, the Templar master explained to the king of Aragón that it would have been a violation of the order's statutes to take someone's office before his tenure was up.¹³⁸ What he did not tell the king was that, according to the order's *retrais*, the master and the central convent could act together to recall the order's visitors and capitular bailiffs. If a recalled official failed to

¹³³ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a. In the normative texts of the military orders, *Outremer* ('the other side of the sea') usually means 'the west,' since they are written from the perspective of the east.

¹³⁴ CH IV 4620.

¹³⁵ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

¹³⁶ CH III 3844, § 2; RRH 1451a; CH III 4022, § 2; RRH 1480a.

¹³⁷ Manosque, f. 178 19 H; CH III 3292; RRH 1363a.

¹³⁸ AA I, 115–16 n. 78, 122–3 n. 85.

come to the Templars' headquarters for whatever reason (after all, departing right away was not always an option: in several countries, a royal permit was required), he was no longer considered as holding the office and had to send his insignia (i.e. seal and purse) to the master and the convent.¹³⁹ With regard to the Templars' conventual officials, the *retrais* state that they had to receive thanks for their service (*mercis de lor baillies*) at the general chapter, which sounds like the equivalent of a formal approval of their activities, but there is no mention of an obligation to render account.¹⁴⁰ This does not mean that there was no accountability in the order of the Temple. The *retrais* state that the preceptor of the land, who also served as the conventual treasurer, had to bring all the goods of the house, whether they came from the east or the west, to the treasury, where they remained until the master had seen and counted them. In addition, he had to present the account (*conte*) of the treasury if the master or a group of prudhommes of the house wanted to hear it.¹⁴¹ Thus, the form of accountability that the Hospitallers adopted for their treasury by 1283 had been a Templar practice for over a hundred years, which does suggest that the orders were in the process of developing parallel organizational structures.

Accountability was not just expected from the orders' top leadership. Officials on subordinate levels were held responsible as well.¹⁴² In this regard, the Hospitaller statutes of 1301 contain a number of detailed provisions. Serving brothers who took items (provisions) from the vault had to present the brother in charge of the vault with receipts for what they had taken, and there was a monthly audit. The master squire, too, had to report every month for every single day of the preceding month what—in terms of military equipment—had been delivered to him (presumably both new items and items in need of repairs) and what he had given out. The 'little' preceptor (who may have been in charge of the convent's day-to-day household affairs), the infirmarer, and the brother in charge of the granary had to render monthly accounts as well of what they had given out and what their current inventory consisted of.¹⁴³ The Templars' regulations with regard to theft stipulate that the brothers were expected to present everything entrusted to

¹³⁹ RT 88.

¹⁴⁰ RT 108.

¹⁴¹ RT 111.

¹⁴² Burgtorf, "Wind," 223.

¹⁴³ CH IV 4549, § 1, 14–15.

them whenever their superior preceptor wanted to see it.¹⁴⁴ Templar officials, too, had to be ready to present everything pertaining to their office whenever their superior, namely the official who was above them in rank, demanded to see it.¹⁴⁵ It is unknown whether the Templars had any formalized monthly or annual procedures for the rendering of accounts, but an incident related by Joinville shows that Templar officials were held to high standards of accountability. When the order's preceptor of the palace at Acre failed to act on Joinville's request to produce funds that Joinville had entrusted to the Templars, an internal investigation was launched (after Joinville's complaint to the master), and the official lost his position.¹⁴⁶ The military orders literally could not afford incompetence or dishonesty.

Entourage and Equipment

In 1470, Anselme Adournes traveled to Rhodes and subsequently recorded his impressions of the Hospitaller convent: 'Within the third ring of walls resides the grand master of Rhodes with the knightly companions and his entire *familia* [i.e. his household/ entourage]. Even though he is humbly referred to as "master," he deserves to be called "prince," because he has the power, the status, and the dignity of a prince.'¹⁴⁷ As we have seen in Chapter One, the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple had surrounded their respective master like the members of a princely court since the twelfth century. In both orders, the master had the most elaborate equipment and the largest entourage. Yet, the conventual officials, too, came to be entitled to a quantity and quality of equipment and entourage that not only elevated them above the other conventual brothers, but above their orders' officials outside the headquarters. Equipment and entourage were visible manifestations of their position in their orders' organizational hierarchy.

¹⁴⁴ *RT* 555.

¹⁴⁵ *RT* 329.

¹⁴⁶ Joinville, § 412–14; date: *ibid.*, liii; cf. also Barber, 269.

¹⁴⁷ Cited in Kraack, "Johanniterinsel," 215: *In tercio [murorum ambitu] Magister Magnus de Rodo cum commilitonibus ac tota sua familia resident. Qui, etsi magister... humiliter dicatur, merite princeps appellari possit, cum potentia[m] et statum dignitatemque principis habet* (translation mine).

According to the Templar rule, each knight brother was supposed to have a squire and three horses.¹⁴⁸ Alain Demurger has referred to 'the horse [i.e. the type of horse] and the number of horses granted to an individual as the fundamental criterion for the order's hierarchical structures.'¹⁴⁹ Details concerning the entourage and animals of the Templars' eastern officials and brothers can be found in the order's *retraits* (c.1165).¹⁵⁰ Table 8 presents these entitlements. Not displayed in Table 8 are the entitlements of officials and brothers listed in a subsequent portion of the *retraits* (probably composed later in the twelfth century), among them those of the turcopolier, the sergeant brothers serving as preceptors of houses, the brothers in charge of casalia, and the infirmarer.¹⁵¹

The master's exalted position is illustrated by the fact that he had the largest entourage (13) and the most animals (24). Furthermore, he alone had a chaplain brother, a cleric, a valet, a smith, and a cook at his disposal. The *retraits* deal with the marshal in third place (after master and seneschal), but he ranks below the preceptor of the land in terms of entourage and animals. We will see in the next chapter that the marshal's position did not so much express itself through his entourage and animals but, rather, through his considerably authority. Only the master, the seneschal, and the preceptors of the lands (Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch) were entitled to 'writing' personnel, which may explain why we so rarely find the marshal and the draper in charters. That the high officials formed a class of their own can be seen from the fact that they were afforded four horses, one more than the rule had granted to regular knight brothers.

The Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 provide a first overview of the entourage and equipment granted to this order's officials, namely the master, the marshal, the castellans and bailiffs (i.e. the officials in charge of the order's major centers of administration in the east), and the grand preceptor who, according to the text, was only entitled to entourage and

¹⁴⁸ *UT* 30; *RT* 51.

¹⁴⁹ Demurger, *Vie*, 89.

¹⁵⁰ *RT* 77–79, 99, 101, 110, 120, 125, 130, 132, 138, 143; cf. Claverie I, 107–8, 127, for an alternative presentation of these data. The five 'special' sergeant brothers (who were entitled to an additional horse) were the under-marshal, the carrier of the order's banner, the conventual cook, the conventual smith, and the preceptor of the vault at the sea in Acre.

¹⁵¹ *RT* 169, 173, 177, 180–1, 190; cf. Claverie I, 123. These later *retraits* also re-address the entitlements of the under-marshal and the carrier of the order's banner.

Table 8: The Entourage/Animals of Templars in the East (c.1165)
according to the 'Retraits'

Templar → entourage/animals ↓	mast.	sen.	mar.	prec. of the land (Jer.)	prec. of the city (Jer.)	prec. of the land (Trip. or Ant.)	drap.	prec. of a house (knight br.)	knight br.	five special serg. br.
chaplain br.	1									
cleric	1									
deacon						1				
knight br. companion	2	1		drap.		1				
serving br.	1	1	1	1	1	1				
squire/valet (noble)	1									
squire/shield bearer	1 ¹⁵²	2 and 2 ¹⁵³	2	2	2		2	2	1	1
smith	1									
Saracen scribe	1	1		1		1				
deacon scribe		1		1						
turcopole	1	1	1	1	1					
cook	1									
boy (<i>garçon a pié</i>)	2	2		2		1				
driver for pack animals							1			
TOTAL (entourage)	13	11	4	9	4	5	3	2	1	1
horses (personal)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	2
mule; palfrey; turcoman; riding horse (<i>roncin</i>)	1	1 or 1	1 or 1	1 or 1	1 or 1	1 or 1				
horses of companions	8	4		4		4				
horses of entourage; additional horse	6	4	2 1	4	4	5				
companion horse for the Turkish horse	1									
pack animals	2									
additional pack animals in special cases	2									
TOTAL (animals)	24	13	9	13	9	14	4	4	3	2

equipment when he was traveling.¹⁵⁴ Table 9 presents this information. As is the case with many of the Hospitallers' normative texts for the time period studied here, there are differences between the preferable Old French version and the later Latin version, and these differences have been noted below.

¹⁵² This squire was responsible for the master's turcoman.

¹⁵³ The seneschal had two squires for himself and two for his companion.

¹⁵⁴ *CH* II 1193, p. 37, 39; *RRH* 800a.

Table 9: The Entourage of Hospitaller Officials in the East
according to the Statutes of 1204/6

entourage ↓ official →	master	marshal	castellan, bailiff	grand preceptor
squire/valet	1			
squire/shield bearer	3 1 (for chaplain)	2	2	
driver for pack animals	1	1		
cook	1			
smith	1			
turcopole	1		1 (cast. only)	2 (Lat.: 1)
scribe	1			1
chaplain	1			
cleric	1			
serving brother seneschal	1			
master squire	1			
knight brothers	2 (OF text only)			
carrier of the banner		1		
serving brother				1
runner				1 or 2 (optional)
companion				1
TOTAL	OF: 16 Lat.: 14	4	2 / 3 (cast. only)	OF: 6–7 Lat.: 5–6

Similarly to what we have seen for the Templar master, the Hospitaller master was able to demonstrate his superior position through the size of his entourage (16). The composition of the Hospitaller marshal's entourage (squires, a driver for pack animals, and a carrier of the banner) emphasizes his military and logistical functions, while the composition of the grand preceptor's entourage (turcopoles, a scribe, a serving brother, and a runner) points to administrative tasks and maybe interaction with the crusader states' indigenous population. If one compares the entourage granted to the officials of the two orders on the basis of the Templars' *retrais* and the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 (which, given the time difference between the two texts, has to be done with caution), it seems that the hierarchical distance between the Hospitaller master and his officials was far greater than the hierarchical distance between the Templar master and his officials. Moreover, both texts list the marshal before the (grand) preceptor even though the marshal's entourage was smaller than that of the (grand) preceptor.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁵ If one compares the entourage of master, preceptor, and marshal in both orders

We now turn to the animals granted to the Hospitallers' officials and brothers on the basis of the order's statutes of 1204/6.¹⁵⁶ Table 10 presents this information.

Table 10: The Horses and Pack Animals of Hospitallers in the East according to the Statutes of 1204/6

horses/pack animals → Hospitaller ↓	horse	Turkish horse	mule	mount	pack animal	TOTAL
master	1	1	1	8 (entourage)	2	21
master's companions (OF text only)				8 (com- panions)		
marshal				4	2	6
grand preceptor				4 2 (entourage)		6
master squire				3		3
castellan, bailiff				3		3
knight brother				4		4
sergeant brother-at-arms				2		2

According to the statutes of 1204/6, the Hospitaller master and his entourage were entitled to 21 horses and pack animals, but of these only 5 seem to have been reserved for the master's personal use, while the marshal had six for his personal use and the grand preceptor four. Thus, if the number of horses was indeed a 'fundamental criterion' in a military order's organizational hierarchy, the Hospitaller marshal, by 1204/6, had become one of his order's top three officials (next to the master and the grand preceptor), even though the same statutes, as we have seen earlier in this chapter, are silent with regard to his installation and insignia.

One year after the fall of Acre, the Hospitaller statutes of 1292 stipulated that capitular bailiffs should have three *bestes* (i.e. horses and pack animals), but that the grand preceptor, the marshal, and the preceptor of Cyprus could, with the master's permission, have more if necessary.¹⁵⁷ Thus, because the convent now resided in the territory traditionally managed by the preceptor of Cyprus, the latter was

on the basis of the Templars' *retrais* (c.1165) and the Hospitallers' statutes of 1204/6, the ratio is 13 (master)—9 (preceptor)—4 (marshal) for the Templars, and 16 (master)—6 or 7 (grand preceptor)—4 (marshal) for the Hospitallers.

¹⁵⁶ CH II 1193, p. 37, 39; RRH 800a.

¹⁵⁷ CH III 4194, § 3.

elevated to the hierarchical level of the two highest-ranking conventual bailiffs (grand preceptor and marshal). Two years later (1294), the order's general chapter determined the number of horses and pack animals that provincial priors and preceptors in the west should have when traveling in times of peace.¹⁵⁸ This information is presented in Table 11. While the text of the statutes lists the officials according to their titles and geographical regions, Table 11 lists them according to the hierarchy suggested by the number of horses and pack animals granted to them.

What is noteworthy about the 1294 statutes is the strong position of the order's officials on the Iberian Peninsula. They account for 5 of the 26 officials listed (c.19%) and for 60 of the 252 animals (c.24%). The grand preceptor of the west, whose charge did not include Spain, even had 2 horses less than the grand preceptor of Spain. The reason may have been that there was still a 'Saracen frontier' on the Iberian Peninsula.

In 1302, the Hospitallers issued new statutes regarding the entourage as well as the horses and pack animals to which the high officials of the order's central convent should be entitled.¹⁵⁹ Tables 12 and 13 present these data.

With regard to the master, the statutes of 1302 specify that he should have his entourage only 'as long as he would be on Cyprus' (*tant com le maistre sera en Chipre*), which may have been a side-swipe at the individual who was the order's master in 1302, namely William of Villaret, who had avoided Cyprus for the first four years of his mastership.¹⁶⁰ With regard to the entourage of the preceptor of Cyprus, the statutes merely state that he should lead his on-foot entourage 'in moderation' (*atremprément*).¹⁶¹ This sounds like a demotion compared to the statutes of 1292 which had listed him together with the grand preceptor and the marshal.¹⁶² Maybe he had become too much competition for the other conventual officials. The marshal's cook was not his personal chef but,

¹⁵⁸ CH III 4259, § 1.

¹⁵⁹ CH IV 4574, § 4–10 (§ 10, which deals with the preceptor of Cyprus, contains no information about this official's entourage). The order in which the members of the entourage are listed in the far left column follows § 4, the statute concerning the master's entourage, supplemented by § 5–9.

¹⁶⁰ CH IV 4574, § 4; cf. Chapter Three.

¹⁶¹ CH IV 4574, § 10.

¹⁶² CH III 4194, § 3.

Table 11: The Horses and Pack Animals of Hospitaller Officials in the West according to the Statutes of 1294

horses/pack animals	official in				
	Spain and Portugal	England and Ireland	France	Italy	central and eastern Europe
20	grand preceptor of Spain				
18		grand preceptor of the west—excluding Spain			
16	prior of Castile				
14		prior of England			
13			prior of France		
12 each			prior of St. Gilles	grand preceptor of Italy	
				prior of Barletta	
10 each	castellan of Amposta		prior of Auvergne		grand preceptor of Germany
					prior of Germany
8 each	prior of Portugal			prior of Messina	prior of Poland
					prior of Bohemia
					prior of Denmark
7 each		prior of Ireland		prior of Venice	
				prior of Capua	
6 each	prior of Navarre			prior of Pisa	
				prior of Rome	
				prior of St. Euphemia	
5 each				prior of Lombardy	preceptor of Morea

Table 12: The Entourage of Hospitaller Officials according to the Statutes of 1302

official → entourage ↓	master (while on Cyprus)	grand preceptor	marshal	(a) hospitaller (b) draper (c) treasurer (Lat. text only)
(stable) guard	4			
driver for pack animals	3			
squire/valet	3	1	1	
boy (<i>garçon</i>)	4 (Lat.: 2) 2 (entourage)			1 each (a) (b) (c)
chamber servant	1	1	1	
carrier of the banner	1			
smith	1			
cook	1		1 (special rations)	
kitchen boy	1			
scribe	2			
chaplain/cleric	2 chaplains (or 1 chap. and 1 cleric)			
squire/shield bearer (for entourage:)	1 3 (Lat.: 1)			
seneschal	1			
master squire	1 (OF text only)			
companion	2			
servant	3	1	1	
butler	1	1	1	
barber	1			
chamberlain		1	1	1 each (a) (b) (c)
stable boy		3	3 (OF: 4)	2 each (a) (b) (c)
TOTAL	38 (OF) / 33 (Lat.)	8	10 (OF) / 9 (Lat.)	4 each

Table 13: The Horses and Pack Animals of Hospitaller Officials according to the Statutes of 1302

official	horses/pack animals		total number of horses/ pack animals	ratio of humans to animals
	for the official	for his entourage		
master	11	17 (Lat.: 15)	28 (Lat.: 26)	39 to 28 (OF) 34 to 26 (Lat.)
grand preceptor	5		5	9 to 5
marshal	5		5	11 to 5 (OF) 10 to 5 (Lat.)
hospitaller	3		3	5 to 3
draper	3		3	5 to 3
treasurer (Lat. text)	3		3	5 to 3
preceptor of Cyprus	9		9	1 (+ unknown) to 9

rather, charged with preparing special rations for the brothers. On the whole, the statutes of 1302 show the master, with an entourage of 38 (Old French version) or 33 (Latin version), ranking considerably above the grand preceptor and the marshal, who each had an entourage of between 8 and 10. On the next level down, the hospitaller, draper, and treasurer each only had an entourage of 4. As we have seen above, the hospitaller had belonged to the 'upper' group of conventual bailiffs in the *usances* (1239/71) and the treatise on seals (partially based on a text written before 1285). By 1302, he had slipped into the 'lower' group, maybe because the convent's charitable work on Cyprus after 1291 was less extensive than it had been at Acre until 1291. Particularly noteworthy are the 'court officials' that the statutes of 1302 list in the conventual officials' entourage—not so much the already known *seneschal* of the master but, rather, the butlers of master, grand preceptor, and marshal, as well as the chamber servant and chamberlains listed in the entourage of the master and all five conventual bailiffs. In the twelfth century, the master had imitated the princely court. By the early fourteenth century, the conventual officials were imitating the master and surrounded themselves with 'courts' of their own. Things were similar in the Templar convent: according to a letter written in 1304, the Templar draper had his own marshal.¹⁶³ The Hospitaller statutes of 1302 also mention the officials' entitlements with regard to horses and pack animals.¹⁶⁴ Table 13 presents these data. To determine the ratio of humans to animals, Table 13's right column takes the entourage information listed in Table 12, adds one (the official himself), and then compares it to the number of horses and pack animals specified in the statutes of 1302 (which do not contain entourage information for the preceptor of Cyprus).

The 1302 stipulations with regard to horses and pack animals confirm the conclusions already drawn from the same statutes' statements concerning the officials' entourage. In the hierarchy, the Hospitaller master ranked considerably above all others, and within the group of the five conventual bailiffs there was an 'upper' tier consisting of grand preceptor and marshal, and a 'lower' tier consisting of hospitaller,

¹⁶³ *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.

¹⁶⁴ *CH* IV 4574, § 4–10.

draper, and treasurer. The reason for the surprisingly high number of animals granted to the preceptor of Cyprus may be that he was in charge of supplying the convent with provisions from the order's estates on the island.

The conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple were not just privileged when it came to their entourage and animals. They had other claims that elevated them in their respective order's hierarchy, such as the claims to certain incomes in the order of the Hospital and the claims to specific types of tents in the order of the Temple. The granting of an annual income to the Hospitallers' high officials seems to have been an innovation of the Cypriote phase. The general chapter of 1301 stipulated that the marshal, who had thus far received up to 100 besants from the inheritance of every brother who had passed away (at the central convent), should henceforth have an annual lump sum of 300 besants to be paid by the treasury.¹⁶⁵ One year earlier (1300), the admiral had been granted an annual income of 100 besants and 50 measures (*metres*) of wine.¹⁶⁶ In 1303, when the turcopolier's office was elevated to the rank of a capitular bailiwick, the general chapter decided to grant an annual income of 100 besants and 50 measures of wine to this official as well.¹⁶⁷ It is interesting that the marshal's annual income was instituted only after that of the admiral had been determined in the previous year. Perhaps the order wanted to be sure that the marshal, who was the senior military official, was not at a disadvantage compared to the admiral. The statutes of the general chapter celebrated at Rhodes in 1314 set the annual income of the marshal at 3,000 besants, that of the draper, hospitaller, admiral, and turcopolier at 2,000 besants each, and that of the treasurer at 1,000 (the grand preceptor was not mentioned).¹⁶⁸ The besants of 1314 were probably silver coins, i.e. not the Saracen (gold) besants mentioned in the order's Cypriote statutes (because, unless there had been a major inflation, it is unlikely that the officials' incomes would have increased tenfold within a few years of the costly conquest of Rhodes). Within a

¹⁶⁵ CH IV 4549, § 3, 37.

¹⁶⁶ CH III 4515, § 13.

¹⁶⁷ CH IV 4612, § 5.

¹⁶⁸ BN, fr. 1978, f. 121'–122' (statutes of the general chapter celebrated on Rhodes on 4 November 1314).

decade, annual incomes became established, and they reflected the new conventual hierarchy, with the marshal in a very prominent position, the treasurer in the lowest position, and the two officials who had been added or promoted after 1291, namely the admiral and the turcopolier, already established in an intermediate position.

In the Templar convent, it was possible to recognize hierarchical tiers by looking at the tents of the high officials. According to the order's twelfth-century *retrais*, the master probably had a round tent because the seneschal was said to 'also have a round tent, like the master' (*tente reonde aussi come li maistres*).¹⁶⁹ The preceptors of the lands of Tripoli and Antioch had round tents as well,¹⁷⁰ as did the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem, but the latter had to make his tent available to members of the nobility who were guests of the order.¹⁷¹ On the second hierarchical tier, the marshal, the preceptor of the land (or kingdom of Jerusalem), and the draper each had a certain polygonal tent (*aguillier*), as well as another tent (*grebeleure*) for their squires (and the draper had another *grebeleure* for the tailors subordinate to him).¹⁷² While the marshal, the preceptor, and the draper used the *grebeleure* tents to accommodate their personnel, the *grebeleure* was, on the third hierarchical tier, the tent granted to the turcopolier, the under-marshal, and the carrier of the banner.¹⁷³ These tents did not just serve as sleeping quarters. They also served as the backdrop for important meetings. In 1191, the Muslims of Acre negotiated their surrender of the city to the crusaders 'next to the tents of the Templars' (*juxta tentoria templariorum*).¹⁷⁴ In 1249, the Templar master and several conventual officials (including the marshal, the preceptor of the land, and the draper) issued a charter for three Genoese individuals 'under the tent of the preceptor of the land of Jerusalem' (*sub tenda praeceptoris terre Ierusalem*).¹⁷⁵ Finally, in 1277, John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice concluded a peace

¹⁶⁹ *RT* 99. That tents were indeed objects of prestige can be seen from the fact that Henry II of England made them his "characteristic gift...to his fellow princes," cf. Aurell, *Plantagenet Empire*, 27.

¹⁷⁰ *RT* 125.

¹⁷¹ *RT* 121.

¹⁷² *RT* 101 (marshal), 110 (preceptor of the land), 130 (draper).

¹⁷³ *RT* 169 (turcopolier), 173 (under-marshal), 177 (carrier of the order's banner). Cf. Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 25.

¹⁷⁴ Röhricht, 563–4.

¹⁷⁵ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176.

treaty at a Templar casale near Acre ‘under a tent of the house of the Temple’ (*sub tentorio scilicet domus Templi*).¹⁷⁶

Other Manifestations of Hierarchy

How the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple fit into their orders’ respective hierarchy can also be gathered from the witness lists of charters, the orders’ command structures, their judicial organization, and the mechanisms of representation set up to ensure that their headquarters continued to function even if one or several officials were absent.

Tables 14 (Hospitallers) and 15 (Templars) feature the conventual officials as charter witnesses. The documents cited are those in which the officials appear as witnesses, guarantors, or consent-givers. Whenever an additional function is mentioned in the witness list or somewhere in the charter’s eschatocol, this has been noted (such as references to a witnessing official in a document’s date; the identification of a witnessing official as a recipient; and statements that a witnessing official was also a party to the agreement or treaty outlined in the document). Because it is the purpose of these tables to illustrate the orders’ witnessing hierarchy, documents featuring only the master or one single official as a witness have not been listed.¹⁷⁷ The officials’ titles appear italicized. Whenever a title is inferred (i.e. not explicitly mentioned) it appears in round brackets, followed by the abbreviation ‘n.tit.’ (no title). Subordinate and former officials are listed as brothers. Many charters list other witnesses in addition to members of the military orders (for example prelates, nobles, or burgesses—usually en bloc). However, the two tables below only feature the Hospitaller ‘blocks’ (Table 14) or Templar ‘blocks’ (Table 15) of the witness lists. Whenever a witness list does not follow the ‘block’ format, witnesses who are interspersed among the members of the respective order are simply listed as ‘other W’ (other witness/es). To facilitate the interpretation of these tables, numbers have been assigned to the documents in each table’s far left column.

¹⁷⁶ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

¹⁷⁷ For the ‘complete’ lists of charters featuring officials of the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars cf. Chapter Six.

Table 14: The Hospitallers' Conventual Officials in the Witness Lists of Charters

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
1	1135	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.	br.					sale to H	W ¹⁷⁸
2	1141	br.	br.	<i>treas.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.			property confer. to H	W ¹⁷⁹
3	1141	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	8: deac. 9–10: <i>treas.</i> 11–13: br.	exch. patr. (Jer.)-H	W ¹⁸⁰
4	1150	<i>prec.</i>	priest	priest	priest	priest	br.	<i>treas.</i>	8–10: br.	fief confer. to H	W ¹⁸¹
5	1152	priest	priest	priest	priest	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.	receipt confirm. to H	W ¹⁸²
6	1156	<i>prec.</i>	br.							agreem. kg.-Pisa	W ¹⁸³
7	1159	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	prec. Ac.	br.	br.				property confer. to H	1: R/W; 2–5: W ¹⁸⁴
8	1162	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.	<i>hosp.</i>				H-C for H-co-br.	W ¹⁸⁵
9	1163	<i>prior</i>	priest	deac.	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	sale to H	W; 5: W/PA ¹⁸⁶
10	1164/5	<i>prior</i>	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	(<i>hosp.</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	br.	priest			H-C purchase receipt	W ¹⁸⁷
11	1167	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>					sale confirm. to H	CC ¹⁸⁸
12	1167	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	sub- <i>treas.</i>	br.				donat. to H	W ¹⁸⁹
13	1167/8	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	(<i>hosp.</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	(<i>prior</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	br.	prec. Beth.			H-C for Bethgibelin	W ¹⁹⁰
14	1173	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.					H-C for Jacobite	W ¹⁹¹
15	1173	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	cast. Beth.	br.	cast. Belv.	br.			H-C for Syr. archbp.	W ¹⁹²
16	1174	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	cast. Beth.	br.					donat. to H	W ¹⁹³
17	1175	<i>prec.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	prec. Ant.			agreem. archbp. (Apamea)-H	1: PA/W; 2–6: W ¹⁹⁴

¹⁷⁸ CH I 115; RRH 159.¹⁷⁹ CH I 139; RRH 201.¹⁸⁰ CH I 138; RRH 204.¹⁸¹ CH I 192; RRH 257.¹⁸² CH I 202; RRH 274.¹⁸³ Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; RRH 322.¹⁸⁴ CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330.¹⁸⁵ CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c.¹⁸⁶ CH I 312; RRH 391.¹⁸⁷ CH I 309; RRH 458.¹⁸⁸ CH I 375; CH IV, p. 316; RRH 430.¹⁸⁹ CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a.¹⁹⁰ CH I 399; RRH 457.¹⁹¹ CH I 450; RRH 501.¹⁹² CH I 443; RRH 502.¹⁹³ CH I 464; RRH 516.¹⁹⁴ VOP II, 230–2 n. 21a.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
18	1175	<i>prec.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	prec. Ant.			agreem. confirm. archbp. (Apamea)-H	1: PA/W; 2–6: W ¹⁹⁵
19	1175	<i>treas.</i>	cast. Beth.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.		sale to H	1: PA/W; 2–7: W ¹⁹⁶
20	1175	<i>prior</i>	<i>prec.</i>	br.	prior Ac.	br.	<i>treas.</i>	cast. Beth.		agreem. bp. (Ac.)-H	W ¹⁹⁷
21	1176	mast.	<i>prec.</i>							sale confirm.	W ¹⁹⁸
22	1177	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.		H-C for layperson	W ¹⁹⁹
23	1178	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.					H-C for layperson	W ²⁰⁰
24	1180	mast.	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	br.					donat. to H	W; 1–2: Dat./W ²⁰¹
25	1181	<i>prec.</i>	br.	<i>treas.</i>	br.					sale to H	W ²⁰²
26	1181	<i>prec.</i>	<i>prior</i>	br.	br.	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	agreem. H-archbp. (Petra)	W ²⁰³
27	1184	<i>prec.</i>	prec. Ac.	<i>treas.</i>	br.	cast. Krak	cast. Belv.	br.	8–10: br. 11: hosp. Ac. 12: prior Ac.	H-C for layperson	W ²⁰⁴
28	1185	cast. Krak	<i>prior</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	8–9: br. 10: prior Ac. 11–12: br. 13: cast. Belv. 14–19: br.	sale confirm. to H	1: R/W; 2–n: W ²⁰⁵
29	1186	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	cast. Belm.	br.			H-C for layperson	W ²⁰⁶
30	1187	mast.	<i>prec.</i>	<i>prior</i>	cast. Krak	cast. Marg.	prec. Betha.			confer. to H (castle)	1: R/W; 2–6: W ²⁰⁷
31	1187	<i>prior</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Ant.	prec. Em.	prec. Spina				confer. confirm. to H	W ²⁰⁸

¹⁹⁵ VOP II, 232–3 n. 21b; *CH* I 474; *RRH* 513.

¹⁹⁶ *CH* I 469; *RRH* 535.

¹⁹⁷ *CH* I 471; *RRH* 532.

¹⁹⁸ *CH* I 495; *RRH* 539.

¹⁹⁹ *CH* I 508; *RRH* 540.

²⁰⁰ *CH* I 538; *RRH* 558.

²⁰¹ *CH* I 576; *RRH* 597.

²⁰² *CH* I 603; *RRH* 611.

²⁰³ *CH* I 610; *RRH* 607.

²⁰⁴ *CH* I 663; *RRH* 640.

²⁰⁵ *CH* I 754; *RRH* 642.

²⁰⁶ *CH* I 803; *RRH* 651.

²⁰⁷ *CH* I 783 (inserted charter); *RRH* 647.

²⁰⁸ *CH* I 783; *RRH* 649.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
32	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.	br.	br.					priv. for Pisan commune (Tyre)	1: CG; 2–4: W ²⁰⁹
33	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.	br.	br.					priv. for 4 cities in S- Fran. and Barcelona	1: CG; 2–4: W ²¹⁰
34	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.	br.	br.					priv. for Pisans	1: CG; 2–4: W ²¹¹
35	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.	br.	br.					priv. for Pisans	1: CG; 2–4: W ²¹²
36	1188	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.							priv. for Pisan <i>societas</i> <i>Vermiliorum</i>	CG ²¹³
37	1188	<i>prec.</i>	prec. Italy	prec. Germ.	br.	<i>max.</i>	br.			H-C for female H	CG ²¹⁴
38	1192	<i>prec.</i>	<i>prior</i>	<i>treas.</i>						H-C for Hosp. of the Germans	W ²¹⁵
39	1192	mast.	<i>prec.</i>							C for Hosp. of the Germans	W ²¹⁶
40	1193	cast. Marg.	cast. Krak	br.	<i>prior</i>	<i>max.</i>	<i>prec.</i>	br.	8–12: br.	H-C for church of Valenia	W ²¹⁷
41	1194	<i>max.</i>	<i>prec.</i>	prec. Tyre	br.	br.	br.	br.		confer. to H (wall)	W ²¹⁸
42	1198	cast. Krak	cast. Marg.	br.	br.	br.	prec. Ant.	prec. Trip.	8: prior Fran. 9: <i>hosp.</i>	rents confer. to H	W ²¹⁹
43	1199	cast. Krak	cast. Marg.	chap.	prec. Ant.	br.	br.	(<i>hosp.</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	8–10: br.	rights confer. to H	W ²²⁰
44	1199	cast. Krak	cast. Marg.	chap.	prec. Ant.	br.	br.	(<i>hosp.</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	8–10: br.	taking possession of a domain on behalf of H	W ²²¹
45	1201	mast.	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	prior Fran.	br.				donat. to H (shops)	1: R/W; 2–5: W ²²²
46	1201	mast.	<i>prec.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.				donat. to H (casale)	1: R/W; 2–5: W ²²³
47	1206	<i>prec.</i>	br.	<i>max.</i>						marriage contract	W ²²⁴

²⁰⁹ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665.²¹⁰ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; *RRH* 666.²¹¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667.²¹² Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.²¹³ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.²¹⁴ *CH I* 860; *RRH* 677.²¹⁵ *CH I* 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699.²¹⁶ Strehlke, 23–2 n. 27; *RRH* 701.²¹⁷ *CH I* 941; *RRH* 708.²¹⁸ *CH I* 972; *RRH* 717.²¹⁹ *CH I* 1031; *RRH* 742.²²⁰ *CH I* 1085; *RRH* 757.²²¹ *CH I* 1096; *RRH* 759.²²² *CH II* 1145; *RRH* 783.²²³ *CH II* 1146; *RRH* 784.²²⁴ ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
48	1206	mast.	<i>mar.</i>	chap.						H-chart. confer. confirm. (land) to H	W ²²⁵
49	1207	<i>mar.</i>	prec. Ant.	br.	br.					donat. to H (city)	1: R/W; 2–4: W ²²⁶
50	1207	<i>prior</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.					donat. confirm. to H	W ²²⁷
51	1207/8	mast.	<i>prec.</i>	prec. Jaffa	br.	br.				donat. to H (real estate)	W; 2: W/R ²²⁸
52	1207/8	mast.	<i>prec.</i>	prec. Jaffa	br.	br.				donat. to H (casalia)	W; 2: W/R ²²⁹
53	1210	cast. Seleu.	<i>mar.</i>	prec. Seleu.	br.					donat. to H (city occupied by Muslims)	W ²³⁰
54	1219	<i>treas.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.			H-C for layperson	W ²³¹
55	1221	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>drap.</i>					agreem. H-bp.(Ac.)	W ²³²
56	1221	<i>drap.</i>	br.	br.						testament of the count of Rodez	W ²³³
57	1233	mast.	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.		treaty Marseilles-T/H (maritime transport)	1: seal; 2–7: W ²³⁴
58	1235	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prior</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	br.	<i>treas.</i>	8–11: br.	H-C house exch.	W ²³⁵
59	1237	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	<i>treas.</i>		H-C house confer.	W ²³⁶
60	1239	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	<i>treas.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	H-C for TO (casale)	W ²³⁷
61	1240	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	prec. Jaffa	br.	br.	br.			H-C for TO (casale)	W ²³⁸
62	1241	mast.	<i>mar.</i>	cast. Marg.	cast. Krak.	prior Fran. n.tit.	br.	prec. Trip.	8–11: br.	agreem. Bohemond V-H	G ²³⁹
63	1248	<i>mar.</i>	br.	<i>prior</i>	cast. Krak.	cast. Marg.	<i>drap.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	8–15: br. <i>I 6: turc.</i> 17–21: br.	casalia confer. to H	W ²⁴⁰

²²⁵ *CH* II 1231; *RRH* 816.²²⁶ *CH* II 1262; *RRH* 820.²²⁷ *CH* II 1276; *CH* IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824.²²⁸ *CH* II 1250; *RRH* 818.²²⁹ *CH* II 1251; *RRH* 819.²³⁰ *CH* II 1349; *RRH* 843.²³¹ *CH* II 1656; *RRH* 923.²³² *CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945.²³³ *Veterum scriptorum collectio*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 1168–72; *RRH* 959.²³⁴ *CH* II 2067; *RRH* 1046.²³⁵ *CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063.²³⁶ Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b.²³⁷ *CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091.²³⁸ *CH* II 2245; *RRH* 1097.²³⁹ *CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102.²⁴⁰ *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
64	1254	cast. Krak.	<i>drap.</i>	br.	br.	prec. Trip.				agreem. H-cast. (Marg)-lord (Barlais)	CG ²⁴¹
65	1254	<i>gprec.</i>	cast. Krak.	cast. Marg.	prec. Cyp.	br.				H-C taking possession of a casale	W ²⁴²
66	1255	br.	br.	br.						land donat. to H and taking possession	W ²⁴³
		br.	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>treas.</i>							
67	1255	<i>hosp.</i>	br.	br.	br.					property confer. to H	W ²⁴⁴
68	1256	<i>lieut.</i> <i>mar.</i>	br.	br.	<i>drap.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>turc.</i>	<i>treas.</i>		extension for A	G ²⁴⁵
69	1259	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	br.	cast. Tabor	br.				casalia confer. to H	W ²⁴⁶
70	1259	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	cast. Tabor	br.					protection C for H	W ²⁴⁷
71	1260	(<i>hosp.</i> <i>n.tit.</i>)	br.							property confer. to H	W ²⁴⁸
72	1259/61	<i>mar.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>prior</i>	br.	<i>treas.</i>	br.	<i>turc.</i>	8–9: br.	H-C for lord (Arsuf)	G ²⁴⁹
73	1262	T-W	<i>mar.</i>	T-W	<i>gprec.</i>	T-W	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	8–10: br.	A-decision for T/H	W ²⁵⁰
74	1267	<i>mar.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.		agreem. H-mast.- abbey of St. Mary Lat.	W ²⁵¹
75	1269	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	prec. Germ.	prior Engl.	8: prec. Trip. 9: br. 10: <i>prior</i>	C-draft acquisition of Arsuf by H	G ²⁵²
76	1269	<i>gprec.</i>	br.							renunciation to H	G ²⁵³
77	1271	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	br.						H-C (return of C)	W ²⁵⁴
78	1271	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	br.	<i>treas.</i>	<i>turc.</i>	br.	br.		patronage rights for H	W ²⁵⁵

²⁴¹ CH II 2670; *RRH* 1204.²⁴² CH II 2693; *RRH* 1220.²⁴³ CH II 2714; *RRH* 1212. The document contains two witness lists: witnesses of the donation (top row) and witnesses of the act of taking possession (bottom row).²⁴⁴ CH II 2732; *RRH* 1234.²⁴⁵ CH II 2810; *RRH* 1247.²⁴⁶ CH II 2934; *RRH* 1280.²⁴⁷ CH II 2935; *RRH* 1281.²⁴⁸ CH II 2949; *RRH* 1291.²⁴⁹ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.²⁵⁰ CH III 3045; *RRH* 1322.²⁵¹ CH III 3283; *RRH* 1356.²⁵² MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; *RRH* 1313.²⁵³ CH III 3236; *RRH* 1367.²⁵⁴ CH III 3422; *RRH* 1478.²⁵⁵ CH III 3433; *RRH* 1382a.

Table 14 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
79	1273	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>treas.</i>				H-C exch. H-abbey in EU	W ²⁵⁶
80	1277	other W	<i>gprec.</i>	other W	br.	br.	br.	br.	other W	peace John of Montfort-Venice	W ²⁵⁷
81	1299	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Cyp.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>adm.</i>	<i>lieut. drap.</i>			nomination of envoys to H-mast.	W ²⁵⁸
82	1299	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Cyp.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>treas.</i>	<i>adm.</i>	<i>lieut. drap.</i>			recommendation for envoys to H-mast.	W ²⁵⁹
83	1306	br.	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>adm.</i>	br.	other W	br.	br.	treaty H-Genocsc (conquest of Rhodes)	W ²⁶⁰

In our interpretation of this table, the development until 1191 shall be considered first. Between 1135 and 1141, the Hospitaller treasurer was the only conventual official serving as a charter witness (1–3). The preceptor joined him in 1150, and for the next decade they witnessed charters together with the preceptor taking precedence over the treasurer (4–5, 7). In the 1160s, the hospitaller (8), the prior (9), and the marshal (11) joined in as well. That the marshal only appeared in two Hospitaller witness lists in the following three decades (11, 37) suggests that, at that time, he was usually not present when the convent conducted its legal business. The prior occasionally took the top spot in the witness lists (9–10, 20, 31), however, he did not always take precedence over the preceptor (13, 26, 30). The hospitaller always appeared after the preceptor and treasurer, and it is noteworthy that these three officials served as witnesses together fairly frequently (8–14, 22–3, 26). Based on the pre-1191 witness lists, the hierarchical order in the Hospitaller convent was as follows: prior and preceptor, treasurer, and hospitaller (there is not enough charter evidence for the marshal). Three additional observations can be made for this early time period. First of all, the priests who appear as witnesses from 1150 on (4–5, 9–10) suggest that this was the time when the priest brothers became established as a separate ‘class’ (and it has to be noted once again that, strictly speaking, the Hospitallers remained a lay community until the adoption of a rule, sometime before 1153). Secondly, the relatively fre-

²⁵⁶ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.

²⁵⁷ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; RRH 1413.

²⁵⁸ CH III 4468.

²⁵⁹ CH III 4469.

²⁶⁰ Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6.

quent appearances of the order's preceptor or castellan of Bethgibelin (located near Jerusalem) between 1167 and 1175 are noteworthy (13, 15–16, 19–20). They coincide with the Hospitallers' involvement in the Egyptian campaigns of King Amalric of Jerusalem as well as the order's internal crisis (1170–2) during which the castellan of Bethgibelin played an active role in the order's convent.²⁶¹ Thirdly, in 1187/8, when the order was without a master, the Grand Preceptor Borell was not on his own: Armengaud of Asp, the prior of St. Gilles, was at his side (32–6) and later became master (1188–90).²⁶²

The witness lists of charters issued after 1191 confirm that the treasurer's status was in decline: in 1219, he appeared before the hospitaller one last time (54), and from 1235 on, the longer witness lists always feature him as the last of the conventual bailiffs (58–9, 63, 68). Also from 1235 on, the title of 'grand preceptor' became the standard label for the order's conventual preceptor (58, 60–1, 65, 69–70, 73, 75–80), who was now always listed as the first Hospitaller witness—the exception being a document which he witnessed together with the grand preceptor of the Templars after the marshals of both orders (73). Between 1291 and 1310, the preceptor of Cyprus seems to have been integrated into the Hospitallers' conventual hierarchy below the marshal, but above the hospitaller (81–2). In the post-1191 charters, the prior only once took the top spot in a witness list (50). That the prior was not considered one of the capitular bailiffs²⁶³ can be seen from the 1269 draft of a charter (75) in which he appeared after the five conventual bailiffs, the preceptor of Germany, the prior of England, the preceptor of Tripoli, and a former marshal, in tenth place (all Hospitallers listed before him were current or former conventual or capitular bailiffs). The draper made his debut in a witness list, albeit in the final position, in 1221 (55). By 1248, he outranked the treasurer (63); in 1256, he even outranked the hospitaller (68); but by 1262, he was below the hospitaller again (73). After 1191, the marshal appeared more and more frequently in charter witness lists. In 1194, he ranked before the preceptor (41) in a transaction with military implications (the conferral of a part of Acre's city walls upon the Hospitallers); in 1221, while on the Fifth Crusade, he also outranked the preceptor (55); in a 1262 charter, he was named before his order's grand preceptor

²⁶¹ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223–4.

²⁶² Cf. Chapter One.

²⁶³ CH II 2213, *usance* 89; RRH 1093a.

because the witness list was interspersed with the names of Templar officials, and in the Templar convent the marshal was gradually taking over the top spot (73). The witness lists of documents issued in 1269 and 1273 (75, 79) present the Hospitallers' conventual officials in the hierarchical order in which we have already encountered them in the *usance* describing the holding of general chapters²⁶⁴ and the statutes of 1302:²⁶⁵ grand preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, draper, and treasurer.

The seneschal clearly dominated the Templar witness lists of charters issued prior to 1191. In one 1148 document, he was listed after the chaplain, possibly because the document had been written by the chaplain (1). The preceptor first appeared as a witness in 1155 (3), but

Table 15: The Templars' Conventual Officials in the Witness Lists of Charters

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
1	1148	chap.	<i>sen.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.		donat. confirm. for St. Lazarus	W ²⁶⁶
2	1151	<i>sen.</i>	br.	br.						donat. to St. Lazarus	W ²⁶⁷
3	1155	<i>com.</i>	br.	br.	br.					C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁶⁸
4	1155	<i>com.</i>	br.	br.	br.					C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁶⁹
5	1155	<i>com.</i>	br.	br.	br.					C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁷⁰
6	1160	<i>sen.</i>	br.							C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁷¹
7	1160	mast.	<i>sen.</i>	br.						C for H	W ²⁷²
8	(1160)	<i>sen.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	8–9: br.	T-C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁷³
									10–11: chap.		
									12–19: br.		
9	(1160)	<i>sen.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.	8–9: br.	T-C for Holy Sep.	W ²⁷⁴
									10–11: chap.		
									12–19: br.		
10	1169	<i>prec.</i>	br.	br.	br.	br.	br.			agreem. bp. (Tort.)-T	W ²⁷⁵

²⁶⁴ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

²⁶⁵ CH IV 4574, § 5–9.

²⁶⁶ CT 512; Marsy, 126–7 n. 5; *RRH* 252.

²⁶⁷ Marsy, 129–30 n. 9; *RRH* 266.

²⁶⁸ Bresc-Bautier, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 301.

²⁶⁹ Bresc-Bautier, 127–9 n. 46; Rozière, 117–20 n. 59; *RRH* 300.

²⁷⁰ Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41; Rozière, 110–13 n. 56; *RRH* 299.

²⁷¹ Bresc-Bautier, 123–7 n. 45; Rozière, 102–7 n. 54; *RRH* 354.

²⁷² CH I 296; *RRH* 355.

²⁷³ Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–153 n. 76; *RRH* 363.

²⁷⁴ Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364.

²⁷⁵ Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–3 n. 29; *RRH* 462.

Table 15 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
11	1169	mast.	<i>sen.</i>	br.	br.					C for H	W ²⁷⁶
12	1174	mast.	<i>sen.</i>							C for H	W ²⁷⁷
13	1176	mast.	<i>sen.</i>							sale confirm.	W ²⁷⁸
14	1183	mast.	<i>sen.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	br.	br.			agreem. T-St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²⁷⁹
15	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Tyre	br.	br.	br.	br.	chap.		priv. for Pisan commune (Tyre)	1: CG; 2–7: W ²⁸⁰
16	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Tyre	br.	br.	br.	br.	chap.		priv. for 4 cities in S-Fran. and Barcelona	1: CG; 2–7: W ²⁸¹
17	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Tyre	br.	br.	br.	br.	chap.		priv. for Pisans	1: CG; 2–7: W ²⁸²
18	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Tyre	br.	br.	br.	br.	chap.		priv. for Pisans	1: CG; 2–7: W ²⁸³
19	1188	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>							priv. for Pisans	CG ²⁸⁴
20	1190	<i>sen.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	br.					donat. to T	1–2: R/W 3–4: W ²⁸⁵
21	1190/1	<i>sen.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	br.	br.	br.				donat. to T	R/W ²⁸⁶
22	1192	mast.	<i>sen.</i>							C for Hosp. of the Germans	W ²⁸⁷
23	1198	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec.</i> <i>Ac.</i>	br.					T-C for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²⁸⁸
24	1200–4	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec.</i> <i>Ac.</i>							C about a donat. to T in TS	W ²⁸⁹
25	1207	<i>treas.</i>	cleric							marriage contract	W ²⁹⁰
26	1207/8	<i>prec.</i>	br.	br.						donat. to H (real estate)	W ²⁹¹
27	1207/8	<i>prec.</i>	br.	br.						donat. to H (casalia)	W ²⁹²

²⁷⁶ CH I 409; RRH 466.²⁷⁷ CH I 468; RRH 518.²⁷⁸ CH I 495; RRH 539.²⁷⁹ VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; RRH 631.²⁸⁰ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; RRH 665.²⁸¹ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; RRH 666.²⁸² Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; RRH 667.²⁸³ Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; RRH 668.²⁸⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; RRH 675.²⁸⁵ Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–31.²⁸⁶ Mayer II, 911–4 n. 14.²⁸⁷ Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; RRH 701.²⁸⁸ Kohler, “Chartes,” 166 n. 56; RRH 740a.²⁸⁹ Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455.²⁹⁰ *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; RRH 823.²⁹¹ CH II 1250; RRH 818.²⁹² CH II 1251; RRH 819.

Table 15 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
28	1233	mast.	br.	br.	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	br.	br.			treaty Marseilles-T/H (maritime transport)	1: seal; 2–6: W ²⁹³
29	1240	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. palace Ac.	br.	br.					T-C land confer. to St. Lazarus	W; 1–2: CG ²⁹⁴
30	1241	<i>gprec.</i>	cast. Safi.	br.	<i>drap.</i>					agreem. Bohemond V-H	G ²⁹⁵
31	1242	<i>mar.</i>	prec. Ant.	mast.						appointment of A in T/H dispute	CG ²⁹⁶
32	1262	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>lieut. mar.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	prec. Sidon	br.	<i>turc.</i>	8–10: cast. 11–12: br.	T-C for H (casale)	G ²⁹⁷
33	1262	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>lieut. mar.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	prec. Sidon	br.	<i>turc.</i>	8–10: cast.	T-C for H (Valenia)	G ²⁹⁸
34	1262	<i>mar.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	br.	<i>turc.</i>	br.	br.	<i>treas.</i>	agreem. T-mast.-H-mast. (casale)	G ²⁹⁹
35	1262	<i>mar.</i>	H-W	<i>gprec.</i>	H-W	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	br.	br.	br.	A-decision for T/H	W ³⁰⁰
36	1271	mast.	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>						annulment (to H)	W ³⁰¹
37	1271	other W	mast.	other W	<i>gprec.</i>	prec. Trip.	<i>drap.</i>	H-W		H-C (return of C)	W ³⁰²
38	1277	other W	mast.	other W	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>turc.</i>	8: <i>prec. Ac.</i> 9: other W	peace John of Montfort-Venice	W ³⁰³
39	1292	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. land</i>	<i>lieut. drap.</i>	<i>turc.</i>	br.	br.	br.	8: br. 9: <i>treas.</i> 10: br.	T-C for T in Aragón	W ³⁰⁴
40	1300	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	prec. Port.	<i>prec. Lim.</i>	br.	<i>turc.</i>			T-mast. appoints gen. visit. for 5 Spanish kingdoms	W ³⁰⁵
41	1307	other W	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Lim.</i>	H-W					king (Cyp.) abdicates	W ³⁰⁶

²⁹³ CH II 2067; *RRH* 1046.²⁹⁴ Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.²⁹⁵ CH II 2280; *RRH* 1102.²⁹⁶ Manosque, f. 383 40 H.²⁹⁷ CH III 3028; *RRH* 1318.²⁹⁸ CH III 3029; *RRH* 1319.²⁹⁹ CH III 3044; *RRH* 1321.³⁰⁰ CH III 3045; *RRH* 1322.³⁰¹ CH III 3414; *RRH* 1373.³⁰² CH III 3422; *RRH* 1478.³⁰³ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.³⁰⁴ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 414–5 n. 44.³⁰⁶ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

is was not until 1183 that seneschal and preceptor (or grand preceptor) witnessed a charter together (14). In 1187/8, when the order was without a master due to Gerard of Ridefort's captivity, the Grand Preceptor Terricus took over, but, similarly to what we have seen for the Hospitallers, he was not left to his own devices: the preceptor of Tyre (Geoffrey Morin) and one of the order's chaplains (Achardus) were at his side (15–18). The same preceptor of Tyre became marshal in 1188 and witnessed a charter behind the grand preceptor (19). The seneschal, originally the order's second-in-command, did not appear in the 1187/8 documents because the last (known) holder of the office prior to the battle of Hattin had probably been killed at Cresson on 1 May 1187.³⁰⁷ By 1190/1, a new seneschal had been appointed, and he appeared in the charters before the grand preceptor (20–1). The hierarchical order of the Templars' high officials, according to the witness lists of charters issued prior to 1191, was: seneschal, (grand) preceptor, and marshal.

After 1191, the office of the seneschal disappeared. Based on the witness lists, it looked as if the grand preceptor (or preceptor of the land) would take over the top spot among the conventual officials (23, 29). Yet, by 1262, the marshal began to offer some competition: during the first half of that year, the grand preceptor witnessed two charters before the lieutenant marshal (32–3), but in the second half of the year, after the lieutenant marshal had become marshal, the marshal witnessed two charters before the grand preceptor (34–5). This development is noteworthy because it was in the early 1260s that a conflict arose between the pope and the Templar master, and it was a marshal of the order (Stephen of Cissei) who was being attacked by the pope.³⁰⁸ The Templars sided with their marshal and may have thought of ways to further strengthen his office. In a 1277 charter, the grand preceptor appeared before the marshal again (38), but in documents issued by the Templar master in 1292 and 1300, the marshal occupied the top spot: in one case the preceptor of the land followed in second place (39); in the other case, the preceptor of Limassol followed in fourth place (40) after the marshal, the draper, and the preceptor of Portugal. The hierarchical order of this same 1292 charter (39)—namely marshal, preceptor, draper, turcopolier, and treasurer—reappeared, with only the

³⁰⁷ Cf. Chapter Nine: Urs of Alneto.

³⁰⁸ Cf. Chapter Nine: Stephen of Cissei.

third and fourth places switched, in a letter sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V in 1308 (marshal, preceptor, turcopolier, draper, and treasurer).³⁰⁹ Toward the end of the order's history, the marshal was the highest-ranking conventual official. However, there is a caveat. Raimbaud of Caromb, who had accompanied James of Molay on his journey to the west, was interrogated as the *praeceptor Chipri* during the trial of the Templars in Paris,³¹⁰ while James of Dammartin made his deposition as the *praeceptor ordinis Templi in Cypro* during the trial of the Templars on Cyprus.³¹¹ In the course of the trial, Raimbaud of Caromb was also referred to by other titles, particularly that of *praeceptor terrae ultramarinae*,³¹² which suggests that he outranked James of Dammartin. Yet, Raimbaud was not on Cyprus at that time, and the title of preceptor was, as we have seen, extremely flexible. In the early fourteenth century, the marshal outranked the preceptor in the order's convent; however, it is unknown whether he would have outranked its eastern grand preceptor.³¹³

Command structures were another manifestation of hierarchy in the military orders. The Templar rule and the Hospitaller rule, much like the normative texts of most religious communities, put an emphasis on obedience; after all, new members had to take vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience.³¹⁴ Many Templar statutes deal with the question of who, in the case of military action, would give orders, and who would have to obey whom. The key figure in all this was the marshal of the central convent. The marshal, like all brothers, was ultimately subordinate to the master.³¹⁵ However, all brothers-at-arms were subordinate to the marshal. Even in the presence of the master or the master's lieutenant, the marshal had command over the brothers of the convent. When the marshal was present, he always seems to have led the actual charge.³¹⁶ The Templars' various armed contingents had their own officials to transmit the marshal's orders. The knight brothers reported to the

³⁰⁹ Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5.

³¹⁰ *Procès* II, 374.

³¹¹ Schottmüller II.3, 192–3.

³¹² Finke II, 324–9 n. 154.

³¹³ It should be noted that, with regard to the Templars after 1291, the title of 'grand preceptor' (pertaining to the central convent) only appears in the trial records (Schottmüller II.3, 210–11).

³¹⁴ Templars: *UT* 33; *RT* 39, 675. Hospitallers: *CH* I 70, § 1; *RRH* 111a.

³¹⁵ *RT* 84, 103, 108.

³¹⁶ *RT* 103, 106, 164–8.

preceptor of knights; the turcoples and sergeant brothers-at-arms to the turcopolier; the serving brothers of the marshalcy to the under-marshal; and the order's squires to the carrier of the banner.³¹⁷ When there was no military action (and the Templars were merely occupied with military administration), the conventual marshal's power of command had clear limits, particularly geographical ones: when he traveled to the county of Tripoli or the principality of Antioch, the local preceptor of the land could offer him the marshalcy of that territory, which the conventual marshal could either accept or refuse; however, if there was a local marshal in that territory, the conventual marshal retained his superior power of command, had horses as well as smaller items of equipment at his disposal, but was not supposed to interfere in the local marshalcy.³¹⁸ With regard to conventual discipline, the draper had a place in the command structures as well. He had to make sure that the brothers were appropriately attired. Were they not, he could instruct them accordingly, and they had to obey him for, according to the *retrais*, the draper was the superior of all the brothers—after the master and the marshal.³¹⁹ When it came to supplying and managing the convent's non-military departments, the draper was subordinate to the preceptor of the land, and he also served as the latter's official companion.³²⁰ Thus, the Templars' command structures were 'situational': the marshal was in charge of military affairs, the preceptor of the land oversaw the convent's civil administration, and the draper played a special role in disciplinary matters. In the order of the Hospital, too, all armed brothers were (or came to be by the thirteenth century) subordinate to the marshal. According to the statutes of 1204/6, the master's companions and the bailiffs were exempt from this provision, but the bailiffs did have to obey the marshal in case of military action, and the marshal himself had to obey the master (or the master's lieutenant) if the latter was present.³²¹ It is noteworthy that the Hospitallers' normative texts, in contrast to those of the Templars, emphasize the master's supreme military command authority. This may be because the Templars, who had always been an armed community, probably took

³¹⁷ *RT* 137, 171, 175, 177; cf. Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 152.

³¹⁸ *RT* 104.

³¹⁹ *RT* 130.

³²⁰ *RT* 110, 112.

³²¹ *CH* II 1193, p. 37–8; *RRH* 800a; cf. Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 128 (dating uncertain).

their master's military role for granted, while the Hospitaller master had only gradually adopted a military role in the course of the twelfth century. By 1301, the command structures of the Hospitaller convent were as follows: the capitular bailiffs reported to the master, the brothers (namely the knight brothers and sergeant brothers-at-arms) to the marshal, the serving brothers to the grand preceptor, and the chaplain brothers to the prior.³²²

Despite their hierarchical command structures, both orders made sure that there were mechanisms against the abuse of power. According to a Hospitaller *usance* (1239/71), a brother who found that orders given by a superior (*souverain*) were not in keeping with or, worse, in violation of the rule, statutes, or good customs, should not obey these orders but, rather, demand an *esgart* in the matter.³²³ Templar brothers were expected to accept their master's orders by replying, 'In God's name,' and to obey if they were able to do so. A brother who saw himself unable to follow the master's orders had to tell another brother to ask the master to release him from obeying the order, either because he could not execute it, or because he did not know how to execute it, or because the order had been unreasonable. If the master found that the brother had a case, he was expected to comply with this request. This means, though, that it was up to the one who had given the orders to decide whether they had to be followed or not. The text continues by stating that this provision should also apply to preceptors giving orders to brothers, but then ends with a warning, namely that each brother should take care that he did not do something that was prohibited in the order.³²⁴ According to Judith Upton-Ward, the Templars essentially followed the rule of St. Benedict in this respect.³²⁵ There are no provisions in the Templars' normative texts for a formal *esgart* procedure against a superior. However, it seems that Templar brothers were capable of protecting themselves against the consequences of unjustified or unreasonable orders, even if they had to obey these orders when they were first given. The Templar statutes relate a case from the first half of the thirteenth century that illustrates this quite well. The preceptor of the vault had purchased a shipload of grain and had ordered the brother in charge of the granary to store it. The latter replied that the

³²² CH IV 4549, § 21, 33.

³²³ CH II 2213, *usance* 88; RRH 1093a.

³²⁴ RT 313.

³²⁵ Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 88–9.

grain was still wet from being transported aboard a ship and should therefore first be spread out on the terrace to dry, otherwise it would rot, in which case he would not assume any responsibility. The preceptor, however, repeated his order, and the brother complied. Later on, the preceptor had second thoughts, ordered that the grain be taken out of the granary to dry, but found that the concerns previously voiced by his subordinate had been justified (i.e. the grain had become rotten). When the preceptor pled for mercy in the order's chapter, his habit was taken from him because he had done damage knowingly.³²⁶ Comparing the two orders, it is difficult to say which order's command structures were more effective in reality.

At the top of the judicial organization of both orders, representing the ultimate level of appeal, stood the master and the general chapter.³²⁷ The Templars' provincial preceptors in the east and the west could transfer cases to the master and the central convent; the accused brothers were then sent to the order's headquarters, where their cases were heard at the next chapter or general chapter.³²⁸ However, 'equal justice under law' was as elusive a principle then as it is today. For example, according to the Templar statutes, a brother found guilty of simony was to be expelled,³²⁹ yet the explanations added to this provision show that exceptions could be made if necessary. There had, so we read, once been several brothers who realized that they had entered the order by means of simony. When they told the master, he was very concerned, because they were men of (otherwise) good conduct and faith (*de bone vie et de bone religion*), and, the text adds, one of them would later become master himself. Thus, the master consulted with the oldest and wisest brothers, and it became clear that expelling these simoniacal brothers would result in a major scandal. Consequently, they asked the pope to transfer the case to the archbishop of Caesarea who was the order's friend and confidant. It was recommended that the brothers should voluntarily relinquish their habit. After they had done so, the archbishop granted them absolution. The brothers then asked to be readmitted to the order and were indeed received.³³⁰ Whichever way one may be

³²⁶ *RT* 609.

³²⁷ Templars: *RT* 527–30, 585. Hospitallers: *CH* III 3844, § 17, 18; *RRH* 1451a. *CH* IV 4734, § 2–3. *CH* IV 4614.

³²⁸ *RT* 530, 585.

³²⁹ *RT* 544.

³³⁰ *RT* 545–9.

inclined to interpret this—as a double standard, as flexibility, as clemency, or as something else—the fact remains that the brothers had confessed before they had been accused. Thus, while the statutes called for punishment, it was certainly appropriate to offer forgiveness, and the pope himself does not seem to have second-guessed the proposed path to reconciliation. The Templars' later statutes explain that it was customary in the order to minimize the great transgression of a prudhomme and to maximize the small transgression of a foolish brother (*usée chose est entre nos, que l'on fait d'une grant faille a un prodome une petite, et a celui de fol portement d'une petite grant*)³³¹—a principle that still seems to prevail in the military and in politics today. While Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele saw this as a breeding ground for the 'arrogance of the select few,'³³² the Templars' rationale may have been that a prudhomme was someone who had proven himself over many years, who possibly still carried extensive responsibilities, and who was a potentially very visible figure inside and outside of the order: his past achievements and the order's reputation had to be balanced against his transgressions. A foolish brother, on the other hand, had to be disciplined so that he stood a chance to become a prudhomme some day in the future. The Hospitallers worded their normative texts more subtly, but they, too, did not subscribe to the principle of 'equal justice under law.' While the thirteenth-century *usances* state that even a capitular bailiff could lose his office for a transgression that normally carried the *karantene* (a forty-day penance),³³³ they add that the master, after consulting with the prudhommes, could reinstate a capitular bailiff who had lost his office because of such a transgression.³³⁴ Moreover, while any brother could demand an *esgart*, the prudhommes were the ones whose voices were heard when an *esgart* was debated, and there were probably always former officials among the prudhommes. However, medieval man was also aware that, regardless of all human judges and judicial organizations, he would one day have to answer to a higher authority, God Himself, who would remember if someone had been denied or if someone had bent justice on earth.

In the military orders, all authority and power of command ultimately derived from that of the master. That the master could not

³³¹ RT 639.

³³² Bulst-Thiele, 195 (translation mine).

³³³ CH II 2213, *usance* 90; RRH 1093a.

³³⁴ CH II 2213, *usance* 91; RRH 1093a.

be omnipresent and had to be represented is clear from the Templar rule's repeated use of phrases like 'the master or he who holds the office on his behalf.'³³⁵ The Hospitallers' *usances*, too, state that each official was the lieutenant of the master in his respective office.³³⁶ This did not only apply to officials who were far away; it also applied to the conventual officials, because the master was by no means always present at his order's headquarters. Table 16 displays only the exceptional absences of Templar masters and Hospitaller masters from the central convent,³³⁷ namely because of election in absence, travel to the west, participation in crusades and campaigns against Egypt, captivity, resignation, death, as well as the interim after a master's resignation or death. Not included are the 'normal' journeys the masters made within the crusader states, or later between Cyprus, Armenia, and mainland Syria (as well as Ruad). Also not included are the absences of Gerald, the leader of the Hospital between 1099 and 1120, as there is too little specific information about them.

Table 16: The Masters' Absences from the Central Convent, 1120–1310

time period	Templar master	reason	duration (years)	time period	Hospitaller master	reason	duration (years)
1127–9	HugP	travel to EU	2				
1138–9	RobB	travel to EU	1				
				1140	RayP	travel to EU	1 (or longer)
1148	RobB	crusade	0.25	1148	RayP	crusade	0.25
1149–51	EveB	travel to EU	2				
1152	EveB	travel to EU, resignation	0.5				
				1155–7	RayP	travel to EU	2
1157–60	BerB	captivity	3.25	1157–8	RayP	travel to EU	1
				1165–7	GilA	travel to EU	2
				1168	GilA	Egypt. camp.	0.25

³³⁵ *UT* 17: *illum, cui domus dominium post magistrum est debitum*; cf. *RT* 31. *UT* 33: *sine magistri licentia, vel cui creditum hoc fuerit*; cf. *RT* 39. *UT* 34: *magistro vel cui est debitum ministerium post magistrum... in dispositione magistri vel post eum procuratoris*; cf. *RT* 40. *UT* 41: *magistri licentia vel cui creduntur post eum domus negocia*; cf. *RT* 43. *UT* 34: *cui est debitum ministerium post magistrum...magistri vel post eum procuratoris*; *RT* 50.

³³⁶ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 94: *chascun bailli en sa bailie est en leuc de maistre*; *RRH* 1093a.

³³⁷ Compiled on the basis of Bulst-Thiele, Barber, Delaville Le Roulx, and Riley-Smith.

Table 16 (*cont.*)

time period	Templar master	reason	duration (years)	time period	Hospitaller master	reason	duration (years)
1169	BerB †	interim post †	0.5				
				1169	GilA	Egypt. camp.	0.25
1171	PhiN (resignation)	interim post resignation	0.25				
				1179	RogM	travel to EU	1
1179	OdSA †	captivity, †	0.25				
1179–81	ArnT	elect. in abs.	2				
1184	ArnT	travel to EU	0.5	1184–6	RogM	travel to EU	2
1184–5	ArnT †	interim post †	0.5				
				1187–8	RogM †	interim post †	1.5
1187–8	GerR	captivity	1				
1189–91	GerR †	interim post †	2				
				1190–1	GarN	elect. in abs.	0.5
1193–7	GirE	elect. in abs.	4				
				1202–4	AlpP	elect. in abs.	2
1218–20	WilC †	crusade, †	1	1218–21	GaMo	crusade	3
	PeMo	crusade	1				
				1222–5	GaMo	travel to EU	3
1244	ArmP †	captivity, †	0.5	1244–50	WiCh	captivity	6
1247	RicB †	interim post †	0.5				
1249–50	WiSo †	crusade, †	1				
1273–5	WiBe	elect. in abs.	2.5				
				1277/8	HugR †	interim post †	unknown
				1285–8	JohV	elect. in abs.	3
				1296–1300	WiVi	elect. in abs.	4,5
1293–6	JamM	travel to EU	3				
1306–10 (1314)	JamM †	travel to EU, captivity, †	4	1306–10	FulV	travel to EU	4
TOTAL ABSENCES (years/percent): 33.5 / 17.6%				TOTAL ABSENCES (years/percent): 37.25 / 19.6%			

The table shows that, between 1120 and 1310, the Templar masters were absent from their convent for a total of 33.5 years (or 17.6% of the time) and the Hospitaller masters from theirs for a total of 37.25 years (or 19.6% of the time). If we then consider a master's 'normal' journeys, for example to visit the order's houses in the county of Tripoli and the principality of Antioch, or to follow the royal court, it is safe to assume that the master was absent from his central convent at least 20 to 25% of the time. This means that the master's absence was not a rarity, it was a recurring reality. With regard to the three phases of the orders' history addressed in this study, 16 of the Templar masters' 33.5 'absent' years belong to the Jerusalem phase (to 1191), 10.5 to the Acre phase (1191–1291), and 7 to the Cypriote phase (1291–1310); 11.75 of the Hospitaller masters' 37.25 'absent' years belong to the Jerusalem phase, 17 to the Acre phase, and 8.5 to the Cypriote phase. It is noteworthy that, between 1191 and 1291, no Templar master and only one Hospitaller master traveled to the west. In light of these data, the suggestion that the Temple declined because its masters 'hardly ever visited' the western provinces³³⁸ is hard to sustain. During the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers masters (apart from one exception) did not travel either. The orders' international networks made such journeys more or less superfluous. Also during the same time period, two Templar masters and three Hospitaller masters were elected in absence, and these masters spent some time in the west, probably using their new prestige for recruitment and fundraising before departing for the east. The central convent was able to function during the master's absence because there were effective mechanisms of representation in place.

The worst kind of absence was caused by the master's death—'worst,' because the master was considered to have been elevated to his office by God Himself.³³⁹ For the time period until a new master could be elected, the Templars were led by the grand preceptor of the interim.³⁴⁰ In the order of the Hospital, the convent managed the order during the interim, but the preceptor probably played a key role, considering that he, according to the statutes of 1204/6, represented the master in the east wherever the latter was not present.³⁴¹ When a master found

³³⁸ Riley-Smith, "Towards a History," 281.

³³⁹ *RT* 219–21.

³⁴⁰ *RT* 198.

³⁴¹ *CH* II 1193, p. 35, 39; *RRH* 800a.

himself in captivity, his order faced the uncertainty of not knowing how long the captivity would last, and whether the master would survive it at all. In the order of the Temple, the seneschal had originally stepped up when the master was in captivity, because he was the master's ex-officio lieutenant wherever the latter was not present.³⁴² However, in 1179, the Templar Master Odo of St. Amand was captured and died, and shortly thereafter the order's seneschal, Berengar of Castelpers, was killed in battle. The situation called for a more comprehensive mechanism of representation. The title of 'preceptor' offered the solution. The order was already accustomed to appointing a grand preceptor of the interim after the master had died.³⁴³ Thus, a grand preceptor could also be appointed when the master was in captivity.³⁴⁴ The first Hospitaller master to find himself in captivity was William of Châteauneuf who had been carried off to Egypt after the battle of La Forbie (Gaza).³⁴⁵ The collection of normative texts compiled in 1262, which also contains the statutes of several general chapters held prior to that year, lists a provision that seems to mirror the situation the order had found itself in in 1244. If the master was captured by the Muslims, the brothers who had managed to escape from the battlefield should elect someone with the counsel and will of the prudhommes of the land in which they were, and this individual should then manage the affairs of the order 'in the master's place' (*en leu de maistre*) until the next general chapter. At the next general chapter, the bailiffs and prudhommes should then elect someone who would be 'in the master's place in the east and, if that seemed like the better thing to do, also in the west' (*en leu de maistre deçà mer, et là si com lor semblera meaus à faire*) until the master's release from captivity, and this individual had to swear that he would work toward the master's release.³⁴⁶ It is unknown to what extent John of Ronay, who served as lieutenant master during William of Châteauneuf's captivity, made such an effort. The Hospitallers probably required the abovementioned oath to ensure that someone who was 'in the master's place' did not grow too accustomed to this powerful position.

Like other religious orders, the military orders took the holding of regular chapters very seriously. According to the *retrais*, the chapters

³⁴² *RT* 99.

³⁴³ *RT* 198.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Chapter Nine: Terricus.

³⁴⁵ Cf. Chapter Nine: William of Châteauneuf.

³⁴⁶ *CH* III 3039, § 10; *RRH* 1319b.

in the central convent of the Templars were led by the master or the seneschal, and, when these were absent, by the marshal.³⁴⁷ In 1310, during the trial of the Templars in southern Italy, the Templar Sergeant Hugh of Samaya recited the complete hierarchy of representation with regard to the holding of chapters in his order's central convent. When the master was absent, the marshal led the chapter; when both were absent, the preceptor of the land took charge; if the latter was also absent, the chapter was led by the preceptor of the knights.³⁴⁸ Even though the *retrais* refer to the draper's disciplinary responsibilities in the central convent and rank him, in that respect, after the master and the marshal, he is not included in the list of officials who could lead a chapter.³⁴⁹ This is particularly noteworthy considering that he seems to have outranked the preceptor of the knights on all other levels, but it corroborates what we have seen earlier in this chapter, namely that the Templars' command structures were 'situational.' The leading of a chapter came with certain prerogatives, even if the individual leading the chapter was acting on someone else's behalf. This is illustrated by a Hospitaller *esgart* dating to 1303, in which the grand preceptor accused several brothers in chapter of having missed 'the great mass' on December 26 and 27, but was then informed that attendance had been optional. William of St. Stephen, the original compiler of the manuscript featuring this *esgart*, explains in his commentary that the grand preceptor only made the accusation because he was representing the master at that time. Normally, he would not have been able to do so because the preceptor had no power of command over the conventual brothers (i.e. the knight brothers and the sergeant brothers-at-arms).³⁵⁰

Their masters' frequent absences probably instilled in the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple a shared sentiment of duty with regard to the governance of their orders—much like Richard

³⁴⁷ RT 106.

³⁴⁸ Schottmüller II.3, 135: *in capitulis quam pluribus, in quibus ipse interfuit, in conventu ultramarino ipse frater Hugo audivit a magno magistro, quando ipse tenebat capitulum et a marescallo conventus predicti, qui tenebat locum magistri, quando erat absens, et a praeceptore terre ultramarine, quando predictis magno magistro et marescallo absentibus tenebat capitulum in conventu predicto, et a praeceptore militum, quando loco predictorum absentium tenebat capitulum in conventu predicto, dici et recitari... hec verba.*

³⁴⁹ RT 130.

³⁵⁰ CH IV 4624: *Et ceste plainte fist le sus dit grant comandor, por ce qu'il tenoit adonc leuc de maistre; car en autre maniere la plainte ne venist pas à luy à faire, car le comandor n'a nul pooir sur les freres de covent.*

Lionheart's almost continuous absence from England caused the barons of his kingdom to develop a "sense of collective responsibility for the good governance of their country."³⁵¹ The self-confidence with which the Hospitallers' conventual officials opposed their own master in 1299, and the energetic resistance which the Templars' conventual officials displayed in 1308 when facing arrest, illustrates that these men took their 'collective responsibility for the good governance' of their orders very seriously. In their orders' organizational hierarchy, they ranked right below the master, and when the latter was absent from the central convent, they took his place.

³⁵¹ Appleby, *England*, 234.

CHAPTER FIVE

FUNCTIONS

A candidate for reception into the order of the Temple was told that he should not be deceived by the community's outward appearance, good horses, equipment, drink, food, and robes; life in the order, the statutes emphasized, was hard.¹ This warning implies, however, that animals, weapons, provisions, and clothing were procured and made available to the order's members. To do so was the original function of those later known as conventual bailiffs, and the normative texts of both Hospitallers and Templars describe their offices accordingly. The Hospitallers' (grand) preceptor oversaw a number of offices (*les offices qui auront esté asson comandement*) in charge of provisions.² The marshal, in both orders, dealt with horses and weapons, and his office was referred to as the 'marshalcy' (*mareschaucie*).³ The draper supervised the tailoring department as well as the clothing store (*parmenterie* and *draparie*).⁴ The treasurer was in charge of the treasury (*tresor*) and, thus, the financial means necessary to acquire animals, weapons, provisions, and clothing.⁵ The hospitaller administrated the central care facility (*l'Ospital*) located at the Hospitallers' headquarters.⁶ Yet, contrary to William of St. Stephen's vision of 'sovereign' offices, the Hospitaller master, as well as his counterpart in the order of the Temple, had the right to intervene in these offices if he saw fit, because all authority and power of command—including that of the conventual officials—derived from that of the master.⁷ In this chapter, we will examine the functions of the conventual officials. In each case, the information available in the normative texts (i.e. the 'ideal') will be discussed first, followed by a table listing the actual documentation for the individual office-holders

¹ *RT* 661.

² *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

³ Templars: *RT* 104. Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

⁴ Templars: *RT* 112, 335. Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

⁵ Templars: *RT* 335. Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

⁶ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 109; *RRH* 1093a.

⁷ Templars: *RT* 82. Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 106; *RRH* 1093a. For William of St. Stephen's opinion on this matter cf. BN, fr. 6049, f. 264.

(i.e. the ‘reality’). To facilitate the interpretation of these tables, references will be made to the numbers assigned to the documentation in each table’s left column.

Administration, Provisions, and Finances: Seneschal, Preceptor, and Treasurer

The convent’s administration, provisions, and finances were in the hands of several officials, namely, in the order of the Temple, the seneschal (whose office disappeared at the end of the twelfth century), the preceptor, and the treasurer (with the functions of these latter two originally exercised by one individual), and, in the order of the Hospital, the preceptor and the treasurer. The Templars’ normative texts reveal very little about the SENESCHAL’s specific functions. According to the rule, gifts given to a brother had to be passed on to the master or the seneschal (*dapifer*).⁸ Thus, it was his primary function to represent the master, an impression reinforced by the order’s *retrais*. Wherever the master was not present, the seneschal was ‘in the master’s place’ (*en trestous le leus ou li Maistres nen est il est en leu dou Maistre*). He had equipment, houses, and provisions at his disposal. He could send brothers from one land to another. He could give gifts (apparently up to a certain value) to friends of the order. Like the master, he was expected to obtain the brothers’ counsel with regard to all of the above.⁹ The seneschal also served as one of the master’s key advisors. He was the only bailiff whose advice the master had to seek when it was on the chapter’s agenda to send a brother to the west ‘in the master’s place,’ which is noteworthy because the master could send the seneschal himself to the west (which occurred at least once).¹⁰ Together with the preceptor of the land, the seneschal had to be present when the conventual marshal was appointed; all other bailiffs could be excluded from this even without prior thanks for their services.¹¹ When the Templars discontinued the office of the seneschal at the end of the twelfth century, the order’s highest conventual preceptor and the marshal became the master’s most important representatives.

⁸ UT 40.

⁹ RT 99–100. In the absence of the master, the seneschal probably had military functions as well; after all, in the Anglo-Norman world, the seneschal was a military official, cf. Aurell, *Plantagenet Empire*, 29.

¹⁰ RT 92. For the seneschal visiting the west (1132–4); cf. Table 17, n. 2–5.

¹¹ RT 108.

Table 17: Templar Seneschals (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar seneschals	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	(1129 XII 25–1130 IX 1), (Jer.)	<i>Willelmus dapifer Templi</i>	C: prior (Holy Sep.) for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ¹²
2	1132 IX 19, EU	<i>ejusdem Robertus dapiferi</i>	C: donat. to T (castle of Barberà)	R ¹³
3	1132 X 3, EU	<i>Rotberti senescalch</i>	C: donat. to T	W ¹⁴
4	1132 XII 28, EU	<i>Robbertus qui senescalcus Templi fuerat</i>	C: conc. dues payable to the T at Le Puy	W ¹⁵
5	(1133 III 26–1134 IV 14), (Lan.)	<i>Roberti senescalci</i>	C: donat. to T (member reception)	I ¹⁶
6	1148 summer, (Jer.)	<i>Andreas de Muntbar dapifer</i>	C: donat. confirm. to St. Lazarus	W ¹⁷
7	(1149 after VI 29), (Jer.)	<i>frater A ... ejusdem militiae dapifer dictus</i>	L: T-sen. to T-mast. (requesting his return to TS)	I ¹⁸
8	(1150 XII 25–1151 VIII 31), (Jer.)	<i>Andreas militum Templi dapifer</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for St. Lazarus	W ¹⁹
9	1151 V (5), TS	<i>Andreas dapifer</i>	C: nobleman for St. Lazarus	W ²⁰
10	1160 VII 26, Naz./Ac.	<i>Guillelmus comilitonum Templi senescalcus</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for Holy Sep.	W ²¹
11	1160 XI 29, Jer.	<i>Guillelmus de Guerchia commilitonum Templi senescalus</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H	W ²²
12	(1160), (Jer.)	<i>Willelmi videlicet senescalci</i>	C: T-mast. for Holy Sep.	W ²³
13	(1160), (Jer.)	<i>Willelmi videlicet senescalci</i>	C: T-mast. for Holy Sep.	W ²⁴
14	1169 VIII 20, Ac.	<i>Gualterius senescallus Templi</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H	W ²⁵

¹² Bresc-Bautier, appendix, 347–8 n. I; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43–5 n. 17; *RRH* 133.

¹³ Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 102–3 n. 27; *CT* 47.

¹⁴ *CT* 48.

¹⁵ *CT* 52.

¹⁶ *CT* 61.

¹⁷ *CT* 512; Marsy, 126–7 n. 5; *RRH* 252.

¹⁸ *RHGF* XV, 540–1; *RRH* 261.

¹⁹ Marsy, 130–1 n. 10; *RRH* 269.

²⁰ Marsy, 129–30 n. 9; *RRH* 266.

²¹ Bresc-Bautier, 123–7 n. 45; Rozière, 102–7 n. 54; *RRH* 354.

²² *CHI* I 296; *RRH* 355.

²³ Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363.

²⁴ Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364.

²⁵ *CHI* I 409; *RRH* 466.

Table 17 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar seneschals	documentation (type and contents)	function
15	1174 VII 3, Tib./Jer.	<i>frater Berengarius senescalcus Templi</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for layperson (property confirm./exch. of fiefs)	W ²⁶
16	1174 XII 13, Jer.	<i>frater Berengarius ejusdem Templi senescalcus</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H (C confirm.)	W ²⁷
17	1176 (mid- year–IX 23), TS	<i>Berengio milicie Templi senescalco</i>	C: nobleman, in agreem. with kg. (Jer.), confirms sale of real estate	W ²⁸
18	1176 (mid- year–IX 23), Ac.	<i>frater Berengarius milicie Templi senescalcus</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H	W ²⁹
19	1179 (VI 10 or VIII 24–9)	<i>senescalcus/chef des Templiers</i>	L/NS: death in battle or during castle siege (Jacob's Ford)	M † ³⁰
20	(1179 after X 9–1181 fall), Ac.	<i>fratris Ursi de A In(eto) . . . domus Templi . . . senescallo</i>	C: donat. to T (land in EU)	R ³¹
21	1183 (before IX 1), TS	<i>frater Gyrardus de Radifort eiusdem domus senescalcus</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) confirms agreem. between T and St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ³²
22	1184 VIII, Jer.	<i>fratris Girardi de Rideford domus Templi senescalci</i>	C: nobleman (EU) for various religious institutions (TS)	P ³³
23	(1184), TS	<i>frater G(erardus) de Ridefort milicie Templi senescalcus</i>	L: T-sen. to T-prec. (Jer.) (report about proceedings against a T-br.)	I ³⁴
24	1187 V 1, Cresson	<i>fratre Hursone eiusdem domus senescalco</i>	L: (presumably) death in battle	M (†) ³⁵
25	(1190) X (before 21), near Ac.	<i>fratri Aimoni de Ais senescalco milicie Templi</i>	C: nobleman for T (donat. of income)	R/W ³⁶

²⁶ Strehlke, 8 n. 7; *RRH* 517.

²⁷ *CH* I 468; *RRH* 518.

²⁸ *CH* I 495; *RRH* 539.

²⁹ *CH* I 496; *RRH* 537.

³⁰ Letter: VOP I, 307–8 n. 120–1; *Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. Erdmann, 250–1 n. 76. Narrative source: Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 198, 202. Cf. Chapter Nine: Berengar (of Castelpers).

³¹ Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis.

³² VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; *RRH* 631.

³³ Broussillon, “Charte,” 50–3; *RRH* 637a.

³⁴ Abel, “Lettre,” 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 360, 415.

³⁵ *Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; *RRH* 658.

³⁶ Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–31.

Table 17 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar seneschals	documentation (type and contents)	function
26	(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Ac.	<i>fratris Amionis de Ais domus Templi senescalli</i>	C: noblemen for T (donat. of income)	R ³⁷
27	(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Ac.	<i>fratre Aimione de Ays senescallo</i>	C: nobleman for T (donat. of income)	R/W ³⁸
28	1191 V 9, near Ac.	<i>ego Relis dominus militie Templi senescalcus</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for Venice (confirm. of 1123 priv.)	G ³⁹
29	1191 (IV 14–VII 12), near Ac.	<i>fratre Rerico de Corteno milicie domus Templi senescalco</i>	C: nobleman for T	M ⁴⁰
30	1192 II 10, Ac.	<i>frater Adam Brion Templi militum senescalcus</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for Hosp. of the Germans	W ⁴¹
31	1195 IX, Ac.	<i>ego senescalcus domus militie</i>	C: Count Henry II of Cha. for the Genoese	G ⁴²

The documentation listed in Table 17 shows that the Templar seneschal did not only serve as a charter witness, but that he indeed received donations on behalf of his order (2, 5, 20, 25–7). The most significant of these occurred in 1132 in the west when the count of Urgell gave his castle of Barberà to the Seneschal Robert (II Burgundio) (2). The seneschal's prestige outside of his own order is illustrated by the fact that he witnessed 8 charters of the king of Jerusalem (8, 10, 11, 14–16, 18, 30) and 14 legal transactions that did not directly involve the Templars as partners to an agreement, issuers, or recipients (i.e. almost half of the documentation for the seneschal: 1, 6, 8–11, 14–18, 28, 30, 31). Twice, namely in 1179 and 1187, a Templar seneschal lost his life in battle, showing that his duties were not exclusively administrative (19, 24). The most 'personal' documentation is a letter sent by the Seneschal Andrew of Montbard to the Master Everard of Barres in 1149, urging the latter to return to the east (7), as well as a letter sent by the

³⁷ Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13.

³⁸ Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14.

³⁹ Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705.

⁴⁰ Métais, *Templiers*, 23–4 n. 17.

⁴¹ Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701.

⁴² *Liber iurium*, I, 411–12 n. 410; *RRH* 724.

Seneschal Gerard of Ridefort to the Templar preceptor of Jerusalem (O. of Vend.) in a disciplinary matter (23). The documentation confirms the seneschal's prominent role outlined in the normative texts.

We now turn to the highest-ranking conventual PRECEPTOR of the Hospital and the Temple. Since the Templar preceptor of the land was also the conventual treasurer, his financial responsibilities will be addressed further below in conjunction with those of the Hospitaller treasurer. In both orders, the conventual preceptor's most significant role was to represent the master in a geographically or legally defined area. This representation was different from that provided by the Templar seneschal who was 'in the master's place' wherever the master was not present. When the Templar master left the kingdom of Jerusalem, the *retrais* gave him the option (not the obligation) to leave the preceptor of the land (*comandeur de la terre*) or another brother in his (i.e. the master's) place.⁴³ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, the preceptor was allowed to use the seal wherever the master was not and had, when the master was absent, power of command 'this side of the sea.'⁴⁴ The first part of this stipulation sounds very similar to the role played by the Templar seneschal, but the second part makes it clear that the power of command of the Hospitallers' conventual preceptor (unlike that of the Templar seneschal) was limited to the east. Since the Hospitallers did not utilize the seneschal as a high-ranking conventual official, their conventual preceptor (and, later, grand preceptor) became the master's top representative who was allowed to receive responsions coming in from the west, could grant special rations, and, by 1283, led the monthly audit of the treasury.⁴⁵ The preceptor's earliest function mentioned in a normative text, namely his participation in the nightly procession through the order's hospital detailed in the statutes of 1177/83, was probably also an original responsibility of the master that had come to be delegated to the preceptor.⁴⁶ Later on, the Hospitaller (grand) preceptor, together with the marshal, oversaw the brothers' procession to the prayer of thanksgiving, presumably

⁴³ *RT* 92.

⁴⁴ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

⁴⁵ Responsions: *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a. Special rations: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 89; *RRH* 1093a. Treasury audit: *CH* III 3844, § 2; *RRH* 1451a. *CH* III 4022, § 2; *RRH* 1480a.

⁴⁶ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 198–203; for these statutes cf. also Mitchell, *Medicine*, 67.

with the preceptor supervising the serving brothers and the marshal supervising the conventual brothers.⁴⁷

In both orders, the preceptor was in charge of the convent's provisions. The more the convent grew in numbers, the more additional officials, subordinate to the preceptor, had to be appointed to assist him in this task. When the Hospitallers had their headquarters on Cyprus, the preceptor of Cyprus saw to the storage of the order's grain and wine harvest, while the (grand) preceptor of Limassol was responsible for supplying the convent from these stores.⁴⁸ The Templar preceptor of the land ensured that the brothers had everything they needed, including the means to purchase medication.⁴⁹ He also oversaw the order's houses and casalia in the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁵⁰ He was in charge of mules, pack animals, and foals, presumably because he needed them as a means of transport. However, with regard to pack animals and horses, he had to cooperate with the marshal whose military and logistical tasks took priority.⁵¹ In both orders, the highest-ranking preceptor was a key administrator whose power of command reached well beyond the convent. The Templar preceptor of the land informed the marshal how many brothers should be sent to the order's various houses, and the marshal had to abide by these instructions.⁵² According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1301, the grand preceptor oversaw the 'chambers' (i.e. set incomes from the order's properties assigned to individual brothers for a certain time or for life); only the chambers of conventual brothers were at the discretion of the marshal.⁵³

The office of the preceptor was flexible and could be adapted as needed. By 1180, both orders were, at least occasionally, employing a grand preceptor. At one point, the Templars' *retrais* refer to the preceptor of the land as the 'grand preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem' to distinguish him from the preceptor of Jerusalem.⁵⁴ A specific grand preceptor was elected after the Templar master's death. He took the master's place, set the date for the election of the new master after

⁴⁷ *CH IV* 4549, § 4.

⁴⁸ *CH III* 4515, § 4.

⁴⁹ *RT* 196.

⁵⁰ *RT* 118.

⁵¹ The respective stipulations are very precise, cf. *RT* 106, 114–15.

⁵² *RT* 381.

⁵³ *CH IV* 4549, § 10.

⁵⁴ *RT* 123.

consultations with the brothers, used the master's seal, and gave orders until the new master had been elected.⁵⁵ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, the installation of and the functions assigned to the grand preceptor were subject to an agreement between the master and the general chapter.⁵⁶ 'Grand preceptor' ultimately became the title of the highest-ranking preceptor in the Hospitaller convent, while the Templars continued to qualify their preceptors by adding toponyms to their titles. Between 1191 and 1291, the Templar preceptor of Acre, who ranked below the order's preceptor of the land, was a very important official. This can be seen from the charter evidence but not from the normative texts, as the latter do not address his specific functions. He probably oversaw the Templars' extensive real estate in and around Acre.

The convent's subordinate officials who played any role with regard to provisions probably reported to the preceptor. In the order of the Temple, the preparation of meals at the headquarters was the responsibility of the 'preceptor of the house' (*comandeur de la maison*).⁵⁷ He supervised all storage and supply facilities involved in the preparation of meals (i.e. certain stables, the wine cellar, the kitchen, etc.) and also sent provisions (or, in lieu of these, money) to the infirmary.⁵⁸ The personnel working in these storage and supply facilities probably stood under the command of this preceptor of the house. In one instance in which the Templars' Latin rule speaks of the seneschal (*dapifer*), the Old French version makes reference to the 'preceptor of the foodstuffs' (*comandor de la viande*).⁵⁹ This official may have been the equivalent of the preceptor of the house when the Templars were on campaign, as the *retrais* mention the 'tent of the foodstuffs with its commander' (*tente de la viande avec son comandor*).⁶⁰ When guests had to be entertained at the order's headquarters, the preceptor of the house or the preceptor of the palace (*comandor de la maison ou... celui dou palais*) was in charge.⁶¹ The latter supervised the meals served at the headquarters and, under certain

⁵⁵ *RT* 198, 200, 203–4.

⁵⁶ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

⁵⁷ *RT* 186, 194.

⁵⁸ *RT* 196.

⁵⁹ *UT* 40; *RT* 44.

⁶⁰ *RT* 148.

⁶¹ *RT* 292.

circumstances, was in charge of safe-keeping the brothers' money.⁶² In both orders, the preceptor of the vault (at the sea) at Acre, mentioned in the Templars' twelfth-century statutes as well as the Hospitallers' thirteenth-century charters, administered the convent's provisions.⁶³ It is unknown whether he was identical with the Hospitallers' 'little preceptor' (*petit comandor*) who was also responsible for the storage of provisions.⁶⁴ In the Hospitaller convent, the serving brothers generally answered to the (grand) preceptor. However, in 1300, it was stipulated that they had to obey the marshal in all things pertaining to the marshalcy, which probably referred to their function as manufacturers of military equipment.⁶⁵ The grand preceptor's supervision of the serving brothers and the marshal's supervision of the conventual brothers (outlined in the Hospitallers' thirteenth-century *usances*) does not mean that these two officials were always in the same place.⁶⁶ According to a 1270 statute, the grand preceptor could appoint a 'preceptor of knights' (*comandor des chevaliers*) whenever the marshal, the master squire, and the greater part of the convent had crossed the 'pass of the Dog River' (*pas dou Chien*) in the direction of Tripoli,⁶⁷ and this official was then subordinate to the grand preceptor. By then, the Hospitaller convent's operations and personnel volume had grown to such an extent that, even in the absence of the greater part of the convent's military branch, a mechanism of representation was in place to supervise the knight brothers who stayed behind in Acre.

⁶² Meals: *RT* 299. Money: *RT* 335, suggesting that the preceptor of the palace served in this capacity when there was no treasurer (or when the treasurer was not present).

⁶³ Templars: *RT* 145. Hospitallers: *CH* III 3105; *RRH* 1334. *CH* IV 4549, § 1.

⁶⁴ 1259/61: Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059; cf. Manosque, f. 289 28 #. 1301: *CH* IV 4549, § 15.

⁶⁵ *CH* III 4515, § 14.

⁶⁶ *CH* II 2213, *usance* 110; *RRH* 1093a.

⁶⁷ *CH* III 3396 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 227); *RRH* 1374a.

Table 18: Hospitaller (Grand/General) Preceptors, Their Lieutenants, and Lieutenant Masters (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1150 V 24, (Jer./Em.)	<i>Berengarius preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: layperson for H (conf. of a fief for an annual rent)	W ⁶⁸
2	1152 II 5, TS	<i>Berengarius preceptor</i>	C: layperson for H (receipt for a casale given in lieu of an annual rent)	W ⁶⁹
3	1155 VIII, (Ac.)	<i>fratris Givaldi Hugonis preceptoris totius domus Hospitalis Iherusalem</i>	C: layperson for H (conf. of houses for an annual rent)	R ⁷⁰
4	1156 XI 2, Ac.	<i>frater Givaldus Hugonis preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: agreem. between kg. (Jer.) and Pisans	W ⁷¹
5	1156, (Jer.)	<i>Geraldus Ugonis preceptoris Hospitalis</i>	C: cleric and H (exch. of houses)	CG ⁷²
6	1159 I 25, (Jer.)	<i>frater Garinus de Melna preceptor</i>	C: nobleman for H (conf. of real estate)	R/W ⁷³
7	1162, (Jer.)	<i>Rostano preceptore</i>	C: H-mast. for H-co-brother (conf. of a house for an annual rent)	W ⁷⁴
8	1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jer.	<i>fratrem Guidonem de Moun tunc temporis preceptorem</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of land near Jer.)	W ⁷⁵
9	(1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jer. and Ac.)	<i>frater Guigo de Mahone preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: H-mast. confirms real estate purchase made on behalf of the kg. (Hung.)	W ⁷⁶
10	1165 IV 28, TS	<i>Guiguonis ejusdem preceptoris</i>	C: prince (Galilee) for H (donat. of casalia)	R ⁷⁷
11	1166 IV 29, Ram.	<i>[fratris Guigonis de M]auni</i>	C: nobleman for H (confirm. of ancestors' donat.s)	M ⁷⁸
12	1167 III, (Jer.)	<i>Guigonis preceptoris</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (sale confirm.)	CG ⁷⁹

⁶⁸ CH I 192; RRH 257.⁶⁹ CH I 202; RRH 274.⁷⁰ CH I 237; RRH 311.⁷¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; RRH 322.⁷² CH I 249; RRH 329.⁷³ CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330.⁷⁴ CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c.⁷⁵ CH I 312; RRH 391.⁷⁶ CH I 309; RRH 458.⁷⁷ CH I 345; RRH 414.⁷⁸ CH I 354; RRH 423.⁷⁹ CH I 375; CH, p. 316; RRH 430.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
13	1167, (Jer.)	<i>frater Guido de Maun preceptor ejusdem</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of a house in exch. for alms)	W ⁸⁰
14	(1167 XII 25– 1168 VII 13), TS	<i>Guigo preceptor</i>	C: H-mast. for burgesses (Beth.)	W ⁸¹
15	1169 VII 29, Benev.	<i>G. praeceptorem Hospitalis</i>	L: papal report on situation in TS	M ⁸²
16	1169 VII 29, Benev.	<i>praeceptor Hospitalis</i>	L: papal report on situation in TS	M ⁸³
17	1170 VII, (St.Gi.)	<i>Guigone de Maithono preceptore</i>	C: donat. to H	R ⁸⁴
18	1170, (Fran.)	<i>Guidonis venerabilis preceptoris fratrum Hospitalis</i>	C: duke (Burg.) for H	R ⁸⁵
19	(1170), TS	<i>P. Blauus qui preceptor domus erat dum hec agi inciperent</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁸⁶
20	(1170/1 I–II), TS	<i>preceptor O.</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁸⁷
21	1172 VI 20, Tusc.	<i>O. praeceptor</i>	L: pope to H (responding to the crisis after the resignation of the H-mast.)	R ⁸⁸
22	1173 X, TS	<i>frater Guar(inus) de Melna preceptor</i>	C: H-mast. for a Jacobite (conf. of real estate)	W ⁸⁹
23	1173, (Jer.)	<i>fratre G(arino) de Melna preceptore domus Hospitalis</i>	C: H-mast. for Syr. archbp. (Gaza) (conf. of a monastery)	W ⁹⁰
24	1174 VI, TS	<i>frater Garinus de Melna preceptor</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H (donat. of a street)	W ⁹¹
25	1174 VII 3, Tib./Jer.	<i>frater Garinus preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for layperson (property confirm./exch. of fiefs)	W ⁹²

⁸⁰ CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a.⁸¹ CH I 399; RRH 457.⁸² *Alexandri III Opera*, ed. Migne, 599–601 n. 626.⁸³ *Ibid.*, 601–2 n. 627.⁸⁴ Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 300.⁸⁵ CH I 413.⁸⁶ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 226; RRH 480.⁸⁷ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 226; RRH 480.⁸⁸ VOP II, 227–30 n. 20, here 228; RRH 492a.⁸⁹ CH I 450; RRH 501.⁹⁰ CH I 443; RRH 502.⁹¹ CH I 464; RRH 516.⁹² Strehlke, 8 n. 7; RRH 517.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
26	1174, (Marg.)	<i>fratris Guarini de Mesna Hospitalis ejusdem preceptoris</i>	C: nobleman for H (donat. of real estate)	R ⁹³
27	1175 II, TS	<i>fratris Garini de M(esna) Hospitalis preceptoris</i>	C: prince (Ant.) for H (donat. confirm.)	R ⁹⁴
28	1175 III, (Ant.)	<i>fratre Garino domus Hospitalis preceptore</i>	C: agreem. between archbp. (Apamea) and H	W ⁹⁵
29	1175 III, (Ant.)	<i>fratre Garino domus Hospitalis preceptore</i>	C: patr. (Ant.) confirms agreem. between archbp. (Apamea) and H	W ⁹⁶
30	1175 VIII, (Jer.)	<i>fratris Garini preceptoris... preceptor</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (confirm. of rights)	Co-P/ PA ⁹⁷
31	1175, (Ac.)	<i>Garinus preceptor</i>	C: agreem. between bp. (Ac.) and H	W ⁹⁸
32	1176 III, TS	<i>fratris Garini preceptoris</i>	C: prince (Ant.) for (conf. of real estate to pay off debts)	R ⁹⁹
33	1176 (mid-year– IX 23), TS	<i>Garnerius preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: nobleman, in agreem. with kg (Jer.), confirms sale of real estate	W ¹⁰⁰
34	1177 I, (Jer.)	<i>frater Guarnerius preceptor</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (conf. of real estate for an annual rent)	W ¹⁰¹
35	1177 III 23, TS	<i>fratre Garnerio preceptore</i>	C: H-mast. and others for layperson (confirm. of income claims)	Co-I ¹⁰²
36	1178 V, (Jer.)	<i>frater Raimundus de Sancto Micheale preceptor</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (confirm. of real estate purchase)	W ¹⁰³
37	1180 VII, TS	<i>frère Garnier grand- commandeur</i>	C: count (Trip.) for H (castle donat.)	R ¹⁰⁴

⁹³ CH I 457; RRH 521.⁹⁴ CH I 472; RRH 523.⁹⁵ VOP II, 230–2 n. 21a.⁹⁶ VOP II, 232–3 n. 21b; CH I 474; RRH 513.⁹⁷ CH I 483; RRH 528.⁹⁸ CH I 471; RRH 532.⁹⁹ CH I 475; RRH 524.¹⁰⁰ CH I 495; RRH 539.¹⁰¹ CH I 508; RRH 540.¹⁰² Manosque, f. 479 52 S.¹⁰³ CH I 538; RRH 558.¹⁰⁴ CH I 585; RRH 594b.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
38	1180, TS	<i>fratre Garnerio eiusdem domus preceptore magno</i>	C: nobleman (and spouse/ royal widow) for H (donat. of land)	M/W ¹⁰⁵
39	1181 before IX 10, TS	<i>frater Garnerius preceptor</i>	C: nobleman for H (sale of casale)	W ¹⁰⁶
40	1181 XI 9, Jer.	<i>frater Garnerius preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: agreem. between H-mast. and archbp. (Petra)	W ¹⁰⁷
41	1183 I 1, Marg.	<i>fratrique Garnerio ejusdem preceptori</i>	C: nobleman for H (donat. of casale with reservation of usufruct)	R ¹⁰⁸
42	1184, near Ac.	<i>frater videlicet Garnerius tunc temporis preceptor in Hospitali</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (conf. of real estate for an annual rent)	W ¹⁰⁹
43	1185, TS	<i>fratris Erchenbaldi tunc ejusdem sacratissime domus preceptoris</i>	C: nobleman for H (sale confirm.)	R ¹¹⁰
44	1187 II 1, Marg.	<i>frater Burellus tunc temporis ejusdem domus preceptor</i>	C: nobleman for H (conf. of castle for an annual rent)	W ¹¹¹
45	1187 II after 1, Ant.	<i>frater Burellus magnus preceptor</i>	C: prince (Ant.) for H (confirm. of castle conf.)	W ¹¹²
46	1187 (VII 4–7 or after 10, before VIII 6), Tyre	<i>frater Bo(rrellus) preceptor Hospitalis</i>	C: prelates and barons (TS) for Genuese	W ¹¹³
47	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Borelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan commune in Tyre	CG ¹¹⁴
48	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Burelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for St.Gi., Montpellier, Marseilles, Barcelona, and Nîmes	CG ¹¹⁵
49	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Burrelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans	CG ¹¹⁶

¹⁰⁵ CH I 576; RRH 597.¹⁰⁶ CH I 603; RRH 611.¹⁰⁷ CH I 610; RRH 607.¹⁰⁸ CH I 623; RRH 612.¹⁰⁹ CH I 663; RRH 640.¹¹⁰ CH I 754; RRH 642.¹¹¹ CH I 783 (insert); VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 647.¹¹² CH I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 649.¹¹³ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; RRH 659.¹¹⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; RRH 665.¹¹⁵ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; RRH 666.¹¹⁶ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; RRH 667.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
50	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Burelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans	CG ¹¹⁷
51	1188 (I), Tyre	<i>eximius preceptor Hospitalis</i>	L: Conrad of Montferrat and others to the kg. (Hung.) (report about TS)	Co-I ¹¹⁸
52	1188 V, Tyre	<i>fratris Borelli tunc eiusdem domus magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ¹¹⁹
53	1188 X, (Tyre)	<i>Borrelli preceptoris Jerusalem</i>	C: H-mast. for the female H of Sigena (confirm. of their rule)	CG ¹²⁰
54	1190 X 31, near Ac.	<i>frater Ogerus domus Hospitalis Iherosolimitani tunc temporis magnus preceptor</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of incomes and house in EU; H-gprec. confers them upon a named H)	PA ¹²¹
55	1191 V 9, near Ac.	<i>Ego Rogerius [= Fr. Ogerius] magnus Hospitalis praeceptor</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for Venice (confirm. of 1123 priv.)	G ¹²²
56	1192 II 2, (Ac.)	<i>frater Guillelmus de Meleriis domus Acconensis bagulus</i>	C: H-mast. for Hosp. of the Germans (conf. of land)	W ¹²³
57	1192 II 10, Ac.	<i>frater Guillelmus de Viliers preceptor Hospitalis Acconis</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for Hosp. of the Germans	W ¹²⁴
58	1193 I, TS	<i>frater Martinus Gotzaldus preceptor</i>	C: H-mast. for church of Valenia (conc. tithes)	W ¹²⁵
59	1194 I 5, TS	<i>frater Robertus Anglicus tunc commendator domus Hospitalis Acconensis</i>	C: regent (Jer.) for H (donat. of part of Ac.'s city walls)	W ¹²⁶
60	1201 IV 27, (Ac.)	<i>fratris Guillelmi Lombardi preceptoris tunc temporis domus Hospitalis Accon</i>	C: Genoese individual for H (donat. of shops in Ac.)	W ¹²⁷

¹¹⁷ Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.

¹¹⁸ Ilgen, “Brief,” 135–7; *RRH* 670.

¹¹⁹ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.

¹²⁰ *CH* I 860; *RRH* 677.

¹²¹ *CH* I 900; *RRH* 697a.

¹²² Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705.

¹²³ *CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699.

¹²⁴ Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701.

¹²⁵ *CH* I 941; *RRH* 708.

¹²⁶ *CH* I 972; *RRH* 717.

¹²⁷ *CH* II 1145; *RRH* 783.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
61	1201 V, (Ac.)	<i>frater Guillelmus Lombardus tunc temporis preceptor domus Hospitalis Accon</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of casale; reception as co-sister)	W ¹²⁸
62	1203 III 1, TS	<i>Petro de Mirmanda generali preceptori</i>	C: papal legate for H (confirm. of casalia donat.)	R ¹²⁹
63	1203 III 4, TS	<i>fratrem Petrum de Mirmanda generalem preceptorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis de Jherusalem</i>	C: agreem. between Peter of Mirmande and Helena (who owes the H homage for two casalia)	PA ¹³⁰
64	1203, Ant.	<i>generalis preceptor Hospitalis</i>	L: papal legate to pope (report about trip to Ant. and its participants)	M ¹³¹
65	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Warinus de Monte Acuto (n.tit.)</i>	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ¹³²
66	1206 IX 21, Ac.	<i>G. preceptoris Hospitalis sancti Johannis</i>	C: marriage contract between Marie la Marquise and Kg. Peter II of Arag.	W ¹³³
67	1207 XII 18, Ac.	<i>fratris Isembardi ejusdem domus magni preceptoris</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (donat. confirm.)	R ¹³⁴
68	1207/8 II 22, TS	<i>frater Isembardus preceptor Acconensis</i>	C: lady (Caes.) for H (donat. of real estate)	W/R ¹³⁵
69	1207/8 II, TS	<i>frater Isembardus preceptor Accon</i>	C: lady (Caes.) for H (donat. of casalia)	W/R ¹³⁶
70	1217 VIII 28, TS	<i>frere Isembardus commandeur de l'Hospital saint Jehan in Accon</i>	C: H-prec. for H-donata (conf. of houses)	I ¹³⁷
71	1217 IX 1, TS	<i>frère Isimbard (n.tit.)</i>	C: Isembard promulgates again his 1217 VIII 28 C (cf. above)	I ¹³⁸

¹²⁸ CH II 1146; RRH 784.¹²⁹ Manosque, f. 374 38 @.¹³⁰ Manosque, f. 404 43 J; CH II 1156; RRH 787b.¹³¹ *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV, cli-clix, here cliv; RRH 794.¹³² CH II 1197; RRH 797a.¹³³ ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242.¹³⁴ CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; RRH 824.¹³⁵ CH II 1250; RRH 818.¹³⁶ CH II 1251; RRH 819.¹³⁷ Manosque, f. 20' 4 q.¹³⁸ CH II 1584; RRH 899a.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
72	1219 VIII, (Ac.)	<i>ego frater Isimbardus preceptor domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis in Accon et locum magistri ejusdem Hospitalis tenens in partibus Syrie</i>	C: H for a layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	I ¹³⁹
73	1221 V, Dam.	<i>frater Golferius preceptor</i>	C: agreem. between H and bp. (Ac.), sealed by papal legate	W ¹⁴⁰
74	(1222–5), TS [with reservations]	<i>fratre R. Motet commandeur general de l'Ospital de Jherusalem</i>	C: <i>lettre missive</i> conc. house donat.	I ¹⁴¹
75	1231 IX 28, TS	<i>fratri Guillelmo de Tyneriis preceptoris Acconensi</i>	C: <i>bailli</i> (kingdom of Jer.) for H (confirm. of fief sale)	R ¹⁴²
76	1235 VII 28, Perugia	<i>preceptoris... Hospitalis Jerosolimitani</i>	L: pope seeking support for the <i>bailli</i> of Emperor Frederick II	R ¹⁴³
77	1235 XI, (Ac.)	<i>frater Andreas Polin magnus preceptor Acconensis</i>	C: H-mast. for Nicholas Antelini (exch. of houses)	W ¹⁴⁴
78	1237 VI 18, (Ac.)	<i>nos frere Pierre de Vielle Brude de la sainte maison del Hospital de Jerusalem humil comandor en Acre</i>	C: H-prec. for layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	I ¹⁴⁵ with seal
79	1238 XII, (Ac.)	<i>frère Pierre de Vielle Brinde grand-commandeur</i>	C: Mary of Jaffa for H (donat. confirm.)	M ¹⁴⁶
80	1239 IV, (Ac.)	<i>frere Perre de Vielle Bride grant comandaur de l'Ospital de san Johan</i>	C: H-mast. for TO-gprec. (conf. of casale)	W ¹⁴⁷
81	1240, Ac.	<i>fratre Guillelmo Silvanectensi magno preceptore domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis</i>	C: agreem. between H- mast. (and convent) and TO-mast. (and convent) (conc. casale Arabia)	W ¹⁴⁸

¹³⁹ CH II 1656; RRH 923.¹⁴⁰ CH II 1718; RRH 945.¹⁴¹ Manosque, f. 456 49 P.¹⁴² CH II 1996; RRH 1027.¹⁴³ *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray *et al.*, n. 2703.¹⁴⁴ CH II 2126; RRH 1063.¹⁴⁵ Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641 (seal); CH II 2166; RRH 1076b.¹⁴⁶ CH II 2212; RRH 1084a.¹⁴⁷ CH II 2224; RRH 1091.¹⁴⁸ CH II 2245; RRH 1097.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
82	1242 VI 7, TS	<i>fratrem Guillelmum de Sancto Lissio (et) magnum preceptorem sancti Johannis Jherosoli(mi)tani</i>	C: agreem. between T and H (on A to settle their disputes)	CG ¹⁴⁹
83	1244 VII 11, Jer.	<i>praeceptorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis</i>	L: death during the defense of Jerusalem against the Hwarizmians	M † ¹⁵⁰
84	1245 IV 5, Ac.	<i>fratris Joannis de Ronay preceptoris generalis ejusdem domus vices magistri gerentis</i>	C: laypersons for H (conf. of real estate)	R ¹⁵¹
85	1248 V 25, Lyons	<i>vice magistri... domus Hospitalis Hierosolymitani</i>	L: pope prohibiting all support for Emperor Frederick II or his son	R ¹⁵²
86	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>religioso viro fratri Johanni de Ronay magno preceptori et vice magistri domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	R ¹⁵³
87	1248 VIII 19, (Ac.)	<i>fratri Johanni de Ronay ejusdem domus magno preceptori</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of house in Ac.)	R ¹⁵⁴
88	1248 XI 30, Ac.	<i>fratri Johanni vicemagistri domus Hospitalis Jherusalem</i>	C: archbp. (Naz.) and bp. (Ac.) for H (authentication of 1248 VIII 7 C)	M ¹⁵⁵
89	1248/9 winter, Cyp.	<i>les maistres... de l'Ospitau</i>	NS: H-(lieut.) mast. participating in crusade deliberations	M ¹⁵⁶
90	1250 II 8, Egypt	<i>frères Henris de Ronnay prevoz de l'Ospital</i>	NS: informing kg. (Fran.) of the death of his brother (count of Artois)	M ¹⁵⁷
91	1250 II 11, Egypt	<i>vicemagister Hospitalis</i>	NS: death in battle	M † ¹⁵⁸
92	1250 IV 5–6, Egypt	<i>fratres praeceptores Templi ubriusque Hospitalarii</i>	NS: captured by Muslims	M ¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁹ Manosque, f. 383 40 H.

¹⁵⁰ *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 93; *RRH* 1123.

¹⁵¹ *CH* II 2353; *RRH* 1135.

¹⁵² *Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 4107; *CH* II 2471.

¹⁵³ *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164.

¹⁵⁴ Manosque, f. 468 51 C; *CH* II 2483; *RRH* 1164a.

¹⁵⁵ Manosque, f. 450 48 Y; *CH* II 2491.

¹⁵⁶ *Gestes*, 147 § 262.

¹⁵⁷ Joinville, § 244.

¹⁵⁸ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; *CH* II 2521; *RRH* 1191.

¹⁵⁹ “Annales monasterii de Burton,” ed. Luard, 288; *RRH* 1190.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
93	1251 VIII 29, TS	<i>fratrem Hugonem preceptorem Hospitalis sancti Iohannis in Aquon</i>	C: layperson for H (renunciation of rights)	R ¹⁶⁰
94	(1252) II 3, TS	<i>frère Hugues Revel, grand commandeur</i>	C: patr. (.Jer.) for H (authentication of 1155 C)	P ¹⁶¹
95	1253 XII 22, Ac.	<i>fratri Hugoni Revel ejusdem domus magno preceptori in Accon</i>	C: layperson for H (conf. of house in Ac.)	R ¹⁶²
96	(1254) II, TS	<i>frère Hugues Revel grand- commandeur</i>	C: H-mast. for prior/ brothers of St. James (Ac.) (reception as co-brothers)	CG ¹⁶³
97	1254 VI 1, TS	<i>frère Hugues Revel grand- commandeur dudit Hôpital</i>	C: lady (Sidon) names H- gprec. among the executors of her testament	M ¹⁶⁴
98	(1250 X 17–1254 VI 8), TS	<i>fratris Hugonis Revel magni praeceptoris Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Iherusalem</i>	C: patr. (.Jer.) and others for H (authentication of 1160 C)	P ¹⁶⁵
99	1254 VIII, TS	<i>commandeur de l’Hospital dudit Acre</i>	C: brothers of St. James (Ac.) request reception as co-brothers	R ¹⁶⁶
100	1254 IX 22, TS	<i>fratre Hugone Revel magno preceptore Hospitalis</i>	C: H-mast. takes possession of a casale	W ¹⁶⁷
101	1255 II 11, Ac.	<i>venerabili viro fratri Hugoni Revel magno preceptori ejusdem domus</i>	C: knight for H (donat. of land near Ac.)	R ¹⁶⁸
102	1255 IV 19, TS	<i>fratrisque Hugo Revel magni preceptoris</i>	C: knight for H (donat. of half of a house in Ac.)	R ¹⁶⁹
103	1255 V 1, Ac.	<i>religioso viro Hugoni Revel magno preceptoris dicte domus</i>	C: lord (Caes.) for H (conf. of property)	R ¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁰ Manosque, f. 435’ 47 J; Delaville Le Roulx, “Inventaire,” 88 n. 272; *RRH* 1197a.

¹⁶¹ Delaville Le Roulx, “Inventaire,” 52 n. 52.

¹⁶² *CH* II 2662; *RRH* 1209.

¹⁶³ *CH* II 2666; *RRH* 1214a.

¹⁶⁴ *CH* II 2686; *RRH* 1215a.

¹⁶⁵ Pauli, *Codice*, 205–6 n. 162; *RRH* 342 (part II).

¹⁶⁶ Manosque, f. 170’ 18 M; *CH* II 2689; *RRH* 1216a.

¹⁶⁷ *CH* II 2693; *RRH* 1220.

¹⁶⁸ *CH* II 2714; *RRH* 1212.

¹⁶⁹ Manosque, f. 168’ 18 H; *CH* II 2733; *RRH* 1234a.

¹⁷⁰ *CH* II 2732; *RRH* 1234.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
104	1256 I, Ac.	<i>frere Hugue Revel grant comandeor de nostre maison d'Acre</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	A ¹⁷¹
105	1256 IV 30, Ac.	<i>frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur</i>	C: John of Jaffa promises to abide by A-decision	A ¹⁷²
106	1256 VI, TS	<i>frere Hugues Revel grand commandeur d'Acre</i>	C: agreem. between John of Jaffa and H	PA ¹⁷³
107	(1256), TS	<i>Hugone de Revel magno praeceptore Hospitalis</i>	C: lord (Tyre) for Marseilles	W ¹⁷⁴
108	(1256/7) II 22, TS	<i>fratrem Hugonem Revelle magnum preceptorem dicte domus</i>	C: agreem. between Bohemond VI and H (on A to settle their disputes)	A ¹⁷⁵
109	(1256/7) II 22, TS	<i>frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur</i>	C: agreem. between Bohemond VI and H (on additional A)	A ¹⁷⁶
110	(1256/7) III, Trip.	<i>frere Hüge Revel grant comandor de la maison del Hospital d'Acre</i>	C: Bohemond VI for H	R ¹⁷⁷
111	1258 (VI 24–X 9), TS	<i>frere Hugue Revel quy adons estoit grant comandor</i>	NS: serving as gprec. until his election as H-mast.	M ¹⁷⁸
112	1259 X 24, Ac.	<i>frater Henricus Theotonicus magnus preceptor Hospitalis in Accon</i>	C: archbp. (Naz.) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ¹⁷⁹
113	1259 X 24, Ac.	<i>frater Henricus magnus preceptor Hospitalis in Accon</i>	C: archbp. (Naz.) for H (protection)	W ¹⁸⁰
114	1259 X 25, Ac.	<i>fratris Henrici Teotonic magni preceptoris dicte domus in Accon et locum dicti magistri tenentis</i>	C: archbp. (Naz.) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	P ¹⁸¹

¹⁷¹ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.¹⁷² CH II 2817; RRH 1249.¹⁷³ Manosque, f. 654 83 C.¹⁷⁴ Ruffi, *Histoire*, I, 96; RRH 1297.¹⁷⁵ Manosque, f. 312 31 D.¹⁷⁶ CH II 2857; RRH 1257b.¹⁷⁷ CH II 2801; RRH 1229.¹⁷⁸ *Gestes*, 155 § 285.¹⁷⁹ CH II 2934; RRH 1280.¹⁸⁰ CH II 2935; RRH 1281.¹⁸¹ CH II 2936; RRH 1282.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
115	1260 IV 14, Ac. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>fratris Craphi hospitalarii existentis tunc loco magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis in Accon</i>	C: knight for H (conf. of property in Ac.)	W ¹⁸²
116	1261 I 11–17, Ac.	<i>preceptore Hospitalis</i>	C: trial of the Italian cities (conc. fortifications/ quarters in Ac.)	W ¹⁸³
117	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Henry de Fer grant comandeor de l'Ospital</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ¹⁸⁴
118	1264 IX 16, Ac.	<i>fratrem Stephanum de Meses magnum preceptorem dicti Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani</i>	C: burgess of Ac. names H-gprec. heir and executor of his testament	M ¹⁸⁵
119	(1266) II 13, (Ac.)	<i>fratri Stephano de Moses magno preceptori Hospitalis sancte domus Jherusalem</i>	C: Venetian individual for H (sale of shop and house)	R ¹⁸⁶
120	1266 X 28, near Ac.	<i>freres Estevenes de Mores grant commandour</i>	NS: death due to Muslim ambush	M ^{†187}
121	(1268) II 10, TS	<i>frater Bonifacius de Calamandrana magnus preceptor domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis de Accon</i>	C: inventory of the H- church (Ac.)	W ¹⁸⁸
122	(1269 summer- fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Boniface de Calamandrane grant comandor d'Acre</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ¹⁸⁹
123	1269 XI 11, Ac.	<i>grant comandor de le meismes maison frere Boniface de Calamandrane</i>	C: nobleman for H (renunciation of annual rent claim for Marg.)	G ¹⁹⁰
124	1271 VI 2, Ac.	<i>frater Bonifacio de Calamandrana magno preceptore domus Hospitalis</i>	C: H-mast. returns charters that had been in H safe- keeping	W ¹⁹¹

¹⁸² CH II 2949; RRH 1291.¹⁸³ Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; RRH 1298.¹⁸⁴ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.¹⁸⁵ CH III 3105; RRH 1334.¹⁸⁶ Manosque, f. 530 59 9; CH III 3207; RRH 1342b.¹⁸⁷ “Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 453 (B redaction).¹⁸⁸ Manosque, f. 178 19 H; CH III 3292; RRH 1363a.¹⁸⁹ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313.¹⁹⁰ CH III 3236; RRH 1367.¹⁹¹ CH III 3422; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360' 37 A.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
125	1271 X 20, Ac.	<i>frater Nicholaus Lorgnius magnus preceptor domus nostre Acconensis</i>	C: H-mast. confirms receipt of certain patronage rights in Port.	W ¹⁹²
126	1273 X 7, Ac.	<i>fratre Stephano de Braco magno preceptore domus nostre in Accon</i>	C: H-mast. confirms exch. between abbey (St. Chaffre) and H	W ¹⁹³
127	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>fratris Nicolai magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ¹⁹⁴
128	1279 III 24, Lajazzo (Ayas, Cilicia)	<i>fratrem Bonifacium de Calamandrana preceptorem magnum dicti Hospitalis</i>	C: several mariners revoke an earlier agreem. with the H-gprec.	M/ PA ¹⁹⁵
129	1281 VIII 6, Ac.	<i>fratri Guydoni la Guespe locumtenenti magistri sancti Johannis Jherusalem</i>	C: monk (EU) for H (renunciation of a legal claim)	R ¹⁹⁶
130	1286 VI 27, Ac.	<i>Jacobus de Taixi magnus preceptor domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis, tenens locum magistri</i>	C: kg. (Cyp.) offers safe-conduct to French garrison of the castle at Ac.	W; ¹⁹⁷ with seal
131	1289 IV 26, Trip.	<i>le comandour de l'Ospitau frere Mahé de Clermont</i>	NS: fleeing from Trip. as Sultan Qalawun is conquering the city	M ¹⁹⁸
132	1299 (V 8–VI 16), Lim.	<i>le grant comandor de Lamasson qui tient vostre luec en Chipre</i>	L: H-convent rejects the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	M ¹⁹⁹
133	1299 XI–XII, Cyp.	<i>commandator del Hospital che teniva el loco del maestro</i>	NS: together with T-mast. and Amaury of Lusignan, negotiating with envoys of the Ilkhan Ghazan of Persia	M ²⁰⁰
134	1301 XII 31, (Lim.)	<i>le grant comandor... qui estoit au jour frere Foque de Vilaret</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. grand preceptor)	M ²⁰¹

¹⁹² CH III 3433; RRH 1382a.

¹⁹³ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.

¹⁹⁴ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; RRH 1413.

¹⁹⁵ CH III 3694; RRH 1428.

¹⁹⁶ Manosque, f. 566 65 H; CH III 3764–5; RRH 1439a–b.

¹⁹⁷ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 671–3; RRH 1466.

¹⁹⁸ *Gestes*, 237 § 477.

¹⁹⁹ CH III 4462. The grand preceptor had announced the invitation to this chapter to the convent.

²⁰⁰ Amadi, 234; cf. *ibid.*, 236; cf. Bustron, 131.

²⁰¹ CH IV 4553.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
135	1303 II 5, (Lim.)	<i>frere Raymont de Rebelles grant comandor</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (hosp. vs. mar.; involving gprec.)	M ²⁰²
136	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>frere Raymon de Rebeles qui estoit adonc grant comandor de la terre</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (gprec. vs. mast. squire)	M ²⁰³
137	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>i frere qui adonc estoit grant comandor de la terre et avoit nom frere Raymon de Rebelles</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (gprec. vs. mast.)	M ²⁰⁴
138	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>grant comandor</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (on behalf of gprec. vs. mast. squire)	M ²⁰⁵
139	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>grant comandor de la terre qui adonc estoit frere Raymont de Rebelles</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. gprec.)	M ²⁰⁶
140	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>frere Raymont de Rebelles qui adonc estoit grant comandor</i> <i>frere Fouque de Vilaret qui fu fait grant comandor</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (H-br. vs. H-br.; conc. a <i>chambre</i> given out by gprec. (Raymond) and confirmed by his successor (Fulk)	M ²⁰⁷
141	1303 (after XII 27), Lim.	<i>frere Fouque de Vilaret adonc grant comandor</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (gprec. vs. br. of the convent)	M ²⁰⁸
142	1305 (after VI 9), Cyp.	<i>frere Fouque grant coumandour</i>	NS: election as H-mast.	M ²⁰⁹
143	1306 XI 3, Lim.	<i>frater Gantelmus de Turnello sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani humilis magnus preceptor Nimocii</i>	C: H-convent for H-mast. (grant of authority for upcoming trip to EU)	Co-I ²¹⁰
144	1308 V 8, Nic.	<i>fra Guido Severac commandator del Hospital del san Joan</i>	NS: announcing, on behalf of the pope, the appointment of a bp. (Lim.) to be vicar of a vacant archbpr. (Nic.)	M ²¹¹

²⁰² CH IV 4586.²⁰³ CH IV 4613.²⁰⁴ CH IV 4614.²⁰⁵ CH IV 4616.²⁰⁶ CH IV 4617.²⁰⁷ CH IV 4619, cf. *ibid.*, p. 66.²⁰⁸ CH IV 4624.²⁰⁹ *Gestes*, 319–20 § 670–3.²¹⁰ CH IV 4735.²¹¹ Amadi, 283.

Table 18 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors	documentation (type and contents)	function
145	1309 V, Nic.	<i>el commandator del Hospital</i>	NS: announcing, on behalf of the pope, that the H-mast. will lead a new crusade	M ²¹²
146	(1307–10), Cyp.	Guy of Séverac, (grand) prec.	NS: supporting the kg. (Cyp.) in the latter's dispute with his brother, Amaury of Lusignan	M ²¹³
147	1310 VI 26, Cyp.	<i>fra Guido Siverac gran commandador del Hospital et prior de Navarra</i>	NS: participating in the restoration of the kg. (Cyp.)	M ²¹⁴

According to the evidence listed in Table 18, it was one of the key functions of the Hospitaller preceptor to be a charter recipient in legal transactions that involved his order (26 cases: 3, 6, 10, 26–7, 32, 37, 41, 43, 62, 68–9, 75, 84, 86–8, 93, 95, 99, 101–3, 110, 119, 129). He regularly served as a witness when the Hospitallers reached agreements with prelates or ecclesiastical institutions: in 1175, with the archbishop of Apamea (28–9); in the same year, with the bishop of Acre (31); in 1181, with the archbishop of Petra (40); in 1221, with the bishop of Acre (73); in 1240, with the Teutonic Order (81); in 1242, with the Templars (82); and in 1262, again with the Templars (117). He issued charters (70–2, 74, 78), was a party to agreements (54, 63, 106, 128), and functioned as an arbiter (104–5, 108–9) and also as an executor of testaments (97, 118). Only one Hospitaller preceptor, namely Guy of Mahón in 1169, seems to have traveled to the west while in office (15–18). The documentation shows that the Hospitallers' conventual preceptor was primarily an administrator in his order's eastern provinces. Yet, he did participate in military campaigns as well, and at least three preceptors died fighting (82, 91, 120). That the preceptor was considered a top official beyond his order can be seen from the various papal documents addressed to him (21, 76, 85) and from the fact that he publicized papal decisions in the early fourteenth century (144–5).

²¹² Amadi, 298–9.

²¹³ Amadi, 262, 266, 283, 298–9, 302, 336; Bustron, 149, 153–4, 164–5, 176, 201–3.

²¹⁴ Amadi, 354, 358; cf. Bustron, 214, 217.

Table 19: Hospitaller Preceptors of Cyprus, 1291–1310 (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller preceptors of Cyprus, 1291–1310	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1299 VI 3, Lim.	<i>frere Guillaume de Sainte Esteven comandor de Chipre</i>	C: H-convent demands an <i>esgart</i> because of the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	Co-I ²¹⁵
2	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>le comandor de Chipre</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ²¹⁶
3	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>comandor de Chipre</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ²¹⁷
4	(1299 VI 3–1303 before XI 3), Cyp.	<i>frere Guillaume de Saint Estenne adonc comandor de chipre</i>	NT: compiler of a collection of statutes	I ²¹⁸
5	1303 (after XI 3), Lim.	<i>frere Sysmon le Rat...fu fait comandor de Chipre à cel chapitre</i>	NT: rubric in William of St. Stephen's collection of statutes	M ²¹⁹
6	1307 I 31, Nic.	<i>Albertus Alemanus, H-prec. (Cyp.)</i>	C: kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ²²⁰
7	1308	<i>Albert de Chateau noir com(man)der de Cypre</i>	list of H-officials	M ²²¹
8	1310 VII 22, Cyp.	<i>fria Alberto l'Aleman commandator de Cypro et locotenente del maestro</i>	NS: participating in the restoration of the kg. (Cyp.)	M ²²²

According to the evidence listed in Table 19, the Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus was a prominent official in his order's convent (1–5) and played an active part during the early fourteenth-century governmental crisis on Cyprus (6, 8).

²¹⁵ CH III 4464.

²¹⁶ CH III 4468.

²¹⁷ CH III 4469.

²¹⁸ BN, fr. 6049, f. 217; cf. CH I, p. lxxxiii.

²¹⁹ CH IV, p. 68.

²²⁰ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

²²¹ BN, fr. 32957, f. 116.

²²² Amadi, 367; cf. Bustron, 224–5.

Table 20: Templar (Grand) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters until 1291 (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1155 I 14, Jer.	<i>Odo commendator</i>	C: nobleman for Holy Sep.	W ²²³
2	1155 I 14, Jer.	<i>frater Odo comendator</i>	C: count (Ascalon) for Holy Sep.	W ²²⁴
3	1155 I 14, Jer.	<i>frater Odo commendator</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for Holy Sep.	W ²²⁵
4	1164 (late VIII), Jer.	<i>frater G. Fulcherii domorum pauperis militiae Templi procurator</i>	L: T-proctor to kg. (Fran.)	I ²²⁶
5	1164 (late VIII), Jer.	<i>fr. Gaufridus Fulcherii Hierosolymitanae domus Templi praeceptor</i>	L: T-prec. to kg. (Fran.)	I ²²⁷
6	1169 III 16, near Tort.	<i>frater Galterus de Berito preceptor</i>	C: agreem. between bp. (Tort.) and T	W ²²⁸
7	(1171 I–II), TS	<i>preceptore etiam Templi</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ²²⁹
8	(1179 after X 9–1181 mid-year), Ac.	<i>fratris Roberti Fresn(e)l... domus Templi... magno p receptore</i>	C: donat. to T (land in EU)	R ²³⁰
9	1183 (before IX 1), TS	<i>frater Gîrbertus Arayl magnus preceptor</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) confirms agreem. between T and St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²³¹
10	(1184), TS	<i>fratri O. de Vend. preceptor in Ierusalem</i>	L: T-sen. to T-prec. (Jer.) (report about proceedings against a T-br.)	R ²³²
11	1187 VII 4, Hattin	<i>magister militie Templi Teodericus</i>	NS: escaped from battle	M ²³³
12	1187 (after VII 4), TS	<i>frater Terricus magister domus Templi</i>	L: H to H-mast. (Italy) (report about Terricus's escape from battle)	M ²³⁴

²²³ Bresc-Bautier, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 301.

²²⁴ Bresc-Bautier, 127–9 n. 46; Rozière, 117–20 n. 59; *RRH* 300.

²²⁵ Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41; Rozière, 110–13 n. 56; *RRH* 299.

²²⁶ *RHGF* XVI, 60–1 n. 195; *RRH* 403.

²²⁷ *RHGF* XVI, 62–3 n. 197; *RRH* 404.

²²⁸ Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; *RRH* 462.

²²⁹ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 226–7.

²³⁰ Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis.

²³¹ VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; *RRH* 631.

²³² Abel, “Lettre,” 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 360, 415.

²³³ *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 70.

²³⁴ “Magni presbyteri Annales,” ed. Wattenbach, 508.

Table 20 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
13	1187 (VII 10–before VIII 6), Tyre	<i>frater Terricus preceptor Templi</i>	C: prelates and barons (TS) for the Genoese	W ²³⁵
14	1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre)	<i>Tyricus pauperrime milicie Templi dictus preceptor</i>	L: T-prec. to pope, count (Flanders), and all Christianity (separate letters)	I ²³⁶
15	1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre)	<i>frater Terricus pauperrime domus Templi dictus magnus preceptor</i>	L: T-gprec. to all T	I ²³⁷
16	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Terris domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan commune in Tyre	CG ²³⁸
17	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Terri domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for St.Gi., Montpellier, Marseilles, Barcelona, and Nîmes	CG ²³⁹
18	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Terri domus milicie [sic] Templi magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans	CG ²⁴⁰
19	1187 X, Tyre	<i>fratris Terri domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans	CG ²⁴¹
20	1188 (after I 1), (Tyre)	<i>frater Terricus quondam magnus preceptor domus Templi Jerusalem</i>	L: T-gprec. to kg. (Engl.)	I ²⁴²
21	1188 (I), Tyre	<i>fratris Terri domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris</i>	L: Conrad of Montferrat and others to the kg. (Hung.) (report about TS)	Co-I ²⁴³
22	1188 V, Tyre	<i>fratris Terrici tunc eiusdem milicie magni preceptoris</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ²⁴⁴
23	1188 VI, TS	<i>Theoderici magistri militiae Templi</i>	NS: release of the T-mast. [Terricus's name given in error]	M ²⁴⁵

²³⁵ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659.

²³⁶ *RRH* 660; for the various versions cf. Chapter Nine: Terricus.

²³⁷ *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 86–7; *RRH* 660.

²³⁸ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665.

²³⁹ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; *RRH* 666.

²⁴⁰ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667.

²⁴¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.

²⁴² *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 346–7; *RRH* 669.

²⁴³ Ilgen, “Brief,” 135–7; *RRH* 670.

²⁴⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.

²⁴⁵ *Radulfi de Diceto Opera*, ed. Stubbs, II, 56.

Table 20 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
24	(1190) X (before 21), near Ac.	<i>fratri Giberto Eralio magno preceptore</i>	C: nobleman for T (donat. of income)	R/W ²⁴⁶
25	(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Ac.	<i>fratris Gerberti eiusdem domus magni preceptoris</i>	C: noblemen for T (donat. of income)	R ²⁴⁷
26	(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Ac.	<i>fratre Gûrberto magno preceptore</i>	C: nobleman for T (donat. of income)	R/W ²⁴⁸
27	1198 VI, TS	<i>fratre siquidem Irmengaud tunc existente magno praeceptore</i>	C: T-mast. for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²⁴⁹
28	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Petrus de Manaia magnus preceptor</i>	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ²⁵⁰
29	1207/8 II 22, TS	<i>frater Petrus de Moneta preceptor</i>	C: lady (Caes.) for H (donat. of real estate)	W ²⁵¹
30	1207/8 II, TS	<i>frater Petrus de Monea preceptor</i>	C: lady (Caes.) for H (donat. of casalia)	W ²⁵²
31	1220 IX 8, Dam.	<i>commendatorem qui est loco magistrî Templi</i>	C: appointment as proctor of the Bolognese community	Co-R ²⁵³
32	1222 early IX, TS	<i>frere Guillaume Cadel (n.tit.)</i>	NS: trip to Emperor Frederick II	M ²⁵⁴
33	1223 III, Ferentino	<i>preceptore Templi</i>	L: pope to kg. (Fran.) (T-prec. participates in crusade deliberations with Emperor Frederick II)	M ²⁵⁵
34	1229 III 18, Jer.	<i>preceptorem domus militie Templi magistro Templi absente</i>	L: patr. (Jer.) to pope (T-prec. attends Emperor Frederick II's visit to Jer.)	M ²⁵⁶
35	1237 XII 22, Lateran	<i>preceptorî... militiæ Templi</i>	L: pope to TS-dignitaries (conc. prisoner exch.)	R ²⁵⁷

²⁴⁶ Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1.

²⁴⁷ Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13.

²⁴⁸ Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14.

²⁴⁹ Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a.

²⁵⁰ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

²⁵¹ *CH* II 1250; *RRH* 818.

²⁵² *CH* II 1251; *RRH* 819.

²⁵³ Röhrich, *Studien*, IV, 73 n. 51; Claverie III, 94–5 n. 65.

²⁵⁴ Eracles, 355; cf. Chapter Nine: William Cadel.

²⁵⁵ Rodenberg, *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, I, 152–5 n. 225; cf. Chapter Nine: William Cadel.

²⁵⁶ Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 109; *RRH* 1001.

²⁵⁷ *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray *et al.*, n. 3999; Potthast 10489.

Table 20 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
36	1239 (after IX 1), Ac.	<i>li granz coumanderrez du Temple</i>	NS: participating in Thibaut of Cha.'s crusade deliberations	M ²⁵⁸
37	1240 IX, Ac.	<i>fratris Bartholomei de Moretto tunc temporis magni preceptoris dicte militie in regno Jerusalem</i>	C: T-mast. for St. Lazarus (conf. of Montmusard land for an annual rent)	CG/W ²⁵⁹
38	1241 XI 18, Trip.	<i>P. de S. Romain grant comandeor</i>	C: agreem. between prince (Ant.) and H, negotiated by patr. (Ant.), guaranteed by T and others	G ²⁶⁰
39	1244 XI 25, Ac.	<i>frater Guillelmus de Rokaforti vicemagister domus militiae Templi</i>	L: TS-prelates (incl. T-lieut. mast.) report about the battle of Gaza	Co-I ²⁶¹
40	1249 V 12, Lim.	<i>frater Sthephanus de Alta Turre preceptor terre regiminis Hierusalem</i>	C: T-officials for the Genoese (order of payment)	Co-I ²⁶²
41	1250 II 8, Egypt	<i>freres Giles li granz coumanderrez du Temple</i>	NS: T-gprec. warns count (Artois) against premature attack, later probably death in battle	M (†) ²⁶³
42	1250 IV 5–6, Egypt	<i>fratres praeceptores Templi utriusque Hospitalarii</i>	NS: captured by Muslims	M ²⁶⁴
43	1250 V 8, Egypt	<i>frères Estiennes d'Otricourt qui estoit commanderres dou Temple</i>	NS: T-prec. rejects Joinville's plan of taking ransom money from T-treasury	M ²⁶⁵
44	(1254) early III, TS	<i>commandeur du Temple</i>	C: agreem. between lord (Barlais) and T and H (conc. casalia)	PA ²⁶⁶
45	1256 X 4, Ac.	<i>frater Guido de Basainuilla domorum militiae Templi praeceptor in regno Hyerosolimitano</i>	L: T-prec. to bp. (Orléans)	I ²⁶⁷

²⁵⁸ Rothelin, 531–2.²⁵⁹ Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.²⁶⁰ *CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102.²⁶¹ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 337–44, here 337, 342; *RRH* 1127.²⁶² Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176.²⁶³ Rothelin, 604–5.²⁶⁴ “Annales monasterii de Burton,” ed. Luard, 288; *RRH* 1190.²⁶⁵ Joinville, § 381–4.²⁶⁶ Manosque, f. 493 54 Z.²⁶⁷ Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V, 272; *RRH* 1251.

Table 20 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
46	1261 (II), near Toron	<i>le coumandour dou Temple frere Mahé Sauvage</i>	NS: captured by Muslims in Galilee	M ²⁶⁸
47	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Amaury de la Roche grant comandeor</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights to a casale)	G ²⁶⁹
48	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Amauri de la Roche grant comandeor</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights at Valenia and Marg.)	G ²⁷⁰
49	1262 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frere Guillaume de Montignane grant comandeor</i>	C: agreem. between T-mast. and H-mast. (conc. casale Alma)	G ²⁷¹
50	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Guillaume de Montignan grant comandeor dou Temple</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ²⁷²
51	1271 VI 2, Ac.	<i>fratre Symone de Turri magno preceptore domus Templi</i>	C: H-mast. returns charters that had been in H safe-keeping	W ²⁷³
52	(1271), Ac.	<i>fratrem Symonem de Turri preceptorem regni Jerosolimitani</i>	TR: participating in chapter meetings in T-prior's chamber	W ²⁷⁴
53	(1273), TS	<i>frere Guillaume du Poncon qui avoit tenu lieu de maistre</i>	NS: traveling to the west to fetch the newly elected T-mast.	M ²⁷⁵
54	(1273), TS	<i>frere Goufier fu fait comandeor grant tenant lieu de maistre</i>	NS: appointed lieut. of the T-mast. in the central convent	M ²⁷⁶
55	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>Arnaldo de Castronovo magno praeceptore</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ²⁷⁷
56	(1279), Paris	<i>fratrem vocatum Monachum Gaudi preceptorem terre ultramarine</i>	TR: conducting reception into the order	M ²⁷⁸
57	(1284/5, Sunday), Ac.	<i>Theobaldo Gaudi preceptore terre ultramarine</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ²⁷⁹

²⁶⁸ *Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–7; cf. Chapter Nine: Matthew Sauvage.

²⁶⁹ *CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318.

²⁷⁰ *CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319.

²⁷¹ *CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321.

²⁷² *CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322.

²⁷³ *CH* III 3422; *RRH* 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A.

²⁷⁴ *Procès* I, 646.

²⁷⁵ Eracles, 463.

²⁷⁶ Eracles, 463.

²⁷⁷ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

²⁷⁸ *Procès* II, 313.

²⁷⁹ *Procès* I, 418.

Table 20 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors until 1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
58	(1283–6) VI 24, Atlit	<i>frater Tibaldus Galdini tunc preceptor terre ultramarine</i>	TR: conducting reception into the order	M ²⁸⁰
59	1287 V 24, Ac.	<i>le comandour dou Temple frere Tibaut Gaudin</i>	NS: interceding on behalf Pisan fishermen captured by the Genoese	M ²⁸¹
60	(1272 XI 20– before 1291 V 18), TS	<i>humble comandor de la terre de la chevalerie dou Temple en royaume de Ierusalem</i>	L: T-prec. to kg. (Engl.) (request that T-prec. (Engl.) be allowed to travel)	I ²⁸²
61	1291 (after V 18), Ac. and TS	<i>le grant coumandour de la terre... frere Tibaut Gaudy</i>	NS: escaped from Ac. with part of T-treasury, elected T-mast.	M ²⁸³

Like his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, the Templars' highest-ranking conventual preceptor served as a witness (or guarantor) when his order reached agreements with prelates or ecclesiastical institutions: in 1169, with the bishop of Tortosa in the Holy Land (6); in 1183, with the abbey of St. Mary in the valley of Josaphat (9); and in 1262 with the Hospitallers (47–50). Even when his order was not directly involved, the preceptor was called upon to serve as a guarantor or witness (13 cases: 1–3, 13, 16–19, 22, 29–30, 38, 51). At least two preceptors traveled to the west while in office (32–3, 56), and in one case a new preceptor had to be appointed in the east because the order had just sent its (former) conventual preceptor to the west (53–4). Like the Hospitaller preceptor, the Templar preceptor participated in military campaigns (11–12, 31, 41–2, 46). What is most noteworthy with regard to the documentation listed in Table 20 is the Templar preceptor's active role as a correspondent (in two cases as a co-issuer of letters: 21, 39). Between 1164 and 1291, five different preceptors, namely Geoffrey Fulcherii (4–5), Terricus (14–15, 20–21), William of Roc(c)aforte (39), Guy of Bazainville (45), and Thibaut Gaudini (60) wrote letters to the west. Some of these were addressed to individuals in very high places,

²⁸⁰ Sève, *Procès*, 192; cf. *Procès* II, 238–9.

²⁸¹ *Gestes*, 227 § 454.

²⁸² Bulst-Thiele, 365.

²⁸³ *Gestes*, 256–7 § 509–10; “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 781–2; “Excidium Acconis,” ed. Huygens, 91–2.

including the pope (14) as well as the kings of France (4–5) and England (21, 60), which suggests that the Templars' highest-ranking conventual preceptor enjoyed considerable international prestige.

Table 21: Templar Preceptors of Acre, 1191–1291 (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors of Acre, 1191–1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1198 VI, TS	<i>f. Petro de la Recazi preceptore domus Templi in Acon</i>	C: T-mast. for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²⁸⁴
2	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Robbertus de Chamvill(er) preceptor domus Acconie</i>	C: papal legates confirm testament for T and H	P ²⁸⁵
3	(1200–4), TS (action) and EU (C)	<i>fratris Roberti de Chaumille qui tunc erat preceptor domus Acconie</i>	C: nobleman, in EU, confirms a donat. made to the T in TS	W of the action ²⁸⁶
4	1233 X 3, Ac.	<i>fratris Jacobi de Bois commendatoris domus Templi Acconensis</i>	C: agreem. between Marseilles and T and H (conc. naval matters)	W ²⁸⁷
5	1261 VI 22, EU	<i>dominum et rectorem mansionis Templi apud Achon</i>	C: local T-prec. (EU) borrows funds to be sent to the T-prec. (Ac.)	M ²⁸⁸
6	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor de la maison d'Acre</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights to a casale)	G ²⁸⁹
7	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor de la maison d'Acre</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights at Valenia and Marg.)	G ²⁹⁰
8	1262 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor d'Acre</i>	C: agreem. between T-mast. and H-mast. (conc. casale Alma)	G ²⁹¹
9	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Gonsalve Martin commandeor dou Temple en Acre</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ²⁹²

²⁸⁴ Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a.

²⁸⁵ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

²⁸⁶ Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455.

²⁸⁷ *CH* II 2067; *RRH* 1046.

²⁸⁸ Röhricht, "Communication," 333–4; Claverie III, 149 n. 146.

²⁸⁹ *CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318.

²⁹⁰ *CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319.

²⁹¹ *CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321.

²⁹² *CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322.

Table 21 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors of Acre, 1191–1291	documentation (type and contents)	function
10	1270 IX 1, Ac.	<i>frere Thiebault le moine Gaudin commandeur de la maison de celle meisme chevalerie en Acre</i>	C: nobleman for T (donat.)	R ²⁹³
11	(1271), Ac.	<i>Theobaldum dictum Monnegaudi preceptorem Anconitanum</i>	TR: participating in chapter meetings in T-prior's chamber	W ²⁹⁴
12	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>Pontio comandatore Aconensi</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ²⁹⁵
13	1283 II 26, near Trip.	<i>frere Artaud comandor des chevaliers d'Acre</i>	NS: notarized report about Guy of Gibelet's attempts to seize Trip. with the T's aid	M ²⁹⁶
14	(1284/5, Sunday), Ac.	<i>Petro de Montade preceptore Acconensi</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ²⁹⁷
15	1289 (until IV 26), Trip.	<i>frere Piere de Montade coumandour d'Acre</i>	NS: defending Trip. against Sultan Qalawun, death in battle	M † ²⁹⁸

After 1191, the Hospitallers seem to have merged the office of the preceptor of Acre with that of their highest preceptor. The Templars, however, kept it as a separate office. Table 21 shows that their preceptor of Acre was repeatedly involved in the interaction between Templars and Hospitallers (2, 4, 6–9). His activities were not confined to Acre and its environs: in 1282, he served as an envoy of the Templar Master William of Beaujeu to Guy of Gibelet (Byblos) who was then trying to seize Tripoli from Bohemond VII (13); and in 1289, Peter of Montcada, the order's preceptor of Acre, assisted in the defense of Tripoli against Sultan Qalawun and lost his life in the process (15).

²⁹³ Coll. d'Albon 46, f. 196–7.

²⁹⁴ *Procès* I, 646.

²⁹⁵ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

²⁹⁶ Mas Latrè, *Histoire*, III, 662–8; *RRH* 1444.

²⁹⁷ *Procès* I, 418.

²⁹⁸ *Gestes*, 235 § 474; 237 § 477.

Table 22: Templar (Grand) Preceptors of Cyprus/the East, 1291–1310 (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors of Cyprus/the East, 1291–1310	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1292 IV 20, Nic.	<i>frere Berenguer de Saint Just comandor de la terre</i>	C: T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ²⁹⁹
2	(1293 VI 24), Nic.	<i>fratre Baudoin de Ardan milite preceptore domus Templi civitatis Nicosiensis</i>	TR: conducting reception into the order	M ³⁰⁰
3	1299 VI 24, Naples	<i>fratri Florentino de Velu preceptoris sacre milicie domus Templi</i>	L: kg. (Arag.) to T-prec. (request that a Pisan merchant be reimbursed)	R ³⁰¹
4	1300 II 25, Fam.	<i>fratri Petro de Vares preceptoris domus milicie Templi</i>	C: Genoese for T (ship lease)	R ³⁰²
5	1300 XI 10, Lim.	<i>frater Rimbaldus de Carona preceptor Nímocii</i>	C: T-mast. appoints T-gen. visit. for the five Spanish kingdoms	W ³⁰³
6	(1302) V 1, Fam.	<i>frater Ranbaldus de Ciaren tunc magnus preceptor</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ³⁰⁴
7	(1304 III 29–V 17), Lim.	<i>Racinbaudus de Caron preceptor tunc Cypri</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ³⁰⁵
8	(1304 after XII 25), Spain	<i>Riambau de Caro qui es comanador de la terra</i>	L: T to T-prec. (Alfambra)	M ³⁰⁶
9	1307 I 31, Nic.	James of Domaranz, prec. (Lim.)	C: kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ³⁰⁷
10	1307 XI 9, Paris	<i>frater Raymbaudus de Caron miles dicti ordinis preceptor Chipri</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ³⁰⁸
11	(1307), Nic.	<i>frater Jacobus de Doymalin preceptor terre in Nimotio</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ³⁰⁹

²⁹⁹ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

³⁰⁰ *Procès* I, 213.

³⁰¹ *AA* I, 55–6 n. 41.

³⁰² Desimoni, “Actes passés à Famagouste,” 42–3 n. 74.

³⁰³ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.

³⁰⁴ Schottmüller II.3, 210–11.

³⁰⁵ *Procès* I, 562.

³⁰⁶ *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.

³⁰⁷ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

³⁰⁸ *Procès* II, 374.

³⁰⁹ Schottmüller II.3, 173.

Table 22 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar preceptors of Cyprus/the East, 1291–1310	documentation (type and contents)	function
12	(1306–8), Cyp.	James of Dammartin, prec.	NS: supporting Amaury of Lusignan in his dispute with his brother, the kg. (Cyp.)	M ³¹⁰
13	1308, Cyp.	James of Dammartin, prec.	NS: serving as T-prec. during Amaury of Lusignan's move against the T on behalf of the pope	M ³¹¹
14	1310 V 19, Nic.	<i>frater [Jacobus] de Doumanin preceptor ordinis Templi in Cypro</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ³¹²

Table 22 shows the wide range of titles used for the Templars' highest-ranking conventual preceptor in the post-1291 sources as well as his various functions. He witnessed charters issued by the Templar master (1, 5) as well as receptions into the order (2, 6–7, 11); he organized some of the Templars' maritime activities between Cyprus and the Syrian mainland (4); and, in 1299, he was the addressee of a letter, sent by the king of Aragón, asking the Templars to reimburse a Pisan merchant who had entrusted money to the Templars prior to the fall of Acre in 1291 (it seems that the Pisan's money had been transferred to Cyprus via Atlit and was still in the order's safe-keeping in 1299) (3). This last case illustrates that the Templar preceptor continued to be involved with the conventual finances even after the separate office of treasurer had been instituted.

The TREASURER, who, in the order of the Temple, had originally been identical with the preceptor of the land, was in charge of the conventual treasury. For both Hospitallers and Templars, the treasury was the main depository of their various incomes. In the order of the Hospital, responsions from the west were to be shown to the sick (i.e. the supposed 'lords' of the Hospital) and then taken to the treasury.³¹³

³¹⁰ Amadi, 260–1; Bustron, 149.

³¹¹ Amadi, 287, 289–91; Bustron, 167–8, 165–9.

³¹² Schottmüller II.3, 192–3, 325–8.

³¹³ CH II 1193, p. 39; RRH 800a; cf. CH IV 4549, § 23; CH IV 4574, § 15.

The Hospitallers' 1262 collection of statutes stipulates that capitular bailiffs had to transfer the court fees and fines of their 'vassals' (*homes de l'Ospital*) to the treasury—minus their own expenses for traveling to the general chapter.³¹⁴ Proceeds from the sale of booty made *en chawauchiés* (i.e. armed campaigns, usually into Muslim territory) had to be delivered to the treasury as well.³¹⁵ Incomes left to the order via testament were collected by the treasury, while those left to the sick were collected by the hospitaller.³¹⁶ Incomes could be designated for direct receipt by the treasury.³¹⁷ Things were very similar in the order of the Temple. All incomes from the west were sent to the treasury by the preceptor of the land. Nothing could be removed from these deposits until the master had seen them (and, according to another statute, counted them) and given his respective permission.³¹⁸ Donations (i.e. presumably monetary ones) were received by the master and handed over to the preceptor of the land for deposit in the treasury.³¹⁹ The booty made east of the Jordan River was split between the preceptor of the land and the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem, which suggests that the latter had a treasury of his own. The booty made west of the Jordan River fell to the preceptor of the land (here referred to as the *grant comandeor dou royaume de Jerusalem*).³²⁰

Money did not stay in the treasury for long, though, as both orders had considerable expenses. In 1176/7, the Hospitaller Master Josbert gave two casalia to his order's hospitaller to ensure that the Hospital's sick and poor would be supplied with white bread, but added that, if these casalia should not produce enough wheat, the treasury should provide the funds for the purchase of white bread.³²¹ The hospitaller's annual budget, namely 1,500 besants according to the statutes of 1177/83, was probably also paid by the treasury.³²² According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, the marshal was expected to communicate the needs of the marshalcy to the master who then in turn procured the money from the treasury or 'another place from which

³¹⁴ CH III 3039, § 2 (cf. *ibid.*, § 3); RRH 1319b.

³¹⁵ CH III 3039, § 44; RRH 1319b.

³¹⁶ CH III 3396, § 6 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 227); RRH 1374a.

³¹⁷ CH III 4259, § 2.

³¹⁸ RT 83, 111.

³¹⁹ RT 91.

³²⁰ RT 123.

³²¹ CH I 494; RRH 547.

³²² Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 162–5.

he could take the money' (*autre lieu dont il prendra la pecune*) so that the necessary items could be purchased.³²³ This 'other place' may have been the treasury of any of the other Hospitaller houses or castles in the east. About one hundred years later, the Hospitallers' naval personnel, subordinate to the admiral, was also to be paid 'at the treasury'.³²⁴ In the order of the Temple, the preceptor of the land had to communicate his expenses to the master and was then allowed to take whatever he needed.³²⁵ It was furthermore the responsibility of the Templar preceptor of the land to supply the office of the draper as needed; in turn, the draper was expected to obey the preceptor of the land and serve as his companion.³²⁶ Thus, both orders had control mechanisms in place: usually more than one person was involved when money was taken from the treasury.

In both orders, the treasury also served as an international bank. In 1148/9, during the Second Crusade, King Louis VII of France wrote from the east to Suger, the abbot of St. Denis, and to Ralph of Vermandois, informing them that he had borrowed 1,000 silver marks from the Hospitallers and instructing them to reimburse the Hospitallers accordingly.³²⁷ In 1218, the Hungarian Count Nicholas borrowed 1,500 Saracen besants from the Hospitaller Master Garin and declared that he would pay these back to the Hospitaller prior of Hungary.³²⁸ In 1272, Prince Edward of England confirmed that he had borrowed 5,000 marks upon guarantees given by the Hospitaller master and the order's convent.³²⁹ The military orders seem to have been able to pay their own debts in both the west and the east in accordance with the preferences of those they owed funds: in 1249, the Templars' high dignitaries, including the preceptor of the land, confirmed that the order owed 10,000 gold besants to three Genoese individuals which should be paid in Paris in the form of 3,750 pounds of Tours (thus giving us an actual exchange rate);³³⁰ and in 1261, the Hospitallers agreed to make regular payments to Balian of Ibelin, the lord of Arsuf, at their treasury in Acre or at the other treasuries they had in Syria.³³¹

³²³ *CH* II 1193, p. 38; *RRH* 800a; cf. *CH* IV 4549, § 32.

³²⁴ *CH* III 4515, § 13.

³²⁵ *RT* 119.

³²⁶ *RT* 110, 112.

³²⁷ *CH* I 185; *RRH* 254a.

³²⁸ Manosque, f. 394 41 Y; *CH* II 1605; *RRH* 908a.

³²⁹ *CH* III 3445; *RRH* 1384a.

³³⁰ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176; cf. Rey, 255.

³³¹ *CH* III 2972; *RRH* 1313a.

It was not just money that was kept at the treasury. In both orders, weapons that were considered particularly dangerous, such as crossbows, were guarded by the treasurer (or the preceptor of the land in his capacity as treasurer).³³² According to the records of the Templar trial, valuable relics and liturgical instruments were stored in the treasury.³³³ The books of deceased Hospitaller brothers, with the exception of certain liturgical books that were presumably given to the conventual church, were kept in the treasury.³³⁴ The originals and copies of the Hospitallers' privileges and statutes were entrusted to the treasurer.³³⁵ Charters given to the order for safe-keeping by individuals outside of the order were probably also deposited in the treasury, and their return was documented in writing.³³⁶ Templar brothers were not supposed to carry money. They either had to deliver it to the treasury or spend it in accordance with its intended purpose.³³⁷ As a penance for the assassination of Thomas Becket (1170), King Henry II of England had vowed to go on a crusade and sent, for several years, a considerable sum of money to the treasury of the Templars and Hospitallers in Jerusalem. In 1187, the English money in the Templar treasury was used for King Guy of Jerusalem's disastrous campaign, culminating in the battle of Hattin. Later that same year, the English money in the Hospitaller treasury was used to contribute to the ransom that Saladin had demanded from the inhabitants of Jerusalem in exchange for their lives and freedom (however, the order's *comandieres* at Jerusalem only disbursed the funds after consulting with his fellow Hospitaller brothers).³³⁸ Sometimes the orders guarded what had been entrusted to them so well that the original owners had a hard time recovering it: in 1198, the bishop of Tiberias had to sue the Templars to reclaim 1,300 besants and other valuables that a predecessor had deposited with them;³³⁹ and in 1250, Jean de Joinville needed the Templar master's

³³² Templars: *RT* 102. Hospitallers: *CH* IV 4549, § 36. For the crossbows cf. Chapter Six.

³³³ *Procès* I, 646; *ibid.* II, 240; Sève, *Procès*, 195.

³³⁴ *CH* III 3039, § 42; *RRH* 1319b.

³³⁵ BN, fr. 6049, f. 241.

³³⁶ 1271: *CH* III 3422; *RRH* 1378. 1280: *CH* III 3715; *RRH* 1437a. For a receipt addressed to the Hospitaller master, documenting such a return of charters, cf. *CH* III 3716; *RRH* 1437b.

³³⁷ *RT* 334.

³³⁸ *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 43, 68.

³³⁹ Hamilton, *Latin Church*, 246–7.

intervention to have 360 pounds restored to him that he had deposited with the order at Acre.³⁴⁰

Little is known about the treasury’s subordinate or affiliated personnel. In 1207, the Templar Treasurer Geoffrey of Tours had his own *clericus*,³⁴¹ but it seems that this cleric belonged to Geoffrey’s personal entourage rather than being an employee of the treasury. In 1218, the Hospitaller Gerard of Laya served as notary of the treasury (*notarius thesauri Hospitalis*),³⁴² and it would indeed make sense to have a notary on retainer at the order’s financial center. Finally, the Hospitaller statutes of 1268 mention the two scribes of the treasury (*ii escrivains dou tresor*),³⁴³ which suggests that the volume of record-keeping at the order’s treasury must have been considerable.

Table 23: Hospitaller Treasurers (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1135 XII 19, Caes.	<i>Raimundi thesaurarii</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of casale)	W ³⁴⁴
2	1141 II 3, Nab.	<i>Petrus thesaurarius</i> <i>Raimundus</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (confirm. of a property conf. for an annual rent)	W ³⁴⁵
3	1141 after II 3, (Nab./Jer.)	<i>Petro thesaurario</i> <i>Raimundo thesaurario</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) confirms agreem. between layperson and H (conc. land)	W ³⁴⁶
4	1141, Jer.	<i>Petro thesaurario</i> <i>Raimundo thesaurario</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (exch. of a garden for two market stalls)	W ³⁴⁷
5	1150 V 24, (Jer./Em.)	<i>Amoranius</i> <i>Raimundus thesaurarius</i>	C: layperson for H (conf. of a fief for an annual rent)	W ³⁴⁸
6	1152 II 5, TS	<i>Geraldus thesaurarius</i>	C: layperson for H (receipt for a casale given in lieu of annual rent)	W ³⁴⁹
7	1156, (Jer.)	<i>Amoramus thesaurarius</i>	C: cleric and H (exch. of houses)	PA ³⁵⁰

³⁴⁰ Joinville, § 412–14.
³⁴¹ *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; *RRH* 823.
³⁴² Manosque, f. 394 41 Y; *CH* II 1605; *RRH* 908a.
³⁴³ *CH* III 3317, § 1; *RRH* 1360a.
³⁴⁴ *CH* I 115; *RRH* 159.
³⁴⁵ *CH* I 139; *RRH* 201.
³⁴⁶ *CH* I 140; Bresc-Bautier, 226–7 n. 107; Rozière, 65–6 n. 34; *RRH* 205.
³⁴⁷ *CH* I 138; *RRH* 204.
³⁴⁸ *CH* I 192; *RRH* 257.
³⁴⁹ *CH* I 202; *RRH* 274.
³⁵⁰ *CH* I 249; *RRH* 329.

Table 23 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
8	1159 I 25, (Jer.)	<i>A. thesaurarius</i>	C: nobleman for H (conf. of real estate)	W ³⁵¹
9	1162, (Jer.)	<i>Geraudo thesaurario</i> <i>Casto de Murol</i>	C: H-mast. for H-co-brother (conf. of a house for an annual rent)	W ³⁵²
10	1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jer.	<i>fratrem Giraldum thesaurarium qui dictus est de Sancto Andrea</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of land near Jer.; treas. pays)	PA ³⁵³
11	(1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jer. and Ac.)	<i>frater Castus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. confirms real estate purchase made on behalf of the kg. (Hung.)	W ³⁵⁴
12	1167 III, (Jer.)	<i>Casti thesaurarii</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (sale confirm.)	CG ³⁵⁵
13	1167, (Jer.)	<i>frater Castus de Murol thesaurarius</i> <i>frater Stephanus subthesaurarius</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of a house in exch. for alms)	W ³⁵⁶
14	(1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS	<i>Castus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for burgesses (Beth.)	W ³⁵⁷
15	1173 X, TS	<i>frater Stephanus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for a Jacobite (conf. of real estate)	W ³⁵⁸
16	1173, (Jer.)	<i>fratre Stephano thesaurario</i>	C: H-mast. for Syr. archbp. (Gaza) (conf. of a monastery)	W ³⁵⁹
17	1174 VI, TS	<i>frater Stephanus thesaurarius</i>	C: kg. (Jer.) for H (donat. of a street)	W ³⁶⁰
18	1175, (Jer.)	<i>frater Stephanus thesaurarius</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of houses)	PA/W ³⁶¹
19	1175, (Ac.)	<i>frater Gerardus thesaurarius</i>	C: agreem. between bp. (Ac.) and H	W ³⁶²

³⁵¹ CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330.³⁵² CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c.³⁵³ CH I 312; RRH 391.³⁵⁴ CH I 309; RRH 458.³⁵⁵ CH I 375; CH IV, p. 316; RRH 430.³⁵⁶ CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a.³⁵⁷ CH I 399; RRH 457.³⁵⁸ CH I 450; RRH 501.³⁵⁹ CH I 443; RRH 502.³⁶⁰ CH I 464; RRH 516.³⁶¹ CH I 469; RRH 535.³⁶² CH I 471; RRH 532.

Table 23 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
20	1177 I, (Jer.)	<i>frater Goffridus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (conf. of real estate for an annual rent)	W ³⁶³
21	1178 V, (Jer.)	<i>frater Goffridus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (confirm. of real estate purchase)	W ³⁶⁴
22	1181 before IX 10, TS	<i>frater Stephanus thesaurarius</i>	C: nobleman for H (sale of casale)	W ³⁶⁵
23	1181 XI 9, Jer.	<i>frater Petrus Gallerii thesaurarius Hospitalis</i>	C: agreem. between H-mast. and archbp. (Petra)	W ³⁶⁶
24	1181 (IX 1–XII 25), (Liège)	<i>Gaufridus thesaurarius Hospitalis Jherosolimitani</i>	C: abbot (EU) (donat. confirm.)	W ³⁶⁷
25	1184, near Ac.	<i>frater Girardus domus ejusdem thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (conf. of real estate for an annual rent)	W ³⁶⁸
26	1186 IV 25, TS	<i>frater Berengarius de Cenagona thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (confirm. of real estate purchase)	W ³⁶⁹
27	1187 (IX 30–X 2), Jer.	<i>li comandierres</i>	NS: releases crusade funds to pay the ransom for the inhabitants of Jer.	M ³⁷⁰
28	1187 X, (EU/ TS)	<i>fratris Gaufredi thesaurarii Hospitalis in cujus potestate sunt omnia Hospitalis citra mare</i>	C: H-prior (St.Gi.) for queen (Arag.)	M/CG ³⁷¹
29	1192 II 2, (Ac.)	<i>frater Robertus thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for Hosp. of the Germans (conf. of land)	W ³⁷²
30	1201 IV 27, (Ac.)	<i>fratris Antelmi thesaurarii tunc temporis domus ejusdem</i>	C: Genoese individual for H (donat. of shops in Ac.)	W ³⁷³
31	1201 V, (Ac.)	<i>frater Antelmus de Luca tunc temporis ejusdem domus thesaurarius</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of casale; reception as co-sister)	W ³⁷⁴

³⁶³ CH I 508; RRH 540.³⁶⁴ CH I 538; RRH 558.³⁶⁵ CH I 603; RRH 611.³⁶⁶ CH I 610; RRH 607.³⁶⁷ Yans, “Cartulaire,” 75–8 n. 22.³⁶⁸ CH I 663; RRH 640.³⁶⁹ CH I 803; RRH 651.³⁷⁰ Eracles, 90; cf. Chapter Nine: NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/(treasurer?) 1187.³⁷¹ Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; CH I 835.³⁷² CH I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; RRH 699.³⁷³ CH II 1145; RRH 783.³⁷⁴ CH II 1146; RRH 784.

Table 23 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
32	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Petrus de Campinoll(es)</i> (n.tit.)	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ³⁷⁵
33	1206 X 18, (Ac.)	<i>FR(ATER) :</i> <i>PET(RVS) DE :</i> <i>CAMPAIGNOLIS :</i> <i>THESAURARIUS</i>	IS: death	M [†] ³⁷⁶
34	1207 XII 18, Ac.	<i>fratris Ricardi</i> <i>thesaurarii</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (donat. confirm.)	R ³⁷⁷
35	1219 VIII, (Ac.)	<i>frater Ricardus domus</i> <i>Hospitalis thesaurarius</i>	C: H for a layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	W ³⁷⁸
36	1235 XI, (Ac.)	<i>frater Sayxius</i> <i>thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. for Nicholas Antelini (exch. of houses)	W ³⁷⁹
37	1237 VI 18, (Ac.)	<i>frere Johan tresorier</i>	C: H-prec. for layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	W ³⁸⁰
38	1239 IV, (Ac.)	<i>frere Sais lo tresorier</i>	C: H-mast. for TO-gprec. (conf. of casale)	W ³⁸¹
39	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>frater Joseph</i> <i>thesaurarius</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ³⁸²
40	1252 V 6, TS	<i>frater Joseph de Cancy</i> <i>sancte domus Hospitalis</i> <i>Jerusalem humilis Achon</i> <i>thesaurarius</i>	L: H-treas. to a Dominican (report about events in TS)	I ³⁸³
41	1253 XII, Ac.	<i>frere Joseph de Canci</i> <i>tresorier del desuzdit</i> <i>hospital</i>	C: lord (Caes.) for H (sale of casale)	R ³⁸⁴
42	1255 II 11, Ac.	<i>fratre Josep thesaurario</i>	C: knight for H (donat. of land near Ac.)	W ³⁸⁵
43	1256 I, Ac.	<i>frere Joseph tresorier</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	G ³⁸⁶

³⁷⁵ CH II 1197; RRH 797a.³⁷⁶ Sandoli, *Corpus*, 302–3 n. 405.³⁷⁷ CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; RRH 824.³⁷⁸ CH II 1656; RRH 923.³⁷⁹ CH II 2126; RRH 1063.³⁸⁰ Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; CH II 2166; RRH 1076b.³⁸¹ CH II 2224; RRH 1091.³⁸² CH II 2482; RRH 1164.³⁸³ CH II 2605; RRH 1199.³⁸⁴ MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 35/II; CH II 2661; RRH 1210.³⁸⁵ CH II 2714; RRH 1212.³⁸⁶ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.

Table 23 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
44	1260 IV 14, Ac.	<i>fratri Joseph de Canci thesaurario ejusdem domus</i>	C: knight for H (conf. of property in Ac.)	R ³⁸⁷
45	(1259–61) V 1, Ac.	<i>frere Joseph de Cansi tresorier d'Accre</i>	C: H-mast. for Balian of Arsuf	G ³⁸⁸
46	1269 IV 19, Ac.	<i>frere Joseph tresorier de la dîte maison</i>	C: <i>vicecomes</i> of Ac. confirms a sale of real estate to the H	M/PA ³⁸⁹
47	(1269 summer- fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Joseph tresorier</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ³⁹⁰
48	1271 X 20, Ac.	<i>frater Joseph de Canci thesaurarius</i>	C: H-mast. confirms receipt of certain patronage rights in Port.	W ³⁹¹
49	1273 VIII 9, Ac.	<i>frater Thomas sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani thesaurarius in Accon</i>	C: H-treas. takes possession of recently acquired houses in Ac.	I ³⁹²
50	1273 VIII 21, Ac.	<i>frere Thomas tresaurier de la religion de saint Jehan de Jherusalem</i>	C: confirm. of a real estate purchase in Ac. made by the H	M ³⁹³
51	1273 VIII 25, Ac.	<i>frater Thomas thesaurarius sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) confirms a real estate purchase in Ac. made by the H	M ³⁹⁴
52	1273 X 7, Ac.	<i>fratre Thomas thesaurario</i>	C: H-mast. confirms exch. between abbey (St. Chaffre) and H	W ³⁹⁵
53	1275 IX 1, (Ac.)	<i>FRERE: TO / mAS: mAVSV: TRESORI / ER: D(E): LOSPITAL: S(AINT): IOhN</i>	IS: death	M ^{†396}

³⁸⁷ CH II 2949; RRH 1291.³⁸⁸ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.³⁸⁹ CH III 3334; RRH 1364.³⁹⁰ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313.³⁹¹ CH III 3433; RRH 1382a.³⁹² CH III 3514; RRH 1389; cf. Manosque, f. 157' 17 N.³⁹³ Manosque, f. 571 66 B.³⁹⁴ CH III 3515; RRH 1391.³⁹⁵ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.³⁹⁶ Sandoli, *Corpus*, 313–14 n. 416.

Table 23 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
54	1299 VI 3, Lim.	<i>fratre Bernart dou Chamin tresaurier</i>	C: H-convent demands an <i>esgart</i> because of the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	Co-I ³⁹⁷
55	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>le tresourier</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ³⁹⁸
56	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>tresourier</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ³⁹⁹
57	(1299 VI 3–1303 before XI 3), Cyp.	<i>frere br. qui estoit tresourier au jour</i>	NT: William of St. Stephen compiles a collection of NT, using documents made available to him by the H-treas.	M ⁴⁰⁰
58	1306 XI 3, Lim.	<i>frater Durandus de Prepositura thesaurarius</i>	C: H-convent for H-mast. (grant of authority for upcoming trip to EU)	Co-I ⁴⁰¹

As Table 23 shows, the office of Hospitaller treasurer, toward the middle of the twelfth century, was held by two individuals at the same time (3–4), and there are three charters up until 1167 in which the treasurer and one of his successors in the office appear together (the names of the successors are noted: 5, 9, 13). This may have been a control mechanism as well as a way to train successors on the job. In 1181, the Hospitaller treasurer traveled to the west while in office to receive donations there (24), which underscores the importance and prestige of this conventual office in the order's first century. To witness charters issued by the Hospitaller master was one of the treasurer's main tasks (17 cases: 9, 11, 14–16, 20–1, 25–6, 29, 36, 38, 43, 45, 47–8, 52). Only very rarely did he issue a charter himself. In the one case that is known, the charter is witnessed solely by the order's *casalarius*, an official in charge of real estate, and the document pertains to the treasurer taking possession of recently acquired real estate (49). Occasionally, the treasurer appeared as a party in legal agreements (7, 10, 18, 46),

³⁹⁷ CH III 4464.

³⁹⁸ CH III 4468.

³⁹⁹ CH III 4469.

⁴⁰⁰ BN, fr. 6049, f. 241.

⁴⁰¹ CH IV 4735.

especially when the Hospitallers agreed to make substantial payments (10: 500 besants; 18: 450 besants; 46: 1,700 besants). It is curious that the tombstones of two otherwise little known Hospitaller treasurers have survived (33: Peter of Campagnolles; 53: Thomas Maus); perhaps because their office afforded them with fewer opportunities to win military glory, these individuals found another way to preserve their names for posterity. It should be noted, though, that the archaeological work, especially at Acre, is far from complete, and more tombstones may yet surface.

Table 24: Templar Treasurers (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Willelmus de Turre</i> (n.tit.)	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ⁴⁰²
2	1207 XII 5, Ac.	<i>frater G. Turonensis Templi thesaurarius</i>	C: archbp. (Tyre) confirms marriage contract between kg. (Cyp.) and Alice of Jer.	W ⁴⁰³
3	(1212), TS	“Geofroi, trésorier du Temple”	L: T-treas. to pope (report about the marriage plans of Everard of Brienne)	I ⁴⁰⁴
4	1213 (after XII 16), TS	<i>frater Gaufridus thesaurarius domus Templi</i>	L: T-treas. to pope (response conc. the marriage plans of Everard of Brienne)	I ⁴⁰⁵
5	1221 late VIII, Egypt	<i>fratrem Templi in defensione depositorum</i>	NS: death while defending the treasury	M ^{†406}
6	1250 V 8, Egypt	<i>tresorier du Temple</i>	NS: obeying T-mar.’s orders, T-treas. hands Joinville keys to T-treasury	M ⁴⁰⁷
7	1262 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frere Bienvenu tresorier</i>	C: agreem. between T-mast. and H-mast. (conc. casale Alma)	G ⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰² CH II 1197; RRH 797a.

⁴⁰³ *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; RRH 823.

⁴⁰⁴ D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, V, 78 n. 852; RRH 860 (part I).

⁴⁰⁵ *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, VI, 975 n. 3; RRH 860 (part II).

⁴⁰⁶ Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 277 § 80.

⁴⁰⁷ Joinville, § 381–4.

⁴⁰⁸ CH III 3044; RRH 1321.

Table 24 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar treasurers	documentation (type and contents)	function
8	1292 IV 20, Nic.	<i>frere Martin de Lou tressorer</i>	C: T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ⁴⁰⁹
9	(1306) I 26, Nic.	<i>fratri Petro de Castellione thesaurario nostro Nycossiensis</i>	L: T-mast. to T-br. (informs him about the T-treas. upcoming trip)	M ⁴¹⁰
10	(1306) I 27, Nic.	<i>Petrum de Castellione thesaurarium nostrum Nycossensem</i>	L: T-mast. to kg. (Arag.) (informs him about the T-treas. upcoming trip)	M ⁴¹¹
11	(1306) IV 20, Lim.	Peter of Castellón, T-treas.	L: T-mast. to kg. (Arag.) (informs him about the T-treas. upcoming trip)	M ⁴¹²
12	(1306) VI 14, Ambel	<i>P. de Casteyllo tresorer del Temple en Chipre</i>	L: T-treas. to the prec. of the T-passage in Marsilles (informs him about his upcoming return to the east)	I ⁴¹³
13	(1307) IX 10, Poitiers	<i>P. de Castellon . . . tresorier</i>	L: T-mast. to T-mast. (Arag.) (requesting an office for the T-treas.)	M ⁴¹⁴
14	1308, Cyp.	NN (Albert of Vienne?), treas./prec.	NS: serving as T-treas. during Amaury of Lusignan's move against the T on behalf of the pope	M ⁴¹⁵
15	1310 V 5, Nic.	<i>frater Albertus de [... tiem?] miles preceptor militie Templi</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ⁴¹⁶

Unlike his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, who may have had to remain close to headquarters because of the order's sizable hospital which needed to be financed and supplied, the Templar treasurer—once his office had emancipated itself from that of the preceptor of the land—played a noteworthy international role, which can be seen from

⁴⁰⁹ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

⁴¹⁰ Forey, "Letters," 164 n. 10.

⁴¹¹ Forey, "Letters," 164–5 n. 11.

⁴¹² Forey, "Letters," 165 n. 12.

⁴¹³ ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 334.

⁴¹⁴ ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 86.

⁴¹⁵ Bustron, 167–8.

⁴¹⁶ Schottmüller II.3, 167, 223–5.

the evidence listed in Table 24. In 1207, he witnessed the marriage contract between King Hugh I of Cyprus and Alice of Jerusalem, the daughter of Henry II of Champagne and Isabella of Jerusalem (2). In 1212 and 1213, he corresponded with Pope Innocent III about the marriage plans of Everard of Brienne and Philippa, another daughter of Henry II of Champagne (3–4). In 1221, it may have been the Templar treasurer who died on the crusade, defending his order's campaign treasury (5). In 1250, the Templar treasurer participated in the crusade of King Louis IX of France (6). Finally, in 1306–7, the Templar treasurer was traveling in the west on behalf of his order's master (9–13).

Military Matters: Marshal, Turcopolier, and Admiral

In both orders, the MARSHAL was responsible for arms, military equipment, and horses, and, the master's supreme power of command notwithstanding, he was the official in charge of military campaigns. His first and foremost domain was the conventual arsenal. According to the *retraits* of the Templar marshal, all arms and military equipment, whether purchased, donated, or gained as booty, were at his disposal, except for the crossbows which were kept by the preceptor of the land, and except for those Turkish weapons that preceptors used to equip the serving brothers that were subordinate to them.⁴¹⁷ Arms and equipment were valuable, and the military orders' normative texts contain numerous stipulations pertaining to their storage, maintenance, and recycling. When the Templar marshal issued the command to mount, the brothers had to inspect the place where they had camped to ensure that no piece of equipment was left behind.⁴¹⁸ When a Templar brother lost his habit because of a disciplinary matter, his arms (*armeures*) had to be brought to the arsenal (here referred to as the *chevestrerie en la car-ravane*).⁴¹⁹ Templars who had grown too old to fight had to make their equipment (*hermois*) available to the marshal.⁴²⁰ Templars who were not part of the fighting force because of serving a penance, or because they were sick, had to entrust their equipment to someone who, if necessary, could make it available to the marshal or to the preceptor of the knights without delay.⁴²¹ Like his counterpart in the order of the Temple,

⁴¹⁷ RT 102.

⁴¹⁸ RT 157.

⁴¹⁹ RT 451.

⁴²⁰ RT 338.

⁴²¹ RT 510; cf. Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 37.

the Hospitaller marshal was in charge of all military equipment (*touz les arneis, chevauchehures, armes et toutes autres choses qui afierent à chevaleries*), except for whatever the master had reserved for himself and his companions, and except for whatever had been donated to the master.⁴²² The Hospitallers, too, kept a careful eye on their arms and equipment. A conventual brother who wanted new equipment first had to turn in his old equipment.⁴²³ The equipment of a deceased brother (presumably referring to an individual in the east, particularly a conventual brother) had to be given to the marshal who could redistribute it as needed.⁴²⁴ A brother leaving the east had to surrender his saddle and his equipment unless he was a bailiff or an envoy.⁴²⁵ According to the statutes of 1303, a brother coming to the east had to bring with him financial means from his respective province in accordance with his status (i.e. more for a knight, less for a sergeant),⁴²⁶ so that equipment could be purchased for him or made available to him.

The stables of the horses and pack animals were the marshal's second domain. In the order of the Temple, horses arriving from the west were first brought to the marshal's 'caravan' (*quaravane dou mareschau*), where they were inspected by the master who was allowed to use some of them for his own purposes (for example as presents).⁴²⁷ Otherwise, the marshal distributed the horses and was the 'go-to' for any brother who had problems with a horse.⁴²⁸ A conventual brother who wished to exchange a horse or pack animal needed the marshal's permission to do so.⁴²⁹ A brother who was too old to participate in military campaigns could ask the marshal for a more adequate (i.e. presumably a more tranquil) horse.⁴³⁰ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1268, a brother who wanted to have a certain horse had to address his request to the marshal.⁴³¹ In 1293, the order's general chapter stipulated that all knight brothers coming to the east had to bring their three horses with them, and that those failing to do so should be sent back.⁴³²

⁴²² CH II 1193, p. 38; RRH 800a.

⁴²³ CH II 1193, p. 38; RRH 800a.

⁴²⁴ CH III 3039, § 6; RRH 1319b.

⁴²⁵ CH III 3039, § 8; RRH 1319b.

⁴²⁶ CH IV 4612, § 7.

⁴²⁷ RT 84.

⁴²⁸ RT 154.

⁴²⁹ RT 134–5.

⁴³⁰ RT 338.

⁴³¹ CH III 3317, § 4; RRH 1360a.

⁴³² CH III 4234, § 5.

Much like the highest-ranking conventual preceptor, the marshal of both Templars and Hospitallers had certain representative functions whenever the master was absent. In the order of the Temple, when the master, the seneschal, and the master's lieutenant were absent, the marshal was in charge of holding chapter in the kingdom of Jerusalem.⁴³³ If the Templar master died in the kingdom of Jerusalem and the marshal was present, the latter took the master's place, held chapter until the appointment of the grand preceptor of the interim, organized the master's funeral, and informed, as soon as possible, all preceptors this side of the sea (i.e. in the east) of the master's passing so that they could come and participate in the election of the grand preceptor of the interim. If the marshal was not present when the master died, the preceptor of the land exercised these same functions, but was expected to inform the marshal and the other preceptors accordingly without delay. If the master died in the county of Tripoli or in the principality of Antioch, the abovementioned functions fell to the respective local preceptors of the land.⁴³⁴ In the order of the Hospital, if a general chapter was to be convened at a location where the central convent was not present, the marshal—in the master's absence—was responsible for sending the conventual delegates to this chapter.⁴³⁵

Even though the master had the supreme power of command, the normative texts of both orders suggest that the marshal was the military expert. When the Templars were at war, all knight brothers, all sergeant brothers, and all those at-arms (*toutes les gens d'armes*) were under the marshal's command (*comandement*).⁴³⁶ When the alarm-call was sounded, all brothers close to the call had to mount their horses, take up their lances and shields, stay calm, and await the marshal's orders, while all others had to proceed to the marshal to hear his orders, which suggests that the brothers rallied around the marshal before they rode into battle.⁴³⁷ In the order of the Temple, the marshal also seems to have been the one who issued the order to attack and who gave permission to those who had been wounded to retreat.⁴³⁸ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, all knight brothers and sergeant brothers-at-arms

⁴³³ *RT* 106; cf. *ibid.* 592–3.

⁴³⁴ *RT* 198, 200–1.

⁴³⁵ *CH* II 1193, p. 33; *RRH* 800a.

⁴³⁶ *RT* 103; cf. *ibid.*, p. 90.

⁴³⁷ *RT* 159.

⁴³⁸ Attack: *RT* 164. Retreat of the wounded: *RT* 420.

were under the marshal's command, except for the master's companions and the bailiffs.⁴³⁹ When at war, all Hospitaller bailiffs and all others at arms were also under the marshal's command (the Old French version only speaks of *freres d'armes*, while the later Latin version uses the more inclusive term *gentes armorum*, which would apply to non-brothers, for example the turcoples before they became turcopole brothers). If the Hospitaller master or his lieutenant (*qui tenra leu de maistre*) was present, all were subordinate to him (including the marshal).⁴⁴⁰

In addition to his military tasks, the marshal had a number of disciplinary functions. The Hospitaller marshal had to make sure that the brothers attended matins; that they walked in procession in an orderly fashion (i.e. in rows of two and in appropriate attire) to the prayer of thanksgiving; and that they showed up in the convent after vespers for their evening meal.⁴⁴¹ Since the marshal was in charge of arms and equipment, he probably also had to make sure that these were in accordance with the order's standards. The Templar rule prohibited the use of bridles, shield covers, and lance covers that were decorated with gold or silver.⁴⁴² The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1276 emphasized that gold or silver decorations on daggers, swords, and belts, as well as shields covered with gold or silver, had thus far been prohibited and would continue to be prohibited (while other decorations would be allowed).⁴⁴³ The fact that such stipulations had to be issued suggests that some brothers had a tendency toward luxury, but the problem was handled with increasing flexibility. The Hospitaller statutes of 1287 reiterated that gold and silver on daggers, swords, and other pieces of equipment would continue to be prohibited—unless the decorations had first been shown (and presumably approved) by the superior or the master.⁴⁴⁴

The turcoples and the TURCOPOLIER, namely the military orders' auxiliary troops and their commander, have already been mentioned.⁴⁴⁵ In the order of the Temple, all turcoples and sergeant

⁴³⁹ CH II 1193, p. 37; RRH 800a.

⁴⁴⁰ CH II 1193, p. 37–8; RRH 800a. This was reiterated in 1301: CH IV 4549, § 31.

⁴⁴¹ Matins: CH II 2213, *usance* 119; RRH 1093a. Procession: CH III 3396, § 9; RRH 1374a. CH IV 4549, § 4. Evening meal: CH III 3396, § 13; RRH 1374a.

⁴⁴² UT 35, 37; RT 52–3.

⁴⁴³ CH III 3396, § 23; RRH 1374a.

⁴⁴⁴ CH III 4022, § 15; RRH 1480a; date (1287): Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83.

⁴⁴⁵ Cf. Chapters One and Three.

brothers-at-arms stood under the turcopolier's command.⁴⁴⁶ However, if the Templar turcopolier needed turcoples, he was expected to procure them through the marshal.⁴⁴⁷ The Hospitallers' general chapter of 1303 elevated the turcopolier to the rank of a capitular bailiff and thus, like all other capitular bailiffs, exempted him from the marshal's command (*exems dou mareschal, ensi con les autres baillis par chapitre*), which presumably meant that the turcopolier only had to obey the marshal when the order was at war. Yet, the marshal continued to have a major say in the turcopolier's affairs. In case of war, the marshal oversaw the hiring and discharging of turcoples, and the assigning of tasks to the turcoples—basically all things pertaining to the *office de la turcoplerie*.⁴⁴⁸

The military orders' maritime activities date back to the twelfth century and had originally focused on transporting the orders' goods (including horses) and members, as well as pilgrims and provisions destined for the east.⁴⁴⁹ The office of ADMIRAL can only be ascertained for the Hospital.⁴⁵⁰ It surfaced in 1299, during the Cypriote phase of the order's history (1291–1310), at a time when plans for a new crusade were taking the fleets of both major military orders for granted, which proves that the Templars were not in any way a step behind the Hospitallers in this regard (the documentation for them is, however, not as good).⁴⁵¹ The Hospitaller statutes of 1300 shed some light on the office of the order's admiral. All galleys and armed boats equipped by the order were under his command; all those serving on the galleys, namely the sailors and the men-at-arms, had to obey him

⁴⁴⁶ *RT* 171.

⁴⁴⁷ Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 172.

⁴⁴⁸ *CH* IV 4612, § 5.

⁴⁴⁹ Pryor, *Geography*, 122. A comparative maritime history of the military orders remains a *desideratum*. The respective source material is promising: the Templars' *retrai*s already mention the order's ships at Acre (*RT* 119); there are thirteenth-century treaties between the military orders and Cyprus (1210: *CH* II 1354) and Marseilles (e.g. 1225: Manosque, f. 484' 53 O. 1233: *CH* II 2079; *RRH* 1052); and the names of several ships of the military orders (e.g. *CH* IV 2195bis) as well as the names of their captains are known. For the Hospital's early naval history cf. Jacoby, "Hospitaller Ships," 57–72.

⁴⁵⁰ For the alleged Templar admiral cf. Chapter Three. Demurger, *Chevaliers*, 118, has suggested that the Templars' preceptor of the vault of Acre was in charge of the order's maritime affairs and the equivalent of the Hospitallers' admiral. However, the former's functions were primarily commercial while the latter's functions were primarily military.

⁴⁵¹ The Hospitaller admiral is first mentioned in *CH* III 4464. For the role of the military orders' fleets in contemporary crusading plans cf., for example, BN, fr. 6049, f. 183'–190; Bratianu, "Conseil," 291–361.

both at sea and on land. The admiral was responsible for paying his subordinate personnel, and the money for this was made available to him by the treasury, while all other supplies (armes and equipment) had to be given to him by the (grand) preceptor of Limassol. As an official (serving in a military capacity) he was under the marshal's command (just like the turcopolier), but as an individual he was not because he, too, was considered a capitular bailiff.⁴⁵² The Hospitallers' conquest of Rhodes, launched in 1306, undoubtedly gave a boost to the order's maritime activities. In the same year, Pope Clement V authorized the Hospitallers to arm their ships without the permission of the king of Cyprus, and ordered the king of Cyprus to allow the arming of Hospitaller ships, which essentially made the Hospitallers an independent naval force in the eastern Mediterranean.⁴⁵³

Just as the highest-ranking conventual preceptor supervised all those in any way involved in provisioning the headquarters, the conventual marshal supervised all military personnel, as well as all those working in the arsenal or the horse stables. In the order of the Temple (until 1187), the preceptor of the city of Jerusalem (who in turn supervised the preceptor of the knights in Jerusalem) answered to the marshal.⁴⁵⁴ The preceptor of the city of Jerusalem was in charge of safely escorting pilgrims to the Jordan River, and he was considered the marshal's lieutenant in Jerusalem.⁴⁵⁵ The preceptor of the knights was also subordinate to the marshal or, when the latter was absent, to the preceptor of the land. In the absence of the marshal and the preceptor of the land (and presumably the master), he convened the conventual chapter meetings.⁴⁵⁶ During battle, the Templar preceptor of the knights carried a banner wrapped around his lance, and this banner was unfurled if the marshal's banner was lost or destroyed. If the marshal was wounded, the preceptor of the knights assumed command over the Templars.⁴⁵⁷ According to the charter evidence, the office of preceptor of the knights also existed in the order of the Hospital.⁴⁵⁸ In both orders, there were subordinate officials in charge

⁴⁵² *CH* III 4515, § 13.

⁴⁵³ *CH* IV 4727–8.

⁴⁵⁴ *RT* 120.

⁴⁵⁵ *RT* 121, 124.

⁴⁵⁶ *RT* 137.

⁴⁵⁷ *RT* 165.

⁴⁵⁸ *CH* III 3396 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 227); *RRH* 1374a.

of the day-to-day operations of the arsenal. One of the Hospitallers’ master squires (*maistre escuier*) was responsible, together with a brother from the draper’s office and the infirmarer, for sealing the belongings of a deceased brother.⁴⁵⁹ The Hospitaller statutes of 1287 and 1301 also mention a brother, appointed by the marshal, who would receive, inventory, and redistribute (in accordance with the marshal’s orders) the arms of brothers who had died or left the east, as well as all other arms that would come to the order.⁴⁶⁰ In the order of the Temple, the marshal appointed an under-marshal who was responsible for the storage, upkeep, and redistribution of minor items of equipment (such as saddles and helmets), and who had all the serving brothers of the marshalcy (*tous les freres des mestiers de la marchaucie*) under his command.⁴⁶¹ In both orders, the marshal also appointed and supervised the carrier of the banner.⁴⁶²

Table 25: Templar Marshals and Their Lieutenants (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	(1153 I 25–VIII 19; undated), (Ascalon)	<i>mARESChAVD(VS):h VGO: SALOMONIS:dEqVILIVGO: TEMPLI:MILICIE</i>	IS: death in battle	M † ⁴⁶³
2	1187 V 1, Cresson	<i>fratre Robberto Frauuel marschalco</i>	L: death in battle	M † ⁴⁶⁴
3	1188 V, Tyre	<i>fratris Gaufredi Morini tunc marescalci</i>	C: Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁹ 1239/71: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 110; *RRH* 1093a. 1262: *CH* III 3039, § 37; *RRH* 1319b. There seem to have been several master squires. The statutes of (1204/6) mention a master squire in the master’s entourage (with a claim to two horses/animals) and a master squire of the convent (with a claim to three horses/animals): *CH* II 1193, p. 37; *RRH* 800a.

⁴⁶⁰ *CH* III 4022, § 8; *RRH* 1480a; date (1287): Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83; cf. *CH* IV 4549, § 35.

⁴⁶¹ *RT* 106, 173, 175.

⁴⁶² Templars: *RT* 106, 175–6. Hospitallers: *CH* III 3039, § 4; *RRH* 1319b; cf. *CH* IV 4549, § 27; Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 128 (dating uncertain).

⁴⁶³ Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, “Nouveaux monuments,” 462–3 n. 7, who hesitates to date this inscription to 1153; Claverie II, 78–9, 311, who dates it to the mid-thirteenth century. I retain the 1153 dating, cf. Chapter Eight; Chapter Nine: Hugh Salomonis of Quily.

⁴⁶⁴ *Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; *RRH* 658.

⁴⁶⁵ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.

Table 25 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
4	1189 X 4, near Ac.	<i>marescallus Templi</i>	NS: death in battle	M ^{†466}
5	1193, (Cha.)	<i>frater Gaufridus marescallus</i>	C: countess (Cha.) for T	W ⁴⁶⁷
6	1198 V, TS	<i>f. Adam Breñ marescalco</i>	C: T-mast. for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ⁴⁶⁸
7	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Willelmus de Ardilleriis marescallus</i>	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ⁴⁶⁹
8	(1200–4), TS (action) and EU (C)	<i>fratris Guillelmi de Ardillières qui tunc erat marescallus militie domus Templi</i>	C: nobleman, in EU, confirms a donat. made to the T in TS	W of the action ⁴⁷⁰
9	1219 VII 31, Egypt	<i>el manescalco</i>	NS: T-mast. and T-mar. fend of a Muslim attack	M ⁴⁷¹
10	1242 VI 7, TS	<i>fratrem Hugonem de Montelirracco marescalcum militie Templi</i>	C: agreem. between T and H (on A to settle their disputes)	CG ⁴⁷²
11	(before 1244 X 17), Caes.	<i>frere Hugue de Monlo</i> (n.tit.)	NT: participation in a disciplinary decision taken by the order's chapter	M ⁴⁷³
12	(before 1244 X 17), Jaffa and Arsuf	<i>frere Hugue de Monlo... mareschaus</i>	NT: participation in a disciplinary decision taken by the order's chapter	M ⁴⁷⁴
13	(before 1244 X 17), Jaffa	<i>frere Hugue de Monlo</i> (n.tit.)	NT: participation in a disciplinary decision taken by the order's chapter	M ⁴⁷⁵
14	1244 X 17, Gaza	<i>freres Hugues de Monlos marescal dou Temple</i>	NS: death in battle, or captivity	M ^{†476}

⁴⁶⁶ *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, III, 21; cf. Chapter Nine: Geoffrey Morin.

⁴⁶⁷ Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 73–5.

⁴⁶⁸ Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a.

⁴⁶⁹ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

⁴⁷⁰ Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455.

⁴⁷¹ "Fragmentum," ed. Röhricht, 181.

⁴⁷² Manosque, f. 383 40 H.

⁴⁷³ *RT* 585.

⁴⁷⁴ *RT* 592–3.

⁴⁷⁵ *RT* 614–15.

⁴⁷⁶ "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 441; cf. Amadi, 197; *Gestes*, 145–6 § 252.

Table 25 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
15	1249 V 12, Lim.	<i>frater Raynaldus manescalcus Templi</i>	C: T-officials for the Genoese (order of payment)	Co-I ⁴⁷⁷
16	1249 XII 6, Egypt	<i>frere Renaut de Bichiers qui estoit lors marechal du Temple</i>	NS: initiating an attack on Muslims without permission of kg. (Fran.)	M ⁴⁷⁸
17	1250 V 8, Egypt	<i>frere Renaut de Vichiers qui estoit marechal du Temple</i>	NS: T-mar. supports Joinville's plan of taking ransom money from T-treasury	M ⁴⁷⁹
18	1251 III–1252 V, Caes.	<i>frere Hugue de Joy qui estoit marechal du Temple</i>	NS: conducting separate negotiations between T and Muslims; banished by kg. (Fran.)	M ⁴⁸⁰
19	1256 III 10, Ac.	<i>marescalcis Templi et Hospitalis Iohannis Ierosolimitani</i>	C: records of the trial of the church (Ac.) against the cleric Signoretus	M ⁴⁸¹
20	1261 I 11–17, Ac.	<i>marescalco Templi</i>	C: trial of the Italian cities (conc. fortifications/ quarters in Ac.)	W ⁴⁸²
21	1261 (II), near Toron	<i>frere Estience de Saisi mareschal dou Temple</i>	NS: instigates a raid which leads to the captivity of the T-prec.	M ⁴⁸³
22	1262 V 31, Ac. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>frere Guillaume de Malai tenant leu de mareschal</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights to a casale)	G ⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁷⁷ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176.

⁴⁷⁸ Joinville, § 185–6.

⁴⁷⁹ Joinville, § 381–4.

⁴⁸⁰ Joinville, § 511–14.

⁴⁸¹ BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; *RRH* 1226.

⁴⁸² Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298.

⁴⁸³ *Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–6.

⁴⁸⁴ *CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318.

Table 25 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
23	1262 V 31, Ac. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>frere Guillaume de Malai tenant leu de mareschau</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights at Valenia and Marg.)	G ⁴⁸⁵
24	1262 XII 18, Ac.	<i>Guillaume de Malay mareschal</i>	C: agreem. between T-mast. and H- mast. (conc. casale Alma)	G ⁴⁸⁶
25	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Guillelme de Malay mareschau dou Temple</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ⁴⁸⁷
26	1271 III 11, Ac.	<i>fratre Ambelardo marescalco</i>	C: annulment of agreem. between archbp. (Naz.) and H	W ⁴⁸⁸
27	(1271), Ac.	<i>marescallum ordinis illarum parcium cujus nomen ignoro</i>	TR: participating in chapter meetings in T-prior's chamber	W ⁴⁸⁹
28	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>Guidone de Foresta mareschalco</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ⁴⁹⁰
29	1289 (until IV 26), Trip.	<i>le mareschau dou Temple frere Jofrey de Vendac</i>	NS: defending Trip. against Sultan Qalawun, manages to escape	M ⁴⁹¹
30	1291 V 18–28, Ac.	<i>mareschau dou Temple... frere Piere de Severy</i>	NS: defending T-castle (Ac.) against Sultan al- Ashraf, attempts to negotiate, executed	M ^{†492}
31	1292 IV 20, Nic.	<i>frere Baudeuin de la Andrin mareschal</i>	C: T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁵ CH III 3029; RRH 1319.⁴⁸⁶ CH III 3044; RRH 1321.⁴⁸⁷ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.⁴⁸⁸ CH III 3414; RRH 1373.⁴⁸⁹ *Procès* I, 646.⁴⁹⁰ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; RRH 1413.⁴⁹¹ *Gestes*, 235 § 474; 237 § 477.⁴⁹² *Gestes*, 255–6 § 505–8; cf. Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” 231.⁴⁹³ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

Table 25 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
32	1300 XI 10, Lim.	<i>frater Bartholomeus de Chinsi marescaldus</i>	C: T-mast. appoints T-gen. visit. for the five Spanish kingdoms	W ⁴⁹⁴
33	1302 IX–X, Ruad	<i>marescalco di quali era fra Bartholomeo</i>	NS: Muslim conquest of Ruad, death or captivity of all T present	M (†) ⁴⁹⁵
34	1302 IX–X, (Ruad) [LIEUTENANT]	<i>frater Hugo de Empures qui fuerat loco marescalli</i>	TR: T-lieut. mar. allegedly flees to the Muslims and denies his faith	M ⁴⁹⁶
35	(1303) VI 24, Antravilla (Morea)	<i>frater [Ayme marescalcus]</i>	TR: conducting reception into the order	M ⁴⁹⁷
36	(1304 after XII 25), Spain	<i>fratre Ayme Dalyele, qui es menescall</i>	L: T to T-prec. (Alfambra)	M ⁴⁹⁸
37	1306 X 20, Lim.	<i>frater Aymo de Monte Avium humilis mariscalcus dicte militie ac tenens locum domini nostri magistri in partibus cismarinis</i>	L: T-mar. to all T-br.	I ⁴⁹⁹
38	1307 I 31, Nic.	Aimo of Oiselay, mar. and lieut. mast.	C: kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ⁵⁰⁰
39	(1307), Nic.	<i>frater Ayme tunc marescalcus et locum magistri dicti ordinis tenens</i>	TR: conducting reception into the order	M ⁵⁰¹
40	(1306–8), Cyp.	Aimo of Oiselay, mar.	NS: supporting Amaury of Lusignan in his dispute with his brother, the kg. (Cyp.)	M ⁵⁰²
41	1308, Cyp.	Aimo of Oiselay, mar. (and lieut. mast.)	NS: serving as T-mar. during Amaury of Lusignan's move against the T on behalf of the pope	M ⁵⁰³

⁴⁹⁴ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.⁴⁹⁵ Amadi, 238–9; cf. Bustron, 133–4.⁴⁹⁶ Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 153–154; cf. *ibid.* 62, f. 243 (from the Irish Templar trial).⁴⁹⁷ Schottmüller II.3, 167.⁴⁹⁸ *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.⁴⁹⁹ Forey, “Letters,” 166 n. 13.⁵⁰⁰ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.⁵⁰¹ Schottmüller II.3, 173.⁵⁰² Amadi, 260–1, 266; Bustron, 149, 152–4.⁵⁰³ Amadi, 283–4, 287, 289; Bustron, 165–9.

Table 25 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
42	1308 VIII 8, Poitiers	T-lieut. mast. on Cyp.	L: pope summons him and free members of the convent to Vienne	M ⁵⁰⁴
43	1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau	<i>fratrem Aymonem de Monteavio tunc marescallum domus predictae</i>	L: pope reassigns the incomes of the vacant archbpr. (Nic.)	M ⁵⁰⁵
44	1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau	<i>fratrem Aymonem de Monteavio tunc marescallum domus predictae</i>	L: pope reassigns the incomes of the vacant archbpr. (Nic.)	M ⁵⁰⁶
45	1310 V 5, Nic.	<i>frater Ayme de Osiliers marescalcus ordinis militie Templi</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ⁵⁰⁷

The documentation in Table 25 confirms the Templar marshal's prominent military role as delineated in the order's normative texts: six marshals died or were captured during battles or sieges (1–2, 4, 14, 30, 33), and four others are mentioned in the sources as active participants on military campaigns (9, 16, 21, 29). The Templar marshal also served as an important representative beyond his order's convent: in 1193, he traveled to the court of Mary of Champagne, the mother of Count Henry II of Champagne (then regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem) (5). Moreover, his voice was heard when the convent made decisions in disciplinary matters (11–13). In 1250, when the order was temporarily without a master, he had enough clout to bypass the preceptor of the land and give Jean de Joinville access to the order's treasury to facilitate ransom payments for the French crusaders in Egyptian captivity (17). Finally, he repeatedly performed receptions of new members at the order's headquarters (35, 39).

⁵⁰⁴ Claverie III, 206 n. 225

⁵⁰⁵ CH IV 4882; Claverie II, 442–4 n. 20.

⁵⁰⁶ Claverie II, 445–7 n. 21.

⁵⁰⁷ Schottmüller II.3, 166–7, 219–23.

Table 26: Hospitaller Marshals and Their Lieutenants (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1165 IV 28, TS	<i>Raimundi marescalci domus Tyberiadis magistri</i>	C: prince (Galilee) for H (donat. of casalia)	R ⁵⁰⁸
2	1167 III, (Jer.)	<i>Raimundi Tyberiadis marescalci</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (sale confirm.)	CG ⁵⁰⁹
3	(1170/1 I-II), TS	<i>litteras marescalci... marascaleo</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁵¹⁰
4	1188 X (Tyre)	<i>fratris Lamberti marescalci</i>	C: H-mast. for the female H of Sigena (confirm. of their rule)	CG ⁵¹¹
5	1191 IX 7, Arsuf	<i>li mareschals ospitaliers</i>	NS: initiating an attack on Muslims without prior orders	M ⁵¹²
6	1193 I, TS	<i>frater Willelmus Borrel marescalcus</i>	C: H-mast. for church of Valenia (conc. tithes)	W ⁵¹³
7	1194 I 5, TS	<i>frater Guillelmus de Marolh tunc temporis marescalcus Hospitalis</i>	C: regent (Jer.) for H (donat. of part of Ac.'s city walls)	W ⁵¹⁴
8	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Albertus Romanus marescalcus</i>	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ⁵¹⁵
9	1206 IX 21, Ac.	<i>fratris Poncii marescalci</i>	C: marriage contract between Marie la Marquise and Kg. Peter II of Arag.	W ⁵¹⁶
10	1206 (after IX 21), TS	<i>frater G. marescalcus</i>	C: H-mast. confirms land conf. to H by Bohemond IV (Ant./Trip.)	W ⁵¹⁷
11	1207 V 22, TS	<i>fratri Garino de Monte Acuto marescalco ejusdem domus Hospitalis</i>	C: prince (Ant., Raymond Rupen) for H (donat. of Byblos)	R/W ⁵¹⁸

⁵⁰⁸ CH I 345; RRH 414.⁵⁰⁹ CH I 375; CH IV, p. 316; RRH 430.⁵¹⁰ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223, 225; RRH 480.⁵¹¹ CH I 860; RRH 677.⁵¹² *History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 104 v. 6418–19; *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 171 v. 6426.⁵¹³ CH I 941; RRH 708.⁵¹⁴ CH I 972; RRH 717.⁵¹⁵ CH II 1197; RRH 797a.⁵¹⁶ ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242.⁵¹⁷ CH II 1231; RRH 816.⁵¹⁸ CH II 1262; RRH 820.

Table 26 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
12	1210 VIII, (Arm.)	<i>frater Gofredus marescalcus</i>	C: kg. (Arm.) for H (donat. of Muslim-occupied Laranda)	W ⁵¹⁹
13	1216 II, TS	<i>frère Aymard de Layron mareschal</i>	C: nobleman for H (donat. of casalia)	R ⁵²⁰
14	1218 X, Egypt	<i>Aymar de Layron qui estoit mareschal de l'Ospital de saint Johan</i>	NS: kg. (Jer.) and H-mar. fend off Muslim attach	M ⁵²¹
15	1219 VIII 29, Egypt	<i>marescalco Hospitalis</i>	NS: death in battle, or captivity	M (†) ⁵²²
16	1221 V, Dam.	<i>frater Ferraudus de Barraç marescalcus</i>	C: agreem. between H and bp. (Ac.), sealed by papal legate	W ⁵²³
17	1232 X 4, near Ac.	<i>fratre A(rnaldo) de Monte Bruno domus Hospitalis marescalco</i>	C: agreem. between archbp. (Nic.) and kg. (Cyp.)	W ⁵²⁴
18	1233 X 3, Ac.	<i>fratris Arnaldi de Montbrun marescalci Hospitalis sancti Johannis</i>	C: agreem. between Marseilles and T and H (conc. naval matters)	W ⁵²⁵
19	1241 XI 18, Trip.	<i>frere Gui(llelme de) Chastel Neuf mareschal</i>	C: agreem. between prince (Ant.) and H, negotiated by patr. (Ant.), guaranteed by T and others	G ⁵²⁶
20	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>frater Willelmus de Corcellis marescalcus</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ⁵²⁷
21	1248 (c.X 23), TS	<i>marescallus Hospitalis</i>	L: papal legate mentions letter of T-mast. and H-mar. to kg. (Fran.)	M as Co-I ⁵²⁸
22	1248 (c.XII 6), TS	<i>marescallus Hospitalis</i>	L: papal legate mentions letter of H-mar. to kg. (Fran.)	M as I ⁵²⁹

⁵¹⁹ CH II 1349; RRH 843.⁵²⁰ CH II 1462; RRH 885.⁵²¹ Eracles, 333.⁵²² Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 216–17 § 29.⁵²³ CH II 1718; RRH 945.⁵²⁴ Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; CH II 2034; RRH 1039.⁵²⁵ CH II 2067; RRH 1046.⁵²⁶ CH II 2280; RRH 1102.⁵²⁷ CH II 2482; RRH 1164.⁵²⁸ D'Achéry *et al.*, *Spicilegium*, III, 624; RRH 1168.⁵²⁹ D'Achéry *et al.*, *Spicilegium*, III, 625; RRH 1169.

Table 26 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
23	1254 VI 1, TS	<i>le mareschal de l'Hôpital</i>	C: lady (Sidon) names H-mar. among the executors of her testament	M ⁵³⁰
24	1254 VI 6, TS	<i>Pierres de Biaune mareschal del Ospital</i>	NS: death	M ⁴⁵³¹
25	1255, (Navarre)	<i>Reombalt mariscal del Hospital devandito et tenent logar de magistro d'aquent mar</i>	C: H-mar. seals C of H-prior (Navarre)	M ⁵³² with seal
26	1256 I 29, Lateran	<i>fratre Raibardo marescalco Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani</i>	C: pope for patr. (Jer.) (permission to receive a loan from the H-mar. in TS)	M ⁵³³
27	1256 I, Ac. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>frere Joffrei de Raillane tenant leu de mareschal</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	G ⁵³⁴
28	1256 III 10, Ac.	<i>marescalcis Templi et Hospitalis Iohannis Ierosolimitani</i>	C: records of the trial of the church (Ac.) against the cleric Signoretus	M ⁵³⁵
29	1259 II 1, Toledo	<i>don Rimbalt mariscal mayor aquende la mar de la Orden del Hospital de sant Juan</i>	C: king (Castile) for H.	R ⁵³⁶
30	1259 X 24, Ac.	<i>frater Guizardus de Lentino marescalcus Hospitalis</i>	C: archbp. (Naz.) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ⁵³⁷
31	(1259–61) V 1, Ac.	<i>[frere Rodericus] de Perere mareschal</i>	C: H-mast. for Balian of Arsuf	G ⁵³⁸
32	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Joceume d'Estornel mareschau de l'Ospital</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ⁵³⁹
33	1267 X 19, TS	<i>Henrico marescalco</i>	C: agreem. between H-mast. and abbot of St. Mary of the Latins (conc. casalia)	W ⁵⁴⁰

⁵³⁰ CH II 2686; RRH 1215a.⁵³¹ Eracles, 441.⁵³² García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 365–7 n. 363.⁵³³ *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, n. 1096; RRH 1244b.⁵³⁴ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.⁵³⁵ BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; RRH 1226.⁵³⁶ *Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 550–3 n. 336.⁵³⁷ CH II 2934; RRH 1280.⁵³⁸ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.⁵³⁹ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.⁵⁴⁰ CH III 3283; RRH 1356.

Table 26 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
34	(1269 summer-fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Nichole de Lorgne mareschau</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ⁵⁴¹
35	1271 VI 2, Ac.	<i>frater Nichola marescallo Hospitalis predicti</i>	C: H-mast. returns charters that had been in H safe-keeping	W ⁵⁴²
36	1271 X 20, Ac.	<i>frater Rodericus Petri marescallus</i>	C: H-mast. confirms receipt of certain patronage rights in Port.	W ⁵⁴³
37	1272, Cyp.	<i>le mareschal de l'Ospital</i>	NS: H-mar. mediating between kg. (Cyp.) and nobility (conc. military service on the Syr. mainland)	M ⁵⁴⁴
38	1273 X 7, Ac.	<i>fratre Nicolao de Lorgne marescallo</i>	C: H-mast. confirms exch. between abbey (St. Chaffre) and H	W ⁵⁴⁵
39	1288 VI 22, Barcelona	<i>marascallo . . . sacre domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani</i>	L: kg. (Arag.) complaining about the treatment of Raymond of Ribells and Boniface of Calamandrana	R ⁵⁴⁶
40	1291 V 16–18, Ac.	<i>Matthaeus mariscalcus Hospitalis</i>	NS/L: defending Ac. against Sultan al-Ashraf, death in battle	M † ⁵⁴⁷
41	1299 VI 3, Lim.	<i>freres Simon le Rat mareschal</i>	C: H-convent demands an <i>esgart</i> because of the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	I ⁵⁴⁸
42	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>nostre mareschal qui est nostre chief et amé</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ⁵⁴⁹

⁵⁴¹ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313.

⁵⁴² *CH* III 3422; *RRH* 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A.

⁵⁴³ *CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a.

⁵⁴⁴ Eracles, 463.

⁵⁴⁵ *CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a.

⁵⁴⁶ *CH* III 4007 (a similar letter was addressed to the Hospitaller master, cf. *ibid.*).

⁵⁴⁷ Narrative source: *De excidio urbis Aconis libri II*, ed. Martène and Durand, 771–2, 778–9, 781–2; “Excidium Acconis,” ed. Huygens, 71, 74, 84–5, 89–93. Letter: *CH* III 4157; *RRH* 1513.

⁵⁴⁸ *CH* III 4464.

⁵⁴⁹ *CH* III 4468.

Table 26 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller marshals	documentation (type and contents)	function
43	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>nostre mareschal qui est nostre chavetaïne</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ⁵⁵⁰
44	1301 XII 31, (Lim.)	<i>le mareschal qui fu en celui tens frere Raimont de Bel Luec</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. gprec.)	M ⁵⁵¹
45	1303 II 5, (Lim.)	<i>le mareschal qui lors estoit frere Symon le Rat</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (hosp. vs. mar.; involving gprec.)	M ⁵⁵²
46	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>Sysmon Lerat qui adonc estoit mareschal</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. gprec.)	M ⁵⁵³
47	1303 (after XI 3), Lim.	<i>frere Girart de Graignane . . . avoit esté fait mareschal à celui chapitre</i> <i>frere Sysmon le Rat qui avoit esté mareschal l'année passée</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. ex-mar.)	M ⁵⁵⁴
48	1303 (after XI 3), Lim.	<i>le mareschal qui avoit nom frere Girart de Graignane</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (mar. vs. representatives of the Castilian H-tongue)	M ⁵⁵⁵
49	1306 V 27, Lim.	<i>fratre Alberto Alamanno marescalco</i>	C: treaty between H-mast. and Genoese (conc. conquest of Rhodes)	W ⁵⁵⁶
50	1306 XI 3, Lim.	<i>frater Symon Rapti marescallus</i>	C: H-convent for H-mast. (grant of authority for upcoming trip to EU)	Co-I ⁵⁵⁷
51	1309 after VIII 21, Cyp.	Simon le Rat, mar.	NS: supporting the kg. (Cyp.) in the latter's dispute with his brother, Amaury of Lusignan	M ⁵⁵⁸
52	1310 VII 26, Cyp.	<i>fra Simon Le Rat mariscalco del Hospital</i>	NS: participating in the restoration of the kg. (Cyp.)	M ⁵⁵⁹

Like the documentation for his counterpart in the order of the Temple, that for the Hospitaller marshal (listed in Table 26) illustrates this official's prominent military role: in 1191, a Hospitaller marshal started

⁵⁵⁰ CH III 4469.

⁵⁵¹ CH IV 4553.

⁵⁵² CH IV 4586.

⁵⁵³ CH IV 4617.

⁵⁵⁴ CH IV 4620.

⁵⁵⁵ CH IV 4621.

⁵⁵⁶ Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6.

⁵⁵⁷ CH IV 4735.

⁵⁵⁸ Amadi, 312; Bustron, 182.

⁵⁵⁹ Amadi, 370–1; cf. Bustron, 226.

the battle of Arsuf (5); during the Fifth Crusade, one of his successors fought and died in Egypt (14–15); prior to the Crusade of King Louis IX of France, another Hospitaller marshal kept the king informed about the shifting alliances of the crusader states' Muslim neighbors (21–2); in 1272, the Hospitaller marshal, together with the Templar master and the preceptor of the Teutonic Order, mediated between the king of Cyprus and his barons about the barons' obligation to render military service on the Syrian mainland (37); and in 1291, the Hospitaller marshal was killed during the defense of Acre against the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf (40). The marshal also appeared in charters with military implications, namely those that involved his order's taking over of potentially dangerous real estate, such as casalia in frontier regions (1); parts of Acre's city walls (7); the city of Byblos (11); the city of Laranda which had yet to be taken from the Muslims (12); the lordship of Arsuf (34; this charter was, however, only a draft); and the island of Rhodes (49). Between 1255 and 1259, the Hospitaller Marshal Raimbaud traveled to the west twice, namely to Spain and to the papal court, and, if his titles are any indication, he had been endowed with additional authority for these trips (25–6, 29). That the Hospitaller marshal enjoyed considerable international prestige can also be gathered from the fact that the king of Aragón, in 1288, addressed his complaints about the order's treatment of two of its prominent brothers, namely Boniface of Calamandrana and Raymond of Ribells, in separate letters to the master and the conventual marshal (39).

Table 27: Templar Turcopoliers (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar turcopoliers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	(before 1244 X 17), Jaffa	<i>li turcopliers</i>	NT: mentioned in a disciplinary decision taken by the order's chapter	M ⁵⁶⁰
2	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Hervi de Lyon turcoplier</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights to a casale)	G ⁵⁶¹
3	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Hevin de Lion turcoplier</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights at Valenia and Marg.)	G ⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰ RT 614–15 (about a turcopolier who had found himself between two ambushes).

⁵⁶¹ CH III 3028; RRH 1318.

⁵⁶² CH III 3029; RRH 1319.

Table 27 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar turcopoliers	documentation (type and contents)	function
4	1262 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frere Hervi de Lyon turcoplier</i>	C: agreem. between T-mast. and H-mast. (conc. casale Alma)	G ⁵⁶³
5	(1268–73), TS	<i>frere Po(n)s de Gusans...fo torcupler deu covent</i>	NT: mentioned in the Catalan fragment of the T statutes	M ⁵⁶⁴
6	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>Tibaldo turcuplerio</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ⁵⁶⁵
7	1292 IV 20, Nic.	<i>frere Guillen de la Tor turcopler</i>	C: T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ⁵⁶⁶
8	1300 XI 10, Lim.	<i>frater Dalmatius de Timor torcuplerius</i>	C: T-mast. appoints T-gen. visit. for the five Spanish kingdoms	W ⁵⁶⁷
9	(1302) V 1, Fam.	<i>frater Dalmare de Tymono tricoplerius</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ⁵⁶⁸
10	(1304 after XII 25), Spain	<i>frare Bertran de Gordo qui es trocopler</i>	L: T to T-prec. (Alfambra)	M ⁵⁶⁹
11	(1307), Nic.	<i>frater Bertrandus tricoplerius</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ⁵⁷⁰
12	1308, Cyp.	Bertrand of Gourdon, turb.	NS: serving as T-turb. during Amaury of Lusignan's move against the T on behalf of the pope	M ⁵⁷¹
13	1310 V 19, Nic.	<i>frater Bartholomeus</i> [sic, must read <i>Bertrandus</i>] <i>de Gordo tricoplerius de ordine Templi</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ⁵⁷²

The documentation for the Templar turcopolier listed in Table 27 shows that his functions, by the second half of the thirteenth century, went considerably beyond those addressed in the order's normative texts. He

⁵⁶³ CH III 3044; RRH 1321.

⁵⁶⁴ Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 183.

⁵⁶⁵ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; RRH 1413.

⁵⁶⁶ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

⁵⁶⁷ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.

⁵⁶⁸ Schottmüller II.3, 210–11.

⁵⁶⁹ AA Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.

⁵⁷⁰ Schottmüller II.3, 173.

⁵⁷¹ Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85.

⁵⁷² Schottmüller II.3, 193, 328–31.

Table 28: Hospitaller Turcopoliers (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller turcopoliers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>frater Petrus de Sardines turcoplerius</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ⁵⁷³
2	1256 I, Ac.	<i>frere P. turcoplier</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	G ⁵⁷⁴
3	(1259–61) V 1, Ac.	<i>frere Pierre de Vielle Bride tricoplier</i>	C: H-mast. for Balian of Arsuf	G ⁵⁷⁵
4	1271 X 20, Ac.	<i>frater Poncius de Maderiis turcopolerius</i>	C: H-mast. confirms receipt of certain patronage rights in Port.	W ⁵⁷⁶

witnessed charters issued by the Templar master (2–3, 7–8); served as a witness to the treaty concluded in 1277 between John of Montfort and Venice (6); and participated in receptions of new members performed at the order's headquarters (9, 11). This indicates that he was well on his way to becoming one of the convent's high dignitaries.

Like his counterpart in the order of the Temple, the Hospitaller turcopolier seems to have risen to prominence in the course of the thirteenth century, which again suggests that—by that time—the conventual leadership structures of the two orders were developing in a parallel fashion. The documentation in Table 28 shows him as a witness to charters issued by the Hospitaller master (2–4) as well as the order's lieutenant master (1).

⁵⁷³ CH II 2482; RRH 1164.

⁵⁷⁴ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.

⁵⁷⁵ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.

⁵⁷⁶ CH III 3433; RRH 1382a.

Table 29: Hospitaller Admirals (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller admirals	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1299 VI 3, Lim.	<i>frere Fouque de Vilaret aumirail de la maison</i>	C: H-convent demands an <i>esgart</i> because of the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	Co-I ⁵⁷⁷
2	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>l'amirail</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ⁵⁷⁸
3	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>l'amirail</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ⁵⁷⁹
4	1306 V 27, Lim.	<i>fratre Sancio de Aragonia admirato</i>	C: treaty between H-mast. and Genoese (conc. conquest of Rhodes)	W ⁵⁸⁰
5	1309, EU	Raymond of Ampurias, H-adm.	C: treaty between H and people from Prov.	PA ⁵⁸¹

The documentation for the Hospitaller admiral listed in Table 29 reveals that his office enjoyed considerable prestige from the very beginning. The first known admiral was the nephew of the order's master (1), and the second one was the illegitimate son of the Aragonese king (4). In 1299, even before he was first mentioned in the normative texts, the admiral was already considered one of the convent's high officials (1–3). In 1306, he witnessed the treaty about his order's intended conquest of Rhodes (4). In 1309, he traveled to the west to broker an agreement between his order and people from Provence, Genoa, and Barcelona about the arming, provisioning, and transporting of troops for the upcoming crusade (5). While no Templar admiral is known by name, the administrative history of the two orders suggests that the Templars, too, most likely would have installed an admiral in the foreseeable future. Considering their conquest of and stay on the island of Ruad between 1300 and 1302, they may have already had one, and we may simply be dealing with a gap in the documentation. From 1307 on, the trial against the order cut short any further constitutional development.

⁵⁷⁷ CH III 4464.

⁵⁷⁸ CH III 4468.

⁵⁷⁹ CH III 4469.

⁵⁸⁰ Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6.

⁵⁸¹ Baratier and Reynaud, *Histoire*, II, 215; cf. Luttrell, "Ospitalieri di San Giovanni," 89; Carraz, *Ordre*, 504

Clothing: Draper

The conventual DRAPER of the Hospital and the Temple did not just make clothing available to the brothers. He also saw to it that the many rules and regulations concerning clothing were respected. The early normative texts of both orders suggest that a standardized habit was intended right from the start. According to the Templar rule, the brothers' clothing was supposed to be monochrome (white, black, or brown) with only knight brothers wearing white clothing.⁵⁸² The order's Old French rule already mentioned the draper as the official responsible for the brothers' clothing.⁵⁸³ The Hospitaller rule stipulated that all brothers were to wear a cross on the front of their capes and mantels, and that the clothing of the order's clergy had to be white whenever they were serving at the altar or visiting the sick.⁵⁸⁴ The Hospitaller statutes of 1181/2 assigned the responsibility for the clergy's clothing to the prior (and the clothing of the personnel serving in the order's main hospital was probably determined by the hospitaller).⁵⁸⁵ The Hospitaller draper did not surface in the sources until 1204/6. By then, the Hospital had developed into a military order, and a class of armed brothers who needed to be clothed appropriately had emerged.⁵⁸⁶

It was the draper's main disciplinary function to ensure that the rules and regulations concerning clothing and outward appearance were upheld. According to the Templars' Old French rule, the draper had to make sure that the brothers' clothing fit, namely that it was not too long or too short.⁵⁸⁷ He also had to take care that their hair and beards were maintained appropriately.⁵⁸⁸ When a Templar was not dressed properly, the draper was expected to give orders to him, and the brother in question had to obey him.⁵⁸⁹ When a Templar was stripped of his habit for disciplinary reasons, the draper was part of that

⁵⁸² *UT* 20; *RT* 17.

⁵⁸³ *RT* 18; cf. *UT* 20.

⁵⁸⁴ *CH* I 70, § 3, 19; *RRH* 111a. In 1184, Pope Lucius III granted the white cross to the Hospitallers (*CH* I 700; cf. *VOP* II, 282 n. 80). In 1259, Pope Alexander IV decreed that the Hospitallers' knight brothers would normally wear a black mantel but, in times of war, a red cape with a white cross (*CH* II 2928).

⁵⁸⁵ *CH* I 627; *RRH* 614a.

⁵⁸⁶ *CH* II 1193, p. 39–40; *RRH* 800a.

⁵⁸⁷ *RT* 18; cf. *UT* 20.

⁵⁸⁸ *RT* 21; cf. *UT* 28.

⁵⁸⁹ *RT* 130.

ceremony.⁵⁹⁰ A thirteenth-century Hospitaller *esgart* emphasized that a Hospitaller wearing clothing other than that prescribed by the order's general chapter could be punished if the 'superior bailiff' (presumably the draper) raised the issue.⁵⁹¹ One of the main challenges for the draper was to detect and eliminate any signs of luxury in the brothers' clothing. The Hospitaller rule admonished the brothers to wear simple clothing.⁵⁹² The Templar rule stated that the brothers' clothing should be devoid of arrogance and excess, and that a brother who pridefully demanded better clothing for himself should be outfitted with inferior clothing.⁵⁹³ The Templars' *retrais* authorized the draper to intervene if a brother had too much clothing or an item of clothing that he was not supposed to have.⁵⁹⁴ Certain items of clothing were prohibited by the orders' normative texts. The Templar rule banned pointed and laced shoes, and the Hospitallers' 1262 collection of statutes excluded certain types of head coverings (referring to their material, form, and color).⁵⁹⁵ This 1262 stipulation was only the first of many rules on clothing issued by the Hospitallers over the next few decades, which suggests that the brothers' apparel may have been getting out of hand.⁵⁹⁶

The draper's office encompassed the convent's clothing store and tailoring department where the brothers' clothing was manufactured, repaired, and stored. The Templar rule made it clear that clothing had to be available in the right sizes and in a sufficient quantity.⁵⁹⁷ The Templars' *retrais* ordered the draper to give to the brothers the clothing and bed linen they needed, and to distribute clothing that had arrived from the west among the brothers.⁵⁹⁸ All clothing donated to the Templars was brought to the draper's department (*en la draparie*); only certain garments and uncut cloth was given to the preceptor of the land who was responsible for keeping the draper's office supplied.⁵⁹⁹ A candidate for reception into the order of the Temple was instructed that it was prohibited to purchase any clothing beyond what one had been given

⁵⁹⁰ Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 19.

⁵⁹¹ *CH* II 2213, *esgart* 28; *RRH* 1093a.

⁵⁹² *CH* I 70, § 2; *RRH* 111a.

⁵⁹³ *UT* 20, 25; *RT* 18–19.

⁵⁹⁴ *RT* 131.

⁵⁹⁵ Shoes: *UT* 29; *RT* 22. Head coverings: *CH* III 3039, § 9, 34–5; *RRH* 1319b.

⁵⁹⁶ Cf. for example *CH* III 3844, § 3; 4022, § 16.

⁵⁹⁷ *UT* 26; *RT* 19.

⁵⁹⁸ *RT* 130; cf. *ibid.* 139; Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 37.

⁵⁹⁹ *RT* 112.

by the draper.⁶⁰⁰ According to a thirteenth-century Hospitaller *esgart*, a brother who had a robe given to him by the order altered outside of the order's tailoring department (*dehors la parmenderie*) could be punished if the 'superior bailiff' (presumably the draper) raised the issue.⁶⁰¹ The Hospitallers' 1262 collection of statutes prohibited brothers from purchasing their own robes and stated that the clothing department (*les establissemenz des vestehures*) should have a sufficient quantity.⁶⁰² However, several new, somewhat more flexible regulations were promulgated in 1263: candidates for reception into the order of the Hospital should, if possible, procure their own clothing; Hospitallers in a house with its own tailoring department (*parmentarie*) could henceforth, with the draper's permission, have a robe made outside of the house; and brothers should not alter their clothing themselves but, rather, be given the altered piece of clothing they required.⁶⁰³ The next step followed in 1268: after obtaining proper permission, the brothers could purchase clothing as long as the cost did not exceed three besants per robe.⁶⁰⁴ Once the conventual brothers were allowed to obtain clothing from outside the headquarters' clothing store and tailoring department, the office of the draper was on its way to becoming an honorary office. Thus, toward the end of the following year (1269), the Hospitaller Draper William of Villaret traveled to the west where, endowed with the prestige of his conventual bailiwick, he became lieutenant prior of St. Gilles.⁶⁰⁵ In the order's normative texts, stipulations with regard to clothing continued. In 1300, the general chapter ordered that the cross on the brothers' clothing should be one palm long, which was important information for those brothers who had their clothing made outside of the order's tailoring department.⁶⁰⁶ In 1301, it was emphasized that anyone who wanted to have clothing made outside of the headquarters needed the draper's permission to do so, and that it was prohibited to have a robe made that was not cut the same way robes were cut in the order.⁶⁰⁷ Yet, the future lay with 'outsourcing.' The 1302 general chapter decreed that every brother was to be given nine white besants per year to procure

⁶⁰⁰ RT 680.

⁶⁰¹ CH II 2213, *esgart* 39; RRH 1093a.

⁶⁰² CH III 3039, § 1; RRH 1319b.

⁶⁰³ CH III 3075, § 1–3; RRH 1329b.

⁶⁰⁴ CH III 3317, § 5; RRH 1360a.

⁶⁰⁵ CH III 3394.

⁶⁰⁶ CH III 4515, § 7.

⁶⁰⁷ CH IV 4549, § 24–5.

his own robes, linen, and covers, as well as six white besants to have his robes washed.⁶⁰⁸ All this did not make the draper superfluous. His responsibilities merely shifted from those of a supervisor of storage and manufacturing to those of a guardian of proper etiquette, and this undoubtedly contributed to the prestige of his office.

Just as the marshal was responsible for the storage, maintenance, and recycling of arms and military equipment, the draper was expected to do the same with regard to clothing. The wasting of resources had to be avoided. According to the Templar rule, a brother who received new clothing had to turn in his old clothing, so that the latter could either be given to a squire within the order or to a poor person outside of the order.⁶⁰⁹ Similarly, the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 stipulated that a conventual brother who wished to have new clothing first had to turn in his old clothing.⁶¹⁰ Clothing and bed linen no longer used by the Templar master were to be given to the lepers (or to whoever else the master saw fit). If the master gave one of his robes to a Templar brother, the latter had to give one of his own robes to the lepers (or to whoever else he saw fit).⁶¹¹ According to the Hospitaller rule, the clothing of deceased brothers was to be given to the poor.⁶¹² The order's almoner had to make sure that old clothing was in an acceptable condition when it was handed to the poor.⁶¹³ Templar knight brothers had two white mantles, one of them lined with fur. For the duration of the summer, they had to keep this warmer mantle in the draper's storage.⁶¹⁴ According to the Hospitallers' *usances* (1239/71), a brother who found that his winter robe was too thin could wrap it up, attach his name (*son escrit*) to it, take it to the draper, and say: 'Sire, behold this robe which belongs to us. I ask you to keep it for me, since it is too thin for the winter. I ask you for my *robe de lievrsoin* [i.e. the robe I am entitled to].' At Easter, he had to return this latter robe to the draper and received his old (thin) robe back.⁶¹⁵

⁶⁰⁸ CH IV 4574, § 18.

⁶⁰⁹ UT 20; RT 19.

⁶¹⁰ CH II 1193, p. 38; RRH 800a.

⁶¹¹ RT 97.

⁶¹² CH I 70, § 14; RRH 111a.

⁶¹³ CH I 627; RRH 614a.

⁶¹⁴ RT 138.

⁶¹⁵ CH II 2213, *usance* 97; RRH 1093a. Further stipulations pertaining to seasonal outfits: 1283: CH III 3844, § 23; RRH 1451a. 1287: CH III 4022, § 13; RRH 1480a.

The draper had a few officials who were subordinate to him. The Templars' *retrais* speak of tailors (*parmentiers*) who apparently accompanied the draper on military campaigns as there was a tent assigned to them (*une grebeleure... a ses parmentiers*).⁶¹⁶ According to the Hospitallers' normative texts, the 'brother of the tailoring department' (*frere de la parmentarie*), the master squire, and the infirmarer were charged with sealing the belongings of a deceased brother.⁶¹⁷

Table 30: Hospitaller Drapers and Their Lieutenants (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller drapers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1221 V, Dam.	<i>frater Pontius Boschant draperius</i>	C: agreem. between H and bp. (Ac.), sealed by papal legate	W ⁶¹⁸
2	1221 (X 16–XI I), Ac.	<i>frater Pontius draperius domus Hospitalis</i>	C: testament of a count (Rodez)	W ⁶¹⁹
3	1233 X 3, Ac.	<i>fratris Guillelmi de Monte Acuto draperii</i>	C: agreem. between Marseilles and T and H (conc. naval matters)	W ⁶²⁰
4	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>frater Martinus Sanche draperius</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ⁶²¹
5	1250 II 11, Egypt	<i>drapario Hospitalis</i>	NS: death in battle	M † ⁶²²
6	(1254) early III, TS	<i>frere Guichard drapier</i>	C: agreem. between H-castellan (Marg.) and lord (Barlais)	CG ⁶²³
7	1256 I, Ac.	<i>frere Guichart le drapier</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	G ⁶²⁴
8	1260 I 23, (county Trip.)	<i>frère Simon de Villejus drapier de la maison de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem</i>	C: representatives of H, T, and TO settle a dispute between T and H	A ⁶²⁵

⁶¹⁶ RT 130.

⁶¹⁷ 1239/71: CH II 2213, *usance* 110; RRH 1093a. 1262: CH III 3039, § 37; RRH 1319b.

⁶¹⁸ CH II 1718; RRH 945.

⁶¹⁹ *Veterum scriptorum collectio*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 1168–72; RRH 959.

⁶²⁰ CH II 2067; RRH 1046.

⁶²¹ CH II 2482; RRH 1164.

⁶²² *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; CH II 2521; RRH 1191.

⁶²³ CH II 2670; RRH 1204.

⁶²⁴ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.

⁶²⁵ CH II 2943; RRH 1287a; cf. Manosque, f. 164' 18 A.

Table 30 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller drapers	documentation (type and contents)	function
9	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Rogier de Vers drapier de l'Ospital</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ⁶²⁶
10	(1269 summer-fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Guillaume de Villaret drapier</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ⁶²⁷
11	1270 VI, Aimargues	<i>fratri Guillermo de Villareto ejusdem domus Aconis draperio ac venerabilis magistri Hospitalis ejusdem et prioris in prioratu S. Egidii locumtenenti</i>	C: count (Poitiers) for H	R ⁶²⁸
12	1273 X 7, Ac.	<i>fratre Odone de Pinibus draperio</i>	C: H-mast. confirms exch. between abbey (St. Chaffre) and H	W ⁶²⁹
13	1299 VI 12, Lim. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>tenant leuc dou drapier</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ⁶³⁰
14	1299 VI 16, Lim. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>tenent leuc dou drapier</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ⁶³¹
15	1303 (c.XI 3), Lim.	<i>le drappier qui adonc estoit qui avoit nom frere Gautier l'Englès</i> <i>frere Robert de Merdoigne qui avoit esté drappier aucunes années avant</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (drap. vs. infirmarer; with reference to draper's predecessor)	M ⁶³²
16	1306 V 27, Lim.	<i>fratre Galterio Anglico dunperio</i> [sic]	C: treaty between H-mast. and Genoese (conc. conquest of Rhodes)	W ⁶³³
17	1306 XI 3, Lim.	<i>frater Riccardus de Panelli drapperius</i>	C: H-convent for H-mast. (grant of authority for upcoming trip to EU)	Co-I ⁶³⁴

⁶²⁶ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.⁶²⁷ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313.⁶²⁸ CH III 3394.⁶²⁹ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.⁶³⁰ CH III 4468.⁶³¹ CH III 4469.⁶³² CH IV 4618.⁶³³ Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6.⁶³⁴ CH IV 4735.

Since he was in charge of the convent's clothing store and tailoring department, one might assume that the Hospitaller draper would stay close to his order's headquarters, and most of the time he did (Acre: 2–4, 7, 9, 10, 12; Limassol: 13–17). However, the documentation in Table 30 shows that the draper did perform functions beyond the headquarters: in 1221, the Hospitaller draper participated in the Fifth Crusade in Egypt (1); in 1250, one of his successors was killed in Egypt during the crusade of King Louis IX of France (5); in 1260, the Hospitaller draper served as an arbiter in the county of Tripoli (8); and in 1269, the Hospitaller draper traveled to southern France and retained his office at least until the following year, even though he was far away from the central convent (11).

Table 31: Templar Drapers and Their Lieutenants (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar drapers	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1241 XI 18, Trip.	<i>frere Pierre d'Aramont le draper</i>	C: agreem. between prince (Ant.) and H, negotiated by patr. (Ant.), guaranteed by T and others	G ⁶³⁵
2	1249 V 12, Lim.	<i>frater Aimericus Jaureo drapperius</i>	C: T-officials for the Genoese (order of payment)	Co-I ⁶³⁶
3	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Richart le Lop drapier</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights to a casale)	G ⁶³⁷
4	1262 V 31, Ac.	<i>frere Richard le Loup drapier</i>	C: T-mast. for H-mast. (conf. of rights at Valenia and Marg.)	G ⁶³⁸
5	1271 III 11, Ac.	<i>fratre Guillelmo Malart drapperio dicte domus militie Templi</i>	C: annulment of agreem. between archbp. (Naz.) and H	W ⁶³⁹
6	1271 VI 2, Ac.	<i>fratre Guillemo Molaho drapperio predictae domus Templi</i>	C: H-mast. returns charters that had been in H safe-keeping	W ⁶⁴⁰
7	(1271), Ac.	<i>Guillelmum draperium</i>	TR: participating in chapter meetings in T-prior's chamber	W ⁶⁴¹

⁶³⁵ CH II 2280; RRH 1102.

⁶³⁶ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; RRH 1176.

⁶³⁷ CH III 3028; RRH 1318.

⁶³⁸ CH III 3029; RRH 1319.

⁶³⁹ CH III 3414; RRH 1373.

⁶⁴⁰ CH III 3422; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A.

⁶⁴¹ *Procès* I, 646.

Table 31 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Templar drapers	documentation (type and contents)	function
8	1277 VII 1, near Ac.	<i>Guillielmo de Malassi drapperio</i>	C: treaty between John of Montfort and Venice	W ⁶⁴²
9	(1284/5, Sunday), Ac.	<i>Petro de Severi draperio</i>	TR: witnessing reception into the order	W ⁶⁴³
10	1292 IV 20, Nic. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>frere Gaucher de Liencort tenant leuc de draper</i>	C: T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ⁶⁴⁴
11	1300 XI 10, Lim.	<i>frater Addam de Cronvalle draperius</i>	C: T-mast. appoints T-gen. vis. for the five Spanish kingdoms	W ⁶⁴⁵
12	(1304 after XII 25), Spain	<i>fratre Jofre de Xarnay es draper</i>	L: T to T-prec. (Alfambra)	M ⁶⁴⁶
13	1308, Cyp.	John of Villa, drap.	NS: serving as T-drap. during Amaury of Lusignan's move against the T on behalf of the pope	M ⁶⁴⁷
14	1310 V 28, Nic.	<i>frater Johannes de Villa drapperius de ordine militie Templi</i>	TR: own trial deposition	M ⁶⁴⁸

Like his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, the Templar draper, too, participated in the crusade of King Louis IX of France: in 1249, he was in the crusaders' camp at Limassol (2). The other documentation listed in Table 31 shows him as a witness of charters issued by the Templar master (3–4, 10–11). He also served as a guarantor or witness of treaties in which the Templars were not one of the parties, such as the 1241 agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers (1); the 1271 agreement between the archbishop of Nazareth and the Hospitallers (5); and the 1277 treaty between John of Montfort and the city of Venice (8). Tables 30 and 31 suggest that, in both orders, the conventual draper had roles to play that went considerably beyond those assigned to him by his respective order's normative texts. These

⁶⁴² Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

⁶⁴³ *Procès* I, 418.

⁶⁴⁴ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36.

⁶⁴⁵ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44.

⁶⁴⁶ *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8.

⁶⁴⁷ Bustron, 167–8.

⁶⁴⁸ Schottmüller II.3, 208–9, 348–51.

roles explain why the draper was considered one of high dignitaries of the central convent and of his order as a whole.

Charity: Hospitaller

The hospital at the headquarters of the Hospitallers had originally been run by the leader of this community. In the course of the twelfth century, as the Hospitallers took on new tasks and the hospital expanded its facilities and services, a separate official was placed in charge of the order's extensive charitable operations in Jerusalem, namely the HOSPITALLER, whose main charge it was to see to it that the hospital of St. John functioned smoothly. In the Hospitallers' normative texts, the hospitaller first appears as the official responsible for the proper nourishment of the sick. In 1176/7, the Hospitaller master conferred upon the hospitaller and all his successors two casalia to ensure that the sick and poor would be supplied with white bread. Should these casalia not produce enough wheat, the treasury was to provide the funds for the purchase of white bread. Should the wheat harvested from the casalia be of insufficient quality, the order's granary (*granerium Hospitalis*) was to provide the appropriate amount of good wheat.⁶⁴⁹ By 1177/83, the number of casalia set aside to produce provisions for the hospital, the so-called 'casalia of the sick' (*casaus des malades*), had to be increased from two to six, which either indicates a lack of productivity on the part of the casalia or, more likely, an increase of the Hospitallers' charitable works in Jerusalem.⁶⁵⁰ According to the statutes of 1181/2, meals were not just given to the sick, but also to the city's orphans and poor. The order's major houses (or, rather, priories) in the west, namely France, St. Gilles, Italy, Pisa, and Venice, as well as the east, namely Antioch, Mount Pilgrim near Tripoli, Tiberias, and Constantinople, had to send certain raw materials or items, particularly cloth and sugar, to the hospital in Jerusalem every year. The hospitaller, for his part, had to see to it that the hospital had a sufficient quantity of bed linen, hospital clothing, shoes, cribs, and burial shrouds.⁶⁵¹

The statutes of 1177/83 detail the Jerusalem hospital's check-in routine which probably remained very similar after the relocation of the

⁶⁴⁹ *CH I* 494; *RRH* 547.

⁶⁵⁰ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 164–7.

⁶⁵¹ *CH I* 627, p. 426–8; *RRH* 614a.

order's headquarters and main hospital to Acre in 1191. New patients first went to confession, took Holy Communion, and, depending on the time of day, received a meal. Then they were brought to the *chambre de la karawane*, where they received their hospital clothing, bed linen, and dishes, and where their own clothing and personal belongings were placed into storage. Afterwards, they were taken to their beds. If they had any money, they had to give it to the hospitaller for safe-keeping. Then they had the opportunity to make their testament, if possible in the hospitaller's presence (*le testam(en)t soit fait deuant hospitalier ou par deua(n)t aucu(n) de ses compaignons*), at which time the order's good works (*les bienfaiz de la maison*) were to be pointed out to them.⁶⁵² The statutes of 1204/6 mention that the master or the preceptor serving as his lieutenant was supposed to have the responsions from the west shown to the sick (i.e. the supposed 'lords' of the Hospital) and then taken to the treasury,⁶⁵³ which may have been one of the few entertaining events for the sick.

In 1143, Pope Celestine II subordinated the Hospital of the Germans in Jerusalem to the leader of the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem. However, the pope told the Hospitaller master, who, in this document, is once referred to as *prior*, to make sure that the German hospital's leader (*prior*) and servants were of German origin (*de gente Theutonicorum*) and able to communicate with the patients in their language.⁶⁵⁴ It is unknown whether the hospitaller was ever expected to supervise the German hospital's leader. It is also unknown whether the hospitaller was ever in charge of the "Hospitallers' field medical service" mentioned in the account of a German pilgrim from the second half of the twelfth century; according to this account, the Hospitallers had tents near battlefields where they received the wounded and from where they transported those in need of further care to the order's main hospital (either on their own pack animals or on pack animals hired for this purpose).⁶⁵⁵

⁶⁵² Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 166–75.

⁶⁵³ *CH* II 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

⁶⁵⁴ *VOP* III, 169–71 n. 50.

⁶⁵⁵ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 21; cf. *ibid.*, 7.

Table 32: Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John (Documentation)

n.	date, place	hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1162, (Jer.)	<i>Pioch custode infirmorum</i>	C: H-mast. for H-co-brother (conf. of a house for an annual rent)	W ⁶⁵⁶
2	1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jer.	<i>fratremque Piotum custodem infirmorum</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of land near Jer.)	W ⁶⁵⁷
3	(1164 mid–IX–1165 III 15), (Jer. and Ac.)	<i>frater Piotus</i> (n.tit.)	C: H-mast. confirms real estate purchase made on behalf of the kg. (Hung.)	W ⁶⁵⁸
4	1167 III, (Jer.)	<i>fratris Pioti custodis infirmorum</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (sale confirm.)	CG ⁶⁵⁹
5	1167, (Jer.)	<i>frater Piotus custos infirmorum</i>	C: layperson for H (donat. of a house in exch. for alms)	W ⁶⁶⁰
6	(1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS	<i>frater Piotus</i> (n.tit.)	C: H-mast. for burgesses (Beth.)	W ⁶⁶¹
7	(1170/1 I–II), TS	<i>procurator infirmorum...fratre [Pio]to</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁶⁶²
8	1173 X, TS	<i>frater Willelmus de Forgia custos egrorum</i>	C: H-mast. for a Jacobite (conf. of real estate)	W ⁶⁶³
9	1177 I, (Jer.)	<i>frater Stephanus Hospitalis</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (conf. of real estate for an annual rent)	W ⁶⁶⁴
10	(1176–1177 before III 23), Jer.	<i>fratri Stephano hospitalario</i>	C: H-mast. for H-hosp. (conf. of two casalia to supply the hospital)	R ⁶⁶⁵
11	1178 V, (Jer.)	<i>frater Stephanus hospitalarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (confirm. of real estate purchase)	W ⁶⁶⁶
12	1181 XI 9, Jer.	<i>frater Stephanus hospitalarius</i>	C: agreem. between H-mast. and archbp. (Petra)	W ⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁵⁶ CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c.⁶⁵⁷ CH I 312; RRH 391.⁶⁵⁸ CH I 309; RRH 458.⁶⁵⁹ CH I 375; CH IV, p. 316; RRH 430.⁶⁶⁰ CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a.⁶⁶¹ CH I 399; RRH 457.⁶⁶² VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223, 225; RRH 480. [Pio]to is Paoli's reading.⁶⁶³ CH I 450; RRH 501.⁶⁶⁴ CH I 508; RRH 540.⁶⁶⁵ Manosque, f. 284 28 M; CH I 494; RRH 547.⁶⁶⁶ CH I 538; RRH 558.⁶⁶⁷ CH I 610; RRH 607.

Table 32 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	documentation (type and contents)	function
13	1186 IV 25, TS	<i>frater Herbertus de Duneires hospitalarius</i>	C: H-mast. for layperson (confirm. of real estate purchase)	W ⁶⁶⁸
14	1198 VIII 21, TS	<i>fratris Rollandi hospitalarii</i>	C: count (Trip.) for H (conf. of rent to settle debt claims)	W ⁶⁶⁹
15	1199 VI 15, TS	<i>frater Rolandus Burgundiensis</i> (n.tit.)	C: count (Trip.) for H (conf. of privs)	W ⁶⁷⁰
16	1199 IX 6, TS	<i>frater Rollandus Burgundensis</i> (n.tit.)	C: count (Trip.) assumes rights of lordship on behalf of H	W ⁶⁷¹
17	1204 VII 19, Ac.	<i>Fulco Bremundus</i> (n.tit.)	C: papal legates confirm testament	P ⁶⁷²
18	1207 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frater Fulco Bremont hospitalarius</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (donat. confirm.)	W ⁶⁷³
19	1219 VIII, (Ac.)	<i>frater Nun hospitalarius</i>	C: H for a layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	W ⁶⁷⁴
20	1221 V, Dam.	<i>frater Henricus hospitalarius</i>	C: agreem. between H and bp. (Ac.), sealed by papal legate	W ⁶⁷⁵
21	1235 XI, (Ac.)	<i>frater Robertus de Vineis hospitalarius</i>	C: H-mast. for Nicholas Antelini (exch. of houses)	W ⁶⁷⁶
22	1237 VI 18, (Ac.)	<i>frere Robers li hospitalers</i>	C: H-prec. for layperson (conf. of a house in Ac. for an annual rent)	W ⁶⁷⁷
23	1239 IV, (Ac.)	<i>frere Robert l'hospitalier</i>	C: H-mast. for TO-gprec. (conf. of casale)	W ⁶⁷⁸
24	1255 II 11, Ac.	<i>fratre Henrico hospitalario</i>	C: knight for H (donat. of land near Ac.)	W ⁶⁷⁹
25	1255 V 1, Ac.	<i>fratre Henrico hospitalario</i>	C: lord (Caes.) for H (conf. of property)	W ⁶⁸⁰

⁶⁶⁸ CH I 803; RRH 651.⁶⁶⁹ CH I 1031; RRH 742.⁶⁷⁰ CH I 1085; RRH 757; cf. Chapter Nine: Roland (Burgund(i)ensis).⁶⁷¹ CH I 1096; RRH 759; cf. Chapter Nine: Roland (Burgund(i)ensis).⁶⁷² CH II 1197; RRH 797a.⁶⁷³ CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; RRH 824.⁶⁷⁴ CH II 1656; RRH 923.⁶⁷⁵ CH II 1718; RRH 945.⁶⁷⁶ CH II 2126; RRH 1063.⁶⁷⁷ Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; CH II 2166; RRH 1076b.⁶⁷⁸ CH II 2224; RRH 1091.⁶⁷⁹ CH II 2714; RRH 1212.⁶⁸⁰ CH II 2732; RRH 1234.

Table 32 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	documentation (type and contents)	function
26	1256 I, Ac.	<i>frere Henri hospitalier</i>	C: H-mast. announces extension for A in dispute with John of Jaffa	G ⁶⁸¹
27	1260 I 23, (county Trip.)	<i>Bernard de Porte Clerc hospitalier</i>	C: representatives of H, T, and TO settle a dispute between T and H	A ⁶⁸²
28	1260 IV 14, Ac.	<i>fratris Crapfi hospitalarii existentis tunc loco magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis in Accon</i>	C: knight for H (conf. of property in Ac.)	W ⁶⁸³
29	(1259–61) V 1, Ac.	<i>frere Graf hospitalier</i>	C: H-mast. for Balian of Arsuf	G ⁶⁸⁴
30	1262 XII 19, Ac.	<i>frere Garcie Semenès hospitalier</i>	C: A-decision (conc. dispute between T and H over mills)	W ⁶⁸⁵
31	(1269 summer-fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Pierre de Hayem hospitalier</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ⁶⁸⁶
32	1273 X 7, Ac.	<i>fratre Roderico Roderici hospitalario</i>	C: H-mast. confirms exch. between abbey (St. Chaffre) and H	W ⁶⁸⁷
33	1278 X 16, TS	<i>frère Jean de Loche hospitalier de la maison d'Acre</i>	C: nobleman for H (sale of land)	R ⁶⁸⁸
34	1299 VI 3, Lim.	<i>fraire Raymont de Bel Leu hospitalier</i>	C: H-convent demands an <i>esgart</i> because of the H-mast.'s plan to hold a gen. chapter at Avignon	Co-I ⁶⁸⁹
35	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>l'hospitalier</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys to be sent to the H-mast.	W ⁶⁹⁰
36	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>hospitalier</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	W ⁶⁹¹

⁶⁸¹ CH II 2810; RRH 1247.⁶⁸² CH II 2943; RRH 1287a; cf. Manosque, f. 164' 18 A.⁶⁸³ CH II 2949; RRH 1291.⁶⁸⁴ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.⁶⁸⁵ CH III 3045; RRH 1322.⁶⁸⁶ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313.⁶⁸⁷ CH III 3519; RRH 1391a.⁶⁸⁸ CH III 3679; RRH 1425a.⁶⁸⁹ CH III 4464.⁶⁹⁰ CH III 4468.⁶⁹¹ CH III 4469.

Table 32 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	documentation (type and contents)	function
37	1303 II 5, (Lim.)	<i>frayre Girart de Graignane qui estoit au jour hospitaliers</i>	NT: <i>esgart</i> (hosp. vs. mar.; involving gprec.)	M ⁶⁹²
38	1306 XI 3, Lim.	<i>frater Velascus Martini hospitalarius</i>	C: H-convent for H-mast. (grant of authority for upcoming trip to EU)	Co-I ⁶⁹³

Given the hospitaller's responsibility for his order's main hospital, it comes as no surprise that he usually stayed close to the headquarters. Of the 38 pieces of documentation listed in Table 32, 28 are Hospitaller charters, namely 13 issued by the Hospitaller master (1, 3, 6, 8–9, 11, 13, 21, 23, 26, 29, 31–2), 2 issued by the preceptor (19, 22), 10 featuring the Hospitallers as recipients (2, 4–5, 14–16, 18, 24–5, 28), and 3 containing agreements between the Hospitallers and other ecclesiastical institutions (12, 20, 30). Only twice does the hospitaller appear outside of his order's headquarters, namely, in 1221, during the Fifth Crusade, as a charter witness in Egypt (20), and, in 1260, together with the draper, as an arbiter in the county of Tripoli (27).

The order's main hospital employed a substantial number of personnel; while it was at Acre (1191–1291), the hospitaller was assisted by the seneschal of the hospital (*seneschal dou palis des malades*).⁶⁹⁴ The physicians working in the hospital were not members but, rather, employees of the order. According to the statutes of 1177/83, the hospitaller had an annual budget of 1,500 besants which, among other things, paid for the physicians (*por louer mieges*). A *fisicien por les febles* was hired for those patients who were particularly weak.⁶⁹⁵ In 1181/2, the order's general chapter stipulated that four physicians (*mieges*) should be employed who should be able to analyze urine, distinguish between the various kinds of diseases, advise with regard to the preparation of the medication, or themselves prepare the necessary medication (*syrob des malades*).⁶⁹⁶ In 1184/5, Pope Lucius III issued his mandate *Quanto per Dei gratiam*

⁶⁹² CH IV 4586.

⁶⁹³ CH IV 4735.

⁶⁹⁴ CH II 2213, *usance* 125; *RRH* 1093a.

⁶⁹⁵ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 162–5, 192–3; cf. Edgington, "Medical Care," 33; Mitchell, *Medicine*, 68.

⁶⁹⁶ CH I 627, p. 426, 428; *RRH* 614a.

which mentions the number of qualified personnel that should serve in the hospital. The document has survived in different versions that list either four physicians (*medici*) and four surgeons (*chirurgici*), or five physicians and three surgeons.⁶⁹⁷ The surgeons probably performed minor operations. The physicians (and presumably also the surgeons) had to take an oath.⁶⁹⁸ According to the statutes of 1300, they had to vow to prescribe things in accordance with what they knew to be necessary for the sick.⁶⁹⁹ In the convent, the physicians enjoyed considerable prestige. According to the statutes of 1268, they were allowed to take their meals at the brothers' table.⁷⁰⁰

The Hospitaller clergy was responsible for the spiritual care of the sick. They heard the confession of the new patients, visited the sick, and held processions.⁷⁰¹ In 1263, it was stipulated that the conventual prior should have a priest and an acolyte in the hospital (meaning that these two served in the hospital, but were subordinate to the prior).⁷⁰² The *chambre de la karavane* where new patients were checked in has already been mentioned. It was supervised by its own official, the *karavanier*, who was a member of the order and had to participate in the hospital's nightly processions. Twice a year, he had to empty out the *karavane* to see whether the patients' clothing and personal belongings could still be accounted for. If an item of clothing was missing, the hospitaller had to replace it with one of higher quality.⁷⁰³ According to the Hospitallers' 1262 collection of statutes, the *karavanier* also served in the infirmary (*enfermerie*) where the sick brothers received care.⁷⁰⁴ It is conceivable that he temporarily stored the personal items of the sick brothers as well. The actual nursing, namely the washing, bedding, and feeding of the sick, was originally the main task of the members of the Hospitaller community. However, as the Hospitallers developed into a military order, the brothers became less and less involved in nursing. The statutes of

⁶⁹⁷ VOP I, 361 n. 172; 363 n. 174.

⁶⁹⁸ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 20.

⁶⁹⁹ CH III 4515, § 5. This statute mentions the sick brothers and the physicians caring for them; the latter's oath was probably similar, if not identical, to that taken by the physicians serving in the order's main hospital.

⁷⁰⁰ CH III 3317, § 1; RRH 1360a.

⁷⁰¹ Confessions: CH I 70, § 16; RRH 111a. Visitations: CH I 70, § 3; cf. CH II 2213, *esgart* 65; RRH 111a. Processions: CH II 2213, *usance* 125; RRH 1093a.

⁷⁰² CH III 3075, § 5; RRH 1329b.

⁷⁰³ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 170–3, 198–205.

⁷⁰⁴ CH III 3039, § 33; RRH 1319b.

1181/2 already mention servants (*servientes*) who, following the brothers' orders (*de mandato fratrum*), washed the sick, made their beds, prepared their meals, and fed them.⁷⁰⁵ According to the abovementioned account of a German pilgrim from the second half of the twelfth century, sick men were looked after by male servants (*ministri*), while sick women were cared for by female servants (*ministrae*).⁷⁰⁶

The Hospitallers' almoner has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter. He received old clothing from the draper's office, and he had to ensure that this old clothing was in an acceptable condition when it was handed to the poor. He had two servants (*servientes*) to help him with this task.⁷⁰⁷ The brother shoemaker and his three assistants (*i. frere corvoisier au iii sergens*), charged with repairing old shoes before they were given to the poor, may have been subordinate to the almoner as well.⁷⁰⁸ The Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 still mention the almoner together with the preceptor, the treasurer, and the hospitaller.⁷⁰⁹ Afterwards, this official disappears from the historical record, and it is possible that his various tasks were taken over by the hospitaller.⁷¹⁰ The Templars, too, had an almoner. According to the order's rule, he was in charge of distributing bread to the poor.⁷¹¹ Templar brothers who had violated their order's discipline served their penance in the almoner's house, and they had to perform menial tasks which the almoner had to supervise.⁷¹² On Maundy Thursday, the almoner selected thirteen poor whose feet were subsequently washed by the Templars as part of the day's liturgical exercises.⁷¹³

While the Hospitallers' almoner disappeared after 1204/6, the statutes of 1204/6 mention, for the first time, the infirmary (*enfermerie*) where the sick brothers of the convent were looked after.⁷¹⁴ The order's military engagements had become so extensive that there were increasing numbers of injured brothers who had to receive care. It is unknown whether the infirmarer (*enfermier*), who, according to the

⁷⁰⁵ *CH I* 627, p. 427; *RRH* 614a.

⁷⁰⁶ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 24.

⁷⁰⁷ *CH I* 627, p. 428; *RRH* 614a.

⁷⁰⁸ *CH I* 627, p. 428; *RRH* 614a.

⁷⁰⁹ *CH II* 1193, p. 39; *RRH* 800a.

⁷¹⁰ Riley-Smith, 146.

⁷¹¹ *UT* 15; *RT* 29.

⁷¹² *RT* 266; cf. *ibid.* 489, 654.

⁷¹³ *RT* 346–7.

⁷¹⁴ *CH II* 1193, p. 32; *RRH* 800a.

usances (1239/71), was in charge of the infirmary, was subordinate to the hospitaller.⁷¹⁵ At any rate, the two were not identical, and they served on different levels of the order's hierarchy. It has already been mentioned that the infirmarer, together with one of the master squires and a brother from the draper's office, was responsible for sealing the belongings of a deceased brother.⁷¹⁶ The infirmarer also had disciplinary functions. He had to see to it that sick brothers did not delay their recovery, for example by eating food that was forbidden to them.⁷¹⁷ The meals served in the infirmary were obviously more healthful, and, in 1287, permission was given to current and former bailiffs, as well as to the master's companions and brothers who had belonged to the order for twenty or more years, to eat at the infirmary's table (*table de l'enfermerie*) as long as they gave previous notice (after all, the cook needed time to plan the meals).⁷¹⁸ According to the Hospitaller statutes of 1304, the infirmarer had to render an annual account to the general chapter.⁷¹⁹ Unlike the Hospitallers, the Templars had been armed and engaged in life-threatening assignments from the very beginning. Thus, their infirmarer is already mentioned in their Old French rule. He had to take care of the things that the various sick brothers needed. He was to do so diligently, faithfully, and in accordance with the order's means; for example, he was to procure food that would lead to a good recovery.⁷²⁰ The Templars' *retrais* pay much attention to the infirmarer as well as the infirmary's policies and procedures, which suggests that this official and his office were deemed important and held in high regard, even though the infirmarer never made into the inner circle of their central convent's high dignitaries.⁷²¹

Church: Prior

The Hospitallers' conventual PRIOR had a number of functions. In the order's normative texts, his office is first mentioned in 1181/2,

⁷¹⁵ CH II 2213, *esgart* 71; RRH 1093a.

⁷¹⁶ 1239/71: CH II 2213, *usance* 110; RRH 1093a. 1262: CH III 3039, § 37; RRH 1319b.

⁷¹⁷ CH III 3039, § 39; RRH 1319b.

⁷¹⁸ CH III 4022, § 4; RRH 1480a; date (1287): Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83.

⁷¹⁹ CH IV 4672, § 11.

⁷²⁰ RT 61: *l'enfermier*; cf. UT 51: *procuratoribus infirmorum*.

⁷²¹ RT 190–8.

when the general chapter charged him with the responsibility for clerics and priests, as well as (liturgical) books, vestments, chalices, censers, the perpetual light, and all other ornaments of the church.⁷²² In the convent, the prior oversaw all liturgical matters, and according to the statutes of 1177/83, he participated in the various processions in the order's main hospital.⁷²³ The collection of statutes compiled in 1262 assigned to him the duty to hear the confessions of the brothers who had to check into the infirmary because they were sick.⁷²⁴ Some of the prior's other liturgical functions are mentioned in the thirteenth-century *usances*. He announced the feast days every Sunday after the offertory of the morning mass. He offered up prayers at the chapter meetings as well as when the requiem was celebrated for a deceased brother of the convent. At the end of every chapter held by the master, he offered the peace greeting to the master, the conventual bailiffs, the (other) capitular bailiffs, and all others (in that hierarchical order).⁷²⁵ According to a 1221 charter documenting an agreement between the Hospitallers and the bishop of Acre, the prior gave public sermons, and he presented clerics to the bishop of Acre for ordination (the livelihood of these clerics had to be guaranteed by a charter issued by the Hospitaller master or his lieutenant).⁷²⁶ The statutes of 1265 confirmed the prior's right of presentation, which suggests that it may have been contested either by the bishop or by some of the order's other high dignitaries.⁷²⁷

When a bailiff or a brother of the convent became severely ill (and felt that his end was nearing), the prior literally had a 'key' role to play. The bailiff or brother in question had to call for the prior who then heard his confession. The prior had to ask him whether he had any debts, whether anyone had entrusted anything to him, whether anyone else was his debtor, where he kept his equipment and other belongings, and how much money, or how many plates and precious stones he had. The sick bailiff or brother then received Holy Communion, and the prior took his keys for safe-keeping. After the individual had passed away and had been buried, the prior handed these keys over to

⁷²² *CHI* 627, p. 425; *RRH* 614a.

⁷²³ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 194–203.

⁷²⁴ *CH* III 3039, § 38; *RRH* 1319b.

⁷²⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usances* 108, 109, 129; *RRH* 1093a.

⁷²⁶ *CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945.

⁷²⁷ *CH* III 3180, § 11; *RRH* 1338a.

his former superior, namely, if he had been a bailiff, to the master; if he had been a conventual brother, to the marshal; and if he had been a serving brother to the grand preceptor.⁷²⁸ The prior could play this role credibly since he stood, as we have seen in the previous chapter, somewhat outside the convent's and order's hierarchy.

During the Hospitallers' general chapter, the prior played another significant role. When it came to the question of who should be appointed grand preceptor, the prior was the first allowed to speak, probably because he was not eligible for the post.⁷²⁹ According to the statutes of 1301, the prior had to attend the 'assemblies' of the marshal, and while it is not clear what these assemblies were all about, this stipulation, as well as the previous one, indicate that the prior's opinion was valued.⁷³⁰ The *usances* mention that, when the master and the capitular bailiffs were absent, the prior could grant a special ration to a brother serving a penance.⁷³¹ The fact that there is such a provision suggests that such absences did occur. They certainly gave the prior an opportunity, without undermining anyone's authority, to offer a small amount of grace to members of the community who had been subjected to disciplinary procedures.

The clerics of the convent, as well as the order's clergy in the city in which the Hospitallers' headquarters were located, were subordinate to the prior. The statutes of 1263 ordered that the prior should have four *prestres vicaris* (probably priests who represented him in his various functions); a *prestre de carevane* (presumably a priest who accompanied the brothers on their looting campaigns, as the word *carevane* was used to describe such activities, and as there was no need for a priest in charge of a storage facility, the other meaning of the word); moreover, two deacons, four acolytes, and a custodian (*mareglie*); in the convent's main hospital, he was to have an additional priest and another acolyte—similarly in St. Michael's (a church in Acre located outside of the Hospitaller quarter but probably held by the order as a benefice).⁷³²

⁷²⁸ CH II 2213, *usance* 110; RRH 1093a.

⁷²⁹ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

⁷³⁰ CH IV 4549, § 16.

⁷³¹ CH II 2213, *usance* 89; RRH 1093a.

⁷³² CH III 3075, § 5; RRH 1329b.

According to the statutes of 1301, the master's chaplain or chaplains, who may have formed the master's chancery, were not subordinate to the prior.⁷³³

Table 33: Hospitaller Priors and Their Lieutenants (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller priors	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1136 X 10, Palermo [with reservations]	<i>fratris Hubaldi vener(abilis) magni prioris ejusdem sacrae domus Hospitalis</i>	C: kg. (Sicily) for H (confirm. of his father's donat.)	R ⁷³⁴
2	1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jer.	<i>domnum Petrum magistrum clericorum... sacerdotes</i>	C: layperson for H (sale of land near Jer.)	W ⁷³⁵
3	(1164 mid-IX– 1165 III 15), (Jer. and Ac.)	<i>Petrus de Crato clericorum magister et ecclesie custos</i>	C: H-mast. confirms real estate purchase made on behalf of the kg. (Hung.)	W ⁷³⁶
4	(1167 XII 25– 1168 VII 13), TS	<i>frater Petrus de Crato</i> (n.tit.)	C: H-mast. for burgesses (Beth.)	W ⁷³⁷
5	(1170/1 I–II), TS	<i>priore... priore clericorum</i>	L: H-convent to pope (report about the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁷³⁸
6	1172 VI 20, Tusc.	<i>B. priore</i>	L: pope to H (responding to the crisis after the resignation of the H-mast.)	M ⁷³⁹
7	1173 X, TS	<i>per manum fratris Bernardi magistri [cl(er)icor(um)]</i>	C: H-mast. for a Jacobite (conf. of real estate)	PA ⁷⁴⁰
8	1175, (Ac.)	<i>Bernardus prior</i>	C: agreem. between bp. (Ac.) and H	W ⁷⁴¹

⁷³³ CH IV 4549, § 21. For these chaplains as chancery personnel: 1206: *frater A., cappellanus* (CH II 1231; RRH 816). 1214: *frater Willelmus, cappellanus domini magistri* (CH II 1426; RRH 869). 1214: *frater Willelmus, scriptor domini magistri cappellanus* (CH II 1427; RRH 870). 1216: *Raymond Portevin, chapelain du grand-maitre* (CH II 1462; RRH 885a). 1241: *Ogier et Damian, maistres chapelleins* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102).

⁷³⁴ Lünig, *Codex*, II, 1635–8 n. 1; CH I 119; RRH 1296.

⁷³⁵ CH I 312; RRH 391.

⁷³⁶ CH I 309; RRH 458.

⁷³⁷ CH I 399; RRH 457.

⁷³⁸ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19, here 223, 225; RRH 480.

⁷³⁹ VOP II, 227–30 n. 20, here 228; RRH 492a.

⁷⁴⁰ CH I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; RRH 501.

⁷⁴¹ CH I 471; RRH 532.

Table 33 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller priors	documentation (type and contents)	function
9	1181 XI 9, Jer.	<i>frater Bernardus prior clericorum Hospitalis</i>	C: agreem. between H-mast. and archbp. (Petra)	W ⁷⁴²
10	(1181 III 15 or 1182 III 7), (Jer.)	<i>Bernardo priore</i>	NT: gen. chapter	W ⁷⁴³
11	1185, TS	<i>fratris Willelmi de Acerio prioris clericorum</i>	C: nobleman for H (sale confirm.)	W ⁷⁴⁴
12	1187 II 1, Marg.	<i>frater Bernardus ecclesie Hospitalis S. Joannis prior</i>	C: nobleman for H (conf. of castle for an annual rent)	W ⁷⁴⁵
13	1187 II after 1, Ant.	<i>frater Bernardus prior ejusdem ecclesie</i>	C: prince (Ant.) for H (confirm. of castle conf.)	W ⁷⁴⁶
14	1192 II 2, (Ac.)	<i>frater Robertus ejusdem domus ecclesie prior</i>	C: H-mast. for Hosp. of the Germans (conf. of land)	W ⁷⁴⁷
15	1193 I, TS	<i>frater Raimundus Petri prior</i>	C: H-mast. for church of Valenia (conc. tithes)	W ⁷⁴⁸
16	1207 XII 18, Ac.	<i>frater Sequinus prior</i>	C: patr. (Jer.) for H (donat. confirm.)	W ⁷⁴⁹
17	1233 IV 23, Lateran	prior of the Hosp. of Jer.	L: pope charges archbp. (Naz.), H-prior, and others with conducting an investigation conc. Champagne	R ⁷⁵⁰
18	1235 XI, (Ac.)	<i>frater Willelmus prior ecclesie</i>	C: H-mast. for Nicholas Antelini (exch. of houses)	W ⁷⁵¹
19	1244 (after X 17), TS	<i>priorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis</i>	L: archbp. (Tyre) mentions that the H-prior is traveling to the west as an envoy	M ⁷⁵²

⁷⁴² CH I 610; RRH 607.⁷⁴³ CH I 627; RRH 614a.⁷⁴⁴ CH I 754; RRH 642.⁷⁴⁵ CH I 783 (insert); VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 647.⁷⁴⁶ CH I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 649.⁷⁴⁷ CH I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; RRH 699.⁷⁴⁸ CH I 941; RRH 708.⁷⁴⁹ CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; RRH 824.⁷⁵⁰ CH II 2049. The third member of this delegation was the archdeacon of St. John at Acre.⁷⁵¹ CH II 2126; RRH 1063.⁷⁵² *Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 95; *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 163.

Table 33 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller priors	documentation (type and contents)	function
20	1248 VIII 7, Ac.	<i>frater Johannes prior Hospitalis</i>	C: abbot (St. Mary of the Latins) for H (conf. of casalia for an annual rent)	W ⁷⁵³
21	1255 VII 12, Anagni	<i>priori Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani</i>	L: pope to H-prior and others (order to prevent a certain real estate sale)	R ⁷⁵⁴
22	1256, Ac.	<i>priori Hospitalis</i>	NS: on the basis of a papal letter, the Genoese claim before the H-prior ownership of the St. Sabas monastery	M ⁷⁵⁵
23	(1259–61) V 1, Ac.	<i>frere Gyraut prior de l'yglyze de nostre maison d'Accre</i>	C: H-mast. for Balian of Arsuf	G ⁷⁵⁶
24	1264 VI 1, Orvieto	<i>prioris Hospitalis s. Johannis Jerosolimitani Acconensis capellani apostolici</i>	L: pope to the clergy of Nevers (on behalf of an individual expecting a benefice)	P ⁷⁵⁷
25	(1268) II 10, TS	<i>fratris Johannis prioris ecclesie domus</i>	C: inventory of the H-church (Ac.)	I ⁷⁵⁸
26	(1269 summer-fall), (Ac.)	<i>frere Johan le prior d'Acre</i>	C-draft: H-mast. intends to acquire Arsuf for the H for an annual rent	G ⁷⁵⁹
27	1285, Ac. [LIEUTENANT]	<i>fratrem Palmerium... quando... tenebat locum prioris</i>	C: inventory of the H-church (Ac.)	M ⁷⁶⁰
28	1293 X 15, Paris	<i>prioris Hospitalis</i>	C: T-treas. (Paris) confirms procedure to execute a testament	M ⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵³ CH II 2482; RRH 1164.

⁷⁵⁴ *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière *et al.*, n. 606; RRH 1238b.

⁷⁵⁵ Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 220.

⁷⁵⁶ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059.

⁷⁵⁷ *Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 2064.

⁷⁵⁸ Manosque, f. 178 19 H; CH III 3292; RRH 1363a.

⁷⁵⁹ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313.

⁷⁶⁰ Manosque, f. 467' 51 B.

⁷⁶¹ Delisle, *Mémoire*, 161–2 n. 28bis.

Table 33 (*cont.*)

n.	date, place	Hospitaller priors	documentation (type and contents)	function
29	1299 VI 12, Lim.	<i>frere Johan de la Licha nostre priour</i>	C: H-convent appoints envoys (incl. the prior) to be sent to the H-mast.	M ⁷⁶²
30	1299 VI 16, Lim.	<i>frere Joan de la Liche nostre priour</i>	C: H-convent issues a letter of recommendation for its envoys	M ⁷⁶³
31	1308 V 2, (Spain)	John of Laodicea, <i>prior conventus transmarini</i> , lieut. of the H-mast. in the grand preceptory (Spain)	C: H-prior for Peter of Ripa (conf. of the H-preceptory of Aviñonet)	I ⁷⁶⁴
32	(1308) XI 29, (Marseilles)	“Philippe [sic, must read ‘John’] de Laodicée,” prior of Lim.	C: agreem. between H-mast. and count (Valentinois)	W ⁷⁶⁵
33	(1308–10), Cyp.	John of Laodicea, prior	NS: supporting the kg. (Cyp.) in the latter’s dispute with his brother, Amaury of Lusignan	M ⁷⁶⁶

That the prior witnessed charters issued by the Hospitaller master (3–4, 7, 14–15, 18, 23, 26), and that he (or his lieutenant) kept an inventory of the treasury of the conventual church (25, 27) comes as no surprise. That he was repeatedly the direct recipient or co-recipient of papal directives is at least noteworthy: in 1233, the pope told him and others to investigate whether Henry II of Champagne (d. 1197) had, prior to his departure for the east, designated his brother Thibaut III as his successor (17); and in 1255, the pope ordered him to prevent the sale of a certain house that belonged to the monastery of St. Sabas at Acre to the Genoese (21). However, that the Hospitallers’ conventual prior traveled to the west rather frequently, as evidenced by the documentation listed in Table 33, has not been sufficiently acknowledged: in 1136, he may

⁷⁶² CH III 4468.

⁷⁶³ CH III 4469.

⁷⁶⁴ CH IV 4797.

⁷⁶⁵ CH IV 4829.

⁷⁶⁶ Bustron, 167–8; cf. *ibid.*, 165–9, 197; Amadi, 287.

have visited Italy (1); in 1172, he was at the papal court (6); in 1244, following the Franks' catastrophic defeat at Gaza (La Forbie), he traveled to the west (19); in 1264, he may have been at the papal court again (24); in 1299, his order's central convent sent him to the Hospitaller master who was then in southern France (29); and in 1308, he was in Spain (31; with the additional title of 'lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in the grand preceptory of Spain') and later in Marseilles (32). During the time period studied here, there were apparently no term limits for the Hospitallers' conventual prior. This, in addition to the fact that he stood somewhat outside the convent's and order's hierarchy, made him an ideal international envoy.

There does not seem to have been a prior in the Templars' twelfth-century convent. However, the order's normative texts devote quite a bit of attention to the chaplain brothers. For example, only the master and the chaplain brother who sat next to him (maybe because he belonged to the master's personal entourage, or because he was the most prominent of the chaplain brothers, or both) had designated seats at the conventual table.⁷⁶⁷ According to another normative text, written after this last stipulation, the chaplain brothers were allowed to take their seats at the table next to the master and were to be served first.⁷⁶⁸ The chaplain brothers also had to hear the brothers' confessions. Templar brothers were supposed to go to their order's chaplain brothers for confession because, according to the order's *retrais*, they did not need any special permission to do so, and because chaplain brothers could absolve Templar brothers on the pope's behalf.⁷⁶⁹ Like their counterparts in the order of the Hospital, the chaplain brothers of the Temple served as chancery personnel, wrote charters, and wielded seals.⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁶⁷ *RT* 188.

⁷⁶⁸ *RT* 268.

⁷⁶⁹ *RT* 269. The Templars also relied on the Carmelites to serve as their confessors (cf. a forthcoming article by Rudolf Hiestand).

⁷⁷⁰ For example: 1148: a charter issued by Barisan of Ibelin was sealed *per manum domini Petri, fratris atque capellani eorundem militum*, and the document states that the *carta fuit composita et infirmis Sancti Lazari per manus prememorati Petri, capellani et fratris militie Templi, tradita* (Marsy, 125–7 n. 5; *CT* 512; *RRH* 252). 1160: *Fratris Gaufridi, capellani; Fratris Iohannis, capellani* (Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364). 1160: *Fratris Gaufridi, capellani; Fratris Iohannis, capellani* (Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363). 1163: *frater Salo Cappellanus, qui hanc cartam dictavit* (Pauli, *Codice*, 40–1 n. 39; *RRH* 381). 1187: *frater Archardus Templi capellanus* (*Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 181–3 n. 4; *RRH* 666; for Archardus cf. also *RRH* 665, 667–8).

In the thirteenth and early fourteenth century, we find the title of ‘prior’ used for individuals in or near the Templar convent. However, the order’s normative texts are silent with regard to this official, which makes it difficult to compare him to the Hospitallers’ conventual prior.⁷⁷¹

Table 34: Templar Priors (Documentation)

n.	date, place	Templar priors	documentation (type and contents)	function
1	1225 VII 18, Rieti	<i>priori militie Templi Ierosolimitani</i>	L: pope to T-prior (conc. ecclesiastical issues in Ant.)	R ⁷⁷²
2	1243 X 8, Anagni	<i>fratri Arnardo priori domus milicie Templi in Accon</i>	L: pope to prelates in TS (conc. the recent election of the bp. of Trip.)	Co-R ⁷⁷³
3	(1271), Ac.	<i>quemdam priorem domus Acconensis Antonium nomine</i>	TR: conducting chapter meetings	M ⁷⁷⁴

Much like the Hospitaller prior, the Templar prior seems to have played an active role in his order’s conventual leadership, particularly during chapter meetings (3). Also like his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, the Templar prior was entrusted with tasks that took him beyond his order’s headquarters: in 1225, the pope asked him, together with the archbishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Acre, to lend support to the patriarch of Antioch who was involved in disputes with the secular lords over jurisdictional issues in the city and diocese of Antioch (1); in 1243, the pope charged the Templars’ conventual prior, together with the bishop of Tiberias and a canon from Antioch, to investigate the

⁷⁷¹ The following four Templars were probably not conventual priors: 1190: *Dompnus Garcia Sanci de Tardajos, prior Templi*, who witnessed a charter in Spain, seems to have been a local Templar official (Serrano, *Cartulario*, 232 n. 126). 1232: *fratre B. de Benraiges, domus Templi priore S. Katherine*, was a Templar in charge of one of the order’s local churches at Acre (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; *CH* II 2034; *RRH* 1039). (1307–10): Stephen of Safeth, *presbiter prior domus Templi in Nimocio* at the time of the Cypriote trial, was a leading member of the Templar clergy at Limassol; however, the order’s main conventual church was at Nicosia (Schottmüller II.3, 191–2, 323–5). (1307–10): Hugh of Besasono, *prior de ordine Templi* at the time of the Cypriote trial, bears a title without toponym; thus, it is uncertain whether he was the order’s conventual prior (Schottmüller II.3, 176, 263).

⁷⁷² *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 5568; Claverie III, 468–9 n. 528.

⁷⁷³ *Registres d’Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 188.

⁷⁷⁴ *Procès* I, 646.

recent episcopal election in Tripoli (2). In both orders, the conventual prior enjoyed a considerable prestige and, thus, was an ideal official to be entrusted with regional and international ad-hoc missions. The fact that we do see a conventual prior emerging in the order of the Temple in the thirteenth century affirms that there was bi-directional imitation in the two orders with regard to their leadership structures.

CHAPTER SIX

COLLECTIVES

Joint Responsibilities

While the work of the convent was divided up between the separate areas discussed in the previous chapter, the conventual officials had a number of joint responsibilities that required them to function as a collective. In both orders, the conventual marshal was in charge of arms and military equipment. Yet, according to the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6, this was based on a collaborative effort. The marshal had to communicate to the master ‘all things necessary for the marshalcy’ (*toutes les choses qui seront besoing à la mareschaucié*), whereupon the master instructed the treasury (*tresor*) or ‘another place from which he would take money’ (*autre lieu dont il prendra la pecune*) to release the funds necessary for purchasing the things the marshal needed.¹ Thus, the Hospitallers’ conventual arsenal was a joint responsibility of the marshal, the master, and the treasurer. Similarly, according to the Templars’ *retrais* (c.1165), the Templar marshal had to turn to his order’s master when it came to the purchase of horses, and the master was expected to procure the required funds.² In 1300, when the Hospitallers defined the office of the admiral, they stipulated that the preceptor (of Limassol, i.e. the conventual preceptor) should supply the admiral with everything he might need for a military campaign and the equipment of the fleet.³ At that time the office of the admiral (albeit not the admiral himself) was still subordinate to the marshal. Thus, at least initially, the office of the admiral was a joint responsibility of the admiral, the preceptor, and the marshal.

With regard to one particular weapon, the crossbow, the conventual officials had to function as a collective as well. Canon 29 of the Second Lateran Council (1139) had prohibited the use of crossbows against

¹ CH II 1193, p. 38; RRH 800a; cf. Cierbide Martinena, *Estatutos*, 128 (dating uncertain).

² RT 103.

³ CH III 4515, § 13.

Christians, particularly Catholics, under penalty of excommunication.⁴ Consequently, the military orders had to ensure that this effective and expensive weapon, used in the crusader states' operations against the Muslims, did not circulate freely. The Templars' *retrai*s state that the convent's arms and military equipment, regardless of whether they had been purchased, donated, or gained as booty, were at the marshal's disposal—except for the crossbows (*arbalestres*) which were to be kept by the preceptor of the land.⁵ The Templar preceptor of the land, who originally served as the conventual treasurer, probably had the best facilities to keep things under lock and key. A later portion of the Templars' *retrai*s suggests that exceptions were made for crossbows that came to the marshalcy: they were kept by the under-marshal.⁶ The background to this may have been that the under-marshal was in charge of repairs.⁷ Alternatively, the order may have realized that it was important for the marshal to have quick access to crossbows in cases of emergency. The Hospitallers, too, were cautious when it came to crossbows. In 1287, their general chapter proclaimed that the arms of brothers who had died in the east or left the land (i.e. the east), as well as all arms that would come to the order in any other way, should be kept by 'a brother appointed by the marshal for this purpose' (*en la garde d'un frere, qui soit establi à ce par le mareschal*). This brother was supposed to inventory them and to redistribute them in accordance with the marshal's orders. Only crossbows should be sent to the treasury (and this stipulation was reiterated in 1301).⁸ In the Hospitaller convent, all serving brothers were subordinate to the grand preceptor, and this presumably included those serving brothers working in the crossbow workshop (*balestrie*/*arbalesterium*). According to the statutes of 1300, the serving brothers' subordination to the grand preceptor pertained to them as individuals (and probably also to their equipment); when they worked for the marshalcy, they had to obey the marshal with regard to their labor.⁹ This led to conflicts. In 1303, after the 'brother of the crossbow workshop' (*frere de la balestrie*) had died, the lieutenant marshal ordered that his horse be seized for the marshalcy. The grand precep-

⁴ *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo et al., 179.

⁵ *RT* 102.

⁶ *RT* 173.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ 1287: *CH* III 4022, § 8; *RRH* 1480a; date: Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83. 1301: *CH* IV 4549, § 36.

⁹ *CH* III 4515, § 14.

tor promptly decried this as an infringement of his own claims on the inheritance of deceased serving brothers, and the conventual brothers sided with the grand preceptor.¹⁰ Joint responsibility always contained an element of mutual control. Thus, in the order of the Hospital, crossbows were a joint responsibility and subject to the control of the marshal, the grand preceptor, and the treasurer.

The conventual stables also required the close cooperation of several officials. In the order of the Temple, when the marshal stated the need for the purchase of horses, the master had to procure the necessary funding, while pack animals were purchased by the preceptor of the land.¹¹ The distribution of horses to the brothers was the marshal's responsibility, but whenever horses arrived from the west, the master had the right to reserve one or two of these for himself or as future presents; pack animals and foals (at least a certain quantity, maybe the very young ones) were distributed by the preceptor of the land.¹² If the preceptor of the land needed horses for the (serving) brothers working in his stables, he had to request them from the marshal who, if possible, had to comply with the preceptor's request. However, if these horses were subsequently needed for the conventual brothers (i.e. the brothers-at-arms), they had to be returned. If the marshal lacked the means to purchase horses, and he communicated this to the master and the preceptor of the land, those animals that had been raised on behalf of the preceptor of the land had to be placed at the marshal's disposal.¹³ If the pack animals of the preceptor of the land were worn out, the preceptor could ask the marshal or the marshal's lieutenant to temporarily loan him some. In the mean time, the preceptor's worn-out animals were kept in the marshal's stables.¹⁴ If the marshal wanted to have equipment transported from one of the order's houses to another one, the preceptor of the land had to see to it that pack animals were available for the task.¹⁵ If the preceptor of the land made the request that brothers accompany the transport (presumably to guard it), the marshal had to assign brothers to the task.¹⁶ Thus, the Templars' conventual marshal and preceptor had joint responsibilities with regard to

¹⁰ *CH* IV 4613.

¹¹ Horses: *RT* 103. Pack animals: *RT* 115.

¹² Horses: *RT* 107. Pack animals: *RT* 114.

¹³ *RT* 115.

¹⁴ *RT* 117.

¹⁵ *RT* 106.

¹⁶ *RT* 116.

logistics. These were not limited to times of peace for, in times of war, the preceptor accompanied the marshal on campaign.¹⁷

In the course of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers' main hospital, which had originally been run by the master, became the responsibility of the hospitaller. Especially with regard to the supplies needed for this sizable operation, the hospitaller depended on the assistance of others. It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that, in 1176/7, the master and the general chapter placed two wheat-producing casalia at the hospitaller's direct disposal. In the case of an insufficient yield or a yield of insufficient quality from these casalia, the treasury should make funds available to purchase wheat, or the granary of the order's headquarters (which was probably administered by the preceptor) should make some of its grain available so that the sick in the hospital could be provided with white bread.¹⁸ The number of casalia placed at the hospitaller's direct disposal was soon raised to six.¹⁹ In 1177/83, the hospitaller's annual budget was set at 1,500 besants, and these funds were held for him at the conventual treasury.²⁰ According to the account of a German pilgrim from the second half of the twelfth century, the brothers supervising the hospital's various nursing stations received money for the purchase of food from the treasury every week, and the sum given to them, either 30, 25, or 20 *solidi*, depended on the number of sick under their care.²¹ Physicians were probably paid out of the hospitaller's budget, but medication was purchased with funds from the treasury (*de thesauro domus*).²² According to the statutes of 1177/83, the nightly processions in the hospital involved the hospitaller, the prior, and the preceptor.²³ Due to the Hospitallers' original focus on charitable and medical work, their main hospital was viewed as a joint responsibility of all members and officials of the convent well into the second half of the twelfth century. Even after the brothers' nursing duties had passed on to servants because of the order's increasing involvement in military affairs, the conventual officials retained joint responsibility for the hospital's day-to-day operations. On the surface, the Templars' conventual infirmary (*enfermerie*) can hardly be compared to the Hospitallers'

¹⁷ *RT* 148.

¹⁸ *CHI* 494; *RRH* 547.

¹⁹ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 164–7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 162–5.

²¹ Kedar, "Twelfth-Century Description," 20.

²² *Ibid.*, 22.

²³ Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 198–203.

main hospital since it only served the members of its order and had no significant impact beyond the headquarters (the same can be said for the Hospitallers' later infirmary). However, the Templar infirmary, too, was an example of joint responsibility within the order's convent, albeit on a lower hierarchical level. The infirmary was supervised by the infirmarer, and the preceptor of the house (*comandeur de la maison*) had to supply it with everything that was needed. In fact, the preceptor of the house had to grant the infirmarer access to the wine cellar, the kitchen, the oven, the pigsty, the hen house, and the garden. If he was unwilling to do so, he had to give the infirmarer enough money so that the latter could purchase whatever he needed. One of the Templars' highest-ranking conventual officials only got involved when it came to buying medication, maybe because of the costs associated with such a purchase: the preceptor of the land, who also served as the conventual treasurer, had to make sure that the required medication could be obtained (presumably by making the necessary funds available).²⁴

The Templars considered personnel-related issues very much a joint responsibility. Receptions of candidates into the order were conducted in front of witnesses. If such receptions occurred at the order's headquarters (which, in the Templars' earliest years, may have been the only place where such ceremonies were allowed to take place), the conventual officials were in attendance. In the records of the Templar trial, we find a 1284/5 reception at Acre, conducted by the master and witnessed by the preceptor of the land, the draper, and the preceptor of Acre;²⁵ a 1304 reception at Limassol, conducted by the master and witnessed by the preceptor of Cyprus;²⁶ and a 1307 reception at Nicosia, conducted by the marshal and witnessed by the preceptor of the land and the turcopolier.²⁷ At times, though, the concentration of high-powered individuals at the order's headquarters may have complicated things. In 1311, during the trial in Paris, the Templar Hugh of Fauro stated that he had not seen any receptions in the east (where he had been stationed after 1286), and that few were received into the order at the central convent because those (officials and brothers) at the central convent had a hard time agreeing when it came to

²⁴ *RT* 196.

²⁵ *Procès* I, 418.

²⁶ *Procès* I, 562.

²⁷ *Schottmüller* II.3, 173.

receptions.²⁸ If the Templar master, as an agenda item of the general chapter, wanted to send brothers to the west because they were sick or because he had special assignments for them, he had to consult with the conventual officials. He had to call the marshal, the preceptor of the land, the draper, the preceptor of Acre, and three or four of the order's prudhommes, and tell them: 'Go and take a look at the brothers so it can be decided who should be sent to the west.' The officials and prudhommes then compiled and presented the master with a list of suitable brothers, and the master was only allowed to make changes to the list after consulting with them.²⁹ When conventual brothers had to be sent to the order's houses (presumably within the kingdom of Jerusalem), the marshal had to take care of that, but he had to follow the respective instructions given to him by the preceptor of the land.³⁰ In the Templars' later normative texts, we find the explanation why this was a joint responsibility: the preceptor of the land knew best how many brothers could be accommodated at each house.³¹ By the same token, the marshal knew best how many brothers were needed to maintain an effective fighting force at the order's convent. When brothers were sent away, the marshal and the draper took their (superfluous) equipment and clothing. However, the master had the final say and could restore certain items to the brothers in question as long as he consulted with the marshal and the draper.³²

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Hospitallers' *usances* (1239/71) contain a detailed procedure that was to be followed when a conventual brother or official felt that he was dying. The prior was called, heard the individual's confession, ascertained through questioning that his potential inheritance was in order, and took his keys for safe-keeping. After his death, the master squire (i.e. a representative of the marshal), the brother of the tailoring department (i.e. a representative of the draper), and the infirmarer (i.e. a representative of the hospitaller—assuming that the latter was indeed the infirmarer's superior) had to place the deceased's belongings into the sacks provided by the brother of the tailoring department.³³ The sacks were then sealed in the

²⁸ *Procès* II, 210.

²⁹ *RT* 93.

³⁰ *RT* 119.

³¹ *RT* 381.

³² Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 37.

³³ These 'belongings' were 'held,' not 'owned,' by the brothers (who, after all, had to take a vow of poverty). They were monies, animals, and items placed at the brothers' disposal by the order.

presence of these three subordinate officials and could only be opened in their presence. After the funeral, the prior gave the deceased's keys to his former superior, namely, if he had been a bailiff, to the master; if he had been a conventual brother, to the marshal; and if he had been a serving brother, to the grand preceptor.³⁴ Eight *usances* explain in considerable detail how the deceased's inheritance was to be distributed. One might assume that the master would receive the inheritance of a bailiff, the marshal that of a conventual brother, and the grand preceptor that of serving brother. However, that was not the case, for the inheritance was distributed to optimize recycling. The marshal, whose claims are the focus of three of the eight *usances*, received all military equipment; the draper took most of the cloth and clothing; but the master, the grand preceptor, the infirmarer, and the prior (or, to use the language of the *usances*, the 'church') also had very specific claims.³⁵ These claims were revisited in 1287, at which point it was emphasized that gold, silver, and minted metal from the inheritance of a master, a bailiff, a brother, or a secular person who had made a testament in favor of the order, should be sent to the treasury.³⁶ The topic of inheritances was addressed again at the general chapter of 1301, as it contained a considerable potential for conflict.³⁷ In 1304, the general chapter issued new detailed regulations.

The statutes of 1304 summarized in Table 35 show that, in the order's hierarchy, capitular bailiffs were subordinate to the master, conventual brothers to the marshal, serving brothers to the grand preceptor, and brothers working in the order's hospital to the hospitaller. Secondly, the statutes indicate that the principle of recycling was maintained with regard to inheritances. Things of military use came to the marshal, clothing to the draper, money to the treasury, silk blankets (particularly useful for the sick because of their light weight) to the infirmary, and gold cloth (particularly suitable for liturgical vestments and altar covers) to the church.³⁸ The fifth chapter of the statutes issued in 1304 deals with the inheritance of former capitular bailiffs. The order in which these

³⁴ 1239/71: *CH* II 2213, *usance* 110; *RRH* 1093a. This was confirmed in 1262: *CH* III 3039, § 37; *RRH* 1319b.

³⁵ *CH* II 2213, *usances* 111–18; *RRH* 1093a; cf. Burgtorf, "Order," 262–5.

³⁶ *CH* III 4022, § 1; *RRH* 1480a; date: Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83.

³⁷ *CH* IV 4549, § 2–3, 37; cf. Burgtorf, "Order," 258.

³⁸ *CH* IV 4672, § 1–7. Chapter 1 deals with capitular bailiffs who died while holding office. That chapter 5 refers to former capitular bailiffs can be seen from the Old French text which uses the perfect tense (*qui ont esté*) in conjunction with the plural nouns (*grant comandors, mareschals, ou espitaliers*).

Table 35: The Recipients of the Inheritance of Deceased Hospitallers
according to the Statutes of 1304

rank of the deceased	place of death	CH IV 4672	main beneficiary	other recipients
capitular bailiff	TS	§ 1	master	marshal: arms, saddles, animals treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: deathbed, silk blanket church: gold cloth
conventual brother	TS	§ 2 (a)	marshal	treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: deathbed, silk blanket church: gold cloth
prudhomme in the master's entourage	TS	§ 2 (b)	–	marshal: equipment treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: silk blanket church: gold cloth
serving brother	TS	§ 3	grand preceptor	marshal: arms treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: silk blanket church: gold cloth
brother (working) in the hospital	(TS)	§ 4	hospitaller	master: dishes marshal: arms, animals treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: silk blanket church: gold cloth
former capitular bailiff	TS	§ 5 (a)	master	marshal: equipment treasury: money draper: clothing
former capitular bailiff	EU	§ 5 (b)	–	master: precious stones treasury: money
envoy of a prior from EU	TS or Crete	§ 6	prior (EU)	marshal: arms treasury: money draper: clothing
brother	Crete	§ 7	–	marshal: arms treasury: money draper: clothing infirmary: silk blanket church: gold cloth

officials are listed probably reflects the order's early fourteenth-century hierarchy: grand preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, draper, admiral, turcopolier, treasurer, and preceptor of Cyprus, then the capitular bailiffs of the west, and finally the preceptor of Morea (Frankish Greece). Thus, the treasurer, one of the oldest conventual officials, had come to rank below the admiral (whose office had been created while the order was headquartered on Cyprus) and the turcopolier (whose office had just been elevated to the rank of a capitular bailiwick).³⁹

The order of the Temple, too, had its regulations with regard to the inheritance of deceased members of the order, but its normative texts are nowhere near as detailed in this regard. According to the Templars' *retrais*, the equipment of a deceased brother from the kingdom of Jerusalem and that of a deceased conventual brother was to be delivered to the conventual marshalcy.⁴⁰ The Templars' thirteenth-century statutes relate the case of a chaplain brother who had traveled from Tripoli to Beirut and died at sea. The preceptor of Beirut clad the deceased with old clothing and buried him, but took clothing and a sword from the deceased's sacks and only then sent the deceased's (remaining) clothing to the master. The preceptor was subsequently told that he should not have done that, at which point he repented, asked for forgiveness before the master, and received a pardon. Normally, the text states, the preceptor would have had to be expelled because, if a chaplain brother died in the east, his books, clothing, and precious stones had to be given to the master, except for his daytime clothing, his night clothing, and his arms 'which had to go where they had to go' (*qui doivent aler la ou eles doivent aler*)—presumably the marshalcy. The wording suggests that the particular regulations with regard to the inheritance of deceased Templars were so well known that there was no need to reiterate them. If a chaplain brother died in the west, his inheritance belonged to the preceptor under whom he had served.⁴¹ The inheritance of provincial preceptors and visitors in the west (including the horses of the latter) had to be delivered to the master.⁴² The case of the preceptor of Beirut shows that violations of the order's regulations, whether they had been committed intentionally or unintentionally, did not go unnoticed. The military orders' internal control mechanisms thus proved their functionality.

³⁹ CH IV 4672, § 1–7.

⁴⁰ RT 107.

⁴¹ RT 563; cf. *ibid.* 107.

⁴² RT 566, 579.

Control Mechanisms

Several of the convent's control mechanisms have already been mentioned, among them the officials' obligation to render an account during their respective order's general chapter.⁴³ However, since the general chapter met (at best) annually, officials were expected to keep their 'books' in order in case someone asked to see them. One of the earliest references to this practice can be found in the Templars' *retrais* (c.1165). It stipulates that, if the master or the preceptors asked the 'subordinate preceptors' (*comandeors qui sont dessous yaus*) to show them the 'things of the house' (*choses de la maison*), the latter had to comply. If one of them lied or held something back, and was found guilty of doing so, he was expelled from the order.⁴⁴ This form of control applied to subordinate preceptors as well as high-ranking officials, such as the Templar preceptor of the land (who also served as the conventual treasurer). All the order's goods (i.e. incomes), whether they came from the east or the west, had to be delivered to the preceptor of the land who in turn brought them to the treasury. He was not allowed to take any of it until the master had seen and counted it, and until the results of this inspection had been properly recorded. Only then could the preceptor use the goods that had been entrusted to him in accordance with the order's needs. If the master or a group of prudhommes wanted to hear the 'account' (*conte*), the preceptor of the land had to present it.⁴⁵ Thus, while the master's initial inspection was mandatory, his or the prudhommes' random inspection was optional. The fact that the right of inspection was not limited to the master shows that this was a collective control mechanism. It is unknown how often random inspections occurred, but the idea that they could occur must have put the preceptor of the land sufficiently on notice to be ready for them. Since the term 'prudhommes' was also used to denote the conventual officials, the preceptor of the land had to be prepared to be audited by the seneschal, the marshal, or the draper. Thus, he was probably interested in maintaining a good working relationship with his colleagues. The Hospitallers' general chapters of 1283 and 1287 decreed that the master and a group of prudhommes should hear the

⁴³ Cf. Chapter Four.

⁴⁴ *RT* 91.

⁴⁵ *RT* 111.

treasury's account every month. If the master was unable to attend, he had to send the grand preceptor or another prudhomme in his place.⁴⁶ Thus, the Hospitallers instituted a regular control mechanism with regard to their treasury, which ultimately led to a loss in prestige for the treasurer, because his work was more closely supervised than that of any other conventual official. In the course of the fourteenth century, he even lost his status as a conventual bailiff. Around 1300, when William of St. Stephen argued that the master should not meddle in the affairs of the 'sovereign offices,' he may have had the master's supervision of the treasury in mind.⁴⁷ Whether the Templars ever shifted from random inspections to regular inspections is unknown. The question of which control mechanism was more effective is debatable. The former suggests a higher degree of trust in the treasurer, while the latter suggests a tendency toward micromanagement. Neither one is more 'advanced' than the other, and both continue to be used in modern management.

Another control mechanism used in the Hospitaller convent pertained to the order's conventual bull. This bull had been in existence since at least the first half of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸ According to the statutes of 1278, it was used to seal all donations (regardless of whether they were valid in perpetuity or for life, whether they were addressed to a brother, a secular recipient, or an ecclesiastical recipient); all sales or exchanges agreed upon by the central convent and the master (regardless of whether they pertained to movables or immovables); all recalls of capitular bailiffs; and all conferrals of houses addressed to brothers of the order (as well as all revocations of such conferrals).⁴⁹ This stipulation suggests that the convent's control over the order's legal business was extensive. The statutes of 1278 also decreed that the conventual bull was to be kept under the master's seal in the treasurer's custody, as well as under the seals of the grand preceptor, the marshal, and the hospitaller.⁵⁰ This control mechanism governed the access to the order's most important means of authentication, and it involved all of the convent's high-ranking officials with the exception of the draper

⁴⁶ 1283: *CH* III 3844, § 2; *RRH* 1451a. 1287: *CH* III 4022, § 2; *RRH* 1480a; date: Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83.

⁴⁷ BN, fr. 6049, f. 264.

⁴⁸ Cf. Chapter Two.

⁴⁹ *CH* III 3670, § 1; *RRH* 1424a.

⁵⁰ *CH* III 3670, § 2; *RRH* 1424a.

and the prior. The statutes of 1302 added that no charter should be sealed with the conventual bull unless the grand preceptor or the marshal, as well as the hospitaller, the treasurer and the individual who put chapter decisions in writing were present. These individuals had to read the charter and make sure that its contents were in accordance with the convent's previous consent and counsel.⁵¹ Thus, close cooperation among the conventual officials was necessary to do the order's business. If only one of them had doubts with regard to a charter's contents, the matter was probably referred back to the chapter. The 1302 stipulation also seems to determine that the grand preceptor, the marshal, the hospitaller, the treasurer, and presumably also the scribe of the chapter would witness most of the order's important charters. The draper and the prior, let alone the admiral and the turcopolier, were not included in this collective. However, they were not excluded either. On 3 November 1306, the grand preceptor, the marshal, the hospitaller, the draper, and the treasurer (in this order), together with the central convent and the general chapter, granted broad authority to the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret for his upcoming trip to the west, and the respective document was sealed with the conventual bull.⁵² This charter shows that even the order's highest official, the master, was subject to control which, in this case, involved three collectives surrounding him like concentric circles: the conventual officials, the central convent as a whole, and the general chapter assembled at the order's headquarters.

Collective Agency: The Charter Evidence

The conventual officials' collective agency can be seen particularly well in the charters. In the following, Hospitallers and Templars will at first be considered separately to answer three questions, namely, what the charters reveal about the development of a leadership collective; secondly, how each official was positioned within the collective until 1191, as well as between 1191 and 1291 (the evidence for the time period between 1291 and 1310 is too sparse to be discussed, but will be listed nonetheless); and thirdly, whether there was a 'nuclear' group within the leadership collective. Tables 36 and 37 list charters featuring one or more conventual officials (apart from the master) regardless of

⁵¹ CH IV 4574, § 11.

⁵² CH IV 4735.

their functions in the document (unlike Tables 14 and 15 in Chapter Four which were limited to charters featuring conventual officials as witnesses). No separate columns are included for the turcopolier and the admiral because they only appeared late, and even then rarely, in the charters (whenever they are listed in a document, this has been indicated in the footnotes). 'Function' always refers to all conventual officials listed in the respective document. However, if an official has a function differing from that of his colleagues, this has been indicated in his respective table cell (in italics). The officials' abbreviated names are listed on the basis of the identifications made in Chapter Nine. With regard to the Templars in Table 37, the preceptor is listed after the master and before the seneschal because the latter, originally the order's second-in-command, disappeared after 1195.

According to the charters listed in Table 36, the Hospitallers' leadership collective developed as follows. In 1135, two officials appeared together for the first time, the master and the treasurer, which may suggest that the donations to the hospital community had reached a volume that necessitated the appointment of a chief financial officer (1). In 1150, they were joined by a third one, the preceptor, whose appointment may have become necessary due to the master's extensive travels in the east and the west (6). In 1162, a fourth official was added, the hospitaller, probably due to the fact that the order's care facility in Jerusalem had been enlarged (12). In 1163, a fifth official followed, the prior, because a larger hospital also required more extensive religious services (14; here documented in the east for the first time). The marshal's first appearance in 1165, together with the preceptor while the master was in the west, seems to break this developmental pattern (15). However, the office of the Hospitaller marshal did not emerge out of the needs of the central convent but, rather, from the periphery, because the order had taken on additional responsibilities outside of its headquarters. The draper did not surface in the charters until 1221, but when he did he was seemingly already a member of the collective as he appeared next to the master, the preceptor, the marshal, and the hospitaller (83). The draper's late appearance in the charters does not mean that the Hospitallers had not been interested in their outward appearance until the thirteenth century; rather, the creation of his office may have been an attempt to create leadership structures that mirrored those of the Templar convent. From the mid-thirteenth century, Hospitaller charters occasionally feature groups of six or even seven high officials, but this remained the exception (97 and 115, both including the turcopolier, furthermore 137, 145, 157).

Table 36: Charters Featuring the Hospitallers' Conventual Officials

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
1	1135	Caes.	RayP <i>R</i>					Raym		sale to H	W ⁵³
2	1136	Palermo							Huba	kg. (Sicily) for H [with reservations]	R ⁵⁴
3	1141	Nab.	RayP <i>R</i>					Pe (Ra)		property confer. to H	W ⁵⁵
4	1141	(Nab., Jer.)	RayP					Pe Raym		agreem. layperson-H	R ⁵⁶
5	1141	Jer.	RayP <i>R</i>					Pe Raym		exch. patr. (Jer.)-H	W ⁵⁷
6	1150	(Jer., Em.)	RayP <i>R</i>	Bere				Raym		fief confer. to H	W ⁵⁸
7	1152	TS	RayP <i>R</i>	Bere				GeSA		receipt given to H	W ⁵⁹
8	1155	(Ac.)		GerH						property confer. to H	R ⁶⁰
9	1156	Ac.		GerH						agreem. kg. (Jer.)- Pisa	W ⁶¹
10	1156	(Jer.)		GerH <i>CG</i>				Amor <i>PA</i>		exch. cleric-H	CG; PA ⁶²
11	1159	(Jer.)		GaMe <i>R/W</i>				Amor <i>W</i>		property confer. to H	R/W; W ⁶³
12	1162	(Jer.)	OgcB <i>I</i>	Rost		Piot		GeSA		H for H-co- brother	W ⁶⁴
13	1163	Jer.	GilA <i>R</i>	GuyM		Piot		GeSA <i>PA</i>	PetK	sale to H	W ⁶⁵
14	1164/5	(Jer., Ac.)	GilA <i>I</i>	GuyM		Piot n.üt.		CasM	PetK	H confirming purchase	W ⁶⁶
15	1165	TS	(GilA)	GuyM	RayT					donat. to H	R ⁶⁷
16	1166	Ram.	(GilA)	GuyM						donat. confirm. to H	M ⁶⁸
17	1167	(Jer.)	(GilA) <i>Dal.</i>	GuyM	RayT	Piot		CasM		sale confirm. to H	CC ⁶⁹

⁵³ *CH* I 115; *RRH* 159.⁵⁴ Lünig, *Codex*, II, 1635–8 n. 1; *CH* I 119; *RRH* 1296.⁵⁵ *CH* I 139; *RRH* 201.⁵⁶ *CH* I 140; Bresc-Bautier, 226–7 n. 107; Rozière, 65–6 n. 34; *RRH* 205.⁵⁷ *CH* I 138; *RRH* 204.⁵⁸ *CH* I 192; *RRH* 257.⁵⁹ *CH* I 202; *RRH* 274.⁶⁰ *CH* I 237; *RRH* 311.⁶¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; *RRH* 322.⁶² *CH* I 249; *RRH* 329.⁶³ *CH* I 263; *CH* IV, p. 314; *RRH* 330.⁶⁴ *CH* I 300; *CH* IV, p. 247; *RRH* 376c.⁶⁵ *CH* I 312; *RRH* 391.⁶⁶ *CH* I 309; *RRH* 458.⁶⁷ *CH* I 345; *RRH* 414. The master was in the west.⁶⁸ *CH* I 354; *RRH* 423. The master was in the west.⁶⁹ *CH* I 375; *CH* IV, p. 316; *RRH* 430. The master was in the west.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
18	1167	(Jer.)	(GilA) <i>Dat.</i>	GuyM		Piot		CasM		donat. to H	W ⁷⁰
19	1167/8	TS	GilA <i>I</i>	GuyM		Piot n.tit.		CasM	PetK n.tit.	H for Beth.	W ⁷¹
20	1170	St.Gi.		GuyM						donat. to H	R ⁷²
21	1170	Fran.		GuyM						duke (Burg.) for H	R ⁷³
22	1173	TS	Josb <i>I</i>	GaMe		WilF		Step	Bern <i>PA</i>	H for a Jacobite	W ⁷⁴
23	1173	(Jer.)	Josb <i>I</i>	GaMe				Step		H for a Syr. archbp.	W ⁷⁵
24	1174	TS		GaMe				Step		donat. to H	W ⁷⁶
25	1174	Tib., Jer.		GaMe						fief exch. confirm.	W ⁷⁷
26	1174	(Marg.)	Josb	GaMe						donat. to H	R ⁷⁸
27	1175	TS	Josb	GaMe						donat. confirm. to H	R ⁷⁹
28	1175	(Ant.)	(Josb) <i>M</i>	GaMe						agreem. archbp. (Apamea)-H	PA/W ⁸⁰
29	1175	(Ant.)	(Josb) <i>M</i>	GaMe						agreem. confirm. archbp. (Apamea)- H	PA/W ⁸¹
30	1175	(Jer.)	Josb	GaMe						rights confirm. to H	P ⁸²
31	1175	(Jer.)						Step		sale to H	PA/W ⁸³
32	1175	(Ac.)	Josb <i>I</i>	GaMe				Gerar	Bern	agreem. bp. (Ac.)-H	W ⁸⁴
33	1176	TS	Josb	GaMe						property confer. to H	R ⁸⁵
34	1176	TS	Josb	GarN						sale confirm.	W ⁸⁶
35	1177	(Jer.)	Josb <i>I</i>	GarN		Step		Geof		H for layperson	W ⁸⁷

⁷⁰ CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a. The master was in the west.⁷¹ CH I 399; RRH 457.⁷² Le Blévec-Venturini, 243–4.⁷³ CH I 413.⁷⁴ CH I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; RRH 501.⁷⁵ CH I 443; RRH 502.⁷⁶ CH I 464; RRH 516.⁷⁷ Strehlke, 8 n. 7; RRH 517.⁷⁸ CH I 457; RRH 521.⁷⁹ CH I 472; RRH 523.⁸⁰ VOP II, 230–2 n. 21a. The master was mentioned, but not present.⁸¹ VOP II, 232–3 n. 21b; CH I 474; RRH 513. The master was mentioned, but not present.⁸² CH I 483; RRH 528.⁸³ CH I 469; RRH 535.⁸⁴ CH I 471; RRH 532.⁸⁵ CH I 475; RRH 524.⁸⁶ CH I 495; RRH 539.⁸⁷ CH I 508; RRH 540.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
36	1176/7	Jer.	Josb <i>I</i>			Step				H for H-hosp.	R ⁸⁸
37	1177	TS	RogM	GarN						H for layperson	I ⁸⁹
38	1178	(Jer.)	RogM <i>I</i>	RaSM		Step		Geof		H for layperson	W ⁹⁰
39	1180	TS	RogM	GarN						donat. to H (castle)	R ⁹¹
40	1180	TS	RogM	GarN						donat. to H	M/W ⁹²
41	1181	(Liège)						Geof		donat. to H	W ⁹³
42	1181	TS	RogM <i>R</i>	GarN				Step		sale to H	W ⁹⁴
43	1181	Jer.	RogM <i>PA</i>	GarN		Step		PetG	Bern	agreem. archbp. (Petra)-H	W ⁹⁵
44	1183	Marg.	RogM	GarN						donat. to H.	R ⁹⁶
45	1184	near Ac.	RogM <i>I</i>	Garn				Gerar		H for layperson	W ⁹⁷
46	1185	TS		Arch <i>R</i>					WiAc <i>W</i>	sale confirm. to H	R; W ⁹⁸
47	1186	TS	RogM <i>I</i>			HerD		BerC		H for layperson	W ⁹⁹
48	1187	Marg.	RogM <i>R/W</i>	Bore					Bern	confer. to H (castle)	W ¹⁰⁰
49	1187	Ant.		Bore					Bern	property confer. to H	W ¹⁰¹
50	1187	EU, TS						Geof		confer. to queen (Arag.)	M/CG ¹⁰²
51	1187	Tyre		Bore						priv. for Genoese	W ¹⁰³
52	1187	Tyre		Bore						priv. for Pisan community in Tyre	CG ¹⁰⁴
53	1187	Tyre		Bore						priv. for 4 cities in S-Fran. and Barcelona	CG ¹⁰⁵

⁸⁸ Manosque, f. 284 28 M; *CH* I 494; *RRH* 547.⁸⁹ Manosque, f. 479 52 S.⁹⁰ *CH* I 538; *RRH* 558.⁹¹ *CH* I 585; *RRH* 594b.⁹² *CH* I 576; *RRH* 597.⁹³ Yans, "Cartulaire," 75–8 n. 22.⁹⁴ *CH* I 603; *RRH* 611.⁹⁵ *CH* I 610; *RRH* 607.⁹⁶ *CH* I 623; *RRH* 612.⁹⁷ *CH* I 663; *RRH* 640.⁹⁸ *CH* I 754; *RRH* 642. The master was in the west.⁹⁹ *CH* I 803; *RRH* 651.¹⁰⁰ *CH* I 783 (insert); VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; *RRH* 647.¹⁰¹ *CH* I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; *RRH* 649.¹⁰² Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; *CH* I 835.¹⁰³ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659.¹⁰⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665.¹⁰⁵ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; *RRH* 666.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
54	1187	Tyre		Bore						priv. for Pisans	CG ¹⁰⁶
55	1187	Tyre		Bore						priv. for Pisans	CG ¹⁰⁷
56	1188	Tyre		Bore						priv. for Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ¹⁰⁸
57	1188	(Tyre)	ArmA <i>I</i>	Bore	Lamb					H for female H- convent	CG ¹⁰⁹
58	1190	near Ac.		Oger						donat. to H	PA ¹¹⁰
59	1191	near Ac.		Oger						rights confirm. to Venice	G ¹¹¹
60	1192	(Ac.)	GarN <i>I</i>	WilV				RobA	Robc	H for German Hosp.	W ¹¹²
61	1192	Ac.	GarN	WilV						C for German Hosp.	W ¹¹³
62	1193	TS	GeoD <i>I</i>	MarG	WilB				RaPe	H for church of Valenia	W ¹¹⁴
63	1194	TS	GeoD <i>R</i>	RobA	WilM					donat. to H (walls)	W ¹¹⁵
64	1198	TS	GeoD <i>R</i>			RolB				rent confer. to H	W ¹¹⁶
65	1199	TS	GeoD <i>R</i>			RolB n.tit.				rights confer. to H	W ¹¹⁷
66	1199	TS	GeoD <i>R</i>			RolB n.tit.				assumption of lordship rights on behalf of H	W ¹¹⁸
67	1201	(Ac.)	GeoD <i>R/W</i>	WilL				AnsL		donat. to H (shops)	W ¹¹⁹
68	1201	(Ac.)	GeoD <i>R/W</i>	WilL				AnsL		donat. to H (casale)	W ¹²⁰
69	1203	TS		PetM						donat. confirm. to H	R ¹²¹
70	1203	TS		PetM						agreem. layperson-H	PA ¹²²
71	1204	Ac.	AlpP <i>R</i>	GaMo n.tit.	AlbR	FulB n.tit.		PetC n.tit.		testament confirm. for T and H	P ¹²³

¹⁰⁶ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667.¹⁰⁷ Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.¹⁰⁸ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.¹⁰⁹ *CH* I 860; *RRH* 677.¹¹⁰ *CH* I 900; *RRH* 697a.¹¹¹ Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705.¹¹² *CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699.¹¹³ Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701.¹¹⁴ *CH* I 941; *RRH* 708.¹¹⁵ *CH* I 972; *RRH* 717.¹¹⁶ *CH* I 1031; *RRH* 742.¹¹⁷ *CH* I 1085; *RRH* 757.¹¹⁸ *CH* I 1096; *RRH* 759.¹¹⁹ *CH* II 1145; *RRH* 783.¹²⁰ *CH* II 1146; *RRH* 784.¹²¹ Manosque, f. 374 38.¹²² Manosque, f. 404 43 J; *CH* II 1156; *RRH* 787b.¹²³ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
72	1206	Ac.	AlpP <i>seal</i>	GaMo	Pons					marriage contract	W ¹²⁴
73	1206	TS	GeoR <i>I/W</i>		GaMo					confer. confirm. to H	W ¹²⁵
74	1207	TS	GeoR <i>M</i>		GaMo					donat. to H (city)	R/W ¹²⁶
75	1207	Ac.		Isem <i>R</i>		FulB <i>W</i>		Rich <i>R</i>	Segu <i>W</i>	donat. confirm. to H	R/W ¹²⁷
76	1207/8	TS	GeoR	Isem <i>W/R</i>						donat. to H (real estate)	W ¹²⁸
77	1207/8	TS	GeoR	Isem <i>W/R</i>						donat. to H (casalia)	W ¹²⁹
78	1210	(Arm.)			Geof					donat. to H (city)	W ¹³⁰
79	1216	TS	GaMo		AyA					donat. to H (casalia)	R ¹³¹
80	1217	TS		Isem						H for H- <i>donata</i>	I ¹³²
81	1217	TS		Isem n.tit.						H for H- <i>donata</i>	I ¹³³
82	1219	(Ac.)		Isem <i>I</i>		Nun		Rich		H for layperson (house confer.)	W ¹³⁴
83	1221	Dam.	GaMo <i>PA</i>	Golf	FerB	Henr	PoBo			agreem. bp. (Ac.)-H	W ¹³⁵
84	1221	Ac.					PoBo			testament of count (Rodez)	W ¹³⁶
85	1222–5	TS		RayM						L conc. house donat. [with reservations]	I ¹³⁷
86	1231	TS	Guer	WilT						fief sale confirm. to H	R ¹³⁸
87	1232	near Ac.	Guer <i>I</i>		ArnM					agreem. archbp. (Nic.)-kg. (Cyp.)	W ¹³⁹
88	1233	Ac.	Guer <i>seal</i>		ArnM		WiMo			agreem. Marseilles-T/H (conc. naval matters)	W ¹⁴⁰

¹²⁴ ACA, CRD, extra series n. 20, n. 242.¹²⁵ CH II 1231; *RRH* 816.¹²⁶ CH II 1262; *RRH* 820.¹²⁷ CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824.¹²⁸ CH II 1250; *RRH* 818.¹²⁹ CH II 1251; *RRH* 819.¹³⁰ CH II 1349; *RRH* 843.¹³¹ CH II 1462; *RRH* 885a.¹³² Manosque, f. 20^r 4 q.¹³³ CH II 1584; *RRH* 899a.¹³⁴ CH II 1656; *RRH* 923.¹³⁵ CH II 1718; *RRH* 945.¹³⁶ *Veterum scriptorum collectio*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 1168–72; *RRH* 959.¹³⁷ Manosque, f. 456 49 P.¹³⁸ CH II 1996; *RRH* 1027.¹³⁹ Courças and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; CH II 2034; *RRH* 1039.¹⁴⁰ CH II 2067; *RRH* 1046.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
89	1235	(Ac.)	Guer <i>I</i>	AndP		RobV		Sais	Will	house exch.	W ¹⁴¹
90	1237	(Ac.)	BeCo <i>M</i>	PetV <i>I</i>		RobV		John		house confer.	W ¹⁴²
91	1238	(Ac.)		PetV						donat. to H	M ¹⁴³
92	1239	(Ac.)	BeCo <i>I</i>	PetV		RobV		Sais		H for TO (conc. casale)	W ¹⁴⁴
93	1240	Ac.	PetV <i>I</i>	WilS						H for TO (conc. casale)	W ¹⁴⁵
94	1241	Trip.	PetV		WiCh					agreem. Bohemond V-H	G ¹⁴⁶
95	1242	TS		WilS						agreem. T-H (on A to settle their disputes)	CG ¹⁴⁷
96	1245	Ac.		JohR						real estate confer. to H	R ¹⁴⁸
97	1248	Ac.		JohR <i>R</i>	WiCo		MarS	JosC	John	casalia confer. to H	W ¹⁴⁹
98	1248	(Ac.)		JohR						house sale (Ac.) to H	R ¹⁵⁰
99	1248	Ac.		JohR						C authentication for H	M ¹⁵¹
100	1251	TS		HugR						renunciation of rights	R ¹⁵²
101	1252	TS		HugR						C authentication for H	P ¹⁵³
102	1253	Ac.		HugR						house confer. (Ac.) to H	R ¹⁵⁴
103	1253	Ac.	WiCh					JosC		casalia sale to H	R ¹⁵⁵
104	1254	TS	WiCh <i>I</i>	HugR						H-confraternity reception	CG ¹⁵⁶
105	1254	TS					GuiL			agreem. H-cast. (Marg.)-lord (Barlais)	CG ¹⁵⁷

¹⁴¹ *CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063.¹⁴² Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b.¹⁴³ *CH* II 2212; *RRH* 1084a.¹⁴⁴ *CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091.¹⁴⁵ *CH* II 2245; *RRH* 1097.¹⁴⁶ *CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102.¹⁴⁷ Manosque, f. 383 40 H.¹⁴⁸ *CH* II 2353; *RRH* 1135.¹⁴⁹ *CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164. The turcopolier was also a witness.¹⁵⁰ Manosque, f. 468 51 C; *CH* II 2483; *RRH* 1164a.¹⁵¹ Manosque, f. 450 48 Y; *CH* II 2491.¹⁵² Manosque, f. 435' 47 J; Delaville Le Roulx, "Inventaire," 88 n. 272; *RRH* 1197a.¹⁵³ Delaville Le Roulx, "Inventaire," 52 n. 52.¹⁵⁴ *CH* II 2662; *RRH* 1209.¹⁵⁵ MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 35/II; *CH* II 2661; *RRH* 1210.¹⁵⁶ *CH* II 2666; *RRH* 1214a.¹⁵⁷ *CH* II 2670; *RRH* 1204.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
106	1254	TS		HugR	NN					appointment as testament executor	M ¹⁵⁸
107	1250–4	TS		HugR						C authentication for H	P ¹⁵⁹
108	1254	TS	NN	NN						H-confraternity application	R ¹⁶⁰
109	1254	TS	WiCh <i>I</i>	HugR						taking possession of a casale	W ¹⁶¹
110	1255	Ac.		HugR <i>R</i>		Henr		JosC		land donat. to H	W ¹⁶²
111	1255	TS		HugR						house donat. to H	R ¹⁶³
112	1255	Ac.		HugR <i>R</i>		Henr <i>W</i>				property confer. to H	R; W ¹⁶⁴
113	1255	EU			Raim					C of H-prior (Navarre)	scal ¹⁶⁵
114	1256	EU			Raim					pope for patr. (Jer.)	M ¹⁶⁶
115	1256	Ac.	WiCh <i>I</i>	HugR <i>A</i>	GeRa (lieut.)	Henr	GuiL	JosC		extension for A in dispute John of Jaffa-H	G ¹⁶⁷
116	1256	Ac.			NN					trial church (Ac.)-cleric (Signoretus)	M ¹⁶⁸
117	1256	Ac.		HugR						John of Jaffa for H	A ¹⁶⁹
118	1256	TS		HugR						agreem. John of Jaffa-H	PA ¹⁷⁰
119	1256	TS		HugR						lord (Tyre) for Marsilles	W ¹⁷¹
120	1256/7	TS	WiCh <i>PA</i>	HugR						agreem. Bohemond VI-H (on A to settle disputes)	A ¹⁷²

¹⁵⁸ CH II 2686; *RRH* 1215a.

¹⁵⁹ Pauli, *Codice*, 205–6 n. 162; *RRH* 342 (part II).

¹⁶⁰ Manosque, f. 170^r 18 M; CH II 2689; *RRH* 1216a.

¹⁶¹ CH II 2693; *RRH* 1220.

¹⁶² CH II 2714; *RRH* 1212.

¹⁶³ Manosque, f. 168^r 18 H; CH II 2733; *RRH* 1234a.

¹⁶⁴ CH II 2732; *RRH* 1234.

¹⁶⁵ García Larragueta, *Gran priorado*, II, 365–7 n. 363.

¹⁶⁶ *Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, 329 n. 1096; *RRH* 1244b.

¹⁶⁷ CH II 2810; *RRH* 1247. The turcopolier was also a witness.

¹⁶⁸ BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; *RRH* 1226.

¹⁶⁹ CH II 2817; *RRH* 1249.

¹⁷⁰ Manosque, f. 654 83 C.

¹⁷¹ Ruffi, *Histoire*, I, 96; *RRH* 1297.

¹⁷² Manosque, f. 312 31 D.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
121	1256/7	TS	WiCh <i>PI</i>	HugR						agreem. Bohemond VI-H (on additional A)	A ¹⁷³
122	1256/7	Trip.	WiCh <i>M</i>	HugR						Bohemond VI for H	R ¹⁷⁴
123	1259	EU			Raim					kg. (Castile) for H	R ¹⁷⁵
124	1259	Ac.	HugR <i>R</i>	HenF	GuiL					casalia confer. to H	W ¹⁷⁶
125	1259	Ac.	NN <i>M</i>	HenF						protection priv. for H	W ¹⁷⁷
126	1259	Ac.	NN <i>R</i>	HenF						casalia confer. to H	P ¹⁷⁸
127	1260	county Trip.				BerP	SimV			arbitration of T-H dispute	A ¹⁷⁹
128	1260	Ac.		Craph (lieut.)		(Cra)		JosC <i>R</i>		property confer. to H	W ¹⁸⁰
129	1259/61	Ac.	HugR <i>I</i>		RodP	Craph		JosC	Gerar	H for lord (Arsuf)	G ¹⁸¹
130	1261	(Ac.)	NN	NN						trial (conc. fortifications/ quarters in Ac.)	W ¹⁸²
131	1262	Ac.		HenF	JoIT	GarX	RogV			A-decision in T-H dispute	W ¹⁸³
132	1264	Ac.		SteM						testament (heir/ executor)	M ¹⁸⁴
133	1265/6	(Ac.)		SteM						real estate sale (Ac.) to H	R ¹⁸⁵
134	1267	TS	HugR <i>PI</i>		Henr					agreem. abbot (St. Mary of the Latins)-H	W ¹⁸⁶
135	1268	TS		BonC <i>W</i>					John <i>I</i>	inventory of H- church (Ac.)	W; I ¹⁸⁷
136	1269	Ac.						JosC		sale confirm. to H	M ¹⁸⁸

¹⁷³ *CH* II 2857; *RRH* 1257b.¹⁷⁴ *CH* II 2801; *RRH* 1229.¹⁷⁵ *Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 550–3 n. 336.¹⁷⁶ *CH* II 2934; *RRH* 1280.¹⁷⁷ *CH* II 2935; *RRH* 1281.¹⁷⁸ *CH* II 2936; *RRH* 1282.¹⁷⁹ *CH* II 2943; *RRH* 1287a; cf. Manosque, f. 164' 18 A.¹⁸⁰ *CH* II 2949; *RRH* 1291. Craphus served as hospitaller and as the grand preceptor's lieutenant.¹⁸¹ Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059. The turcopolier was also a witness.¹⁸² Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298.¹⁸³ *CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322.¹⁸⁴ *CH* III 3105; *RRH* 1334.¹⁸⁵ Manosque, f. 530 59 9; *CH* III 3207; *RRH* 1342b.¹⁸⁶ *CH* III 3283; *RRH* 1356.¹⁸⁷ Manosque, f. 178 19 H; *CH* III 3292; *RRH* 1363a.¹⁸⁸ *CH* III 3334; *RRH* 1364.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
137	1269	(Ac.)	HugR <i>I</i>	BonC	NicL	PetH	WiVi	JosC	John	draft: H intend to acquire Arsuf for an annual rent	G ¹⁸⁹
138	1269	Ac.		BonC						renunciation of rights	G ¹⁹⁰
139	1270	EU					WiVi			count (Poitiers) for H	R ¹⁹¹
140	1271	Ac.	HugR <i>I</i>	BonC	NicL					H return charters that had been in H-safe-keeping	W ¹⁹²
141	1271	Ac.	HugR <i>I</i>	NicL	RodP			JosC		confirm. of patronage rights	W ¹⁹³
142	1273	Ac.						ThoM		house purchase (Ac.)	I ¹⁹⁴
143	1273	Ac.						ThoM		purchase confirm.	M ¹⁹⁵
144	1273	Ac.						ThoM		purchase confirm.	M ¹⁹⁶
145	1273	Ac.	HugR <i>I</i>	SteB	NicL	RodR	OdoP	ThoM		exch. abbey (St. Chaffre)-H	W ¹⁹⁷
146	1277	near Ac.		NicL						treaty Venice-John of Montfort	W ¹⁹⁸
147	1278	TS				JohL				land sale to H	R ¹⁹⁹
148	1279	Ayas		BonC						renunciation of agreem.	M ²⁰⁰
149	1281	Ac.		GuyG						renunciation of legal claim	R ²⁰¹
150	1285	Ac.							Palm (lieut.)	inventory of H-church (Ac.)	M ²⁰²
151	1286	Ac.		JamT						royal safe-conduct	W ²⁰³
152	1293	EU							NN	execution of a testament	M ²⁰⁴
153	1299	Lim.		WiSS (Cyp.)	SimR	RayB		BeCh		L (<i>esgart</i>): vs. H-master (conc. EU gen. chapter)	I ²⁰⁵

¹⁸⁹ MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313.

¹⁹⁰ *CH* III 3236; *RRH* 1367.

¹⁹¹ *CH* III 3394.

¹⁹² *CH* III 3422; *RRH* 1478; cf. Manosque, f. 360' 37 A.

¹⁹³ *CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a. The turcopolier was also a witness.

¹⁹⁴ *CH* III 3514; *RRH* 1389; cf. Manosque f. 157' 17 N.

¹⁹⁵ Manosque f. 571 66 B.

¹⁹⁶ *CH* III 3515; *RRH* 1391.

¹⁹⁷ *CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a.

¹⁹⁸ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

¹⁹⁹ *CH* III 3679; *RRH* 1425a.

²⁰⁰ *CH* III 3694; *RRH* 1428.

²⁰¹ Manosque, f. 566 65 H; *CH* III 3764–5; *RRH* 1439a–b.

²⁰² Manosque, f. 467' 51 B.

²⁰³ Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 671–3; *RRH* 1466.

²⁰⁴ Delisle, *Mémoire*, 161–2 n. 28bis.

²⁰⁵ *CH* III 4464.

Table 36 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	mar.	hosp.	drap.	treas.	prior	legal contents	function
154	1299	Lim.		NN (Cyp.)	NN	NN	NN (lieut.)	NN	JoLa <i>M</i>	appointment of envoys to H- master	W ²⁰⁶
155	1299	Lim.		NN (Cyp.)	NN	NN	NN (lieut.)	NN	JoLa <i>M</i>	L. of recommendation for envoys to H- master	W ²⁰⁷
156	1306	Lim.	FulV <i>PI</i>		AlbS		WalA			treaty (conc. conquest of Rhodes)	W ²⁰⁸
157	1306	Lim.	FulV <i>R</i>	Jo2T	SimR	VclM	RicR	DurP		grant of authority to H-master	I ²⁰⁹
158	1307	Nic.		AlbS (Cyp.)						kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ²¹⁰

In the 59 documents listed for the years until 1191, the preceptor appears 49 times, the treasurer 27 times, the hospitaller 12 times, the prior 10 times, and the marshal 3 times. This changes in the time period between 1191 and 1291: in the respective 92 documents, the preceptor appears 65 times, the marshal 27 times, the treasurer 22 times, the hospitaller 19 times, the draper 11 times, and the prior 9 times. Considering the Hospital's transformation into a military order, it comes as no surprise that, within the conventual leadership collective, the marshal rose from last place to second place. Since Tables 36 and 37 do not list the charters featuring only the master, one might get a wrong impression because the master seems to be less involved than the preceptor (for the time period until 1191, the documents listed in Table 36 feature the master 37 times and the preceptor 49 times; between 1191 and 1291, they feature the master 43 times and the preceptor 65 times). The documents for the Templars listed in Table 37 create a similar (distorted) impression (there, too, the master appears less frequently than the seneschal or the preceptor). However, no official of the military orders appears more frequently in the charters or, for that matter, any of the sources than the master. Yet, if all the documents featuring only the master were added to the tables they would become unwieldy. What Tables 36 and 37 do show is that the conventual officials

²⁰⁶ CH III 4468.

²⁰⁷ CH III 4469.

²⁰⁸ Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6. The admiral was also a witness.

²⁰⁹ CH IV 4735.

²¹⁰ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

were more than just the master's entourage. They could and did provide collective leadership when the master was absent.

The charter evidence also suggests that there was, in fact, a nuclear group among the Hospitallers' conventual officials, consisting of preceptor, treasurer, and hospitaller. Until 1191, these three appeared together 10 times, and between 1191 and 1291, they appeared together another 10 times (until 1191: 12–14, 17–19, 22, 35, 38, 43; 1191–1291: 71, 75, 82, 89–90, 92, 110, 115, 137, 145). Until 1191, they are joined by the master 8 times (12–14, 19, 22, 35, 38, 43) and by the prior 5 times (13–14, 19, 22, 43). Between 1191 and 1291, they are joined by the master 7 times (71, 89–90, 92, 115, 137, 145), by the marshal 4 times (71, 115, 137, 145), and by the prior 3 times (75, 89, 137). This suggests a noteworthy continuity of the leadership collective that had been established in the twelfth century. However, it has already been mentioned that the treasurer's office was about to fade in prestige as the order entered the fourteenth century, and that by the end of the thirteenth century the convent would come to consider the marshal as its leader in the absence of the master.

Due to the loss of the Templars' central archive, the evidence listed in Table 37 has to be interpreted with caution. With regard to the development of the order's leadership collective it can be noted that, until 1160, the master and the seneschal, as well as the master and the preceptor, never appear together, which illustrates that it was one of the primary functions of the seneschal, as well as the preceptor, to represent the master when the latter was not present (1–12). In 1160, the master and the seneschal appeared together (13). In 1179/81, the seneschal and the grand preceptor received a donation together (22). In 1183 (the only time before 1191), we find a group of three, consisting of the master, the seneschal, and the grand preceptor (23). In 1188, the marshal appeared alongside the grand preceptor (30), while the Master Gerard of Ridefort was still in captivity. It is noteworthy that the Templar marshal appeared in only one charter before 1191 (30), and that the order's draper, who had already been mentioned in the Templars' Old French rule, did not appear in a charter until 1241 (48). Perhaps the marshal was too occupied with military affairs outside the convent, and the draper was too tied up with the convent's internal affairs, to attend to the legal action that was involved when charters were issued—but this is ultimately speculation. A group of four officials, consisting of master, preceptor, marshal, and preceptor of Acre, surfaced in 1198 (39). Another official, presumably the treasurer, joined them

Table 37: Charters Featuring the Templars' Conventual Officials

n.	year	place	master	prec.	sen.	mar.	prec. (Ac.)	drap.	treas.	legal contents	function
1	1129/30	(Jer.)			Will					Holy Sep. for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²¹¹
2	1132	EU			RobB					donat. to T (castle)	R ²¹²
3	1132	EU			RobB					donat. to T	W ²¹³
4	1132	EU			RobB					C conc. T-claims	W ²¹⁴
5	1133/4	(Lan.)			RobB					donat. to T (and reception into the T-order)	R ²¹⁵
6	1148	(Jer.)			AndM					donat. confirm. for St. Lazarus	W ²¹⁶
7	1150/1	(Jer.)			AndM					qucen (Jer.) for St. Lazarus	W ²¹⁷
8	1151	TS			AndM					donat. to St. Lazarus	W ²¹⁸
9	1155	Jer.		Odo						C for Holy Sep.	W ²¹⁹
10	1155	Jer.		Odo						C for Holy Sep.	W ²²⁰
11	1155	Jer.		Odo						C for Holy Sep.	W ²²¹
12	1160	Naz., Ac.			WilG					C for Holy Sep.	W ²²²
13	1160	Jer.	BerB		WilG					C for H	W ²²³
14	(1160)	(Jer.)	BerB <i>I</i>		WilG					T for Holy Sep.	W ²²⁴
15	(1160)	(Jer.)	BerB <i>I</i>		WilG					T for Holy Sep.	W ²²⁵
16	1169			WalB						agreem. bp. (Tort.)-T	W ²²⁶
17	1169	Ac.	PhiN		WalB					C for H	W ²²⁷
18	1174	Tib., Jer.			BeCa					fief exch. confirm.	W ²²⁸
19	1174	Jer.	OdSA		BeCa					C for H	W ²²⁹
20	1176	TS	OdSA		BeCa					sale confirm.	W ²³⁰
21	1176	Ac.			BeCa					C for H	W ²³¹

²¹¹ Bresc-Bautier, appendix, 347–8 n. I; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43–5 n. 17; *RRH* 133.

²¹² Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 102–3 n. 27; *CT* 47.

²¹³ *CT* 48.

²¹⁴ *CT* 52.

²¹⁵ *CT* 61.

²¹⁶ *CT* 512; Marsy, 126–7 n. 5; *RRH* 252.

²¹⁷ Marsy, 130–1 n. 10; *RRH* 269.

²¹⁸ Marsy, 129–30 n. 9; *RRH* 266.

²¹⁹ Bresc-Bautier, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 301.

²²⁰ Bresc-Bautier, 127–9 n. 46; Rozière, 117–20 n. 59; *RRH* 300.

²²¹ Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41; Rozière, 110–13 n. 56; *RRH* 299.

²²² Bresc-Bautier, 123–7 n. 45; Rozière, 102–7 n. 54; *RRH* 354.

²²³ *CH* I 296; *RRH* 355.

²²⁴ Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363.

²²⁵ Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364.

²²⁶ Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; *RRH* 462.

²²⁷ *CH* I 409; *RRH* 466.

²²⁸ Strehlke, 8 n. 7; *RRH* 517; cf. Mayer II, 64, 872.

²²⁹ *CH* I 468; *RRH* 518.

²³⁰ *CH* I 495; *RRH* 539.

²³¹ *CH* I 496; *RRH* 537.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	sen.	mar.	prec. (Ac.)	drap.	treas.	legal contents	function
22	1179/81	Ac.		RobF	UrsA					donat. to T (land in EU)	R ²³²
23	1183	TS	ArnT	GirE	GerR					agreem. St. Mary (Josaphat)-T	W ²³³
24	1184	Jer.			GerR					C for various religious houses in TS	P ²³⁴
25	1187	Tyre		Terri						priv. for Genoese	W ²³⁵
26	1187	Tyre		Terri						priv. for Pisan community in Tyre	CG ²³⁶
27	1187	Tyre		Terri						priv. for 4 cities in S-Fran. and Barcelona	CG ²³⁷
28	1187	Tyre		Terri						priv. for Pisans	CG ²³⁸
29	1187	Tyre		Terri						priv. for Pisans	CG ²³⁹
30	1188	Tyre		Terri		GeoM				priv. for Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ²⁴⁰
31	1190	near Ac.		GirE	AmiA					donat. to T (incomes)	R/W ²⁴¹
32	1190/1	near Ac.		GirE	AmiA					donat. to T (incomes)	R ²⁴²
33	1190/1	near Ac.		GirE	AmiA					donat. to T (incomes)	R/W ²⁴³
34	1191	near Ac.			RorC					rights confirm. to Venice	G ²⁴⁴
35	1191	near Ac.			RorC					donat. to T	M ²⁴⁵
36	1192	Ac.	RobS		AdaB					C for German Hosp.	W ²⁴⁶
37	1193	(Cha.)				Geof				donat. confirm. to T	W ²⁴⁷
38	1195	Ac.			NN					C for Genoese	G ²⁴⁸
39	1198	TS	GirE	Irme		AdaB	PetR			T for St. Mary (Josaphat)	W ²⁴⁹
40	1204	Ac.	PhiP R	PeMa		WilA	RobC		WiTu n.tit.	testament confirm. for T and H	P ²⁵⁰
41	1200–4	TS, EU				WilA	RobC			donat. to T (action: TS; C issued in EU)	W ²⁵¹
42	1207	Ac.							GeoT	marriage contract	W ²⁵²

²³² Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis.²³³ VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; *RRH* 631.²³⁴ Broussillon, “Charte,” 50–3; *RRH* 637a.²³⁵ Imperiale di Sant’Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659.²³⁶ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665.²³⁷ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; *RRH* 666.²³⁸ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667.²³⁹ Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.²⁴⁰ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.²⁴¹ Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1.²⁴² Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13.²⁴³ Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14.²⁴⁴ Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705.²⁴⁵ Métais, *Templiers*, 23–4 n. 17.²⁴⁶ Srehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701.²⁴⁷ Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 73–5.²⁴⁸ *Liber iurum*, I, 411–12 n. 410; *RRH* 724.²⁴⁹ Kohler, “Chartes,” 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a.²⁵⁰ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.²⁵¹ Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455.²⁵² *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; *RRH* 823.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	sen.	mar.	prec. (Ac.)	drap.	treas.	legal contents	function
43	1207/8	TS		PeMa						donat. to H (real estate)	W ²³³
44	1207/8	TS		PeMa						donat. to H (casalia)	W ²³⁴
45	1220	Dam.		NN						appointment as proctor of the Bolognese community	Co-R ²⁵⁵
46	1233	Ac.	ArmP <i>seal</i>				JamB			agreem. Marseilles-T/H (conc. naval matters)	W ²⁵⁶
47	1240	Ac.	ArmP <i>I</i>	BarM						T for St. Lazarus	CG/ W ²⁵⁷
48	1241	Trip.		PeSR				PetA		agreem. Bohemond V-H	G ²⁵⁸
49	1242	TS	ArmP			HugM				agreem. T-H (on A to settle their disputes)	G ²⁵⁹
50	1249	Lim.	WiSo	SteO		RcyV		AimJ		T for Genocse	I ²⁶⁰
51	1254	TS		NN						agreem. lord (Barlais)-T/H	PA ²⁶¹
52	1256	Ac.				NN				trial church (Ac.)-cleric (Signoretus)	M ²⁶²
53	1261	(Ac.)				NN				trial (conc. fortifications/ quarters in Ac.)	W ²⁶³
54	1261	EU					NN			C: local T-prec. (EU) to send funds to T-prec. (Ac.)	M ²⁶⁴
55	1262	Ac.	ThoB <i>I</i>	AmaR		WMal (lieut.)	GonM	RicL		T for H	G ²⁶⁵
56	1262	Ac.	ThoB <i>I</i>	AmaR		WMal (lieut.)	GonM	RicL		T for H	G ²⁶⁶
57	1262	Ac.	ThoB <i>PI</i>	WMo		WMal	GonM		Bien	agreem. T-H (conc. casale)	G ²⁶⁷
58	1262	Ac.		WMo		WMal	GonM			A-decision in T-H dispute	W ²⁶⁸
59	1270	Ac.					ThibG			donat. to T	R ²⁶⁹
60	1271	Ac.	ThoB			Ambl		WMal		annulment of agreem. archbp. (Naz.)-H	W ²⁷⁰
61	1271	Ac.	ThoB	SimT				WMal		H return charters that had been in H-safe-keeping	W ²⁷¹

²⁵³ CH II 1250; *RRH* 818.²⁵⁴ CH II 1251; *RRH* 819.²⁵⁵ Röhricht, *Studien*, IV, 73 n. 51; Claverie III, 94–5 n. 65.²⁵⁶ CH II 2067; *RRH* 1046.²⁵⁷ Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096.²⁵⁸ CH II 2280; *RRH* 1102.²⁵⁹ Manosque, f. 383 40 H.²⁶⁰ Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176.²⁶¹ Manosque, f. 493 54 Z.²⁶² BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; *RRH* 1226.²⁶³ Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298.²⁶⁴ Röhricht, “Communication,” 333–4; Claverie III, 149 n. 146.²⁶⁵ CH III 3028; *RRH* 1318. The turcopolier was also a witness.²⁶⁶ CH III 3029; *RRH* 1319. The turcopolier was also a witness.²⁶⁷ CH III 3044; *RRH* 1321. The turcopolier was also a witness.²⁶⁸ CH III 3045; *RRH* 1322.²⁶⁹ Coll. d’Albon 46, f. 196–7.²⁷⁰ CH III 3414; *RRH* 1373.²⁷¹ CH III 3422; *RRH* 1478; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A.

Table 37 (*cont.*)

n.	year	place	master	prec.	sen.	mar.	prec. (Ac.)	drap.	treas.	legal contents	function
62	1277	near Ac.	WiBe	ArnC		GuyF	Pons	WMal		treaty Venice-John of Montfort	W ²⁷²
63	1283	near Trip.	WiBe				ArtB			notarized report about a dispute conc. Trip.	M ²⁷³
64	1292	Nic.	JamM <i>I</i>	BeSJ		BalA		WalL (lieut.)	MarL	T-mast. for T in Arag.	W ²⁷⁴
65	1300	Fam.		PeVa						ship lease to T	R ²⁷⁵
66	1300	Lim.	JamM <i>I</i>	RaiC		BarC		AdaC		T-master appoints T-gen. visit. (Spain)	W ²⁷⁶
67	1307	Nic.		JamD		AimO				kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ²⁷⁷

in 1204 (40). In 1262, a leadership collective of six, namely master, grand preceptor, lieutenant marshal, preceptor of Acre, draper, and turcopolier, is documented (55–6). Yet, similarly to what we have seen for the order of the Hospital, large gatherings of conventual officials doing the order’s legal business seem to have been the exception.

In the 35 documents listed for the years until 1191, the seneschal appears 25 times, the preceptor 14 times, and the marshal only once. Just like in the order of the Hospital, things changed between 1191 and 1291: in the respective 28 documents, both preceptor and marshal appear 14 times, the preceptor of Acre 10 times, the draper 7 times, and the treasurer 3 times. This suggests that the marshal, in the thirteenth century, became increasingly important (in fact, as important as the preceptor) for his order’s legal business. Like his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, the Templar marshal became the central convent’s leader when the master was absent, which can be seen particularly well during the trial against the order.

As for the question whether there was a nuclear group among the Templars’ conventual officials, it is noteworthy that, between 1179/81 and 1190/91, the seneschal and the grand preceptor appeared together five times (22–3, 31–33) and were only once joined by the master (23). If there was a nuclear group between 1191 and 1291, it probably

²⁷² Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413. The turcopolier was also a witness.

²⁷³ Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 662–8; *RRH* 1444.

²⁷⁴ Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36. The turcopolier was also a witness.

²⁷⁵ Desimoni, “Actes passés à Famagouste,” 42–3 n. 74.

²⁷⁶ Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44. The turcopolier was also a witness.

²⁷⁷ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

consisted of the master, the preceptor (sometimes featured as ‘grand preceptor’ or ‘preceptor of the land’), the marshal, and the preceptor of Acre. These four appear together in 6 of the 28 documents listed for this time period (39–40, 55–57, 62). Perhaps the significant role played by the Templar preceptor of Acre within this leadership collective mirrors the role played by the hospitaller in the order of the Hospital (and both officials were firmly tied to their respective order’s headquarters).

We now turn to the collective agency of both central convents, in other words, the cases in which the conventual officials of the Temple and the Hospital appeared together. Table 38 lists the respective evidence, namely those charters in which at least one official (including the master) from each order is mentioned (the exceptions being documents 2, 5, and 7, which feature very prominent brothers, albeit without titles). If a title appears in round brackets, it has been inferred and is not explicitly listed in the respective document. Of the 66 documents listed below, 58 are charters. However, William of Tyre’s information about the Second Crusade’s assembly at Acre, as well as seven letters, have been included as they contain information that contributes to a more complete picture. The columns labeled ‘pos. 1’ through ‘pos. n’ list the officials in the order in which they appear in the respective document. To distinguish between Hospitallers and Templars, the Templars have been italicized. Other individuals appearing together with the two order’s representatives are listed in square brackets.

The evidence listed in Table 38 suggests that, in the twelfth century, the two orders’ conventual officials only came together at the top level, both with regard to their respective representatives as well as with regard to the individuals issuing the charters. Until 1187, the charters of the crusader states featuring representatives of both orders list only masters, seneschals, and preceptors (as well as—in three cases—very prominent brothers, albeit without titles, namely the Templar Geoffrey Fulcherii: 2, 5, 7; and the Hospitaller Raymond of Tiberias: 7). Of the 32 documents listed for the years until 1198, 15 are charters and letters of the king of Jerusalem (1–2, 4, 6, 8–10, 12–14, 16, 18–20, 30); 5 refer to transactions conducted in the king’s presence (3, 7, 11, 17, 32); one is a charter issued by the king’s brother (5); 7 are charters issued by Conrad of Montferrat who, shortly before his assassination, became *rex electus* of Jerusalem (22–8); one is a charter issued by the crusading king of England (29); one is a charter issued by Count Henry II of Champagne who served as regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem (31);

Table 38: Documents Featuring the Conventual Officials of Both Orders Together

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
1	1125	(mast.)	<i>mast.</i>							kg. (Jer.) for Venice	W ²⁷⁸
2	1144	mast.	br.	br.	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>				kg. (Jer.) for Holy Sep.	W ²⁷⁹
3	1148	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							William of Tyre: royal assembly at Ac.	W ²⁸⁰
4	1156	<i>mast.</i>	<i>br.</i>	prec.	br.					kg. (Jer.) for Pisans	W ²⁸¹
5	1157	<i>br.</i>	br.							count (Ascalon; br. of the kg.) for Pisans	W ²⁸²
6	1160	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	<i>sen.</i>	<i>br.</i>					kg. (Jer.) for H (Bedouin tents)	1: R; 2–4: W ²⁸³
7	1168	<i>br.</i>	br.							prince (Galilee) confirms fief exch.	W ²⁸⁴
8	1168	<i>mast.</i>	mast.	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>					kg. (Jer.) for Pisans	W ²⁸⁵
9	1169	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	<i>sen.</i>	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>				kg. (Jer.) for H	1: R; 2–5: W ²⁸⁶
10	1169	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							kg. (Jer.) for Pisans	W ²⁸⁷
11	1170/1	mast.	prec.	prec.	<i>prec.</i>					L conc. resignation of H-master	M ²⁸⁸
12	1174	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	<i>br.</i>						kg. (Jer.) for H (land purchase confirm.)	1: R; 2–3: W ²⁸⁹
13	1174	<i>sen.</i>	prec.							kg. (Jer.) confirms fief exch.	W ²⁹⁰
14	1174	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	<i>sen.</i>						kg. (Jer.) confirms C for H	1: M; 2–3: W ²⁹¹
15	1176	<i>mast.</i>	<i>sen.</i>	mast.	prec.					nobleman confirms real estate sale	W ²⁹²
16	1176	mast.	<i>sen.</i>							kg. (Jer.) for H	1: R; 2: W ²⁹³

²⁷⁸ Tafel-Thomas I, 90–4 n. 41; *RRH* 105. The Hospitallers' leader here appears with the title of *procurator*.

²⁷⁹ Bresc-Bautier, 107–9 n. 38; Rozière, 65–8 n. 34; *RRH* 226.

²⁸⁰ Guillaume de Tyr XVII.1, 761; *RRH* 250.

²⁸¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; *RRH* 322.

²⁸² Müller, *Documenti*, 8 n. 6; *RRH* 324.

²⁸³ *CH* I 296; *RRH* 355.

²⁸⁴ Strehlke, 5–6 n. 4; *RRH* 447.

²⁸⁵ Müller, *Documenti*, 14 n. 11; *RRH* 449.

²⁸⁶ *CH* I 409; *RRH* 466.

²⁸⁷ Müller, *Documenti*, 15 n. 12; *RRH* 467.

²⁸⁸ VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480.

²⁸⁹ *CH* I 463; *RRH* 514.

²⁹⁰ Strehlke, 8 n. 7; *RRH* 517.

²⁹¹ *CH* I 468; *RRH* 518.

²⁹² *CH* I 495; *RRH* 539.

²⁹³ *CH* I 496; *RRH* 537.

Table 38 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
17	1179	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. T-H, sealed by kg. (Jer.)	I ²⁹⁴
18	1184	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							L: kg. (Jer.) to patr., T- and H-masters	R ²⁹⁵
19	1186	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							kg. (Jer.) for royal sen. (Count Joscelin)	W ²⁹⁶
20	1186	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							kg. (Jer.) for royal sen. (Count Joscelin)	W ²⁹⁷
21	1187	<i>prec.</i>	<i>prec.</i>							prelates and barons (TS) for Genoese	W ²⁹⁸
22	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec.</i> Tyre	<i>4 br.</i>	<i>chap.</i>	prior St.Gi.	2 br.		priv. for Pisan community in Tyre	1–2: CG; 3–7: W ²⁹⁹
23	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec.</i> Tyre	<i>4 br.</i>	<i>chap.</i>	prior St.Gi.	2 br.		priv. for cities in Fran., Barcelona	1–2: CG; 3–7: W ³⁰⁰
24	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec.</i> Tyre	<i>4 br.</i>	<i>chap.</i>	prior St.Gi.	2 br.		priv. for Pisans	1–2: CG; 3–7: W ³⁰¹
25	1187	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec.</i> Tyre	<i>4 br.</i>	<i>chap.</i>	prior St.Gi.	2 br.		priv. for Pisans	1–2: CG; 3–7: W ³⁰²
26	1188	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>							L: C. of Montferrat to kg. (Hung.)	Co-I ³⁰³
27	1188	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	prior St.Gi.					priv. for Pisan <i>societas Vermiliorum</i>	CG ³⁰⁴
28	1191	<i>sen.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>							<i>rex electus</i> (Jer.) for Venice	G ³⁰⁵
29	1191	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							kg. (Eng.) for Pisans	W ³⁰⁶
30	1192	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>	[rep. kgd. Jer.]	<i>sen.</i>	<i>prec.</i>				kg. (Jer.) for German Hosp.	W ³⁰⁷
31	1195	<i>sen.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							count (Cha.) for Genoese	G ³⁰⁸

²⁹⁴ VOP II, 237–47 n. 27–28; *CH* I 558–9; *RRH* 572–4.

²⁹⁵ *CH* I 661; *RRH* 638.

²⁹⁶ Strehlke, 19 n. 21; *RRH* 653.

²⁹⁷ Strehlke, 21 n. 23; *RRH* 655.

²⁹⁸ Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659.

²⁹⁹ Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665.

³⁰⁰ *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; *RRH* 666.

³⁰¹ Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667.

³⁰² Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668.

³⁰³ Ilgen, “Brief,” 135–7; *RRH* 670.

³⁰⁴ Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675.

³⁰⁵ Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705.

³⁰⁶ Müller, *Documenti*, 58–9 n. 35; *RRH* 706. The first witness was King Guy of

Jerusalem.

³⁰⁷ Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701.

³⁰⁸ *Liber iurium*, I, 411–12 n. 410; *RRH* 724.

Table 38 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
32	1198	mast.	<i>mast.</i>							German Hosp. becomes military order	W ³⁰⁹
33	1199	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							L: kg. (Arm.) to Pope Innocent III	M ³¹⁰
34	1201	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							agreem. T-H	PA ³¹¹
35	1201	mast.	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. T-H (conc. Valenia)	PA ³¹²
36	1203	<i>prec. Ant.</i>	4 br.	prec. Ant.	chap.					crusader testament	l: R; 2–4: W ³¹³
37	1203	<i>mast.</i>	gen prec.							L: papal leg. travel to Ant.	M ³¹⁴
38	1204	<i>mast.</i>	mast.	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	(<i>treas.</i>)	mar.	(prec.) (hosp.) (treas.)	papal leg. confirm testament to T and H	l–2: R; 3–n: P ³¹⁵
39	1204	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	4 br.	cast. Krak	2 br.	prec. Trip.	5 br.		constable (Trip.) for H (fief sale)	l: R; 2–7: W ³¹⁶
40	1206	prec.	br.	mar.	[2 leg.]	<i>mast.</i>	mast.			marriage contract Marie la Marquise-Kg. Peter II of Arag.	l–3: W; 4–6: scal ³¹⁷
41	1207/8	mast.	prec.	prec. Jaffa	2 br.	<i>prec.</i>	2 br.			lady (Caes.) for H (real estate donat.)	W; 2: W/R ³¹⁸
42	1207/8	mast.	prec.	prec. Jaffa	2 br.	<i>prec.</i>	2 br.			lady (Caes.) for H (casalia donat.)	W; 2: W/R ³¹⁹
43	1221	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							agreem. T-H (leg. involved)	PA ³²⁰
44	1222	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							agreem. Holy Sep.-H (leg. involved)	W ³²¹
45	1229	mast.	<i>prec.</i>							L: patr. (Jer.) to pope (conc. Frederick II's stay in TS)	M ³²²
46	1232	<i>mast.</i>	mast.	mar.	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>				agreem. archbp. (Nic.)-kg. (Cyp.)	l–2: Co-I; 3–5: W ³²³

³⁰⁹ Perlbach, *Statuten*, 160, § 4; *RRH* 740.

³¹⁰ *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV, 810–12 n. 252; *RRH* 756.

³¹¹ *CH* II 1144; *RRH* 783a.

³¹² *CH* II 1134; *RRH* 787a.

³¹³ Trudon des Ormes, *Etude*, 367–8; *RRH* 792a.

³¹⁴ *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV, cli–clix; *RRH* 794.

³¹⁵ *CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a.

³¹⁶ *CH* II 1198; *RRH* 800.

³¹⁷ ACA, CRD, extra series n. 20, n. 242.

³¹⁸ *CH* II 1250; *RRH* 818.

³¹⁹ *CH* II 1251; *RRH* 819.

³²⁰ *CH* II 1739; *RRH* 949.

³²¹ *CH* II 1754; *RRH* 958a.

³²² Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 109; *RRH* 1001.

³²³ Courcas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; *CH* II 2034; *RRH* 1039.

Table 38 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
47	1233	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>	2 <i>br.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	2 <i>br.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	4 <i>br.</i>	agreem. Marseilles-T/H (conc. naval matters)	W; 1–2: seals ³²⁴
48	1233	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. T-H (patr. (Ant.) involved)	M ³²⁵
49	1235	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. T-H (mills and water rights/Ac.)	PA ³²⁶
50	1241	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mar.</i> (also: pos. 12)	<i>cast. Marg.</i> (also: pos. 13)	<i>cast. Krak</i> (also: pos. 14)	(prior Fran.) (also: pos. 15)	<i>br.</i> (also: pos. 16)	<i>prec. Trip.</i> (also: pos. 17)	8: <i>gprec.</i> 9: <i>cast. Safi.</i> 10: <i>br.</i> 11: <i>drap.</i> 18–21: <i>br.</i>	agreem. Bohemond V-H	G ³²⁷
51	1242	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. T-H (patr. (Ant.) involved)	PA ³²⁸
52	1242	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Ant.</i>	<i>mast.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>					agreem. T-H (on A to settle their disputes)	CG ³²⁹
53	1243	<i>mast.</i>	<i>prec. Trip.</i>	<i>cast. Krak</i>	<i>br.</i>	<i>cast. Safi.</i>	<i>cast. Tort.</i>			agreem. T-H (on A to settle their disputes)	1–2: CG; 3–6: A ³³⁰
54	1248	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mar.</i>							L: T- and H-masters to kg. (Fran.)	I/M ³³¹
55	1256	<i>mar.</i>	<i>mar.</i>							trial church (Ac.)-cleric (Signoretus)	M ³³²
56	1258	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>	[TO-mast.]						agreem. T-H-TO on dispute settlement	I ³³³
57	1259	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mast.</i>							agreem. Bohemond VI-H	1: M; 2: PA ³³⁴
58	1260	<i>drap.</i>	<i>hosp.</i>	<i>prec. Trip.</i>	<i>br.</i>	[TO-br.]				arbitration of T-H dispute	A ³³⁵

³²⁴ CH II 2067; RRH 1046.³²⁵ CH II 2058; RRH 1043.³²⁶ CH II 2117; RRH 1062.³²⁷ CH II 2280; RRH 1102. The names listed on positions 2–7 were listed again on positions 12–17.³²⁸ CH II 2276; RRH 1099a.³²⁹ Manosque, f. 383 40 H.³³⁰ CH II 2296; RRH 1111.³³¹ D'Achéry *et al.*, *Spicilegium*, III, 624; RRH 1168.³³² BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; RRH 1226.³³³ CH II 2902; RRH 1269.³³⁴ MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 63; CH II 2917; RRH 1272b, 1284. The Templar master served as a mediator in this case.³³⁵ CH II 2943; RRH 1287a.

Table 38 (*cont.*)

n.	year	pos. 1	pos. 2	pos. 3	pos. 4	pos. 5	pos. 6	pos. 7	pos. n	legal contents	function
59	1261 (on various days)	[TO-mar.]	[TO-prec.]							trial of the Italian cities (conc. fortifications/quarters in Ac.)	W ³³⁶
		<i>mar.</i>	prec.	[TO-mast.]	[TO-prec.]						
		mast.	[TO-prec.]	<i>mar.</i>							
60	1262	<i>mast.</i>	mast.							agreem. T-H (on A to settle their disputes)	I ³³⁷
61	1262	<i>mar.</i>	mar.	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	<i>prec. knights</i>	2 br.	hosp.	A-decision in T-H dispute	W ³³⁸
									drap.		
									3 br.		
62	1271	mast.	<i>mast.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>					renunciation of agree-ment archbp. (Naz.)-H	1: PA; 2-4: W ³³⁹
63	1271	mast.	[rep. (kgd. Jer.)]	<i>mast.</i>	[rep. (kgd. Jer.)]	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>prec. Trip.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	H return charters that had been in H-safe-keeping	1: I; 2-n: W ³⁴⁰
									mar.		
									br.		
64	1277	<i>mast.</i>	<i>gprec.</i>	[TO-br. etc.]	<i>gprec.</i>	<i>mar.</i>	<i>drap.</i>	<i>turc.</i>	<i>prec. Ac.</i>	treaty Venice-John of Montfort	W ³⁴¹
									4 br.		
									[TO-br. etc.]		
65	1286	<i>mast.</i>	<i>gprec./</i> lieut. mast.	[TO-mast.]						royal safe-conduct for French garrison (Ac.)	W ³⁴²
66	1307	<i>mar.</i>	<i>prec. Nic.</i>	prec. Cyp.						kg. (Cyp.) abdicates	W ³⁴³

one is a charter concerning a casale that had been sold to the sister of the king of France (15); and one is a charter issued by the prelates and barons of the crusader states during the captivity of King Guy of Jerusalem (21). The evidence suggests that Templars and Hospitallers were top-level players in the twelfth-century kingdom of Jerusalem, and that their collective agency was called upon when royal business was at stake.³⁴⁴ However, one has to be cautious. When the Franks had to

³³⁶ Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298: three witness lists.

³³⁷ *CH* III 3026; *RRH* 1317c.

³³⁸ *CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322.

³³⁹ *CH* III 3414; *RRH* 1373.

³⁴⁰ *CH* III 3422; *RRH* 1478; cf. Manosque, f. 360' 37 A.

³⁴¹ Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413.

³⁴² Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 671–3; *RRH* 1466.

³⁴³ Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417.

³⁴⁴ Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 382–3.

surrender Jerusalem to Saladin in 1187, it is likely that they only transported their most important documents to safety. Thus, the evidence may simply be slanted in favor of royal documents.

In 1187, because of the Hospitaller master's death and the Templar master's captivity, the orders had to come up with temporary leadership. In that year's documents featuring representatives of both orders, we find the grand preceptors, accompanied by officials from outside their convents, namely the Templar preceptor of Tyre and the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (22–5), which underlines the personnel losses of the two convents. Moreover, the same four charters list seven Templars and four Hospitallers as consent-givers and witnesses. This is an unprecedented gathering of personnel, illustrating the orders' importance as defenders of Tyre (where the charters were issued) and their resolve to stage a powerful comeback.

Of the thirteenth-century evidence, six charters featuring representatives from both orders are particularly noteworthy. In 1204, two papal legates confirmed a testament issued in favor of the orders, with the two masters functioning as recipients and four officials from each order (including the marshals and probably also the preceptors) serving as petitioners (38). In 1233, Templars, Hospitallers, and representatives from Marseilles reached an agreement concerning the two orders' naval rights with regard to that city. The document's witness list features, among others, both orders' masters, five Templars (including the preceptor of Acre) and six Hospitallers (including the marshal and the draper), as well as the constable of the kingdom of Jerusalem (47). In 1241, the patriarch of Antioch (a papal legate) promulgated an agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers. The latter were represented by eleven of their most prominent brothers (including the master, the marshal, and the castellans of Margat and the Krak), and four Templar officials (including the grand preceptor, the castellan of Safitha, and the draper) functioned as guarantors (50). In 1262, the arbiters appointed to settle the disputes between the two orders, led by the bishop of Bethlehem (a papal legate), confirmed an agreement that was witnessed by both orders' marshals and grand preceptors, joined by four Templars (including the preceptor of Acre) and five Hospitallers (including the hospitaller and the draper) (61). In 1271, the Hospitaller master returned 44 charters to the lord of Byblos that the latter's father had entrusted to the order for safe-keeping. This transaction was witnessed by three Hospitallers (including the grand preceptor and the marshal), four Templars (including the master, the

grand preceptor, and the draper), as well as King Hugh III of Jerusalem and Cyprus (63). In 1277, John of Montfort, lord of Tyre, and the doge of Venice concluded a treaty which was witnessed by six Templars (master, grand preceptor, marshal, draper, turcopolier, and preceptor of Acre), five Hospitallers (including the grand preceptor), as well as the patriarch of Jerusalem (a papal legate) (64). Thus, what we have observed for the twelfth century continued in the thirteenth. The two orders' high officials came together at a top level, both with regard to their respective representatives as well as with regard to the individuals from outside the orders promulgating or witnessing the legal matters at hand. Four of the abovementioned six transactions involved papal legates (38, 50, 61, 64), one the king of Jerusalem (63) and one the kingdom's constable (the famous Odo of Montbéliard) (47). While the twelfth-century documents had never featured more than two high officials per order, the thirteenth-century documents show the leadership collectives of both convents coming together, particularly the masters, grand preceptor and marshals, to demonstrate the increased prestige of these leadership collectives beyond their respective convents. In the last three decades before 1291, the high officials of Hospitallers and Templars were repeatedly joined by representatives from the Teutonic Order (56, 58–9, 64–5). In the crusader states of the eastern Mediterranean, the Teutonic Order never played a role that was quite as pronounced as that of the Hospitallers and Templars, but its increasing presence in the charters indicates its ambitions as well as the overall significance of the military orders' collective leadership in the east.

PART THREE

PERSONNEL

CHAPTER SEVEN

CAREERS

Considering all the manpower required to run the military orders' western affairs and estates, most Hospitallers and Templars probably never set foot into the central convent. However, if one extrapolates from the over two hundred high officials studied here, time spent at the convent was an important step in the careers of hundreds. More often than not, it entailed social, spatial, and—within the respective organization—hierarchical advancement. Careers were impacted by a number of factors. They occasionally even involved assignments 'in the world,' and just because they were supposed to play out in accordance with religious rules and statutes does not mean that there was never any patronage, protection, nepotism, or unfairness. Thus, the conventual officials' careers offer a valuable glimpse into the world of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This chapter is largely based on the detailed documentation provided in Chapter Nine. Therefore, references are usually confined to the officials' names. The careers of the conventual officials' lieutenants, as well as those of the Hospitaller preceptors of Cyprus, the Hospitaller admirals, the turcopoliers of both orders, and the Templar priors of Acre have not been considered here, as too few individuals are known to have held these offices to allow for worthwhile comparisons. Because they only serve as a means of chronological orientation, the dates of the officials' tenures have been simplified in the tables below—for example, instead of '(1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15)–(1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13),' simply '1164–8'. The officials' places of origin have been sorted into larger geographical entities that neither reflect the two orders' divisions of the west into provinces and priories (and it should be noted that the two orders' divisions were not identical), nor the political realities of the high middle ages (which, for example, did not consider Burgundy and Provence parts of France).

Social Mobility

Bernard of Clairvaux had argued that the social status of the 'knight of Christ' should not matter because the Templars honored the one who

was better, not the one who was of a more noble birth.¹ However, that the military orders' ranks did include members of influential families was even known by their Muslim opponents. According to one of the continuations of William of Tyre's chronicle, an old Muslim warned Saladin in 1187, after the sultan had ordered that the Templars imprisoned at Damascus should be executed, that the Templars' friends and relatives would seek revenge.² The military orders were aware that the nobility considered them attractive. A candidate for reception into the order of the Hospital was told that he was in good company with his application, as many nobles endeavored to get their children and relatives into the order, and were greatly pleased if they managed to do so.³

According to the Templars' thirteenth-century statutes, a candidate for the status of knight brother had to be a knight and a knight's son, or have knights in his paternal lineage so that he could become a knight (*chevalier et fis de chevalier, ou...estrais de chevaliers devers vostre pere, en maniere que vos deïés estre et pussiés chevaliers*). Furthermore, he had to be of legitimate birth.⁴ Since no sergeant brother of the order was allowed to have power of command over knights, the marshal and the master had to be knight brothers because they had that power.⁵ The Hospitallers' 1262 collection of statutes stipulated that a candidate for the status of knight brother had to be a knight's son or of knightly lineage (*fiz de chevalier ou de lignage de chevalier*). The later Latin version of the same statute found a more flexible wording. The individual had to be of such parentage that it would make him worthy of the status of knight brother (*ex parentela, que ipsum dignum reddat*).⁶ In order to become master, the 1262 collection emphasized, the candidate had to be a knight brother, a knight's son, and of legitimate birth.⁷ From 1270 on, knight brothers had to present proof of legitimate birth, and an individual of illegitimate birth who wanted to become a capitular bailiff or hold

¹ Bernard de Clairvaux, *Eloge*, 68, § 7: *Persona inter eos minime accipitur: defertur meliori, non nobiliori.*

² *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 88: *lor amis et lor parens ne lairont mie aler lor mort a nonchaleix, ains la vodront chierement vengier et comparer.*

³ CH II 2213, *usance* 121: *car mostz de gentis homes font grans prieres et ont grant joe quant il pont metre aucuns de leur enfans ou de leur amis en ceste religion; RRH 1093a.*

⁴ RT 431.

⁵ RT 328.

⁶ CH III 3039, § 19; RRH 1319b.

⁷ CH III 3039, § 11; RRH 1319b.

a 'bailiwick of banner' (*baillie de confenon*) had to be at least the son of a count or greater nobleman (*fiz de conte ou de plus grant*).⁸ A 'bailiwick of banner' was an office whose holder was presented with a banner as one of his insignia. The Hospitaller marshalcy may have been one of these bailiwicks because the marshal was entitled to a banner.⁹ Other offices with primarily military functions, such as castellanies, may also have been 'bailiwicks of banner.' Thus, while the marshal and the master in both orders had to be knight brothers, the other conventual officials did not necessarily have to fulfill this requirement.

The military orders could hardly avoid serving Europe's nobility as a "refuge for their bastards."¹⁰ As an example, Alan Forey has discussed the 'birth-defect' dispensation (*dispensatio super defectu natalium*) granted by Pope Boniface VIII to Herman of Hohenlohe in 1297 so that the latter could be given an office in the order of the Hospital. However, the pope did expressly exclude Herman from the mastership as well as from governing a province or priory.¹¹ In the early thirteenth century, Alphonso of Portugal, who may have been the illegitimate son of King Alphonso I of Portugal, had served as Hospitaller master.¹² However, as the requirements for knight brothers became more stringent, so did those for the master of a military order. There seem to have been no papal reservations with regard to illegitimate sons of royalty serving in the central convent. Thus, Sancho of Aragón, the illegitimate son of Peter III of Aragón, became Hospitaller admiral in 1306. Yet, with regard to his governing the Hospitaller province of Aragón-Catalonia in the 1320s, Sancho's own royal relatives had their qualms (presumably unrelated to his illegitimate birth).¹³ According to Joshua Prawer, the military orders' officials in the east did not belong to "the higher European nobility," though they were of "noble origin." In fact, Prawer argued, they reflected the situation of the nobility in the early crusader states: "The military orders, like early crusader society, opened careers

⁸ CH III 3396, § 7, where *baillie de confenon* is misspelled as *baillie ne confenon*; RRH 1374a.

⁹ CH II 2213, *usance* 109; RRH 1093a.

¹⁰ Forey, "Recruitment," 147.

¹¹ CH III 4372: *ad omnes dignitates et administrationes ac officia prefati ordinis, praeterquam ad generale totius ejusdem ordinis vel provinciae alicujus regni sive provincie magisterium vel prioratum possit assumi*; cf. Forey, "Recruitment," 147 note 50. Herman was Hospitaller prior of Bohemia and Poland (CH III 4372), however, these territories were merely considered subordinate priories of the provincial priory of Germany.

¹² Delaville Le Roulx, 130; Riley-Smith, 119.

¹³ Chapter Nine: Sancho of Aragón.

for scions of the minor European nobility and thus became an instrument of social mobility.” Moreover, Prawer claimed an “absence of crusader nobility proper among the higher ranks of the orders,” explaining that the nobility of the Latin east considered the military orders a “foreign factor.”¹⁴ These statements shall now be put to the test.

The social background of six of the twelve Templar seneschals is either known or can be inferred.¹⁵ Robert (II Burgundio) belonged to a prominent noble family from Anjou and counted the eleventh-century French King Robert II among his ancestors. Andrew of Montbard was the son of a Burgundian noble family whose members included Bernard of Clairvaux. Walter (II) of Beirut belonged to the noble house of Brisebarre, and the Brisebarre belonged to the nobility of the crusader states. Urs of Alneto hailed from the northeastern French family of Alneto, and Gerard of Ridefort may have been the descendant of a Flemish family; both were probably minor nobles. Finally, Amio of Ays may have been a member of a French noble family.

For nine of the forty-two Hospitaller preceptors, eleven of the thirty-four Templar preceptors, and four of the eight Templar preceptors of Acre, there is some information or indication regarding their social background.¹⁶ Of the Hospitaller preceptors, Garin of Montaignu belonged to a sizable noble family of the Latin east with ties to Auvergne. John of Ronay was probably a member of a knightly family from Acre with ties to Champagne. Henry of Fürstenberg seems to have come from a very prominent southwestern German comital house. Stephen of Brosse belonged to an ancient noble family from central France that can be traced back to tenth-century Limoges. Boniface of Calamandrana was a blood-relative of Alphonso III of Aragón. Fulk of Villaret hailed from a noble house in Provence. Raymond of Ribells was a nobleman whose family had had close ties to the Aragonese royal court since the twelfth century. Finally, Joscelin (II) of Tournel and Guy of Séverac apparently belonged to noble families from southern France. Of the Templar preceptors, Walter (II) of Beirut was a member of the crusader nobility. Robert Fraissnel may have belonged to a French noble family that had

¹⁴ Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 278–9.

¹⁵ For the documentation cf. Chapter Nine.

¹⁶ All following references are to the highest-ranking conventual preceptor, i.e. no distinction is made between preceptors, grand preceptors, and general preceptors. Only the Templar preceptor of Acre will be treated separately as he was an additional preceptor in his order's convent.

settled in the principality of Antioch. William Cadel hailed from a family with ties to St. Gilles in southern France. Amaury of La Roche was a knight and presumably belonged to the Burgundian aristocracy. William of Montañana and William of Pontóns were Aragonese nobles. Arnold of Castellnou hailed from an ancient Catalan family of *vice-comites* that can be traced back to the ninth century. Thibaut Gaudini's prominent family resided in the Ile-de-France. Berengar of St. Just was an Aragonese knight. Baldwin of Andria was a knight who probably hailed from southern Italy, and Raimbaud (II) of Caromb was a knight from southern France. Of the Templar preceptors of Acre, Robert of Camville hailed from an Anglo-Norman noble family. Thibaut Gaudini, mentioned above as conventual preceptor, came from a family in the Ile-de-France. Artaud (of Beaumont) belonged to a French knightly house, and Peter of Montcada's family was considered the 'second family' of the kingdom of Aragón in the thirteenth century.

With regard to six of the twenty Templar marshals, and six of the twenty-eight Hospitaller marshals, we can make statements concerning their social background. Of the Templar marshals, Robert Fraisel, mentioned above as conventual preceptor, may have hailed from a French-Antiochene family. William of Arzillières was a nobleman from northern France. Four other Templar marshals apparently came from knightly families, namely Amblard (of Vienne) from southern France, Peter of Sevrey from Burgundy, Baldwin of Andria from southern Italy, and Aimo of Oiselay from Burgundy. Of the Hospitaller marshals, Garin of Montaigu, mentioned above as conventual preceptor, came from crusading nobility with ties to Auvergne. Aymar of L'Ayron was the widower of Lady Juliana of Caesarea. Guiscard (of Lentini) probably belonged to an Italo-Norman noble family. Joscelin (I) of Tournel may have hailed from the nobility of southern France. Gerard of Gragnana was a northern Italian noble whose family had excellent contacts to Hungary, and Albert of Schwarzburg belonged to a prominent Thuringian-Saxonian comital family.

Information about the social background of most other conventual officials is sparse. Of the Hospitaller drapers, William of Montaigu may have belonged to the same noble family as Garin of Montaigu, mentioned above as conventual preceptor and marshal. Guiscard (of Lentini), mentioned above as conventual marshal, was probably a member of an Italo-Norman noble family. Roger of Vere belonged to England's high nobility: from the twelfth to the eighteenth centuries, the earls of Oxford came from his family. William of Villaret was a

member of a noble house from Provence. Of the Templar drapers, Peter of Sevrey, mentioned above as conventual marshal, was a knight from Burgundy. Geoffrey of Charny also came from a noble Burgundian family. Meanwhile, John of Villa may have been merely a sergeant of the order, which would confirm that the office of Templar draper did not have to be held by a knight brother.¹⁷ Of the Hospitallers' conventual treasurers, Anselm of Lucca, who probably originated from Italy, may have been a burgess (*burgensis*) of Acre. Peter of Campagnolles belonged to the lesser nobility of southern France. Thomas Mausú who, in the course of his career, also served as preceptor of the vault, was probably a sergeant brother. The Templar Treasurer Peter of Castellón, who was a member of the Aragonese nobility, was definitely a sergeant brother.¹⁸ However, his successor in the office was Albert (of Vienne), a knight from southern France. In both orders, the office of treasurer seems to have been open to sergeant brothers. With regard to the Templar turcopoliers, the social background of two of these officials can be ascertained. Thibaut Gaudini, mentioned above as conventual preceptor and preceptor of Acre, came from a family residing in the Île-de-France, while Dalmat of Timor belonged to the Aragonese nobility and may have been an illegitimate son of King James II. Of the three Hospitaller admirals known prior to 1310, Fulk of Villaret, mentioned above as conventual preceptor, was a nobleman from Provence, and Sancho of Aragón was the illegitimate son of King Peter III. The only hospitaller of the hospital of St. John whose social background can be ascertained is Gerard of Gragnana, mentioned above as conventual marshal, who hailed from the nobility of northern Italy.

In light of these data, Prawer's abovementioned statements have to be modified. The military orders' higher ranks featured all shades of European nobility, from knightly houses to royal families. Crusader nobles were occasionally, albeit rarely, represented as well.¹⁹ However, Prawer's label of the military orders as an "instrument of social mobility" is certainly fitting. Apparently, the Hospitallers and Templars listed above were the later-born sons, in some cases even the illegitimate sons of the nobility. To them, the military orders were a career opportunity. Yet, as Alan Forey has pointed out, the social background of the orders'

¹⁷ Chapter Nine: John of Villa.

¹⁸ For Thomas Mausú and Peter of Castellón cf. Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 383–6.

¹⁹ Walter (II) of Beirut, Robert Fraissnel, and John of Ronay.

high officials can in no way be considered representative of that of the orders' membership at large.²⁰ The central convent gathered the elite.

Belonging to a noble family can be viewed as a social qualification of sorts because it was likely for a noble's son to have received some form of training for his future life as a knight or man-at-arms. There were a number of qualifications to be gathered 'in the world,' and the military orders were interested in not letting these go to waste, regardless of whether they were military, administrative, or linguistic in nature. The Hospitaller statutes of Margat emphasized that a new member should do the same work 'in the house,' i.e. in the order, that he had done 'in the world,' unless he was ordered to do something different (*chascun qui vient à la religion de l'Ospital, cel meisme servise que il faisait au siecle, celui face en la maison ou autre, se comandé li est*).²¹ Unfortunately, little is known about the lives of most Hospitallers and Templars prior to their entering their respective order. The examples of four high officials are, however, indicative of the recycling of qualifications. For Walter (II) of Beirut, the administrative experience gathered as lord of Beirut would have come in handy when the Templars appointed him preceptor and seneschal. As a former royal marshal, Gerard of Ridefort was accustomed to being in a leadership position. The Templars wasted no time, appointed him seneschal, and eventually elected him master. Prior to joining the Hospitallers, Anselm of Lucca had been a burgess, had repeatedly appeared alongside Acre's *vicecomes*, and had probably been a member of the city's *cours des bourgeois*. The order utilized his experience in financial matters and made him treasurer. Finally, Aymar of L'Ayron received the same office in the Hospitaller convent that he had held at the royal court of Jerusalem, namely that of marshal.

It is difficult to establish whether a certain age was necessary to qualify for certain offices, because there is usually no information about the conventual officials' age. However, the records of the Templar trial allow us a glimpse into the age structure of that order's central convent. If we consider eighteen a realistic minimal age for reception into the order,²² we find that

²⁰ Forey, "Recruitment," 143–4.

²¹ *CH* II 1193, p. 38; *RRH* 800a.

²² Geoffrey of Charny and Raimbaud (II) of Caromb were both eighteen when they became Templars, cf. Chapter Nine.

Albert (of Vienne) was *c.*23 when he became treasurer (1308),
 James of Dammartin was *c.*30 when he became preceptor of Cyprus (1307),
 John of Villa was *c.*31 when he served as draper (1308),
 Walter of Liencourt was *c.*35 when he served as lieutenant draper (1292),
 Bertrand of Gourdon was *c.*37 when he became turcopolier (1304),
 Aimo of Oiselay was *c.*45 when he served as marshal (1303),
 Geoffrey of Charny was *c.*53 when he served as draper (1304), and
 Raimbaud (II) of Caromb was *c.*53 when he became preceptor (1300).

If one compares the age of the two drapers and the lieutenant draper (John of Villa, Geoffrey of Charny, and Walter of Liencourt) it does not seem that age was a serious consideration when it came to appointing a Templar draper. The above list also suggests that the Templars' conventual leadership around 1300 was fairly young (perhaps due to the losses sustained at Ruad in 1302).

The Hospitallers' normative texts indicate that it was not one's biological age but, rather, the number of years one had been a member that could be a qualification for promotion. The statutes of 1265 stipulated that, apart from any other (canonical) age restrictions, nobody should be ordained a subdeacon, deacon, or priest of the Hospital unless he had served in the order for one year.²³ In 1304, the order decreed that no brother should be given a bailiwick (here denoting a local administrative unit) by a prior unless he had served in the order for at least three years, and that no brother should receive a castellany unless he had served at least five years.²⁴ The grand preceptor's office seems to have been reserved for brothers who had been members of the order for a considerable number of years. According to the Hospitallers' thirteenth-century *usances*, the prudhomme who announced the newly selected grand preceptor to the general chapter customarily assured the assembled brothers that the individual was a prudhomme and 'ancient,' implying that he had been a member of the order for a long time, that he had performed well wherever he had been thus far, and that he would, God willing, also do well in this new office.²⁵ It probably took about twenty years of membership to be considered 'ancient.' A 1287

²³ CH III 3180, § 11; RRH 1338a.

²⁴ CH IV 4672, § 14–15.

²⁵ CH II 2213, *usance* 109: *il est prodoume et ancien, et en tous les leus que il aye esté el a bien fait e fara bien en ceste bailie, si Dieu plaiste*; RRH 1093a.

statute permitted brothers and officials who had been in the order for twenty or more years to take their meals in the infirmary, where more healthful food was served, as long as they gave previous notice.²⁶ This would mean that a brother who had joined the order at age eighteen was considered ‘ancient’ prior to his fortieth birthday. Bernard of Clairvaux’s abovementioned statement that the ‘knight of Christ’ did not distinguish himself through the nobility of his birth but, rather, through his personal qualities, here finds its equivalent. Ideally, the career of the ‘knight of Christ’ was not advanced on the basis of his biological age but, rather, on the basis of his experience.

Spatial Mobility

Some time around 1309, Philip IV of France complained to Pope Clement V that, according to custom, there should be twenty-six brothers of French origin (*fratres nationis Francorum*) in the Hospitaller convent; that there were, however, at present only about twelve such brothers there; and that the Hospitaller master had taken many knights with him on his last trip back to the east, namely about fifty, but only very few from France. Therefore, the king instructed his envoy, the prior of La Chaize, to explain to the pope, and especially to the Hospitaller master (probably by way of the pope), that the appropriate number of Frenchmen in the convent should be restored.²⁷ This episode raises two questions that shall be considered in the following: From where did the conventual officials originally hail? Secondly, what can be said about their mobility between east and west—before they took their office in the convent, while they held that office, and after they had left that office? In his essay on recruitment in the military orders, Alan Forey has stated that most of the brothers who spent some part of their careers in the central convent probably came from France.²⁸ Tables 39–50 indicate the geographical origin of the conventual officials of Hospitallers and Templars as far as it can be established or inferred.²⁹

²⁶ CH III 4022, § 4; RRH 1480a; date: Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 83.

²⁷ CH IV 4831: *Exponat igitur prior domino pape ac insuper dicto magistro quod voluntatis regis esset ut numerus fratrum nationis Francorum reintegretur in conventu ultramarino*; date: *ibid.*, p. 198.

²⁸ Forey, 133; *id.*, “Recruitment,” 140.

²⁹ The individual findings are discussed in Chapter Nine.

Table 39: Templar Seneschals (Geographical Origin)

Templar seneschals	geographical origin
William, 1129/30	unknown
Robert (II Burgundio), 1132–4	France (north)
Andrew of Montbard, 1148–51	France (Burgundy)
William of La Guerche, 1160	France (north)
Walter (II) of Beirut, 1169	Latin east
Berengar (of Castelpers), 1174–9	France (south)
Urs of Alneto, 1179/81, 1187	France (north)
Gerard of Ridefort, 1183–4	Flanders
Amio of Ays, 1190–1	France
Roric of La Courtine, 1191	France (south)
Adam Brion, 1192	France
NN, 1195	unknown

Table 40: Templar (Grand) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters (Geographical Origin)

Templar (grand) preceptors and lieutenant masters	geographical origin
Odo, 1155	unknown
Geoffrey Fulcherii, 1164	France
Walter (II) of Beirut, 1169, 1171	Latin east
Robert Fraissnel, 1179/81	France/Antioch
Girbert Erat, 1183, 1190–1	Aragón-Catalonia
O. of Vend., 1184	France/England
Terricus, 1187–8	unknown, perhaps Flanders
Irmengaud, 1198	unknown
Peter of Manaia/Mone(t)a, 1204–8	Latin east
NN, 1220	unknown
William Cadel, 1222–3	France (south: Provence)
NN, 1229	unknown
Bartholomew of Moret, 1237–40	France (north)
Peter of St. Romanus, 1241	France
William of Roc(c)aforte, 1244	Spain (north)/Italy (north)
Stephen of Ostricourt, 1249–50	Flanders
Giles, 1250	unknown
NN, 1250	unknown
NN, 1254	unknown
Guy of Bazainville, 1256	France/Flanders
Matthew Sauvage, 1261	France (north)
Amaury of La Roche, 1262	France
William of Montañana, 1262	Aragón-Catalonia
Simon of La Tor, 1271	unknown

Table 40 (*cont.*)

Templar (grand) preceptors and lieutenant masters	geographical origin
William of Pontóns, 1273	Aragón-Catalonia
Goufier, 1273	unknown
Arnold of Castellnou, 1277	Aragón-Catalonia
Thibaut Gaudini, 1279–91	France
Berengar of St. Just, 1292	Aragón-Catalonia
Baldwin of Andria, 1293	Italy (south)
Florentin of Villa, 1299	unknown
Peter of Vares, 1300	unknown
Raimbaud (II) of Caromb, 1300–12	France (south)
James of Dammartin, 1307–10	France (Burgundy)

Table 41: Hospitaller (Grand/General) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters (Geographical Origin)

Hospitaller (grand/general) prec. and lieut. masters	geographical origin
Berengar, 1150–2	unknown
Gerald Hugonis, 1155–6	unknown
Garin of Melna, 1159, 1173–6	Flanders
Rostagnus, 1162	France (south)
Guy of Mahón, 1163–70	Spain
Pons Blan, 1170	unknown
O., 1170–2	unknown
Garnier of Nablus, 1176–7, 1180–4	Latin east
Raymond of St. Michael, 1178	France (south)
Archembald, 1185	Italy
Borell, 1187–8	France (south)/Spain (north)
Ogerius, 1190–1	France
William of Villiers, 1192	France/England
Martin Gonsalve, 1193	Spain
Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius, 1194	England
William Lombardus, 1201	Italy (north)
Peter of Mirmande, 1203	France (south)
Garin of Montaigu, 1204–6	France (south)
Isembard, 1207–8, 1217–19	France
Golferius, 1221	unknown
Raymond Motet, 1222–5	France (south)
William of Tyneris, 1231	France
Andrew Polin, 1235	France
Peter (I) of Vieillebride, 1237–9	France (south)
William of Senlis, 1240–2	France (north)

Table 41 (*cont.*)

Hospitaller (grand/general) prec. and lieut. masters	geographical origin
NN, 1244	unknown
John of Ronay, 1245–50	France/Latin east
NN, 1250	unknown
Hugh Revel, 1251–8	France (south)/England
Henry of Fürstenberg, 1259–62	Germany
Stephen of Meses, 1264–6	unknown
Boniface of Calamandrana, 1268–71, 1279	Italy (northwest)/Aragón- Catalonia
Nicholas Lorgne, 1271, 1277	unknown
Stephen of Brosse, 1273	France
Guy of La Guespa, 1281	Spain
James of Tassi, 1286	Italy (south)
Matthew of Clermont, 1289	France (south)
NN, 1299	unknown
Fulk of Villaret, 1301, 1303–5	France (south: Provence)
Raymond of Ribells, 1303	Aragón-Catalonia
Joscelin (II) of Tournel, 1306	France (south: Provence)
Guy of Séverac, 1307–10	France (south: Provence)

Table 42: Templar Preceptors of Acre (Geographical Origin)

Templar preceptors of Acre	geographical origin
Peter of (la) Recazi/Raiace, 1198	unknown
Robert of Camville, 1200–4	France (north)/England
James of Bois, 1233	France
Gonsalve Martin, 1261–2	Portugal
Thibaut Gaudini, 1270–1	France
Pons, 1277	unknown
Artaud (of Beaumont), 1283	France
Peter of Montcada, 1284–9	Aragón-Catalonia

Table 43: Templar Marshals (Geographical Origin)

Templar marshals	geographical origin
Hugh Salomonis of Quily, 1153	France (north)
Robert Fraisel, 1187	France/Antioch
Geoffrey Morin, 1188–9	France (north)
Adam Brion, 1192	France
Geoffrey, 1193	unknown
William of Arzillières, 1200–4	France (north)

Table 43 (*cont.*)

Templar marshals	geographical origin
NN, 1219	unknown
Hugh of Montlaur, 1242–4	Spain (north)/France (south)
Reynald of Vichiers, 1249–50	France (north)
Hugh of Jouy, 1251/2	France (north)
NN, 1256	unknown
Stephen of Ciskey, 1261–2	France (Burgundy)
William of Malaio, 1262	France
Amblard (of Vienne), 1271	France (south)
Guy of Foresta, 1277	England/France
Geoffrey of Vendat, 1289	France (south)
Peter of Sevrey, 1291	France (Burgundy)
Baldwin of Andria, 1292	Italy (south)
Bartholomew of Chinsi, 1300–2	unknown
Aimo of Oiselay, 1303–12	France (Burgundy)

Table 44: Hospitaller Marshals (Geographical Origin)

Hospitaller marshals	geographical origin
Raymond of Tiberias, 1165–70	Latin east
Lambert, 1188	unknown
NN, 1191	unknown
William Borell, 1193	France (south)
William of Marolh, 1194	France
Albert Romanus, 1204	Italy
Pons, 1206	unknown
Garin of Montaigu, 1206–7	France (south)
Geoffrey, 1210	unknown
Aymar of L'Ayron, 1216–19	France
Ferrand of Barras, 1221	France (south)
Arnold of Montbrun, 1232–3	France (south)
William of Châteauneuf, 1241	France
William of Courcelles, 1248	France
Peter of Beaune, 1254	France (Burgundy)
Raimbaud, 1255–9	Spain
Guiscard (of Lentini), 1259	Italy (Sicily)
Roderic Petri, 1259/61, 1271	Spain
Joscelin (I) of Tournel, 1262	France (south)
Henry, 1267	unknown
Nicholas Lorgne, 1269–71, 1273	unknown
NN, 1272	unknown
NN, 1288	unknown
Matthew of Clermont, 1291	France (south)

Table 44 (*cont.*)

Hospitaller marshals	geographical origin
Simon Le Rat, 1299, 1303, 1306–10	France
Raymond of Beaulieu, 1301	France
Gerard of Gragnana, 1303	Italy (north)
Albert of Schwarzburg, 1306	Germany

Table 45: Templar Drapers (Geographical Origin)

Templar drapers	geographical origin
Peter of Aramon, 1241	France (south)
Aimery Jaureo, 1249	central Europe
Richard Le Lo(u)p, 1262	Spain
William of Malaio, 1271–7	France
Peter of Sevrej, 1284/5	France (Burgundy)
Adam of Cromwell, 1300	England
Geoffrey of Charny, 1304	France (Burgundy)
John of Villa, 1308–10	France

Table 46: Hospitaller Drapers (Geographical Origin)

Hospitaller drapers	geographical origin
Pons Boschant, 1221	Hungary
William of Montaigu, 1233	France (south)
Martin Sanche, 1248–50	Spain
Guiscard (of Lentini), 1254–6	Italy (Sicily)
Simon of Villey, 1260	France (Burgundy)
Roger of Vere, 1262	England
William of Villaret, 1269–70	France (south)
Odo of Pins, 1273	France (south)
Robert of Merdogne, 1291/1303	France (south)
Walter Anglicus, 1303–6	England
Richard of Ravello, 1306–12	Italy (south)

Table 47: Templar Treasurers (Geographical Origin)

Templar treasurers	geographical origin
William of Turre, 1204; n.tit.	unknown
Geoffrey of Tours, 1207–13	France
NN, 1221; n.tit.	unknown
NN, 1250	unknown

Table 47 (*cont.*)

Templar treasurers	geographical origin
Bienvenu, 1262	unknown
Martin of Lou, 1292	unknown
Peter of Castellón, 1306–7	Aragón-Catalonia
Albert (of Vienne), 1308–10	France (south)

Table 48: Hospitaller Treasurers (Geographical Origin)

Hospitaller treasurers	geographical origin
Raymond, 1135, 1141, 1150	unknown
Peter, 1141	unknown
Gerald of St. Andrew, 1152, 1162–3	France (south)
Amoravius, 1156–9	France
Castus of Murols, 1164–8	France (south)
Stephen, 1173–5, 1181	unknown
Gerard, 1175, 1184	unknown
Geoffrey, 1177–81, 1187	unknown
Peter Galterii, 1181	France (south)
NN, 1187; n.tit.	unknown
Berengar of Cenagona, 1186	unknown
Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius, 1192	England
Anselm of Lucca, 1201	Italy
Peter of Campagnolles, 1204–6	France (south)
Richard, 1207–19	unknown
Sais, 1235, 1239	unknown
John, 1237	unknown
Joseph of Cancy, 1248–71	England
Thomas Mausü, 1273–5	unknown
Bernard of Chemin, 1299–1303	unknown
Durand of Praepositura, 1306	France (south)

Table 49: Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John (Geographical Origin)

Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	geographical origin
Piotus, 1162–70	unknown
William of Forges, 1173	France (north)
Stephen, 1176–81	unknown
Herbert of Dunières, 1186	France (south)
Roland (Burgund(i)ensis), 1198–9	France (Burgundy)
Fulk Bremont, 1204–7	unknown
Nun, 1219	Spain
Henry, 1221	unknown

Table 49 (*cont.*)

Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John	geographical origin
Robert of Vineis, 1235–9	unknown, perhaps France (south)
Henry, 1255–6	unknown
Bernard of Porta Clara, 1260	unknown
Craphus, 1259–61	Germany
Garcias Ximenes, 1262	Spain
Peter of Haghham, 1269	England
Roderic Roderici, 1273	Spain
John of Loches, 1278	France
Raymond of Beaulieu, 1299	France
Gerard of Gragnana, 1303	Italy (north)
Velasco Martini, 1306	Portugal

Table 50: Hospitaller Priors (Geographical Origin)

Hospitaller priors	geographical origin
Hubald, 1136	unknown
Peter of K(e)rak, 1163–5	Latin east
Bernard, 1170–82, 1187	unknown
William of Acerra, 1185	Italy (south)
Robert, 1192	unknown
Raymond Petri, 1193	unknown
Seguin, 1207	France (south)
William, 1233–5	unknown
NN, 1244	unknown
John, 1248, 1268	unknown
Gerard, 1255–64	unknown
NN, 1293	unknown
John of Laodicea, 1299–1313	Aragón-Catalonia/Latin east

Tables 39–50 confirm that France was indeed strongly represented in the convent of Hospitallers and Templars. This is particularly evident with regard to the Templar seneschals. Eight of the twelve seneschals hailed from France. Things become more varied when we consider the preceptors. Only one of the seven Templar preceptors serving before 1191 was French (Geoffrey Fulcherii), two were probably born in the Latin east (Walter (II) of Beirut and Robert Fraisnel), one originated from the Iberian Peninsula (Girbert Eral), one was either English or French (O. of Vend.), one may have come from Flanders (Terricus), and one’s origin is unknown (Odo). Of the twenty Templar preceptors serving between 1191 and 1291, seven were of unknown origin,

seven were French and three Aragonese, one came from Flanders, one from Spain or Italy, and one from the Latin east. The six conventual preceptors of the Temple serving after 1291 came from four different geographical regions, namely Aragón, Italy, southern France, and Burgundy. Among the Hospitallers' conventual preceptors, the French did not dominate until after 1191. Of the twelve conventual preceptors serving until 1191, four were of unknown origin, three came from France, one from Flanders, one from Spain, one from Italy, one from the Latin east, and one from southern France or Spain. Of the twenty-five preceptors serving between 1191 and 1291, ten came from France (with the southern part of the region dominating). Among the remaining fifteen, we find the first high official of either central convent from Germany (Henry of Fürstenberg). During the Cypriote phase, three of the five conventual preceptors of the Hospital hailed from Provence, foreshadowing a future development, namely the assigning of the office of Hospitaller grand preceptor to the *langue* of Provence. Among the Templar preceptors of Acre, there were two of unknown origin, three Frenchmen, one Anglo-Norman, one Portuguese, and one Spaniard. Thus, with regard to the preceptors, the picture is considerably more varied in both orders.

With regard to the office of marshal the French seem to have had an overpowering claim. Of the twenty Templar marshals, twelve were certainly and three most likely French. There was not a single Spaniard among them, perhaps because Spanish Templar personnel with military talent was retained on the Iberian Peninsula where the military orders were active participants in the *reconquista*. Of the twenty-eight Hospitaller marshals, eight were of unknown origin, but thirteen were French. During the second half of the thirteenth century, there was a brief non-French *intermezzo* as three Hospitallers from southern Europe served as marshals, namely Raimbaud from Spain, Guiscard (of Lentini) from Italy, and Roderic Petri from Spain. That the office of Hospitaller marshal would eventually be assigned to the *langue* of Auvergne cannot be seen during the Cypriote phase. Between 1291 and 1310 the office was held by two Frenchmen (Raymond of Beaulieu and Simon Le Rat, with the latter serving three separate terms), one Italian (Gerard of Gragnana), and one German (Albert of Schwarzburg).

Five of the eight Templar drapers and five of the eleven Hospitaller drapers were French—another strong showing. Yet, there were also two drapers from central Europe (the Templar Aimery Jaureo and the Hospitaller Pons Boschant) as well as drapers of both orders from

England and Spain, and two Hospitaller drapers from Italy. It is nearly impossible to determine the geographical origin of the conventual treasurers as many had no cognomen. Five of the eight Templar treasurers and twelve of the twenty-one Hospitaller treasurers were of unknown origin. It is, however, noteworthy that the first Englishman to hold a conventual office in either order, the Hospitaller Treasurer Robert Anglicus, made his appearance in 1192. His appointment may have been related to Richard Lionheart's presence in the east, as Richard took an active interest in the military orders' personnel issues. The new Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus had traveled to the east in his entourage, as had Robert of Sablé, who became Templar master after arriving in the east. Robert Anglicus later became Hospitaller prior of England (and was then known as Robert Thesaurarius, a reference to the high office he had held in the east). The geographical origin of six of the ten hospitallers who served as chief administrators of their order's main hospital prior to 1260 is unknown. Considering that the office would later be assigned to the French *langue*, it is remarkable that between 1260 and 1310 only very few Frenchmen served as hospitallers. Instead, we find one of unknown origin, one German, one Italian, one Englishman, one Portuguese, two Frenchmen, and two Spaniards. Nine of the thirteen conventual priors of the Hospital were of unknown origin (in fact, seven of these are only known by their first names, and in two cases even the first name is unknown).

Overall, France was particularly well represented in the marshalcy of both orders and, albeit not as strongly, in the office of the highest conventual preceptor. The office of the draper (in both orders) and that of the hospitaller (particularly after 1260) were regularly taken by non-French brothers. Only the Hospitaller convent featured Germans among its high officials (the Preceptor Henry of Fürstenberg, the Marshal Albert of Schwarzburg, and the Hospitaller Craphus). Considering that French was the military command language of the crusader states, it is understandable that the military orders, the vanguard and rearguard of the Frankish army, appointed Frenchmen as marshals to ensure that there would be no miscommunication. Thus, geographical origin and linguistic identity were pivotal career-determining factors in the military orders.

We now turn to the conventual officials' international mobility. In the high middle ages, international mobility, as well as geographically extensive communication and logistics networks, were not the exclusive

specialty of the military orders. Merchants, Jews, pilgrims, and, from the thirteenth century, mendicants were equally impressive in this respect. As Hospitallers and Templars relied on the west for personnel, economic supplies, and information, they maintained fairly intense east-west contacts.³⁰ Recruits of the military orders who had been received in the west could expect to be sent to the east, especially in times when the personnel needs of the central convent were particularly great, for example after crushing military defeats.³¹ In both orders, a candidate for reception was told that he would have to be prepared to move around, even against his will.³² This was not to be done arbitrarily, though. Templar brothers who were to be sent to the west, because they were sick or because they were to be given special assignments, were selected, presumably during the annual meeting of the general chapter, by an advisory commission to the master consisting of the marshal, the preceptor of the land, the draper, the preceptor of Acre, and three or four of the order's prudhommes.³³ This, Malcolm Barber has argued, might have made it difficult for brothers who were in the east to ever be discharged from their service there.³⁴ However, it should be noted that the statute mentions the brothers' health even before the needs of the order. At least ideally, the brothers' physical well-being was an integral part of the community's agenda. Similarly, the Hospitaller statutes of 1204/6 made the sending of brothers and bailiffs to the west, as well as their summoning to the east, the general chapter's business. When the latter was not in session but there was a need to send brothers to the west, the master had to obtain the brothers' counsel when he made the selection.³⁵ That the master did not make personnel decisions by himself was known outside of the order. In 1288, Alphonso III of Aragón felt the need to question the Hospitallers' personnel decisions with regard to Boniface of Calamandrana and Raymond of Ribells, and sent scathing letters to both the master and, separately, to the marshal and convent.³⁶ Yet, the collective responsibility for the brothers' international mobility

³⁰ On various aspects of this topic cf. Burgtorf and Nicholson, *International Mobility*, *passim*; Demurger, "Outre-mer," 217–30.

³¹ Forey, "Novitiate," 9.

³² Hospitallers: *CH* II 2213, *usage* 121; *RRH* 1093a. Templars: *RT* 661.

³³ *RT* 93.

³⁴ Barber, "Supplying," 320.

³⁵ *CH* II 1193, p. 35; *RRH* 800a.

³⁶ *CH* III 4007, p. 519.

may have been more of an ideal than a reality. In 1296, the Hospitaller convent sent a letter to the newly elected Master William of Villaret and listed, as one of the grievances against the order’s past masters, the sending and summoning of brothers back and forth.³⁷

As most conventual officials originated in the west, they had to take at least one trip from the west to the east, but there is usually no documentation for that trip. Tables 51–62 list the officials’ whereabouts before they took their office in the convent, while they held that office, and after they had left that office (as far as this can be documented). If an official traveled to the west while in office the respective years have been noted in italics. If an official occupied the same office again, i.e. after someone else had succeeded him, the interim has been indicated by square brackets (with the dash standing for ‘no information’ regarding the official’s whereabouts during the interim, and ‘TS’ (*Terra Sancta*, Holy Land, the east) or ‘EU’ (Europe, the west) denoting that the official spent the interim in the east or west respectively).

Table 51: Templar Seneschals (International Mobility)

Templar seneschals	before	in office	after
William		1129/30	
Robert (II Burgundio)	EU, TS, EU	<i>1132–4</i>	TS, EU, TS
Andrew of Montbard	EU, TS, EU, TS	1148–51	TS
William of La Guerche		1160	TS
Walter (II) of Beirut	TS, EU, TS	1169	TS
Berengar (of Castelpers)	EU, TS	1174–79	
Urs of Alneto	EU	1179/81, [–], 1187	
Gerard of Ridefort	EU, TS	1183–4	TS
Amio of Ays	TS, EU	1190–1	TS
Roric of La Courtine	TS	1191	
Adam Brion		1192	TS
NN		1195	

³⁷ CH III 4310.

Table 52: Templar (Grand) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters
(International Mobility)

T-prec./gprec./lieut. mast.	before	in office	after
Odo		1155	
Geoffrey Fulcherii	TS, EU, TS, EU, TS, EU	1164	EU, TS, EU
Walter (II) of Beirut	TS, EU, TS	1169, [TS], 1171	
Robert Fraisel		1179/81	TS
Girbert Eral		1183, [EU], 1190/1	EU, TS
O. of Vend.		1184	
Terricus		1187–8	EU
Irmengaud		1198	
Peter of Manaia/Monc(t)a	TS	1204–8	
NN		1220	
William Cadel	EU, TS	1222–3	EU
NN		1229	
Bartholomew of Moret		1237–40	
Peter of St. Romanus	EU	1241	TS
William of Roc(c)aforte		1244	EU
Stephen of Ostricourt		1249–50	
Giles		1250	
NN		1250	
NN		1254	
Guy of Bazainville	EU	1256	EU
Matthew Sauvage		1261	TS
Amaury of La Roche	EU	1262	EU
William of Montañana	EU, TS	1262	
Simon of La Tor	TS	1271	TS, EU
William of Pontóns	EU	1273	EU
Goufier		1273	
Arnold of Castellnou	EU	1277	EU
Thibaut Gaudini	TS	1279, 1284–91	TS
Berengar of St. Just	EU, TS, EU	1292	EU
Baldwin of Andria	TS	1293	TS
Florentin of Villa	EU, TS	1299	
Peter of Vares		1300	
Raimbaud (II) of Caromb	EU	1300–4, 1307–12	
James of Dammartin	EU, TS	1307–10	

Table 53: Hospitaller (Grand/General) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters (International Mobility)

H-prec./gprec./gen. prec./lieut. mast.	before	in office	after
Berengar		1150–2	TS
Gerald Hugonis		1155–6	
Garin of Melna	EU	1159, [–], 1173–6	TS
Rostagnus		1162	
Guy of Mahón		1163–9, <i>1169–70</i>	EU
Pons Blan		1170	
O.		1170–2	
Garnier of Nablus	TS	1176–7, [–], 1180–4	EU, TS
Raymond of St. Michael	EU	1178	
Archembald	EU	1185	EU, TS
Borell		1187–8	
Ogerius	EU	1190–1	EU
William of Villiers		1192	EU
Martin Gonsalve		1193	TS
Robert Anglicus/Thesaur.	EU, TS	1194	EU
William Lombardus	TS	1201	
Peter of Mirmande	EU, TS	1203	
Garin of Montaigu		1204–6	TS, EU, TS
Isembard	EU	1207–8, [EU, TS], 1217–19	EU
Golferius		1221	
Raymond Motet		1222–5	TS
William of Tyneriis	TS	1231	EU
Andrew Polin		1235	EU, TS, EU
Peter (I) of Vieillebride	TS	1237–9	TS
William of Senlis		1240–2	
NN		1244	
John of Ronay	TS	1245–50	
NN		1250	
Hugh Revel	TS	1251–8	TS
Henry of Fürstenberg	EU	1259–62	EU, TS, EU
Stephen of Meses		1264–6	
Boniface of Calamandrana	TS	1268–71, [–], 1279	TS, EU
Nicholas Lorgne	TS	1271, [TS], 1277	TS
Stephen of Brosse		1273	EU
Guy of La Guespa	EU	1281	
James of Tassi	TS, EU	1286	
Matthew of Clermont		1289	TS
NN		1299	
Fulk of Villaret	TS	1301, [–], 1303–5	TS, EU, TS, EU
Raymond of Ribells	EU, TS, EU, TS, EU	1303	
Joscelin (II) of Tournel	EU	1306	
Guy of Séverac		1307–10	EU

Table 54: Templar Preceptors of Acre (International Mobility)

Templar preceptors of Acre	before	in office	after
Peter of (la) Recazi/Raiace		1198	TS
Robert of Camville		1200–4	EU
James of Bois		1233	
Gonsalve Martin		1261–2	EU
Thibaut Gaudini	TS	1270–1	TS, EU, TS
Pons		1277	
Artaud (of Beaumont)		1283	EU, TS
Peter of Montcada	EU	1284–9	

Table 55: Templar Marshals (International Mobility)

Templar marshals	before	in office	after
Hugh Salomonis of Quily		1153	
Robert Fraissnel	TS	1187	
Geoffrey Morin	TS	1188–9	
Geoffrey		1193	
Adam Brion	TS	1198	
William of Arzillières	EU	1200–4	
NN		1219	
Hugh of Montlaur	EU	1242–4	
Reynald of Vichiers	TS, EU	1249–50	TS
Hugh of Jouy		1251/2	EU
NN		1256	
Stephen of Cisse		1261, 1262	EU, TS, EU
William of Malaio	TS	1262	TS, EU
Amblard (of Vienne)	TS, EU	1271	EU
Guy of Foresta	EU	1277	EU
Geoffrey of Vendat	TS	1289	
Peter of Sevrey	TS	1291	
Baldwin of Andria		1292	TS
Bartholomew of Chinsi		1300–2	
Aimo of Oiselay	EU	1303–12	TS

Table 56: Hospitaller Marshals (International Mobility)

Hospitaller marshals	before	in office	after
Raymond of Tiberias	TS, EU	1165–70	
Lambert		1188	
NN		1191	
William Borell		1193	
William of Marolh		1194	
Albert Romanus		1204	
Pons		1206	

Table 56 (*cont.*)

Hospitaller marshals	before	in office	after
Garin of Montaigu	TS	1206–7	TS, EU, TS
Geoffrey		1210	
Aymar of L'Ayron	TS	1216–19	
Ferrand of Barras	EU, TS	1221	EU
Arnold of Montbrun		1232–3	EU, TS
William of Châteauneuf	TS	1241	TS
William of Courcelles	TS	1248	TS, EU
Peter of Beaune		1254	
Raimbaud	EU	1255–6, 1256, 1259	TS
Guiscard (of Lentini)	TS	1259	
Roderic Petri	EU	1259/61, [–], 1271	
Joscelin (I) of Tournel	TS	1262	
Henry		1267	
Nicholas Lorgne	TS	1269–71, [TS], 1273	TS
NN		1272	
NN		1288	
Matthew of Clermont	TS	1291	
Simon Le Rat		1299, [–], 1303, [TS], 1306–10	EU
Raymond of Beaulieu	TS	1301	
Gerard of Gragnana	EU, TS	1303	EU
Albert of Schwarzburg		1306	TS, EU, TS, EU

Table 57: Templar Drapers (International Mobility)

Templar drapers	before	in office	after
Peter of Aramon		1241	
Aimery Jaureco		1249	
Richard Le Lo(u)p		1262	
William of Malaio	TS	1271–7	EU
Peter of Sevrey		1284/5	TS
Adam of Cromwell		1300	
Geoffrey of Charny	EU, TS, EU	1304	EU
John of Villa	EU	1308–10	

Table 58: Hospitaller Drapers (International Mobility)

Hospitaller drapers	before	in office	after
Pons Boschant		1221	
William of Montaigu		1233	
Martin Sanche	TS, EU, TS	1248–50	
Guiscard (of Lentini)	TS	1254–1256	TS
Simon of Villey		1260	TS
Roger of Vere	TS	1262	EU, TS, EU
William of Villaret		1269, 1269–70	EU, TS, EU, TS, EU, TS

Table 58 (*cont.*)

Hospitaller drapers	before	in office	after
Odo of Pins		1273	TS
Robert of Merdogne		1291/1303	
Walter Anglicus		1303–06	
Richard of Ravello		1306–12	

Table 59: Templar Treasurers (International Mobility)

Templar treasurers	before	in office	after
William of Turre (n.tit.)		1204	
Geoffrey of Tours	EU	1207–13	
NN (n.tit.)		1221	
NN		1250	
Bienvenu	EU	1262	
Martin of Lou		1292	
Peter of Castellón	EU	1306, <i>1306</i> , 1307	EU
Albert (of Vienne)		1308–10	

Table 60: Hospitaller Treasurers (International Mobility)

Hospitaller treasurers	before	in office	after
Raymond		1135, [–], 1141, [–], 1150	
Peter		1141	
Gerald of St. Andrew		1152, [TS], 1162–3	EU
Amoravius	TS	1156–9	TS, EU
Castus of Murols	TS	1164–8	TS
Stephen		1173–5, [–], 1181	
Gerard		1175, [–], 1184	
Geoffrey		1177–78, <i>1181</i> , [–], 1187	
Peter Galterii	EU	1181	TS
Berengar of Cenagona		1186	
NN (n.tit.)		1187	
Robert Anglicus/Thesaur.	EU	1192	TS, EU
Anselm of Lucca	TS	1201	
Peter of Campagnolles	EU	1204–6	
Richard		1207–19	
Sais		1235, [–], 1239	
John		1237	
Joseph of Cancy		1248–71	EU, TS
Thomas Mausú	TS	1273–75	
Bernard of Chemin		1299–1303	
Durand of Praepositura		1306	EU

Table 61: Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John (International Mobility)

H-hospitallers	before	in office	after
Piotus		1162–70	
William of Forges		1173	
Stephen		1176–81	
Herbert of Dunières	TS	1186	
Roland (Burgund(i)ensis)		1198–9	
Fulk Bremont		1204–7	
Nun		1219	
Henry		1221	
Robert of Vincis		1235–9	
Henry		1255–6	
Bernard of Porta Clara		1260	TS
Craphus		1259–61	
Garcias Ximenes		1262	
Peter of Haghām		1269	EU
Roderic Roderici	TS	1273	
John of Loches		1278	
Raymond of Beaulieu		1299	TS
Gerard of Gragnana	EU	1303	TS, EU
Velasco Martini	EU, TS	1306	TS

Table 62: Hospitaller Priors (International Mobility)

Hospitaller priors	before	in office	after
Hubald		<i>1136</i>	
Peter of K(e)rak		1163–5	TS
Bernard	TS	1170–1, <i>1172</i> , 1173–82, [–], 1187	
William of Acerra	TS	1185	
Robert		1192	
Raymond Petri		1193	
Seguin	EU	1207	
William		1233–5	
NN		<i>1244</i>	
John		1248, [–], 1268	
Gerard		1255–61, <i>1264</i>	
NN		1293	
John of Laodicea		1299, <i>1299–1308</i> , ³⁸ 1308–13	

³⁸ It is doubtful that John of Laodicea was continually in the west between 1299 and 1308.

Since the holding of a conventual office required the office-holder's presence in the east, international mobility prior to taking such an office will be defined here as at least one trip from the east to the west and back. Such a trip was taken by four of the twelve Templar seneschals,³⁹ four of the thirty-four Templar preceptors,⁴⁰ three of the forty-two Hospitaller preceptors,⁴¹ none of the eight Templar preceptors of Acre, two of the twenty Templar marshals,⁴² one of the twenty-eight Hospitaller marshals,⁴³ one of the eight Templar drapers,⁴⁴ one of the eleven Hospitaller drapers,⁴⁵ and none of the conventual treasurers, hospitallers, and priors. International mobility was therefore certainly not a precondition for obtaining a conventual office. Experience gained in certain offices in the east or the west could, however, be a career-determining factor, as we will see later in this chapter.

It comes as no surprise that only very few of the conventual officials traveled to the west while they were in office—after all, they had been appointed to see to the affairs of their respective order's headquarters. This makes the cases in which conventual officials did take such trips all the more remarkable. Between 1132 and 1133/4, the Templar Seneschal Robert (II Burgundio) was traveling in the west, receiving donations on behalf of the (then) still young order. Since the seneschal took the master's place wherever the latter was not, and since, in this particular case, the master had stayed with the convent in the east, there was no need to appoint a lieutenant seneschal in Robert's absence. Of the Templar preceptors, William Cadel, in 1222–3, traveled to the west with a delegation from the crusader states as the representative of Master Peter of Montaigu. Thibaut Gaudini was in the west in 1279, participating, among other things, in reception ceremonies while Master William of Beaujeu was in the east. Finally, Raimbaud (II) of Caromb traveled to the west in 1306, as a member of Master James of Molay's entourage, while the convent on Cyprus was led by Marshal Aimó of Oiselay. Guy of Mahón was the only Hospitaller preceptor

³⁹ Robert (II Burgundio), Andrew of Montbard, Walter (II) of Beirut, Amio of Ays.

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Fulcherii, Walter (II) of Beirut (who held this office as well), Girbert Eral (who was in the west prior to his second tenure in this office), Berengar of St. Just.

⁴¹ Isembard (who was in the west prior to his second tenure in this office), James of Tassi, Raymond of Ribells.

⁴² Reynald of Vichiers, Amblard (of Vienne).

⁴³ Raymond of Tiberias.

⁴⁴ Geoffrey of Charny.

⁴⁵ Martin Sanche.

who traveled to the west while in office. He left the east in 1169, as a member of a delegation from the crusader states. Once in the west, he became preceptor of the west and was succeeded by Pons Blan in Jerusalem. It is conceivable that Guy's trip took longer than anticipated, and that therefore a conventual preceptor had to be appointed because the master, Gilbert of Assailly, was occupied with projects all over the Latin east and needed a representative in the order's convent.

One Templar marshal (Geoffrey, 1193) and one Hospitaller marshal (Raimbaud, 1255 and 1259) traveled to the west while in office, the former to visit Mary, the mother of Henry of Champagne, then regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the latter to Spain on special assignments of his order. What is remarkable about these trips is that they took place right after the conclusion of truce agreements between the crusader states and their Muslim neighbors.⁴⁶ In times of temporary peace the marshals were at least somewhat dispensable and, thus, could add the prestige of their office to international missions. When the Templar Marshal Stephen of Cissei traveled to the papal court in 1262, he was represented in the convent by his lieutenant and successor, William of Malaio. Stephen, it seems, was allowed to retain the office of marshal while traveling as a demonstration of Templar power in light of papal criticism, and we will return to this incident later in this chapter. The extraordinary travel activities of the Hospitallers' conventual priors have already been addressed.⁴⁷ This leaves the trip taken by the Hospitaller Treasurer Geoffrey in 1181 to receive donations on behalf of the Jerusalem convent, and the trip taken by the Hospitaller Draper William of Villaret in 1269. William traveled to southern France where he eventually took over the vacant priory of St. Gilles (this, too, will be discussed later in this chapter). Overall, conventual officials were apparently only sent to the west while in office when the order's leadership felt that it needed to be represented in a particularly prestigious fashion.

The question remains to what extent the conventual officials traveled between east and west once they had completed their tenure at their respective order's headquarters. Of the twelve Templar seneschals only one, namely the aforementioned Robert (II Burgundio), when he was

⁴⁶ Runciman, *History*, III, 73 (1192: five-year truce with Saladin), 281–2 (1255: ten-year truce with Cairo and Damascus).

⁴⁷ Chapter Five.

master, traveled to the west and back to the east. Six other seneschals stayed in the east (two of them also became master) and were thus able to put the experience gathered as their order's second-in-command to good use. Eleven of the thirty-four Templar preceptors, fifteen of the forty-two Hospitaller preceptors, and four of the eight Templar preceptors of Acre continued their careers in the west after they had completed their terms at the central convent. The office of conventual preceptor (and this also applied to the office of preceptor of Acre) carried considerable prestige and earned its occupant extensive transferable administrative experience. Thus, former conventual preceptors were ideal candidates for top-level posts in the west, which will be addressed later in this chapter. Few marshals continued their careers in the west, namely only four of the twenty Templar marshals and seven of the twenty-eight Hospitaller marshals. It is understandable that the orders were interested in keeping brothers with military leadership skills in the east. In 1274, the former Hospitaller Marshal William of Courcelles traveled to the Second Council of Lyons. That, however, was only after he had served as a prudhomme in his order's central convent for twenty years following his term as marshal (1248). According to the evidence, which is far from complete, only two hospitallers traveled to the west upon completing their terms at the central convent, namely Peter of Haghham, who became prior of England, and Gerard of Gragnana, who first took over the marshalcy and later accepted assignments in northern Italy.⁴⁸ Much like a marshal's experience continued to be particularly valuable in the east even after his term had ended, a former hospitaller's experience was best utilized at his order's main hospital. Compared to that, the experience gathered as a draper, treasurer, or preceptor was much less specific to the central convent or, for that matter, the east.

The orders' top officials in the west were expected to travel to the east to render account, probably every five years in the order of the Hospital and every four years in the order of the Temple.⁴⁹ As much as the convent might have liked to enforce such accountability-related travel, there were obstacles. Kings in the west occasionally withheld travel permits (in 1280, for example, the Hospitaller Raymond of Ribells

⁴⁸ According to Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 94, he is not identical with the Hospitaller of the same name who served as lieutenant prior of Hungary 1321–2 and 1326–8.

⁴⁹ Cf. Chapters Two and Four.

was temporarily prevented from leaving Aragón to travel to the east), and some officials delayed their travel, claiming to be detained by pressing matters in the west (while serving as prior of St. Gilles, William of Villaret seems to have been an expert in employing this tactic). Today, international travel may strike us as exciting. In the middle ages, it was a dangerous business. It is fair to assume that few Hospitallers and Templars volunteered repeatedly for long-distance travel. The twelfth-century Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii, who was a diplomat in high demand and traveled at least five times from the east to the west, was the exception rather than the rule.⁵⁰

Hierarchical Mobility

We now turn to the question whether the careers of Hospitallers and Templars, or at least those of their conventual officials, followed specific patterns. Modern historians of the Templars have discussed careers in the order without claiming that there were specific patterns, perhaps because the order's trial records show just how diverse Templar careers could be.⁵¹ With regard to the Hospitallers' conventual officials, Delaville Le Roulx has rejected the idea of a career pattern—"les titulaires n'étaient pas choisis suivant un tableau d'avancement hiérarchique"—and, instead, used the term "chassés-croisés" (back and forth) to describe the careers of the order's leadership.⁵² In contrast to this, Riley-Smith has argued that the conventual officials' careers followed a "recognizable pattern," but that one has to distinguish between a pattern that was employed for most of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and another pattern that came to be used after 1291. Until 1291, Riley-Smith suggests, brothers spent some time in a western preceptory, were then transferred to the east, where, after some time, they received a preceptory or castellany and, eventually, while they were still young, a conventual office; subsequently, they were entrusted with a western priory. The one example he presents for this career pattern is Ferrand of Barras whose career is, however, somewhat controversial as we may be dealing with at least two Hospitallers of the same name

⁵⁰ Burgtorf, "Ritterorden," 191–2.

⁵¹ Cf. for example Forey, 132–47; Barber, 211–21, 234, 261; Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, 129–30.

⁵² Delaville Le Roulx, 326–7.

(according to Riley-Smith, Ferrand was first a brother in the west, then castellan of Seleucia, then marshal, and finally prior of St. Gilles).⁵³ After 1291, Riley-Smith continues, conventual offices were entrusted to brothers toward the end of their careers, namely to brothers who had often previously held priories in the west. Again, the author extrapolates from one example, namely the career of Gerard of Gragnana, who had been prior of Pisa and Venice, and then became hospitaller and marshal.⁵⁴ However, Gerard's career continued in the west.⁵⁵ Therefore, the suggested "recognizable patterns" shall now be put to the test.

The careers of the conventual officials are visualized in Tables 63–73. The column headlined 'years' indicates the approximate number of years spanned by the documentation available for the official in question. Columns 1 through 10 represent discernible career steps (and it will be evident that there are very few officials for whom we can discern that many career steps). All table cells with text in *italics* denote a career step spent in the west. If a brother was holding an office in the west and traveled to the east while continuing to hold that office, that trip has not been listed as a separate career step. However, if a brother traveled to the west while holding a conventual office, the respective 'western' years appear in *italics* (such international mobility has, however, not been noted for the career step 'master'). Table cells listing actual years denote the term spent in the conventual office that is the subject of the respective table. The text in the table cells uses the phrase 'in EU' if a brother was holding a certain office (e.g. a preceptory or castellany) somewhere in the west. It uses the phrase 'of EU' if a brother had obtained the office of (grand or general) preceptor or master of the west (or substantial parts of the respective order's western provinces). Since very little is known about the careers of the Hospitallers' conventual priors, no separate table has been included for them.⁵⁶

⁵³ Chapter Nine: Ferrand of Barras. He (or one of the Hospitallers known by this name) was also grand preceptor of the west in 1227.

⁵⁴ Riley-Smith, 280–2.

⁵⁵ Chapter Nine: Gerard of Gragnana.

⁵⁶ For the exceptions, namely Seguin and John of Laodicea, cf. Chapter Nine.

Table 63: Templar Seneschals (Careers)

T-seneschals	years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	notes
William	1	1129/ 1130										
Robert (II Burgundio)	56	layp.	T	<i>T</i>	1132– 1134	mast.						mast.
Andrew of Montbard	27	<i>br.</i>	br.	<i>br.</i>	br.	1148– 1151	br.	mast.				mast.
William of La Guerche	9	1160	br.									
Walter (II) of Beirut	36	layp.	br.	<i>br.</i>	<i>mast. of EU</i>	<i>prec. Fran.</i>	br.	prec.	1169	prec.		prec.
Berengar (of Castelpers)	33	<i>br.</i>	br.	1174– 1179								† in office
Urs of Alneto	8–30	layp.	1179/ 1181	br.	1187							twice sen.; † in office
Gerard of Ridefort	14	layp.	layp.	1183– 1184	mast.							mast.; † in battle
Amio of Ays	42	br.	<i>mast. of EU</i>	1190– 1191	br.	layp.						
Roric of La Courtine	1	br.	1191									
Adam Brion	6	1192	mar.									mar.
NN	1	1195										

Table 64: Templar (Grand) Preceptors and Lieutenant Masters (Careers)

T-preceptors and lieut. masters	years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	notes
Odo	1	1155										
Geoffrey Fulcherii	34	br.	<i>br.</i>	br.	<i>br.</i>	br.	<i>br.</i>	1164	<i>br.</i>	br.	<i>mast. of EU</i>	
Walter (II) of Beirut	36–7	layp.	br.	<i>br.</i>	<i>mast. of EU</i>	<i>prec. Fran.</i>	br.	1169	sen.	1171		twice prec.; sen.
Robert Fraisel	6–8	1179/ 1181	br.	mar.								mar.; † in battle
Girbert Eral	17	1183	<i>mast. Spain</i>	1190– 1191	<i>mast. of EU</i>	mast.						twice prec.; mast.
O. of Vend.	1	1184										
Terricus	12	1187– 1188	<i>br.</i>									
Irmengaud	1	1198										
Peter of Manaia/ Mone(t)a	32–3	layp.	1204– 1208									
NN	1	1220										
William Cadet	48	layp.	<i>prec. in EU</i>	<i>mast. Prov.</i>	<i>prec. in EU</i>	<i>mast. Spain</i>	<i>mast. of EU</i>	in TS	1222– 1223	<i>mast. in EU</i>	<i>mast. Spain</i>	

Table 64 (*cont.*)

T-preceptors and lieut. masters	years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	notes
NN	1	1229										
Bartholomew of Moret	3	1237– 1240										
Peter of St. Romanus	18	<i>mast.</i> <i>Fran.</i>	1241	prec. Trip.								
William of Roc(c)aforde	23	1244	<i>prec.</i> <i>in EU</i>									
Stephen of Ostricourt	1	1249– 1250										
Giles	1	1250										† in office
NN	1	1250										captivity
NN	1	1254										
Guy of Bazainville	21	<i>prec.</i> <i>Fran.</i>	1256	<i>visit.</i> <i>of EU</i>	<i>prec.</i> <i>Aquit.</i>							
Matthew Sauvage	14–30	1261	prec. Cyp.	prec. Safi.	prec. Sidon							prec. Safi. and Tort.
Amaury of La Roche	21–31	<i>prec.</i> <i>Fran.</i>	1262	<i>br.</i>	<i>prec.</i> <i>Fran.</i>							
William of Montañana	3	<i>mast.</i> <i>Arag.</i>	prec. Sidon	1262								
Simon of La Tor	15	cast. Safeth	1271	<i>br.</i>	<i>prec.</i> <i>Sicily</i>	<i>visit.</i> <i>Spain</i>						
William of Pontóns	14	<i>mast.</i> <i>Arag.</i>	1273									
Goufier	1	1273										
Arnold of Castellnou	12	<i>mast.</i> <i>Arag.</i>	1277	<i>mast.</i> <i>Arag.</i>								
Thibaut Gaudini	31	<i>br.</i>	prec. Ac.	<i>br.</i>	turc.	1279– 1291	mast.					prec. Ac.; turc.; mast.
Berengar of St. Just	36	<i>mast.</i> <i>Arag.</i>	1292	<i>prec.</i> <i>in EU</i>								
Baldwin of Andria	3	mar.	1293	<i>br.</i>								mar.
Florentin of Villa	17	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>	1299								
Peter of Vares	1	1300										
Raimbaud (II) of Caromb	65	<i>layp.</i>	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>	1300– 1312							† in office
James of Dammartin	15	<i>br.</i>	<i>br.</i>	1307– 1310								

Table 68 (*cont.*)

H-marshals	years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	notes
Albert Romanus	1	1204										
Pons	1	1206										
Garin of Montaigu	23–4	prec.	1206– 1207	mast.								prec.; mast.
Geoffrey	1	1210										
Aymar of L'Ayron	25	layp.	1216– 1219									† in office
Ferrand of Barras	47	<i>bx</i>	br.	cast. Seleu.	prec. Ant.	1221	<i>prec. of EU</i>					
Arnold of Montbrun	9	1232– 1233	<i>prec. Spain</i>	br.	cast. Krak							
William of Châteauneuf	25	br.	1241	mast.								mast.
William of Courcelles	34	br.	1248	br.	<i>bx</i>							participant at Lyons II
Peter of Beaune	1	1254										† in office
Raimbaud	19–21	<i>prec. Spain</i>	1255– 1259	br.								
Guiscard (of Lentini)	11	prec. Arm.	drap.	1259								drap.
Roderic Petri	30	<i>prec. in EU</i>	1259/ 1261	?	1271							twice mar.
Joscelin (I) of Tournel	14	br.	cast. Tabor	1262								
Henry	1	1267										
Nicholas Lorgne	31–5	cast. Marg.	cast. Krak	1269– 1271	prec.	1273	prec. Trip.	prec.	mast.			twice mar.; prec.; mast.
NN	1	1272										
NN	1	1288										
Matthew of Clermont	3	prec.	1291									prec.; † in office
Simon Le Rat	28	1299	?	1303	prec. Cyp.	1306– 1310	<i>prior Fran.</i>					thrice mar.; prec. Cyp.
Raymond of Beaulieu	2	hosp.	1301									hosp.
Gerard of Gragnana	5	<i>prior Pisa</i>	<i>prior Venice</i>	hosp.	1303	<i>prior Pisa</i>						hosp.
Albert of Schwarzburg	21	1306	prec. Cyp.	<i>prec. of EU</i>	prec. Cyp.	prec.	<i>visit. in EU</i>	<i>bx</i>	<i>prior Germ.</i>			prec. Cyp.; prec.

Table 73: Hospitallers of the Hospital of St. John (Careers)

H-hospitallers	years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	notes
Piotus	8	1162–1170										
William of Forges	1	1173										
Stephen	4–5	1176–1181										
Herbert of Dunières	2	br.	1186									
Roland (Burgund(i)ensis)	2	1198–1199										
Fulk Bremont	3	1204–1207										
Nun	1	1219										
Henry	1	1221										
Robert of Vincis	4	1235–1239										
Henry	2	1255–1256										
Bernard of Porta Clara	15–17	1260	cast. Krak									titular cast. Krak
Craphus	1–2	1259–1261/ lt. prec. (1260)										
Garcias Ximenes	1	1262										
Peter of Hagham	29	1269	br.	prior Engl.								
Roderic Roderici	2	br.	1273									
John of Loches	1	1278										
Raymond of Beaulieu	2	1299	mar.									mar.
Gerard of Gragnana	5	prior Pisa	prior Venice	1303	mar.	prior Pisa						mar.
Velasco Martini	22	prec. in EU/ lt. prec. Port.		1306	br.							

According to Hartmut Boockmann, once a brother of the Teutonic Knights had obtained the office of a *Großgebietiger* (as this order's conventual officials were called), he had a good chance of becoming *Hochmeister* (master).⁵⁷ The above tables suggest that the same was true in the order of the Hospital. Of the order's twenty-four masters who served until 1310, ten had functioned as conventual officials in the course of their careers, namely three as preceptor;⁵⁸ two as preceptor and marshal;⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden*, 191–2.

⁵⁸ Garnier of Nablus, Peter (I) of Vicillebride, Hugh Revel.

⁵⁹ Garin of Montaigne, Nicholas Lorgne.

one as preceptor and admiral;⁶⁰ one as marshal only;⁶¹ two as draper;⁶² and one as treasurer;⁶³—but none as hospitaller, turcopolier, or conventual prior.⁶⁴ Due to the loss of the Templars' central archive, the documentation for the careers of this order's masters is significantly more sparse. Nonetheless, of the twenty-three Templar masters at least six served as conventual officials in the course of their careers, namely three as seneschal;⁶⁵ two as preceptor;⁶⁶ and one as marshal;⁶⁷—but none as draper or treasurer.⁶⁸ Thus, in both orders, the offices at the top of the conventual hierarchy, namely those of the seneschal, the preceptor, and the marshal, were potential springboards for the mastership. It is noteworthy that, toward the end of the thirteenth century, two former Hospitaller drapers became master.⁶⁹ Maurice of Pagnac, who temporarily took over as master in 1317 (after Fulk of Villaret had been deposed), was also a former draper.⁷⁰

In both orders, brothers could hold more than one conventual office in the course of their careers. This can be established for seven Templars:

Walter (II) of Beirut (preceptor 1169 and perhaps 1171; seneschal 1169),
 Robert Fraisel (preceptor 1179/81; marshal 1187),
 Adam of Brion (seneschal 1192; marshal 1198),
 William of Malaio (marshal 1262; draper 1271–7),
 Thibaut Gaudini (preceptor of Acre 1270–1; turcopolier 1277; preceptor 1279–91),
 Peter of Sevrey (draper 1284/5; marshal 1291), and
 Baldwin of Andria (marshal 1292; preceptor 1293);

⁶⁰ Fulk of Villaret.

⁶¹ William of Châteauneuf.

⁶² Odo of Pins, William of Villaret.

⁶³ Castus of Murols.

⁶⁴ By the thirteenth century, the mastership was reserved for knight brothers. Thus, the prior would have no longer been considered a candidate. Not until c.1300 did the office of turcopolier have sufficient prestige for a former turcopolier to be considered for the mastership. There was no reason why a former hospitaller could not have been elected master, especially considering that both Raymond of Beaulieu and Gerard of Gragnana both served first as hospitallers and then as marshals.

⁶⁵ Robert (II Burgundio), Andrew of Montbard, Gerard of Ridefort.

⁶⁶ Girbert Eral, Thibaut Gaudini (the latter also as preceptor of Acre and as turcopolier).

⁶⁷ Reynald of Vichiers.

⁶⁸ In the course of the thirteenth century, the Templars worked toward a separation of the office of treasurer from that of the preceptor of the land.

⁶⁹ Odo of Pins, William of Villaret.

⁷⁰ Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 12–13.

and for ten Hospitallers:

Robert Anglicus (treasurer 1192; preceptor 1194),
 Garin of Montaigu (preceptor 1206; marshal 1207),
 Guiscard (of Lentini) (draper 1254–6; marshal 1259),
 Nicholas Lorgne (marshal 1269–71, 1273; preceptor 1271, 1277),
 Matthew of Clermont (preceptor 1289; marshal 1291),
 Simon Le Rat (marshal 1299, 1303, 1306–10; preceptor of Cyprus 1303),
 Fulk of Villaret (admiral 1299; preceptor 1301, 1303–5),
 Raymond of Beaulieu (hospitaller 1299; marshal 1301),
 Gerard of Gragnana (hospitaller 1303; marshal 1303), and
 Albert of Schwarzburg (marshal 1306; preceptor of Cyprus 1307–10;
 preceptor after 1310).

Several conventual officials in both orders were reappointed—after an interim period—to the same office they had previously held. This can be established for

one Templar seneschal:	Urs of Alneto (in the interim: simple brother);
two Templar preceptors:	Walter (II) of Beirut (in the interim: seneschal), and Girbert Eral (in the interim: master of Spain);
six Hospitaller preceptors:	Garin of Melna (in the interim: unknown), Garnier of Nablus (in the interim: unknown), Isembard (in the interim: preceptor of the west and simple brother), Boniface of Calamandrana (in the interim: unknown), Nicholas Lorgne (in the interim: marshal and preceptor of Tripoli), and Fulk of Villaret (in the interim: unknown);
three Hospitaller marshals:	Roderic Petri (in the interim: unknown), Nicholas Lorgne (in the interim: preceptor), and Simon Le Rat (in the two interims: unknown/preceptor of Cyprus);
one Hospitaller prior:	Bernard (in the interim: unknown);
four or five Hospitaller treasurers:	perhaps Raymond (in the two interims: unknown); but certainly Gerald of St. Andrew (in the interim: perhaps preceptor of Acre),

Stephen (in the interim: unknown),
 Gerard (in the interim: unknown),
 and
 Geoffrey (in the interim: unknown).

We now turn to the analysis of the careers 'by office.' Of the twelve Templar seneschals, six can only be found in this particular office. One had held significant offices in the west and the east prior to becoming seneschal,⁷¹ and another one had served as the order's top official in the west.⁷² None continued his career in the west. Three became master;⁷³ one obtained the office of seneschal a second time later in his career;⁷⁴ one became preceptor (again);⁷⁵ one was appointed marshal;⁷⁶ and one returned into the 'world.'⁷⁷ This suggests that former Templar seneschals were likely to continue their careers at their order's headquarters.

Of the thirty-four Templar preceptors, sixteen cannot be found in any other office. Only one had served in key positions in the west and the east prior to becoming preceptor.⁷⁸ Three had previously held prominent offices in the east,⁷⁹ but eight had gained their experience only in the west, namely five as provincial master of Spain or Aragón respectively,⁸⁰ and three as provincial master of France.⁸¹ This suggests that western provincial masters, but also top eastern officials had a good chance of becoming conventual preceptor. Once these conventual preceptors had completed their terms, five continued their careers in the east;⁸² one in the west and the east;⁸³ and eight in the west. Among these latter eight, we find three future masters or visitors of the west;⁸⁴

⁷¹ Walter (II) of Beirut: master of the west, preceptor in the east.

⁷² Amio of Ays: master of the west.

⁷³ Robert (II Burgundio), Andrew of Montbard, Gerard of Ridefort.

⁷⁴ Urs of Alneto.

⁷⁵ Walter (II) of Beirut (who had previously occupied this same office).

⁷⁶ Adam Brion.

⁷⁷ Amio of Ays.

⁷⁸ William of Montañana: provincial master of Aragón, preceptor of Sidon.

⁷⁹ Simon of La Tor: castellan of Safeth; Thibaut Gaudini: preceptor of Acre and turcopolier; Baldwin of Andria: marshal.

⁸⁰ Girbert Eral (before becoming preceptor for a second time), William Cadel, William of Pontóns, Arnold of Castellnou, Berengar of St. Just.

⁸¹ Peter of St. Romanus, Guy of Bazainville, Amaury of La Roche.

⁸² Walter (II) of Beirut: seneschal and later on preceptor again; Robert Fraissnel: marshal; Peter of St. Romanus: preceptor of Tripoli; Matthew Sauvage: various offices, including that of preceptor of Cyprus; Thibaut Gaudini: master.

⁸³ Girbert Eral: master of the west, master of the order.

⁸⁴ Geoffrey Fulcherii, William Cadel, Guy of Bazainville.

three future provincial masters;⁸⁵ and two future local preceptors.⁸⁶ Two former conventual preceptors were elected master of the order.⁸⁷ It seems, though, that being a conventual preceptor in the order of the Temple served, above all, as a training ground for important assignments in the west. As for the eight Templar preceptors of Acre, three can only be found in this particular office. One had previously served as provincial master of Aragón.⁸⁸ For four of them, there is information about their subsequent careers which generally continued on a higher hierarchical level: two stayed in the east,⁸⁹ and two moved to the west.⁹⁰ Of the forty-two Hospitaller preceptors, over one third (sixteen) cannot be found in any other office. None of the remaining twenty-six seems to have held significant offices in both the east and the west prior to becoming conventual preceptor. However, seven had gained experience in key positions in the east,⁹¹ and nine had been important officials in the west, namely provincial priors or preceptors,⁹² or castellans of Amposta (i.e. top administrators in the order's province of Aragón).⁹³ Thus, over one third of the Hospital's conventual preceptors came from prominent offices in the east or the west. Six of the conventual preceptors later became masters of the order⁹⁴—one of them via the office of prior of England,⁹⁵ and one via the office of conventual marshal.⁹⁶ Another

⁸⁵ Amaury of La Roche: France; Simon of La Tor: Sicily; Arnold of Castellnou: Aragón.

⁸⁶ William of Roc(c)aforte: in Languedoc; Berengar of St. Just: in Aragón.

⁸⁷ Girbert Eral, Thibaut Gaudini.

⁸⁸ Peter of Montcada.

⁸⁹ Peter of (la) Recazi/Raiace: preceptor of Antioch; Thibaut Gaudini: turcopolier, preceptor, master.

⁹⁰ Robert of Camville: preceptor on the local level in France (an office on a lower hierarchical level than that of preceptor of Acre, but Robert may have found the post desirable); Gonsalve Martin: master of Portugal.

⁹¹ Garnier of Nablus: castellan of Bethgibelin; Robert Anglicus: treasurer; Peter of Mirmande: castellan of the Krak; John of Ronay: preceptor of Tripoli; Hugh Revel: castellan of the Krak; Nicholas Lorgne: castellan of Margat and the Krak, marshal, and, before becoming preceptor a second time, marshal again, also preceptor of Tripoli; Fulk of Villaret: admiral.

⁹² Raymond of St. Michael: St. Gilles; Archembald: Venice; Ogerius: St. Gilles; Isembard: France; Henry of Fürstenberg: central Europe; James of Tassi: Messina and Barletta; Joscelin (II) of Tournel: Barletta.

⁹³ Guy of La Guespa, Raymond of Ribells.

⁹⁴ Garnier of Nablus, Garin of Montaigu, Peter (I) of Vieillebride, Hugh Revel, Nicholas Lorgne, Fulk of Villaret.

⁹⁵ Garnier of Nablus (who also seems to have served briefly as preceptor of France).

⁹⁶ Garin of Montaigu.

conventual preceptor continued his career in the east and became marshal.⁹⁷ Like several of their counterparts in the order the Temple, twelve former conventual preceptors of the Hospital moved on to key positions in the west. Four became preceptors of the west,⁹⁸ and eight were appointed to provincial priories or preceptories.⁹⁹

Of the twenty Templar marshals, six can only be found in this particular office. One had previously held offices in the east and the west;¹⁰⁰ four came from the post of provincial master or preceptor in the west;¹⁰¹ and five had occupied key positions in the east.¹⁰² After serving as conventual marshal, one became master;¹⁰³ one became conventual preceptor;¹⁰⁴ one served first as draper and then as provincial preceptor of France;¹⁰⁵ and four became provincial masters or preceptors in the west.¹⁰⁶ What we have seen for the careers of the Templars' conventual preceptors also seems to have applied to the careers of the marshals. They frequently came from high offices in the west or the east, and, after serving as marshal, returned to high offices in the west or the east. It is likely that combat or frontier experience was an advantage for someone who aspired to become Templar marshal. Five had previously served in the east and one in Spain.¹⁰⁷ However, the marshalcy could also literally be a 'dead end.' Six Templar marshals fell in battle,¹⁰⁸ and for three others the marshalcy was their last known career step.¹⁰⁹ The casualty quota was higher for the marshals than for the other conventual

⁹⁷ Matthew of Clermont.

⁹⁸ Guy of Mahón, William of Villiers, Isembard, Boniface of Calamandrana.

⁹⁹ Archembald: Italy; Ogerius: France and Italy; Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius: England; William of Tyneris: France; Andrew Polin: France; Henry of Fürstenberg: central Europe; Stephen of Brosse: Auvergne; Guy of Séverac: Navarre.

¹⁰⁰ Reynald of Vichiers: preceptor of the palace at Acre, preceptor of France.

¹⁰¹ Hugh of Montlaur: Spain; Amblard (of Vienne): England; Guy of Foresta: England; Aimo of Oiselay: Burgundy.

¹⁰² Robert Fraissnel: preceptor; Geoffrey Morin: preceptor of Tyre; Adam Brion: seneschal; William of Malaio: lieutenant marshal; Peter of Sevrey: draper, castellan of Tortosa.

¹⁰³ Reynald of Vichiers.

¹⁰⁴ Baldwin of Andria.

¹⁰⁵ William of Malaio.

¹⁰⁶ Hugh of Jouy in Aragón (because he was banished from the east by order of King Louis IX of France); Stephen of Cissei in Sicily; Amblard (of Vienne) in Aquitaine; Guy of Foresta in England.

¹⁰⁷ East: Robert Fraissnel, Geoffrey Morin, Adam Brion, William of Malaio, Peter of Sevrey; Spain: Hugh of Montlaur.

¹⁰⁸ Hugh Salomonis of Quily, Robert Fraissnel, Geoffrey Morin, Hugh of Montlaur, Peter of Sevrey, Bartholomew of Chinsi.

¹⁰⁹ Adam Brion, William of Arzillières, Geoffrey of Vendat.

officials.¹¹⁰ The careers of the twenty-eight Hospitaller marshals confirm what we have just seen for the Templar marshals' careers. Experience in regions where the military orders were engaged in combat was an advantage. Eight Hospitaller marshals had previously served as officials in their order's central convent or in the east,¹¹¹ and two had gained experience on the Iberian Peninsula.¹¹² Two brought experience from the east and the west to the table.¹¹³ Three Hospitaller marshals became masters of the order;¹¹⁴ three continued their careers in both the east and the west;¹¹⁵ and one returned to the west.¹¹⁶ In the order of the Hospital, too, the office of marshal could be the last one a brother would ever hold. Three marshals died 'in office,'¹¹⁷ and for twelve others the marshalcy was their last known career step.¹¹⁸

Of the eight Templar drapers, five can only be found in this particular office. One had previously served as marshal and later became preceptor of France;¹¹⁹ one moved from the draper's office to the castellany of Tortosa (in the east) and then to the marshalcy;¹²⁰ and one was subsequently promoted to the provincial preceptory of Normandy.¹²¹ Of the eleven Hospitaller drapers, five cannot be found in any other

¹¹⁰ Death in battle or in prison was also the fate of Berengar (of Castelpers) and Urs of Alneto (both seneschals), Giles and Raimbaud (II) of Caromb (both preceptors), Peter of Montcada (preceptor of Acre), and an unnamed 'treasurer' (1221). The Marshal Aimó of Oiselay died in 1316 (i.e. after the dissolution of his order) in a Cypriote dungeon.

¹¹¹ Garin of Montaigu: preceptor; Ferrand of Barras: castellan of Seleucia, preceptor of Antioch; Guiscard (of Lentini): preceptor of Armenia, draper; Joscelin (I) of Tournel: castellan of the Tabor; Nicholas Lorgne: castellan of Margat and the Krak, preceptor before taking over as marshal for a second time; Matthew of Clermont: preceptor; Raymond of Beaulieu and Gerard of Gragnana: hospitaller.

¹¹² Raimbaud: preceptor of Spain; Roderic Petri: preceptor on the local level in Castile.

¹¹³ Raymond of Tiberias: brother in the east, preceptor of the west; Gerard of Gragnana: prior of Pisa and Venice, hospitaller.

¹¹⁴ Garin of Montaigu, William of Châteauneuf, Nicholas Lorgne.

¹¹⁵ Arnold of Montbrun: preceptor of Spain, castellan of the Krak; Simon Le Rat: twice reappointed as marshal, serving as preceptor of Cyprus in between, eventually prior of France; Albert of Schwarzburg: preceptor of Cyprus, preceptor of the west, various subsequent assignments.

¹¹⁶ Gerard of Gragnana: prior of Pisa.

¹¹⁷ Aymar of L'Ayron, Peter of Beaune, Matthew of Clermont.

¹¹⁸ Raymond of Tiberias, Lambert, William Borell, William Marolh, Albert Romanus, Pons, Geoffrey, Ferrand of Barras, Guiscard (of Lentini), Joscelin (I) of Tournel, Henry, Roderic Petri.

¹¹⁹ William of Malaio.

¹²⁰ Peter of Sevrey.

¹²¹ Geoffrey of Charny.

office. Two had previously held key posts in the east;¹²² two were subsequently elected master of the order;¹²³ two later moved on to important assignments in the east;¹²⁴ one became prior of England;¹²⁵ and one became prior of St. Gilles.¹²⁶ No Templar or Hospitaller draper had held a significant office in the west prior to becoming draper. Thus, among the conventual offices, that of the draper seems to have been an entry-level post that did, however, serve as a launching pad for future high-level careers in the east or the west. Little is known about the Templar treasurers' careers. Only two of the eight ever appear in any other capacity, namely before taking office as conventual treasurer (both in positions with significant financial responsibilities).¹²⁷ Of the twenty-one Hospitaller treasurers, fourteen can only be found in this particular office, however, four or five of the latter held the office more than once.¹²⁸ Prior to becoming treasurer, two had served in the east,¹²⁹ and one in the west.¹³⁰ For the careers of many of its occupants, the office may have proven a dead end, but a handful of Hospitaller treasurers managed to rise to other high offices in the order, including the mastership.¹³¹ It was the office of hospitaller that, at least until the mid-thirteenth century, was the true dead end of a career. It seems that it was not until the fourteenth century that this office was given to brothers who had previously held significant offices in the west,¹³² and it was not until around 1260 that hospitallers were promoted to other offices in the east or the west.¹³³

¹²² Martin Sanche: preceptor of Tripoli; Guiscard (of Lentini): preceptor of Armenia.

¹²³ Odo of Pins, William of Villaret.

¹²⁴ Guiscard (of Lentini): marshal; Simon of Villey: preceptor of Cyprus.

¹²⁵ Roger of Vere.

¹²⁶ William of Villaret (who later became master).

¹²⁷ Bienvenu as Templar treasurer of Paris and Peter of Castellón as *cambrier* (i.e. chamberlain, an official charged with collecting dues) in Aragón.

¹²⁸ Raymond (perhaps), Gerald of St. Andrew, Stephen, Gerard, Geoffrey.

¹²⁹ Gerald of St. Andrew: before his second tenure as treasurer perhaps preceptor of Acre; Thomas Maus: preceptor of the vault.

¹³⁰ Peter Galterii: preceptor of St. Gilles.

¹³¹ Gerald of St. Andrew became prior of St. Gilles; Castus of Murols became Hospitaller master; Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius first became preceptor in the east and then prior of England; Joseph of Cancy became prior of England; and Durand of Praepositura eventually took over a local preceptory in France.

¹³² Gerard of Gragnana: prior of Pisa and Venice; Velasco Martini: various posts, including that of lieutenant preceptor of Spain.

¹³³ Bernard of Portaclara: titular castellan of the Krak; Craphus: lieutenant preceptor during his tenure as hospitaller; Peter of Haghham: prior of England; Raymond of Beaulieu: marshal; Gerard of Gragnana: marshal, prior of Pisa.

Thus, we return to our original question, namely whether there were career patterns in the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars. Tables 63–73 suggest that there were no such patterns, and that the dramatic events of 1291 (or, for that matter, of 1187 or 1244) did not bring about any such patterns for hierarchical mobility. However, one can observe certain ‘tendencies,’ some of them specific to particular offices. First of all, in both orders the office of conventual preceptor was repeatedly held by brothers who had already reached a fairly high hierarchical level in their careers either in the west or the east, and the careers of many of these later continued on a high hierarchical level in the west or the east. Secondly, the same seems to have been true in both orders for a number of conventual marshals. In addition, military experience was likely to bolster a brother’s candidacy for the office of marshal. Thirdly, due to its inherent dangers, the marshalcy was probably the final step in the career of many of its occupants. Fourthly, the office of draper was usually not given to senior members of the order, but it could be a springboard for future high-level careers in the west or the east. Fifthly, as the Hospitaller treasurer’s reliability, more so than that of any other conventual official, was quantifiable, the order’s convent seems to have been inclined to reappoint successful treasurers either after a short interim or continuously (however, Joseph of Cancy’s twenty-three years of service were certainly an exception). Finally, in the second half of the thirteenth century, the office of hospitaller evolved from a career dead end to a post that could be an integral step in a brother’s international career. In short, the conventual officials’ careers were neither as accidental as Delaville Le Roulx has suggested, nor did they follow the clear patterns that Riley-Smith has proposed. What is more, a Hospitaller’s career was just as unpredictable as that of a Templar. Neither order had an edge over the other when it came to career planning.

Career-Impacting Factors

One of the reasons why careers in the military orders did not follow clear patterns was that they could be (and were) influenced from both inside and outside the orders. Among those exerting outside influence, the papacy deserves pride of place. Considering that both Hospitallers and Templars were exempt orders and, technically, only answerable to the pope, one might even hesitate to call this influence an ‘outside’ factor. For example, both Urban IV (1261–4) and Clement IV (1265–8)

considered it their right and responsibility to interfere with the careers of the orders' conventual officials. Urban IV tried to get the Templar Master Thomas Berardi to depose Stephen of Cissey, the conventual marshal, who had incurred the pope's wrath for reasons (still) unknown. However, instead of dismissing Stephen, the master allowed him to travel 'while in office' to the papal court, where Stephen asserted that the pope had no right to meddle with the Templars' offices. Urban reacted by excommunicating Stephen, by launching an international mission to capture the fugitive ex-marshal, and by leaving the whole affair to his successor, Clement IV. Thus, it was Clement who heard and responded favorably to Stephen's plea for forgiveness, and who subsequently took it upon himself to direct Stephen's career in ways that were pleasing to the papacy, including a stay in southern Italy.¹³⁴ When Urban IV tried to interfere with the career of the Templar Amaury of La Roche, a former conventual preceptor, he was acting on behalf of Louis IX of France who wanted to see Amaury appointed Templar preceptor of France. In 1264, Urban wrote to the Templar master, the Templars as a community, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and he achieved Amaury's appointment to the desired post.¹³⁵ In 1266, Clement IV approached the Templar master on behalf of Charles I of Anjou (and presumably with Louis IX's consent) to have Amaury transferred to southern Italy, but this transfer, if it even occurred, can only have lasted for a few months in 1267 during which Amaury does not seem to have been in France.¹³⁶ It is noteworthy that in both cases (Stephen and Amaury) the respective pope turned to the Templar master who, also in both cases, was hesitant to comply: ignoring the papal orders, he sent Stephen to the papal court 'in office,' and it may very well have taken the intercession of the patriarch of Jerusalem to get the master to consent to Amaury's appointment.

The kings of Europe also influenced the careers of several conventual officials. Louis IX of France only involved the pope when he felt that he himself was too far away from the individual in question. During his first crusade (1248–54), Louis was instrumental in bringing about Reynald of Vichiers' election as master (1250). According to Joinville, the king did so out of gratitude for the assistance provided

¹³⁴ Chapters Eight and Nine: Stephen of Cissey, especially Pope Clement IV's 1265 letters.

¹³⁵ Chapter Nine: Amaury of La Roche, especially Pope Urban IV's 1264 letters.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*: Amaury of La Roche, especially Pope Clement IV's 1266 letters; cf. Bulst-Thiele, "Templar," 303–4.

by Reynald when the king had been imprisoned in Egypt.¹³⁷ The connection between Louis and Reynald was older, though. While serving as preceptor of France, Reynald had actually helped prepare the crusade.¹³⁸ On occasion, Louis's interference with a conventual official's career was far from pleasant. In 1251/2, he successfully demanded that the Templar Marshal Hugh of Jouy be exiled from the kingdom of Jerusalem. Hugh's 'crime' was that he had concluded an agreement on behalf of his order with the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus concerning a certain *condominium* (i.e. a territory under joint Templar-Ayyubid rule), but had failed to ask Louis's permission, which became evident when the sultan sent an emir to have the king confirm the agreement. The Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers, usually one of Louis's favorites, and Queen Margaret of France both interceded on Hugh's behalf, but the king was not to be swayed. Forced to let go of Hugh, the Templars found him a high-ranking post in the west and appointed him provincial master of Aragón-Catalonia,¹³⁹ which at least indirectly sent a message to Louis that there were (geographical) limits to his influence.

The king of England was particularly interested in members of the military orders in his own kingdom. If any of these wanted to leave the realm, they had to obtain the king's permission (this was not unique to England, as we will see below) and appoint a lieutenant,¹⁴⁰ the idea being that a talented English Templar or Hospitaller should serve the king first, his order second. Joseph of Cancy, who served as the Hospitallers' conventual treasurer for twenty-three years (1248–71), probably met Prince Edward of England when the latter was crusading in the east (1271/2). When the prince became King Edward I, he managed to have Joseph appointed Hospitaller prior of England, which may have been the pretext for bringing him to England. Joseph was soon appointed royal treasurer, and he served in that capacity from 1273 until 1280. Edward was clearly saddened when Joseph returned to the east in 1281 and repeatedly tried to bring him back to England, but even royal letters addressed to the Hospitaller master did not accomplish the feat. It seems as if Joseph had actually wanted to return to

¹³⁷ Joinville, § 413: *frere Renaut de Vichiers... estoit mestre du Temple par l'aide du roy, pour la courtoisie que il avoit faite au roy en la prison*; date: *ibid.*, liii; cf. Melville, *Vie*, 248.

¹³⁸ Chapter Nine: Reynald of Vichiers, especially the 1246 charters.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*: Hugh of Jouy.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*: for example Amblard (of Vienne), (1266 VIII 20–IX 1); Guy of Foresta, 1296 IV 24.

the Holy Land, where he had successfully served for such a long time, to live out the last years of his life—perhaps because of old friends or perhaps because of the warmer Mediterranean climate.¹⁴¹

In Aragón, the king also kept an eye on the members of the military orders and their careers. For example, in 1280, Peter III of Aragón informed the Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne that he had forbidden Raymond of Ribells, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta, to travel to the east until Raymond would have made the tithe payments for the Holy Land that, according to a papal collector, he still owed.¹⁴² It is unknown how this news was received at the Hospitallers' central convent, but one can imagine that it damaged Raymond's reputation. Yet, the kings of Aragón, like their counterparts in other European countries, also did not stand by when they felt that their compatriots, let alone their relatives, were treated unfairly by the military orders. In 1288, Alphonso III of Aragón complained—in letters addressed separately to the Hospitaller master (now John of Villiers) as well as to the marshal and the convent—that the order was treating Boniface of Calamandrana and the aforementioned Raymond of Ribells in an unacceptable manner. They had sent one, presumably Boniface, to Armenia where, in the king's opinion, the air quality was life-threatening. The other, presumably Raymond, had been sent to Alphonso with an audacious message that would cause him to be shamefully dismissed.¹⁴³ It is unknown whether the Hospitaller leadership formally replied to the charges; however, both Boniface and Raymond eventually went on to have successful careers in their order. In 1307, James II of Aragón wrote to the Templar Master James of Molay that the order's provincial master of Aragón, Berengar of Cardona, had passed away, and recommended that Dalmat of Timor be appointed to the post because he was of the right age and constitution (and perhaps the king's illegitimate son).¹⁴⁴ James responded that he could not just appoint a successor without the counsel of the brothers of the order's Aragonese province; the latter then chose Simon of Lenda. Outside attempts to influence careers were not always successful, however, in most cases they probably strengthened the affected individual's position within the order.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*: Joseph of Cancy.

¹⁴² *CH* III 3728.

¹⁴³ *CH* III 4007; cf. *ibid.*, p. 519.

¹⁴⁴ *AA* Nachträge, reprint, 621.

The orders themselves generated some internal career-impacting factors, above all in the form of magisterial protection. For example, the Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf groomed the Hospitaller Preceptor Hugh Revel for the order's leadership.¹⁴⁵ After his return to Acre from six years in an Egyptian prison (1244–50), William assigned more and more responsibilities to Hugh (if the charters are any indication). When William died (1258), Hugh was indeed elected master. Hugh in turn lent his protection to Nicholas Lorgne who, during Hugh's mastership, served as marshal and conventual preceptor twice, and became master after Hugh's death (1277/8). The fact that the next master, John of Villiers, was elected in absence (1285) suggests that Nicholas either did not groom the next master in the order's convent or that he did not groom him at all.¹⁴⁶ According to Bulst-Thiele, a very similar case of protection can be seen in the Templar convent during the second half of the thirteenth century. Thibaut Gaudini was first sponsored by the Templar Master Thomas Berardi (1256–73), whom he served as preceptor of Acre, and then by the next master, William of Beaujeu (1273–91), whom he served as turcopolier and conventual preceptor.¹⁴⁷ Thus, Thibaut Gaudini's election as Templar master in the midst of the chaos of 1291 may very well have been a foregone conclusion.

There are other examples of protection not specifically geared toward future masters. According to Anthony Luttrell, Fulk of Villaret promoted Albert of Schwarzburg's career to such an extent that it provoked the convent's opposition and contributed to Fulk's own downfall. During Fulk's mastership, Albert moved from office to office and served as conventual marshal, preceptor of Cyprus, grand preceptor of the west, and proctor at the papal court as well as the courts of the Christian princes of the west. One of Fulk's most outrageous decisions was to let Albert hold the preceptory of Cyprus for half the responsions that customarily had to be paid, which was rectified by Pope John XXII in 1317.¹⁴⁸ As Fulk was launching Albert's career in the Hospitaller convent, the Templar Master James of Molay tried to use his influence on behalf of the Aragonese Templar Peter of Castellón whom he wanted to see

¹⁴⁵ Riley-Smith, 186, with reference to *CH* III 2810 where William calls Hugh *nostré amé frere*, which is, however, a common formula that is not necessarily indicative of a close relationship.

¹⁴⁶ Chapter Nine: William of Châteauneuf, Hugh Revel, Nicholas Lorgne.

¹⁴⁷ Bulst-Thiele, 292; cf. Chapter Nine: Thibaut Gaudini.

¹⁴⁸ Chapter Nine: Albert of Schwarzburg; for the Cypriot responsions cf. the charter of 1317 X 4.

appointed to a local preceptory in Aragón. Sometime before 1306, James had communicated his wishes to the Aragonese provincial master, Berengar of Cardona, but nothing had come of that, which is why James had then given Peter the post of conventual treasurer at Nicosia. In 1307, James informed Berengar's successor, Simon of Lenda, that he would shortly send Peter to the west and that he was hoping that Simon could procure him an office. It seems that the Aragonese Templars had either usurped or eventually been granted the right to appoint officials within their own province, a right that had originally belonged to the master, the conventual officials, and the general chapter. Whether this was a structural weakness of the order is as debatable as the advantages and disadvantages of federalism in a modern state. At the time of the trial, Peter of Castellón was in Aragón but, if the pension later granted to him is any indication, only as a simple brother.¹⁴⁹

Another career-impacting factor used within the orders was nepotism. The most famous example, according to Luttrell, was Fulk of Villaret who undoubtedly owed his stellar career to his uncle, the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret.¹⁵⁰ The Villarets were not a singular case. Many a Hospitaller and Templar must have benefited from having a relative—or a relative's *memoria*—in the order. Examples from the ranks of the individuals studied here include the Hospitallers Ferrand (I) of Barras (last known as grand preceptor of the west in 1227) and Ferrand (II) of Barras (first known as prior of St. Gilles in 1244);¹⁵¹ Garin of Montaigu (d.1227/8 as master) and William of Montaigu (draper in 1233); Peter (I) of Vieillebride (d.1242 as master) and Peter (II) of Vieillebride (turcopolier from 1256); Joscelin (I) of Tournel (last known as marshal in 1262) and Joscelin (II) of Tournel (prior of Barletta in 1304 and grand preceptor in 1306); and the Templars Raimbaud (I) of Caromb (last known as provincial master of Provence in 1259) and Raimbaud (II) of Caromb (conventual preceptor from 1300).

Most of the above examples illustrating career-impacting factors have been positive, but we have also seen the case of Boniface of Calamandrana and Raymond of Ribells who, at least in the eyes of Alphonso III of Aragón, had become the victims of internal discrimination. In his 1288 letter to the Hospitaller marshal and convent, the king explained why he was writing to them and not just to the master:

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*: Peter of Castellón.

¹⁵⁰ Luttrell, "Notes on Foulques," 73.

¹⁵¹ His may be the most controversial case; cf. Chapter Nine: Ferrand of Barras.

‘It is not believable that your master, if he is prudent, did this without your counsel.’¹⁵² People outside the military orders knew that the masters, generally speaking, did not make personnel decisions on their own. The convent, as a collective of officials and as the location where the general chapter was held (or supposed to be held), played a major role in the brothers’ careers, even if the masters occasionally had to be reminded of that.¹⁵³

Service ‘in the World’

Many of the tasks performed by the conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple outside their own orders—‘in the world’—were given to them by kings and popes, and, in 1964, Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele dedicated an article to this very topic.¹⁵⁴ What concerns us here are external assignments as elements in the conventual officials’ careers, specifically the question why they were given these particular tasks. The examples discussed below are a selection presented in chronological order, and they neither include officials who merely served as familiars or advisors to kings or popes but for whom no concrete assignments are known, nor officials merely involved in the planning of crusades, because the military orders, ever since the Second Crusade, were always on some level involved with the crusades and their logistics.

In 1167, the Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii, who by this time had been serving his order in the west and the east for over two decades, and Hugh of Caesarea, a Frankish noble, traveled as envoys of the kingdom of Jerusalem to Cairo to visit the Fatimid Caliph al-Adid with whom they concluded a peace agreement, albeit a short-lived one, intended to protect Egypt from the ambitions of Nur ad-Din, the ruler of Aleppo and Damascus. Three years later, in 1170, Geoffrey Fulcherii, by now Templar master of the west, and several prelates traveled as envoys of Henry II of England to Sens to convince Thomas Becket, the archbishop of Canterbury, to agree to a meeting with the king, which then did not take place. Three years after that, in 1173, Geoffrey Fulcherii was appointed by Pope Alexander III to participate

¹⁵² CH III 4007: *Non enim existit credibile quod magister vester, si prudens est, sine vestro consilio hoc fecisset.*

¹⁵³ Cf. for example CH III 4310.

¹⁵⁴ The references to her article are listed in Chapter Nine.

in the peace negotiations between the kings of France and England.¹⁵⁵ Geoffrey had probably been sent to Egypt because he was the conventual preceptor at the time, but it may have been the success of this mission to the caliph's court that solidified his reputation as a diplomat, earned him his order's highest post in the west, and resulted in him being in high demand for delicate future assignments in Europe. As an international envoy, Geoffrey Fulcherii was in excellent company: Henry II's other international envoys included William of Mandeville, earl of Essex, and John of Salisbury.¹⁵⁶

As Geoffrey's career unfolded, his former counterpart in the central convent of the Hospital also entered the international stage. In 1169, Guy of Mahón, the Hospitallers' conventual preceptor, together with the archbishop of Tyre, the bishop of Banyas, and a nobleman (Arnulf of Landast), traveled to the west on behalf of King Amalric of Jerusalem to visit, among others, the pope and the king of France. The king may have chosen Guy because the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly was indispensable in the east. Amalric was ready to launch another campaign against Egypt, and Gilbert was one of his main supporters. Guy had been serving as preceptor since 1163 and had represented his order's master while the latter was traveling in the west. This must have earned him the reputation of a competent administrator. His ability to represent the master qualified Guy as an envoy charged with representing the kingdom. Once in Europe, Guy became preceptor of the west,¹⁵⁷ which is an interesting parallel to Geoffrey Fulcherii's career. There could be various reasons why Guy's career did not reach the heights of Geoffrey's—different geographical origins, different linguistic abilities, different levels of social and political connections—but this is mere speculation.

In the spring of 1209, King John of England sent Robert Anglicus (Thesaurarius), the Hospitallers' former conventual treasurer and preceptor as well as current prior of England, into the Empire as an envoy to King Otto IV, John's nephew.¹⁵⁸ The offices he had held in the east, as well as his English origin, had qualified Robert for his order's top post in England. Robert may have been considered a particularly effective diplomat because he was not just a subject of the English king but also

¹⁵⁵ Chapter Nine: Geoffrey Fulcherii.

¹⁵⁶ Aurell, *Plantagenet Empire*, 50.

¹⁵⁷ Chapter Nine: Guy of Mahón.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*: Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius.

an official of a prestigious international exempt order of the Church. The latter may actually have weighed more heavily and, in fact, made both Hospitallers and Templars ideal diplomats of the high middle ages. Thus, King John also made use of non-English members of the military orders. The Templar William Cadel, who probably originated from southern France (Provence), had already gained considerable experience serving his order in the west, particularly in Provence and Spain, when John used him as one of his envoys to King Philip II Augustus after the English had been defeated in the battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214. William, then Templar master of the west and thus an official of considerable international standing, participated in the negotiations that led to the truce of Chinon. However, John's assignment to William extended beyond high-level diplomacy. He authorized William to claim 1,400 pounds sterling from the citizens of Ypres who owed the king this sum. William probably came to the east in the course of the Fifth Crusade, and, in 1222, after the expedition had failed, returned to the west as a member of a very prominent delegation that included the king of Jerusalem, a papal legate, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the Hospitaller master. In this exclusive group, William was the lieutenant of the Templar master who had stayed in the east.¹⁵⁹ The delegation's goal was to negotiate with the Emperor Frederick II about his forthcoming marriage to the daughter of the king of Jerusalem as well as a new crusade. As a diplomat, William probably had more experience than any other member of the delegation (perhaps with the exception of Pelagius, the papal legate, who—despite his experience—was not known for diplomatic tact). It seems that he left the east holding the office of conventual preceptor, which was probably necessary to give him sufficient standing among his travel companions.

The Hospitaller William of Tyneriis, who had served as preceptor of Tripoli in 1216, was a confidant of John of Ibelin, the lord of Beirut. Thus, in 1230, it was probably on John's behalf that William mediated on Cyprus between the Emperor Frederick II's supporters, who had occupied the castle of Dieu d'Amour, and John's supporters, who were besieging the castle. William negotiated a treaty as well as the surrender of the castle. It seems that this external assignment gave his career a major boost. By the following year, he was conventual preceptor, and, by 1232, he had been appointed Hospitaller prior of France.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*: William Cadel.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*: William of Tyneriis.

When the Hospitallers' conventual priors traveled to the west, they usually did so on behalf of their order. However, they, too, occasionally received tasks 'in the world.' In 1233, Pope Gregory IX appointed the archbishop of Nazareth, the Hospitallers' conventual prior (probably an individual named William), and the archdeacon of St. John in Acre to inquire whether Count Henry II of Champagne (d.1197) had, prior to leaving for the Holy Land, designated his brother Thibaut III as his successor.¹⁶¹ The reason for the inquiry was that both Thibaut's widow, Blanche of Navarre, and Henry's son-in-law, Everard of Brienne, had claimed Henry's inheritance. It is unknown how the delegation proceeded, but the outcome was that the county of Champagne remained with Thibaut's family. In 1255, Pope Alexander IV instructed the Hospitallers' conventual prior (probably an individual named Gerard) and the priest in charge of St. Marc's in Acre to prevent the sale of a house belonging to the monastery of St. Sabas to the Genoese. The pontiff had originally approved the sale but then found that it would be contrary to the monastery's interests. The following year, the Genoese presented the prior with a papal letter stating that the monastery should belong to them. However, the Venetians had earlier presented the patriarch of Jerusalem with a papal letter stating that the monastery should be theirs.¹⁶² What followed was the War of St. Sabas (1256–8), a veritable civil war in the city of Acre, which the Genoese, supported by the Hospitallers, lost. Little is known about the two conventual priors of the Hospital that the popes entrusted with these external tasks in 1233 and 1255. It may have been the prestige of their office that qualified them for the job.

In 1264, Amblard (of Vienne), the Templar provincial master of England, went to France on behalf of Henry III of England to inform Louis IX about the peace of Canterbury, an agreement between Henry III, his son Edward, and the barons of the realm. What is noteworthy about this mission is that Amblard was traveling in the company of Roger of Vere, the Hospitaller prior of England. Roger had served as his order's draper in 1262, and Amblard, too, had been in the east a few years earlier (1259).¹⁶³ Thus, the two may have known each other from the east, which would have made them particularly interesting to Louis IX. They were high-ranking representatives of their orders and

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*: William (H) prior.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*: Gerard (H) prior.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*: Amblard (of Vienne), Roger of Vere.

envoys of the English king. They had been to the east after Louis had left the east (1254) and, thus, had first-hand impressions they could share with the French king. Envoys who are liable to be received with eagerness are undoubtedly more effective than those who are liable to be received with polite indifference. Henry III and his advisors may have taken this into consideration when they selected Amblard and Roger for this mission.

A different type of external task that was repeatedly entrusted to members of the military orders was the providing of safe-conduct to high-powered individuals. Given what we know about the Templar Marshal Stephen of Ciskey and his run-in with Pope Urban IV in the early 1260s, it was probably of considerable symbolic value that, in 1271, Stephen (of all people) was asked by the cardinals and Charles I of Anjou to go to Acre to bring Thedald Visconti, the archdeacon of Liège, who was then traveling in the east, back to the west. Thedald had just been elected pope in absence (and would become known as Gregory X). The mission underlined both Stephen's international experience and his reconciliation with the papacy.¹⁶⁴

Several former conventual officials of the Hospital and the Temple received actual offices 'in the world.' The Hospitaller Treasurer Joseph of Cancy who, in 1273, was appointed royal treasurer by Edward I of England has already been mentioned. His experience as his order's chief financial officer, in addition to his English origin and his good personal relationship with Edward, certainly qualified him for this post which he would hold until 1280.¹⁶⁵ In 1274, Pope Gregory X entrusted the administration of the southern French county of Venaissin to the Hospitaller William of Villaret, the order's former draper and then prior of St. Gilles. Like William, Gregory X had spent time in the east, but in this case it must have been William's role as prior of St. Gilles that informed the pontiff's choice. St. Gilles was close to the Venaissin. Moreover, William's family hailed from southern France, which must have given him some local clout. William apparently discharged his responsibilities to the pope's satisfaction: Gregory X's successors, Nicholas III in 1278 and Martin IV in 1282, renewed the appointment.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*: Stephen of Ciskey.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*: Joseph of Cancy.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*: William of Villaret.

There was probably not a single Hospitaller or Templar who in the last quarter of the thirteenth century rendered more service 'in the world' than the Hospitaller Boniface of Calamandrana, the order's former grand preceptor (1268–71 and 1279). In 1288, he successfully negotiated on behalf of Lucia, the sister of the late Bohemond VII of Tripoli (d.1287), who had tried to assume the rule over Tripoli after her brother's death but had encountered the resistance of the city's commune. In 1292, Boniface mediated between Charles II of Anjou and James II of Aragón (on behalf of the former), and he was able to convince James to issue new (presumably more benevolent) orders regarding Charles's sons who were hostages of Aragón at that time. In 1293, Boniface participated in a meeting between James and his father-in-law, Sancho IV of Castile, which concerned the two rulers' relations with France and the house of Anjou. That same year, Boniface managed to convince the Aragonese king to accept Charles II's conditions for ending the war over Sicily. Boniface's position was strengthened by his familial ties to the royal house of Aragón as well as the fact that he was, since 1291, serving as his order's preceptor of the west. This top post that the military orders had to bestow in the west, and which would deserve a study of its own, had enhanced the credentials of brothers working on external assignments ever since the days of the Templar Geoffrey Fulcherii and the Hospitaller Guy of Mahón. Between 1295 and 1298, Pope Boniface VIII employed Boniface of Calamandrana on various missions to southern Italy.¹⁶⁷ All these external assignments did not keep Boniface so busy that he ignored his order's own affairs. For instance, he still found the time to join several prominent Hospitaller brothers, including William of Villaret, in their opposition to the Master Odo of Pins.¹⁶⁸

The high officials of the Hospital and the Temple, particularly those with experience in their respective order's convent, played important roles in the international relations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. They did not just operate in the shadow of their orders' masters. Kings and popes entrusted them with sensitive missions. Ultimately, this was in the interest of the individual brothers, whose careers usually received a boost as a result of such external assignments, but also in the interest of the orders, as service 'in the world' was an opportunity to further expand their spheres of influence.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: Boniface of Calamandrana.

¹⁶⁸ Chapter Three.

Double Duty

In the course of their careers, some of the conventual officials found themselves taking on additional offices. In other words, they did 'double duty.' This was not unusual in the military orders, and it regularly occurred on the provincial and local level. For example, in the 1180s, the Hospitaller Armengaud of Asp was prior of St. Gilles but also, at least temporarily, master of Provence and Aragón, as well as castellan of Amposta.¹⁶⁹ While he had the power of command in all these places, he could not have been everywhere at the same time. Thus, he was represented by lieutenants (*locumtenentes*) wherever he could not be present in person. In 1189, Garnier of Nablus was Hospitaller prior of England and preceptor of France, but was represented in France by two brothers who acted on his behalf (*vicem prioris gerentes in Gallia*).¹⁷⁰ In 1266, Henry of Fürstenberg probably required an even greater number of lieutenants, as he officially served as Hospitaller preceptor of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, and the Banat.¹⁷¹ The Hospitaller statutes of 1283 mention 'priors presiding over multiple provinces' (*priores, pluribus provinciis presidentes*), which suggests that this was a regular occurrence.¹⁷² The attempt made by the statutes of 1301 to prohibit the concurrent holding of more than one provincial priory by any member of the order was revoked one year later, either because it stifled capable administrators or because there was a lack of capable administrators.¹⁷³ There are examples of double duty from the east as well. In the 1260s, the Templar Matthew Sauvage served as preceptor of both Safitha and Tortosa, which was an advantage for his order because Matthew had a good relationship with the Mamluk Sultan Baybars who could be swayed to spare territories that were under Matthew's administrative control.¹⁷⁴

Of interest here, though, are cases in which conventual officials, while 'in office,' took on additional offices, which shall be illustrated by four examples. The first example: in 1255, the Hospitaller Raimbaud was in the west serving as 'marshal of the Hospital and lieutenant master this

¹⁶⁹ Santoni, 156.

¹⁷⁰ CH I 868.

¹⁷¹ CH III 3219; Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 458.

¹⁷² CH III 3844, § 16; RRH 1451a.

¹⁷³ 1301: CH IV 4549, § 13. 1302: CH IV 4574, § 20.

¹⁷⁴ Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 117.

side of the sea.¹⁷⁵ He was back in the west in 1259, this time as ‘grand marshal of the order of the Hospital of St. John this side of the sea.’¹⁷⁶ Both titles were unusual because the office of Hospitaller marshal was a conventual office, and it seems that Raimbaud returned to the east between 1255 and 1259.¹⁷⁷ This suggests that Raimbaud was traveling on behalf of the master (hence the title ‘lieutenant master’ in 1255) and with expanded authority (hence the added title variable ‘grand’ in 1259), but that he kept the office of marshal while traveling in the west. The second example: in late 1269, the Hospitaller Draper William of Villaret left the east to go to southern France where, in the following year, he appeared as ‘draper of the house of Acre and lieutenant of the venerable master of the Hospital and of the prior in the priory of St. Gilles.’¹⁷⁸ The actual prior of St. Gilles, Ferrand (II) of Barras, had died in 1269, whereupon the local preceptors of the priory had elected Berengar Monge, the preceptor of Aix-en-Provence and Manosque (a local example of double duty), lieutenant prior. When the order’s master, Hugh Revel, suggested to Berengar that he could be Ferrand’s successor as prior, Berengar declined. Consequently, Hugh sent the conventual draper, while ‘in office,’ to the west to serve as lieutenant prior. In 1270, William was officially appointed prior of St. Gilles by the general chapter in Acre, and it was only then that he lost the office of draper (perhaps to Odo of Pins who held it for sure by 1273).¹⁷⁹ The third example: in 1308, John of Laodicea, the Hospitallers’ conventual prior, appeared on the Iberian Peninsula as ‘lieutenant of the master of the Hospital in the grand preceptory of Spain,’ and conferred the order’s preceptory of Aviñonet upon Peter of Ripa.¹⁸⁰ It seems that John had traveled to the west, while ‘in office,’ in the entourage of the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret, and then received a special temporary assignment in Spain. The fourth example: in 1310, Guy of Séverac, ‘grand preceptor of the Hospital and prior of Navarre,’ together with forty knight brothers, arrived at Famagusta (probably traveling there from Rhodes).¹⁸¹ Unlike the three other examples, which

¹⁷⁵ García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 365–7 n. 363.

¹⁷⁶ *Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 550–3 n. 336.

¹⁷⁷ Chapter Nine: Raimbaud.

¹⁷⁸ *CH* III 3394.

¹⁷⁹ For William’s appointment cf. Santoni, 153–4. For Odo cf. *CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a.

¹⁸⁰ *CH* IV 4797.

¹⁸¹ Amadi, 354.

come from charters, this one is taken from a narrative source, and one might suspect that the chronicler simply combined the office Guy held in 1310 (grand preceptor) with the one he would hold for sure by 1312 (prior of Navarre).¹⁸² However, considering the three other examples, it is conceivable that Guy was appointed to the priory of Navarre in 1310, but that he still had work to finish in the east (such as moving troops to Famagusta), which would explain the two titles, and that he only surrendered the title of grand preceptor when he actually left for the west, or perhaps even only once he had arrived there and it was clear that he would stay.¹⁸³

To assign an additional office to a serving conventual official was a leadership and career strategy. It seemingly never turned into a long-term situation. It either added the central convent's authority to a temporary assignment far away (as in the cases of Raimbaud and John of Laodicea), or it facilitated a conventual official's transition into a new office in the west (as in the cases of William of Villaret and perhaps Guy of Séverac). It is conceivable that it was also a means of assuring the individuals doing such double duty, however briefly, that they had retreat rights and could return to the central convent if necessary or if they so desired—a form of 'job security' still used today in the corporate and academic worlds.

¹⁸² Zalba, "Documento," 33–4.

¹⁸³ Chapter Nine: Guy of Séverac.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PERSONALITIES

The convent of the Hospital and the Temple was not just an institution, it was the (albeit temporary) home of a considerable number of individuals. While the quantity and quality of the documentation makes it hard enough to trace these individuals' careers, it is even more challenging "to discover the personalities behind the names."¹ To get a little closer to these human beings, this chapter will discuss what the various types of sources reveal about the conventual officials' personalities, and attempt to establish some criteria to assess these personalities. Not all types of sources are equally suitable for this endeavor. For example, there are a number of inscriptions pertaining to conventual officials,² but only the one referring to the Templar Marshal Hugh Salomonis of Quily tells us something about his personality because it is a memorial inscription and not just a tombstone (its dating, however, continues to be controversial).³ Hugh's inscription lists his personality traits. He had been circumspect as a marshal, brave as a warrior, horrible as an enemy, and humble as a companion.⁴ One might argue that these are *topoi*, the ideal character traits of a 'knight of Christ.' However, even though memorial inscriptions do employ *topoi*, it is worth noting which ones they use. In Hugh's case, it is revealing that he was credited with humility. One would expect humility from the member of a religious order, much like one would expect bravery from a knight. Whoever commissioned the inscription wanted to be sure that Hugh was remembered as a good marshal, but also as a good brother. This supports the earlier dating of the inscription (to 1153 rather than *c.* 1250), namely to a time when the Templars were a 'new knighthood,' when Bernard of

¹ Forey, 4.

² Chapter Nine: Fulk of Villaret, Hugh Salomonis of Quily, Nicholas Lorgne, Peter of Campagnolles, Peter (I) of Vieillebride, Thomas Maus.

³ Claverie I, 111; II, 78–9, 331.

⁴ Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346: *mARESChAVD(VS) : hVGO : SALOMONIS : / dEqVILIVGO : TEMPLI : MILICIE : P(RO)VI / d(VS) : EXIMIE : mILES : BELLATOR : / FORTIS : PEDES : ASSILLATOR : / hOSTIBVS : hORIBILIS : CVM : SOCI / IS : hVMILIS : TORMENTI : STRAd(VS) / ICTV : LAPIdIS : TVMVLATVS : VT / LEGIT(VR) : TITVLO : CO(N)dIT(VR) : hOC : TVMVLO.*

Clairvaux was using very similar language to characterize them, and when the combination of a religious attitude and a warrior lifestyle was still liable to attract attention. Among the inscriptions that have survived from the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries, Hugh's is unique. Unfortunately, there is no material for comparative purposes. Therefore, we now turn to sources that allow for comparison, namely letters and charters, the records of the Templar trial, and narrative sources.⁵

Letters and Charters

One has to distinguish between the letters and charters authored by the individuals whose personalities one is trying to discover, and those documents merely mentioning these individuals. The former could be seen as direct, the latter as indirect evidence. Regarding their value as direct evidence, it has to be noted that most members of the military orders did not write their own letters and charters, but that they, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has put it, would have wanted to know "what was being written... in their names." One may very well consider these documents as "fair reflections of... [their] minds."⁶

We begin, firstly, with letters and charters written or commissioned by the conventual officials themselves, and we shall consider them in chronological order. In late August 1164, the Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii informed Louis VII of France of the defeat the Franks had suffered at the hands of Nur ad-Din on 10 August near Artah in northern Syria. Geoffrey wrote that he 'and the very few [i.e. the remaining Franks and Templars] in Jerusalem were far from safe from a siege and an attack because of the infinite number of the Turks or, more truthfully said, of the foul ones' (*et nos quidem in Hierosolymis paucissimi, tanta est Turcorum, et ut verius dicam, spurcorum infinitas, non sumus ab infestatione et impugnatione securi*).⁷ The dual play on words in this sentence, namely the contrast between *paucissimi* and *infinitas*, as well as the rhyme of *Turcorum* and *spurcorum*, not only suggests that this Templar may

⁵ In a few rare cases, the orders' normative texts contain hints regarding the brothers' personalities; cf. *RT* 585, 592–3, 614–15 (Templar Marshal Hugh of Montlaur); *CH* IV 4613–4, 4616 (Hospitalier Grand Preceptor Raymond of Ribells); cf. also Riley-Smith, 308.

⁶ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 4.

⁷ *RHGF* XVI, 62–3 n. 197; *RRH* 404; cf. Smail, "Latin Syria," 11; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 196; Bulst-Thiele, 65, 69.

have had a sense of literary style, but also exhibits a considerable level of arrogance toward the enemy. Yet, in 1167, the same Geoffrey went to Egypt as an envoy of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and helped to negotiate a peace agreement.⁸ His abovementioned letter has to be considered accordingly. Adaptability was one of Geoffrey's personality traits. Toward Louis VII he used the language of a Templar, a language that the French king as a participant of the Second Crusade would have understood very well. Four years later, at the court of the Fatimid Caliph al-Adid in Cairo, he used the language of a diplomat—even though, if William of Tyre is to be believed, Geoffrey and his co-envoy committed a *faux pas* when they asked to shake the caliph's hand.⁹

In a few cases, we catch a glimpse of an individual's personality from the protocol of his letters and charters. Between 1179 and 1186, the Templar Amio of Ays, a future seneschal of his order, issued a number of charters as Templar master of the west (*magister cismare*). It seems that 'peace' was his favored topic.¹⁰ In 1179, he began a charter with the invocation, 'in the name of the highest peace.' Then, in the salutation, he encouraged 'all Christians to favor the earthly Jerusalem in such a way that they would thereby merit accommodations in the heavenly one.' In the *arenga*, he stated that 'it was the task of those fighting in the various professions for the highest king [i.e. Christ] to repel from his kingdom, namely the Church, all the disturbances of scandals.'¹¹ A charter issued by Amio in 1181 contains an *arenga* of the common *oblivio-memoria* type, but even there Amio was able to insert his favored topic: he had ordered that the parameters of this particular transaction be put in writing, 'so that the things done to preserve the peace would not incur the rust of oblivion but, rather, remain firm through the memory of time.'¹² Five years later, Amio wrote in the *arenga* of another

⁸ Guillaume de Tyr XIX.18, 887.

⁹ *Ibid.*; cf. Burgtorf, "Ritterorden," 165–6.

¹⁰ Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 387–9.

¹¹ Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 37–8: *In nomine summe pacis. Amio, Dei gratia fratrum Templi Hierosolimitani dictus magister, et ipsorum in citramarinis regionibus precipuus procurator, et cuncti fratres Templi, omnibus Cristianis sic favere terrene Hierusalem ut celestis mereantur habitationem. In diversis professionibus summo regi militantes de regno ejus, quod est ecclesia, scandalorum repellere debemus inquietudines; Dailliez, Templiers en Flandre, 322–3 n. 34; 374.*

¹² Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 202–3: *Frater Amio Dei gratia magister militie Templi Salomonis cismare, universumque capitulum Parisius congregatum Johanni Noviomensis ecclesie decano totique ejusdem ecclesie capitulo in perpetuum. Ut ea que a nobis ad pacis sunt ordinata custodiam oblivionis eruginem non incurrant sed per temp(or)i [...] memorie dedita perpetuis firmiter maneat inconcussa temporibus, littere vivacis officio perpetuitati mancipavimus.*

charter that, since both ‘prophetic and apostolic authority commanded to strive for peace and truth, the truth in this [legal] matter had been put in writing, because he was eager to serve perpetual peace.’¹³ These examples suggest that Amio was an educated individual, a self-assured personality with ideals of his own. After all, he was his order’s most powerful man in the west. In 1190/1, Amio served as seneschal, the order’s second-in-command, but then, in 1198, left the order to enter the service of the king of Jerusalem.¹⁴ It is unknown why he left the order. It is conceivable that he had hoped to become master but then had seen the office go to Robert of Sablé in 1191 and to Girbert Eral in 1194. He may have been disillusioned as far as the Templars were concerned, but he did not turn his back on the Latin east, despite its situation of ‘peace never established.’¹⁵ He may have been chasing after an ideal. However, as a man of his time, he would have believed that true peace was not to be had in this world anyway but, rather, only in the world to come.

One of Amio’s contemporaries was the Templar Preceptor Terricus who, after the order’s master, Gerard of Ridefort, had been captured during the battle of Hattin (3/4 July 1187), took over the order’s leadership in the east for almost one year. Several of his letters have survived. After 1 January 1188, he wrote to Henry II of England, informed him that Saladin had conquered Jerusalem, and that Conrad of Montferrat, assisted by Templars and Hospitallers, had successfully defended Tyre. It is once again the document’s protocol that is of interest here: ‘To his most beloved lord, Henry, by the grace of God illustrious among the English, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, Terricus, formerly grand preceptor of the house of the Temple of Jerusalem, greetings in Him who gives wellbeing to kings’ (*karissimo domino suo, H(enrico), dei gratia illustri Anglorum regi Angliae, duci Normanniae et Aquitaniae, et comiti Andegaviae, frater Terricus, quondam magnus preceptor domus templi Jerusalem salutem in eo, qui dat salutem regibus*).¹⁶ It is

¹³ Coll. d’Albon 48, f. 56–7: *Amio Dei permissione magister fratrum Templi Hierosolimitani in partibus citramarinis cunctis fidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus imperpetuum. Pacem et veritatem diligendam prophetica et apostolica indicit auctoritas. Ea propter rei veritatem presenti scripto commendamus de qua pacem perpetuam servari cupimus actionis ordinem subjungentes*; Dailliez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 325–6 n. 42; 375.

¹⁴ Chapter Nine: Amio of Ays.

¹⁵ To cite the title of an article by Jonathan Riley-Smith.

¹⁶ *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 346–7; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 40–1; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 87–8; Edbury, *Conquest*, 165–6; *RRH* 669.

noteworthy that Terricus prefaced his own title with the adverb 'formerly' (*quondam*) because this was a stylistic means. Terricus served, at the time of writing, as conventual grand preceptor, but the toponym 'Jerusalem' had lost its validity after Saladin had taken the city. Terricus continued with an optimistic salutation that contained the answer to the problems of the Latin east, a reference to 'Him who gives wellbeing to kings.' This was an allusion to Psalm 18, the first of the great royal psalms, which deals with being saved from great tribulation, as well as the king's (namely King David's) victory.¹⁷ Terricus suggested to Henry—indirectly, but unequivocally: 'You could be our David. Come and help us.' Like Amio of Ays, Terricus seems to have been an educated, self-confident individual. The fact that Saladin had just been forced to abandon the siege of Tyre probably contributed to Terricus's optimism, but it does take a certain poise to be so suggestive when communicating with a king.

To be interested in a good relationship with others should be a basic human personality trait, and it appears accordingly in the letters and charters of members of the military orders. It begins to be of interest when its intensity goes beyond the norm of traditional *formulae*. In 1250, having just been released from an Egyptian captivity of six years, the Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf wrote to Walter of St. Martin, an English Dominican and obviously a close friend, to inform him, among other things, about the recent release of Louis IX of France from Egyptian captivity. The protocol of William's letter is so exuberant that there can be little doubt that William and Walter knew each other well. It may have been William's first opportunity to let Walter know that he was still alive: 'To the religious, distinguished, and prudent friend, the outstanding and most special one, Brother Walter of St. Martin, Dominican, Brother William of Châteauneuf, by the grace of God humble master of the holy house of the Hospital of Jerusalem, [sends] greetings and [places] himself totally at his [i.e. Walter's] disposal.'¹⁸ Good personal relations can sometimes be

¹⁷ Psalm 18:50 (Vulgate, 17:51): *magnificans salutes regis sui et faciens misericordiam christo suo David et semini eius usque in saeculum*.

¹⁸ CH II 2540: *Religioso, egregio et prudenti amico precipuo et specialissimo, fratri Gualtero de S. Martino, predicatori, frater Guillelmus de Castro Novo, sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem Dei gratia magister humilis, salutem et se totum ad ejus voluntatem; RRH 1192*. The recipient, Walter of St. Martin, was probably English because the letter is inserted in Matthew Paris's *Chronica maiora*, and Matthew worked at the Benedictine abbey of St. Albans near London.

gathered from sub-clauses and short phrases inserted into address *formulae*. On 4 October 1256, the Templar Preceptor Guy of Bazainville sent a letter to Bishop Robert of Orléans with the latest news of the east, including the earthquake and fire in Medina and the advance of the Mongols. The letter's first sentence after the salutation reads: 'Your paternity, in whom we delight with the heart's sincere affection, may know by these [letters] that we are healthy and cheerful.'¹⁹ There was nothing unusual in calling a bishop 'father.' Until the previous year, Guy had served as his order's preceptor of France, and it may have been in that capacity that he had met Robert. However, the 'sincere affection' of which Guy speaks suggests a closer personal relationship, as does the assurance that he was in good health and spirits, which can also be found in the letters of other conventual officials.²⁰ The good relationship between the Hospitaller Treasurer Joseph of Cancy and Edward I of England has been mentioned in the previous chapter.²¹ Even after Joseph had left England to return to the east (1280), the two continued to write letters.²² A letter that Joseph wrote to the king on 31 March 1282 reveals one of Joseph's personality traits that Edward may have particularly appreciated, namely attention to detail and thoroughness—ideal personality traits for someone who had served as his order's chief financial officer for twenty-three years and then as treasurer of England for another seven. Joseph ended his letter with an apology for its length which, he said, was inevitable, 'otherwise things might have been left out or lack certainty.'²³ The above examples show that letters and charters do provide a window, albeit a small one, into the personalities of their authors. For the military orders, a systematic study of these documents, of which there are hundreds, has yet to be undertaken. It would undoubtedly yield interesting results.²⁴

We now turn, secondly, to documents mentioning conventual officials and their personalities traits, namely letters of recommendation and

¹⁹ BN, n.a.fr. 7352, f. 29^v–30: *Paternitati vestrae, quam sincero cordis affectu diligimus, pateat per presentes, quod sani sumus et hilares*; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V, 272; *RRH* 1251.

²⁰ 1164 IV/V: Geoffrey Fulcherii to Louis VII of France (*RHGF* XVI, 38–9 n. 124; *RRH* 398); (1278/9) VII 6: Amblard (of Vienne) to Edward I of England (Paris, BN, n.a.l. 61, f. 116).

²¹ Chapter Seven.

²² Chapter Nine: Joseph of Cancy.

²³ *CH* III 3782: *Et pardonés nos, sire, que les lettres sont si longues, car l'en ne vos puet pas plus briefment les choses faire assaver, que aucune chose ne vos laissast ou mander à de la sertaineté*; *RRH* 1446.

²⁴ Burgtorf, "Selbstverständnis," *passim*, contains additional examples.

appointment. The following examples are particularly valuable to get a sense of the personality traits held in high esteem by the contemporaries of members of the military orders. Some time between 1130 and 1135, the king of Jerusalem (either Baldwin II, who died in 1131, or Fulk, who was crowned in 1131) wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux and recommended to him his two envoys, the Templars Andrew and 'Gundemar' (presumably Geoffrey of St. Omer), who were 'known for their military accomplishments and noble birth' (*bellicis operibus et sanguinis stemmate claros*).²⁵ The first of these two Templars was most likely Andrew of Montbard, Bernard's own uncle, a future seneschal and master of the order, who probably needed no further recommendation as far as his nephew was concerned.²⁶ In November 1164, the Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort sent a letter to Louis VII of France, recommending to him his envoy, Brother Walter, 'a prudent and discreet man, well distinguished by twofold nobility, namely that of his ancestors and that of his manners' (*virum prudentem et discretum, gemina quoque ingenuitate, et avorum scilicet et morum, bene conspicuum*).²⁷ The individual in question was probably Walter (II) of Beirut, the former lord of Beirut and future Templar master of the west, seneschal, and preceptor.²⁸ One century later, the Templar Amaury of La Roche, who had served as his order's grand preceptor in the east in 1262, was a man in high demand. Louis IX of France lobbied to have him appointed preceptor of France and even turned to the pope in the matter.²⁹ On 26 February 1264, Urban IV admonished the Templars to let the king have his wishes and appoint Amaury to the post, 'a circumspect man, known for his mature counsel, and dear to the king because of long-standing familiarity' (*virum utique providum et consilii maturitate conspicuum, sibi ex antiqua familiaritatis notitia predilectum*).³⁰ On 27 April 1274, Pope Gregory X appointed the Hospitaller William of Villaret, the order's former draper and current prior of St. Gilles, rector of the southern French county of Venaissin. In the charter of appointment, the pontiff explained his decision by simply stating that he had 'faith in William's discretion' (*habemus de tua discretione fiduciam*).³¹ Apparently, this trust was justified. William was reappointed

²⁵ *CT* 1; *RRH* 116; date (and Gundemar's identity): Hiestand, "Bernhard," 301–20.

²⁶ Chapter Nine: Andrew of Montbard.

²⁷ *RHGF* XVI, 79–80 n. 244; *RRH* 407.

²⁸ Chapter Nine: Walter (II) of Beirut.

²⁹ Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 303–4; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 90–1.

³⁰ Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 276 n. 173; 286–7 n. 13.

³¹ *CH* III 3536; cf. Nicholson, 21; Santoni, 114.

to the post by Gregory's successors in 1278 and 1282.³² In 1293, the Templar Master James of Molay asked Edward I of England to allow Guy of Foresta, the order's provincial master of England, to leave the island and travel to a Templar chapter in southern France. To help the king with his decision, James pointed out that he trusted Guy's 'honesty and prudence' (*de cujus probitate et prudentia confidimus*),³³ and Edward granted the request.³⁴ On 17 October 1312, the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the order's central convent on Rhodes appointed Albert of Schwarzburg the order's proctor at the papal court as well as the courts of the Christian princes of the west. The charter is full of praise for Albert's discretion, honesty, loyalty, good administrative skills, diligence, and hard work (*de discretione, probitate, legalitate, bona administratione, diligentia et industria religiosi in Christo nobis carissimi, fratris Alberti*).³⁵ Albert would need all these personality traits. On 2 May 1312, Pope Clement V had issued his bull *Ad providam* which conferred the Templars' possessions upon the Hospitallers, and Albert would be the one charged with turning this parchment into reality.³⁶

These examples give us a sense of the contemporary criteria for the assessment of a Hospitaller or Templar personality: nobility of birth (Andrew, Walter), military accomplishments (Andrew), prudence (Walter, Guy), discretion and circumspection (Walter, Amaury, William, Albert), good manners (Walter), the ability to give mature counsel (Amaury), honesty (Guy, Albert), and others (such as Albert's loyalty, good administrative skills, diligence, and hard work). These criteria probably varied depending on time and circumstances. Letters of recommendation and appointment tended to emphasize personality traits that the individual who had just received the new assignment would need to have (and presumably did have) to perform well. Thus, they were naturally incomplete. The 1312 charter for Albert of Schwarzburg, for example, did not emphasize his potential for military leadership, but that would not stop him a few years later from winning several victories over the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean.³⁷ Contemporaries probably assumed that Hospitallers and Templars had a certain modicum of fortitude, but

³² Chapter Nine: William of Villaret.

³³ Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 105–6; Kervyn de Lettenhove, "Deux lettres," 234–5; cf. Chapter Nine: Guy of Foresta.

³⁴ Chapter Nine: Guy of Foresta.

³⁵ Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8.

³⁶ Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 7, 32.

³⁷ Chapter Nine: Albert of Schwarzburg.

when the latter exceeded the norm it was considered worth mentioning. In late 1307, when the Templar trial reached the Iberian Peninsula, Berengar of St. Just, the former Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia and conventual preceptor, retreated to his order's castle of Miravet, where he and other Templars, including Raymond of Ça Guardia, the preceptor of Mas Deu, were soon besieged by Aragonese troops.³⁸ On 8 December 1307, Raymond wrote to James II of Aragón to remind the king of who it was that he was going up against: 'in 1285, when the troops of Philip III of France had marched into Aragón, Berengar of St. Just and other brothers of the Aragonese Templar province had not abandoned Peter III of Aragón like the people of Barcelona and others, who had fled thinking that all was lost, but, rather, had fortified their castles, resolved to die with the king or to save the kingdom for him.'³⁹ James II turned out to be less impressed than Raymond thought he should have been. When Miravet surrendered to the king, Berengar was temporarily incarcerated there.⁴⁰ Yet, without James's harsh attitude we might have never heard about Berengar's loyalty in tough times.

We now turn to a third group of letters and charters that is invaluable for the study of the conventual officials' personalities, namely those letters and charters that relate specific actions of these individuals. Earlier in this chapter, we have encountered Geoffrey Fulcherii as a prolific diplomat. In the spring of 1164, the Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort wrote to Louis VII of France that Geoffrey Fulcherii had returned from his visit to France and that 'he had in front of all, on his knees, extolled the king's [i.e. Louis's] efforts concerning himself [i.e. Geoffrey] with such adulations that it seemed almost unbelievable and exceeding admiration to all present' (*idem namque fr. G. Fulch. in universitatis nostrae praesentia genibus provolutus, vestram circa se studiositatem tantis praeconiis extulit, ut pene citra credulitatem et supra admirationem fieret universis*).⁴¹ At first glance, one might think that Geoffrey was acting 'over the top,' but the letter's next sentence reveals that he was acting 'just right.' Bertrand told Louis that the Templars, in reaction to Geoffrey's

³⁸ *Ibid.*: Berengar of St. Just.

³⁹ Finke II, 70–3 n. 48.I, here 72: *quan lo rey de França vench en la terra per conquere la, frare Berenguer de Sent Just, que era mestre, nils altres frares del Temple de la ballia Darago nos partirem del senyor rey en Pere, la hon les gens de Barcelona et de la terra, dels hi avia sen fugien es tenien per perduts; et avien guarntits et aparellats lurs castels ab lurs forçes ab volentat de murir ab lo senyor rey ho de salvarli lo regne*; cf. Forey, "Military Orders and Secular Warfare," 84.

⁴⁰ Chapter Nine: Berengar of St. Just.

⁴¹ *RHGF* XVI, 39 n. 125; *RRH* 399.

account, 'subordinated and placed themselves, and all that was theirs everywhere, under the king's will' (*unde et hic et ubique nos et nostra omnia vestrae supponimus et exponimus voluntati*). In light of this, one is less surprised that Geoffrey was in such high demand as a diplomat. He was able to convince his audience.

One of Geoffrey's contemporaries was the Hospitaller Preceptor Pons Blan who, as we have seen in Chapter One, vehemently protested the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170). A letter written by the order's central convent in Jerusalem in early 1171 and addressed to Pope Alexander III relates the preceptor's actions and reactions.⁴² When the majority of the order's chapter agreed to the election of a new master, led by Gilbert, Pons remained silent (*maior pars capituli con[sensit], P [uero Blauus] tacuit*), which means that he did not consent. Later on, when both the new Hospitaller preceptor (O.) and Pons appeared before King Amalric of Jerusalem, and the new preceptor asked Pons why he had, contrary to the order's customs, appealed to the pope even though he had been assured that he would receive full justice, Pons replied that he had subjected himself to a higher judgment.⁴³ Pons was unwilling and maybe even unable to compromise. He rejected the chapter's electoral decision and the brother's judgment. As a personality, Pons may have been Geoffrey Fulcherii's opposite. He was not adaptable, he was immovable—whether on principle (after all, Gilbert's election had caused a constitutional crisis) or as a result of an injured ego (after all, Pons had lost his post).

One of the most fascinating personalities among the Templars of the thirteenth century was the Marshal Stephen of Cissei who, in the early 1260s, incurred the wrath of Pope Urban IV (1261–4) for reasons (still) unknown. The dispute was settled by Urban's successor, Clement IV (1265–8). Clement's successor, Gregory X (1271–6), even bestowed special favors on Stephen.⁴⁴ The most revealing document of the affair is Clement IV's letter to the Templar Master Thomas Berardi of 1265 (after 31 March), which relates the encounter between Urban IV and Stephen. Urban had ordered the master to strip Stephen of the office of marshal and send him to the papal court. The master, however, left Stephen in office and sent him with his marshal's seal. When

⁴² VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; CH I 403; RRH 480.

⁴³ VOP II, 225–6.

⁴⁴ Chapter Nine: Stephen of Cissei.

Urban demanded that Stephen surrender the seal, Stephen, ‘bursting into almost unheard-of audacious words, replied, not without much audacity, that he would give it to nobody but the one who had given it to him, for only to him was he obliged to give it, adding that it had never been heard that the highest pontiff could in any way interfere with the order’s offices; rather, with regard to these, one had to serve the pleasure of the master and the general chapter’ (*se nimis inconsulte in temeraria verba prorumpens non sine multa temeritate respondit quod eam nulli alii redderet, nisi ei qui eam sibi commiserat, cuique soli reddere tenebatur; et adiciens quod nunquam auditum fuerat quod summus pontifex de predicti ordinis vestri officis se aliquatenus intromittat, sed, circa illa, tuum, memorate magister, et ejusdem ordinis generalis capituli beneplacitum est servandum*). Following that, Stephen left the papal court ‘defiantly’ (*contumaciter*), without surrendering his seal.⁴⁵ To Clement, who was probably less explicit than Urban would have been, Stephen was simply ‘audacious,’ a prideful and angry man. The contents of Stephen’s reply suggest that the marshal disagreed with Urban on a matter of jurisdiction. Yet, Stephen’s behavior at the papal court was not to be borne. Urban excommunicated him and launched an international search to have him arrested. Clement sorted things out. Once Stephen had done penance, he was received back into the Church and into his order. Ultimately, Stephen was not as stubborn as Pons Blan had been. He recognized his chance for reconciliation and took it.

We have seen above that ‘honesty,’ namely its presence or absence, was one of the criteria contemporaries used to assess the personality of members of the military orders. This makes letters and charters relating incidents of Hospitallers or Templars disregarding the law particularly interesting. In June 1269, Henry III of England issued a pardon addressed to Humbert of Peraud, the Templar provincial master of England, for a hunting trespass committed by Humbert’s predecessor, Amblard, the order’s future marshal (1271), who had captured a hind in the forest of Haningfeld without royal permission.⁴⁶ Considering how meticulously the kings of England, especially since the twelfth century,

⁴⁵ Coll. d’Albon 4, f. 4–7; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 836; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 290–1 n. 18; cf. Forey, 170.

⁴⁶ Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 133: *Rex perdonavit magistro milicie Templi in Anglia transgressionem quam frater Ambelardus quondam magister dicte milicie in Anglia fecit capiendo unam bissam apud Haningfeld’ infra forestam predictam sine licentia regis ut dicitur; ibid.*, f. 325; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XIV, 58.

had regulated the hunt and the forests of the realm, it is hard to believe that Amblard had ‘accidentally’ seized the animal. In 1280, Raymond of Ribells, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta and future conventual grand preceptor (1303), incurred double trouble. When he asked Peter III of Aragón to help him against a certain Raymond of Angellara who was threatening the castle of Termens, the king replied that he (i.e. Raymond of Ribells) had fortified this castle against the king’s will.⁴⁷ Peter had no intention of coming to the aid of the disobedient Hospitaller. A few months later, Peter wrote to the Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne that he had been informed by Master Benenatus, a canon from Narbonne and collector of the tithe payments for the Holy Land in the kingdom of Aragón, that Raymond of Ribells still owed payments to Benenatus. Peter refused to give the castellan permission to travel to the east until the matter was settled.⁴⁸ In 1282, Nicholas Lorgne indirectly accused William of Villaret, the order’s former draper (1269), current prior of St. Gilles, and future master, of illegally seizing relics that belonged to the order. Nicholas wrote that he had given certain relics, namely those of St. John Peregrin and the Holy Martyr George, to Stephen of Brosse, the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne, when the latter had departed from the east. The relics, so Nicholas had heard, were now in William’s possession. Nicholas ordered William to produce the relics so that they could be taken to a suitable place in Auvergne.⁴⁹ It seems that William had used his geographical and hierarchical position to relieve officials of the order, who were passing through, of some of their baggage in order to gain “additional tourist attractions”⁵⁰ for St. Gilles. In 1291, Edward I of England launched an investigation against Guy of Foresta, the former Templar marshal (1277) and former as well as future provincial master of England. Guy and six other Templars were accused of increasing the water level of mill ponds and of narrowing the sluice gates of water mills in the earldom of Oxford, which had caused damage to the king.⁵¹ The common thread in all four cases (Amblard, Raymond, William, and Guy) is the willingness to take a calculated risk and get caught. Thus, a certain lack of scruples might

⁴⁷ CH III 3720; *vobis respondemus quod bene scitis quid locuti fuimus vobiscum super hoc facto, et quod vos contra voluntatem nostram stabilivistis dictum castrum.*

⁴⁸ CH III 3728; for Benenatus cf. CH IV, p. 297–8 (n. 3683bis).

⁴⁹ CH III 3797; RRH 1448a.

⁵⁰ Nicholson, 118.

⁵¹ CPR: Edward I, II, 445.

have been one of their personality traits. Yet, their wrongdoing does not seem to have had any long-term consequences. All four continued their careers successfully.⁵²

The letters and charters discussed here do not yield enough for the drawing of comprehensive character portraits. However, they do offer a glimpse into some facets of these personalities, and they allow us to get closer to the human beings who served as conventual officials.

Templar Trial Records

The records of the Templar trial contain a wide array of ‘personal’ information. However, many of the statements—especially those seemingly corroborating the charges levied against the order (heresy, the denial of Christ, homosexual acts, the veneration of idols, and aberrations in the order’s practices with regard to penance)—are of questionable value, as they were forced by the use or threat of torture.⁵³ It is to information of a more ‘unexpected’ nature that we must turn to learn something about the personalities of those being discussed. This shall be illustrated by taking a closer look at statements pertaining to four of the order’s conventual officials.

The Templar Matthew Sauvage held the office of conventual preceptor in 1261 when he was captured by Muslims during a raid in the Galilee. Some time after his release he was appointed preceptor of Cyprus (1263), later served as preceptor of Safitha and Tortosa (1267–71), eventually became preceptor of Sidon (1271), and probably stayed on in the east after the arrival of the Templar Master William of Beaujeu (1275), who had been elected in absence.⁵⁴ According to the chronicler Ibn al-Furat, Matthew had regular encounters with the Mamluk Sultan Baybars who seems to have responded favorably whenever Matthew approached him with a request.⁵⁵ These contacts are also mentioned in the trial records. On 3 March 1311, Anthony Sici of Vercelli, who had served the order as a notary in the east during the second half of the thirteenth century, mentioned in his deposition

⁵² Chapter Nine: Amblard of Vienne, Guy of Foresta, Raymond of Ribells, William of Villaret.

⁵³ Barber, 406.

⁵⁴ Chapter Nine: Matthew Sauvage.

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 54, 117, 128, 143, 146.

that Matthew Sauvage had been the sultan's blood-brother.⁵⁶ On 8 May 1311, the Templar Hugh of Narsac stated that both William of Beaujeu, the order's master, and Matthew Sauvage, a knight of the order, had maintained amicable relations with the sultan and the Muslims. Matthew had interacted with them directly, and William had employed Muslims. Both had claimed that they had done so for the sake of their safety.⁵⁷ Such connections between Christians and Muslims raised suspicions in most of western Europe (perhaps with the exception of parts of the Iberian Peninsula and southern Italy). The members of an order that was expected to fight the 'infidel' could not possibly have friendly relations with the 'infidel.' The explanation in the trial records that all this occurred 'for the sake of their safety' can only be part of the story. Ibn al-Furat would not have repeatedly mentioned Matthew by name if there had not been some genuine sympathies between him and Baybars. What is more, the story of the blood-brotherhood may actually be true. Matthew probably met Baybars during his captivity in 1261, and there is enough circumstantial evidence for the practice of blood-brotherhood between Christians and non-Christians in the high middle ages to make the notary's story at least somewhat plausible.⁵⁸ It seems that Matthew was ahead of his (and maybe even our) time with regard to intercultural relations.

In his abovementioned deposition, Anthony Sici of Vercelli also included the brief personality sketch of a Templar who is not known from any other source, an individual named Anthony, who allegedly served as Templar prior of Acre (c.1271). This Anthony, the notary claimed, had been of Syrian origin (or from Tyre) and paralyzed in his lower extremities, and the order's high officials had conducted chapter meetings in his chamber.⁵⁹ Moreover, the notary had heard that 'this Anthony had been very wise, and that he had invented many subtleties and clauses, which had sometimes been interpreted in a positive way,

⁵⁶ *Procès I*, 645: *in Sydonensi villa... tempore vero quo hoc audiui, erat preceptor illius loci frater Matheus dictus le Sarmage... et frater illius soldani Babilonie qui tunc regnabat, quia unus eorum de sanguine alterius mutuo potaverat, propter quod dicebantur fratres.*

⁵⁷ *Procès II*, 209: *frater Guillelmus de Bello Joco Magister quondam ordinis, et frater Matheus lo Sawage miles contraxerunt magnam amicitiam cum soldano et Sarracenis, et dictus frater Matheus conversabatur inter eos, et prefatus frater Guillelmus habebat aliquos Sarracenos ad stipendia sua quando volebat, et dicebant quod hoc faciebant propter maiorem securitatem eorum.*

⁵⁸ Tegnæus, *Blood-Brothers*, 24–6.

⁵⁹ *Procès I*, 646: *vidi... quemdam priorem domus Aconensis, Antonium nomine, qui de Suria fuerit oriundus, impotens tibiis et pedibus, in cujus camera secreta capitulia tenebantur per majores ordinis.*

and sometimes in a negative way' (*ille frater Anthonius erat multum sapiens, et multas inveniebat subtilitates et cautellas, quas quandoque audiebam in bonum interpretari et quandoque in malum*).⁶⁰ The Templars' normative texts do not mention a prior of Acre or, for that matter, a conventual prior, and there are very few other references to this official.⁶¹ The notary did not confuse the title, because he mentions that the marshal, the preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem, the preceptor of Acre, and the draper participated in the meetings in Anthony's chamber.⁶² Anthony seems to have had legal skills, and it is noteworthy that not all agreed on whether his findings were good or bad. The trial testimony conjures up the image of a recluse (*in cujus camera secreta*), maybe one of a darker complexion (*de Suria*), who was largely immobile (*impotens tibiis et pedibus*), and in whose presence the conventual officials met—in short, a 'grey eminence' at the order's central convent who pulled the strings behind the scenes. However, it should be noted that these meetings in Anthony's separate chamber (*in cujus camera secreta*) were probably more of a courtesy than a conspiracy: the prior was, after all, physically challenged.

Since the abovementioned notary's deposition refers to the early 1270s, the marshal participating in these chapter meetings was probably Amblard of Vienne (1271), whom we have encountered earlier in this chapter as a trespasser of the king's forest in England. Amblard's career had begun in the east (1259), continued in England (1261–6), taken him back to the east as marshal (1271), and ended in Aquitaine (1295).⁶³ According to the trial records, Amblard conducted a number of receptions into the order while he was preceptor of Aquitaine, including those of Elias Raynaudi (1287) and Peter Theobaldi (1288). Elias Raynaudi stated during the trial that Amblard had made him swear 'to do his utmost for the conquest of the Holy Land' (*fecit eum...jurare pro posse suo ad acquirendum Terram Sanctam*),⁶⁴ and Peter Theobaldi, too, remembered that Amblard had made him take a vow toward that end (*fecit eum vovere...quod acquirendum Terram Sanctam juvaret pro posse suo*).⁶⁵ Most Templars interrogated during the trial only mentioned the traditional three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience (and one would

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Chapter Five.

⁶² *Procès* I, 642–3, 646.

⁶³ Chapter Nine: Amblard (of Vienne).

⁶⁴ *Procès* II, 21.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

expect Templars to fight for the Holy Land). The two depositions carry more weight, though, when we consider that the one asking for this additional oath was a former marshal who had served in the east. Amblard had left England by 1267 to travel to the east. Thus, he may have experienced Baybars's attack on Acre (1267) and was at least in the land when the sultan conquered Jaffa, Beaufort, and Antioch (1268).⁶⁶ It is unknown when exactly Amblard left the east (probably by spring 1278). The advance of the Mamluks and the increasingly difficult situation of the Franks must have left a lasting impression on him. Amblard may have been a frivolous hunter in the 1260s, but his time in the east apparently changed him into a more serious person—someone who would impress the urgency to fight for the Holy land on the next generation of Templars.

As we have seen in Chapter Three, Aimo of Oiselay, the last Templar marshal, received fairly bad press from contemporary chroniclers. It is therefore noteworthy that this negative assessment of his personality is modified by the statements made about him in the Cypriote trial records. On 8 May 1310, the Templar Peter of Baneta stated that Aimo, then marshal and lieutenant master, had received him into the order in Nicosia three years earlier, and that the marshal had, prior to the reception, exhibited to him the order's strictness as well as its good and legitimate rule. Peter added that he had not heard of any forbidden or dishonorable things.⁶⁷ The following year, several lay witnesses were interrogated about the marshal, among them Philip of Ibelin, the seneschal of the kingdom of Cyprus, the Knight Robert of Montgisard, and the Knight Thomas of Picquigny from Acre. All said that they could not make any negative statements about Aimo.⁶⁸ The Knight Balian of Mirabel from Famagusta even claimed that he had seen 'the Templar Marshal Aimo and other brothers of the order in the Templar church at Nicosia, piously receiving Holy Communion, just like other Christians' (*vidit... fratrem Ayme marescalcum et alios fratres quam plures de dicto ordine in ecclesia Templi Nicosie communicare devote, ut faciunt alii christiani*).⁶⁹ Thus, while

⁶⁶ Runciman, *History*, III, 323–5.

⁶⁷ Schottmüller II.3, 173: *frater Ayme, tunc marescalcum et locum magistri dicti ordinis tenens, recepit eum... Nicosie in domo Templariorum... sunt III anni elapsi... respondit, quod, cum ipse requireret dictum marescalcum et locum magistri tenentem, quod eum reciperet ad domum ordinis, dictus frater Ayme exposuit sibi asperitatem et regulam dicti ordinis bonam et licitam, nec audivit aliqua inlicita vel inhonesta, et tunc ipse volens dictum ordinem intrare, dictus marescalcum eum recepit.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 153, 159, 163.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 396.

James of Molay was traveling in the west, the order's convent was led by an individual who emphasized his order's strictness and was considered an example of piety by people outside of the order. While this does not erase Aimo's alleged conspiring against Henry II of Cyprus, it makes for a much more balanced impression of his personality. As the four examples of Matthew, Anthony, Amblard, and Aimo show, the records of the Templar trial contain valuable information for the study of Templar personalities.

Narrative Sources

An individual's personality may reveal itself most clearly in situations of extreme stress. For the Hospitallers and Templars of the Latin east, such situations arose regularly in the form of battles and sieges, most of which are known to us through detailed accounts in narrative sources. The following four examples deal with the behavior of conventual officials during military conflicts, as portrayed in narrative sources, and what it might reveal about their personalities.

On 1 May 1187, a group of 200 Franks led by the Templar Master (and former Seneschal) Gerard of Ridefort and the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins encountered a Muslim army of approximately 7,000 near the springs of Cresson in the vicinity of Nazareth. In accordance with an agreement between him and Saladin, Count Raymond III of Tripoli, the husband of Eschiva, the princess of Galilee and lady of Tiberias, had given permission to this Muslim army to cross through the Galilee. Rejecting the advice of the Hospitaller master and the Templar marshal (Robert Fraissnel) by accusing them of cowardice, Gerard of Ridefort gave the order to attack. The Franks were defeated. Only Gerard and two others managed to escape.⁷⁰ In its account of the event, the *Estoire de Eracles* comments that Gerard was 'a good knight and sure of his physical abilities' (*bonz chevalier et segur de son cors*), but that 'he despised all others and was too haughty' (*mesprisoit toutes autres gens, come cil qui estoit trop outrecoüdes*).⁷¹ Modern historians do not agree in their assessment of Gerard's actions. Peter Herde called him "politically and militarily short-sighted."⁷² Meanwhile, Raymond Smail found his

⁷⁰ Chapter Nine: Gerard of Ridefort (where the respective sources are listed).

⁷¹ Eracles, 40.

⁷² Herde, "Kämpfe," 48.

order to attack comprehensible since the Franks had won other military encounters even when they had been outnumbered.⁷³ This, coupled with the conviction that God was on their side, may have fueled Gerard's decision. It is noteworthy that the *Estoire de Eracles* had both praise and criticism for Gerard. He was a good knight, but he was also arrogant. His mistake, according to the *Estoire de Eracles*, was not his order to attack, but his refusal to accept the counsel of others.

A similar situation occurred during the crusade of Louis IX of France against Egypt. This time the highest-ranking Templar present, the Grand Preceptor Giles, was the one offering the cautioning advice, and it was rejected by Louis's brother, Count Robert of Artois, with consequences similar to the ones endured at Cresson in 1187. On 8 February 1250, after a successful attack of the crusaders against the Muslim camp, Giles suggested to Robert that they wait for Louis's arrival before attacking Mansurah. Robert ignored Giles's advice, adding that the Templar should feel free to stay back if he was afraid. Giles rejected the suggestion of fear, but warned they might not return alive from this expedition. The Templar's warning was prophetic. Robert was killed during the premature attack. Giles's fate is unknown, but it is likely that he lost his life as well. In its narrative of these events, the *Rothelin Continuation* of William of Tyre's chronicle describes Giles as a 'good knight—prudent, brave, and experienced in warfare' (*bonz chevalierz preuz et hardiz et saiges de guerre*).⁷⁴ Like Gerard of Ridefort, Giles was considered a good knight by contemporary historiography. Unlike Gerard, who had been quick to reject advice, Giles united in his personality the virtues of bravery and prudence.

With regard to the Templar Marshal Stephen of Cissei, 'prudence' is not a word that comes to mind. We have already encountered him in this and the previous chapter as the Templar official who confronted Pope Urban IV at the papal court in the early 1260s, but he is also known for other adventures. In February 1261, Templars from Acre, Safeth, Atlit, and Beaufort, joined by the lord of Beirut (John of Ibelin), the marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem (John of Gibelet), and several knights from Acre, conducted a raid against the Muslims of the northern Galilee. The raid turned into a disaster. A considerable number of Franks ended up in Muslim captivity, but the Templar Marshal Stephen

⁷³ Smail, "Predicaments," 168–9.

⁷⁴ Rothelin, 604–5.

of Cissei—like Gerard of Ridefort at Cresson—managed to escape. According to the *Annales de Terre Sainte*, Stephen of Cissei had ‘very foolishly’ pushed for this raid (redaction A: *et entreprint mout folement chelle chevauchie frere Esteve de Soizy*); the *Estoire de Eracles* blamed Stephen for the defeat; and the *Gestes des Chiprois* offered a possible explanation for the raid’s failure: ‘Stephen, it was said, had not really fought’ (*dou quel fu dit que il fist son poindre sur le Turquemans mauvaisement & ne fery mie*), ‘allegedly because he had been foolishly jealous of the lord of Beirut because of a love affair involving a lady of the land’ (*par male volenté que on disoit qu’il portoit au seignor de Barut por envie d’une fole jelouzie d’une dame de pais*).⁷⁵ The narrative sources’ attempt to blame the raid’s instigator for the failure is understandable. However, the explanations for the failure are, at best, gossip, which is why the author of the *Gestes des Chiprois* used phrases like ‘of whom it was said’ (*dou quel fu dit*). According to Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele, these rumors might have been circulated to explain the pope’s subsequent wrath against Stephen, however, she adds, any connection between the raid of 1261 and the later confrontation at the papal court is pure conjecture. If Stephen had been to blame for the raid’s failure, his own order would have held him accountable.⁷⁶ It is more likely that Stephen’s personality was somewhat similar to that of Gerard of Ridefort. His daring trumped caution. To Stephen’s credit, it has to be noted that apparently neither the marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem nor the lord of Beirut had raised any objections against the raid. The raid, it seems, might very well have succeeded.

Our final example is the Hospitaller Marshal Matthew of Clermont. An anonymous account known as “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II” relates his actions during Acre’s ‘last stand’ in 1291. While it is difficult to distinguish between fact and fiction, it should be noted that at least some of Matthew’s actions are also remembered by other sources, including the *Gestes des Chiprois*, the narrative of Master Thadeus of Naples, and a letter of the Hospitaller Master John of Villiers.⁷⁷ On 16 May, namely two days before the fall of the city, after the Mamluks had breached the walls and were entering the city for the first time, Matthew stood up against the fleeing Franks and, according to “De

⁷⁵ “Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 449–50; Eracles, 445; *Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–6.

⁷⁶ Bulst-Thiele, 244–5.

⁷⁷ *Gestes*, 255 § 505; *Magistri Thadei Neapolitani Hystoria*, ed. Riant, 22–3; “Magister Thadeus,” ed. Huygens, 118–19; *CH* III 4157; *RRH* 1513.

excidio,” exclaimed: ‘I beseech you, by your faith in Christ, return to the battle!’ (*adjuro vos per fidem Christi ad praelium vos reverti*). He then jumped into the fight with such vigor that ‘the Saracens fled from him like sheep from a wolf’ (*fere omnes Sarraceni ipsum sicut oves lupum fugiebant*).⁷⁸ The Franks were able to repel the Mamluks’ attacks two more times, and each time the Hospitaller marshal was in the thick of things ‘with admirable skill and expert agility’ (*arte mirabili et agilitate virtuosa*).⁷⁹ On 18 May, as the Mamluks were storming into the city, Matthew rode ‘furiously’ (*furibundus*) out of the city and into the enemy, killed a great number of them, and then returned into the city, where his horse, exhausted and presumably severely wounded, collapsed under him; and he himself, pierced by lances, ‘returned his soul to the Creator—like a faithful fighter, a knight of Christ’ (*sicque fidelis pugnator miles Christi, suam suo animam reddidit Creatori*).⁸⁰

The four situations of extreme stress related above cannot be compared on all levels. However, all four officials (Gerard, Giles, Stephen, and Matthew) displayed great bravery. The ability to assess a military situation with a view to its possible outcome can be ascribed to Giles and, at least with regard to his intervention on 16 May 1291, to Matthew of Clermont. Matthew’s call to the fleeing Franks to return to the battle resulted in a temporary defeat of the Mamluks. The retreat from a battlefield once a fight has been lost (and only then was retreat even an option in the military orders)⁸¹ is an ability that usually does not earn those who master it any laurels. Yet, it shows both survival instinct and fighting skills. Gerard of Ridefort and Stephen of Cissei managed to flee from such battlefields, and Matthew of Clermont seems to have been able to ride in and out of the heat of battle like few others. The willingness to take risks can be seen in all four. We may view Gerard and Stephen as reckless, but they probably saw their actions as calculated risks, both hoping to surprise the enemy. Giles did follow Robert of Artois into battle, rejecting the latter’s condescending offer to stay behind and perhaps hoping that his own negative predictions might not come true. In Matthew’s case, the narrative source almost

⁷⁸ “De excidio urbis Aconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 778; “Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 73.

⁷⁹ “De excidio urbis Aconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 779; “Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 85.

⁸⁰ “De excidio urbis Aconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 781–2; “Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 91.

⁸¹ *RT* 168.

makes it sound like he was seeking martyrdom, but he did not just ride out of the city and into the enemy. He also rode back into the city, maybe hoping that he might once more save the day. Our image of these medieval personalities will forever remain a fragmentary one, but that should not stop historians from using the data gathered in prosopographical research to retell the story of these very real human beings, be it ever so incomplete.

CHAPTER NINE

PROSOPOGRAPHY

In this prosopographical catalog, the conventual officials appear in alphabetical order, sorted by their first names. Those not known by name are included as ‘NN’ in the chronological order in which they appear in the sources. The names of individuals who, in the opinion of this author, should not be considered as conventual officials appear in square brackets, followed by a short explanation regarding their actual identity. Documentation without a precise date is listed at its latest possible occurrence, unless the evidence suggests a different order of events. In typologizing the evidence, a distinction has been made between charters (documents with an emphasis on legal transactions), letters (documents with an emphasis on the transmission of information), chronicles (encompassing all kinds of narrative sources), trial records or depositions (usually referring to the Templar trial), rules and statutes (encompassing the orders’ normative texts), *esgarts* (rulings of the brothers on certain issues and specific cases), truce agreements, and various other kinds of material (such as pre-modern lists of officials, seals, inscriptions, and inventories). With regard to charters, the officials’ functions have been classified into issuers, parties to agreements, recipients, petitioners, guarantors, witnesses, consent-givers, and mere mentions. For letters, the distinction is between senders, addressees, petitioners, and mentions. For *esgarts*, the distinction is between plaintiffs, defendants, arbiters, and mentions. All quotations from primary sources appear in italics and have been retained in their original grammatical cases (even when these do not match with the modern English syntax). Information derived from secondary works, but listed under ‘evidence,’ has been marked accordingly. The documentation usually cites the most accessible editions. While the evidence sections strive for completeness until 1310, the literature sections are selective (however, every effort has been made to include references to works that disagree with my own findings). Cross-references within this chapter are indicated by rightward arrows (→): arrows before names indicate that the respective individual has his own entry in this prosopography; arrows before dates indicate that the respective ‘dated’ evidence is listed further below in the same entry.

Instead of footnotes, this catalog utilizes references in round brackets (and references within references also appear in round brackets, which means that there are occasionally ‘double’ round brackets).

ADAM BRION (T) seneschal 1192; marshal 1198

origin: France? *Brionum*, toponym in various parts of France (Brion in dép. Lozère, dép. Maine-et-Loire, or dép. Vienne; Brienne-le-Château; Brienne-la-Vieille; Brionne; or La Brionne), less frequent in Italy (Brione) and Spain (Briones) (Graesse I, 327, 335, 676).

literature: Rey, 254, Claverie I, 32, 105.

1192 II 10, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Adam Brion Templi militum senescalcus* (Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701; date: Mayer II, 881).

1198 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Girbert Eral for the abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *f(ratre) Adam Breñ marescalco* (Coll. d’Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, “Chartes,” 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a).

ADAM OF CROMWELL (T) draper 1300

origin: England. *Cronwallis* (Cromwell), toponym in Nottinghamshire (Graesse I, 594). Claverie II, 322, suggests ‘Cornwall’ which, however, in Latin is *Cornubia*.

literature: Claverie I, 118, 205; II, 322; Burgdorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 13.

1300 XI 10, Limassol: charter (Templar Master James of Molay for Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón-Catalonia), witness: *frater Addam de Cronvalle draperius* (Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44).

AIMERY JAUREO (T) draper 1249

origin: central Europe. *Jaurium*, toponym in Lower Silesia (Jauer/Jawor) and Hungary (Raab/Győr) (Menzel, “Jauer,” 309–10; Graesse III, 228. Claverie II, 325, suggests an Italian origin).

literature: Rey, 370; Claverie I, 118, 211; II, 325.

1249 V 12, Limassol: charter (the Templars’ conventual officials for the Genoese Odo Tornellus, Stephen of Guiberto, and William Gervasius), co-issuer: *frater Aimericus Jaureo drapperius* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176).

AIMO OF OISELAY (T) marshal 1300–12; lieutenant master 1306–8

origin: France. Oiselay, toponym and family name in Burgundy (Joinville, 473 (index)).

Imperio, *Tramonto*, 21, suggests Oisilly in dép. Côte-d’Or. Claverie II, 324, suggests Oiselay in dép. Haute-Saône.

family: noble family of Oiselay? Stephen I of Oiselay (1208–72) and his wife Clementia of Faucogney (d.1267) had at least seven children. However, none of the ones known so far was named ‘Aimo.’ Nonetheless, Aimo may have been their son—or grandson—because ‘Aimo’ was the name of Clementia’s father (the viscount of Vesoul) (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, III.3, table 428). Imperio, *Tramonto*, 21, suggests that Aimo was related to John of Oiselay, lord of Flagey.

status: knight (*Procès* I, 407, 620).

literature: Rey, 256; Schottmüller I.1, 459; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 404–5; Léonard, *Introduction*, 155; Hill, *History*, II, 236; Bulst-Thiele, 307; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 122; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 21; Demurger, *Jacques*, 107, 164–5, 173, 181; Claverie I, 111, 186, 203, 205; II, 324, *et passim*; Barber, *Trial*, 23, 253–5, 258; cf. Chapter Three.

(1276), France: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1310 V 5, Nicosia): *Ayme de Osiliers* had been received into the order thirty-four years earlier. He had vowed obedience and chastity (Schottmüller II.3, 167).

- (1295), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by John of Villa, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Ayme de Osiliers nunc marescalcus dicti ordinis* had attended John of Villa's reception into the order fifteen years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 208–9; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208. Aimo's title refers to the time of the trial).
- (1299), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Humbert of St. George, → 1311 I 16, Paris): *Aymo d'Oyselaers miles* had attended Humbert of St. George's and Reynald of Cugneres's reception into the order circa twelve years earlier, during a 'general chapter' (*Procès* I, 407–8; date: *ibid.*, 320, 402. This 'general chapter' was probably the French Templars' provincial chapter).
- (1300) IX 14, Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Andrew of Renovaria, → 1310 V 19, Nicosia): *frater Aymon de Osiliers marescalcus de dicto ordine* had attended Andrew of Renovaria's reception into the order ten years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of the Cross (Schottmüller II.3, 197; date: *ibid.*, 145, 190. Since the deposition was made on V 19, the 'next' feast of the Cross was *exaltatio crucis*, IX 14; *inventio crucis*, V 3, had just passed and, thus, would have been referred to differently. Aimo's title refers to the time of the trial).
- (1301) VI 24, (La Rosière or Brie): information from a later trial deposition (made by Andrew of Hencorte/Liencourt, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *fr(ater) Aymo de Osiliers tunc marescalcus dicti ordinis* had attended Andrew of Hencorte's reception into the order nine years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of St. John (Schottmüller II.3, 213; location: *ibid.*; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on VI 24. Aimo's title refers to the time of the trial).
- (1300/1) X 2, Marmont: information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Fonte, → 1311 III 1, Paris): *Aymone de Oyselier* had attended William of Fonte's reception into the order circa ten years earlier, calculated back from the day after the next feast of St. Remigius. He had then set out for the east, from where he had not returned (*Procès* I, 619–20; date: *ibid.*, 320, 619. The feast of St. Remigius is celebrated on X 1. William of Fonte and Guy of Lengles (→ next document), may have been received together. Both referred to the same place and the same *receptor* (Hugh of Peraud), and both mentioned Aimo as a witness. Only William remembered the day. With regard to the question how many years ago this happened, Guy's response points to 1300, while William's response points to circa 1301).
- (1300–1301 X 2), Marmont: information from a later trial deposition (made by Guy of Lengles, → 1310 V 8, Nicosia): *frater Aime Osilier marescalcus* had attended Guy of Lengles's reception into the order ten years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 175; date: *ibid.*, 145, 170; *Procès* I, 619–20; → previous document. Aimo's title refers to the time of the trial).
- (1303 before V 26), La Neuville: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Tolvo, → 1310 V 14, Nicosia): *frater Aymo nunc marescalcus dicti ordinis* had received Peter of Tolvo into the order circa seven years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 181; date: *ibid.*, 145, 176. Aimo's title refers to the time of the trial); information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Tolvo's uncle, Humbert of St. George, → 1311 I 16, Paris): *fratre Aymone d'Oysiliers* had received Peter of Tolvo into the order circa eight years earlier (*Procès* I, 408; date: since this reception occurred in Champagne and Aimo was on his way to the east, I have entered it here, namely before the next two receptions which took place in Burgundy, i.e. further to the south).
- (1303 V 26), La Laine: information from a later trial deposition (made by James of Colloalbo, → 1310 V 21, Nicosia): *frater Aymo de Osiliers tunc preceptor dicti ordinis in Burgundia* had received James of Colloalbo into the order seven years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of Pentecost (Schottmüller II.3, 199; date: *ibid.*, 145, 198; → next document. In 1303, Pentecost was celebrated on V 26).
- (1303 V 26), La Laine: information from a later trial deposition (made by Richard of Monder, → 1310 V 6, Nicosia): *frater Ayme marescalcus tunc preceptor in comitatu Burgundie* had received Richard of Monder into the order seven years earlier (Schottmüller

- II.3, 169; date: *ibid.*, 145, 166. Aimo's title of marshal refers to the time of the trial. Richard of Monder and James of Colloalbo (→ previous document) may have been received together. Both referred to the same year, place, and *receptor*. Only James remembered the day. Aimo must have traveled to the east shortly after this reception, since he was in Frankish Greece by → (1303) VI 24. Bulst-Thiele, 302, with reference to Léonard, *Introduction*, 155, claims that Aimo was still preceptor of Burgundy in 1304; however, there is no evidence to support this).
- (1294 XI 11–1303 before VI 24), Dinsley: information from a later trial deposition (made by Ralph of Barton, → 1310 II 4, London): *Hamone(m) de Osylers* had held a meeting at Dinsley that Ralph of Barton had witnessed (Helen Nicholson, citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 454, f. 72', in a letter to the author; date: *terminus post quem* is Ralph's joining the order on (1294) XI 11 (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 7, 13–14); *terminus ante quem* is Aimo's appearance in the east on → (1303) VI 24).
- (1303) VI 24, Andravilla (Morea): information from a later trial deposition (made by the Templar Preceptor Albert, → 1310 V 5, Nicosia): *frater [Ayme marescalcus]* had received Albert into the order seven years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of St. John (Schottmüller II.3, 167; cf. *ibid.*, 223; date: *ibid.*, 166. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on VI 24).
- (1303 after VI 24), Limassol: information from a later trial deposition (made by Abraham of Castroalbo, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Ayme de Osilliers* had attended Abraham of Castroalbo's reception into the order seven or eight years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 216; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208. The reception cannot have occurred in Limassol eight years earlier, because Aimo did not leave France until 1303. He seems to have come to Cyprus via Frankish Greece, where he appeared on → (1303) VI 24).
- (1304) X 25, Limassol: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to the preceptor of Miravet), mention: Marshal Aimo of Oiselay (cited in *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1304 after Christmas), Torres: letter (the Templar Peter of Castellón to Peter of St. Just, preceptor of Alfambra), mention: *fratre Ayme Dabyele qui es menescall* according to the Templar master's letter of → (1304) X 25 (*AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- 1306 X 20, Limassol: letter (to all Templars), issuer: *frater Aymo de Monte Azium humilis mariscalcus dicte militie ac tenens locum domini nostri magistri in partibus cismarinis*, asking that assistance be given to Peter of St. Just who is returning to the west (Forey, "Letters," 166 n. 13).
- 1307 I 31, Nicosia: charter (Henry II of Cyprus confirming his abdication), witness: Aimo of Oiselay, Templar marshal and lieutenant master (Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417).
- (1307), Nicosia: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Baneta, → 1310 V 8, Nicosia): *frater Ayme tunc marescalcus et locum magistri dicti ordinis tenens* had received Peter of Baneta into the order three years earlier. He emphasized the order's strictness and rule (Schottmüller II.3, 173; date: *ibid.*, 145, 170).
- (1306–8), Cyprus: chronicle: in the dispute between Henry II of Cyprus and his brother Amaury of Lusignan, the Templars sided with the latter. In 1307, when Henry was forced to confirm Amaury's appointment as regent, *el mariscalco di Templieri* was present and, upon completion of the legal ceremony, left the room saying, *Quod scripsi, scripsi*. In 1307 or 1308, the Templar marshal (Aimo of Oiselay) and the order's grand preceptor (probably James of Dammartin) were waiting for Henry to leave the royal palace in Nicosia which they intended to seize; however, Henry was warned and stayed put. In 1307 or 1308, Amaury placed Rupen of Montfort, one of Henry's supporters, under house arrest *ad instantia del mariscalco del Tempio*. In January 1308, the Templar marshal joined a delegation of the spiritual and secular lords of the kingdom of Cyprus that forced Henry to confirm Amaury's appointment as regent for life (Amadi, 260–1, 266; Bustron, 149, 152–4).

- 1308, Cyprus: chronicle: *el marescalco del Tempio...era fra Heme de Usellet in loco del maestro* when Amaury of Lusignan, who had deposed his own brother (Henry II) and seized the lordship over Cyprus, proceeded against the Templars on behalf of Pope Clement V (Amadi, 283–4; cf. *ibid.*, 287, 289; Bustron, 165–9).
- 1308 V 27, Nicosia: information from a later letter (sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V, → 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus): the Templar officials, among them the *marescalchus*, submitted themselves to Amaury who was acting on behalf of the pope (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5).
- 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus: letter, mention: → 1308 V 27.
- 1308 (after VI 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after a bout of resistance, the Templar officials were taken into custody: *el mariscalco* and one half of the brothers were brought to casale Khrokitia, *el commandator* and the other half of the brothers were brought to casale Yermasoyia. When it became known that the marshal and the preceptor were making plans to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese, Amaury of Lusignan placed *il mariscalco* and all other Templar officials under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara (Amadi, 290–1).
- 1308 VIII 8, Poitiers: letter (by Pope Clement V), mention: summons for the Templar lieutenant master, residing on Cyprus, and the members of his convent who were still free, to appear at the council of Vienne to respond to their accusers (Claverie III, 206 n. 225).
- 1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau: letter (Pope Clement V to Peter of Rodez, papal legate, and Raymond of Pins, canon of Bazas and papal nuncio), mention: 59,500 Cypriote white besants, which had been given to *fratrem Aymonem de Monteavio tunc marescallum domus predictae*, and certain other specified funds, should now be given to the Hospitaller master for a new crusade (*CH* IV 4882; Claverie II, 442–4 n. 20).
- 1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau: letter (Pope Clement V to Amaury of Lusignan), mention: 59,500 Cypriote white besants, which had been given to *fratrem Aymonem de Monteavio tunc marescallum domus predictae*, and certain other specified funds, should now be given to the Hospitaller master for a new crusade (Claverie II, 445–7 n. 21).
- 1310 II 4, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1294 XI 11–1303 before VI 24).
- 1310 V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Ayme de Osiliers marescalcus ordinis milicie Templi*, who stated that there had been no errors in the order, and that he knew nothing about heads or idols (i.e. their veneration) (Schottmüller II.3, 166–7; date: *ibid.*, 145, 166, 219. Codex 3 of the Cypriote trial refers to him as *mareschalvus dicti ordinis in partibus [Cipr]aneis [miles]*: Schottmüller II.3, 219–23. → (1276)).
- 1310 V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303) VI 24.
- 1310 V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Odo of Villaret/Valdric, Templar preceptor of Apulia): stating that he was swearing the same oaths *ut supradictus dominus mareschalvus* (Schottmüller II.3, 225; date: *ibid.*, 166).
- 1310 V 6, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 V 26), second document.
- 1310 V 8, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1307).
- 1310 V 8, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1300–1 X 2).
- 1310 V 14, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 before V 26).
- 1310 V 19, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1300) IX 14.
- 1310 V 21, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 V 26), first document.
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1295).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1301) VI 24.
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 after VI 24).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar officials, among them *el mariscalco*, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta (Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219).
- 1311 I 16, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1299); (1303 before V 26), second part.
- 1311 III 1, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1300–1) X 2.

- (1311) V 1, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Philip of Ibelin, seneschal of the kingdom of Cyprus): stating that he had nothing negative to say *de personis fratrum Aimonis de Osselier mareschalci*... (Schottmüller II.3, 153; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).
- (1311) V 3, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by the Knight Robert of Montgisard): stating that he had nothing negative to say *contra fratrem Ayme de Osselier mareschalcum* (Schottmüller II.3, 159; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).
- (1311) V 4, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Thomas of Picquigny, a knight from Acre): stating that he had nothing negative to say *contra mareschalcum locumtenentem magistri* (Schottmüller II.3, 163; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).
- (1311) V 6, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Balian of Mirabel, a knight from Famagusta): stating that he had seen *fratrem Ayme mareschalcum* and other Templar brothers devoutly receiving communion in their church at Nicosia *ut faciunt alii christiani* (Schottmüller II.3, 396; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125; Edbury, "Military Orders," 103).
- 1311 VI, Cyprus: chronicle: *fra Chieme Doselier mariscalco del Tempio* allegedly took part in a conspiracy against Henry II of Cyprus. He and four co-conspirators were imprisoned and admitted, under torture, that they had planned to attack and murder the king, as well as occupy the kingdom. The marshal was then incarcerated at Kyrenia, a fortress in northern Cyprus, while his co-conspirators were thrown into the Mediterranean Sea with stones tied around their necks (Amadi, 392; cf. Bustron, 244).
- 1316, Kyrenia: chronicle: *fra Haume de Seliers mariscalco del Tempio* died in the grotto at Kyrenia and was buried in the former Templar church of St. Anthony at Famagusta (Bustron, 244).

ALBERT ALEMAN (H) → ALBERT OF SCHWARZBURG (H)

ALBERT ROMANUS (H) marshal 1204

origin: Italy. *Romanus* (Roman), toponym.

identity: probably not identical with the Hospitaller Albert Roirad/Rayrardus (preceptor of Seleucia, 1210; preceptor of Antioch, 1214–15: Manosque, f. 633' 79 B; *CH* II 1349, 1426–7; *RRH* 843, 869–70).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Bronstein, 147.

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Albertus Romanus marescalcus* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a).

ALBERT OF SCHWARZBURG (H) marshal 1306; preceptor of Cyprus 1307–10, 1315, 1317, 1319; grand preceptor 1314, 1315, 1319

origin: Germany. *Alaman(n)us*, *Aleman*, and *Theutonicus* (German), toponyms. *Nigro Castro* (various spellings) and *Castronigro* (Schwarzburg), family name in Thuringia and Saxony.

family: comital family of Schwarzburg. Count Günther V of Schwarzburg (d.1292/3) and his first wife (Irmgard) had at least seven children. Albert was the third-born of their six sons. Albert's youngest brother (Sieghard) was a knight of the Teutonic Order. His father's brother (Henry IV) had a grandson (Günther) who, in 1349, became (anti-)king in opposition to Charles IV. His father's sister (Sophia) married Count Bertold IV of Henneberg. Their son (Bertold) served as Hospitaller prior of Bohemia, Poland, and Austria in 1313 (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, I.3, tables 312–13, 315; Luttrell, "Ospitalieri e l'eredità," 75; Borchardt, "Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire," 221).

identity: not identical with the Hospitaller Albert Alamannus who witnessed a charter in 1267 (*CH* III 3283; *RRH* 1356), the year Albert of Schwarzburg's parents were married.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 432; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 7–9, 24, 32–3, 37, 73, 78–9; Luttrell, "Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421," 288; Luttrell,

- "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 157, 159–61, 177; Luttrell, "Ospitalieri e l'eredità," 75; Luttrell, "Hospitallers of Rhodes Confront the Turks," 86–7, 111; Barber, 309; Borchardt, "Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire," 205, 227; Burgtorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 12; Luttrell, *Town*, 16–17, *et passim*; Barber, *Trial*, 271, 274; cf. Chapter Three.
- (1267–83), EU: secondary literature: Albert was born between 1267, the year his parents were married, and 1283, the year his father received a papal dispensation to marry Helena of Saxony (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, I.3, table 312).
- 1306 V 27, Limassol: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the Genoese Vignolo of Vignoli), witness: *fratre Alberto Alamanno marescalco* (Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6).
- 1307 I 31, Nicosia: charter (Henry II of Cyprus confirming his abdication), witness: *Albertus Alemannus*, Hospitaller preceptor (Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," 166; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 176).
- 1308, Cyprus: list of Hospitaller officials: *1308 Albert de Chateaufort com(an)der de Cypre* (BN, fr. 32957, f. 116).
- 1310 VII 22, Cyprus: chronicle: fifty Cypriote knights and forty Hospitaller knight brothers, *capitania di quali fratri era fra Alberto l'Aleman commandator de Cypro et locotenente del maestro*, were moved from Famagusta to Nicosia (Amadi, 367; cf. Bustron, 224–5).
- 1310 VII 24, Cyprus: chronicle: Aygue of Bethsan announced that the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret, whom Henry II of Cyprus had appointed his lieutenant on Cyprus for the duration of his absence (together with Aygue), could not come to Cyprus due to urgent matters that were keeping him on Rhodes, and that he had therefore appointed *fra Alberto l'Aleman commandator de Cypro* his lieutenant for Cyprus (Amadi, 368–9; cf. *ibid.*, 370; Bustron, 224–5).
- 1310 (after VIII 27), Cyprus: chronicle: after Henry II of Cyprus had returned to the island from his Armenian exile (1310 VIII 27), *fra Alberto Laleman commandator del Hospital* interceded with him on behalf of Philip of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, to obtain for the latter less severe conditions of imprisonment (Amadi, 387. Philip, who had supported Amaury of Lusignan, had surrendered to the king voluntarily: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 129).
- 1310, Cyprus: list of Hospitaller officials: *1310 Albert de Chateaufort grand commandeur de l'ordre* (BN, fr. 32957, f. 47. However, at this time Albert was preceptor of Cyprus, not grand preceptor).
- 1312 X 17, Rhodes: charter (by Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the conventual officials), recipient: *fratris Alberti Alamani ejusdem domus magni praeceptoris in partibus cismarinis*, now appointed the order's proctor at the papal court and the courts of western Europe (Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8).
- 1313 III (28–9), Avignon: letter (to Pope Clement V), sender: *frater Hospitalis Theutonicus qui est magister mayor Hospitalis citra mare*, thanking the pope for transferring the Templar possessions to the Hospitallers (Finke II, 219–21 n. 116; according to *ibid.*, 219, a letter sent from Avignon on (1313) III 30 by the envoys of James II of Aragón suggests that Albert was this unnamed official).
- 1313 VI 8, Avignon: letter (Pope Clement V to Philip IV of France), mention: *frater Albertus de Nigro Castro magnus preceptor Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani in partibus cismarinis* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 292 n. 20).
- 1313 VIII 7, Windsor: letter (Edward II of England to the Hospitaller master), mention: NN, *preceptor of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, whom the king was expecting to write to the Hospitaller master on behalf of an English knight, Giles of Argenteyn, imprisoned at Saloniki (CCR: *Edward II*, II, 71. This unnamed preceptor was probably Albert who was in England at the time).
- 1313 XI 25, Westminster: charter (by Edward II of England), mention: *frater Albertus de Nigro Castro magnus praeceptor domus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierosolimitani et locum*

- tenens citra mare Mediterraneum magni magistri Hospitalis et ordinis supradictorum* (Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 54–5).
- 1313 XI 28, Westminster: charter (by Edward II of England), co-recipient: *Alberto de Nigro Castro magno praeceptori domus Hospitalis S(ancti) Johannis Jerusalem predictae et locum tenenti citra mare Mediterraneum magni magistri Hospitalis ejusdem* (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 809 (incorrectly dated to 1314); *CPR: Edward II*, II, 52).
- 1313 XII 9, London: charter, issuer: Albert of Schwarzburg, Hospitaller grand preceptor and general visitor *this side the Mediterranean and supplying the place of Fulk de Villaretto, master of the same house* (*CCR: Edward II*, II, 88–9).
- 1314 III 24 and 26, *apud Castrum Novum*: charter (by Pope Clement V), recipient: *fratri Alberto de Castronigro magno preceptori ultramarino ordinis hospitalis Sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani dilecti filii fratris Fulconi de Villareto magistri ejusdem hospitalis locum in partibus citramarinis tenenti* (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10327–8).
- 1314 IV 7, *apud Roccam Mauram*: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Albert of Schwarzburg, grand preceptor of the east (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10329–30).
- (1315 early in the year), eastern Mediterranean: secondary literature: the Hospitaller grand preceptor, probably Albert, was shipwrecked, but survived (Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 157).
- (1315) VII 7, Famagusta: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: *Albertinus de Nigro Castro dictus Alamandus sancte domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerhusilimitani in preceptororia regni Cipri locum tenens magistri* (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 701–2).
- 1317 X 4, (Avignon): secondary literature: Pope John XXII determined that the Hospitaller preceptory of Cyprus should henceforth pay its responsions in full. Master Fulk of Villaret had cut them in half for the benefit of Albert, his lieutenant in the preceptory of Cyprus. In reaction to the pope’s decision, Albert resigned his post on Cyprus (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 24; Luttrell, “Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421,” 288; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 159–60, 177).
- 1318, (eastern Mediterranean): chronicle: Albert of Schwarzburg (*frater de Basilea qui tunc erat ordinis*) defeated a Turkish contingent that had come to claim tribute from the Hospitallers (Ludolphus de Sudheim, cited in Luttrell, *Town*, 218).
- 1319 III 1, Avignon: charter (by Pope John XXII), recipient: *Alberto de Nigrocastro ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani*, whom the pope put in charge of one half of the Hospitaller preceptory of Cyprus for the next ten years, and to whom the pope promised the preceptory of the island of Cos for life (should that island be reconquered from the Turks) (Richard, *Documents*, 113–15 n. 1. The other half was given to Maurice of Pagnac).
- 1319 III 1, Avignon: letter (Pope John XXII to the Hospitaller general preceptor of Armenia), mention: *Albertus de Nigrocastro frater Hospitalis* (Richard, *Documents*, 115–17 n. 2).
- 1319 V 22, Avignon: letter (Pope John XXII to the bishops of Limassol and Paphos), mention: *Albertus de Nigrocastro tunc preceptor Hospitalis ejusdem in regno Cipri* (Richard, *Documents*, 118–20 n. 3).
- 1319 VI, near Chios (Aegean Sea): information from a later letter (sent by Albert of Schwarzburg, → 1319 IX 3, Rhodes): Albert of Schwarzburg, commander of his order’s naval forces, namely of twenty-four ships and eighty brothers, together with Martin Zaccaria, commander of the Genoese naval forces, defeated the Turks (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 365–7 n. II).
- 1319 IX 3, Rhodes: letter (to Pope John XXII), sender: *frater Albertus de Nigro Castro ordinis Hospitalis sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani humilis magnus preceptor cismarini conventus* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 365–7 n. II; → 1319 VI).
- 1320, Rhodes: secondary literature: Albert of Schwarzburg fended off a Turkish attack against Rhodes (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 78–9).
- 1323, EU: secondary literature: Albert served as visitor of Bohemia and Dacia (northern Balkans) (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 73).

1324 I 2, Avignon: secondary literature: Albert served as an envoy of Louis the Bavarian at the papal court (*AA* I, 406–7. Between 1323 and 1325, Albert repeatedly visited the papal court on Louis's behalf).

1324–(1327 before III 16), EU: secondary literature: Albert served as prior of Germany (Luttrell, “Hospitaliers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 161).

1327 III 16, (Germany): secondary literature: Albert died and was buried in the preceptory of Würzburg (Borchardt, “Hospitaliers, Bohemia, and the Empire,” 227).

ALBERT (OF VIENNE) (T) preceptor of the land (treasurer) 1308–10

name: Schottmüller II.3, 167, 223–5, transcribes his name as ‘Albert.’ Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial* (Cyprus), 79, suggests ‘Hubert.’

origin: France. *Viennensis* (of Vienne), toponym and name of a Templar preceptory in dép. Isère (Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 561–2). Another possible location would be Vienne-en-Val in Poitou.

identity: In the records of the Cypriote Templar trial, Albert (of Vienne) is listed as *preceptor militie Templi* → 1310 V 5, but it is unclear, at least at first glance, what preceptory he might have been entrusted with. In 1310, → Raimbaud (II) of Caromb was the order's grand preceptor of the east (but detained in the west) and → James of Dammartin was preceptor of Cyprus. While Albert could have been the preceptor of Nicosia, Psimolophou, or Limassol, I suggest that he was preceptor of the land and, therefore, the order's conventual treasurer. This suggestion is based on the following rationale. In 1308, Amaury of Lusignan informed Pope Clement V that five Templar officials (not mentioned by name) had surrendered to him at Nicosia on → 1308 V 27, namely the marshal, the *praeceptor*, the turcopolier, the draper, and the *thesaurarius*. Based on the trial records, four of these five can be identified (the Marshal Aimo of Oiselay, the Preceptor James of Dammartin, the Turcopolier Bertrand of Gourdon, and the Draper John of Villa), only the treasurer is unknown. In the same year, according to Amadi, 291, the plan of the order's marshal and preceptor to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese was uncovered, and the officials, namely the marshal, the *commandator* (i.e. the preceptor of Amaury's letter), the draper, the turcopolier, the *trisorier*, and the preceptor of Apulia were placed under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara. Since the name of the preceptor of Apulia appears in the trial records (Odo of Villaret/Valdric: Schottmüller II.3, 168, 225–8), the treasurer alone remains unidentified. None of the Templars interrogated on Cyprus in 1310 used the title *thesaurarius*. Amadi, 360, reports that, in → 1310 (after VI 5), after Amaury of Lusignan had been murdered, the Templar officials, namely the marshal, the preceptor of Apulia, the *gran commandator* (i.e., again, the preceptor of Amaury's letter), the *commandator de la terra*, the turcopolier, and the draper, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta. Here, instead of a reference to the treasurer, we have a reference to the preceptor of the land. According to the Templars' twelfth-century statutes, the preceptor of the land was also the conventual treasurer (*RT* 89, 92). Thus, I suggest that Albert (of Vienne), *preceptor militie Templi*, was the preceptor of the land and, therefore, the so far unidentified treasurer mentioned in Amaury's letter as well as the chronicle of Amadi.

status: knight (Schottmüller II.3, 167).

literature: Hill, *History*, II, 236; Clavierie II, 322; Barber, *Trial*, 254; cf. Chapter Three.

(1303) VI 24, Andravilla (Morea): information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1310 V 5, Nicosia): *frater Albertus de [...tiem?]* ... *frater [Albertus] de ... Viennensis* had been received into the order seven years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of St. John, by Aimo of Oiselay (Schottmüller II.3, 167; cf. *ibid.*, 223; date: *ibid.*, 166. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on VI 24).

1308, Cyprus: chronicle: an unnamed Templar (Albert?) was serving as *el thesorier* when Amaury of Lusignan, who had deposed his own brother (Henry II) and seized the

- lordship over Cyprus, proceeded against the Templars on behalf of Pope Clement V (Bustron, 167–8).
- 1308 V 27, Nicosia: information from a later letter (sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V, → 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus): the Templar officials, among them the *thesaurarius* (Albert?), submitted themselves to Amaury who was acting on behalf of the pope (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5).
- 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus: letter; mention: → 1308 V 27.
- 1308 (after VI 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after a bout of resistance, the Templar officials were taken into custody: the marshal and one half of the brothers were brought to casale Khirokitia, the preceptor and the other half of the brothers were brought to casale Yermasoyia. When it became known that the marshal and the preceptor were making plans to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese, Amaury of Lusignan placed *el trisorier* (Albert?) and all other Templar officials under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara (Amadi, 290–1).
- 1310 V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Albertus de [...tiem?] miles preceptor militie Templi...frater [Albertus] de...Viennensis*, who stated that he had nothing negative to say against the order (Schottmüller II.3, 167, 223–5; date: *ibid.*, 145, 166, 219. → (1303) VI 24).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar officials, among them *el commandator de la terra*, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta (Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219).

AMAURY OF LA ROCHE (T) grand preceptor 1262

origin: France? La Roche, toponym in many parts of France, name of a Templar preceptory near Poitiers, but also part of the name of the Templar castle of La Roche Guillaume/La Roche de Roissol in the principality of Antioch (Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 520; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 142–4).

family: noble family of La Roche (sur-l'Ognon)? This family was established in Frankish Greece (Athens), but it is unknown whether Amaury was related to them (Seton, *History*, II, 827, 844). Demurger, *Jacques*, 50, suggests that Amaury belonged to the family of the counts of Namur. It is unknown whether he was related to the Templars Bertrand of La Roche (preceptor of Toulouse, 1218–19; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24), Oliver of La Roche (preceptor of France, 1228; Marsy, “Documents,” 162 n. 4; *RRH* 991), Bernard of La Roche (preceptor of Vaour-Montricoux, 1303; Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 124), or Arnold of La Roche (chamberlain of Mas Deu, 1273–98; *Procès* II, 433, 442, 446, 456, 466, 483, 486, 488, 493, 508, 511), or to the Hospitaller Aymar of La Roche (castellan of Krak des Chevaliers, 1253–4; *CH* II 2482, 2670, 2693; Marsy, 157 n. 40; *RRH* 1164, 1170, 1204, 1220; Bronstein, 147).

status: knight (*Procès* II, 192, 401).

literature: Du Cange, *Familles*, 888; Rey, 368; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 90–1; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 444–5, 451; Léonard, *Introduction*, 114–16; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 161; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 303–4; Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 477; Schadek, “Familiaren,” 338; Forey, *Aragón*, 333; Bulst-Thiele, 299–300; Forey, “Military Orders and Holy War,” 11; Barber, 159; Demurger, *Jacques*, 50; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 89; Claverie I, 219, 372–3, 389, 402; II, 121, 128, 186, 322; Carraz, *Ordre*, 451; Barber, *Trial*, 77–8, 303.

- 1256 V, (Troyes): charter (for the dean and chapter of St. Peter in Troyes), issuer: *frater Emauricus de Ruppe preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 52, f. 202).
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Amaury de la Roche grant commandeor* (*CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318).
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Amauri de la Roche grant comandeor* (*CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319).

- 1263 XI 3, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the archbishop of Besançon), petitioner: *fratris Almaurici de Rupe ordinis ejusdem militie Templi* (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 900).
- 1264 II 26, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the Templar master), mention: *fratri Americo de Rupe*, whom the pope and the French king wished to see appointed preceptor of France (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 760).
- 1264 III 5, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the treasurer of the church of Beirut and the archdeacon of Tiberias), petitioner: *Amalrici de Rupe fratris domus militie Templi* (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 2478).
- 1264 III 14, (Orvieto): letter (Pope Urban IV to the Templars), mention: *fratrem A(mericum) de Rupe ipsius ordinis*, whom the pope and the French king wished to see appointed preceptor of France (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 765; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 286–7 n. 13; *ibid.*, 276 n. 173; date: Claverie III, 542–3 n. 612).
- 1264 III 14 (Orvieto): letter (Pope Urban IV to the patriarch of Jerusalem), mention: Amaury, whom the pope and the French king wished to see appointed preceptor of France (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 287–8 n. 14; *ibid.*, 276 n. 174; date: Claverie III, 542–3 n. 612).
- 1264 III 15, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the patriarch of Jerusalem), mention: *fratre Amalrico de Rupe ordinis militie Templi, familiari nostro*, whom the pope and the French king wished to see appointed preceptor of France (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 771).
- 1264 VI 12, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the abbot of St. Geneviève, Paris), petitioner: *Amalrici de Rupe ordinis domus militiae Templi Jerosolimitani* (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 2622).
- 1264 IX 9, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the archbishop of Tyre), mention: *fratris Amalrici de Rupe predicti ordinis familiaris nostri* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 288 n. 15; *ibid.*, 276 n. 175; Layettes, ed. Teulet *et al.*, IV, 108–9 n. 4964).
- 1264 IX 9, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the Templar master), mention: *fratris Amalrici de Rupe vestri ordinis familiaris nostri* (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 946).
- (1265–71), EU: secondary literature: Amaury of La Roche served as preceptor of France (Léonard, *Introduction*, 114, 116. He probably held this office beyond 1271).
- (1265), Beaune: information from a later trial deposition (made by James of Molay, → 1307 X 24, Paris): *Amalrico de Ruppe*, a Templar brother, had attended James of Molay's reception into the order forty-two years early. The ceremony allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 305).
- 1265 V 26, Perugia: letter (Pope Clement IV to the Templar master), mention: *fratrem Amauricum de Ruppe preceptorem domorum militie Templi in Francia familiarem nostrum* (*Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 736).
- 1265 V 27, Perugia: letter (by Pope Clement IV), addressee: *fratri Amaurico de Ruppe familiari nostro preceptori domorum militie Templi Jerosolimitani in Francia* (*Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 737).
- 1265 V, EU: charter (for the Cistercian abbey of *Alna*, in Flanders), issuer: *frater Almaricus de Rupe domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 327).
- 1265 IX, EU: charter (for Robert le Breton), issuer: *frater Amalricus de Rupe domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 46, f. 190).
- 1266 II 27, Perugia: letter (by Pope Clement IV), addressee: Amaury, *preceptori... militie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 57).
- 1266 II, EU: charter (for the abbey and convent of St. Laurin, Evreux), issuer: *frater Amauricus de Ruppe domorum militie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 41, f. 5–6).
- 1266 V 17, Viterbo: letter (Pope Clement IV to the Templar master), mention: *Amalricum de Rocca tui ordinis commorantem in Francia*, whom the pope and Charles I of Anjou,

- king of Sicily, wished to see transferred to Sicily (*Registes de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 418. On the same day, the pope sent a letter to the Hospitaller master, requesting that Philip of Egly, prior of France, be transferred to the realm of Charles I (*CH* III 3221). Both letters were repeated on → 1266 VIII 2. It is unknown whether the pope's endeavors were successful).
- 1266 (VI–VII), (Champagne): charter, issuer: *Emauricus de Ruppe preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Carrière, *Histoire*, 139–40 n. 135).
- 1266 VIII 2, Viterbo: letter (Pope Clement IV to the Templar master), mention: Amaury (*CH* III 3228).
- 1267 I 12, Naples: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *fratrem Almaricum de (Rupe) preceptorem domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Giudice, *Codice*, I, 216–17).
- 1267 (IV–V), (Acre): letter (by Patriarch William II of Jerusalem), addressee: *frere Amauri de la Roche commandeur de la maison du Temple en France* (Servois, “Emprunts,” 290–3 n. 5; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., IV, 237 n. 5307; *RRH* 1347; date: Servois, *ibid.*, 290).
- 1267 VI 22, EU: letter (Pope Clement IV to the prior of Ferrières), mention: NN, *preceptor... milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 4, f. 63–4).
- 1267 IX 17, Viterbo: letter (Pope Clement IV to Charles I of Anjou), mention: *frater Amalricus de Rupe* was allegedly planning a journey to southern Italy (*Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, II, 525 n. 532. In the same year, Peter Normannus served as lieutenant preceptor of France (Schottmüller II.3, 194); however, that is still not conclusive proof that Amaury traveled to southern Italy).
- 1267 IX 23, Troyes: charter (by the officials of the city of Troyes), mention: *fratris Emaurici de Ruppe preceptoris milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 52, f. 251–3).
- 1267 X 23, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), addressee: *fratri Amalrico de Rupe magistro domorum militie Templi in Francia* (*Registes de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 1263; *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, II, 534 n. 544).
- 1268 V, (Champagne): charter, issuer: *frere Amauri de la Roiche commandeur des mesons de la chevallerie dou Temple en France* (Carrière, *Histoire*, 151–2 n. 147; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 310 n. 1; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., IV, 275 n. 5390; cf. *RRH* 1347).
- 1268 VI 7, Paris: charter, witness: *fratre Amalrico de Ruppe magistro milicie Templi* (*Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., IV, 276 n. 5393. Despite the title of ‘master,’ Amaury was merely the preceptor or master of France).
- 1268 VII, EU: charter (agreement between the Templars and the *burgenses* of Châlons-de-Champagne), issuer: *frere Emauris de la Roche commandeur des mesons de la chevallerie dou T(empl)e en France* (Coll. d’Albon 51, f. 166).
- 1269 IV 8, EU: letter (to Count Thibaut II of Bar), sender: *frater Amalricus humilis preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 50, f. 157–9. The document’s seal features domed arcades and bears the circumscription +*MIL(ITIA) TEMP(LI) (...)* *ML(?)*: Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 79; *ML(?)* should either be read *MO* (as in *SALOMONIS*) or *MI* (as in *HIEROSOLYMITANI*), the latter being more likely).
- 1269 IV, (Champagne): charter, issuer: *frater Amauricus de Ruppe preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Carrière, *Histoire*, 154–5 n. 149).
- 1269 VI, EU: charter (for the dean and chapter of St. Stephen, Troyes), issuer: *frater Aumalricus d(e) Ruppe domorum milicie Templi in Francia humilis preceptor* (BN, lat. 17098, f. 390–90; Coll. d’Albon 52, f. 263).
- 1269 VI, EU: charter (agreement between Odo of Guespe, Templar preceptor of Buze in Burgundy, and the Augustinian abbey of St. Stephen, Dijon), issuer: *frater Amauricus de Rupe preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 56, f. 236–8; Berthoumeau, *Vol.*, 135–7 n. 55).
- 1269 (VI–VII), EU: charter/*vidimus* (by Louis IX of France), mention: *litteras dilecti nostri fratris Amalrici de Ruppes preceptoris domorum militie T(empl)i in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 51, f. 171; → 1268 VII).
- (1270 IV 16), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bartholomew Bocherii, → 1311 IV 19, Paris): *fratrum Amalricum de Rocha militem quondam preceptorem*

- tunc Francie* had received Bartholomew Bocherii into the order forty-one years earlier, on the Wednesday after Easter. He allegedly ordered him to make compromising statements (*Procès* II, 192; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 191).
- 1270 IV 23, Châlons-sur-Marne: charter (by Thibaut V/II, count of Champagne and king of Navarre), consent-giver: *frere Amaury de la Roiche maistre dou Temple de France* (Coll. d'Albon 44, f. 266–9; Carrière, *Histoire*, 157–9 n. 151).
- 1270 IV, EU: charter (for the Cistercian abbey of *Fontenellis* and the Praemonstratensian abbey of *Clarifontis*), issuer: *frater Amarricus dictus de Ruppe humilis preceptor domorum militie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 220–2).
- 1270 VI 2, Marseilles: charter (by Thibaut V/II, count of Champagne and king of Navarre), petitioner: *fratris Almaurici de Ruppe* (Coll. d'Albon 51, f. 307; *ibid.* 56, f. 165–6; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 297–8 n. 4).
- 1270 (before VIII 21), northern Africa: chronicle: Amaury participated in the (second) crusade of Louis IX of France and announced the impending arrival of the king of Sicily (Charles I of Anjou) in the crusaders' camp (Guillaume de Nangis, “Vita,” 454, 456–7; “Chronique de Primat,” ed. Wailly, 50).
- 1270 VIII 21, northern Africa: chronicle: Amaury prevented the French from attacking the Muslims, arguing that the king of Sicily had yet to arrive to support them in their endeavor (“Chronique de Primat,” ed. Wailly, 55).
- 1270 X 2, northern Africa: charter (by Philip III of France), mention: Amaury of La Roche (Claverie III, 173 n. 177).
- (1268–70), Etampes: information from a later trial deposition (made by Geoffrey of Charny, → 1307 X 21, Paris): *fratrem Amalricum de Rocha* had received Geoffrey of Charny into the order circa thirty-seven or thirty-eight years earlier. The ceremony allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 295; date: *ibid.*, 289); information from a later trial deposition (made by Geoffrey of Charny, → 1308 VIII (17–20), Chinon): *fratrem Amalricum de Rupe preceptorem Francie* had received Geoffrey of Charny into the order circa forty years earlier (Finke II, 324–9 n. 154).
- 1271 I 26, EU: charter (agreement between the Templars of Le Lieu-Dieu-du-Fresne and John Geoffrey), party to the agreement: *Amorricum de Ruppe praeceptorem domus milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 174–9).
- (1273 XI 1), Mas Deu: information from a later trial deposition (made by Simon of Elne, → 1310 I 26, Roussillon): *A(mal)r(ico) Rocha* had attended Simon of Elne's reception into the order circa thirty-seven years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of All Saints (*Procès* II, 511; date: *ibid.*, 421, 427, 509; All Saints is celebrated on XI 1).
- (1272–4), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Walter of Liencourt, → 1307 X 22, Paris): *fratrem Amalricum de Ruppe tunc preceptorem Francie* had received Walter of Liencourt into the order circa thirty-four or thirty-five years earlier. The ceremony allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 298–9; date: *ibid.*, 296); information from a later trial deposition (made by Walter of Liencourt, → 1308 VI 30, Poitiers): *frater Almarricus de Rocca preceptor et magister Francie* had received Walter of Liencourt into the order circa thirty-four years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 58–9; date: *ibid.*, 58).
- (1265–77; undated), Fontaine-sous-Montdidier: information from a later trial deposition (made by Ralph Moyset, → 1307 XI 21, Paris): *fratrem Amauryum de Rochis* and others had received Michael of Flers and others into the order. The ceremony allegedly involved compromising statements (*Procès* II, 410; date: *ibid.*, 408–9; Amaury served as preceptor of France between 1265 and 1277).
- (1277 or 1287), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Henry of Supi, → 1307 XI 17, Paris): *fratrem Amalricum magistrum tunc Francie* had received Henry of Supi into the order ‘20’ [sic, should read ‘30’] years earlier. The ceremony allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 401–2. There seems to have been a mishearing at this trial deposition, because the time frame should be

triginti anni instead of *viginti anni*. *Triginti anni* would date Henry's reception to 1277, which is more likely because Amaury was preceptor of France between 1265 and (1272–4), and Henry's trial deposition would extend this tenure to 1277. Between 1279 and 1285, as well as after 1292, Amaury was certainly not preceptor of France. John *lo Franceys* served in this capacity between 1279 and 1281. → William of Malaio held the office between 1283 and 1285. In 1285, Walter of *Ete* was lieutenant master of France. After that, a new preceptor of France, namely Hugh of Peraud, did not surface until 1292. While Amaury may have served again between 1285 and 1292, Henry's trial deposition would be the sole evidence for this, and the fact that Amaury disappears from the charters after 1271 makes another tenure in 1287 unlikely. Thus, I suggest that Henry was received in 1277 at the latest).

1307 X 21, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1268–70), first part.

1307 X 22, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1272–4), first part.

1307 X 24, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1265).

1307 XI 17, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1277 or 1287).

1307 XI 21, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1265–77; undated).

1308 VIII (17–20), Chinon: trial deposition, mention: → (1268–70), second part.

1308 VI 30, Poitiers: trial deposition, mention: → (1272–4), second part.

1310 I 26, Roussillon: trial deposition, mention: → (1273 XI 1).

1311 IV 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1270 IV 16).

[AMAT (H) hospitaller? 1190]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, features him with reservations in his list of hospitallers of the order of St. John. The sole evidence would be the eighteenth-century French summary of a charter issued in 1190, according to which a certain *frère Amat hospitalier* received, on behalf of his order, a donation of houses made by Bohemond III of Antioch (*CH* I 891; *RRH* 697b). Yet, in this case *hospitalier* is probably merely the French word for a member of the order of the Hospital. In 1190, there was no need for a conventual hospitaller. The order's medical and charitable activities in Jerusalem had ended in the fall of 1188, as Saladin had permitted them to continue their work for one year after his conquest of the city (1187). Until 1191, the order had no firm headquarters and no conventual hospital. Amat may have been a local official of the Hospitaller preceptory of Antioch.

AMBLARD (OF VIENNE) (T) marshal 1271

name: Pauli, *Codice*, I, 192–4 n. 151, transcribes his name as *Cimbelardus*, and subsequent scholars have adopted this spelling, but the 1271 charter in question is now lost (*CH* III 3414; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 15; *RRH* 1373; cf. Manosque, f. 34 6 R). The letter *a*—when it is not fully 'closed'—can easily be misread *ci* or even *ce* (cf. Coll. d'Albon 38, f. 293–4, where 'Amblard' is misread *Cemblardus*). I suggest 'Amblard,' a name that was common among thirteenth-century Templars. Claverie II, 338, suggests 'Sancho Belardo.'

origin: France? Vienne, toponym and name of a Templar preceptory in dép. Isère (Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 561–2). Another possible location would be Vienne-en-Val in Poitou. If the four thirteenth-century Templars named 'Amblard'—namely the simple brother in the east (1259), the master of England (1261–6), the conventual marshal (1271), and the preceptor of Aquitaine (1278–95)—were one and the same person, this person was French because a trial deposition refers to the abovementioned master of England as *gallicus* (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 233). Amblard, preceptor of Aquitaine, appears with the cognomen 'of Vienne' in several trial depositions (*Procès* II, 19, 21, 92 186, 206, 210). He did not use this cognomen in any of his charters, probably because his first name in conjunction with his title was enough to identify him.

identity: probably identical with the simple brother who was in the east in → 1259 X, the master of England who served between → (1261) and 1266 X 20, and the preceptor

of Aquitaine who served between → 1278 VIII and (1295). The latter had a good relationship with Edward I of England who referred to him as *amicus specialissimus* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 116). Between 1259 and 1294, the kings of England (Henry III and Edward I) held Aquitaine in fief from the kings of France. It was in their best interest that the highest-ranking Templar in Aquitaine was loyal to the English crown. The twelve-year gap between Amblard's departure from England (1266) and his first appearance in Aquitaine (1278) is at least partially filled by his tenure as conventual marshal in → (1271). It may have been in this latter capacity that he met (or, rather, re-encountered) Prince Edward of England (the future Edward I) who came to Acre as a crusader in 1271. Their good relationship may have resulted from shared experiences in the east.

status: knight (*Procès* II, 19, 92, 172, 210).

literature: Rey, 256; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 417; Léonard, *Introduction*, 96–7; Parker, *Knights*, 125; Bulst-Thiele, “Templar,” 298, 300; Claverie I, 111, 209, 230; II, 338.

1259 X, TS: letter of safe-conduct (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for several nobles, including the lords of Gibelet/Byblos, Botron, and Maraclea), witness: *frere Amblarz* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 26–30 n. 19; *RRH* 1201; date: Bulst-Thiele, 234–5).

(1261), England: information from a later trial deposition (made by Thomas of Tocci, → 1311 VI 29, London): the errors of which the Templars stood accused had allegedly been introduced into England fifty or sixty years earlier *per fratres Amblardum vel Humbertum Peraud gallicos aliquando magistros in Anglia*, namely by whoever was master of England first (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 233. ‘Fifty’ is much more likely, given the other evidence for Amblard's stay in England. On 1261 VI 5, Amblard's predecessor, Amadeus, received permission from Henry III of England to appoint a lieutenant for two years due to his upcoming journey *ad terram Jerosoleme* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 114). Either Amblard was this lieutenant and was already in England, or he was sent to England from the Latin east after Amadeus had arrived there, i.e. probably in the summer or fall of 1261. Humbert, the uncle of the Templar Visitor Hugh of Peraud, succeeded Amblard as master of England).

(1262 II 3–5, Westminster or Windsor): charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: *fratri Ambelardo magistro milicie Templi in Anglia*, receiving permission to appoint a lieutenant in legal matters until the next feast of Pentecost (1263) (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XII, 104; date and location: *ibid.*).

(1263 IV 11–18, Westminster): charter (for Roger of Acolt), issuer: *frater Ambelardus magister milicie Templi in Anglia*, appointing Roger his lieutenant in legal matters until the next feast of Pentecost (1264) (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 115; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XII, 299; date and location: *ibid.*).

1263 V 6, Lincoln: charter (agreement involving the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Amblardum magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 117).

1263 V 28, *Suelcestre* (Somerset): charter (agreement involving the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Amblardum magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 118).

1263 VI 26, London: chronicle: Prince Edward of England entered the treasury of the New Temple under false pretenses, broke open several chests, and took away a considerable sum of money (“*Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia*,” ed. Luard, 222. The incident took place during Amblard's tenure as master of England; however, his reaction is unknown).

(1264 III 10–IV 9, Oxford or Northampton): charter, issuer: *frater Ambelardus magister milicie Templi in Anglia*, giving the Templar Roger of Acolt permission to appoint a lieutenant in legal matters until 1264 VIII 1 (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XII, 376; date and location: *ibid.*).

1264 VIII 15, Canterbury: charter (by Henry III of England), mention: Roger of Vere (Hospitalier prior of England), *Ambesard master of the Knights Templars in England*, and the archdeacon of Oxford who were sent to the continent as the king's proctors

- to inform Louis IX of France about the peace agreement between Henry, his son Edward, and the barons (*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, V, 366).
- (1266 VIII 20–IX 1, Kenilworth): charter (for Richard Fitz John), issuer: *frater Ambelardus magister milicie Templi in Anglia*, appointing Richard his lieutenant in legal matters from 1266 VIII 26 until such a time when the order's master would send *prefatum Ambelardum* or someone in his place back to England (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XIII, 256; date and location: *ibid.*).
- 1266 X 20, Westminster: charter, issuer: *frater Ambelardus magister milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 121–2).
- (1267 VII 5–27, London): charter, mention: Richard Fitz John, *cui frater Ambelardus magister milicie Templi in Anglia... ante recessum suum ab Anglia loco suo commisit custodiam ejusdem Templi* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 124; *ibid.*, f. 324; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XIII, 377; date and location: *ibid.*).
- (1269 VI 15–21, *apud Winton*): charter (Henry III of England for Hugh of Peraud, Templar master of England), mention: a hunting trespass committed in the forest of Haningfeld by *frater Ambelardus quondam magister dicte milicie in Anglia*, for which the king was issuing a pardon (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 133; *ibid.*, f. 325; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XIV, 58; date and location: *ibid.*).
- 1271 III 11, Acre: charter (annulment of an agreement between Archbishop Guy of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Cimbeldardo* [sic, should read *Ambelardo*] *marescalco... dicte domus militie Templi* (*CH* III 3414; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 192–4 n. 151; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 15; *RRH* 1373).
- (1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): *permarescallum* [sic, should read *per marescallum*] *ordinis illarum parcium* *cujus nomen ignoro ad presens* had participated in chapter meetings of the order's high officials circa forty years earlier (*Procès* I, 642–3, 646; date: *ibid.*, 642. This marshal was probably Amblard. → Guy of Foresta had succeeded him by 1277).
- 1272 IX, (England): trial (between the Templars and H. *le Botyler*), mention: *Achelard*, former Templar master of England (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 360).
- 1278 VIII, Les Epaux: charter, issuer: *frater Amblardus preceptor humilis domorum milicie* (in Aquitaine) (Coll. d'Albon 37, f. 262–5).
- 1279 V 6, *Arberii*: charter (for Arnold Seguini), issuer: *frater Amblardus preceptor humilis domus militie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d'Albon 37, f. 28–9).
- (1278–9) VII 6, Paris: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: *frater Amblardus preceptor humilis domorum militie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 116; *ibid.*, f. 356. In this letter, which is very fragmentary, Amblard mentions his former *valetus* Carbonellus).
- 1280 VII 10, Fretay: charter (for the Templars of Fretay), issuer: *frater Amblardus preceptor humilis milicie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d'Albon 38, f. 133–4).
- 1282 III, La Rochelle: charter (for Peter of Tonnay-de-Rose), issuer: *frere Hamblart humbles comanderes daus maisons de la chevalerie dau Temple en Aquitaine* (Coll. d'Albon 37, f. 234–5; La Du, *Chartes*, I, 203 n. 121. The surviving fragment of this document's seal features a long shield emblazoned with a cross and bears the circumscription +S(IGI)(LLV)M TEMPLI).
- (1283 IX), Bernay: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bartholomew Bartholeti, → 1311 IV 7, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum de Viena quondam tunc preceptorem Pictavie* had received Bartholomew Bartholeti into the order circa twenty-eight years earlier, calculated back from the next month of September. He allegedly ordered him to make compromising statements, which Bartholomew refused to do (*Procès* II, 186–7; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 184. Since Bartholomew later left the order, his allegations must be taken with a grain of salt. Amblard's title of 'preceptor of Poitou' was used synonymously with that of 'preceptor of Aquitaine').
- 1283 X 21, near Poitiers: charter, issuer: Amblard, *preceptor humilis domorum milicie templi in Aquitania* (Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 91. The charter's seal features a long shield

- emblazoned with a cross and bears the circumscription +*SIGILLVM MILITVM TEMPLI*).
- 1283 X 28, Poitiers: charter (for the abbey of Fontaine-le-Comte), issuer: *Amblardus preceptor humilis domorum milicie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d'Albon 37, f. 357–8; Pon, *Recueil*, 238–9 n. 163).
- (1283), Auzon: information from a later trial deposition (made by Adalbert of Porta, → 1311 IV 5, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum militem quondam preceptorem Pictavie* had received William of Gavant and two other knights into the order circa twenty-eight years earlier (*Procès* II, 172; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 165).
- 1284 VI 22, Châtellerand: charter (for Stephen Olearii), issuer: *frater Cemblardus* [sic, should read *Amblardus*] *domorum milicie Templi in Aquitania preceptor humilis* (Coll. d'Albon 38, f. 293–4).
- (1286 IV 14), Les Epaux: information from a later trial deposition (made by Elias Costati, → 1311 V 10, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum de Vienasio militem quondam preceptorem* (of Aquitaine) had received Elias Costati into the order circa twenty-five years earlier, calculated back from the past Easter (*Procès* II, 210; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 209. In 1286, Easter was celebrated on IV 14).
- (1287 V 11), Le Deffend: information from a later trial deposition (made by Elias Raynaudi, → 1311 III 9, Paris): *frater Amblardus de Viena quondam tunc preceptor Aquitanie* had received Elias Raynaudi into the order circa twenty-four years earlier, on the Sunday before Ascension Day. He made him swear to do his utmost for the conquest of the Holy Land (*Procès* II, 21; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 11. In 1287, the Sunday before Ascension Day was V 11).
- (1288 I 25), Benet-St.-Gemme: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter Thibauti, → 1311 III 9, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum quondam de Vienasio militem tunc magistrum Aquitanie* had received Peter Thibauti into the order circa twenty-three years earlier, calculated back from the past feast of *Conversio Pauli*. He made him swear to do his utmost for the conquest of the Holy Land (*Procès* II, 19; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 11. The *Conversio Pauli* is celebrated on I 25).
- (1289 V 29), Les Moulins: information from a later trial deposition (made by John Durandi, → 1311 III 22, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum militem quondam Vienensem tunc preceptorem Pictavie* had received John Durandi into the order circa twenty-two years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of Pentecost (*Procès* II, 92; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 88. In 1289, Pentecost was celebrated on V 29).
- (1293), Auzon: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Tours, → 1311 IV 5, Paris): *magistrum Pictavie quondam et credit quod esset frater Amblardus* had received Matthew Ganat into the order circa eighteen years earlier (*Procès* II, 174; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 165).
- (1295), Auzon: information from a later trial deposition (made by Hugh of Narsac, → 1311 V 8, Paris): *dictum fratrem Amblardum* had received Hugh of Anesio and William Juyto into the order circa sixteen years earlier, during a 'general chapter' (*Procès* II, 206–7; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 202. This so-called 'general chapter' was probably the provincial chapter of the Templars in Aquitaine).
- (1295), Ballan: information from a later trial deposition (made by Hugh of Narsac, → 1311 V 8, Paris): *fratrem Amblardum de Vienasio quondam preceptorem tunc Pictavie* had received William of Munac into the order circa sixteen years earlier (*Procès* II, 206; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 202).
- (1297–1311), EU: secondary literature/information from later trial depositions: Amblard died between 1297, when Peter of Villars took over his office as preceptor of Aquitaine (Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 505–6), and 1311, when seven of the ten trial depositions mentioning him refer to him with the adverb *quondam* (*Procès* II, 19, 21, 92, 172, 186–7, 206, 210).
- 1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).
- 1311 III 9, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1288 I 25).
- 1311 III 9, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1287 V 11).

- 1311 III 22, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1289 V 29).
 1311 IV 5, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1283).
 1311 IV 5, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1293).
 1311 IV 7, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1283 IX).
 1311 V 8, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1295), both entries.
 1311 V 10, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1286 IV 14).
 1311 VI 29, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1261).

AMIO OF AYS (T) seneschal 1190–1

name: The thirteenth-century copy of an 1182 charter seems to reproduce the script of the original document's *intitulatio*, giving his first name as *FRATER AMIO* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 205).

origin: France. *Ays*, toponym (Aix-en-Provence), family name, and resembling the name of a Templar house in dép. Loir-et-Cher (Les Aizes). *Burgunhun* (Burgundian), toponym (Joinville, § 663; Léonard, *Introduction*, 184; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 157).

family: noble family of Ays? It is unknown whether he was related to them (Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 157, suggests that he was). It is unknown whether Amio was related to the Templars Peter of Ays (master of Apulia and the Terra di Lavoro, 1214: Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 131; Guzzo, *Templari*, 26; Claverie II, 121–2) or Raymond Ayz (master of Périgord, 1240: Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 25).

identity: probably identical with the Templar *Aimo Burgundun* of → 1194 I 5. Not identical with the Templar Seneschal *Relis* (→ Roric of La Courtine).

literature: Carrière, *Histoire*, 25; Léonard, *Introduction*, 119; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 260; Bulst-Thiele, 124; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 298; Marillier, *Armorial*, 140; Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 387–9; Mayer II, 910; Claverie I, 32, 44, 105–6, 117; II, 121, 322; Burgtorf, "Selbstverständnis," 34–5.

1169 VIII 20, Acre: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Ermio de Asio* (*CH* I 409; *RRH* 466; date: Mayer II, 156, 870).

1179, Le Flîémet: charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of Hautmont), party to the agreement/witness: *Amio Dei gratia fratrum Templi Hierosolimitani dictus magister et ipsorum in citramarinis regionibus precipuus procurator... signum Amionis de Aiz* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 37–8; Duvivier, *Recherches*, II, 621–2 n. 144bis; Dailiez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 322–3 n. 34, 374).

1179, (Flanders): charter (by the abbot of Haumont), mention: *Aimon lors lieutenant par dega la mar* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 39–41).

1180, (Champagne): charter (for the monastery of Le Paraclet), issuer: *ego frater Anno de Ais humilis minister Templi cis mare* (Coll. d'Albon 52, f. 14).

(1179–80), EU: charter, co-issuers: Brother Albert of Vallibus et *frater Ysmido de Ais cismarinarum domorum militie Templi Salomonis procuratores* (*Mémoires de l'Académie impériale de Savoie*, 2nd series, XI, 338 n. 218; Le Couteulx, *Annales*, II, 398–9).

1181, (Paris): charter (for the Praemonstratensian abbey of *Bona Spes*), co-issuer: *Amio de Aez magister Parisiensis* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 48–50).

1181, Paris (*datum*) and Noyon (*actum*): charter (agreement between the Templars of Paris and the dean and church of Noyon), party to the agreement: *frater Amio Dei gratia magister milite Templi Salomonis cis mare* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 202–3).

1182, Bourges: charter (agreement between the Templars and the chapter of St. Stephen in Bourges), party to the agreement: *ego frater Amio domorum cismarinarum Templi procurator humilis* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 17–18).

1182, EU: charter (agreement between the Templars of Paris and the dean and church of Noyon), party to the agreement: *frater Amio Dei gratia magister militie Templi Salomonis cis mare* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 205–7. The surviving fragment of the seal of this document features domed arcades and bears the circumscription +*MILIT(Vm)(TEm) PLI. SAL.*

1183, Paris: charter, issuer: *frater Aimo magister milicie Templi* (BN, lat. 5480, f. 442. According to this eighteenth-century copy of the charter, the green wax seal

- appended by green silk threads to the original document featured domed arcades (front) and an abraxas holding a bow in his right hand (back), and bore the circumscription +*SECRETVM. TEMPLI* (front), +*MIL TEMPLI SAL* (back). Despite the title given here, Amio was merely the master of the west or perhaps even just master of France).
- 1183, Paris: charter, issuer: *frater Amio magister milicie Templi citra mare* (Moutié, *Recueil*, 77–8).
- 1184, (Paris): charter (for the abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés), issuer: *Aimo Dei gratia cis mare domus Templi humilis magister* (Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 54–5; Poupardin, *Recueil*, II, 7–8 n. 233).
- 1185, (Crécy): charter (for a certain Reynald), issuer: *ego frater Amianus d(e) Ais cis mare domus milicie Templi humilis magister* (Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 57).
- 1185, (Laonnois): charter (agreement between the church of Calmont and the Templar preceptory of *Serencurt*), party to the agreement/witness: *ego Amio de Aüs cis mare domum Templi magister* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 35).
- 1186, St. Marc (Auxerrois): charter (for the priory of St. Gervase), issuer: *frater A(mio) Dei permissione magister cis Alpes Templi* (Coll. d'Albon 55, f. 553–4; Prou and Vichier, *Recueil*, II, 147–8 n. 260).
- 1186, Le Flîmet: charter (for the abbey of Hautmont), issuer/witness: *(A)imo Dei permissione magister fratrum Templi Hierosolimitani in partibus citramarinis... signum Amionis de Aiz* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 56–7; Daillicz, *Templiers en Flandre*, 165, 167, 325–6 n. 42, 375).
- (1179–86; undated), (Paris): charter (for St. Victor in Paris), issuer: *ego Aimo de Aüs unus ex militibus et fratribus Templi cui rerum Templi que citra mare sunt cura et administratio commissa est* (Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 46–7).
- (1179–86; undated), EU: charter, issuer: *frater Amio humilis citra mare domus milicie Templi minister* (Douët d'Arcq, *Collection*, III, 241 n. 9859. The wax seal attached to this document features two men, armed with lances and sitting on a horse facing left, and bears the circumscription +*SIGIL MILITVM CRISTI*. Douët d'Arcq, *ibid.*, dated this charter, without giving any reason, to 'approximately 1202,' and scholars have followed this dating since then (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 248–9 n. 245, from Paris, Archives Nationales, 5007, n. 36; *ibid.*, n. 245bis, from London, British Museum, W. de Gray, Birch Cat., n. 21082; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 125 n. 167, Bulst-Thiele, 369; Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 65; Mayer II, 910; Claverie I, 32, 44, 117; II, 322). However, by 1202, Amio had left the order. Since the *intitulatio* of this charter is almost identical with that of a charter of → 1180, I suggest that this charter be dated to (1179–86) when Amio was certainly holding the office of master of the west).
- 1190 IV (beginning of the month), near Acre: charter (a certain Amadeus for the Templars), witness: *fratre Amione de Hais* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 23).
- (1190) X (before 21), near Acre: charter (Count Henry I of Bar for the Templars), co-recipient/witness: *fratri Aimoni de Ais senescalco milicie Templi... frater Aimo de Ais senescallus milicie Templi* (Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1).
- (1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Guy and Odo of Chouilly, with the consent of their brother Hugh, for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratris Amionis de Ais domus Templi senescalli* (Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13).
- (1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Henry of Arzillières for the Templars), witness: *fratre Aimione de Ays senescallo* (Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14; date: I accept Mayer's *terminus post quem* (1190 VII 28), but for the *terminus ante quem* I suggest (1191 IV 13), which Mayer, *ibid.*, also considered a possibility. → Gilbert Eral, who appears as grand preceptor in this charter, became master of the west before the end of the *annus incarnationis* 1190, which (following an Easter-style dating) ended 1191 IV 13. The charter was certainly issued before 1191 V 9 when → Roric of La Courtine was Templar seneschal).
- (1186–93; undated), EU: charter (by Archbishop Guy of Sens), mention (retrospectively): *frater Amio de Aüs tunc temporis cis mare magister* (Coll. d'Albon 54, f. 84–5; date: Amio

- served as master of the west at least until 1186, and Archbishop Guy of Sens was in office 1176–93).
- 1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Aimo Burgunhun* (CH I 972; RRH 717; date: Mayer II, 883).
- 1198 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Girbert Eral for the abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *fratre vero Aimone* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; RRH 740a. Amio subsequently left the order, because he was no longer appointed to any of the high offices. There were obviously no hard feelings because, in → 1211, he was traveling in the Templars' company).
- 1200 VIII, Acre: charter (King Aimery of Jerusalem and Cyprus for the Teutonic Order), witness: *Aimon Daus* (Strehlke, 29–30 n. 36; RRH 774).
- (1202; undated), EU: this evidence has been re-dated: → (1179–86; undated), second document.
- 1206 V 1, Acre: charter (John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut and *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem, for the Teutonic Order), witness: *Aymo Dais* (Strehlke, 33–4 n. 41; RRH 812).
- 1206 IX 21, Acre: charter (Maria la Marquise, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat and Isabella of Jerusalem, for Peter II of Aragón), guarantor: *Amions Dais* (ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242; Claverie III, 266–7 n. 306).
- 1210 X 3, Tyre: chronicle: *Amio d'Ays* attended John of Brienne's coronation as king of Jerusalem (Eracles, 311; cf. Amadi, 97–8; date: Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten," 77).
- 1211 VI 17, Acre: charter (King John of Jerusalem and his wife Maria for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Amio d'Ays* (Bresc-Bautier, 336–7 n. 179; Rozière, 268–9 n. 145; RRH 853; date: Hiestand (review), "Bresc-Bautier," 287).
- 1211, Armenia: chronicle: *Amion d'Ays* and Geoffrey of Cafran, acting on behalf of King John of Jerusalem, served as the leaders (*cheveteines*) of a delegation of knights who, together with a group of Templars and with the consent of Bohemond IV of Antioch, traveled to Armenia and successfully forced Leo I of Armenia to surrender the Templar castle of Baghras (Eracles, 317).

AMORAVIUS (H) treasurer 1156–9

name: In minuscule writing, *m*, *n*, *in*, *vi*, *iv*, *ui*, and *iu* are sometimes hard to distinguish.

I retain the spelling 'Amoravius.'

origin: France? The sole clue is his appearance in Manosque (1168).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

1150 V 24, TS: charter (Robert of the Casale St. Gilles for the Hospitallers), witness: *Amoravius* (CH I 192; RRH 257).

1156, (Jerusalem): charter (agreement/exchange between the cleric Roger and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Amoramus thesaurarius* (CH I 249; RRH 329).

1159 I 25, (Jerusalem): charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Hospitallers), witness: *A. thesaurarius* (CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330; date: Mayer II, 864).

(1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for the *burgenses* of Bethgibelin), witness: *frater Amoravius* (CH I 399; RRH 457; date: the document provides the incarnation year of 1168, which began on 1167 XII 25 at the earliest, and the 'sixty-ninth year of the liberation of Jerusalem' which ended on 1168 VII 13).

1168, Manosque: charter (Count Bertrand II of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Amoravio* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 330; CH I 385).

[ANDREW (H) hospitaller? 1238]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, incorrectly features him in his list of hospitallers of the order of St. John. In 1238 XII, according to the eighteenth-century summary of a thirteenth-century charter, the *infirmier* Andrew received a donation for the Hospitallers on behalf of the Grand Preceptor Peter of Vieillebride (CH II 2212; RRH 1084a). One has to distinguish between the conventual hospitaller and the infirmarer.

A charter issued on 1237 VI 18 by the abovementioned Peter of Vieillebride features the Hospitaller (*hospitalers*) Robert, namely → Robert of Vincis, as well as *frère Andres de l'enfermerie* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; Manosque, f. 409' 44 C; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b). The latter (probably identical with the Andrew of the abovementioned charter of 1238 XII) was merely the infirmarer.

ANDREW OF MONTBARD (T) seneschal 1148–51; master 1153–6

origin: France. Montbard, family name in Burgundy.

family: noble family of Montbard. Bernard I of Montbard (d. c.1105) and his wife Humberga (who belonged to a noble family from Franche Comté) had at least eight children, among them the future Templar Andrew of Montbard, as well as a daughter (Aletha) who married Tescelin of Châtillon-sur-Seine and became the mother of Bernard of Clairvaux. Two of Andrew's brothers later became monks at Cîteaux (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XV, tables 58, 61; Laurent, "Seigneurs," 14). *literature*: Bulst-Thiele, 49, 57–61; Barber, "Origins," 226–9; Selwood, "Quidam," 228; Selwood, *Knights*, 59; Jankrift, *Leprose*, 47, 183; Hiestand, "Bernard," 301–20; Claverie, "Débuts," 552; Claverie I, 105, 232; II, 137, 163, 321.

1129, (Montbard): charter (for the monastery of Molesme), issuer: Bernard of Montbard and several of his relatives, among them *Andreas predicti Bernardi avunculus* (Laurent, *Cartulaires*, II, n. 263. Andrew's participation in this 'family affair' and the fact that the charter does not refer to him as *frater* has caused scholars to deduce that he was probably a layman in 1129 and joined the Templars later (Bulst-Thiele, 58; Barber, "Origins," 228). However, his role in this transaction and a 'membership' in the new Templar community are not mutually exclusive (Selwood, "Quidam," 228); after all, the Templars did not receive a rule until 1129).

(1130 late fall; undated), (France): letter (Bernard of Clairvaux to Patriarch William I of Jerusalem), mention: *frater Andreas* was to inform the patriarch about Bernard's opinion regarding the establishment of Cistercians in the Latin east (*S. Bernardi epistolae*, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, I, 393 n. 175; *CT* 35; *RRH* 238 (part II); date: Hiestand, "Bernard," 301–20).

(1130–5; undated), TS: letter (Baldwin II of Jerusalem, d. 1131 VIII 18, or Fulk, crowned 1131 IX 14, to Bernard of Clairvaux), mention: *Andream et Gundemarum* [Geoffrey of St. Omer] *bellicis operibus et sanguinis stemmate claros* whom the king was sending so that they might receive the pope's confirmation of their order (*CT* 1; *RRH* 116; date: Hiestand, "Bernard," 301–20).

(1144; undated), Clairvaux: letter (Bernard of Clairvaux to Queen Melisendis of Jerusalem), mention: *avunculus meus Andreas* (*S. Bernardi epistolae*, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, II, 65 n. 206; date: Melisendis's husband, King Fulk, had died on 1143 XI 10, whereupon Melisendis, officially together with her son Baldwin III, who was still a minor, assumed the regency. Andrew probably informed Bernard of these developments, and Bernard subsequently wrote this letter to the queen, probably in 1144).

1148 (summer), (Jerusalem): charter (Barisan of Ibelin for St. Lazarus), witness: *Andreas de Muntbar dapifer* (*CT* 512; Marsy, 126–7 n. 5; *RRH* 252; date: since the Templar Master → Robert (II Burgundio) does not appear here, even though he was in the east at the time, the charter was probably issued during the summer of 1148 in Jerusalem, while Robert was participating in crusade deliberations at Acre: Guillaume de Tyr XVII.1, 760–1; *RRH* 250).

(1149 spring; undated), Clairvaux: letter (Bernard of Clairvaux to Queen Melisendis of Jerusalem), mention: *Andreas carissimus avunculus meus* (*S. Bernardi epistolae*, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, 205–6 n. 289; date: this letter must have been written before Bernard's letter to Andrew, → (1149 spring; undated)).

(1149 spring; undated), Clairvaux: letter (by Bernard of Clairvaux), addressee: Andrew, his uncle (*S. Bernardi epistolae*, ed. Leclercq and Rochais, 203–4 n. 288; date: this letter must have been written shortly after the failure of the Second Crusade had become known: "S. Bernardi vita prima," ed. Migne, 351; Dinzelbacher, *Bernard*, 358).

- (1149 after VI 29), (Jerusalem): letter (to Templar Master Everard of Barres), sender: *frater Andreas ejusdem militiae dapifer dictus et omnium fratrum humillimus conventus* (RHGF XV, 540–1; RRH 261).
- (1150 XII 25–1151 VIII 31), (Jerusalem): charter (Queen Melisendis for St. Lazarus), witness: *Andreas militum Templi dapifer* (Marsy, 130–1 n. 10; RRH 269; date: Mayer II, 862).
- 1151 V (5), TS: charter (Humphrey of Toron for St. Lazarus), witness: *Andreas dapifer* (Marsy, 129–30 n. 9; RRH 266; date: the charter only mentions the month; however, it is conceivable that the document was issued on V 5 since St. Lazarus was supposed to receive the incomes given here annually on the feast of St. Hilary which is celebrated on V 5).
- 1152 IV 20, Tyre: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *Andreas de Monte Barro* (Delaborde, *Chartes*, 67–70 n. 29; RRH 291; date: Mayer II, 862).
- 1153 (I/II–VIII 19), near Ascalon, during the siege: information from a later charter (→ 1155 VII 3): Philip of Nablus donated the Casale Zaythar to St. Lazarus, witness: *Andreas de Monte Barro militiae Templi magister* (Marsy, 133–4 n. 14; RRH 308. Jankrift, *Leprose*, 47, incorrectly dates this donation to 1155 which was, in fact, the year it was confirmed by Count Amalric of Ascalon. During most of the siege of Ascalon (1153 I/II–VIII 19), namely until the day of his death on 1153 VIII 16, Bernard of Tremelay was the master of the Templars. It is unlikely, albeit not impossible, that Andrew succeeded him within the remaining three days of the siege. The title *militiae Templi magister* used here probably refers to the day this charter was confirmed, → 1155 VII 3, when Andrew of Montbard was indeed the order's master).
- 1155 VI 27, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Andreas de Monte Barro magister Templi* (Bresc-Bautier, 109–10 n. 39; Rozière, 93–5 n. 51; RRH 306).
- 1155 VI 27, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Andreas de Monte Barro Templi magister* (Bresc-Bautier, 111–12 n. 40; Rozière, 95–7 n. 52; RRH 307).
- 1155 VII 3, Jerusalem: charter (by Count Amalric of Ascalon), mention (retrospectively): *Andreas de Monte Barro militiae Templi magister* had, during the siege of Ascalon (i.e. before he became master), witnessed a donation made by Philip of Nablus to St. Lazarus, → 1153 (I/II–VIII 19) (Marsy, 133–4 n. 14; RRH 308).
- (1153 after VIII 16–1156 I 17), TS: list of Templar masters: *magister Andreas Brooke* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, “Documents,” 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16. The list does not contain any further explanation of the cognomen *Brooke*).
- (1156) I 17, TS: list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): *XVI k(a)l(endas) febr(uarii) obiit frat(er) Andreas de Monte Barri, qu(a)rtus mag(iste)r Te(m)pl(i)* (BN, lat. 15054, f. 40; Bulst-Thiele, 61; date: Andrew was still alive on → 1155 VII 3, but his successor was in office by 1156 XI 2 (Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; RRH 322). After Hugh of Payns, Robert (II Burgundio), Everard of Barres, and Bernard of Tremelay, Andrew was actually not the fourth but, rather, the fifth Templar master).
- 1156 IV 6, Benevento: charter (Pope Hadrian IV for the Templars), recipient: *Andree dominici Templi magistri* (CT, Bullaire, 22; Papsturkunden in Spanien, ed. Kehr, 352–3 n. 74. The pope was apparently unaware of Andrew's passing).

ANDREW POLIN (H) (grand) preceptor 1235

origin: France? *Polinium*, toponym in dép. Haute-Loire (Polignac) and dép. Indre (Poullaines) (Graesse III, 174). Röhrich, 547, suggests *pullanus* (an eastern Christian), which is unlikely considering Andrew's brief service in the east and long service in France.

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller preceptor of → 1235 VII 28.

- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 417; Bulst-Thiele, 218, 226, 230; Barber, 153; Bronstein, 82, 147, 154; Claverie I, 363; Carraz, *Ordre*, 495.
- 1235 VII 28, Perugia: letter (by Pope Gregory IX), addressee: *preceptor et fratribus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani* (*Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, n. 2703. On the same day, the pope sent similar letters to the Templar master and the preceptor of the Teutonic Order in Acre: *ibid.*, n. 2704–5).
- 1235 XI, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Guerin for Nicholas Antelini), witness: *frater Andreas Polin magnus preceptor Acconensis* (*CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063).
- 1239 II, Paris: charter, issuer: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2219).
- 1239 VII, EU: charter (by Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy), mention: *tunc temporis priorem in Francia fratrem Andream Polin* (*CH* II 2231).
- 1239 VII, EU: charter/*vidimus* (by Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy), mention: *fratre Andrea Polin existente priore Francie* (Coll. d'Albon 71, f. 259–9'; *CH* II 2232).
- 1239 X, EU: charter, issuer: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2240).
- 1241 IV, EU: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Pollin sancte domus Hospitalis Jherusalem prior humilis in Francia* (*CH* II 2271).
- 1241 VI 28, Ludgershall: letter (by Henry III of England), addressee: *fratri...[NN], priori Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Francia* (*CH* IV 2276bis).
- 1241 VI, Cérifiers: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Polin sancte domus Hospitalis Jherusalem prior humilis in Francia* (*CH* II 2275).
- 1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere André Polin* (*CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102. Andrew had probably traveled to the east to render account. In his absence, Simon served as lieutenant prior of France: *CH* II 2285).
- (1242 after IX 17–1243 V), TS: letter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf to Thibaut IV/I, count of Champagne and king of Navarre), mention: *fratri Andree Polini quem ad partes vestras sub fiducia vestri patrocini mittimus pro priore* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 76; García Larragueta, *Gran priorado*, II, 297–8 n. 304; Castro, *Catálogo*, I, 187 n. 384; *RRH* 1140; date: *terminus post quem* is the death of Hospitaller Master → Peter of Vieillebride on 1242 IX 17, because the sender is Peter's successor, → William of Châteauneuf; *terminus ante quem* is Andrew's arrival in the west, namely → 1243 V at the latest).
- 1243 V, EU: charter, issuer: Andrew, prior of France (*CH* II 2295).
- 1244 X, EU: charter, issuer: *frater A(ndreas) prior Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Francia* (*CH* II 2338).
- 1245 V, EU: charter (by the Knight Gerard of St. Symphorien), mention: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2356).
- 1246 IV 16, EU: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Polin sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem prior humilis in Francia* (*CH* II 2398).
- 1246 VIII 19, Marseilles: charter (agreement between Hospitallers, Templars, and the *syndici* of Marseilles, with regard to Marseilles furnishing twenty ships and ten galleys for the upcoming crusade of Louis IX of France), party to the agreement: *fratrem Andream Pollinum priorem sancte domus Hospitalis Ierosolymitani in Francia* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 369–73 n. 1; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, II, 632–3 n. 3557; *CH* II 2413).
- 1246 IX 13, Genoa: charter (agreement between Hospitallers, Templars, other envoys of Louis IX of France, and Genoa, with regard to the chartering of sixteen ships for the upcoming crusade), party to the agreement: *fratrem Andream Polinum priorem Hospitalis Ierosolimitani in Francia* (Belgrano, “Charte,” 232, insert in the charter of → 1246 X).
- 1246 X, St.-Germain-en-Laye: charter (by Louis IX of France), mention: Andrew Polin, prior of France, and his negotiations in Genoa (*CH* II 2425; → 1246 IX 13).
- 1247 VI, EU: charter (by Abbot Michael of Notre-Dame-de-Silly), mention: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2444).
- 1247 IX 18, Dijon: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Polin sancte domus Hospitalis Jherusalem prior humilis in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 71, f. 274–4'; *CH* II 2457).

- 1247 X, Paris: charter, issuer: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2458).
 1248 II, EU: charter, issuer: Andrew Polin, prior of France (*CH* II 2464).
 1248 V, Paris: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Polin sancte domus Hospitalis Jherusalem prior humilis in Francia* (*CH* II 2468).
 1248 VI, EU: charter, issuer: *frater Andreas Poulins sancte domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani prior humilis in Francia* (*CH* II 2474).
 1260 XII, EU: charter (by Seguin, “curé de Sampigny”), mention (retrospectively): Andrew Polin, former prior of France (*CH* II 2969).

[ANSELM (H) preceptor? 1178]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, features him with reservations in his list of conventual (grand) preceptors. Anselm appears as the first witness of a donation made to the Hospitallers in their priory of St. Gilles in 1178 (*CH* I 528: *S. Ansermi preceptoris*). That year, → Raymond of St. Michael was the order’s conventual preceptor, and a certain Geoffrey was preceptor of the west (*CH* IV, p. 254 n. 528bis). Since the abovementioned donation charter only gives the (incarnation) year (1178), and since both the conventual preceptorate and the preceptorate of the west may have changed hands that year, it is conceivable that Anselm held either one of these offices in 1178. However, it seems more likely that he was the order’s preceptor of St. Gilles (an office held by the future Treasurer → Peter Galterii in 1177). Considering the prestige of St. Gilles and the fact that the donation of 1178 was directed toward that priory, it is not surprising that the witness list features the priory’s preceptor even before the prior of England. Anselm’s origin is unknown. He may have been identical with *frater Anselmus* who served as the lieutenant prior of France in 1189 (*CH* I 868).

ANSELM OF LUCCA (H) treasurer 1201

origin: Italy. Lucca, toponym in Tuscany.

family: His nephew (Roland) is mentioned in a charter of → 1201 IV 27 (cf. also *CH* II 2353; *RRH* 1135).

identity: probably identical with the layman of the same name (apparently a *burgensis* of Acre) who witnessed charters in the east between → 1179 X 22 and 1194 I 5, and who seems to have established a good relationship with the Hospitallers before he entered the order some time after → 1198 VIII 21.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Mayer II, 337; Bronstein, 138, 147.

1179 X 22, Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for Count Joscelin, his uncle), witness: *Antelmus de Luca* (Strehlke, 11–12 n. 11; *RRH* 587; date: Mayer II, 877).

1180 I 21, Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), mention/witness: *Antelmum de Luca...Antelmus de Luca* (*CH* I 579; *RRH* 591).

1183 III 19, Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for Count Joscelin, his uncle), witness: *Antelmus de Luca* (Strehlke, 15–16 n. 16; *RRH* 624).

1184, near Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for a certain Bisanson), witness: *Antelmi Lucensis* (*CH* I 663; *RRH* 640).

1193, Acre: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *Antelmus de Lucha* (Strehlke, 24–5 n. 28; *CH* I 939; *RRH* 716; date: Mayer II, 572, 883).

1193 V, Acre: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Pisans), witness: *Antelmo de Luca* (Müller, *Documenti*, n. 37; *RRH* 713).

1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *Antelmus de Luca* (*CH* I 972; *RRH* 717; date: Mayer II, 883).

1198 VIII 21, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *Antelmi de Luca* (*CH* I 1031; *RRH* 742). The witness list includes the castellans of Krak des Chevaliers and of Margat, followed by Anselm of Lucca, two Hospitaller brothers, the preceptors of Antioch and Tripoli, the prior of France, and the order’s hospitaller. Anselm is the only one of these not labeled *frater*, which means that, unless

this is an accidental omission of the scribe or the editor, Anselm was not (yet) a *frater professus* but, rather, a layman serving the order and enjoying such prestige that he was be listed among and even before some of the order's highest dignitaries).

1201 IV 27, (Acre): charter (Marin Mazuc, a Genoese, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Antelmi thesaurarii tunc temporis domus ejusdem* (CH II 1145; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 216–17 n. 174; *RRH* 783. Marin donated four shops in Acre, two of which were adjacent to a shop of the Hospitallers on the one side and adjacent to a shop belonging to a certain Roland, the nephew of Brother Anselm of Lucca, on the other side: *ex alia parte stationi Rollandi nepotis fratris Antelmi de Luca*. Delaville Le Roulx edited this phrase as follows: *ex alia parte stationi Rollandi Nepotis, fratris Antelmi de Luca*, which makes Roland Nepos the brother of Anselm of Lucca. Pauli's edition, probably based on the original document which has since been lost, omits the comma. In my opinion, the comma should be placed as follows: *ex alia parte stationi Rollandi, nepotis fratris Antelmi de Luca*, which makes Roland the nephew of Brother Anselm of Lucca, who, after all, was a Hospitaller at this time. *Rolandus de Luca*, mentioned in 1245 IV 3 (CH II 2353; *RRH* 1135), may be identical with (or at least related to) Anselm's nephew Roland).

1201 V, (Acre): charter (Christine, daughter of the late Roger of Cayphas, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Antelmus de Luca tunc temporis ejusdem domus thesaurarius* (CH II 1146; *RRH* 784).

ANTHONY (T) prior 1271

origin: Latin east. *Suria* (Tyre or Syria), toponym (*Procès* I, 646).

literature: Claverie II, 323.

(1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): circa forty years earlier, when Anthony Sici had interacted with the Templars in the east as their *clericus et notarius*, he had seen *quemdam priorem domus Aconensis Antonium nomine qui de Suria fuerat oriundus*, whose lower extremities were paralyzed, and in whose chamber chapter meetings of the order's high officials were taking place. Moreover, he had heard that this Anthony was very wise, and that he had invented many subtleties and clauses, which had sometimes been interpreted in a positive way and sometimes in a negative way (*Procès* I, 646).

1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).

ARCHEMBALD (H) preceptor 1185

origin: Italy? The clues are his tenure as prior of Venice (1180–1) and master of Italy (1187–8).

literature: CH IV, p. 380 (index); Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 419; Bulst-Thiele, 109; Favreau, “Zur Pilgerfahrt,” 31–46; Demurger, *Templiers*, 323.

1180, EU: charter (by Count Rudolph of Pfullendorf), mention: *fratri Archanbaldo priori Hospitalis Venetiarum* (Favreau, “Zur Pilgerfahrt,” 45).

1181 I, Venice: charter (for Stephen Barozzi, proctor of St. Mark), issuer: *Ercimbaldus frater Hospitalis Ierusalem et prior Sancti Egidii de Venecia* (Favreau, “Zur Pilgerfahrt,” 43; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 57; “Regesti,” ed. Bramato, n. 45. Demurger, *Templiers*, 323, incorrectly dates this document to 1181 VI).

1185, TS: charter (Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers), co-recipient/mention: *fratris Erchenbaldi tunc ejusdem sacratissime domus preceptoris... predictus Erchembaldus* (CH I 754; *RRH* 642; date: Mayer II, 878).

1187 (after VII 4–late IX), TS: letter (by the Hospitallers), addressee: *dom(i)no Archumbaldo magistro hospitalarium Italie* (“Magni presbyteri Annales,” ed. Wattenbach, 508; Ansbert, *Historia*, 3: ms. M; CH I 832; *RRH* 661).

1188 X, (Tyre): charter (Hospitaller Master Armengaud of Asp for Queen Sancha of Aragón), consent-giver: *fratris Archimbaudi preceptoris Italie* (CH I 860; *RRH* 677).

ARMANGAUD (T) → IRMENGAUD (T)

ARNOLD (T) prior 1243

origin: unknown.*literature:* Antweiler, *Bistum*, 137–9; Claverie II, 161, 322.

1243 X 8, Anagni: letter (by Pope Innocent IV), co-addressee: *fratri Arnardo priori domus milicie Templi in Accon* (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 188. The pope also addressed this letter to the bishop of Tiberias and a canon from Antioch, and asked the addressees to investigate the recent episcopal election in Tripoli).

ARNOLD OF CASTELLNOU (T) grand preceptor 1277

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Castellnou, toponym near Lleida and family name (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 604; Forey, *Aragón*, 212/3 (map); Forey, 72). Barber, “Order of Saint Lazarus,” 443, suggests a connection between Arnold and the crusader lordship of Châteauneuf (Hunin) in the northern Galilee; however, there is no evidence to support this.

family: vicecomital family of Castellnou. Viscount William VI of Castellnou (d.1248) was probably Arnold's father. Arnold's brothers were Viscount William (VII) of Castellnou, who traveled with him to France (→ 1272 X 27), and Dalmat of Castellnou, who appeared in one of his charters (→ 1269 VIII 13) (Forey, *Aragón*, 312; Riu, “Castellnou,” 1559). It is unknown whether Arnold was related to any of the following Templars with the cognomen ‘of Castellnou’ who served in the order's province of Aragón-Catalonia: Arnold (brother in Gardeny, 1187: Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 750–1 n. 509), Geoffrey (preceptor of Miravet, 1210–12; preceptor of Gardeny, 1216–21: Miret y Sans, *Cartoral*, 19; Forey, *Aragón*, 430, 436), Peter (preceptor of various places: Alfambra, 1204–6; Villed, 1206; Miravet, Tortosa, and La Ribera, 1207–10; Ambel, 1210; Castellote, 1223: Forey, *Aragón*, 423, 428, 422, 435, 443), Raymond (brother in Huesca, 1146, 1165: Forey, *Aragón*, 97), or William (preceptor of Boquiñeni, 1263–4: Forey, *Aragón*, 427); or to the layman Jasper of Castellnou who appeared with him in a charter on → 1268 III 19.

literature: Campomanes, *Dissertaciones*, 65; Rey, 369; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 247, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Forey, *Aragón*, 344, 420; Bulst-Thiele, 113, 266–7; Forey, *Fall*, 77; Claverie I, 374; II, 323.

1266 VI 22, Viterbo: charter (William Mabili, proctor of the city of Tortosa at the papal court, for the Templars), recipient: *fratri Arnaldo procuratori milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 142–3 n. 113).

1266 VI 23, Viterbo: charter (Geoffrey, cardinal deacon of St. George *ad velum aureum*, for the Templars of Aragón-Catalonia and the city of Tortosa), mention: *frater Arnaldus procurator* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 143 n. 114).

1267 VII 15, Monzón: charter (for the Muslim settlers of Villastar), issuer: *frater A. de Castro Novo domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia magister humilis* (Forey, *Aragón*, 395–7 n. 24).

1267 VIII 10, Barcelona: charter (by James I of Aragón), mention: Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia (*CH* III 3273).

1267 X 19, Perpignan: charter (agreement between the consuls of Perpignan and the Templars of Mas Deu), party to the agreement: *fratrem Arnaldum de Castro Novo magistrum ordinis milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 29, f. 345–9; Vinas, *Ordre*, 187–9 n. 3; Verdon, *Terre*, 225).

1268 III 19, Algizir: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), recipient: *fratri A. de Castro Novo magistro milicie Templi* (of Aragón-Catalonia) (Forey, *Aragón*, 397–8 n. 25).

1268 IX 27, (Aragón-Catalonia): charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), recipient: *fratri A. de Castro Novo magistro milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 225).

- 1268 XII 17, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Dalmat of Seró, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for the city of Tortosa), mention: *fratris Arnaldi de Castronovo domorum milicie Templi in Aragonie et Cathalonia magistri* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 144–5 n. 115).
- 1269 VIII 13, (Aragón-Catalonia): charter (arbitration between Viscount William of Castellnou and his brother Dalmat of Castellnou), arbiter: *fratrem Arnaldum de Castro Novo magistrum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 27, f. 365–6).
- 1271 VI 14, Perpignan: charter (Bernard of Ulmis for the Templars of Mas Deu), recipient: *fratri A(rnald)o de Castro Novo magistro Templi in Arago(n)ia et Cathalo(n)ia* (Coll. d'Albon 30, f. 354–60).
- 1271 VI 15, Perpignan: charter (Bernard of Ulmis for the Templars of Mas Deu), co-recipient: *fratri A(rnald)o de Castro Novo magistro Templi in Arago(n)ia et Cathalo(n)ia* (Coll. d'Albon 30, f. 361–3).
- 1271 VI 22, Perpignan: charter (by the bishop of Elne): recipient: *fratri A(rnald)o de Castro Novo comendatori majori in Arago(n)ia et Cathalo(n)ia* (Coll. d'Albon 30, f. 364–6; cf. Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 18).
- 1271 VIII 27, (Tortosa, Spain), charter (for Raymond of Montcada), issuer: *frater Arnaldus de Castronovo domorum milicie Templi in Aragonie et Cathalonia magister humilis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 145–6 n. 116).
- 1271 XII 8, (Aragón-Catalonia): charter (agreement between the Templars and the Infante James, d.1311, son of James I of Aragón and brother of the future king, Peter III of Aragón), party to the agreement and witness: *fratris Arnaldi de Castro Novo magistri humilis milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 27, f. 389–95).
- 1271, (Aragón-Catalonia): charter (agreement between the Templars and James I of Aragón), party to the agreement: *Arnaldus de Castro novo humilis Templi m(a)g(ist)er in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 19; Verdon, *Terre*, 223–4).
- 1272 III 30, (Aragón-Catalonia): secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia, outlined in a charter how royal officials were to proceed against the subjects of the order that had been accused of manslaughter or assault (Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 328).
- 1272 IV 25, Lleida: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), recipient: *fr(atr)i Arnaldo de Castronovo magistro milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catt(aloni)a* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 230–1; Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 148–9 n. 118).
- 1272 X 27, Montpellier: letter (James I of Aragón to Raymond, viscount of Cardona), mention: *nostros sollempnes et honorabiles nuntios* (sent to Philip III of France)... *venerabiles episcopum Barchinone, fratrem A. de Castronovo magistrum Templi, et G. de Castronovo, fratrem ejus* (Baudon de Mony, *Relations*, II, 147–8 n. 147).
- 1272 XI 2, Montpellier: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), recipient: *fratri A. de Castro novo magistro m(ilitie) T(empl)i in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 365–6 n. 11).
- 1272 XI 2, Montpellier: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), recipient: *fratri A. de Castronovo magistri militie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 232–5, insert in a charter of 1515 V 15; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366–7 n. 22).
- 1272 XI, (Montpellier): list of letters carried by the Aragonese envoys traveling to France: *(re)membranza de les cartes que portaren lo bisbe de Barcelona, el maestre del Temple* [Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia] *e en G., vezcomte de Castelnou, quan anaren al rey de Franza* (Baudon de Mony, *Relations*, II, 148–9 n. 149).
- 1272, Lleida: charter (agreement between the officials of James I of Aragón and the Templars), party to the agreement: *Arnoldum de Castro novo*, master of Aragón-Catalonia (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 312–13 n. 5).
- 1273 I 11 and II 16, Perpignan: charter (by the Templar preceptor of Perpignan), consent-giver (1273 I 11): *fratris Arnaldi de Castro Novo magistri domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia*; witness (1273 II 16): *idem* (Coll. d'Albon 30, f. 104–6, 107).
- 1273 IV 12, Lleida: charter (by James I of Aragón), mention: *fratri Arnaldo de Castronovo magistro milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 152 n. 122).

- 1273 VII 17, (Mas Deu): charter (Abbot Bernard of St. Salvator for the Templars of Mas Deu), mention: *fratris A. de Castro Novo magistri domus Templi in Arag(onia) et Cathalo(n)ia* (Coll. d'Albon 27, f. 404–14).
- 1273 XI 12, Alcira: charter (by James I of Aragón), mention: Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia (*CH* III 3521).
- 1274 (V–VII), Lyons: secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou participated in the Second Council of Lyons (Campomanes, *Dissertationes*, 65).
- (1276), Gardeny: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter Gamir, → 1310 II 23, Lleida): Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia, had received Peter Gamir into the order circa thirty-four years earlier (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 192 n. 19; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- 1277 (early in the year), TS: secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou, master of Aragón-Catalonia, was in the Latin east (Forey, *Aragón*, 334, citing ACA, Parch. Peter III, n. 20: in Spain, → Peter of Montcada was serving as his lieutenant).
- 1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *Arnaldo de Castronovo magno praeceptore* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).
- 1278 II, (Aragón-Catalonia): secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou served as master of Aragón-Catalonia (Forey, *Aragón*, 334, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Gran Priorado de Navarra, Parch. Espluga de Francolí, n. 394).
- 1278, (Spain): secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou served as Templar visitor for the Iberian Peninsula (Forey, *Aragón*, 329, 342).
- (1267–78), (Aragón-Catalonia): secondary literature: Arnold of Castellnou commissioned two cartularies in the vernacular (VOPI, 16, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección Codices, 597B, 598B, VOP I, 141–4; Bulst-Thiele, 113).
- 1310 II 23, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1276).

ARNOLD OF MONTBRUN (H) marshal 1232–3

origin: France. *Mons brunus*, toponym in southern France (Montbrun in dép. Lozère or dép. Haute-Vienne; Montbrun-les-Bains in dép. Drôme (Graesse II, 595; Bronstein, 148).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Peter of Montbrun (layman, 1233; prior of Toulouse, 1256–60; preceptor of Renneville, 1258; preceptor of Puysuiran, 1260–2: *CH* II 2066; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24, 115, 160).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 421, 432; Bronstein, 139, 148.

1232 X 4, near Acre: charter (agreement between the archbishop of Nicosia and his subordinate bishops on the one side, and the king of Cyprus and his barons on the other side), witness: *fratre Arnaldo de Monte Bruno domus Hospitalis marescalco* (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; *CH* II 2034; *RRH* 1039).

1233 X 3, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and citizens of Marseilles), witness: *fratris Arnaldi de Montbrun marescalci Hospitalis sancti Johannis* (*CH* II 2067; *RRH* 1046).

1237 V 7, Santa María de Rozalén (Spain): charter, issuer: *frey Arnalt de Montbrim comendador mayor de los cinco reinos de España* (Libro, ed. Ayala Martínez, 465–70 n. 267).

1239, (Spain): secondary literature: “Alphonsoe [sic] de Monbru” served as grand preceptor of Spain (Delaville Le Roulx, 421, citing Figueiredo, *Nova hist. da militar ordem de Malta...em Portugal*, I, 510).

1240, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Peter of Vieillebride for the Teutonic Order), witness: *fratre Arnaldo de Monte Bruno* (*CH* II 2245; *RRH* 1097).

1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), mention: *frere Arnaut de Mont Brun chastellain dou Crac*; guarantor: *frere Arnaut de Montbrun chastellains dou Crac* (*CH* II 2280; *RRH* 1102).

ARTAUD (OF BEAUMONT) (T) preceptor of Acre 1283

origin: France? *Bellomontium*, toponym in various parts of France (Beaumont-en-Argonne, Beaumont-le-Roger, Beaumont-lès-Tours, Beaumont-le-Vicomte, or Beaumont-sur-Oise), less frequent in other parts of western Europe (Belmont, Belmonde, Bellamonte, or Schönberg) (*LdMA* I, 1758–62).

identity: probably identical with the Templar Knight Artaud of Beaumont who was on Cyprus in → (c.1290). Probably not identical with Artaud, Templar preceptor of Avignon in 1244 (Léonard, *Introduction*, 38), due to the time gap.

status: knight (Finke II, 354).

literature: Rey, 372; Bulst-Thiele, 269; Claverie I, 85, 120–1, 201, 329; II, 323.

1283 II 26, near Tripoli: notarized report, mention: *frere Artaud comandor des chevaliers d'Acre* had served as Templar Master William of Beaujeu's envoy to Guy of Gibelet (Byblos) who, instigated by the Templars, had tried to seize the city of Tripoli from Bohemond VII of Tripoli (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 662–8; *RRH* 1444; date: Claverie III, 183–6 n. 192. Artaud was either the Templar preceptor of Acre (i.e. one of the high officials) or simply the order's preceptor of knights (i.e. an official subordinate to the marshal). The title seems to suggest the latter, and *d'Acre* would then simply have been added to distinguish him from the order's personnel in Tripoli. However, considering his subsequent involvement in the high-profile embassy to the west mentioned on → 1289 VIII 13 and 1289 IX 13–20, it is more likely that he was the order's preceptor of Acre).

1289 VIII 13, Rieti: letter (Pope Nicholas IV to Edward I of England), mention: *Hertandi domus militiae Templi Jerosolimitani*, the Hospitaller → Peter of Hagham, and two Dominicans, were sent to inform Edward about the critical situation in the east (Rymer, *Foedera*, I.3, 49; *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 7509; *CH* III 4049; Potthast 23040; *RRH* 1491a).

1289 IX 13–20, Rieti: letter (Pope Nicholas IV to the patriarch of Jerusalem and others in the Latin east; multiple copies), mention: in accordance with the wishes of the four envoys from the east, among them *Artaldi militiae Templi*, twenty galleys would be sent to the east within a year (*CH* III 4054; *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 2252–7).

(c.1290), *Gastina* (Cyprus): information from a later trial deposition (made by William Raybaudi, → 1310 V 6, Provence): *quondam fratrem Artaldum de Bellomonte militem* had received William Raybaudi into the order circa twenty years earlier. Three weeks later, Josbert who, according to William Raybaudi, was preceptor of Nicosia, allegedly ordered William Raybaudi *ad mandatum predicti fratris Artaudi* to commit illicit acts and make compromising statements (Finke II, 354. Since William Raybaudi referred to Artaud as *quondam*, Artaud must have died before 1310 V 6).

1310 V 6, (Provence): trial deposition, mention: → (c.1290).

AYMAR OF L'AYRON (H) marshal 1216–19

origin: France. Ayron, toponym near Lusignan in western France (Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 257). Bronstein, 148, suggests 'Layron.'

family: Juliana of Caesarea (the daughter of Hugh II of Caesarea and Isabella Gothman) succeeded her brother (Walter II, d.1189) in the lordship of Caesarea. From the marriage to her first husband (Guy of Beirut), she had a son (Walter III) and at least three other children. After Guy's death, Juliana married Aymar of L'Ayron (before October 1194). Aymar became lord of Caesarea for the duration of this marriage to Juliana, and they had a son (Roger). After Juliana's death (before 1216), Walter III took over the lordship. Aymar joined the Hospitallers. His nephew (also named Aymar of L'Ayron) was married to a certain Sibylla and served as an envoy to Armenia (1219) (Du Cange, *Familles*, 278–80; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 192; La Monte, "Lords," 146, 154; Nickerson, "Seigneurie," 151; Tibble, *Monarchy*, 120; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 48;

- Hamilton, "King Consorts," 15; Nielen, *Lignages*, 74, 112). Powell, *Anatomy*, 213, lists the former lord of Caesarea and the Hospitaller marshal of the same name as two separate individuals. Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 257, incorrectly ascribes Juliana's and Guy's children to Juliana and Aymar, and refers to Aymar as a Templar marshal. It is unknown whether Aymar was related to the Hospitaller Roger of L'Ayron (preceptor of Antioch, 1184–7: *CH* I 665, 754, 783; *VOP* II, 288–95 n. 90; *RRH* 636, 642, 647, 649; Delaville Le Roulx, 431); the fact that his own son was also named Roger makes such a relationship likely. For Aymar's nephew: Eracles, 347, 388; *CH* II 1684 (where Delaville Le Roulx incorrectly considers Sibylla the second wife of the former lord of Caesarea); Strehlke, 41–2 n. 51; Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 120–3, 126–35; Winkelmann, *Acta*, II, 20–1 n. 21; *RRH* 921, 938a, 1004–7, 1009–12; Röhrich, *Studien*, IV (V), 84 (where the 1219 trip to Armenia is incorrectly ascribed to the former lord of Caesarea); Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 267.
- identity*: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller marshal of → 1219 VIII 29.
- literature*: Röhrich, 677–8, 698, 733; Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Riley-Smith, 315; Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 155; Van Cleve, "Fifth Crusade," 422; Hardwicke, "Crusader States," 536; Powell, *Anatomy*, 213; Nicholson, 51–2; Hamilton, "King Consorts," 20; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 215; Bronstein, 20, 148; Claverie II, 62; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 27.
- (1189–92), TS: secondary literature: Aymar of L'Ayron might have come to the east in the context of the Third Crusade (Hamilton, "King Consorts," 15).
- (before 1194 X), TS: thirteenth-/fourteenth-century genealogical source: Juliana of Caesarea, after the death of her husband, Guy of Beirut, married Aymar of L'Ayron (Nickerson, "Seigneurie," 151, citing the "Lignages d'Outremer," § 20: *et apres Gui laditte Juliene espousa Aymar de Lavan*).
- 1194 X, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *Azmarus Cesariensis* (Strehlke, 26 n. 30; *RRH* 720).
- 1197 X 24, TS: charter (Lady Juliana of Caesarea for Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon), consent-giver: *domini Aymari mariti mei* (*CH* I 1002; *RRH* 736).
- 1198 III 5, Acre: statutes/chronicle (relating the transformation of the Hospital of the Germans in Acre into a military order), witness: *Eymarus dominus Cesaree* (Perlbach, *Statuten*, 160 § 4, where this event is incorrectly dated to 1195; *RRH* 740).
- 1200 II, TS: charter (for the scribe Soquerius), issuer: *Aymarius Cesaree Palestine dominus*, in agreement with his wife Juliana and her son Walter (Pauli, *Codice*, I, 288–9 n. 9; *RRH* 768).
- 1200 XI, TS: charter (for Roger of Castellione), issuer: *Amalricum dominum Sesarien(sem) ... as(s)ensu et voluntate eius uxoris* (Manosque, f. 474 51 9).
- 1206 II, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea for the Teutonic Order), consent-giver: *mariti mei domini Aymari de Lairon* (Strehlke, 32–3 n. 40; *RRH* 810).
- 1206 V 1, Acre: charter (John of Ibelin, lord of Beirut and bailli of the kingdom of Jerusalem, for the Teutonic Order), witness: *Aymarus Cesariensis regni mariscalcus* (Strehlke, 33–4 n. 41; *RRH* 812).
- 1206 IX 21, Acre: charter (Maria la Marquise, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat and Isabella of Jerusalem, for Peter II of Aragón), guarantor: *Aymarius de Cesarea* (ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242; Claverie III, 266–7 n. 306).
- 1207/8 II 22, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea for the Hospitallers), consent-giver: *domini Aymari mariti mei* (*CH* II 1250; *RRH* 818; date: mentioned in the 1268 confirmation of this transaction: Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, ms. 1848, f. 528, 670. The original document's lead seal, attached by silk threads, featured a knight on a horse with shield and lance and, on the other side, the city of Caesarea: mentioned *ibid.*).
- 1207/8 II, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea for the Hospitallers), consent-giver: *domini Aimari mariti mei* (*CH* II 1251; Manosque, f. 543' 62 A; *RRH* 819. The document's

- lead seal bears the circumscription +S.'AYMAR dE LEROn (front), +IVLLANA dOMInA CESAREE (back): Pauli, *Codice*, table IV n. 45; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 44 n. 104; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 277 n. 373).
- 1208, TS/EU: chronicle: *un riche home de la terre qui avoit nom Aymar de Lairon qui estoit seignor de Cesaire de par sa feme Juliane*, together with the bishop of Acre, traveled to Philip II of France on behalf of the spiritual and secular lords of the kingdom of Jerusalem, to find a husband for Maria la Marquise (Eracles, 306; cf. Amadi, 94).
- 1210 X 3, Tyre: chronicle: *Aymar de Cesayre* attended John of Brienne's coronation as king of Jerusalem (Eracles, 311; cf. Amadi, 97–8; date: Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten," 77).
- 1211 VI 17, Acre: charter (King John of Jerusalem and his wife Maria for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Amarus dominus Cesaree* (Bresc-Bautier, 336–7 n. 179; Rozière, 268–9 n. 145; *RRH* 853; date: Hiestand (review), "Bresc-Bautier," 287).
- 1212 XI 18, TS: charter (for Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu), issuer: *Aymarum de Sezarea* (Manosque, f. 644^v 81 E; *CH* II 1400; *RRH* 859b).
- 1213 III 1, Acre: charter (King John of Jerusalem for the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *Amarus de Cesarea* (Delaborde, *Chartes*, 96 n. 46; *RRH* 857; date: Mayer II, 884).
- 1213 X 18, Acre: charter (for the Hospitallers), co-issuers: *Aymarus dominus Cesaree et domina Juliana uxor mea domina Cesaree* (*CH* II 1414; Manosque, f. 448 48 Q; *RRH* 866. Juliana's death and Aymar's reception into the order of the Hospital took place some time between this transaction and → 1216 II. The good relationship with the Hospitallers that Aymar and his wife had nurtured over the years probably facilitated his career in the order).
- 1216 II, TS: charter (by Bertrand, lord of Byblos), co-recipient: *frère Aymard de Layron mareschal* (*CH* II 1462; *RRH* 885a).
- 1218 X, Egypt: chronicle: *Aymar de Layron qui estoit mareschal de l'Ospital de saint Johan*, assisted King John of Jerusalem in fending off a Muslim attack, led by Sultan al-Kamil, against the crusaders' camp (Eracles, 333; cf. Amadi, 108–9, where this event is incorrectly dated to 1219 X 9).
- 1219 VIII 29, Egypt, near Fariskur: chronicle: thirty-three Templars, together with the (unnamed) *marescalco Hospitalis sancti Johannis* and other brothers of that order, were killed or captured as the crusaders were suffering a defeat (Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 216–17 § 29; cf. "Gesta crucigerorum," ed. Röhrich, 52; "Gesta obsidionis," ed. Röhrich, 102; *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 50; Roger de Wendover, *Flores*, II, 244. This unnamed marshal was probably Aymar who did not return from the crusade alive: Powell, *Anatomy*, 213. He did not participate in the Templar offensive against Burlos in the following year: Van Cleve, "Fifth Crusade," 422, against Riley-Smith, 315; Bronstein, 20, 148; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 27).

B. (H) prior → BERNARD (H)

BALDWIN OF ANDRIA (I) marshal 1292; preceptor of Nicosia 1293

origin: Italy? Andria, toponym near Bari. Claverie II, 325, suggests that he originated from Ardan on the Nièvre; however, this seems unlikely as Ardan is merely a small village.

status: knight (*Procès* II, 213).

literature: Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 437; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 76; Coureas, *Latin Church*, 131; Demurger, *Jacques*, 112, 181; Claverie II, 325.

1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Baudeuin de la Andrin mareschal* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).

(1293 VI 24), Nicosia: information from a later trial deposition (made by Gerard of Passagio, → 1310 IV 27, Paris): *fratre Baudoino de Ardan milite preceptore domus Templi*

- civitas Nicosiensis* had received Gerard of Passagio into the order seventeen years earlier around the feast of St. John (*Procès* I, 213; date: *ibid.*, 212. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on VI 24).
- (1295), Nicosia: information from a later trial deposition (made by Stephen of Safeth, → 1310 V 19, Nicosia): Baldwin *de Laudrana* had attended Stephen of Safeth's reception into the order fifteen years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 191–2; date: *ibid.*, 145, 190).
- 1310 IV 27, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1293 VI 24).
- 1310 V 19, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1295).

[BALDWIN OF BENRAIGES (T) prior? 1232]

identity: In 1232, *frater B. de Benraiges domus Templi priore S. Katherine* appeared in a document issued in Acre (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 87; *CH* II 2034; *RRH* 1039). St. Catherine was a church on the Montmusard in Acre and may have been a Templar benefice (cf. Pringle, “Churches,” 112–13). The title does not suggest that this individual was the order's conventual prior. He was probably identical with *frater Balduin de Beuraje*, who was in Acre in 1233 to witness a charter on behalf of the Templars (*CH* II 2067; *RRH* 1046). It is unknown whether he was also identical with or related to Baldwin of Beuvrages, the Templar master of Cyprus between 1219 and 1232 (Claverie II, 324, *et passim*).

BARTHOLOMEW OF CHINSI (T) marshal 1300–2

origin: unknown. *Chinsi*, perhaps Chiny (*Chiniacum*), county with an ancestral seat in modern-day Belgium and feudal ties to the counts of Bar until 1342 (Parisse, “Chiny,” 1839–40). Alternatively, variant of ‘Quincy,’ toponym in various parts of northern and eastern France (Tommasi, “Fonti,” 177–80; Claverie I, 111, 207). Alternatively, misreading or misspelling of ‘Ghisi,’ name of a Venetian family with ties to Frankish Greece. ‘Bartholomew’ was a first name frequently used by the Ghisi. Several Templars came from this family (Jacoby, “Italian Migration,” 122; Lock, *Franks*, 108, 126, 147; Loenertz, *Ghisi*, 105–8; cf. *Procès* I, 663; II, 526; Schottmüller I.1, 753).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templars Simon of *Quincy* or *Quinciaco* (brother in France, 1284–1303; subsequently master of Sicily; d. 1307: *Procès* II, 290, 341, 367, 384; Tommasi, “Fonti,” 177–80, 202; Claverie I, 156, 381; II, 324), or Raymond of *Quinsi* (master of Apulia, 1304: *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).

literature: Rey, 257; Bulst-Thiele, 311; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 105–6; Claverie, “Cristiandat,” 110–11; Demurger, *Jacques*, 153–4, 181, 185; Demurger, *Templiers*, 420; Claverie I, 111, 186, 207; II, 267, 324.

1300 XI 10, Limassol: charter (Templar Master James of Molay for Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón-Catalonia), witness: *frater Bartholomeus de Chinsi marescaldus* (Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44. In November 1300, Amaury of Lusignan and Cypriote troops, joined by Hospitallers and Templars, conquered Tortosa but retreated to the island fortress of Ruad when their allies against the Mamluks, namely the Mongols of the Ilkhan Ghazan, failed to materialize. On Ruad they left a Templar garrison of 120 knights, 400 sergeants, and 500 archers. Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” 242; Amadi, 238; Bustron, 133–4; Finke II, 3–4 n. 3).

1302 IX–X, Ruad: chronicle: the Templar garrison of the island, *il capo et marescalco di quali era fra Bartholomeo*, was besieged by Mamluks who were offering the Templars safe-conduct, should they agree to surrender. The Templars accepted the offer, but were then captured and carried off to Egypt as slaves (Amadi, 238–9; cf. Bustron, 133–4. Bartholomew was probably killed during the siege because the negotiations for the surrender were apparently conducted by → Hugh of Ampurias, the order's lieutenant marshal).

BARTHOLOMEW OF GORDO (T) → BERTRAND OF GOURDON (T)

BARTHOLOMEW OF MORET (T) (grand) preceptor 1237–40

origin: France. *Moretum* (Moret-sur-Loing), toponym and Templar castle near Paris (Graesse II, 627; cf. Schottmüller I.1, 145).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templars B. *Morettus* (brother in Arles, 1185: Coll. d'Albon 70, f. 164), Visian of Moret (brother in the Latin east, before 1291: *Procès* II, 153), or P. *Moreti* (priest in Cahors, 1307: Finke II, 316–21 n. 152).

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Templar (grand) preceptor of → 1237 XII 22 and 1239 (after IX 1).

literature: Rey, 368; Röhricht, 838–9; Claverie I, 214; II, 322, 324.

1237 XII 22, Lateran: letters (by Pope Gregory IX): recipients: the king of Cyprus, the prince of Antioch, the *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem, all barons of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Jerusalem, the patriarch of Antioch, all archbishops, bishops, and prelates of the church *per Siriam*, the Hospitaller master, *preceptori et fratribus militie Templi*, and the patriarch of Jerusalem (*Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, n. 3991–4000, with n. 3998 addressed to the Hospitaller master and n. 3999 addressed to the Templar preceptor; Potthast 10489. It is unknown why the pope sent a letter to the Templar preceptor but apparently none to the order's master, Armand of Périgueux).

1239 (after IX 1), Acre: chronicle: after the arrival of Thibaut IV/I, count of Champagne and king of Navarre, in the east (1239 IX 1), and after it had become known that the Muslims were planning to tear down the Tower of David (i.e. the royal castle) in Jerusalem, consultations took place at Acre. Among the participants was *li granz coumanderrez du Temple*. It was decided to fortify the city of Ascalon (Rothelin, 531–2).

1240 XI, Acre: charter (Templar Master Armand of Périgueux and other Templar officials for the order of St. Lazarus), witness: *frater Bartholomeus de Morretto tunc temporis magni preceptoris dicte militie in regno Jerusalem* (Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; *RRH* 1096).

BERENGAR (H) preceptor 1150–2

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409.

1150 V 24, TS: charter (Robert of the Casale St. Gilles for the Hospitallers), witness: *Berengarius preceptor Hospitalis* (*CH* I 192; *RRH* 257).

1152 II 5, TS: charter (Robert of the Casale St. Gilles and his wife Odula for the Hospitallers), witness: *Berengarius preceptor* (*CH* I 202; *RRH* 274; date: Mayer II, 862).

1155 VIII, (Acre): charter (Agnes, the wife of the Knight Galius, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Berengarii* (*CH* I 237; *RRH* 311).

BERENGAR (OF CASTELPERS) (T) seneschal 1174–9

origin: France. *Castellum Persum* (Castelpers), toponym in Languedoc.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar Gerald of Castelpers (brother in Aragón, 1169; brother in Provence, 1171; preceptor in the Albigeois, 1171: Bofarull y Mascaró, *Procesos*, VIII, 45–7 n. 13; Forey, *Aragón*, 370–1 n. 4; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 328–30 n. 205, 332–3 n. 207; Léonard, *Introduction*, 66; Brunel, *Les plus anciennes chartes*, I, 122–3 n. 130).

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Templar seneschal of → 1179 (VI 10 or VIII 24–9). Bulst-Thiele, 94–5, claims incorrectly that he was in Jaca in 1169; that was, in fact, Gerald of Castelpers: Bofarull y Mascaró, *Procesos*, VIII, 45–7 n. 13.

literature: Rey, 254, 376; D'Albon, “Mort,” 280–1; Lundgreen, “Geschichte,” 687; Richard, *Comté*, 67; Bulst-Thiele, 94–5; Barber, “Frontier Warfare,” 12–13; Claverie I, 105.

- 1146 XII 11, Huesca: charter (Fortunio Acenariz of Tarazona for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratre Berengere de Castel Peire* (CT 416).
- 1146 XII 13, (Spain): charter (Guarsende for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratri vestro Berenguario* (CT 417).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Berengarii de Castello Perso* (Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363; date: VOP III, 354).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter, (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Berengarii de Castello Perso* (Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364; date: VOP III, 354, analogous to *RRH* 363).
- 1169 III 16, near Tortosa (TS): charter (Bishop Peter of Tortosa for the Templars), witness: *frater Berengarius de Castello Perso* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 15–16 n. 5; *RRH* 462; date: Mayer II, 195).
- 1174 IV 18, Acre: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Berengarius* (CH I 463; *RRH* 514).
- 1174 VII 3, Tiberias and Jerusalem: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for Philip Rufus), witness: *frater Berengarius senescalcus Templi* (Strehlke, 8 n. 7; *RRH* 517; date: Mayer II, 64, 872).
- 1174 XII 13, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Berengarius ejusdem Templi senescalcus* (CH I 468; *RRH* 518).
- 1176 (mid-year–IX 23), TS: charter (by Baldwin of Rama), witness: *Berengerio militie Templi senescalco* (CH I 495; *RRH* 539; date: Mayer I, 228–30; II, 873).
- 1176 (mid-year–IX 23), Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Berengarius milicie Templi senescalcus* (CH I 496; *RRH* 537; date: Mayer II, 873).
- 1179 (VI 10 or VIII 24–9), Galilee: chronicle: the *grand maître des Templiers* was captured and, at a different military engagement, the *chef des Templiers* was killed (Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 198, 202. The former was Odo of St. Amand, the latter was perhaps the order's seneschal, probably still Berengar of Castlepers. The two military engagements were the battle at Jacob's Ford, 1179 VI 10, and the Muslim siege and conquest of the Templar castle there, 1179 VIII 24–9).
- (1180) II 22, Velletri: letter (Pope Alexander III to all archbishops, bishops, and prelates), mention (retrospectively): the Templars' master and seneschal were killed in battle (VOP I, 307 n. 120. The pope repeated this letter on → (1180) II 26).
- (1180) II 26, Velletri: letter (Pope Alexander III to all archbishops, bishops, and prelates), mention (retrospectively): during the battle at Jacob's Ford, *magister et senescalcus et complures predictorum fratrum diem clausurunt extremum*, and the Templar castle there was conquered and destroyed by the Muslims (*Papsturkunden in Portugal*, ed. Erdmann, 250–1 n. 76. The pope slightly modified this account on → (1180) IV 12).
- (1180) IV 12, Velletri: letter (Pope Alexander III to all Christian kings and princes), mention (retrospectively): during the battle at Jacob's Ford or the siege of the Templar castle there, *senescalcus captus est et occisus* (VOP I, 307–8 n. 121).

BERENGAR OF CENAGONA (H) treasurer 1186

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

- 1186 IV 25, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for John Poterius), witness: *frater Berengarius de Cenagona thesaurarius* (CH I 803; *RRH* 651).

BERENGAR OF ST. JUST (I) preceptor of the land (not treasurer) 1292

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. St. Just, toponym and family name in many parts of Spain and France. Berengar spent most of his career in Roussillon, which suggests that he originated from there (Alart, "Suppression," 102; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383; Forey, *Aragón*, 310–11).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to any of the following Templars with the cognomen 'of St. Just' who served in the order's province of Aragón-Catalonia: Bernard (preceptor of Zaragoza, 1243: Forey, *Aragón*, 445), Peter (preceptor in various places: Vilel, 1292–4; Grañena, 1295–6, and between 1301 and 1307; Zaragoza, 1296–7; Corbins, 1299–1300; Mallorca, 1300–1; Ambel, 1303; Alfambra, 1304, and in 1306 appointed preceptor for life; Peñíscola, 1307; recipient of a pension paid by the Hospitallers, 1319: Forey, "Career," 183–94), Raymond (brother in Mas Deu, 1298; brother in Corbins, 1299; recipient of a pension paid by the Hospitallers, 1319: Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; *Procès* II, 446; Finke II, 364–78 n. 157; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383; Miret y Sans, "Inventaris," 71; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 218 n. 4, 223 n. 19, 328), or Reverend (brother in Mas Deu, 1298: *Procès* II, 496); or to any of the French Templars with the same cognomen (*Procès* I, 665; II, 528; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 314–15 n. 7a, 356; Barber, "James," 94–6; Forey, "Novitiate," 8); or to any of the Hospitallers with the same cognomen from the priory of Toulouse (Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 83, 144); or to the Aragonese Nicholas of St. Just (treasurer of James III of Mallorca, 1321–43: Alart, "Suppression," 102).

status: knight (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383).

literature: Alart, "Suppression," 95; Schottmüller I.1, 454; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 372, 393, 515, 517; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Riley-Smith, 307; Bulst-Thiele, 277; Schadek, "Familiaren," 348; Forey, *Aragón*, 310, 313, 421–2, 436; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 134, 145; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 130–1; Forey, "Military Orders and Secular Warfare," 84; Claverie, "Cristiandat," 97; Forey, *Fall*, 31, 42, 91–2, 100, 104, 109, 126, 214, 218, 240, 244, 247; Demurger, *Jacques*, 112, 181, 230; Claverie I, 113, 119, 196, 385; II, 274, 325; Forey, "Career," 184; Barber, *Trial*, 235.

1283 IV, Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just served as master of Aragón-Catalonia (Forey, *Aragón*, 421).

1285 (VI–IX), Aragón: information from a later letter (sent by Raymond of Ça Guardia, Templar preceptor of Mas Deu and lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia, → 1307 XII 8, Miravet): when the French (under Philip III) were attacking Aragón, *fratre Berenguer de Sent Iust que era* [provincial] *mestre* and the *altres frares del Temple de la ballia Darago*—unlike the people of Barcelona—did not abandon Peter III of Aragón but, rather, fortified their castles with the intention to either die for the king or save the realm (Finke II, 70–3 n. 48/I).

1286, France: secondary literature: Philip IV of France wrote to Pope Honorius IV, asking him to tell the masters of the Hospital and the Temple to appoint provincial masters in Aragón that would support the French cause. This was an implicit attack on Berengar of St. Just, the Templar master of Aragón, and Raymond of Ribells, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (i.e. that order's highest-ranking official in Aragón) (Riley-Smith, 307; Forey, *Aragón*, 310).

1286, EU/TS: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just traveled to the east (Forey, *Aragón*, 313, citing ACA, registro 66, f. 61').

(1289/90) I 1, Lleida: letter (by Alphonso III of Aragón), co-addressee: *fratri Berengario de Sancto Iusto magistro Templi* (Vincke, *Documenta*, 29 n. 55).

1290 IV 14, Figueres: letter (by Alphonso III of Aragón to his officials at Tarragona), mention: Berengar of St. Just served as master of Aragón-Catalonia (Claverie III, 191 n. 200).

1290 IV 27, Girona: letter (Alphonso III of Aragón to Templar Master William of Beaujeu), mention: *fratrem Berengarium de S. Iusto magistrum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (AA III, 8–11 n. 5).

1290 V, Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just served as master of Aragón-Catalonia (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 421).

(1290), Monzón: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bernard of Fontibus, → 1310 II 23, Lleida): *fr(atrem) Berengarium de S. Iusto tunc magistrum Aragonie nunc*

- comendatorem de Miraveto* had received Bernard of Fontibus into the order twenty years earlier (Finke II, 364–78 n. 157; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 193 n. 24; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- 1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Berenguer de Saint Just comandor de la terre* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36. The same letter features the Treasurer Martin of Lou, which means that Berengar was not the conventual treasurer).
- 1297, Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just was a familiar of James II of Aragón (Schadek, “Familiaren,” 348).
- 1300 VI, Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just served as preceptor of Miravet and lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia (Forey, *Aragón*, 422).
- (1301 VIII 10), Miravet: information from a later trial deposition (made by Berengar of Collo, → 1310 I 17, Mas Deu): *B. de Sancto Iusto* had attended Berengar of Collo’s reception into the order circa nine years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of St. Lawrence (*Procés* II, 449; date: *ibid.*, 446, 449; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 219 n. 5; date: *ibid.*, 210. The feast of St. Lawrence is celebrated on VIII 10).
- (1305), Gardeny: information from a later trial deposition (made by Raymond of Montaigu, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Berengarius de Sancto Iusto* had attended Raymond of Montaigu’s reception into the order five years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 214; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208).
- 1307 late-XI, Miravet: letter (to Peter of St. Just, Templar preceptor of Peñíscola), sender: Berengar of St. Just, preceptor of Miravet (Finke II, 62–3 n. 41. When royal officials in Aragón began to proceed against the Templars, Berengar retreated to Miravet).
- (1307 XII 8, Miravet: letter, mention: → 1285 (VI–IX).
- (1307 XII 13, London, New Temple: letter (by William of La More, Templar master of England), co-addressee: *fratri Berengario de Sancto Iusto* (AA III, 171–2 n. 74).
- (1308 II 27, Miravet: letter (to Simon of Lenda, Templar master of Aragón), sender: *fr(are) Berenger de Sent Just comanador de Miravet* (Finke II, 100–1 n. 67).
- (1308 X 18, Miravet: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: *frare Berenger de Sent Iust comanador de Miravet et de Tores* (Finke II, 172–3 n. 96).
- 1308 X 28, Aragón: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: *fratri Berengario de S. Iusto* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 351–2).
- 1308 late-X, Aragón secondary literature: James II of Aragón had negotiations conducted with the Templars defending the castle of Miravet, among them Raymond of Ça Guardia and Berengar of St. Just (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 134).
- 1308 XI 16, Aragón: secondary literature: James II of Aragón wrote a letter to Berengar of St. Just (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 352).
- (1297 XII–1308 XII before 12), Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just served as preceptor of Miravet and (temporarily) of Torres and Segre (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 517; Forey, *Aragón*, 436; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 130).
- 1308 XII (before 12), Miravet: secondary literature: after the surrender of Miravet, Berengar of St. Just, Raymond of Ça Guardia, and several other Templars remained there to help the officials of James II of Aragón compile an inventory of the order’s possessions (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 145).
- 1308 XII 12, Tortosa: letter (William of Ceret to Bernard Averso), mention: after the surrender of Miravet, the troops of the king of Aragón seized the order’s possessions, among them *la capela* [a liturgical item] *de frare Berengar de sent Iust qui es assats beyla* (Finke II, 176–7 n. 98).
- 1309 IV 26, Aragón: letter (James II of Aragón to Mascaròs Garidell, his administrator at Miravet), mention: the king wanted to hear *de infirmitate paralitica quam* [Mascaròs Garidell] *scripsit habere fr(atrem) Berengarium de S. Iusto*. However, he also stipulated *ut interim dictus Berengarius in carcere teneatur* (Finke II, 159–64 n. 93. After the surrender of Miravet, Berengar had been kept there and had asked the king for medical assistance. He was eventually brought to Tortosa: Imperio, *Tramonto*, 131).

- 1310 I 17, Mas Deu: trial deposition, mention: → (1301 VIII 10).
 1310 II 23, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1290).
 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1305).
 1319 X 23, Aragón: secondary literature: Berengar of St. Just received a pension of 4,000 sous of Barcelona from the Hospitallers (Alart, “Suppression,” 95; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 393).
 1319 XI 22, Lleida: list of pensions, mention: the (former) Templar *B(ere)ng(ar) de Sent Just* lived in Gardeny and received a pension of 4,000 sous of Barcelona from the Hospitallers (Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383, 389, 392, 394).
 1321 VII, Gardeny: secondary literature: at this date, Berengar was no longer alive (Forey, *Fall*, 247).

BERNARD (H) prior 1170–82, 1187

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller Priest Bernard who was serving in the east in → (1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15). However, Borchardt, “Military Orders,” 250, suggests that the latter was identical with Bernard, the Hospitaller prior (or master) of Bohemia between 1182 and 1194 (*CH* I 643, 861, 865, 950, 959; Borchardt, “Hospitallers in Pomerania,” 296), and if that is true, he cannot have been identical with Bernard, the conventual prior, because their careers overlap. Not identical with the Hospitaller Brother Bernard *de Asinaria* who appears in the charters between 1163 and 1186 (*CH* I 312, 372, 450, 464, 469, 508, 803; *CH* IV, p. 248–9; *RRH* 391, 434a, 501, 516, 535, 540, 651), because their careers overlap. Probably not identical with the Hospitaller Brother Bernard (without title) who appears in an 1174 charter (*CH* I 467; *RRH* 519), because he was already conventual prior at that time. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Hospitaller Brother Bernard who was in charge of the order’s hospital in Jaffa in 1162 (Manosque, f. 41^v 7 L; cf. *CH* I 301; *RRH* 376a). Bernard was probably already conventual prior when the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly resigned in → (1170). It seems that his tenure was temporarily interrupted in 1185 (by → William of Acerra), perhaps due to travel on behalf of his order, but he seems to have been back in the office in → 1187.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 18; cf. Chapter One.

(1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jerusalem and Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for Duke Bela III of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia), witness: *frater Bernardus sacerdos predicti negotii intermuntius* (*CH* I 309; *RRH* 458; date: Mayer II, 869).

(1170), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): when the intention of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly to resign became known, several Hospitaller officials, perhaps including the prior (according to Hiestand, the gap in the text is big enough for *una cum priore*), unsuccessfully tried to dissuade him. After Gilbert’s second resignation (still in 1170), several officials, *una cum priore clericorum* (Bernard?), wrote a letter to the pope (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480).

(1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170).

1172 VI 20, Tusculum: letter (Pope Alexander III to O., Hospitaller preceptor, and the other brothers in Jerusalem), mention: *B. priore* and several other brothers, as well as the archdeacon of Jerusalem, had come to the papal court to report about the crisis caused by the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly (VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; *CH* I 434; *RRH* 492a).

1173 X, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Jacobite Arion), party to the agreement: *fratris Bernardi magistri [cl(er)icor(um)]* (*CH* I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; *RRH* 501).

1175, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Joscius of Acre and Hospitaller Master Josbert), witness: *Bernardus prior* (*CH* I 471; *RRH* 532).

- 1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guericus of Petra), witness: *frater Bernardus prior clericorum Hospitalis* (CH I 610; RRH 607).
- (1181 III 15 or 1182 III 7), (Jerusalem): statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), mention: *premissa* [statutes] *coram fratribus Rogerio de Molinis magistro Hospitalis et Bernardo priore et toto capitulo generali fuerunt lecta et per ipsos pariter testificata* (CH I 627; RRH 614a; date: 1181 III 15 if Christmas style; 1182 III 7 if Easter style).
- 1187 II 1, Margat: charter (Bertrand Mazoir, lord of Margat, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Bernardus ecclesie Hospitalis S. Joannis prior* (CH I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 647; date: Mayer II, 269, 878; Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6. Pope Urban III confirmed this transaction on 1187 VI 30, and the cardinal legate Soffred of St. Praxedis confirmed it in 1203: VOP II, *ibid.*; CH I 809; RRH 652).
- 1187 (II after 1), Antioch: charter (Bohemond III of Antioch for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Bernardus prior ejusdem ecclesie* (CH I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; RRH 649; date: Mayer II, 269, 878; Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6. Pope Urban III confirmed this transaction on 1187 VI 30, and the cardinal legate Soffred of St. Praxedis confirmed it in 1203: VOP II, *ibid.*; CH I 809; RRH 652).

BERNARD OF CHEMIN (H) treasurer 1299–1303

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with *fre(re) br. qui estoit tresourier*, cited by → William of St. Stephen as a witness for the correctness of his compilation of statutes (BN, fr. 6049): → (1299 VI 3–1303 before XI 3). It is unknown whether he was identical with the Hospitaller *casalarius* Bernard who served in Acre in 1274–5 (CH III 3557; RRH 1400a; Manosque, f. 331' 33L).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, “Statuts,” 347; Delisle, “Maître,” 24; Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Riley-Smith, 351.

1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller convent versus Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), co-plaintiff: *fratre Bernart dou Chamin, tresaurier* (CH III 4464).

1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *le tresourier*, one of the *baillis de la maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4468).

1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *le tresourier*, one of the *baillis de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).

(1301 X 22), Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), mention: all ‘chambers’ (a type of benefice) of the conventual brothers should be at the discretion of the marshal, i.e. he could give a chamber that became available to a brother of the same tongue (geographical origin) to which its former holder had belonged. All other chambers should be at the discretion of the grand preceptor. Exempt from all this were the chambers assigned by (and to?) Raymond of Ribells and *Bernart de Chemin/Bernardi de Itinere* (CH IV 4549, § 10).

(1299 VI 3–1303 before XI 3), Cyprus: collection of statutes (compiled by → William of St. Stephen, Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus), mention: *je traite a testimoine fre(re) br. qui estoit tresourier au jour et avait ladite regle et escrit au margat en sa garde qui les presta por faire co(n)trecrire* (i.e. this Hospitaller treasurer, probably Bernard of Chemin, had the rule and statutes of Margat in his safekeeping, and had allowed William to make a copy) (BN, fr. 6049, f. 241; cf. CH I, p. lxxxiii; date: Delaville Le Roulx, “Statuts,” 347. In 1906, Delisle, “Maître,” 24, read *fiere Bernart qui estoit tresourier*; however, the name or its abbreviation is almost unreadable now. Bernard of Chemin is the only ‘known’ treasurer who served between 1291 and 1306, who was for sure on Cyprus in 1299, and who was mentioned during a general chapter held in Limassol in 1301. It would not have made any sense for William of St. Stephen to cite a witness

who was not around in 1303, i.e. when William was preceptor of Cyprus and was compiling this collection of statutes).

[BERNARD CORBEL (H) hospitaller? 1248]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, and Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 66, incorrectly feature him in their lists of hospitallers of the order of St. John. He was, in fact, the infirmarer of the convent and witnessed—as the twentieth of twenty-one individuals—a charter issued in Acre on 1248 VIII 7 (*CH* II 2482; *frater Bernardus Corbel infirmarius*; *RRH* 1164). The title of *infirmarius* was not used for the conventual hospitaller, and the ‘low’ position in the witness list would have been inappropriate for one of the order’s high conventual officials.

BERNARD OF PORTACLARA (H) hospitaller 1260

name: *CH* II 2943, editing the eighteenth-century summary of a 1260 charter, and Claverie III, 145–6 n. 142, transcribe his name as *Bernard de Porte, cleric hospitalier*, instead of *Bernard de Porte cleric, hospitalier*. The sixteenth-century summary of the same charter gives his name as *frere Bernard de Portaclara* (Manosque, f. 164’ 18 A). I retain this older spelling.

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 432; Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 66; Claverie II, 205.

1260 I 23, (county of Tripoli): charter (arbitration of a dispute between Hospitallers and Templars), co-arbiter: *Bernard de Porte cleric hospitalier* (*CH* II 2943; *RRH* 1287a; date and alternate spelling of his name: Manosque, f. 164’ 18 A: *frere Bernard de Portaclara*).

(1275 V 11–1277 VII 1), TS: charter (by Bohemond VII of Tripoli), mention: *Bernard de Porte Clare commandeur des chevaliers de Crat*, called upon to serve as one of the arbiters in a dispute between Bohemond and the Hospitaller’s (titular) castellan of Krak des Chevaliers (despite the different title, he probably held that same office) (*CH* III 3571; *RRH* 1402a; date: the same document listed for → Nicholas Lorgne. Bernard was at best titular preceptor or castellan of Krak des Chevaliers because the Mamluk Sultan Baybars had conquered the castle in 1271).

BERTRAND OF GOURDON (T) turcopolier 1304–10

name: Schottmüller I.1, 454; Claverie II, 324; and Barber, *Trial*, 383, refer to him as ‘Bartholomew,’ which is probably a misreading or misspelling.

origin: France. *Gordonium* (Gourdon), toponym in Provence. Bertrand was received into his order in Provence, which suggests that he originated from there (Graesse II, 173; Carraz, *Ordre*, 485). Claverie II, 324, suggests that he originated from Brie. Gourdon (dép. Lot) is much less likely.

literature: Rey, 371; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 406; Hill, *History*, II, 236; Demurger, *Jacques*, 181, 230; Claverie I, 118; II, 276, 282, 300, 324; Carraz, *Ordre*, 485; Barber, *Trial*, 253–4, 383; cf. Chapter Three.

(1285 V 26), St. Gilles (Provence): information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1310 V 19, Nicosia): *Bartholomeus* [sic, should read *Bertrandus*] *de Gordo* had been received into the order twenty-five years earlier, calculated back from the next V 26 (he erroneously identified this date as the feast of St. Mary Magdalen which is, however, celebrated on VII 22). He had vowed obedience and chastity (Schottmüller II.3, 193).

(1300) IX 14, Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Andrew of Renovaria, → 1310 V 19, Nicosia): *Bertrandus de Go(r)dono tricoplerius* had attended Andrew of Renovaria’s reception into the order ten years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of the cross (Schottmüller II.3, 197; date: *ibid.*, 145, 190. Since the deposition was made on V 19, the ‘next’ feast of the Cross was *exaltatio crucis*,

- IX 14; *inventio crucis*, V 3, had just passed and, thus, would have been referred to differently. Bertrand's title refers to the time of the trial).
- (1304) X 25, Limassol: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to the preceptor of Miravet), mention: Turcopolier Bertrand of Gourdon (cited in *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1304 after Christmas), Torres: letter (the Templar Peter of Castellón to Peter of St. Just, preceptor of Alfambra), mention: *fratre Bertran de Gordo qui es trocopler* according to the Templar master's letter of → (1304) X 25 (*AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1307), Nicosia: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Baneta, → 1310 V 8, Nicosia): *frater Bertrandus tricoplerius* had attended Peter of Baneta's reception into the order three years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 173; date: *ibid.*, 145, 170).
- 1308 V 27, Nicosia: information from a later letter (sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V, → 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus): the Templar officials, among them the *tricoplerius*, submitted themselves to Amaury who was acting on behalf of the pope (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5).
- 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus: letter, mention: → 1308 V 27.
- 1308 (after VI 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after a bout of resistance, the Templar officials were taken into custody: the marshal and one half of the brothers were brought to casale Khirokitia, the preceptor and the other half of the brothers were brought to casale Yermasoyia. When it became known that the marshal and the preceptor were making plans to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese, Amaury of Lusignan placed *el turcopulier* and all other Templar officials under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara (Amadi, 290–1).
- 1310 V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Guy, the abbot of St. Mary, dioc. Limassol): stating that he had nothing negative to say *contra personam fratris tricoplerii* (Schottmüller II.3, 165; date: *ibid.*, 164).
- 1310 V 8, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1307).
- 1310 V 19, Nicosia: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Bartholomeus* [sic, should read *Bertrandus*] *de Gordo tricoplerius de ordine Templi*, who stated that he knew nothing about heads of idols in the order (Schottmüller II.3, 193; cf. *ibid.*, 328–31; date: *ibid.*, 145, 191. → (1285 V 26)).
- 1310 V 19, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1300) IX 14.
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar officials, among them *el turcopulier*, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta (Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219).

BIENVENU (T) treasurer 1262

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with the Templar treasurer of the same name who served alongside the order's treasurer of Paris on → 1257 VI 27. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Templar of the same name who appeared in Barletta in 1272 (Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 318). Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 61, lists him incorrectly as a Hospitaller treasurer.

literature: Rey, 369; Delisle, *Mémoire*, 66; Léonard, *Introduction*, 120; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 70, 72; Claverie II, 325.

1257 VI 27, Paris: secondary literature: Bienvenu and Peter Bouceau served as Templar treasurers of Paris (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 66; cf. *ibid.*, 72–3: Peter Bouceau served as the order's treasurer of Paris 1257 II 15–1261).

1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Bienvenu tresorier* (*CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321).

BONIFACE OF CALAMANDRANA (H) grand preceptor 1268–71, 1279

origin: Italy and Aragón-Catalonia. Calamandrana, toponym in Piedmont and family name.

family: Calamandrana belonged to the Canelli family. Bianca Lancia, one of the wives of Emperor Frederick II and grandmother of Constance of Sicily, was related to this family. Constance was married to Peter III of Aragón and the mother of Alphonso III of Aragón. Alphonso referred to Boniface of Calamandrana as *consanguineum nostrum* (→ 1288 VI 22). Thus, Boniface was a ‘blood-relative’ of the Aragonese royal family, but from a northwest Italian background. He was apparently related to the Templar Humbert (Oberto) of Calamandrana (preceptor of Lombardy, 1271: Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 297; Bramato, “Ordine,” 140; Bellomo, *Templar Order*, 364, *et passim*).

literature: Bosio, *Dell’Istoria*, II, 6, 10, 17; Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 196; Röhrich, “Untergang,” 9; Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 415; Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 304; Rohde, *Kampf*, 48; Luttrell, “Aragonese Crown,” 11; Riley-Smith, 371; Luttrell, “Hospitaliers in Cyprus after 1291,” 163; Bulst-Thiele, 275, 348; Luttrell, “Hospitaliers’ Interventions,” 121; Herde, *Cölestin V.*, 99, 114–16; Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 182; Schein, *Fideles*, 142, 189; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 22; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 213–4; Bronstein, 148; Claverie I, 78, 213; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitaliers’ High Dignitaries,” 16; Burgtorf, “Mediterranean Career,” 73–85; Bellomo, *Templar Order*, 157.

1267 X 19, TS: charter (agreement between Henry, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, and the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), witness: ...*et Bonifacio fratribus dicte domus Hospitalis* (CH III 3283; RRH 1356. Since the name ‘Boniface’ was very rare in the Hospitaller convent at this time, this was probably Boniface of Calamandrana).

(1268) II 10, TS: inventory (list of items kept in the Hospitaliers’ church at Acre), witness: *frater Bonifacius de Calamandrana magnus preceptor domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis de Accon* (Manosque, f. 178 19 H; cf. CH III 3292; RRH 1363a).

(1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Boniface de Calamandrane grant comandor d’Acre* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313; date: *terminus post quem* is the eastbound travel of Roger of Vere, Hospitaller prior of England, who also appears as a guarantor in this document (Roger left England in the spring of 1269: CH III 3337–9); *terminus ante quem* is the fall passage of the same year with which William of Villaret, who also appears as a guarantor in this document, traveled to the west (where he had arrived by 1269 XII 12: CH III 3376. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 62, incorrectly dates this document to 1261 and, thus, lists Boniface as the order’s grand preceptor for 1261).

1269 XI 11, Acre: charter (Amaury Barlais, lord of Arrabia, for the Hospitaliers), guarantor: *grant comandor de le meismes maison frere Boniface de Calamandrane* (CH III 3236; RRH 1367).

1269, TS: chronicle: a delegation from the kingdom of Jerusalem traveled to Sultan Baybars to negotiate a truce. Baybars had the envoys imprisoned but released one of them, namely *the vizier of the Hospitaliers, who had been of service to him* (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 132–3. According to Riley-Smith, this *vizier* may have been Boniface of Calamandrana: *ibid.*, II, 234).

1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Guy II, lord of Byblos), witness: *frater Bonifacio de Calamandrana magno preceptore domus Hospitalis* (CH III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^r 37 A).

1279 III 24, Lajazzo (Ayas, Cilicia): charter (Papo Mallonus, Boniface of Tiba, Henry Grimaldi, and Luchetto Grimaldi for Montanaro Guaracho, Castellino Lercari, and Simon of Parma), mention: *fratrem Bonifacium de Calamandrana preceptorem magnum dicti Hospitalis* with whom the document’s issuers had made an earlier agreement which was now revoked (Desimoni, “Actes passés en 1271, 1274 et 1279,” 511–12 n. 32; CH III 3694; RRH 1428. Delaville Le Roulx, 410, suggests that this reference might be to Boniface’s earlier tenure in this office. However, there is no reason why he could not have held the office again at this time).

1288 spring, Tripoli and Tyre: chronicle: following the death of Bohemond VII of Tripoli (1287 X 19), Bohemond’s claims regarding Tripoli passed to his sister Lucia

- who was then living in Apulia. When the citizens of Tripoli turned to Sibylla, Bohemond's and Lucia's mother, she tried to install Bishop Bartholomew of Tortosa as her *bailli*, which was rejected by the citizens who then proceeded to found a commune under the leadership of Bartholomew Embriaco, the lord of Gibelet (Byblos). Early in 1288, Lucia tried to assume the lordship herself, but the commune resisted and called in help from Genoa, namely a fleet commanded by Benedict Zaccaria. Lucia had the support of the Hospitallers and, together with *frere Bonyface de Calamandrane de l'Ospitalu .j. grant seignor*, went to Tyre to negotiate with Benedict Zaccaria (*Gestes*, 234 § 472. An agreement was reached, but on 1289 IV 26, Tripoli was conquered by the Mamluk Sultan Qalawun).
- 1288 VI 22, Barcelona: letter (Alphonso III of Aragón to an unnamed Hospitaller marshal and the order's central convent, as well as, in a separate letter, to Hospitaller Master John of Villiers), mention: *fratrem scilicet Bonifacium de Calamandrana consanguineum nostrum karissimum*, a man of high nobility, great wisdom, and great piety, whose wisdom, conduct, and good reputation had contributed much to the Hospitallers. The master had sent him to Armenia, where the air-quality was lethal, not because of any guilt, but to the shame of the king and the promotion of the king's enemies, because the master knew that Boniface was connected to Alphonso by relation, natural origin, and affection. The king asked that this situation be rectified (*CH* III 4007; *AA* III, 3–4 n. 2; cf. *CH* III, p. 519).
- 1291 XII 13, Rome: charter (Pope Nicholas IV for Charles II of Anjou), mention: *frater Bonifacius (de Calamandrana), generalis (preceptor) Hospitalis sancti Johannis Gerosolimitani in partibus cismarinis* (*CH* III 4177).
- 1292 IV 1, Genoa: charter (agreement between Thedisius Auria and the Genoese brothers Manuel and Benedict Zaccaria), mention: the Zaccaria brothers were acting on behalf of *fratris Boniffatii de Calamandrana magistri et domas* [sic] *hospitalis sancti Johannis Gerosolimitani*, who was serving as *recipienti nomine magistri et domus hospitalis* [sic] *sancti Iohannis Gerosolimitani* (Accame, *Notizie*, 124–36 n. IV. Despite the title given here, Boniface was grand preceptor of the west at this time).
- 1292 XII 26, *Calatayubii* (Aragón): charter (James II of Aragón for his officials and peace negotiators at Lleida), petitioner: *fratris Bonifacii de Calamandrana* who had successfully asked the king to issue new (probably more benevolent) orders regarding the sons of Charles II of Anjou, who were, at this time, hostages in Aragón (*AA* III, 27–8).
- 1293 II 6, Guadalajara: letter (James II of Aragón to the emir of Granada), mention: *don fray Bonifacio maestro mayor de la horden del Espital* (Digard, *Philippe*, II, 284–5 n. 14. Despite the title given here, Boniface was grand preceptor of the west at this time).
- 1293 III 8, (Spain): charter, issuer: the Hospitaller preceptor of Calchetas, *teniente logar* [in the priory of Navarre] *de don freyre Bonifacio de Calamandrana grant et general comendador en las partidas denant mar* (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 606–7 n. 533).
- 1293 V 6, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to the nobles and cities of his realm), mention: *fr(atrem) Boniffacium de Calamandrana missum per dictum regem Castelle* [Sancho IV] *ad ill(ustrem) regem Francie* [Philip IV] *et Karolum regem Jherusalem* [Charles II of Anjou] (*AA* III, 4; *CH* III 4213).
- 1293 VII 20, Canterbury: letter (Edward I of England to his officials in Aquitaine), mention: Boniface of Calamandrana, “général de l'ordre de l'Hôpital,” whose complaints should be investigated (*CH* III 4222).
- 1293 VIII 20, Logroño: charter (James II of Aragón for his officials), mention: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor (of the west), who should be permitted to enter the kingdom (*CH* III 4224).
- 1293 VIII 20, Logroño: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor (of the west) (*CH* III 4225).
- 1293 VIII 22, Tarragona: letter (James II of Aragón to Sancho IV of Castile), mention: *fray Bonifacio de Calamanadrano*, who had arrived in Tarragona and was briefing

- James II regarding the negotiations with France and with Charles II of Anjou (*AA* III, 4–5).
- 1293 IX, EU: secondary literature: Boniface of Calamandrana convinced James II of Aragón to accept Charles II of Anjou's conditions for ending the Sicilian war (Schein, *Fideles*, 189; Vones, "Guadalajara," 1757).
- (1285 IX–1293 X 20), Latin east or Cyprus: information from a later charter (→ 1300 II 15): heeding a request made by *fratris Bonifatii de Calamandrana generalis preceptoris dicti Hospitalis*, the Hospitaller Master John of Villiers freed Theodore of Coles (*CH* III 4488; date: based on the tenure of John of Villiers as master: Delaville Le Roulx, 408).
- 1294 V 2, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to the convent of female Hospitallers at Sigüenza), mention: *fratri Bonifacio de Calamandrana* (*CH* III 4249).
- 1294 VII 7, Aragón: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Boniface of Calamandrana (*AA* I, 14–15 n. 10).
- 1294 VII 7, Aragón: secondary literature: James II of Aragón agreed to send a fleet to the aid of the east that would be under the command of Boniface of Calamandrana or Roger of Lluria (Schein, *Fideles*, 189).
- 1294 VII 7, Aragón: letter (James II of Aragón to John of Grailly), mention: Boniface of Calamandrana (*AA* III, 10).
- 1294 VIII 18, Lleida: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Boniface of Calamandrana (*CH* III 4254).
- 1294 X 3, Olite (Spain): charter, mention: the Hospitaller preceptor of Calchetas was *tenient logar de don freyre Boniffacio Grant Comendador d'aquent mar por la orden de Sant Johan en el priorado de Navarra* (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 610–14 n. 537).
- 1294 X 9, Tortosa (Spain): letter (James II of Aragón to the sons of Charles II of Anjou, who were, at this time, hostages in Aragón), mention: *fr(ater) Boniffacius* who was traveling to them on behalf of their father (*AA* III, 25–8 n. 15).
- 1294 X 8–9, Sulmona (Italy): secondary literature: Pope Celestine V sent the bishop of Valenica and Boniface of Calamandrana with a letter to James II of Aragón and told the latter to come to Ischia for negotiations (Herde, *Cölestin V*, 114–15, citing Potthast 23992–3).
- 1294 X 12, Sulmona (Italy): letter (Charles II of Anjou to James II of Aragón), mention: *Bonifacius de Calamandrana preceptor Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalemitani in partibus cismarinis* (*AA* III, 28–31 n. 17).
- 1294 X 13, near Naples: letter (by Pope Celestine V), addressee: *Bonifacio de Calamandrano generali praeceptori domus Hospitalis S. Iohannis in partibus cismarinis* (*CH* III 4260; Potthast 23997).
- 1294 X 16, Tortosa (Spain): letter (James II of Aragón to Doña Maria Ferrandez), mention: *una carta del honorado don fratre Bonifacio de Calamandrana*, sent with news from the papal court (*AA* I, 19–20 n. 14).
- 1294 XII 29, Barcelona: charter (by James II of Aragón), petitioner: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor of the west (*CH* III 4265).
- 1295 II 26, Barcelona: charter (by James II of Aragón), petitioner: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor of the west (*CH* III 4273).
- 1295 late-III, Aragón: letter (James II of Aragón to his envoys), mention: the actions *quel maestre del Espital* [Odo of Pins] *ha fet contra fratre Bonifaci* (*AA* III, 33–42 n. 20).
- 1295 VIII 11, Anagni: letter (by Pope Boniface VIII), addressee: *fratri Bonifatio de Calamandrano magno preceptori ordinis Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in partibus cismarinis* (*CH* III 4290).
- 1295 (before VIII 12), papal court: statutes (proposed to Pope Boniface VIII to reform the order of the Hospital), co-author: *frere Bonaface de Calamandrane home de grant renomée au siecle et en la religion* (*CH* III 4267; date: *CH* III 4293).
- 1296 I 8, (papal court): charter (by Pope Boniface VIII), mention: *fratrem Bonifacium de Calamandrana generalem preceptorem hospitalis S. Johannis Jerosolimitani in partibus cismarinis*, whom the pope was sending to Sicily (*AA* III, 53).

- 1296 II 2, Rome: letter (Pope Boniface VIII to John of Procida, grand chancellor of the kingdom of Sicily), mention: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor of the west and papal envoy (*CH* III 4299).
- 1296 (II), Rome: letter (Pope Boniface VIII to his envoys), co-addressee: *fr(ater) Bonifacius de Calamandrana* (*AA* III, 48–53 n. 25).
- 1297, Marseilles: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Master William of Villaret, → 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol), first document): *frere Boniface*, the grand preceptor of the west, had participated in a general chapter held at Marseilles and led by Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4461).
- 1298 II 23, near Capua: charter (by Robert of Anjou, general vicar of the kingdom of Sicily), petitioner: *frater Bonifacius de Calamandrana magnus preceptor Hospitalis ejusdem* (*CH* III 4406).
- 1298 II 23, Rome: letter (by Pope Boniface VIII) addressee: Boniface of Calamandrana, grand preceptor *in partibus cismarinis* (*CH* III 4408).
- 1298 X 25, Rieti: letter (Pope Boniface VIII to Master William of Villaret), mention: *quondam fratrem Bonifatium Hospitalis vestri magnum preceptorem* (*CH* III 4433; *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, n. 2825).
- 1298 XII 30, Lateran: charter (Pope Boniface VIII for the *societas Perutorum de Florentia*), mention: *quondam fratrem Bonifatium de Calamandrano olim magnum praeceptorem dicti Hospitalis in partibus cismarinis* (*Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, n. 2827).
- 1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: the death of *frere Boniface* (*CH* III 4468).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), mention: the convent had heard at the time of the *passage de la sainte Crois* (the 'September passage' of the previous year around the feast of *exaltatio crucis*, 1298 IX 14) that *frere Boniface le grant comandor* had died (which must have occurred some time after → 1298 II 23), whereupon the pope had confiscated his goods (*CH* III 4461; date: *CH* III, p. 766. → 1297).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys), mention: the deceased *frere Boniface* whose goods had been confiscated by the pope (*CH* III 4462; date: *CH* III, p. 766).
- 1300 II 15, Lateran: charter (Pope Boniface VIII for Theodore of Coles, a layman from the diocese of Limassol, former Hospitaller *homo*, and former chamberlain of Boniface of Calamandrana), mention: *quondam fratris Bonifatii de Calamandrana generalis preceptoris dicti Hospitalis cujus camerarius existebas* (*CH* III 4488. → (1285 IX–1293 X 20)).
- (1300), Aragón: charter, mention (retrospectively): *frare Bonifaci de Calamandrana* (*AA* I, 91–3 n. 64).

[BONOMUS (H) turcopolier? 1254]

identity: Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 65, incorrectly features him in his list of Hospitaller turcopoliers. Bonomus appears in the witness list of a charter issued on 1254 IX 22 as *Bonomo turcopolo* (*CH* II 2693; *RRH* 1220). He was merely a turcopole (*turcopolus*) or someone with the cognomen 'turcopole,' not a turcopolier (*turcopolerius*).

BORELL (H) (grand) preceptor 1187–8

origin: France or Spain? Borell, name, common in twelfth-century southern France and northern Spain, particularly Catalonia (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, n. 25, 57, 72, 73, 105, 109, 117). Herquet, *Chronologie*, 15, suggests a Catalonian origin.

identity: not identical with the Hospitaller Marshal → William Borell, because he never appears with this first name. Not identical with → NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/

- (treasurer?) 1187, who was in charge of the order's treasury in Jerusalem during the city's siege in 1187 (IX 20–X 2), because Borell was in Tyre by → 1187 (VII 4–7 or after VII 10, before VIII 6) and, still, in → 1187 X. It is unknown whether he was identical with a layman of the same name (*Borrellus*) who witnessed a charter issued by Bohemond III of Antioch in 1166/7 (*CH* I 367; *RRH* 424; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 43).
- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; King, *Knights*, 126–8, 159; Mayer, “On the Beginnings,” 443–57; Bronstein, 11–12, 138, 147–8; Luttrell, “Ermengol,” 16; cf. Chapter One.
- 1187 II 1, Margat: charter (Bertrand Mazoir, lord of Margat, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Burellus tunc temporis ejusdem domus preceptor* (*CH* I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90; *RRH* 647; date: Mayer II, 269, 878; Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6. Pope Urban III confirmed this transaction on 1187 VI 30, and the cardinal legate Soffred of St. Praxedis confirmed it in 1203: VOP II, *ibid.*; *CH* I 809; *RRH* 652).
- 1187 II after 1, Antioch: charter (Bohemond III of Antioch for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Burellus magnus preceptor* (*CH* I 783; VOP II, 288–95 n. 90, insert; *RRH* 649; date: Mayer II, 269, 878; Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6. Pope Urban III confirmed this transaction on 1187 VI 30, and the cardinal legate Soffred of St. Praxedis confirmed it in 1203: VOP II, *ibid.*; *CH* I 809; *RRH* 652).
- 1187 (VII 4–7 or after VII 10, before VIII 6), Tyre: charter (the prelates and barons of the Latin east for the Genoese), witness: *frater Bo(rrellus) preceptor Hospitalis* (Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659; date: Mayer II, 879–80).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan commune in Tyre), consent-giver: *fratris Borelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis* (Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the citizens of St. Gilles, Montpellier, Marseilles, Barcelona, and Nîmes), consent-giver: *fratris Burelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis* (*Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 181–3 n. 4; *RRH* 666).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans), consent-giver: *fratris Burrelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis* (Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans again), consent-giver: *fratris Burelli magni preceptoris Hospitalis* (Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668).
- 1188 (I), Tyre: letter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat and others to Bela III of Hungary), co-sender: NN, *eximius preceptor Hospitalis* (Ilgen, “Brief,” 135–7; *RRH* 670).
- 1188 V, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan *societas Vermiliorum*), consent-giver: *fratris Borelli tunc eiusdem domus magni preceptoris* (Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675).
- 1188 X, (Tyre): charter (Hospitaller Master Armengaud of Asp for Queen Sancha of Aragón), consent-giver: *Borrelli preceptoris Jerusalem* (*CH* I 860; *RRH* 677).

BR. (H) treasurer → BERNARD OF CHEMIN (H)

CASTUS OF MUROLS (H) treasurer 1164–8; master 1170–1

origin: France. Murols, toponym in Auvergne (Delaville Le Roulx, 80; King, *Knights*, 322; Riley-Smith, 63).

family: His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 320, 322: “Gules, a cross pointed, vair”).

identity: Jean Raybaud in the eighteenth century already considered him identical with the future Hospitaller Master Castus (Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 39–40), who led the order only very briefly, namely → (1170 IX/X–1171 before III 10). Scholars have agreed with this identification (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 11; Delaville Le Roulx, 80–1; King, *Knights*, 102; Riley-Smith,

- 63). Contrary to what has been suggested by Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 115, 189, Castus of Murols was not identical with Castus, the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles in 1170 and 1171 (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 65 n. 73; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 141, 234; Santoni, 183), because the latter's tenure at St. Gilles cannot be reconciled with the former's tenure as master, and because Prior Castus was still alive in 1171 VI (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 141) when Master Castus of Murols had already died.
- literature*: Du Cange, *Familles*, 893; Herquet, *Chronologie*, 11; Delaville Le Roulx, 80–2, 408; King, *Knights*, 312; 315; Riley-Smith, 63; cf. Chapter One.
- 1162, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Ogerius for Rudolph Burduyni), witness: *Casto de Murol* (Manosque, f. 481^v 53 B; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40; cf. *CH* I 300; *CH* IV, p. 247; *RRH* 376c).
- (1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jerusalem and Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for Duke Bela III of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia), witness: *frater Castus thesaurarius* (*CH* I 309; *RRH* 458; date: Mayer II, 869).
- 1167 III, (Jerusalem): charter (by Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem), consent-giver: *Casti thesaurarii* (*CH* I 375; *RRH* 430).
- 1167, (Jerusalem): charter (Petronilla for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Castus de Murol thesaurarius* (*CH* I 372; *CH* IV, p. 248–9; *RRH* 434a).
- (1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for the *burgenses* of Bethgibelin), witness: *Castus thesaurarius* (*CH* I 399; *RRH* 457; date: the same document listed for → Amoravius).
- (1170 IX/X), Jerusalem: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): after his second resignation, the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly presided over the election of a new master (Castus). The majority of the chapter consented to the election, but the preceptor (Pons Blan) and his supporters remained silent (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480). It is conceivable that Castus's name was omitted because the co-signatories of the letter, namely King Amalric of Jerusalem and the spiritual lords of the realm, had disapproved of Gilbert's resignation and, thus, also of his presiding over the election of his successor).
- (1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170 IX/X).
- (1170 IX/X–1171 before III 10), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *magister Casse* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960. Castus must have died before 1171 III 10, the day his successor, Master Josbert, appears in a charter (*CH* I 422; *RRH* 492; date: Mayer II, 870–2).
- (1170 IX/X–1171 before III 10), TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Castus* (“Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797).
- (1170 IX/X–1171 before III 10), TS: seal (lead): Master Castus, bearing the circumscription +*CASTVS: CVSTOS* (front), +*HOSPITALIS. HIERVSALEM* (back) (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 232–3 n. 167; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 94 n. 111).
- 1172 VI 20, Tusculum: letter (Pope Alexander III to O., Hospitaller preceptor, and the other brothers in Jerusalem), mention: the pope was aware that Gilbert of Assailly had presided over the election of his own successor, *fratrem uestrum Castum nomine*, in → (1170 IX/X). The pope had subsequently confirmed the election, but Castus had died (*ipso autem de praesenti uita domino uocante subtracto*) (VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; *CH* I 434; *RRH* 492a).

CIMBELARD (T) → AMBLARD (OF VIENNE) (T)

CRAPHUS (H) hospitaller 1259–61; lieutenant of the grand preceptor 1260
origin: Germany? *Craphus* (Kraft), name, common (for example) in the southwestern German comital family of Hohenlohe-Weikersheim since the thirteenth century (Grote, *Stammtafeln*, 86 n. 61).

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, features him with reservations in his list of hospitallers of the order of St. John, because in the charter of → 1260 IV 14, the word *hospitalarius* after *frater Craphus* could simply denote his membership in the order, especially since he is also designated as the lieutenant of the grand preceptor. Meanwhile, another charter has surfaced, dated → (1259–61) V 1 and witnessed by *frere Graf hospitalier*, which confirms that Craphus did, in fact, serve as conventual hospitaller; since all other officials mentioned in this charter's witness list (marshal, prior, treasurer, turcopolier, and 'little' preceptor) are also featured with their titles following their names.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 66; Burgtorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 13.

1260 IV 14, Acre: charter (John Grifus, a knight of Acre, and his wife Agatha for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Craphi hospitalarii existentis tunc loco magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis in Accon* (*CH* II 2949; *RRH* 1291).

(1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Graf hospitalier* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: we only know the day (V 1) and place (Acre), but due to the mention of Master Hugh Revel, 1259 V 1 is the *terminus post quem*. The most likely date is 1261 V 1, when Balian of Ibelin ceded Arsuf to the Hospitallers (*CH* III 2985; *RRH* 1302)).

DALMAT OF TIMOR (T) turcopolier 1300–2

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Timor, family name.

family: noble family of Queralt-Timor (Tarragona). His mother was Sancha of Timor.

His father may have been James II of Aragón who referred to him as *naturalem nostrum* ('our natural child') and tried to promote his career (→ 1307 VII 3; cf. Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 121; Forey, "Beginnings," 93). It is unknown whether Dalmat was related to any of the following Templars with the cognomen 'of Timor' who served in the order's province of Aragón-Catalonia: Arnold (preceptor of various places: Huesca, 1268–9; Gardeny, 1269–71, 1292; Barberà, 1271–6; Monzón, 1277–92; brother in Zaragoza, 1274, 1283; lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia, 1290: *Procès* II, 462; Alart, "Suppression," 55; Miret y Sans, "Inventaris," 62, 74; Font Rius, *Cartas*, I, 507–8 n. 345; Forey, *Aragón*, 422, 426, 431, 433, 437, 446; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 192 n. 19, 194 n. 29, 220 n. 8), James (lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia, 1253; preceptor of Gardeny, 1252–4: Miret y Sans, *Cartoral*, 19; Forey, *Aragón*, 294, 421, 431), or P. (brother, 1267: Forey, *Aragón*, 395–7 n. 24); or to the Aragonese Hospitaller Gaucrand of Timor (lieutenant castellan of Amposta, 1277, 1278, 1280, 1284; brother, 1279; preceptor of Casp, Sanper, and Calanda, 1277, 1284, 1286; castellan of Amposta, 1286: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 187, 207, 520; *CH* III 3663, 3696, 3735, 3865, 3903, 3935, 3945, 3980, 3987, 4031; Delaville Le Roulx, 422, 424); or to the Aragonese layman William of Timor (1292: *CH* III 4184).

literature: Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 406; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 517; Forey, *Aragón*, 311, 422, 426; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 69–70, 167; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 121–2; Claverie, "Cristiandat," 98; Forey, *Fall*, 227, 240, *et passim*; Demurger, *Jacques*, 181, 186–7; Claverie I, 108, 118, 196–7; 206; II, 325; Forey, "Templar Knights," 637.

(1288), (Tortosa): information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Tamarit, → 1310 II 27, Lleida): Dalmat of Timor, preceptor of Barberà, had attended Peter of Tamarit's reception into the order twenty-two years earlier (Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 195 n. 31; date: *ibid.*, 196. Dalmat's title refers to the time of the trial).

1293 I 17, Tortosa (Spain): charter (by Raymond of Bell-lloc, Templar preceptor of Tortosa), witness: *frater Dalmacius de Timor* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 193–5 n. 169).

- 1294 IX 15, Tortosa (Spain): charter (by Berengar of Cardona, Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Dalmacii de Timor...Sig+num fratris Dalmacii de Timor* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 198–209 n. 172).
- 1294 IX 21, Tortosa (Spain): charter (agreement between James II of Aragón and the Templars), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Dalmacii de Timor...Sig+num fratris Dalmacii de Timor* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 213–15 n. 174).
- 1300 XI 10, Limassol: charter (Templar Master James of Molay for Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón-Catalonia), witness: *frater Dalmatius de Timor torcuplerius* (Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44).
- (1302) V 1, Famagusta: information from a later trial deposition (made by Gawain of Raval, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Dalmare de Tymono tricoplerius* had attended Gawain of Raval's reception into the order eight years earlier, calculated back from the last V 1 (Schottmüller II.3, 210–11; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208).
- (1303), Gardeny: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bernard of Puigverd, → 1310 II 19, Lleida): Dalmat of Timor had attended Bernard of Puigverd's reception into the order seven years earlier (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 192 n. 16; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- (1305), Barcelona: information from a later trial deposition (made by Berengar of Puig, → 1310 II 19, Lleida): the Templar Knight Dalmat of Timor had attended Berengar of Puig's reception into the order five years earlier (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 191 n. 15; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- (1305), Barberà: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bernard of Podolio (Pujol), → 1310 II 16, Lleida): *fr(atrem) Dalmatium de Timor comandatorem de Barberano* had received Bernard of Podolio into the order five years earlier (Finke II, 364–78 n. 157; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 191; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- (1305), Barberà: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Çà Ricira (Çarovira), → 1310 II 16, Lleida): *fratrem Dalmatium de Timor comandatorem dicti loci* (Barberà) had received Peter of Çà Ricira into the order five years earlier (Finke II, 364–78 n. 157; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 191; date: *ibid.*, 189).
- 1306 X, (Spain): secondary literature: Dalmat of Timor served as lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia (Forey, *Aragón*, 422).
- 1307 VII 4, (Aragón): letter (James II of Aragón to the Templar Master James of Molay), mention: Dalmat of Timor, *naturalem nostrum comandatorem Barberani*, whom the king wanted to have appointed master of Aragón-Catalonia because he was of a healthy age and even better constitution (*AA* Nachträge, reprint, 621).
- 1307 VIII 4, Montgauguier (Burgundy): letter (Templar Master James of Molay to James II of Aragón), mention: *fratris D. de Tymour* whom the king wanted to have appointed master of Aragón-Catalonia, to which James of Molay replied that he could not make such an appointment without consulting the brothers of that province (Forey, "Letters," 166–7 n. 14; *AA* Nachträge, reprint, 621–2. The Aragonese Templars eventually decided on Simon of Lenda as their new provincial master, and the order's master first announced this appointment to the king and queen of Aragón, and only then to Simon by sending him *la bourse et la bolle* of his predecessor (*AA* Nachträge, reprint, 683–4 n. 14; cf. *ibid.*, 622)).
- 1307 late fall, Monzón: secondary literature: after James II of Aragón had begun to proceed against the Templars, Dalmat brought the valuables of the preceptory of Barberà to safety and retreated, together with other brothers, to the order's castle of Monzón (Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 69–70).
- 1308 I 28, Monzón: seal: Dalmat of Timor, Templar preceptor of Barberà, featuring a castle with three towers, the middle one being the highest, and two fish, their heads upward, on either side, bearing the circumscription + S' COMAND.....BARBERA (Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 127).
- 1308 spring, Monzón: letter (the Templar preceptor of Gardeny to the preceptor of Ascho), mention: *fray Dalmau de Temor* and *tots los prohomens* and all brothers staying in the castle of Monzón were healthy and in a good state (Finke II, 112 n. 2).

- (1308) VIII 1, Lleida: letter (the bishop of Lleida to James II of Aragón), mention: the Templars under siege at Monzón were divided, one group supporting the castellan, another group supporting *frater Dalmacius de Timor* (Finke II, 153–4 n. 91).
- (1308) IX 26, Monzón: letter, mention: the Templars under siege at Monzón were requesting safe-conduct (*guidaticum*) for *fr(ater) Dalmacius de Thimo* (Finke II, 131–2 n. 84).
- 1310 II 16, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1305), Barberà, first document.
- 1310 II 16, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1305), Barberà, second document.
- 1310 II 19, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1305), Barcelona.
- 1310 II 19, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1303).
- 1310 II 27, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1288).
- 1310 IV 4, Valencia: letter (James II of Aragón), mention: *fratrem Dalmacium de Timor* (Finke II, 159–64 n. 93).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1302) V 1.
- 1310 VIII 17, (Aragón): charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *Dalmatius de Timor* who, according to the king's pledge, would not leave Gardeny without royal permission (Finke II, 159–64 n. 93; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 352).
- 1319 XI 22, Lleida: list of pensions, mention: Dalmat of Timor, the (former) Templar preceptor of Barberà, received a pension of 4,000 sous of Barcelona from the Hospitallers (Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383, 389, 392, 394).
- 1323, Sardinia: secondary literature: Dalmat participated in the Aragonese conquest of Sardinia (Forey, *Fall*, 227).
- 1323, Aragón: secondary literature: the Hospitallers laid claim to Dalmat's possessions (Forey, *Fall*, 240).

[DOILUS (H) master? 1299]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 432, features him in his list of Hospitaller preceptors of Cyprus (cf. also Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 175; Coureas, “Role,” 258), based on a charter issued in the southern Italian port town of Manfredonia on 1299 V 15. According to the document, the master of the port authorized the export of grain on the Templar ship *Potta Johannis* to Cyprus where its receipt was to be acknowledged *a magistro Doilo Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani vel eius locum tenente in Cipro* (Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 97–8; *CH* III 4460). In 1299, → William of Villaret served as master of the Hospital, and he was still in the west, perhaps even in southern Italy (*CH* IV 4443bis, 4445). The order's preceptor of Cyprus, since 1299 VI 3 at the latest, but probably since 1295 (i.e. since the last general chapter held on Cyprus before 1299: *CH* III 4295), was → William of St. Stephen. The name of the order's (grand) preceptor (of Limassol) who, in 1299, was the acting lieutenant master on Cyprus is unknown: → NN (H) (grand) preceptor and lieutenant master 1299. The first name ‘Doilus’ is not otherwise known. I believe that *Doilo* is a misreading of an abbreviated name contained in the original document (which, according to Mas Latric, *Histoire*, II, 98, did contain abbreviations), namely of *Glmo* (*Guillelmo*), and thus refers to the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret.

DURAND OF PRAEPOSITURA (H) treasurer 1306

origin: France? The clue is his service in two Hospitaller houses in Auvergne (Montchalix and La Sauvetat d'Aurillac).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Hugh *le Prevost* (preceptor of Avalterre and Chantraine, 1355: Mannier, *Ordre*, 746).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 32; Luttrell, *Town*, 20.

1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (the Hospitallers' conventual officials and general chapter for the Master Fulk of Villaret), co-issuer: *frater Durandus de Prepositura thesaurarius* (*CH* IV 4735).

- 1312 X 17, Rhodes: charter (Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the conventual officials for Albert of Schwarzburg, grand preceptor and now proctor at the papal court and the courts of western Europe), mention: *fratre Duranto de Praepositura praeceptore Montis Chalini et Salvitatis de Auriliaco* (Montchalix und La Sauvetat d'Aurillac), as well as the Hospitaller draper, the prior of Rome, the prior of Venice (who also served as the order's general proctor at the papal court), and three (former) companions of the master, now nominated to serve as Albert's *socios consiliarios et coadjutores* (Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8).
- 1313, EU: charter, mention: *Durand de la Prévôté*, Hospitaller preceptor of Montchalix (BN, fr. 32957, f. 175).

[DURAND OF SOREE (H) preceptor of Acre? 1235]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 431, features 'Durand' in his list of Hospitaller preceptors of Acre. A charter issued by Hospitaller Master Guerin in 1235 IX was witnessed by *frater Durandus parvus preceptor*, but also by *frater Andreu Polin magnus preceptor Acconensis* (CH II 2126; RRH 1063; cf. Bronstein, 148). On 1237 VI 6, *frere Durant li petit comanderes* witnessed a charter issued by *frere Pierre de Vielle Briude de la sainte maison del Hospital de Jerusalem humil comandor en Acre* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; Manosque, f. 409' 54 C; CH II 2166; RRH 1076b). Thus, Durand was the 'little preceptor' whose subordinate office should not be confused with that of the order's preceptor of Acre. After the central convent's relocation to Acre (1191), the office of the preceptor of Acre was merged with that of the conventual (grand) preceptor (cf. Chapter Two). According to Delaville Le Roulx, Durand may be identical with *frere Durant de Soreis* who was in the east in 1239 IV (CH II 2224; RRH 1091; cf. CH II, p. 494). *Soreis* may be a misreading or misspelling of *Soreias* (Sorée), a toponym in the province of Namur (Graesse III, 403).

FERRAND OF BARRAS (H) marshal 1221

origin: France? Barras, family name.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitallers Bertrand of Barras (prior of St. Gilles, 1239–42; prior of Auvergne, 1245: CH II 2218, 2230, 2234–5, 2278, 2284; Delaville Le Roulx, 416, 418; Santoni, 183; Bronstein, 157) or Gaspard of Barras (brother in the priory of St. Gilles, undated: Selwood, *Knights*, 161); or to William of Barras (brother, 1234; preceptor of Pernes, 1278: CH II 2076; Bronstein, 164; these could be two separate individuals). In 1338, several Hospitallers with the cognomen 'of Barras' (two Ferrands and one 'Barras of Barras') appeared in the bailiwick 'de la Croix' in southeastern France (Durbec, *Templiers*, 398, 404). The common denominator for all these individuals is that they spent time in southern France, making that a likely area of origin for the Barras family.

identity: Between 1180 and 1268, the name 'Ferrand of Barras' appears in the sources in a variety of spellings and in connection with a variety of Hospitaller offices. In his discussion of Hospitaller careers, Riley-Smith suggests that the evidence refers to just one person, but he does entertain the possibility that there may have been two Hospitallers of the same name during this time period (Riley-Smith, 280–2; cf. Santoni, 150; Selwood, *Knights*, 149; Bronstein, 148, also suggesting one person). If there was just one person, he lived to be over one hundred years old, was first a simple brother in the west (1180), then a brother in the east (perhaps 1194 and 1198, certainly 1214), then castellan of Seleucia (1214) and Raymond Rupen's administrator of the castle of Antioch (1219), then marshal and participant of the Fifth Crusade (1221), then grand preceptor of the west (1227), then—after a seventeen-year gap during which he disappears from the historical record—prior of St. Gilles (1244–68) and grand preceptor of the west (1259–62), and he probably died in 1269. The fact that Pope Clement IV intervened in 1266 and did not allow Ferrand, prior of St. Gilles, to travel to the east because of his ill health (CH III 3215–16; *Registres de Clement*

- IV, ed. Jordan, n. 1030), may suggest, but does not prove, that this Ferrand was an old man. It is conceivable that there were individuals in the thirteenth century who lived to be over one hundred years old. However, it is unlikely that the Hospitallers would have entrusted their important priory of St. Gilles to someone who was at least eighty years old in 1244, that they would then have allowed him to keep it for the next twenty-five years, and that they would have added the additional burden of the grand preceptorate of the west between 1259 and 1262. The seventeen-year gap between 1227 and 1244 suggests that we are dealing with two individuals after all, namely one whose career ended around 1227 and included the conventual marshalcy, and one whose career took off around 1244 (for this second individual: Manosque, f. 528 59 R; Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 334–48; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, III, 239 n. 4172; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, lxiv–lxv n. XCII; *CH* II 2419, 2481, 2570, 2604, 2645, 2923, 2965; *CH* III 2986, 3035, 3215–16, 3301, 3308; *CH* IV, p. 291–3; Delaville Le Roulx, 415–16; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 1030, 1487; *RRH* 1358a; Santoni, 146, 153, 161, 183; Selwood, *Knights*, 106–7, 150; Carraz, *Ordre*, 500). We may be dealing with an uncle and his nephew.
- literature*: Röhricht, 740; Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 433; Riley-Smith, 159, 280–2; Bronstein, 18, 135, 148, 158–9, *et passim*.
- 1180, Aix-en-Provence: charter (Count William IV of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *Faraldo de Barraç* (*CH* I 578).
- 1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Ferrandus* (*CH* I 972; *RRH* 717; date: Mayer II, 883).
- 1198 VIII 21, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Ferrandi* (*CH* I 1031; *RRH* 742).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (Leo I of Armenia for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Faraldus de Baras* (*CH* II 1426; *RRH* 869).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (Leo I of Armenia for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Faraldus de Barras castellanus Selephii* (Seleucia) (*CH* II 1427; *RRH* 870).
- 1219, Antioch: chronicle: Raymond Rupen, son of Raymond of Antioch and grandson of Bohemond III of Antioch, who had claimed the principality of Antioch as his inheritance, was forced to flee from Antioch which was reconquered by Bohemond IV, the younger brother of Raymond of Antioch. The city's castle, which Raymond Rupen had entrusted to *frere Ferrant de Beraut*, the *cheveteines* of the Hospitallers, surrendered some time later (Eracles, 318).
- 1221 V (before 15), Damietta: charter (agreement between Bishop John of Acre and Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu, confirmed by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), witness: *frater Ferraudus de Barraç marescalcus* (*CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945; date: Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 44; *RRH* 944, showing Pelagius in Acre on 1221 V 15, which means that this charter was issued shortly before 1221 V 15, when he was still in Egypt).
- 1227 VI 12, (Aragón): charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers), mention: *dompnum fratrem Ferault de Barras magnum preceptorem* (of the west) (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 36–8 n. 30. While *in partibus cismarinis* is missing from the title, the context suggests that he was serving as grand preceptor of the west at this time).

FLORENTIN OF VILLA (T) preceptor 1299

- origin*: unknown. Claverie II, 326, suggests that he originated from Champagne.
- family*: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templars → John of Villa (draper, 1308–10) or Peter of Villa (brother in Picardy, 1303: Schottmüller II.3, 186).
- literature*: Demurger, *Jacques*, 82, 181; Claverie I, 261; II, 326.
- (1282 IX 27–XII 31, Montefiascone): letter (Pope Martin IV to Templar Master William of Beaujeu), mention: *fratrem Florentium de Villa ipsius ordinis* (Claverie II, 433–4 n. 17).
- (1284/5, on a Sunday), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by Guy Delphini, → 1311 I 19, Paris): *Florentio de Villa socio tunc dicti magistris* had attended

- Roncelin of Fos's reception into the order circa twenty-six years earlier (*Procès* I, 418; date: *ibid.*, 415).
- 1299 VI 24, Naples: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: *fratri Florentino de Velu preceptori sacre milicie domus Templi* who was asked to restore a certain amount of money and gold to a Pisan merchant who had deposited these with the Templars at Atlit (*AA* I, 55–6 n. 41. Whatever the Templars had been able to take away from Atlit had probably been brought to Cyprus, which is why Florentin was probably the order's conventual preceptor).
- 1311 I 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1284/5, on a Sunday).

FULK BREMONT (H) hospitaller 1204–7

origin: unknown.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Peter Bromont (pilgrim in Acre, 1204: Röhricht, 689).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Bronstein, 148.

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Fulco Bremundus* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. The list containing his name concludes with the phrase *fratres Hospitalarii et officiales domorum vestrarum*. Thus, he may already have been serving as conventual hospitaller at this time).

1207 XII 18, Acre: charter (by Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, confirming the donation of Alix, daughter of Turgin, to the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Fulco Bremont hospitalarius* (*CH* II 1276; *CH* IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824).

FULK OF VILLARET (H) admiral 1299; grand preceptor 1301, 1303, 1305; master 1305–17/19

origin: France. *Villaretum* (Le Villaret), toponym and family name in Provence (Graesse III, 626; cf. Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 418; Delaville Le Roulx, 252; Luttrell, “Notes on Foulques,” 73).

family: noble family of Villaret. He was the nephew of the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret to whom he referred as *domino avunculo et predecessori nostro* in a letter of → (1306) III 6. Benedictine of Villaret was Fulk's sister (William's niece) and belonged to the convent of female Hospitallers at Sigena (Aragón). Jordane of Villaret was probably Fulk's aunt (William's sister); in 1308, she served as prioress of the convent of female Hospitallers at Fieux, a house founded by William of Villaret. Guigue of Villaret, another one of William's nephews, was a familiar of Charles II of Anjou in 1292 (*Gestes*, 319–20 § 670–3; *CH* IV 4801; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 544; Delaville Le Roulx, 252–3; Riley-Smith, 206; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291,” 165; Forey, “Women,” 71; Carraz, *Ordre*, 449). It is unknown whether Fulk was related to the Templars Fulk of Villaret (preceptor of Milau, 1259–60; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 536) or Odo of Villaret/Valdric (preceptor of Apulia, interrogated during the Cypriote trial, 1310: Schottmüller II.3, 168, 225–8).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 267–84, 408, 413; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 1–27; Riley-Smith, 209–16, 224; Bulst-Thiele, 241, 291, 313, 315, 344–5; Luttrell, “Hospitallers of Rhodes: Prospectives,” 256; Luttrell, “Notes on Foulques,” 73–90; Le Blévec, “Hôpital,” 36; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 123; Menache, “Hospitallers,” 157; Salerno, *Ospedaliieri*, 155; Forey, *Fall*, 181–2; 201–2, 216; Demurger, *Jacques*, 195–202; Luttrell, *Town*, 12, 188–90, *et passim*; Claverie II, 237–41; Carraz, *Ordre*, 412–13, 504; cf. Chapter Three.

1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller convent versus Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), co-plaintiff: *frere Fouque de Vilaret amirail de la maison* (*CH* III 4464).

1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *l'amirail*, one of the *baillis de la maison* adding their seal to the document (*CH* III 4468).

- 1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *l'ami*, one of the *baillifs de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).
- 1301 XII 31, (Limassol): *esgart* (between Hospitaller Marshal Raymond of Beaulieu and Grand Preceptor Fulk of Villaret), co-plaintiff: *le grant comandor . . . qui estoit au jour frere Fouque de Vilaret* (CH IV 4553; cf. *Gestes*, 319 § 670, regarding Fulk's appointment).
- 1303 (c. XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (Hospitaller Brother Arias Perez versus Hospitaller Brother Hugh Poitevin), mention: *frere Fouque de Vilaret qui fu fait grant comandor* (CH IV 4619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 66; cf. *Gestes*, 319 § 670, regarding Fulk's appointment).
- 1303 (after XII 27), Limassol: *esgart* (versus all who missed the grand mass on XII 26 and XII 27), plaintiff: *frere Fouque de Vilaret adonc grant comandor* (CH IV 4624; cf. *ibid.*, p. 72).
- 1305 (after VI 9–VII 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after the death of his uncle, William of Villaret (d. 1305 VI 9) *frere Fouque grant coumandour* was elected Hospitaller master (*Gestes*, 319–20 § 670–3).
- 1305 VII 1, Limassol: letter, sender: Fulk of Villaret, announcing his election as Hospitaller master (Luttrell, “Ospitalieri e l'eredità,” 69, citing ACA, pergamenes extra inventario Jaime II, carpeta 204, n. 288).
- 1305 XI 3, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *frere Fouque de Villieret henorable maistre de la maison* (CH IV 4703).
- (1306) III 6, Limassol: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: Master Fulk of Villaret (44 III, 145–6 n. 65).
- 1306 IV 26, Cyprus: chronicle: Master Fulk of Villaret was in attendance when the barons of Cyprus presented Henry II of Cyprus with their letter of grievances which would lead to the king's deposition (Mas Latrie, “Texte,” 524–41; Amadi, 247).
- 1306 V 14, Nicosia: charter (by Nicholas of Gazal, a Dominican), witness: Master Fulk of Villaret (Claverie III, 345–6 n. 416).
- 1306 V 27, Limassol: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and the Genoese Vignolo of Vignoli), party to the agreement: Fulk of Villaret, Hospitaller master (Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6; cf. Amadi, 256; Bustron, 141–3).
- 1306 VI 6, Bordeaux: letter (by Pope Clement V), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret who, together with the Templar master (James of Molay), was invited to the papal court to discuss the planned crusade (CH IV 4720; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 1033; Baluze, *Vitae*, II, 46).
- 1306 XI 3, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *frere Foulque de Villaret par le grace de Dieu de la sainte maison del Hospital de saint Jehan de Jerusalem humble maistre et garde des poures de Crist* (CH IV 4734).
- 1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (by the Hospitallers' conventual officials and general chapter), recipient: *fratrem Fulconem de Villareto Dei gratia magistrum nostrum* (CH IV 4735).
- 1306, (Cyprus): letter (to Pope Clement V *super faciendo generali passagio pro recuperatione Terre Sancte*): sender: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4681; Petit, “Memoire,” 602–10; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10368; Kedar and Schein, “Projet,” 211–26; date: Petit, “Memoire,” 603).
- 1306, (Peloponnesus), secondary literature: Fulk's trip to the west was delayed due to an accident of his ship near the Peloponnesus (Schottmüller I.1, 96).
- 1307 II 8, Lanercost: letter (by Edward I of England), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4738).
- (1307) V 14, Poitiers: letter (John Burgundi to James II of Aragón), mention: NN, *magister hospitalis s. Iohannis Iherosolimitani*, whose arrival (in Poitiers) was imminent (Finke II, 33–6 n. 23; cf. Baluze, *Vitae*, II, 48).
- 1307 VIII 31, Poitiers: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4749).
- 1307 IX 5, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V), recipient: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4751; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 2148).
- 1307 X 22, Marseilles: charter (agreement between Charles II of Anjou and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4756).

- 1307 X 23, Marseilles: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), recipient, NN, Hospitaller *generali magistro* (CH IV 4757).
- 1307 X 23, Marseilles: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), recipient: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4758).
- 1307 X 23, Marseilles: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4759).
- 1307 XI 1, Aix-en-Provence: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4765).
- 1307 XI 6, Aix-en-Provence: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4769).
- 1307 XII 4, Marseilles: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4773).
- 1307 XII 22, Valencia: letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4779).
- 1307 XII 23, Valencia: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4780).
- 1308 I 19, Poitiers: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4786).
- 1308 II 26, Poitiers: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4792).
- 1308 III 21, Valencia: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4793).
- 1308 V 2, (Spain): charter (for Peter of Ripa, the future Hospitaller preceptor of Aviñonet), issuer: John of Laodicea, conventual prior of Hospital and lieutenant of Master Fulk of Villaret in the grand preceptory of Spain (CH IV 4797).
- 1308 VI 20, Poitiers: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4800).
- 1308 VII 7, Poitiers: charter (for *Jordane de Vilareto*, Fulk of Villaret's aunt and prioress of the convent of female Hospitallers at Fieux), issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4801).
- 1308 VIII 8, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V), petitioner: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4806).
- 1308 VIII 10, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 2897).
- 1308 VIII 11, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V), recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (CH IV 4807).
- 1308 VIII 12, Poitiers: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4812).
- 1308 IX 1, Argenteuil: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4816).
- 1308 IX 1, Argenteuil: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4817).
- 1308 XI 5, L'Ormont: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4826; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 3389).
- (1308) XI 28, Marseilles: letter (to Philip IV of France), sender: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4828).
- 1308 XI 30, (Marseilles): charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4829).
- 1308 XII 6, Marseilles: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4830).
- (1309) I 8, Genoa: letter (Christian Spinola to James II of Aragón), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*AA I*, 191–2 n. 88).
- 1309 I 26, Florence: charter (by the podestà and magistrate of Florence), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret who was expected to arrive in the city fifteen days later (CH IV 4840).
- (1309) I 27, Pisa: letter (to Philip IV of France), sender: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4841).
- 1309 III 24, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master *Fulconis de Villareto* (CH IV 4855bis).
- 1309 III 24, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4855ter).
- 1309 IV 3, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (CH IV 4855quinquies).

- 1309 V 14, Avignon: letter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4860).
- 1309 V 25, Kennington: letter (by Edward II of England), addressee: *fratri Fulconi de Uillareto magistro sanctae domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani* (*CH IV* 4862; Rymer, *Foedera*, I.4, 141–2).
- 1309 V, Nicosia: chronicle: the Hospitaller preceptor (probably Guy of Séverac) presented a letter sent by Pope Clement V, stating that the plans for the crusade were in full swing and that the order's master (Fulk of Villaret) would be leading the expedition (Amadi, 298–9; Bustron, 175).
- 1309 VII 26, Avignon: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4871).
- 1309 VII 28, Avignon: charter/*vidimus* (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4872; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 4964).
- 1309 VII 28, Avignon: charter/*vidimus* (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4873; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 4971).
- 1309 IX 5, Marseilles: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4879).
- 1309 IX 11, Naples: charter (by Robert of Anjou, king of Naples), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4880).
- 1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau: letter (Pope Clement V to Peter of Rodez, papal legate, and Raymond of Pins, canon of Bazas and papal nuncio), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret, who should receive the incomes of the vacant archdiocese of Nicosia, which had until recently been entrusted to the Templars, as well as the incomes and goods of the Templars, which the pope had temporarily entrusted to Amaury of Lusignan, for a new crusade (*CH IV* 4882; Claverie II, 442–4 n. 20).
- 1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau: letter (Pope Clement V to Amaury of Lusignan), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (Claverie II, 445–7 n. 21).
- 1309 IX 24, Le Grozeau: letter (Pope Clement V to Peter of Rodez, papal legate, and Raymond of Pins), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (Claverie II, 447–9 n. 22; *CH IV*, p. 226).
- 1309 XI 22, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4886; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5991).
- 1309 XI 22, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5992).
- (1309), (France): letter (Philip IV of France to Pope Clement V), mention: NN, Hospitaller master, who, so the king, should ensure that an appropriate number of French Hospitallers would reside at the order's central convent (*CH IV* 4831; date: *CH IV*, p. 198).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: following Amaury of Lusignan's assassination on 1310 VI 5, Henry II of Cyprus, from his exile in Armenia, appointed Master Fulk of Villaret his lieutenant on Cyprus (Amadi, 368).
- 1310 VII 24, Cyprus: chronicle: Aygüe of Bethsan announced that the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret, whom Henry II of Cyprus had appointed his lieutenant on Cyprus for the duration of his absence (together with Aygüe), could not come to Cyprus due to urgent matters that were keeping him on Rhodes, and that he had therefore appointed Albert of Schwarzburg his lieutenant for Cyprus (Amadi, 368–9; cf. *ibid.*, 370; Bustron, 224–5).
- 1310 summer: chronicle: Master Fulk of Villaret accomplished the conquest of Rhodes through military and monetary might (*partim bello et partim emptione*) (Ludolphus de Sudheim, “De itinere,” 333; cf. Baluze, *Vitae*, I, 93; *Gestes*, 319–20 § 670–3).
- 1310 VIII 17, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4905).
- 1310 IX 1, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH IV* 4906; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5699).

- 1310 IX 24, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* IV 4907).
- 1310 IX 27, Le Grozeau: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* IV 4908; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5677).
- (1309 XI 14–1310 XI 13), EU: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CH* IV 4885; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 6062).
- 1311 I 25, Avignon: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: Master Fulk of Villaret (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 6504).
- 1312 V 2, Vienne: letter (by Pope Clement V), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 7891).
- 1312 X 17, Rhodes: charter (for Albert of Schwarzburg, grand preceptor and now procurator at the papal court and the courts of western Europe), co-issuer: Fulk of Villaret, Hospitaller master (Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8).
- 1313 VII 18, Le Grozeau: letter (by Pope Clement V), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10036).
- 1313 VIII 7, Windsor: letter (by Edward II of England), addressee: Master Fulk of Villaret (*CCR: Edward II*, II, 71).
- 1313 XII 9, London: charter (by Albert of Schwarzburg, Hospitaller grand preceptor and general visitor of the west), mention: Master *Fulk de Villaretto* (*CCR: Edward II*, II, 88–9).
- 1313, eastern Mediterranean: chronicle: Master Fulk of Villaret took action against Genoese merchants (Amadi, 395).
- 1314 III 24 and 26, *apud Castrum Novum*: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: *fratris Fulconi de Villareto magistri eiusdem hospitalis* (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10327–8).
- 1314 VI 8, (Aragón): letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ampurias was refusing to obey the Hospitaller master (Fulk of Villaret) (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404).
- 1315 VII 24, Langley: letter (by Edward II of England), addressee: Master *Falco de Vilareto* (*CCR: Edward II*, II, 303).
- 1316 II 14, EU: charter (by Leonard of Tibertis, Hospitaller prior of Venice), mention: *frère Foulques de Villeret par la grace de Dieu maistre de la sainte maison dudit Hospital* (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 230–3 n. 36).
- 1316 VIII 15, Rhodes: charter, issuer: Master Fulk of Villaret (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 361–4 n. I).
- (1305 after VI 9–1317/19): list of Hospitaller masters: Fulk of Villaret (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1305 after VI 9–1317/19): chronicle: eulogy for Master *Fulco* of Villaret, reporting on his mastership as well as his subsequent deposition and death (“*Cronica magistrorum defunctorum*,” ed. Dugdale, 798).
- (1305 after VI 9–1317/19): seal (lead): Master Fulk of Villaret, bearing the circumscription +:FRATER: FULCO: CVSTOS: (front), +:hOSPITALIS: IhERUSALEM: (back) (Douët d’Arcq, *Collection*, III, 244 n. 9883; Schlumberger, “Sceaux,” 340 n. 33; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 238–9 n. 197–9).
- (1305 after VI 9–1317/19): coins (Fulk of Villaret was apparently the first Hospitaller master to issue coins): +FR(ATER) FVLChO D(E) VILL(A)R(E)TO D(E)I GR(ATI)A (front), +M(AGISTE)R O(MNIS) hO(S)PITAL(IS) & Q[CON]VE(N)T(VS) S(AN)C(T)I IOh(ANN)IS + IhER(OSO)L(YMITAN)I RODI (back) (Metcalf, *Coinage*, 296).
- 1317–19, (Rhodes): chronicle: the brothers of the Hospitaller convent hated Master *Fulco de Villareto* for his arrogance. One night (1317), they planned to murder him in his bed in Rhodes. However, he was saved by the chamberlain and fled to the castle of Lindos, whereupon the convent proceeded to besiege him there. After his deposition by the convent and the election of a new master (Maurice of Pagnac), the case reached Pope John XXII who, at first, restored Fulk to his rights as master.

- After one year (1319), *de consilio procerum religionis* (following the counsel of the order's officials, probably the high conventual officials), the pope removed Fulk from the office ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 798; cf. Luttrell, *Town*, 188–90 (other versions of the text); Amadi, 398).
- 1319, EU: charter (by Pope John XXII), recipient: Fulk of Villaret, who was appointed Hospitaller prior of Capua for life (Taaffe, *History*, IV, xcii–xciii n. 123–4).
- 1325 (I 13), EU: secondary literature: Pope John XXII put Fulk of Villaret in charge of the Hospitaller priory of Rome (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 18; Luttrell, "Notes on Foulques," 81).
- (1325/6) IV 25, EU: secondary literature: Fulk of Villaret 'retired' with an annual pension of 2,000 florins (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 18; Luttrell, "Notes on Foulques," 81).
- 1327 IX 1, Château Teyran (near Montpellier): chronicle: Fulk of Villaret died a simple Hospitaller brother in a castle (belonging to his sister) and was buried in the (former) Templar chapel of Montpellier (Eglise du Grand S. Jean) ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 798).
- (after 1327 IX 1), Montpellier: inscription (tombstone, according to tradition): *An(no) d(omi)ni MCCCXXVII die Scilicet prima Septembris obiit nobilissimus vir dominus fr(ater) Fulquetus de Villareto magister magni hospitalis S(ancti) Ioannis baptistae Ierosolimitani cuius anima requiescat in pace* (BN, lat. 8984, f. 210; Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monuments*, I, 130; Luttrell, *Town*, 40).

G. (H) marshal → GARIN OF MONTAIGU (H)

G. (H) preceptor → GARIN OF MONTAIGU (H)

G. OF SALVAIGN (T) → GOUFIER [OF SALVAIGN] (T)

G. OF TOURS (T) → GEOFFREY OF TOURS (T)

GANTELME OF TOURNEL (H) → JOSCELIN (II) OF TOURNEL (H)

GARCIAS XIMENES (H) hospitaller 1262

origin: Spain. Garcias and Ximenes, personal names, common on the Iberian Peninsula (cf. for example *CH* I 998: *Garsia Semenès*, 1197, Navarre).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Bronstein, 148.

1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Garcie Semenès hospitaler* (*CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322).

GARIN OF MELNA (H) preceptor 1159, 1173–6

name: His first name is Garin, not Garnier. His cognomen is probably *de Melna*. All other variants seem to be misspellings or misreadings (against Herquet, "Neucs," 215–17).

origin: Flanders? *Melna*, toponym (Muilem) and family name in Flanders. The Melna family had ties to the abbey of St. Paul in Ghent (Graesse II, 543; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 547).

identity: not identical with the Hospitaller castellan of Bethgibelin whose name appears in the sixteenth-century summary of a charter issued in 1155 as *fratrem Gerinum de Castellano* [sic] *de Gebelino* (Manosque, f. 287^v 28 X; *CH* I 232; *RRH* 315b), because this individual was probably identical with → Garnier of Nablus (who actually served as castellan of Bethgibelin in the course of his career).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409.

1157, (St. Gilles): charter (Bertrand, abbot of the monastery of St. Gilles, for the Hospitallers), witness: *Garini Malnas* (*CH* I 253).

- 1158 IX, EU: charter (Count Raymond V of Toulouse for the Hospitallers), witness: *Garini Malnasi* (CH I 269. In this charter, and in the preceding one, it is unclear whether Garin was a Hospitaller or a layman; the former is more likely).
- 1159 I 25, (Jerusalem): charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Hospitallers), witness/recipient: *frater Garinus de Melna preceptor* (CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330; date: Mayer II, 864).
- 1173 X, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Jacobite Arion), witness: *frater Guar(inus) de Melna preceptor* (CH I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; RRH 501).
- 1173, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Syrian Meletos, archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis), witness: *fratre G(arino) de Melna preceptore domus Hospitalis* (CH I 443; RRH 502. Delaville Le Roulx, “Trois chartes,” 413, suggests that the charter was issued in Jerusalem because of the Hospitaller officials present. Herquet, “Neues,” 215, suggests that the cognomen should be read *Melnis*).
- 1174 VI, TS: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Garinus de Melna preceptor* (CH I 464; RRH 516).
- 1174 VII 3, Tiberias and Jerusalem: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for Philip Rufus), witness: *frater Garinus preceptor Hospitalis* (Strehlke, 8 n. 7; RRH 517; date: Mayer II, 64, 872).
- 1174, (Margat): charter (by Reynald II Mazoir, lord of Margat), recipient: *fratris Guarini de Mesna Hospitalis ejusdem preceptoris* (CH I 457; RRH 521).
- 1175 II, TS: charter (by Bohemond III of Antioch), recipient: *fratris Garini de M(elna) Hospitalis preceptoris* (CH I 472; RRH 523; date: Mayer II, 873; Mayer, *Varia*, 43).
- 1175 III, (Antioch): charter (agreement between Archbishop Gerald of Apamea and the Hospitallers, promulgated by Gerald), party to the agreement/witness: *fratre Garino domus Hospitalis preceptore...fr(ater) Garinus preceptor ejusdem Hospitalis* (VOP II, 230–2 n. 21a).
- 1175 III, (Antioch): charter (agreement between Archbishop Gerald of Apamea and the Hospitallers, promulgated by Patriarch Aimery of Antioch), party to the agreement/witness: *fratre Garino domus Hospitalis preceptore...frater Garinus preceptor ejusdem Hospitalis* (VOP II, 232–3 n. 21b; RRH 513).
- 1175 VIII, (Jerusalem): charter (Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), co-petitioner/party to the agreement: *fratris Garini preceptoris...et preceptor* (CH I 483; RRH 528).
- 1175, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Joscius of Acre and Hospitaller Master Josbert), witness: *Garinus preceptor* (CH I 471; RRH 532).
- 1176 III, TS: charter (by Bohemond III of Antioch), recipient: *fratris Garini preceptoris* (CH I 475; RRH 524; date: Mayer II, 873).
- 1180, TS: charter (Balian, lord of Nablus, and his wife Maria Comnena, widow of King Amalric of Jerusalem, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Garinus de Belna* (CH I 576; RRH 597).
- 1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guericus of Petra), witness: *frater Garinus de Melnis* (CH I 610; RRH 607).
- 1185, TS: charter (Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Garini de Melna* (CH I 754; RRH 642; date: Mayer II, 878).
- 1186 IV 25, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for John Poterius), witness: *frater Garinus de Melna* (CH I 803; RRH 651).

GARIN OF MONTAIGU (H) preceptor 1204–6; marshal 1206–7; master 1207–27/8

origin: France. Montaigu-sur-Champeix, toponym in Auvergne (*Chronica Albrici*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 909; cf. Pauli, *Codice*, I, 341; Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 264; Delaville Le Roulx, 137; King, *Knights*, 322; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 189; Powell, *Anatomy*, 221; Bronstein, 148–9; Claverie II, 335).

family: noble family of Montaignu-sur-Champeix. He was the brother of Archbishop Eustorg of Nicosia, Bishop Fulk of Limassol, Brother Fulk, and Templar Master Peter of Montaignu. The oldest brother (another Peter) had remained in Auvergne. Their nephews included Bishop Bernard of Le Puy and Gerard of Montaignu, the husband of Eschiva of Montbéliard (*Chronica Albrici*, ed. Scheffer-Boichorst, 909; Eracles, 376; *Gestes*, 58 § 145; “Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797; Mas Latrie, “Histoire des archevêques, 214; Delaville Le Roulx, 137–8; King, *Knights*, 313; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 60; Coureas, *Latin Church*, 125). Bulst-Thiele, 171–2, and Forey, *Aragón*, 327, 342, suggest that the Templar Master Peter belonged to a Spanish family with the cognomen of Montagut or Monteagudo because of his service on the Iberian Peninsula prior to his election as master. However, → Garnier of Nablus served, in the course of his career and prior to his election as Hospitaller master, in England, France, and the Latin east; he certainly cannot have originated from all three regions. Bulst-Thiele, 171, argues that the ‘members of one family, father and son, uncle and nephew,’ usually belonged to one order. However, → Andrew of Montbard was a Templar, while his famous nephew, Bernard of Clairvaux, was a Cistercian. It is unknown whether Garin was related to the Hospitaller Draper → William of Montaignu. His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 320, 322: “Gules, a triple-storied tower argent, masoned sable”).

identity: probably served as conventual preceptor on → 1204 VII 19; thus, probably identical with the Preceptor G. of → 1206 IX 21. Due to his service as marshal on → 1207 V 22, probably also identical with the Marshal G. of → 1206 (after IX 21) (Delaville Le Roulx, 138, 410; Riley-Smith, 156). This would mean that Garin was promoted from preceptor to marshal in 1206, and from marshal to master in 1207. There are, of course, other possibilities with regard to the initial ‘G.’ (for example, ‘Geoffrey’ or ‘William’). In 1206, Geoffrey Le Rat succeeded Alphonso of Portugal as Hospitaller master; in 1204, Geoffrey had served as castellan of Krak des Chevaliers (*CH* II 1198; *RRH* 800; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 132). Another Geoffrey served as Hospitaller preceptor of Jaffa in 1207 (*CH* II 1250–1; *RRH* 818–19). It is conceivable that either one of these was the mysterious ‘G.’ of 1206. According to Bronstein, 153, the Marshal ‘G.’ was → William of Marolh. However, Garin of Montaignu, who was probably conventual preceptor in 1204, and who was definitely marshal in 1206, seems to be the most probable candidate for this identification.

literature: Röhrich, 755, 757–8; Delaville Le Roulx, 137–59; King, *Knights*, 313–14, 316; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 298; Riley-Smith, 155–64; Bulst-Thiele, 177; Barber, 128, 131; Stürner, *Friedrich II.*, II, 94; Guzzo, *Templari*, 28–9; Bronstein, 13, 79–80, 137, 148–9; Claverie I, 49.

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Warinus de Monte Acuto* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. The list containing his name concludes with the phrase *fratres Hospitalarii et officiales domorum vestrarum*. Thus, he may already have been serving as conventual preceptor at this time. The other brothers in the list can be tentatively identified as the hospitaller and the treasurer (and the marshal is listed with his title), which leaves the office of the preceptor for him).

1204 XII, (Tripoli): charter (Gerard of Ham, constable of Tripoli, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guarinus de Monte Acuto* (*CH* II 1198; *RRH* 800).

1206 IX 21, Acre: charter (Maria la Marquise, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat and Isabella of Jerusalem, for Peter II of Aragón), witness: *G. preceptoris Hospitalis sancti Iohannis* (ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242; Claverie III, 266–7 n. 306).

1206 (after IX 21), (Acre): chronicle: in the “Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” the eulogies for Master Geoffrey Le Rat and Master Garin of Montaignu need to be switched, for the former, who served for less than one year, receives a very lengthy eulogy, while the latter, who was master for about twenty years, only receives a rather short eulogy. Thus, it was Garin, not Geoffrey, who deplored Master Alphonso of

- Portugal's resignation (1206): *resignatio magistri Alfonsi multum displicibilis fuit ei; ipsum enim habebat multum carum propter ejus magnam probitatem* ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797. After Alphonso's resignation, the Hospitallers may have tried to avoid electing one of his followers, which would explain why Garin of Montaigu was, at first, bypassed in favor of Geoffrey Le Rat, under whom he soon became conventual marshal).
- 1206 (after IX 21), TS: charter (by Hospitaller Master Geoffrey Le Rat), witness: *frater G. marescalcus* (CH II 1231; RRH 816; date: after the last evidence for Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal: ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242; Claverie III, 266–7 n. 306).
- 1207 V 22, TS: charter (Raymond Rupen, prince of Antioch, for the Hospitallers), recipient/witness: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto marescalco ejusdem domus Hospitalis... ego frater Garinus de Monte Acuto marescalcus predictae domus* (CH II 1262; RRH 820; cf. CH II 1263, 1358).
- 1207 X 1, Acre: charter (for Queen Sancha of Aragón), issuer: *frater Guerrinus Dei miseratione sancte domus Hospitalis Hierusalem magister humilis et pauperum Christi servus* (Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, n. 83; CH II 1272; RRH 822a).
- 1209 (IV 23, Lateran): letter (by Pope Innocent III), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 414–15 n. 482).
- 1209 VI 4, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Innocent III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 416–18 n. 484).
- 1209 X, TS: charter (by William of Porcellet), recipient: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto... magistro* (Richard, "Comté," 369–71 n. 2).
- 1209, TS: chronicle: *li maîtres del Ospital frere Garin de Montagu* advocated in favor of a truce agreement with the Muslims (Eracles, 309).
- 1210 IV 15, Tarsus: letter (Leo I of Armenia to Pope Innocent III), mention: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto venerabili magistro* (CH II 1344; RRH 841).
- 1210 VIII, (Armenia): charter (by Leo I of Armenia), recipient: *fratris Garini de Monte Acuto venerabilis ejusdem domus magistri* (Manosque, f. 326' 32 Y; CH II 1350; RRH II 841 (part II)).
- 1210 IX, TS: charter (by Hugh I of Cyprus), recipient: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto venerabili magistro sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis* (CH II 1354; RRH 844; cf. Edbury, "Cartulaire," 174–81).
- 1210 IX, TS: charter (by Raymond Rupen, prince of Antioch), recipient: *fratris Garini de Monte Acuto venerabilis ejusdem domus magistri* (CH II 1355; RRH 845).
- 1210 X 3, Tyre: chronicle: *Garin de Mont Agu maître de l'Ospital de Saint Johan* attended John of Brienne's coronation as king of Jerusalem (Eracles, 311; cf. Amadi, 97–8; date: Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten," 77).
- 1212 I, Byblos: charter (by Guy, lord of Byblos), recipient: *fratris Guarini de Monte Acuto ejusdem domus magistri venerabilis* (CH II 1372; RRH 856).
- 1212 XI 18, TS: charter (by Aymar, lord of Caesarea, and his wife Juliana), recipient: *fratre* [sic, should read *fratri*] *Garino de Monte Acuto domus Hospitalis Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 644' 81 E; CH II 1400; RRH 859b).
- 1213 X 18, Acre: charter (by Aymar, lord of Caesarea, and his wife Juliana), recipient: *fratre* [sic, should read *fratri*] *Garino de Monte Acuto venerabili magistro sancte domus Hospitalis Jherusalem* (CH II 1414; RRH 866; cf. Manosque, f. 448 48 Q).
- 1214 II, Acre: charter (for Wichard of Karlsberg), issuer: Master Garin of Montaigu (CH II 1424).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (by Leo I of Armenia), recipient: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto venerabili magistro sancte domus Hospitalis Iherosolimitani* (CH II 1426; RRH 869).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (by Leo I of Armenia), recipient: *frater Guarinus de Monte Acuto venerabilis magister sancte domus Hospitalis* (Seleucia) (CH II 1427; RRH 870).
- 1215 I 11, Krak des Chevaliers: charter (by the canons of Valenia), recipient: *magistro Hospitalis fratri Garino de Monte Acuto* (CH II 1432; RRH 874).

- 1215 IV, TS: charter (by Bishop Baldwin of Tortosa), recipient: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1440; *RRH* 879a).
- 1216 II, TS: charter (by Bertrand, lord of Byblos), co-recipient: *grand maître Guérin de Montagu* (*CH* II 1462; *RRH* 885a; cf. Manosque, f. 386^v 45 S).
- 1216 III (31), TS: charter (by Raymond Rupen, prince of Antioch), recipient: *fratri Guarino de Monte Acuto ejusdem sancte domus venerabili magistro* (*CH* II 1441; *RRH* 877; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 81; Mayer II, 885).
- 1216 III (31), TS: charter (by Raymond Rupen, prince of Antioch), recipient: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto, ejusdem domus venerabili magistro* (*CH* II 1442; *RRH* 878; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 81; Mayer II, 885).
- 1217 VII 23, Nicosia: charter (by Bertrand of Margat), recipient: *fratri Garino de Monte Acuto magistro sancte domus Hospitalis Iherusalem* (*CH* II 1579; *RRH* 896).
- 1217 VII 24, Ferentino: letter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 430–1 n. 496).
- 1217 (late X), Acre: chronicle: Master Garin of Montaigu participated in the crusade consultations and the crusade of Andrew II of Hungary (Eracles, 323; Amadi, 102; *RRH* 901).
- 1217 (fall), TS: charter/*vidimus* (by Archbishop Eustorg of Nicosia and Archbishop Peter of Caesarea), petitioner: NN, *magistri Hospitalis* (*CH* I 1085; *RRH* 757).
- 1217, TS: charter (by Andrew II of Hungary), recipient: *fratris Guarini de Monte Acuto dicte sancte domus Hospitalis venerabilis magister* (*CH* II 1590; *RRH* 908 (n. III)).
- 1217, TS: charter (Andrew II of Hungary for the Hospitallers), mention: *fratre Guarini de Monte Acuto ejusdem sancte domus venerabili magistro* (*CH* II 1591; *RRH* 908 (n. IV)).
- 1218 I (1–6), TS: charter (John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, for the Hospitallers), mention: *magistrum ejusdem domus fratrem Garinum de Monte Acuto* (*CH* II 1526; *RRH* 892; date: Mayer II, 885).
- 1218 I 25, TS: charter (Count Nicholas, son of the Hungarian Count Bors, for the Hospitallers), mention: *fiere Garin grand maistre de la religion de saint Jehan* (Manosque, f. 394 41 Y; *CH* II 1605; *RRH* 908a).
- 1218 IV, TS: charter, recipient: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* IV 1610bis).
- 1218 VI 15, near Damiatta: letter (the leaders of the Fifth Crusade to Pope Honorius III and King Frederick II), co-sender: Master Garin of Montaigu (*Annali genovesi*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, II, 147; Röhrich, *Studien*, III, 39–40 n. 2; *RRH* 911).
- 1218 VII 18, near Damiatta: charter (by Duke Leopold VI of Austria and Styria), recipient: *magistro fratri Guarino de Monte Acuto* (*CH* II 1620; Röhrich, *Studien*, IV, 58–9 n. 7).
- 1218 VIII 13, Lateran: letter (Pope Honorius III to the leaders of the Fifth Crusade), co-addressee: Master Garin of Montaigu (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 1580).
- 1218 IX 15, near Damiatta: charter (Duke Leopold VI of Austria and Styria for the Hospitallers), mention: *fratre Garino de Monte Acuto magistro Hospitalis sancti Johannis Iherusalem* (Manosque, f. 608 73 Y; *CH* II 1624; *RRH* 914a).
- (1218 X 5, Lateran): letter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 445–6 n. 507).
- 1219 I 23, Lateran: charter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: NN, *magistri domus Hospitalis Ierosolimitani* (Claverie II, 411–12 n. 1; *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 1824).
- (1219 IX 7, Rieti): letter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 450 n. 511).
- 1219 XI 1, near Damiatta: charter (Duke Leopold VI of Austria and Styria for the Hospitallers), mention: *fratre Garino de Monte Acuto magistro Hospitali(s) sancti Iohannis* (Manosque, f. 465 50 S).
- 1219 XI 11, Damiatta: letter (the leaders of the Fifth Crusade to Pope Honorius III), co-sender: Master Garin of Montaigu (Röhrich, *Studien*, III, 43–6 n. 6; *RRH* 925).
- 1220 II 24, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Honorius III), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 2338).

- 1220 VI 26, Damietta: charter (by Milo of St. Florentin), recipient: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1675).
- 1220 VIII 24, Orvieto: charter (by Pope Honorius III), recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 2639).
- 1220 IX 8, Damietta: charter (by Boniface and Barrufaldinus, captains of the Bolognese crusaders), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Röhricht, *Studien*, IV, 73 n. 51; Claverie III, 94–5 n. 65).
- 1221 V (before 15), Damietta: charter (agreement between Bishop John of Acre and the Hospitallers, confirmed by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), party to the agreement: Hospitaller Master *Garinus de Monte Acuto* (*CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945; date: the same document listed for → Ferrand of Barras).
- 1221 V 15, Acre: charter (agreement between the archbishops of Tyre and Nicosia, promulgated by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 44; *RRH* 944).
- (1221) V 15, Acre: letter (to two Hospitallers), sender: *fratrum Garinum de Monte Acuto Dei gratia sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis magnum magistrum pauperum Christi custodem* (Manosque, f. 441^v 47 #; *CH* II 1725; *RRH* 943a).
- 1221 VI, Damietta: charter (by Vulvin of Stubenberg), recipient: *fratri Guarino de Monte Acuto magistro* (*CH* II 1728; Röhricht, *Studien*, IV, 74 n. 53).
- (1221 mid-IX, Acre): letter (by Templar Master Peter of Montaigu), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 463–4 n. 520).
- 1221 X 15, near Acre: charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers, promulgated by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), party to the agreement: *G(arinum) de Monte Acuto magistrum* (*CH* II 1739; *RRH* 949).
- 1221 X 18, Acre: charter (by Count Henry I of Rodez), recipient: *fratris Garini de Monteacuto ejusdem domus venerabilis magistri* (*CH* II 1740; *RRH* 949a).
- 1222 VIII, TS: charter (agreement between the Holy Sepulcher and the Hospitallers), witness: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1754; *RRH* 958a).
- 1222 early-IX, TS/EU: chronicle: the Hospitaller master (Garin of Montaigu) traveled to the west with a delegation from the Latin east that also included the king of Jerusalem (John of Brienne), a papal legate (Pelagius), the patriarch of Jerusalem (Ralph of Merencourt), and a lieutenant of the Templar master (William Cadel) to attend the court assembly summoned by the Emperor Frederick II to Verona for 1222 XI 11 and to negotiate the emperor's intended marriage to King John's daughter ("Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 437; *Gestes*, 20 § 80, 29 § 104; Eracles, 355; Amadi, 115).
- 1222 IX 14, Famagusta: charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers, promulgated by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), party to the agreement: NN, Hospitaller master (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 83; Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 619–22; *RRH* 938; cf. Coureas and Schabel, *ibid.*, n. 95).
- 1223 I 21, Lateran: letter (Pope Honorius III to the prelates of Cyprus), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 4212).
- 1223 III, Ferentino: secondary literature: Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu and other members of a delegation from the Latin east participated in a meeting between the Emperor Frederick II and Pope Honorius III (Röhricht, 757–8; Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 298; Barber, 131; Guzzo, *Templari*, 28–9).
- 1223 IV 11, Lateran: letter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 465–6 n. 523).
- (1223 IV 27), Lateran: letter (Pope Honorius III to Philip II of France), mention: the pope had had a meeting with the Emperor Frederick II to plan a new crusade. The meeting had been attended by the Hospitaller master (Rodenberg, *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, 152–5 n. 225; *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 4262; cf. *ibid.*, n. 4304).
- 1223 late-V, EU: letter (Pope Honorius III to Philip II of France), mention: at a *colloquium* in Campania that had also been attended by the Hospitaller master, the Emperor

- Frederick II had promised the pope to go to the east within two years and marry the daughter of the king of Jerusalem (Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, II, 375–7).
- 1223 (after V), England: chronicle: NN, *magister superior Hospitalis fratrum Jerusalem*, and King John of Jerusalem visited England to ask for help for the Latin east (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 82).
- 1224 IV, Paris: charter, issuer: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1789).
- 1224 VIII 10, (Orange): charter, issuer: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1790).
- 1224 XII 25, Palermo: charter, mention: NN, Hospitaller master, was at the court of the Emperor Frederick II (Winkelman, *Acta*, I, 244–5 n. 268; *CH* II 1798).
- 1225 V 29, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers), mention: *fratris Garini de Monteacuto domus Hospitalis cismarini et ultramarini magistri* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 29–31 n. 24).
- 1225 VI, Mayet d'Ecole: charter (by Archembald VI, lord of Bourbon), mention: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1818).
- 1225 VI, (Normandy or Hainault): charter, issuer: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1817. Bronstein, 13, 79–80, following Delaville Le Roulx's edition, incorrectly gives 'Tarsus' as the place where this document was issued. However, *apud Cerasas*, is more likely Cerisy-la-Salle (Normandy), Cerisy-la-Forêt (Normandy), or Sirault (Hainault); cf. Chapter Four).
- 1225 IX, Fontainebleau: charter (by Louis VIII of France), petitioner: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1820).
- 1225 XII 24, TS: charter (by Maria, abbess of the Cistercian monastery of St. Mary Magdalen in Acre), mention: *fratre Guarino de Monte Acuto Dei gratia sancte domus Hospitalis Iherusalem magistro venerabili et Christi pauperum custode* (*CH* II 1828; *RRH* 973).
- 1225, EU: charter (by Andrew II of Hungary), recipient: Master Garin of Montaigu (*CH* II 1803; *RRH* 973a).
- 1226 II 16, Lateran: charter (by Pope Honorius III), mention: Master Garin of Montaigu (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 5823).
- 1227 V 8, Acre: charter (William of Quevillers for the Hospitallers), mention: *fratrem Guarinum de Monte Acuto magistrum venerabilem Hospitalis* (*CH* II 1861; *RRH* 981).
- 1227 X 28, near Acre: letter (Patriarch of Jerusalem and others to all Christians), co-author: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 469–70 n. 529; *RRH* 984).
- (1207 before X 1–1227/8 III 1), TS/EU/TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *magister Garinus de Mounteagu* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1207 before X 1–1227/8 III 1), TS/EU/TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master Garin of Montaigu ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797. The eulogies for Master Geoffrey Le Rat and Master Garin of Montaigu need to be switched: → 1206 (after IX 21)).
- (1207 before X 1–1227/8 III 1), TS/EU/TS: seal (lead and black wax): Master Garin of Montaigu, both types bearing the circumscription +S G(V)ARINVS CVSTOS (Douët d'Arcq, *Collection*, III, 244 n. 9881; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 234 n. 178, 235 n. 179–81; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 96 n. 116; Mayer, *Siegelwesen*, 101 n. 31, table IV n. 31; cf. *ibid.*, 76, citing Paris, Archives Nationales, D 9881).
- (1227 XI 11–1228 III 1), Sidon: chronicle: *frere Garin de Montagu maistre de l'Ospital de Saint Johan* died during the rebuilding of the fortifications of Sidon (*Gestes*, 37 § 123–4; cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 438 (A redaction); Eracles, 365; date: rebuilding began on 1227 XI 11 and ended on 1228 III 1: Röhrich, 770, 777; Delaville Le Roulx, 158–9; Riley-Smith, 156, 164).

GARNIER OF NABLUS (H) (grand) preceptor 1176–7, 1180–4; master 1190–2
origin: Latin cast. *Neapoli(tanus)* and *Nape(l)s* (Nablus), toponyms in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (BN, lat. 8985, f. 268: *nobilis d(e) primatibus civitatis Neapolis in Siria*, probably following Giacomo Bosio (1544–1627); cf. Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 191; Delaville Le Roulx, 105; Round, "Garnier," 384).

- family*: unknown (Bulst-Thiele, 125). Several scholars suggest that he belonged to a branch of the Flemish family of Milly, which had settled in the kingdom of Jerusalem, or that he was the son of Henry of Milly, a younger brother of the Templar Master Philip of Milly (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 27; De Poli, "Ordre," 78; King, *Knights*, 322; King, *Grand Priory*, 18–19; Riley-Smith, 107; Bronstein, 136, 149); however, there is no conclusive proof for this. His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 320, 322: "Sable, a cross potent, argent;" Fincham, *Order*, 78).
- identity*: not identical with *Guarinus Neapolitanus de Templo serviens domine regine Marie*, who witnessed a charter in the 1170s (Bresc-Bautier, 311–12 n. 160; Rozière, 257–8 n. 141; *RRH* 531; date: Hiestand (review), "Bresc-Bautier," 287). Probably identical with Garnier, the Hospitaller castellan of Bethgibelin in → 1173–5. The sixteenth-century summary of a charter issued in → 1155 mentions *fratrem Gerinum de Castellano* [sic] *de Gebelino*, and it is conceivable that *Gerinum* is a misreading or misspelling of *Garnerium*. Assuming that the Gerin/Garnier of 1155 and the Garnier of 1173–5 were one and the same person, this individual was probably also identical with the castellan of Bethgibelin involved in the events surrounding the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly → (1170). Garnier seems to have begun to use his cognomen when he came to England (1185), perhaps to emphasize his background.
- literature*: Mannier, *Ordre*, 32; Herquet, *Chronologie*, 27–31, 35, 38; Herquet, "Neues," 216–17; Röhrich, 587; Round, "Garnier," 383–90; Delaville Le Roulx, 92–3, 105–17, 408–9, 415, 426, 432; King, *Grand Priory*, xi; King, *Knights*, 131; Riley-Smith, 107–17; Bulst-Thiele, 125, 134; Bronstein, 12–13, 136, 149, 154; cf. Chapter One.
- 1155, TS: charter (Count Amalric of Ascalon for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratrem Gerinum* [misread or misspelled for *Garnerium*?] *de Castellano* [sic] *de Gebelino* (Manosque, f. 287^v 28 X; *CH* I 232; *RRH* 315b).
- (1170), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): after the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly, the Hospitaller preceptor (Pons Blan) deliberated with the other Hospitaller officials, among them NN, *castellani Gibilini* (Garnier of Nablus?), about how to proceed. The patriarch of Jerusalem also acted *consilio pariter et consensu . . . castellani Gibelini* when he ordered Gilbert to resume his office (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480. While the name of the castellan is not given here, it is fairly likely that Garnier was holding the office: → 1172 VI 20).
- (1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170).
- 1172 VI 20, Tusculum: letter (Pope Alexander III to O., Hospitaller preceptor, and the other brothers in Jerusalem), mention: the Hospitaller prior and several other brothers, including *Garnerio*, as well as the archdeacon of Jerusalem, had come to the papal court to report about the crisis caused by the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly (VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; *CH* I 434; *RRH* 492a).
- 1173, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Syrian Meletos, archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis), witness: *fratre Garnerio Gybelini castellano* (*CH* I 443; *RRH* 502; location: the same document listed for → Garin of Melna).
- 1174 VI, TS: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Garnerius castellanus Gibelini* (*CH* I 464; *RRH* 516).
- 1175, (Jerusalem): charter (Gila for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Garnerius castellanus Gibelini* (*CH* I 469; *RRH* 535).
- 1175, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Joscius of Acre and Hospitaller Master Josbert), witness: *frater Garnerius de Gibelin* (*CH* I 471; *RRH* 532).
- 1176 (mid-year–IX 23), TS: charter (by Baldwin of Rama), witness: *Garnerius preceptor Hospitalis* (*CH* I 495; *RRH* 539; date: Mayer I, 228–30; II, 873).
- 1177 I, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for Sibylla of Rama), witness: *frater Guarnerius preceptor* (*CH* I 508; *RRH* 540).
- (1177) III 23, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for Geoffrey, son of Robert of the Casale St. Gilles), co-issuer: *fratre Garnerio preceptore* (Manosque, f. 479 52 S).

- 1180 VII, TS: charter (Count Raymond III of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *frère Garnier grand-commandeur* (CH I 585; RRH 594b).
- 1180, TS: charter (Balian, lord of Nablus, and his wife Maria Comnena, widow of King Amalric of Jerusalem, for the Hospitallers), mention: *existente... fratre Garnerio eiusdem domus preceptore magno* (CH I 576; RRH 597).
- 1181 (before IX 10), TS: charter (Hugh of Flanders for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Garnerius preceptor* (CH I 603; RRH 611; date: Baldwin IV of Jerusalem confirmed this transaction on 1181 XI 10: CH I 606; RRH 603; cf. Mayer II, 898–9 n. 7).
- 1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guericus of Petra), witness: *frater Garnerius preceptor Hospitalis* (CH I 610; RRH 607).
- 1183 I 1, Margat: charter (Reynald II Mazoir, lord of Margat, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *fratrique Garnerio eiusdem preceptori* (CH I 623; RRH 612; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 180).
- 1184, near Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for a certain Bisanson), witness: *frater videlicet Garnerius tunc temporis preceptor in Hospitali* (CH I 663; RRH 640).
- 1185 IV 10, Dover: charter (agreement between the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and the bishop of Winchester), consent-giver/witness: *fratre Garnerio de Neapoli priore domus Hospitalis in Anglia... ego Garnerius prior in Anglia tunc interfui* (CH I 755; RRH 641a; for Garnier's seal appended to this charter: Delaville Le Roulx, "Sceaux des prieurs anglais," 5, 9, citing London, British Museum, ms. Harley, chart. 43 I 38; Fincham, *Order*, 78, 80/1 (table 21), 85).
- 1185 (before IV 21), London: charter (for Gilbert, the chaplain), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, Hospitaller prior of England (CH IV, p. 321–2 n. 755/I).
- (1185 X 24), (England): charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and the canons of Dunstable), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli prior domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Anglia* (CH IV, p. 265 n. 762bis).
- 1185 XI 1, Clerkenwell: charter (for William, the chaplain), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (CH IV, p. 322 n. 755/II).
- 1186, (England): charter (for the hospital of St. Gilles near London), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (CH IV, p. 322 n. 755/IV).
- 1186, England: charter (by Peter, son of Serlon of Ardington), mention: *magister vero Gwarinus*, prior of England (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 806).
- 1186, England: charter (by John of Evercus), mention: *fr(ater) Garnerius de Neapoli prior s. Joh(annis) Jer(osolimitani) in Anglia* (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 28).
- 1187, (England): charter (for Adam of Dutton), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (CH IV, p. 322–3 n. 755/V).
- 1187, London: charter (for Gilbert Cocus), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (CH IV, p. 323 n. 755/VI).
- 1188, (England): charter (for Orm Widowson of Woolton), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (CH IV, p. 323 n. 755/VII).
- (1185–1189 VII 6), (England): charter (by Henry II of England), recipient: *frater Garnerius de Neapoli tunc prior Hospitalis s. Johannis Jer(osolimitani) in Anglia* (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 27).
- (1185–1189 VII 6), London: chronicle: according to the *Liber Johannis Stillingflete* (1434), Henry II of England conferred upon *fratri Garnerio de Neapoli tunc priori Hospitalis S. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia*, the church and territory of Buckland for the establishment of a convent for female Hospitallers. Thomas Becket had, when he was still archdeacon (1154–62) and during the lifetime of Henry II's son Henry (1155–83; ergo some time between 1155 and 1162), made the original donation of Buckland with the intention to see a religious house established there. Garnier of Nablus received it *consensu Rad. Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, et Reginaldi Bathon. episcopi*, allegedly *circa annum Domini MCLXXX* (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 831–9 n. 25. Reynald of Bohun was bishop of Bath 1174–91 and, assuming that *Rad.* is a misreading or misspelling of

- Bald.*, Baldwin of Ford was archbishop of Canterbury 1180–90. Garnier of Nablus became Hospitaller prior of England in 1185, and Henry II died on 1189 VII 6. Thus, *MCLXXX* is a few years off because, taking all data together, Garnier of Nablus must have received Buckland between 1185 and 1189. The great Hospitaller chartulary of 1442 completely confuses everything by claiming that *frater Garnarius de Neapoli* had been the first Hospitaller prior of England at the time of the foundation of *sororum domus de Bukland*, several years before the assassination of Thomas Becket (1170) (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961); Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Vasallen*, 36, portrays these errors as facts).
- 1189 (IX), London: charter (for Stephen Blundus), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 324–5 n. 755/XII).
- 1189 (IX), (England): charter (for Stephen Blundus), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 325 n. 755/XIII).
- 1189, London: charter, issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli prior et totum capitulum fratrum Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Anglia* (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 28; the seal appended to this document bears the circumscription S: *GARN: PRIORIS: OSPITAL: IN: ANGL*).
- 1189, (England): charter (for Petronilla, the daughter of Richard of Champens), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 323 n. 755/VIII).
- 1189, (England): charter (for Andrew of Woolton), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 323–4 n. 755/IX).
- 1189, (England): charter (for John of Bradney), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 324 n. 755/X).
- 1189, (England): charter (for Simon of Arden), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 324 n. 755/XI).
- 1189, London: charter (for the church of Severling), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* I 869).
- 1189, (England): charter (for John of Linacre), issuer: *Gar(nerius de) Neapoli prior fratrum Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Anglia* (*CH* I 870; cf. *ibid.*, clxiii. For the seal of Garnier of Nablus appended to this charter: Delaville Le Roulx, “Sceaux des prieurs anglais,” 10, citing London, British Museum, Add. Chart. 13932).
- 1189, Paris: charter (for William of Baiols), issuer: *ego Garnerius Neapolitanus Dei gratia prior Hospitalis in Anglia et eiusdem preceptor in Francia et frater Jacobus et frater Anselmus vicem prioris gerentes in Gallia* (*CH* I 868).
- 1190 I 14, Kennington: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and William of Lega), party to the agreement: *G(arnierium) de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 326 n. 755/XVI).
- (1185–1190 before IX), (England): charter (agreement between Henry of Maldon and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Gernerium de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 322 n. 755/III).
- (1185–1190 before IX), (England): charter (agreement between the chaplain of Fryerning and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Garnerium de Neapoli priorem...Hospitalis Ierusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 179 n. 185).
- 1190 (before IX), (England): charter (for Thurstan of Bakechild), issuer: *Garnerus de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 325–6 n. 755/XIV).
- 1190 (before IX), (England): charter (for Richard of La More), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 326 n. 755/XV).
- 1190 (before IX), (England): charter (for Richard of Ely, bishop of London), issuer: *Garnerius de Neapoli*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 268 n. 891bis; cf. King, *Grand Priory*, xi. In 1190 IX, Alan was the new prior of England (*CH* I 899; Delaville Le Roulx, “Sceaux des prieurs anglais,” 5). Meanwhile, Garnier of Nablus had been elected Hospitaller master in absence and joined Richard I of England and the Third Crusade on their way to the east).
- 1190 X 8, Messina: chronicle: Richard I of England and Philip II of France reached an agreement with regard to the crusade. Among those affirming the agreement were *magistri Templi et Hospitalis* (*Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 130).

- 1190 XII 6, Messina: charter (by Richard I of England), witness: Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus (*CH* IV, p. 329; Round, "Garnier," 385, citing *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, 15).
- 1191 V 12, Limassol: charter (Richard I of England for his wife Berengaria), witness: *Garnerio de Neapoli magistro Hospitalis de Jerusalem* (Herquet, *Chronologie*, 30–1; Bulst-Thiele, 134; cf. Round, "Garnier," 385, where this document is incorrectly dated to 1190).
- 1191 VI (before 8), Cyprus: chronicle: after the conquest of Cyprus by Richard I of England, the 'Emperor' Isaac Comnenus was entrusted to *Warnero de Naplis summo magistro Hospitalis* as a state prisoner (*Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 173. Isaac was subsequently held at Margat).
- 1191 VI 8, near Acre: secondary literature: Richard I of England, his crusading army, and in his entourage probably also the new Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus arrived at Acre (Delaville Le Roulx, 106, 108–9; Bulst-Thiele, 125).
- 1191 VII (before 12), TS: chronicle: according to the Arabic sources, an unnamed *chef des Hospitaliers* (probably Garnier of Nablus) negotiated with Saladin (Baha ad-Din, "Anecdotes," 234; Abou Chamah, *Livre*, II, 22).
- 1191 IX 7, near Arsuf (between Jaffa and Caesarea): in light of the Muslims' constant attacks on the crusader army, *de Napes freres Guarniers li mestres des Hospitaliers* informed Richard I of England that the Hospitallers were eager to do battle. While Richard wanted to wait, the unnamed Hospitaller marshal and a knight (Baldwin of Caron) proceeded to attack the Muslims, whereupon the entire Christian army followed them, and the Muslims suffered a defeat (*History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 103 v. 6375–6; *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 170; cf. *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 269).
- 1191 X 13, Acre: charter (Richard I of England for the Pisans), witness: *Garnerio de Neapoli magistro Hospitalis Ierosolimitani* (Müller, *Documenti*, 58–9 n. 35; *RRH* 706; date: Mayer II, 440).
- 1192 I 31, Acre: charter (by King Guy of Jerusalem), recipient: *fratri Guarnerio domus Hospitalis Jerusalem venerabili magistro* (*CH* I 917; *RRH* 698; date: Mayer II, 881).
- 1192 II 2, (Acre): charter (for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), issuer: *frater Garnerius de Neapoli Dei permissione sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem humilis minister* (*CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699; date: Strehlke, *ibid.*).
- 1192 II 10, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Garnerius de Neapoli magister hospitalis Ierusalem* (Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701; date: Mayer II, 881).
- 1192 VI, Bethnuba: secondary literature: Master Garnier of Nablus participated in the military activities led by Richard I of England in Judea (*CH* IV, p. 329).
- 1192 VII 3, Bethnuba: chronicle: *le meistre des Hospitaliers Garniers li curteis chevalers* rebuked Robert of Bruges, a Hospitaller brother, for his premature attack on the Muslims (*History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 160 v. 9903–19).
- (1190 after IX–1192 VIII 31), TS/EU/TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *magister Garnerius de Napels* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1190 after IX–1192 VIII 31), TS/EU/TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Garnerius de Neapoli* ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797. King, *Knights*, 313, suggests that the chronicle's second sentence listed for Garnier actually belongs to the eulogy for Geoffrey of Donjon).
- (1192) VIII 31, TS: list of Hospitaller priors of England: Garnier of Nablus *obiit ultimo die augusti* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961; cf. *CH* IV, p. 329. Given the date (VIII 31) and the fact that his successor, Geoffrey of Donjon, was in office in 1193 I (*CH* I 941; *RRH* 708), Garnier must have died in 1192).
- (1195 IV 16–1196), EU: charter (by Garcias of Lisa, Hospitaller grand preceptor of the west, and Gilbert of Vere, prior of England), mention (retrospectively): *fratris nostri Garneri de Neapoli quondam prioris domus nostre in Anglia* (*CH* IV, p. 331–2 n. 972quater).

GEOFFREY (H) marshal 1210

origin: unknown.

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with *Jofridus*, the Hospitaller castellan of Krak des Chevaliers in 1204 (*CH* II 1198; *RRH* 800; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 432), or with *Galfridus* or *Gefridus*, the order's preceptor of Jaffa in 1207 (*CH* II 1250–1; *RRH* 818–19; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 432).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410.

1210 VIII, (Armenia): charter (Leo I of Armenia for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Gofredus marescalcus* (*CH* II 1349; *RRH* 843).

GEOFFREY (H) treasurer 1177–81, 1187

origin: unknown.

identity: King, *Knights*, 165, suggests that he was identical with the future Master Geoffrey of Donjon (1193–1202); however, most scholars doubt this connection (Delaville Le Roulx, 119; Riley-Smith, 117; Bronstein, 149). King bases his idea on a sentence in the “*Cronica magistrorum defunctorum*” that is listed as part of the eulogy for Garnier of Nablus but, in King’s opinion, actually refers to Geoffrey of Donjon, namely that he (supposedly Geoffrey) vigorously defended the alms of the order (*elemosinas domus viriliter defensavit*) (“*Cronica magistrorum defunctorum*,” ed. Dugdale, 797; cf. King, *Knights*, 313). While this sounds just like the behavior of a former treasurer, there are simply too many contemporary Hospitallers named ‘Geoffrey’ to uphold King’s claim: Geoffrey, preceptor of the west in 1178 (Delaville Le Roulx, 414); Geoffrey of Andavilla, conventual brother in 1188 (*CH* I 860; *RRH* 677); Geoffrey, castellan of Krak des Chevaliers in 1204 (Delaville Le Roulx, 432); Geoffrey Le Rat, master in 1206–7 (Delaville Le Roulx, 408; he also served as preceptor of Antioch in 1198–9: *ibid.*, 431); Geoffrey, preceptor of Jaffa in 1207 (Delaville Le Roulx, 432); → Geoffrey (H) marshal 1210; and Geoffrey, prior of France between 1212 and 1216 (Delaville Le Roulx, 417). Furthermore, Geoffrey of Donjon used his cognomen even before he was elected master (*CH* I 754), which makes his identification with the Treasurer Geoffrey even less likely. While I assume that the Treasurer Geoffrey of 1177–81 and the Treasurer Geoffrey of 1187 were one and the same person (because of the small time gap), this cannot be proven (and there were four other treasurers in office between 1181 and 1187: → Stephen in 1181, Peter Galterii in 1181, Gerard in 1184, and Berengar of Cenagona in 1186). It is unknown whether the Treasurer Geoffrey was identical with → NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/(treasurer?) 1187.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Luttrell, “Ermengol,” 16.

1177 I, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for Sibylla of Rama), witness: *frater Goffridus thesaurarius* (*CH* I 508; *RRH* 540).

1178 V, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for William of Blanchegarde), witness: *frater Goffridus thesaurarius* (*CH* I 538; *RRH* 558).

1181 (IX 1–XII 25), (Liège): charter (by Everelm, abbot of St.-Laurent-lez-Liège, confirming various donations made by William of Dongelberg), mention/witness: *fratres Hospitalis qui Geldonie habitant consensu communi utriusque sui capituli Jherosolimitani videlicet et ejus qui est in Francia... de capitulo autem eorum Gaufridus thesaurarius Hospitalis Jherosolimitani* (Yans, “Cartulaire,” 75–8 n. 22).

1187 X, (*actum* and *datum*: southern France or kingdom of Aragón; consent: TS): charter (Armengaud of Asp, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles and castellan of Amposta, for Queen Sancha of Aragón), consent-giver: *consilio et voluntate fratris Gaufredi thesaurarii Hospitalis in cujus potestate sunt omnia Hospitalis citra mare* (Ubierto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, 11–14 n. 5; *CH* I 835. The Treasurer Geoffrey had given his consent, because the queen had asked him and the Hospitaller master to do so (*crebras preces quas magistro Jherosolimitano Hospitalis infecistis et supradicto thesaurario*), but was not present for the *actum* or the *datum* of the transaction, because his name does not appear in the witness list. In 1187 X, Armengaud of Asp was in the east (*RRH* 665–8)).

GEOFFREY (T) marshal 1193

origin: unknown.

identity: not identical with → Geoffrey Morin who had probably lost his life on 1189 X 4.

literature: Burgdorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 17.

1193, (Champagne): charter/*vidimus* (issued by Countess Maria of Champagne), witness: *frater Gaufridus marescallus* (Coll. d’Albon 43, f. 73–5. After the Third Crusade it was obviously possible—or perhaps even necessary for recruitment purposes—to send the Templars’ highest-ranking military official to the west. The son of Countess Maria was Count Henry II of Champagne, who had become regent of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1192. The Templars had good connections to the comital family of Champagne: → Geoffrey of Tours).

GEOFFREY (T) treasurer → GEOFFREY OF TOURS (T)

GEOFFREY OF CHARNY (T) draper 1304

origin: France. Charny, family name in Burgundy, name of a Templar house in dép. Seine-et-Marne, and resembling the name of a Templar house in Auvergne (Charnat) (*Procès* II, 246–7; Léonard, *Introduction*, 200).

family: noble family of Charny? Hugh, lord of Charny (d.1271), and his wife Mabille of Savoisy had at least two children. However, none of the ones known so far was named ‘Geoffrey.’ Nonetheless, Geoffrey may have been a later-born son of theirs, because another Geoffrey of Charny, the famous bearer of the Oriflamme at Poitiers in 1356, was also a descendant of Hugh of Charny (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XV, table 125; Contamine, “Charny I,” 1731–2). Hugh’s son Dreux was married to Joinville’s daughter. After the Templar trial, the Charny family allegedly kept the Turin Shroud (Barber, 332).

identity: probably not identical with the Templar *Gaufridus de Charmoy* (preceptor of Le Lieu-Dieu-du-Fresne, 1283: Léonard, *Introduction*, 164).

status: knight (*Procès* II, 295).

literature: Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 270; Pétel, “Templiers” (1909), 320; Léonard, *Introduction*, 116; Bulst-Thiele, 327–8; Barber, 314; Demurger, *Jacques*, 20, 181, 230, 267–9; Demurger, “Outre-mer,” 226; Frale, *Papato*, 197–215; Claverie I, 118, 355; II, 303–5, 326; Barber, *Trial*, 3, 72, 77–8, 130, 281–2, 303.

(1251), (EU): information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 X 21, Paris): *Gaufridus de Charneio* was circa fifty-six years old (*etatis quinquaginta sex annorum vel circa*) in 1307. Thus, he must have been born around 1251 (*Procès* II, 295).

(1268–70), Etampes: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 X 21, Paris): *Gaufridus de Charneio* had been received into the order circa thirty-seven or thirty-eight years earlier by Amaury of La Roche. The ceremony allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 295; date: *ibid.*, 289); information from a later trial deposition (made by Geoffrey of Charny, → 1308 VIII (17–20), Chinon): Geoffrey of Charny had been received into the order circa forty years earlier by Amaury of La Roche (Finke II, 324–9 n. 154).

(1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): circa forty years earlier, when Anthony Sici had interacted with the Templars in the east as their *clericus et notarius*, Matthew Sauvage was Templar preceptor of Sidon, and *erat quidam Joffridus qui postea fuit magister ordinis socius dicti fratris Mathi preceptoris* (meaning that Geoffrey, who later became ‘a master’ of the order, was Matthew’s companion) (*Procès* I, 645; date: *ibid.*, 642. Since there was no master of the entire order by the name of Geoffrey after 1271, *magister* refers to a provincial master, specifically someone sufficiently known at the time of the trial, which leads us to Geoffrey of Charny, the preceptor of Normandy. This suggests that Geoffrey came to the east shortly after his reception into the order and advanced

- rather quickly to become the companion of a preceptor there, which supports the idea that he probably belonged to the noble family of Charny).
- (1303), Marseilles: information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Giaco, → 1307 X 21, Paris): *fratre Gaufrido de Charnaio et quibusdam aliis fratribus dicti Templi qui sunt in Cipro* had attended his reception into the order circa four years earlier (*Procès* II, 290; date: *ibid.*, 289).
- (1304) X 25, Limassol: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to the preceptor of Miravet), mention: Draper Geoffrey of Charny and his marshal (cited in *AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1304 after Christmas), Torres: letter (the Templar Peter of Castellón to Peter of St. Just, preceptor of Alfambra), mention: *fratre Jofre de Xarnay es draper fratre P. de Druyes es son menacxall* according to the Templar master's letter of → (1304) X 25 (*AA* Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8. Since Aimo of Oiselay was the order's conventual marshal at this time, *P. de Druyes* must have been the 'personal' marshal in the entourage of the conventual draper).
- 1307 X 21, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1303).
- 1307 X 21, Paris: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Gaufridus de Charneio miles dicti ordinis et preceptor totius Normannie* (*Procès* II, 295; date: *ibid.*, 289. → (1251); (1268–70), first part).
- 1308 VIII 12, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Faciens misericordiam*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question *ipsum magistrum, et Francie, terre Ultramarine, Normanie, Aquilanie ac Pictavie preceptores* himself at Poitiers. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them. In the cardinals' presence, these Templar officials had confessed to and repented the illicit acts that had taken place during their respective receptions into the order, whereupon the cardinals had granted them absolution (*Procès* I, 2–7; Schottmüller II.3, 111–12. The dating of *Faciens misericordiam* has long been controversial (cf. Frale, "Chinon Chart," 132). While the document bears the date of 1308 VIII 12, it reports an event, namely the cardinals' interrogation of the Templar officials, that took place later, namely → 1308 VIII 17–20. Schottmüller I.1, 195, suggests that the pope may have anticipated the result of the interrogation. Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 249–51, suggests that the dating of the cardinals' report is faulty, namely too late. Bulst-Thiele, 322, as well as Barber, "James," 115–16," and Barber, *Trial*, 125, 332, suggest that the dating of *Faciens misericordiam* was either an error of the scribe or a case of postdating, which would not be surprising considering the extensive copying of this and other charters after the pope's departure from Poitiers on 1308 VIII 13. This last suggestion is the most convincing one, because the cardinals reported their results to Philip IV of France on → 1308 VIII 20, and Philip IV for his part communicated these results to James II of Aragón on → 1308 IX 27).
- 1308 VIII 17–20, Chinon: letter (*inquesta dominorum commissariorum Clementis pape V*), mention: the Templar master and the order's other high officials, including *Gaufrido de Charneyo in Normannia* [grand preceptor], were questioned by a papal commission (Berengar Frérol, cardinal priest of St. Nereus and Achilleus; Stephen of Suisy, cardinal priest of St. Cyriacus in Termis; and Landulph Brancaccio, cardinal deacon of St. Angelus) (Frale, *Papato*, 197–215; cf. Finke II, 324–9 n. 154; Bulst-Thiele, 327–8; Barber, *Trial*, 130, 333).
- 1308 VIII (17–20), Chinon: trial deposition, defendant: Geoffrey of Charny (→ (1268–70), second part).
- 1308 VIII 20, Chinon: trial records, mention: the cardinals informed Philip IV of France about their questioning of the Templar officials (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 99).
- (1308) IX 27, (France): letter (Philip IV of France to James II of Aragón), mention: after the pope's departure from Poitiers, three cardinals had questioned, on behalf of the pope, *magistrum maiorem eorum, visitatorem generalem in regno nostro, Cyprî, Normannie [duc]atus, Acquilanie preceptores* (Finke II, 171–2 n. 95).

- (1308) XII 30, Toulouse: letter (Pope Clement V to Philip IV of France), mention: the pope had originally intended to question *magistrum et... Francie... terre ultramarine... Normannie... Aquitanie ac Pictavie preceptores maiores* himself at Poitiers. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 109).
- 1308, (papal state): catalog of articles (intended for presentation to Templars that had yet to be questioned), mention: the master and other officials of the order, among them the grand preceptor of Normandy, had repeatedly confessed to the accusations brought against them (Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial (Papal State)*, 83 § 124).
- 1309 V 22, Avignon: letter (Pope Clement V to the French bishops: *Licet per ea*), mention: the pope has reserved for himself the judgment over *magistro dicti ordinis ac... Francie, ... Normannie, ... Pictavie, ... Provincie et... terre ultramarine maioribus preceptoribus ordinis supradicti* (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5066–7, 5073).
- 1310 III 2, Paris: trial records, mention: the Templar Master James of Molay asked the members of the papal commission to write to the pope, asking that the latter should summon those whose judgment he had reserved for himself (this group would have included Geoffrey of Charny) (*Procès I*, 88; date: *ibid.*, 87).
- 1310 III 14, Paris: catalog of articles (intended for presentation to Templars that had yet to be questioned), mention: the master and other officials of the order, among them the grand preceptor of Normandy, had repeatedly confessed to the accusations brought against them (*Procès I*, 96; date: *ibid.*, 89).
- 1310 IV 1, Paris: trial records, mention: Reynald of Provins, Templar preceptor of Orléans, asked the members of the papal commission to place *magister noster, Francie, Aquitanie, Cipri, Normannie preceptores*, and all Templar brothers currently in the custody of the king, into the hands of the church (*Procès I*, 127; date: *ibid.*, 119).
- 1310 XI 22, Avignon: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Regnans in coelis*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question the high Templar officials, including the grand preceptor of Normandy, himself. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them, in whose presence they had confessed to the accusations brought against them (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 7479).
- 1311 III 1, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).
- 1312 III 22, Vienne: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Vox in excelso*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question the high Templar officials, including the grand preceptor of Normandy, himself. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them, in whose presence they had confessed to the illicit acts that had taken place during their respective receptions into the order (*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo *et al.*, 312–19).
- 1312 V 6, Vienne: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Considerantes dudum*), mention: the pope had reserved for himself the judgment over the high Templar officials, including *Terrae Sanctae, Normanniae et Aquitaniae ac Pictaviae et provinciae Provinciae magnos praeceptores* (*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo *et al.*, 323–5).
- 1312 XII 31, EU: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Dudum in generali*), mention: the pope transferred the trial of the high Templar officials imprisoned in France, including *Normannie, ... Aquitanie, ... Pictavie, ... Provincie et... quondam Terre Sancte magnos ipsius ordinis preceptores*, to Arnold, cardinal bishop of Albano; Nicholas, cardinal priest of St. Eusebius; and Arnold, cardinal priest of St. Prisca (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 342; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10337).
- 1314 III 18, Paris: chronicle: a papal commission publicly announced that James of Molay (Templar master), Hugh of Peraud (visitor and preceptor of France), Geoffrey of Gonneville (preceptor of Aquitaine and Poitou), and Geoffrey of Charny (preceptor of Normandy) were condemned to lifetime imprisonment. Thereupon, the master and the *magister Normanniae* (Geoffrey of Charny) retracted their confessions,

and Philip IV of France ordered that they be burned (as relapsed heretics) on an island in the Seine on the evening of the same day (Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique*, I, 402–3).

[GEOFFREY OF FOS (T) marshal?]

identity: Upton-Ward, *Rule*, 159, identifies *freres Joffroi de Fos*, mentioned in the 617th paragraph of the Templars' French rule as a marshal of the order; I have found no evidence corroborating this claim.

GEOFFREY FULCHERII (T) proctor 1164; preceptor of Jerusalem 1164

origin: France. In 1219, Guy of Pierre-Perthuis, a Burgundian noble, confirmed a donation of mills made from the holdings of *Gaufridus Focher miles* to the Templar house of Le Saulce-d'Island, which suggests that Geoffrey was of French (Burgundian) origin (Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 290; cf. Rey, "Geoffrey Foucher, 259; Bulst-Thiele, 67).

family: Fulcherii, patronym (i.e. son of Fulcher)?

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 211–12, suggests (incorrectly) that he was the Hospitaller *bailli* of Jerusalem. Melville, *Vie*, 81, refers to him as "commandeur du royaume de Jérusalem, trésorier du Temple, et grand-commandeur de l'Ordre en l'absence du maître;" however, he never appears with any of these titles. Bulst-Thiele, 63, suggests that he may have been the 'perpetual companion of the (grand) master' ("der ständige Begleiter des Großmeisters").

literature: Rey, "Geoffrey Foucher," 259–69; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 414; Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 370; Lundgreen, *Wilhelm*, 101–4; Léonard, *Introduction*, 15–16, 113; La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, 196; Runciman, *History*, II, 373; Smail, "Latin Syria," 11; Melville, *Vie*, 81, 83, 86; Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 290–1; Bulst-Thiele, 65, 68–70, 94–5; Baldwin, "Latin States," 552; Menache, "Communication Challenge," 307; Burgtorf, "Ritterorden," 165–6, 191–2; Claverie I, 106; II, 137; Burgtorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 13, 19; Riley-Smith, "Military Orders," 138. 1144 (late IV–VIII 31), TS: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witnesses: *Guillelmus Fauco, Gaufridus (et) Fulcherius, ambo fratres Templi Salomonici* (Bresc-Bautier, 107–9 n. 38; Rozière, 65–8 n. 34; *CT* 328; *RRH* 226; date: Hiestand (review), "Bresc-Bautier," 286; Mayer II, 859. Since William Fauco was a Templar as well (*CT* 60), the *et* between *Gaufridus* and *Fulcherius*, which, according to Rozière, is missing in one of the manuscripts anyway, has to be dropped, because the adjective *ambo* means 'both,' allowing only for two individuals, namely William Fauco and Geoffrey Fulcherii; cf. *CT*, p. 213).

1146 (III 25–XII 31), Girona: charter (Bardonus for the Templars), mention/recipient: *frater Gaufridus Fulcherii* (*CT* 390).

1151 V (5), TS: charter (Humphrey of Toron for St. Lazarus), witness: *Gottfridus Fulcheri* (Marsy, 129–30 n. 9; *RRH* 266; date: the same document listed for → Andrew of Montbard).

(1153), EU: letter (Bernard of Clairvaux to Hugh, cardinal bishop of Ostia), mention: *frater G. Fulcherius* who was in the west (*RHGF* XV, 622 n. 106).

1155, TS: secondary literature: Geoffrey Fulcherii may have been involved when the Templars handed Nasser ad-Din, son of the deposed Vizier Abbas, over to the Egyptians (Rey, "Geoffrey Foucher," 267–8).

1156 XI 2, Acre: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Pisans), witness: *Gaufridus Fulcherii e commilitonibus unus* (Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; *RRH* 322).

1157 VI 2, Ascalon: charter (Count Amalric of Ascalon for the Pisans), witness: *Goffredus Fulcheri* (Müller, *Documenti*, 8 n. 6; *RRH* 324; date: Mayer II, 863).

1160 VII 26, Nazareth (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *frater Gaufridus Fulcherii* (Bresc-Bautier, 123–7 n. 45; Rozière, 102–7 n. 54; *RRH* 354; cf. Mayer I, 658; II, 864).

1160 XI 29, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Gaufridus Fulcherii* (*CH* I 296; *RRH* 355).

- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Gaufridi Fulcherii* (Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363; date: VOP III, 354).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Gaufridi Fulcherii* (Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364; date: VOP III, 354, analogous to *RRH* 363).
- (1163), TS/EU/TS: information from a later letter (sent by Geoffrey Fulcherii to Louis VII of France, → 1164 (IV/V), TS, first document): Geoffrey Fulcherii traveled to the French court, received a ring from Louis VII of France, took the ring to the *loca sancta* in the east, and sent it back with a letter (*RHGF* XVI, 38–9 n. 124; *RRH* 398).
- 1164 (IV/V), TS: letter (to Louis VII of France), sender: *fr(ater) G. Fulcherii eadem gratia militiae Templi conservus* (*RHGF* XVI, 38–9 n. 124; *RRH* 398).
- 1164 (IV/V), TS: letter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort to Louis VII of France), mention: *fratri G. Fulcherii* (*RHGF* XVI, 39 n. 125; *RRH* 399).
- 1164 (late VIII), Jerusalem: letter (to Louis VII of France), sender: *frater G. Fulcherii domorum pauperis militiae Templi procurator*, reporting, among other things, about the events of the summer until Nur ad-Din's victory in the battle of Artah in northern Syria (1164 VIII 10) (*RHGF* XVI, 60–1 n. 195; *RRH* 403; date: *RRH* *ibid.*).
- 1164 (late VIII), Jerusalem: letter (to Louis VII of France), sender: *fr(ater) Gaufredus Fulcherii Hierosolymitanae domus Templi praeceptor*, reporting, among other things, about Nur ad-Din's victory in the battle of Artah in northern Syria (1164 VIII 10), King Amalric of Jerusalem's siege of Bilbeis in Lower Egypt (begun 1164 VIII 1), and the lack of men in the Templar convent in Jerusalem (*RHGF* XVI, 62–3 n. 197; *RRH* 404; date: *RRH* *ibid.*).
- (1164–6), TS/EU/TS: secondary literature: Geoffrey Fulcherii traveled to the west in 1164 and returned to the east by 1166 (Rey, “Geoffrey Fucher,” 267).
- 1167 II, Cairo: chronicle: *Gaufredus Fulcherii frater militiae Templi* and Hugh of Caesarea traveled to the Fatimid Caliph al-Adid to negotiate a treaty (Guillaume de Tyr XIX.18, 887).
- 1168 IV, (Tiberias): charter (by Prince Walter of Galilee), witness: *frater G. Fulco* (Strehlke, 5–6 n. 4; *RRH* 447; cf. Mayer II, 44, 49).
- 1168 V 18, Acre: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Pisans), witness: *frater Gaufridus Fulcherii* (Müller, *Documenti*, 14 n. 11 (incorrectly dated to 1168 V 19); *RRH* 449).
- 1168, Bourges: charter (agreement between the Templars and the chapter of St. Stephen in Bourges), issuer: *frater Gaufridus Fulcherii domorum cismarinorum Templi procurator* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 4–7; cf. *ibid.*, 5, f. 8).
- 1169 XI, Jaca (Spain): charter (by Alphonso I of Aragón), recipient: *Gaufredi Fulquerii ex cismarinis partibus tunc temporis tocus Templi milicie procuratoris* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 134–8; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 328–30 n. 205; Bofarull y Mascaró, *Procesos*, VIII, 45–7 n. 13; Bulst-Thiele, 104).
- 1169, *apud Alafohen* (Spain): charter (by Alphonso I of Aragón), recipient: *fratri Gaufrido Fulcherii citra mare totius milicie predicti Templi procuratori* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 318).
- 1170 (II–III), (France): letter (John of Salisbury to Baldwin, archdeacon of Totnes in Devon), mention: *fratrem Gaufridum Fulcherii magistrum Templi* who had been sent to Sens by Henry II of England to arrange a meeting between the king and Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, to reconcile their differences. The meeting did not take place due to the king's early departure for England (John of Salisbury, *Letters*, II, 690–7 n. 298; date: *ibid.*, 690).
- (1168–71), (France): charter (the Templars of Paris for the Abbess Ada of Montmartre), mention: *tempore Gaufridi Fulcherii qui magister est et procurator rerum quas habet domus Templi citra mare* (Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 24–5; Barthélemy, *Cartulaire*, 324–5).
- (1168–71), (France): charter (Genta for the Templars), mention: *hoc vero fratris Gaufridi Fulcherii factum est consilio qui cis mare Templi magister erat* (Coll. d'Albon 43, f. 26–7).

- 1171, Orléans: charter (by Bishop Manasse of Orléans), mention: *fr(ater) Gaufridus Fulcherii vocatus magister domorum Templi que sunt citra mare Mediterraneum* (Coll. d'Albon 46, f. 91–2).
- 1171, Paris: charter, issuer: *Gaufridus Fulcherii pauperum Templi cis mare existens procurator* (Curzon, *Maison*, 27; the seal appended to this charter features a domed arcade and bears the circumscription + *MIL*-. *TEMPLI. SAL*-. Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 76).
- (1171), Paris: charter (Baldwin of Gant, *possessio Templi quae sunt in episcopatu Ambianensi magister et provisor*, for the Abbot Ralph of St. Mary in Séry), witness: *Gaufridi Fulcherii magistri Galliarum partium* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 187–8).
- 1171, (Flanders): charter (Count Philip of Flanders and Vermandois for the Templars), mention: *Ghaufrido Fulchero militum Templi magistro cysmarino* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 24–5; Dailliez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 320–1 n. 29).
- 1172, (Paris): charter (by the Templars of Paris), mention: *hoc vero... fratris Gaufridi Fulcherii factum est consilio qui cis mare Templi magister erat* (Curzon, *Maison*, 27).
- (1173) VIII 28, Anagni: letter (Pope Alexander III to Archbishop Henry of Rheims), mention: *G. magister domus militiae Templi de partibus cismarinis*, whom the pope had sent to attend the peace negotiations between the kings of England and France (*RHGF* XV, 937–8 n. 362).
- (before 1178 X 18), (France): letter (to Pope Alexander III), sender: *frater Gaufridus Fulchier domorum Templi cis mare preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 25; VOP II, 234–5 n. 24a; *RHGF* XV, 967).
- (before 1178 X 18), (France): letter (to Franconus, the chamberlain, and Peter, the almoner, both Templars serving at the court of Pope Alexander III), sender: *Gaufridus Fulchier* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 25; VOP II, 235–6 n. 24b. Nothing is known about his life beyond this point. Melville, *Vie*, 86, claims that 1179 was the last year of his life, citing Rey, “Geoffrey Foucher;” however, Rey does not mention this).

GEOFFREY MORIN (T) marshal 1188–9

origin: France? *Morinum* (Thérouanne), toponym in dép. Pas-de-Calais (Graesse III, 455).

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Templar marshal who lost his life in combat near Acre on → 1189 X 4.

literature: Rey, 255, 374; Röhricht, 507–9; Bulst-Thiele, 119–20; Claverie, “Débuts,” 584.

1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan commune in Tyre), witness: *frater Goiffredus Morin preceptor domus Templi in Tyro* (Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665).

1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the citizens of St. Gilles, Montpellier, Marseilles, Barcelona, and Nîmes), witness: *frater Giofredus Morin preceptor domus Templi in Tyro* (*Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 181–3 n. 4; *RRH* 666).

1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans), witness: *frater Giofredus Morin preceptor domus Templi in Tyro* (Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667).

1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans again), witness: *frater Giofredus Morin preceptor domus Templi in Tyro* (Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668).

1188 V, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan *societas Vermiliorum*), consent-giver: *fratris Gaufredi Morini tunc marescalci* (Müller, *Documenti*, 34–5 n. 28; *RRH* 675).

1189 X 4, near Acre: chronicle: NN, *marescallus Templi* (probably Geoffrey Morin) and eighteen other Templars were killed in combat, and the Templar Master → Gerard of Ridefort also lost his life (*Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, III, 21; cf. *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 94. According to a contemporary poem, the

Templar marshal died while carrying the banner: *vexillumque gerens cecidit marescallus ab hoste* (Prutz, “Zeitgenössisches Gedicht,” 478–9, citing BN, lat. 11340, *Liber magistri Ricardi canonici Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ms. s. XVI)).

GEOFFREY OF REILLANNE (H) lieutenant marshal 1256

origin: France. Reillanne, toponym in dép. Alpes-de-Haute-Provence (Bronstein, 149).
family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitallers Raimbaud of Reillanne (brother in Manosque, 1235: Bronstein, 163) or Rostagnus of Reillanne (brother in Manosque, 1251: Bronstein, 164).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Bronstein, 149.

1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *frere Joffrei de Raillane tenant leu de mareschal* (CH II 2810; RRH 1247; date: Mayer, “John,” 152–3).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Gaufridus de Rellania* (CH II 2934; RRH 1280).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Gaufridus de Rellan(ia)* (CH II 2935; RRH 1281).

GEOFFREY OF TOURS (T) treasurer 1207–13

origin: France. Tours, toponym in dép. Indre-et-Loire.

identity: probably identical with the Templar Geoffrey of Tours who appeared in Champagne in → 1193, and the Treasurer Geoffrey (without cognomen) of → 1212 and 1213 (after XII 16).

literature: Rey, 369; Claverie II, 161, 327.

1193, (Champagne): charter/*vidimus* (issued by Countess Maria of Champagne), witness: *frater Gaufridus Turonis* (Coll. d’Albon 43, f. 73–5).

1207 XII 5, Acre: charter (marriage agreement between Hugh I of Cyprus and Alice, the daughter of Isabella of Jerusalem and Count Henry II of Champagne), witness: *G. Tironensis Templi thesaurarius* (*Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 806–7; RRH 823; cf. Mayer II, 739).

(1212), TS: letter (to Pope Innocent III), sender: “Geofroi, trésorier du Temple,” informing the pope about Everard of Brienne’s intentions to marry Philipa, the daughter of Count Henry II of Champagne (D’Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, V, 78 n. 852; RRH 860 (part I)).

1213 (after XII 16), TS: letter (to Pope Innocent III), sender: *frater Gaufridus thesaurarius domus Templi*, relating that he had received the pope’s letter concerning the proposed marriage between Philipa, the daughter of Count Henry II of Champagne, and Everard of Brienne, and had conveyed it to the patriarch of Jerusalem and the archbishop of Tyre (*Innocentii III Opera*, VI, 975 n. 3; RRH 860 (part II)).

GEOFFREY OF VENDAT (T) marshal 1289

origin: France. *Alvernia* (Auvergne), toponym. Vendat, toponym in Auvergne (Graesse III, 585; Sève, *Procès*, 251; Claverie II, 327). Claverie I, 111, claims a Burgundian origin for this same Templar; however, there is no evidence to support this.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Hugh *de Vendac* (brother in Acre, 1265: CH III 3120; RRH 1337; Bronstein, 150), the Templar Roger of Vendat (preceptor of L’Ormenteau, 1283: Claverie II, 327), or the Templar Odo/Odin of Vendat (brother in Auvergne, early fourteenth century: *Procès* I, 59, 96, 107, 124, 155; Claverie II, 327).

literature: Rey, 256; Röhrich, 999–1003; Röhrich, “Untergang,” 10; Bulst-Thiele, 263, 276; Claverie I, 111, 189, 192; II, 84, 327.

(after 1275 IX 15), Tyre: information from a later trial deposition (made by Humbert Blan, Templar preceptor of Auvergne, → 1309 X 29, London): *frater Galfridus d(e) Vendac de Alvernia* had attended Humbert Blan’s reception into the order circa thirty-six

- or thirty-eight years earlier, and of the thirty Templar brothers who had attended the reception none was alive in 1309 (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 15; Sève, *Procès*, 251; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 299–300; date: the Templar Master William of Beaujeu received Humbert Blan into the order, but William did not arrive in the east until 1275 IX 15, which is why Humbert's reception must have taken place after that date. The trial deposition suggests that Geoffrey of Vendat was dead by 1309. He may, of course, have died much earlier, for example during the siege of Acre in 1291).
- 1289 (III–IV 26), Tripoli: chronicle: *le mareschau dou Templar frere Joffrey de Vendac*, together with other Templars and Hospitaller, traveled to Tripoli to aid the city in its defense against Sultan Qalawun (*Gestes*, 235 § 474. The siege began on 1289 III 17).
- 1289 IV 26, Tripoli: chronicle: *le mareschau dou Temple* managed to escape as the Mamluks were taking Tripoli (*Gestes*, 237 § 477).
- 1309 X 29, London: trial deposition, mention: → (after 1275 IX 15).

GERALD HUGONIS (H) preceptor 1155–6

origin: unknown.

- family*: Hugonis, patronym (i.e. son of Hugh)? In a charter issued in Acre in → 1155 VIII, Gerald Hugonis appears as a recipient, while Peter Hugonis, probably a citizen of Acre, appears as a witness; perhaps both were sons of the same Hugh.
- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; King, *Knights*, 56.
- 1155 VIII, (Acre): charter (Agnes, the wife of the Knight Galius, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *fratris Giraldi Hugonis preceptoris totius domus Hospitalis Iherusalem* (*CH* I 237; *RRH* 311).
- 1156 XI 2, Acre: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Pisans), witness: *frater Giraldus Hugonis preceptor Hospitalis* (Müller, *Documenti*, 6–7 n. 5; *RRH* 322).
- 1156, (Jerusalem): charter (agreement/exchange between the cleric Roger and the Hospitallers), consent-giver: *Geraldi Ugonis preceptoris Hospitalis* (*CH* I 249; *RRH* 329. King, *Knights*, 56, asserts that Gerald Hugonis died in combat on 1157 IV 24; there is no evidence to support this).

GERALD OF ST. ANDREW (H) treasurer 1152, 1162–3

origin: France? St. Andrew, cognomen (perhaps family name), common among Hospitaller officials in southern France at the time.

- family*: It is unknown whether he was related to any of the following Hospitallers with the cognomen 'of St. Andrew' who served in southern France: Peter (prior of Toulouse, 1174–5, 1181–3; preceptor of Fronton, 1178–85; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, v n. VI, 23, 284), Bertrand (prior of Toulouse, 1206–7; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24), Gerald (II, due to the time gap; preceptor of Castelsarrasin, 1223; preceptor of Toulouse, 1225–7; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 62, 307), or Jordan (preceptor of Castelsarrasin, 1245; preceptor of Salvagnas, 1248–51; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 307, 350).
- identity*: The Treasurer Gerald of → 1152 II 5, and the Treasurer Gerald of St. Andrew of → 1162 and 1163 (II 18–IX 23) were probably one and the same person. He was probably also identical with Gerald, the Hospitaller preceptor of Acre in → 1155 VIII and on 1159 I 25. He was not identical with → Gerard (H) treasurer 1175, 1184. If the cognomen *de Camera* refers to a Hospitaller office (and not a certain family), the Hospitaller Treasurer Gerald of St. Andrew may have been identical with the Hospitaller Gerald *de Camera* who witnessed a charter issued by Robert of the Casale St. Gilles on 1150 V 24 (*CH* I 192; *RRH* 257). The cognomen *de Camera* may denote an office concerned with financial matters, but was not a synonym for 'treasurer' because the same charter was also witnessed by → Raymond (H) treasurer 1135, 1141, 1150.
- literature*: Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 23, 143; Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 431; Santoni, 150, 183; Le Blévec-Venturini, xviii; Selwood, *Knights*, 149.

- 1152 II 5, TS: charter (Robert of the Casale St. Gilles and his wife Odula for the Hospitallers), witness: *Geraldus thesaurarius* (CH I 202; RRH 274; date: Mayer II, 862).
- 1155 VIII, (Acre): charter (Agnes, the wife of the Knight Galius, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Giraldi magistri de Accon* (CH I 237; RRH 311).
- 1159 I 25, (Jerusalem): charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Hospitallers), witness: *G. Accon(ensis)* (CH I 263; CH IV, p. 314; RRH 330; date: Mayer II, 864).
- 1162, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Ogerius for Rudolph Burduyni), witness: *Geraudo thesaurario* (Manosque, f. 481' 53 B; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40; cf. CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c).
- 1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jerusalem: charter (Eustach and his wife Agnes, as well as Adam Niger and his wife Osmunda, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratrem Giraldum thesaurarium qui dictus est de sancto Andrea* (CH I 312; RRH 391; date: the document provides the incarnation year (1163), mentions King Amalric of Jerusalem who was crowned on 1163 II 18 (Vogtherr, "Regierungsdaten," 63), and the 'eleventh indiction' which ended on 1163 IX 23).
- 1169–70, EU: secondary literature: Gerald of St. Andrew served as Hospitaller prior of Toulouse and St. Gilles (Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 23; Santoni, 150, 183; Le Blévec-Venturini, xviii; Selwood, *Knights*, 149. Delaville Le Roulx, 415, does not mention him in his list of the Hospitaller priors of St. Gilles).
- 1171, EU: secondary literature: Gerald of St. Andrew served as Hospitaller preceptor of Caignac in the order's priory of Toulouse (Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 143).

GERARD (H) prior 1255–64

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with the unnamed conventual prior(s) of the Hospital who served on → 1255 VII 12, in 1256, and on 1264 VI 1.

literature: Burgtorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 18.

1255 VII 12, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), co-recipient: NN, *priori hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani*, who was instructed to prevent the sale of a house belonging to the monastery of St. Sabas and located in Acre's Chain Street to the Genoese (contrary to earlier papal instructions) (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 606; CH II 2749; RRH 1238b).

1256, Acre: chronicle: Marcus Justinianus, a Venetian consul, presented a papal letter to the patriarch of Jerusalem according to which the Venetians should receive the monastery of St. Sabas, whereupon the Genoese presented a (papal) letter to NN, *priori Hospitalis*, according to which they should have St. Sabas (Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 220).

(1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Gyraut prior de l'yglyze de nostre maison d'Accre* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).

1264 VI 1, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the bishop of Nevers and the canon John Cotti of Nevers), mention: *obtentu prioris Hospitalis s. Johannis Jerosolimitani Acconensis, capellani apostolici* (*Registres d'Urban IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 2064. The pope was trying to procure a benefice for the cleric Falco, the son of the nobleman William of Rupe-Dangulfi. The involvement of the Hospitallers' conventual prior might suggest that the latter originated from Nevers, i.e. from Burgundy).

GERARD (H) treasurer 1175, 1184

origin: unknown.

identity: not identical with → Gerald of St. Andrew who was one of his predecessors.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

- 1175, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Joscius of Acre and Hospitaller Master Josbert), witness: *frater Gerardus thesaurarius* (CH I 471; RRH 532. Since he appears in the witness list after the prior of Acre but before the castellan of Bethgibelin, he was most likely not just the local treasurer but, rather, the conventual treasurer, traveling in the entourage of his order's master).
- 1184, near Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for a certain Bisanson), witness-list (quoted in its entirety to facilitate the discussion below): *frater videlicet Garnerius tunc temporis preceptor in Hospitali; frater Odinus tunc baiulus in Accon; frater Girardus domus ejusdem thesaurarius; frater Petrus Galterii; frater Hermandus castellanus Crati; frater Alebaudus castellanus Belviderii; frater Hugh de Qualquelia; frater Henricus de Sancto Boneto; frater Petrus de Miranda; frater Guillelmus de Rocha; frater Guillelmus hospitalarius Acconensis; frater Stephanus prior in Accon* (CH I 663; RRH 640. While the words *domus ejusdem* in Gerard's title may refer to *Accon* in the title of the witness right before him (but could also refer to *domus Hospitalis*, the name used for the order in this charter), and while the charter speaks of payments to be made to the order's house at Acre (which would justify placing the treasurer of that house prominently in the witness list), we have to consider who is listed after Gerard, because the prominence of the following witnesses suggests that Gerard was probably the conventual treasurer: Peter Galterii was a former conventual treasurer, and after him follow the castellans of Krak des Chevaliers and Belvoir, while the 'local' hospitaller and prior of Acre are not mentioned until the very end of the witness list).

GERARD OF GRAGNANA (H) hospitaller 1303; marshal 1303

origin: Italy. Grignano, toponym in Friuli (Hunyadi, "Hospitaller Officials," 144).

family: Between 1250 and 1350, several other Hospitallers bore the cognomen 'of Gragnana': Enguerrand (prior of Lombardy, 1263–72; prior of Venice, 1263–93; prior of Rome, 1282–85: CH III 3784–5, 3796, 3874, 3905; CH IV 4547; Delaville Le Roulx, 420–1; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 328; Bellomo, *Templar Order*, 157), Francis/Francesco (lieutenant of the general proctor in Hungary and Slavonia, 1319–20: Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 90–6), Philip (prior of Rome, 1312–25; prior of Hungary, 1317–29; prior of Capua, 1325–30: Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8; CPR: *Edward II*, II, 52; 1314: *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10329–30; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 18, 71–2; Luttrell, "Hospitallers around Narni," 18; Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 90–2), Roland (master in Hungary, 1315: Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 90), and Gerard (II, due to the time gap; lieutenant prior of Hungary, 1321–2, 1326–8: Hunyadi, "Hospitallers in the Kingdom," 261–2; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Hungary," 273; Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 94; Hunyadi, "Hospitaller Officials, 144–4, 149). Riley-Smith, 282, suggests that Gerard of Gragnana, the order's hospitaller and marshal, was related to Enguerrand.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411–12; Riley-Smith, 229; Hunyadi, "Hungarian Nobility," 613–14; Hunyadi, "Hospitallers," 94.

1299 VI 26, Anagni: charter (for Moschinus, son of Catellus), issuer: *fratri Gerardo de Gragnano ejusdem Hospitalis priori in prioratu Pisarum domine pape cubiculario* (CH III 4471).

1301 X 16, Faenza: charter (agreement between the city of Faenza and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Gerard of Gragnana, prior of Venice, represented by Rudolph, the Hospitaller receptor of Bologna (CH IV 4547).

1303 II 5, (Limassol): *esgart* (versus the Hospitaller Marshal Simon Le Rat), plaintiff: *frayre Girart de Graignane qui estoit au jour hospitaliers* (CH IV 4586).

1303 (after XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus Simon Le Rat, the former Hospitaller marshal and new preceptor of Cyprus) plaintiff: *frere Girart de Graignane... qu'il avoit esté fait mareschal à cely chapitre* (CH IV 4620; cf. *ibid.*, 4612, 4617; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 68).

1303 (after XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus the representatives of the Hospitaller prior of Castile), plaintiff: *le mareschal qui avoit nom frere Girart de Graignane* (CH IV 4621).

1304 I 9, Lateran: charter (by Pope Benedict XI), petitioner: *dilecti filii fratris Gerardi prioris domus Pisane* (*Registre de Benoît XI*, ed. Grandjean, n. 187).

GERARD OF RIDEFORT (T) seneschal 1183–4

name: His cognomen is most frequently spelled 'Ridefort.' All other variants seem to be misspellings or misreadings.

origin: Flanders? In 1127/8, *Lambertus de Ridefort* witnessed a charter issued by Count William of Flanders for the Templars (*CT* 7). The name *Rudeford* and *Ruddervoorde* can be found in Bruges in 1230 (Wauters, *Table*, IV, 109). According to the "Estoire de Eracles," Gerard of Ridefort was displeased when Count Raymond III of Tripoli gave the heiress of Botron as a bride to a Pisan and not to him, 'because those from France hold those from Italy in contempt' (Eracles, 51: *car cil de France tient ces d'Italie en despit*); considering the feudal ties between Flanders and France at this time, this supports the argument in favor of Gerard's Flemish origin; cf. Runciman, *History*, II, 406; Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 294; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, A, 119; Claverie II, 321. Round, "Some English Crusaders," 480, suggests an English or Irish origin. Mayer, in *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 34, 45, 61, 83, and in "Zur Verfasserfrage," 283–6, suggests an English origin. Barber, 109, suggests a Flemish or Anglo-Norman origin.

family: lesser nobility? According to the "Estoire de Eracles," Gerard was a *chevalier errant dou siecle* (Eracles, 50; cf. *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 45). It is unknown whether he was related to Lambert of Ridefort (Flanders, 1127/8: *CT* 7).

literature: Rey, 254; Röhrich, "Belagerung," 494; Röhrich, 440, 474, 507–9; Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 808; Baldwin, *Raymund III*, 40; Baldwin, "Decline," 616; Painter, "Third Crusade," 50; Bulst-Thiele, 106–22; Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, 303–4; Smail, "Predicaments," 168–9; Richard, *Histoire*, 236–7; Kedar and Pringle, "La Fève," 167; Forey, 87; Barber, 109–10, 116; Claverie I, 28–9, 44, 105, 216; II, 321, *et passim*; Nicholson and Nicolle, *God's Warriors*, 58; Burgdorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 13; Sans i Travé, *Arnau*, 123.

(before 1175), TS: chronicle: Gerard of Ridefort, a *chevalier errant dou siecle*, came to the east where he entered the service of Count Raymond III of Tripoli (Eracles, 50; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 45; date: → the following evidence).

(c.1175), (Tripoli): charter (Count Raymond III of Tripoli for William Berengarii and his wife Boneta), witness: *Girardus de Ridefort* (Delaville Le Roulx, "Chartes," 187–9 n. IV).

(before 1179 X 22), TS: chronicle: Count Raymond III of Tripoli had apparently promised Gerard of Ridefort that he would reward him for his service by marrying him to the next daughter (heiress) of one of his vassals that would become available. However, when the heiress of the lordship of Botron did become available, Raymond gave her to the Pisan Plebanus who had offered to pay Raymond her weight in gold. Consequently, Gerard quit Raymond's court and found employment in Jerusalem (*Chronique d'Ernoult*, ed. Mas Latrie, 178; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 45–6; Eracles, 50–2).

1179 X 22, Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for Count Joscelin, his uncle), witness: *Giraldus de Ridefort regius marescalcus* (Strehlke, 11–12 n. 11; *RRH* 587; date: Mayer II, 877).

1179 XI 24, Acre: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for Count Joscelin, his uncle), witness: *Gerardus de Ridefort regius marescalcus* (Strehlke, 12 n. 12; *RRH* 588; date: Mayer II, 877).

(1179 XI 24–1183 IX 1), TS: chronicle: Gerard of Ridefort became sick and joined the Templars (*ilueques ot une maladie, i il se rendi a la maison dou Temple*) (*Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 46; cf. *Chronique d'Ernoult*, ed. Mas Latrie, 114; Eracles, 52).

1183 (before IX 1), TS: charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *frater Gyrardus de Radifort eiusdem domus*

- senescalcus* (VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 89–90 n. 42; *RRH* 631; date: VOP III, *ibid.*).
- (c.1184), TS: letter (to O. of Vend, Templar preceptor of Jerusalem), sender: *frater G. de Ridefort milicie Templi senescalcus* (Abel, “Lettre,” 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 360 n. 1, 415; Claverie III, 623. This letter has been cited as evidence for Gerard’s allegedly ‘strict regimen’ during the absence of the Templar Master Arnold of Torroja who had probably already left for the west at this time (Bulst-Thiele, 108). According to the document, Gerard had convened a chapter of his order at La Fève (Galilee) to determine the fate of Robert of Sourdeval, a Templar brother, who had apparently come to Tyre without permission. As a result of the chapter, Robert lost his habit. It must be emphasized that Gerard was acting as seneschal, the order’s second-in-command, in the absence of the master (*RT* 93, 100). The fact that he convened a chapter to decide the matter and informed the preceptor of Jerusalem of the chapter’s decision, shows circumspect leadership in accordance with the order’s rule and statutes. Gerard’s letter was found (before 1926) wrapped in another one of his letters—that one written in Arabic and addressed to a local Christian (Bulst-Thiele, 360); perhaps it was a knowledge of Arabic that saved Gerard’s life at Hattin).
- 1184 VIII, Jerusalem: charter (Andrew II, lord of Vitré, for various religious houses in the Latin east, including the Temple and the Hospital), mention: *consilioque fratrum Templi et fratrum Hospitalis et maxime fratris Girardi de Rideford domus Templi senescalci* (Broussillon, “Charte,” 50–3; *CH* IV, p. 263–4 n. 680bis; *RRH* 637a).
- (after 1184 IX 30/1185), TS: chronicle: after the news that the Templar Master Arnold of Torroja had died in Verona on 1184 IX 30, *li frere(s) de la devant dite maison eslurent a maistre cestui frere Gerart de Ridefort* (Eracles, 52).
- 1186 III 13, Verona: charter (Pope Urban III to various recipients, namely (a) Count Raymond III of Tripoli; (b) Bishop (Aimery) of Tripoli; (c) Archbishop (Letard) of Nazareth, the Hospitaller Master (Roger of Moulins), and the Templar Master (Gerard of Ridefort); (d) Patriarch (Heraclius) of Jerusalem), mention: the pope had appointed the archbishop of Nazareth, the Hospitaller master, and the Templar master as arbiters in the dispute between Count Raymond III and the Genoese (sorted by recipients: (a) VOP III, 316–17 n. 140; *CH* I 794; *JL* 15558; (b) VOP III, 317–19 n. 141; *JL* 15559; (c) VOP III, 318–19 n. 142; *CH* I 793; *JL* 15554; (d) VOP III, 319–20 n. 143; *JL* 15553).
- 1186 VIII 1, Verona: charter (by Pope Urban III), recipient: *Gerardo magistro* (VOP I, 368–9 n. 181).
- 1186 (IX 13–X 17), Jerusalem: chronicle: Master Gerard of Ridefort played a key role in the coronation of Sibylla and Guy of Lusignan as queen and king of Jerusalem (*Chronique d’Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 131–3; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 33; Eracles, 26–9; “Libellus,” ed. Stevenson, 209; cf. Vogtherr, “Regierungsdaten,” 68).
- 1186 X 21, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for his seneschal, Count Joscelin), witness: *dominus Girardus milicie domus Templi magister* (Strehlke, 19 n. 21; *RRH* 653; date: Mayer II, 878–9).
- 1186 X 21, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for his seneschal, Count Joscelin), witness: *dominus Girardus milicie domus Templi magister* (Strehlke, 20 n. 22; *RRH* 654; date: Mayer II, 878–9).
- 1186 X 21, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for his seneschal, Count Joscelin), witness: *dominus Girardus milicie Templi magister* (Strehlke, 21 n. 23; *RRH* 655; date: Mayer II, 878–9).
- 1187 (before V 1), La Fève (Galilee): chronicle: the Hospitaller master (Roger of Moulins) and the Templar master (Gerard of Ridefort) arrived at the Templar castle of La Fève (*in castello, nomine Foba*) (*Arnoldi Chronica*, ed. Pertz, 120).
- 1187 V 1, Cresson (near Nazareth): chronicle/information from a later letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS): Count Raymond III of Tripoli, married to Eschiva,

- princess of Galilee and lady of Tiberias, allowed Saladin (on the basis of a treaty between him and the sultan) to cross through the Galilee. The Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort heard this and decided, against the advice of the Templar marshal and the Hospitaller master whom he allegedly accused of cowardice, to attack Saladin's 7,000 Muslims with his 200 Christians. The battle ended in a total defeat for the Christians. The Templar master was one of three Christians to escape alive ("Anonymi Chronicon," ed. Prutz, 5, 61 (irregular pagination); *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 39; Eracles, 39–44; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 248; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 6; "Libellus," ed. Stevenson, 211–12, 214; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 145–54; Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 191; Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 262; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 16; cf. Edbury, *Conquest*, 32. *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 67, incorrectly reports Gerard's death at this battle. *Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; *RRH* 658).
- 1187 (after V 1), TS: chronicle: Master Gerard of Ridefort informed King Guy of Jerusalem about the battle of Cresson ("Libellus," ed. Stevenson, 217).
- 1187 (after V 1), TS: information from a later letter (sent by Pope Urban III to the English prelates, → 1187 IX 3, Verona): Master Gerard of Ridefort informed Pope Urban III about the battle of Cresson (VOP III, 322–4 n. 148; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De principis instructione*, 201–2).
- (1186 fall–1187 VII 4), TS: chronicle: Master Gerard of Ridefort was one of the key advisors of King Guy of Jerusalem. He gave Guy access to the funds that Henry II of England had deposited with the Templars for a future crusade, to prepare for the confrontation with Saladin. He rejected the concerns voiced by Count Raymond III of Tripoli and advised Guy to do battle against Saladin at Hattin (*Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 141–2, 160–1; Eracles, 34–7, 46–7, 49–50, 52, 64; *Annali genovesi*, ed. Belgrano and Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, I, 140).
- 1187 VII 4, Hattin: chronicle/information from a later letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS): after the defeat of the army of the crusader states at the hands of Saladin, King Guy of Jerusalem and the Templar master (Gerard of Ridefort) were captured by the Muslims (Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 271; "Anonymi Chronicon," ed. Prutz, 73; Baha ad-Din, "Anecdotes," 95; *Chronique d'Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 173; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 54–5; Eracles, 66; Ibn al-A'tyr, "Extrait," I, 686; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 27, 97; "Libellus," ed. Stevenson, 227; Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 191; Mayer, "Zwei unedierte Texte," 102. Gerard was temporarily held at Damascus: Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 278; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 31; cf. *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 55. *Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6 (letter), incorrectly reports that the *magister Templi* and Amaury of Lusignan, King Guy's brother, were killed; *RRH* 658).
- 1187 (after VII 4), TS: letter (by Patriarch Aimery of Antioch), mention: the Templar master was captured at the battle of Hattin (*Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 340–2; *RRH* 663; cf. Hiestand, "Antiochia," 115–17, appendix I).
- 1187 IX 3, Verona: letter, mention: → 1187 (after V 1).
- 1187 (after VII 4–late IX), TS: letter (the Hospitallers to Archembald, master of Italy), mention: NN, *magister Templi*, and his Templar brothers launched the battle of Hattin ("Magni presbyteri Annales," ed. Wattenbach, 508; Ansbert, *Historia*, 3: ms. M; *CH* I 832; *RRH* 661).
- 1187 (late IX), Genoa: letter (Genoese consuls to Pope Urban III), mention: the Templar master was captured at the battle of Hattin (Claverie III, 385–7 n. 460; *RRH* 664a).
- 1187 (late IX–mid X), (Antioch): letter (Patriarch Aimery of Antioch to Henry II of England), mention: the Templar master was captured at the battle of Hattin (*CH* I 833; *RRH* 664).
- 1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS: letter, mention: → 1187 V 1; 1187 VII 4.

- 1187 XI 23, EU: chronicle: the letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23)) mentioning the battles of Cresson and Hattin and the alleged death of the Templar master, was read publicly in the west (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6).
- 1188 VI 1, Lateran: charter (by Pope Clement III), recipient: *Girardo magistro religiose militie Templi quod Ierosolimis situm est* (VOP I, 418–19 n. 243).
- 1188 late-VI, TS: chronicle: following the petition of Queen Sibylla, King Guy of Jerusalem and the Templar Master Gerard of Rideford were released from captivity and permitted to go to Tortosa. As a ‘ransom,’ Saladin received several towns and castles (for Guy: Ascalon; for Gerard: Gaza, Toron des Chevaliers, and Bethgibelin) (Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 313; *Chronique d’Ernoul*, ed. Mas Latrie, 253; *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 62; Eracles, 121, 125; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 93, where Guy’s release is reported for 1188 V; Guillaume de Nangis, “Chronicon,” 745, where Gerard’s release is incorrectly reported for 1189; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 273, 275; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 30; Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” 193–4; *Radulfi de Diceto Opera*, ed. Stubbs, II, 56, where the released Templar master is incorrectly referred to as *Theodericus* (Terricus). Barber, 116, states incorrectly that Gerard was released in 1187 IX).
- 1188 VII, Tortosa: chronicle: in violation of his promise to Saladin that he would never fight against him again, Master Gerard of Ridefort participated in the defense of Tortosa which was under siege by Saladin’s troops (Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 354; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 124–5).
- 1188 IX 20, Tyre: letter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat to the archbishop of Canterbury), mention: NN, *Templi magister*, who was withholding the funds of the English king (i.e. those that Henry II of England had deposited with the Templars for a future crusade) (*CH* I 858; *RRH* 676).
- 1189 IV 27, Lateran: charter (by Pope Clement III) recipient: *Gerardo magist(ro)* (*Papsturkunden in den Niederlanden*, ed. Ramackers, 456–7 n. 313).
- 1189 IX, near Acre: chronicle: *le maistre dou Temple frere Girart de Ridefort* led an attack (*Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 91).
- 1189 X 4, near Acre: chronicle/list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): Master Gerard of Ridefort was killed (*Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 92: *le maistre dou Temple et André* [of Brienne] *furent illueques mort*; *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, III, 21: *et Girardus de Rideford, summus magister Templi, et marescallus Templi cum fratribus duodeviginti, qui optime se continuerant, ibi interfecti fuerunt*; Eracles, 129–30; *History* (Ambrose), ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 48 v. 3017; *Estoire* (Ambrose), ed. Paris, 81 v. 3022; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 94; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 313–14; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 70: *martyrum collegio sociandus haberet*; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 121; “Libellus,” ed. Stevenson, 252: *Gerardus de Bedefordia, magister Templi, occubuit*; Marinus Sanutus, “Liber,” 197; *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, II, 353; Prutz, “Zeitgenössisches Gedicht,” 478–9, citing BN, lat. 11340, *Liber magistri Ricardi canonici Sancti Victoris Parisiensis*, ms. s. XVI: *hic prius occubuit dux Templi sive magister... Gerardus*. The Muslim sources report that he was captured during the battle and executed on Saladin’s orders: Ibn al-Aṭyār, “Extrait,” II.1, 12: *le chef des Templiers, que Salah-eddyn avait jadis fait captif et remis en liberté. Cette fois-ci le prince... le massacra*; Abou Chamah, *Livre*, I, 425; Imad ad-Din, *Conquête*, 183. The *martyrologium* of Rheims reports the date of his death incorrectly as X 1: *k(a)l(endas) octobris obiit fr(ater) Girardus de Ridefort nonus magister templi*: BN, lat. 15054, f. 54; Bulst-Thiele, 120).
- (after 1184 IX 30/1185–1189 X 4), TS: list of Templar masters: *magister Girardus de Ridford* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, “Documents,” 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16).
- 1190 VIII 30, Lateran: letter (by Pope Clement III), mention: NN, Templar master, who had died (VOP I, 396–9 n. 222).

[GILBERT (H) preceptor? 1158]

identity: Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 61, features him in his list of Hospitaller preceptors. Gilbert appears in the witness list of a charter issued in southern France in 1158 by Count Raymond V of Toulouse for the Hospitallers of St. Gilles as *Guilberti preceptoris domus Hospitalis* (CH I 269). In this witness list, eighteen individuals appear before him and six after him. None of the witnesses is referred to as *frater*, so Gilbert may be the only Hospitaller in this list. In my opinion, the Gilbert of this charter was the preceptor of St. Gilles, an official subordinate to the order's prior of St. Gilles (and the latter is mentioned in the charter as well). By 1158, a visiting conventual preceptor would have featured more prominently in a western charter.

GILES (T) grand preceptor 1250

origin: unknown.

identity: not identical with Giles, the Templar treasurer of Paris on 1250 VII 12 (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 65; Demurger, *Templiers*, 376).

status: knight (Rothelin, 604–5).

literature: Rey, 368; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 340; Demurger, *Jacques*, 33, 39; Claverie I, 146; II, 71–2, 327.

1250 II 8, Egypt: chronicle: after a successful attack on the Muslim camp, *freres Giles li granz coumanderrez du Temple, bonz chevalierz preuz et hardiz et saiges de guerre*, urged Count Robert of Artois, the brother of Louis IX of France, to gather his troops and wait with an attack on Mansurah until the king's arrival with reinforcements. Robert rebuffed all warnings and told Giles to feel free to wait, should he be afraid (*se il avoit peur*). Giles rejected this notion but pointed out that they would probably not return (alive) from this offensive. This turned out to be prophetic: the count was killed in the ensuing battle, and Giles's fate is unknown (i.e. he probably lost his life as well) (Rothelin, 604–5).

GIRBERT ERAL (T) grand preceptor 1183, 1190–1; master 1193/4–1200

origin: Aragón-Catalonia (Bulst-Thiele, 135–6, suggests Aragón or Provence. Claverie II, 327, suggests that he originated from the Aragonese county of Urgel).

family: unknown (Bulst-Thiele, 135). Schickl, "Entstehung," 197, suggests that he belonged to the noble family of Erill; however, there is no conclusive proof for this.

literature: Rey, 368; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16, 20, 23–4; Melville, *Vie*, 124, 147; Forey, "Order of Mountjoy," 255; Bulst-Thiele, 106, 135–46; Barber, 124; Forey, *Aragón*, 309, 420; Claverie, "Débuts," 575–6; Claverie I, 27, 31–2, 38, 190; II, 146, 152, 174–5, 187, 321, 327; Carraz, *Ordre*, 320; Sans i Travé, *Arnau*, 123.

1183 (before IX 1), TS: charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *frater Girbertus Arayl magnus preceptor* (VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 89–90 n. 42; *RRH* 631; date: VOP III, *ibid.*).

(1184), TS/EU: secondary literature: Girbert Eral may have traveled to the west in mid-1184, together with the Templar Master Arnold of Torroja, or shortly after the election of → Gerard of Ridefort as the new Templar master, which would have occurred once the news of Arnold of Torroja's death (1184 IX 30) had reached the east (Bulst-Thiele, 106; Melville, *Vie*, 124).

1185 X 15, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Albacar), recipient: *dompni Girberti de Aral magistri eiusdem militie in quibusdam partibus Provincie et Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 706–7 n. 476).

1185 XI 20, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Albacar), recipient: *dompni Girberti de Aral magistri militie in partibus quibusdam Provincie et Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 708–10 n. 478).

1185, (Spain): charter (for G. Brunnon), issuer: Girbert Eral, master of Provence and Spain (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 148–9; Bulst-Thiele, 144).

- 1186 III 7, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Girbertus Eral*, master of Provence and Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 726–8 n. 491).
- 1186 III 17, (Spain): charter (by William of Montfalcó), recipient: *fratri Girberto Eral Dei gratia iamdictae domus magistro* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 206–7 n. 125. In some of the charters issued between 1185 and 1189, Girbert Eral appears just as *magister*; this should always be supplemented by ‘of Aragón-Catalonia and Provence’).
- 1186 V 2, (Spain): charter (by William of Montpaó), recipient: *Girberto Eral magistro* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 732–3 n. 495).
- 1186 V 2, (Spain): charter (by William of Meià), recipient: *Girberti Eral magistri milicie in partibus Provincie et Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 733–5 n. 496).
- 1186 V 27, (Spain): charter (by Count Armengaud VIII of Urgell), recipient: *Girberto Eral magistro in partibus Provincie et Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 736 n. 497; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 107; Bulst-Thiele, 144).
- 1186 VI 6, (Spain): charter (by Ferrer of Llidars), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 209–10 n. 128).
- 1186 VI 9, (Spain): charter (Arsendis and her husband William of Ofegat for the Templars), witness: *Girberti de Arail fratris et magistri Provincie vel in partibus Ispanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 738–9 n. 499).
- 1186 VI 13, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Puigverd), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 211–12 n. 130).
- 1186 VI 13, (Spain): charter (by Geralda of Puigverd), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 212–13 n. 131).
- 1186 VII 22, (Spain): charter (by Raymond of Gavar), recipient: *magistro Giberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 213–14 n. 132).
- 1186 VIII 5, (Spain): charter (by Ponceta of Orpi), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 214–15 n. 133).
- 1186 IX 3, Monzón: charter, issuer: *Girbertus Eral*, master of Provence and Spain, receiving the castle of Alfàmbra which the master of the order of Mountjoy had given to the Templars pending the consent of the Templar master and the king of Aragón (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 242–3; Bulst-Thiele, 145).
- 1186 IX 3, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Cilio), recipient: *Girbertus Eral*, master of Provence and Spain (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 242–3).
- 1186 XI 12, (Spain): charter (by Sancha and her husband Arnold of Falconera), witness: *dompni Girberti Eral magistri in partibus Provincie et Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 743–4 n. 503).
- 1186 XI 28, (Spain): charter (by Arnold Gauspert), recipient: *fratri Girberto Eral magistro in partibus Provincie et Yspanie Templi milicie* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 215–16 n. 134).
- 1186 XII 8, (Spain): charter (by Raymond of Pinós), recipient: *fratri Girberto Eral, gran fratri Templi in partibus Provincie et Yspanie magistro* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 216–17 n. 135).
- (1185–6), (Spain): charter (by Agnes of Falx), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 204–5 n. 123).
- 1186, (Spain): secondary literature: (Girbert Eral), master of Navarre, presided over a provincial chapter of his order (García Larragueta, “Temple,” 656–7, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes militares, San Juan, legajos 720–1, n. 4).
- 1186 (Spain): charter, recipient: Girbert Eral, master of Spain (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 156; Bulst-Thiele, 145).
- 1187 I 17, (Spain): charter (by Berengar of Alentorn), recipient: *Girberti Erali qui est frater milicie Templi et magister in partibus Ispanie et Provincie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 746–7 n. 505).
- 1187 I 27, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Girbertus Erall*, master of Provence and Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 747–8 n. 506).
- 1187 II 3, (Spain): charter (by Ermengardis, the wife of William of Barril), recipient: *Girberti Erali qui est frater milicie Templi et magister in partibus Provincie et Ispanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 748–9 n. 507).

- 1187 III 26, (Spain): charter (by Ermesendis and her sons), recipient: *Girberti Erallii qui est frater militie Templii* [sic] *et magister in partibus Ispanie et Provincie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 749–50 n. 508).
- 1187 V 5, (Spain): charter, mention: Girbert Eral, master (of Provence and Spain) (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 265 n. 209).
- 1187 IX 28, (Spain): charter (by Arnold of Ivorra), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 219–20 n. 138).
- 1187 X, (Spain): charter (agreement between Arsendis, wife of the late Peter Johanni, and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratre Guirbert Erralle humili militie Templi magistro in partibus Provincie atque Yspanie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 754–5 n. 513).
- 1187 XII 15, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Guirbertus Eralle*, master of Spain and Provence (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 757–9 n. 516).
- 1187 XII 20, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Guirbertus Eral*, master of Provence and Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 760–2 n. 518).
- 1188 I 1, (Spain): charter (by William of Montfalcó), recipient: *magistro Girberto Eral* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 225–6 n. 142).
- 1188 II, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Guirbertus Eralle*, master in parts of Provence and Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 764–7 n. 522).
- 1188 III 16, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Guirbertus Eralli*, master in parts of Spain and Provence (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 768–70 n. 524).
- 1188 III 17, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Guirbertus Eralle*, master in parts of Spain and Provence (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 770–3 n. 525).
- 1188 VI 1, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Bellví), recipient: *fratri Girberto Eral magistro eiusdem milicie in Provincia et partibus Hyspanie* (Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 227–8 n. 144).
- (1186–8) VI 2, (Spain): charter (by Peter of Taravall), recipient: *Girberti Eral qui est magister in quibusdam Ispanie et Provincie partibus* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 737–8 n. 498).
- 1188 VIII 6, (Spain): charter (Pons of Vergós for the Templars), witness: *dompni Girberti Eral magistri* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 778–80 n. 530).
- 1188 XII 6, (Spain): charter, issuer: Girbert Eral, master of Provence and Spain (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 265 n. 210).
- 1188 XII 15, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Girbertus Erall*, master in parts of Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 781–4 n. 532).
- 1189 III 27, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Gilbertus Heral*, master in parts of Provence and Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 787–8 n. 536).
- 1189 (before VIII 8), (Spain): charter (William of Montral and his wife Sibylla, as well as Bernard of Montral and his wife Sancha, for the Templars), recipient: *domini Girberti Eral magistri in partibus milicie Ispanie et Provincie* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 334; Bulst-Thiele, 145; date: by 1189 VIII 8, Pons of Rigald had taken over as master of Spain and Provence (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 792–4 n. 539)).
- (1185 X–1189 VIII), EU: secondary literature: Girbert Eral served as master of Aragón-Catalonia and preceptor of Provence (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 23–4; Forey, *Aragón*, 309, 420).
- (1190) X (before 21), near Acre: charter (Count Henry I of Bar for the Templars), co-recipient/witness: *fratri Giberto Eralio magno preceptori...frater Gibertus Eral magnus preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1).
- (1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Guy and Odo of Chouilly, with the consent of their brother Hugh, for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratris Gerberti eiusdem domus magni preceptoris* (Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13; date: *ibid.*, 909–10).
- (1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Henry of Arzillières for the Templars), witness: *fratre Girberto magno preceptore* (Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14; date: the same document listed for → Amio of Ays).
- (before 1191 IV 13, after the preceding document), EU: charter (agreement between the Templars and the monks of Grancey, Burgundy), party to the agreement: *frater Gerbertus Herac cistramarinorum* [sic] *Templariorum humilis procurator* (Perard, *Recueil*, 263;

- the appended seal features two knights on one horse and bears the circumscription +*SIGILLVM: mLLITVM: XPISTI*; Bulst-Thiele, 145; date: Mayer II, 910. For the seal: Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 64; Bulst-Thiele, 135).
- 1193 IX 25, (Avignon): charter (by Count Aymar of Poitou and Valentinois), recipient: *Guiberti Erailli magistri cismarini* (Coll. d'Albon 9, f. 5; Bulst-Thiele, 145).
- (1190/1–1193), (France): charter (for Philip II of France), issuer: Girbert Eral, master of the west (mentioned in two later charters, → 1236 VI; 1251 I 24. After the death of Templar Master Robert of Sablé (1193 IX 28), Girbert was elected master in absence, either late in 1193 or early in 1194).
- 1194 V 26, Rome: charter (by Pope Celestine III), recipient: *Girberto magistro* (VOP I, 407–9 n. 233; JL 17107α).
- 1195 XII 5, (Spain): charter, issuer: *Girbertus Eral magister milicie Templi ultramarinus et citramarinus* (Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció*, 267–9 n. 178).
- 1196 II 27, Lateran: charter (by Pope Celestine III), recipient: NN, Templar master (VOP III, 354–5 n. 174; JL 17335; *RRH* 726).
- 1196 IV 29, Téruel: charter (by Fralmus of Lucca, master of Alfambra, order of Mountjoy), recipient: *Girberto Eracleo magistro ejusdem domus* (Coll. d'Albon 71, f. 102–3; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 245–6; Bulst-Thiele, 144–5).
- 1196 IV, Lleida: charter (by Alphonso II of Aragón), recipient: *fratri Girberto Heral magistro in ultramarinis partibus* (Coll. d'Albon 71, f. 98–101).
- 1197 VIII, (Spain): charter (by Bishop Pons of Tortosa), mention: *nos autem frater Girbertus Eral gratia Dei militie Templi in terra orientali magister gratuito animo laudamus et confirmamus omnia praescripta ut pote fratribus nostris praedictis concessa sunt* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 159–62; Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 277–80; Bulst-Thiele, 145. Girbert probably returned to the east in the late summer of 1197 (Bulst-Thiele, 138)).
- 1198 III 5, Acre: statutes/chronicle (relating the transformation of the Hospital of the Germans in Acre into a military order), witnesses: NN, Templar master (Perlbach, *Statuten*, 160 § 4, where this event is incorrectly dated to 1195; *RRH* 740).
- 1198 VI, TS: charter (for the abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), issuer: *frère Gilbert* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, “Chartes,” 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a).
- 1198 VII 15, Rome: charter (by Pope Innocent III), recipient: NN, Templar master (Bulst-Thiele, 146).
- 1198 XII 8, TS: charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers), mention: *sigillante Giberto Roral Templi magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 18; *CH* I 1049; *RRH* 747f).
- 1199 VI 29, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent III), recipient: NN, Templar master (Battelli, *Schedario Baumgarten*, I, 15 n. 57; Bulst-Thiele, 146).
- 1199 (late-IX–early-X), (Lateran): letter (by Pope Innocent III), co-addressee: NN, Templar master (*Register Innocenz' III.*, ed. Hageneder, II, 345–56 n. 180 (189); *CH* I 1095; Potthast 760; *RRH* 760).
- 1199 XII 15, Lateran: letter (by Pope Innocent III), mention: NN, Templar master (*Register Innocenz' III.*, ed. Hageneder, II, 471–3 n. 247).
- 1199 XII 31, Lateran: letter (by Pope Innocent III), mention: NN, Templar master (*Register Innocenz' III.*, ed. Hageneder, II, 490–7 n. 258).
- (1199), TS: secondary literature: the bishop of Sidon had excommunicated the entire order of the Temple because of its master's position with regard to the tithes in the diocese of Tiberias, whereupon Pope Innocent III suspended the bishop of Sidon (Barber, 124).
- 1200 III 21, Rome: charter (by Pope Innocent III), recipient: NN, Templar master (Bulst-Thiele, 146).
- (after 1193 IX 28/1194–1200 XII 22), EU/TS: list of Templar masters: *magister Gibertus Erail* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, “Documents,” 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16).
- 1200 XII 22, TS: list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): *XI k(a)l(endas) (ianuarii) obiit fr(ater) Gilebert(us) Arail undecim(us) mag(iste)r Templi* (BN, lat. 15054, f. 82; Bulst-Thiele, 144, citing the same *martyrologium* of Rheims, but reading incorrectly:

XII kal. ian., i.e. XII 21; cf. Claverie II, 321, who also gives “21 décembre 1200.” Since his successor Philip of Plessis was in office by 1201 V 17 (*CH* I 1134; *RRH* 787a), Girbert must have died in 1200).

1236 VI, Montpellier: charter/*vidimus* (Hugh of Montlaur, Templar master of Provence and parts of Spain for Louis IX of France), mention (retrospectively): *Gisbertus Eraclei quondam magister in domus militie Templi in partibus cismarinis* (*Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, II, 319 n. 2453; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 365–6 n. 11. → (1190/1–1193)).

1251 I 24, Montpellier: charter (Raimbaud (I) of Caromb, Templar master of Provence, for Count Alphonso of Poitiers), mention (retrospectively): *frater Girbertus Eraclei quondam magister domorum milicie Templi in partibus cismarinis* (Coll. d’Albon 58, f. 290–1; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, III, 116 n. 3917. → (1190/1–1193)).

GOLFERIUS (H) preceptor 1221

origin: unknown.

identity: King, *Knights*, 199, suggests that Golferius served as the lieutenant of the Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu when the latter traveled to the west in 1222; however, there is no evidence to support this.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; King, *Knights*, 199.

1221 V (before 15), Damietta: charter (agreement between Bishop John of Acre and Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu, confirmed by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), witness: *frater Golferius preceptor* (*CH* II 1718; *RRH* 945; date: the same document listed for → Ferrand of Barras).

GONSALVE MARTIN (T) preceptor of Acre 1261–2

origin: Portugal? The clue is his tenure in Portugal (1265–71).

identity: probably identical with Gonsalve Martin, the Templar master of Portugal between → 1265 and 1268 V 9. According to Röhrich, “Communication,” 333–4, he was also identical with the unnamed ‘lord and rector of the house of the Temple at Acre’ mentioned in a document from → 1261 VI 22.

literature: Rey, 372; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 431; Claverie II, 327.

1261 VI 22, San Gimignano: charter (for the Templar preceptor of San Gimignano), mention: *dominum et rectorem mansionis Templi apud Achon* (Röhrich, “Communication,” 333–4; Claverie III, 149 n. 146).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor de la maison d’Acre* (*CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor de la maison d’Acre* (*CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319).

1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Gonsalve Martin comandeor d’Acre* (*CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321).

1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Gonsalve Martin commandeor dou Temple en Acre* (*CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322).

1265, (Portugal): secondary literature: Gonsalve Martin was elected Templar master of Portugal (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 176).

1265, *Castelo Branco* (Portugal): charter (for Dona Teresa Afonso de Milivo), issuer: *frei Gonçalo Martins mestre da milícia do Templo no reino de Portugal* (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 176–7).

1265, (Portugal): list of Templar masters of Portugal: *Concedo Martins*, twenty-second Templar master of Portugal, who served in 1265, whose predecessor was *Martin Nunes* (1253), and whose successor was *Jo. Aunes* (1271) (Coll. d’Albon 59, f. 311, citing the “Catalogo doi mestris et principaes chefes que a milites ordem do Templo teve em Portugal,” from Joaquim d(e) Santa Rosa d(e) Viterbo, *Elucidario* (Lisbon, 1799), II, 346–7; cf. Capêlo, *Portugal*, 223–37).

1266 III 24, *Castelo Branco* (Portugal): secondary literature: Gonsalve Martin, master of Portugal, received donation charters (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 177).

1268 IV 6, (Portugal): secondary literature: Gonsalve Martin, master of Portugal, reached an agreement with the bishop of Lisbon (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 177).

1268 V 9, (Portugal): secondary literature: Gonsalve Martin, master of Portugal, reached an agreement with the bishop of Lisbon (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 177–8).

1271, (Portugal): secondary literature: Gonsalve Martin died and was buried in Santa Maria dos Olivais at Tomar (Capêlo, *Portugal*, 176).

GOUFIER [OF SALVAIGN] (T) grand preceptor and lieutenant master 1273

name: Rey, 369, ascribes the cognomen ‘Salvaign’ to him; however, there is no evidence to support this. Dailliez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, I, 158, repeats this cognomen, citing Pauli, *Codice*, I, 158; however, Pauli, *ibid.*, lists nobody by that name.

origin: unknown. Claverie I, 74, suggests that he originated from Poitou.

family: unknown. Bulst-Thiele, 260, suggests that he was related to *frere Pierre Le Greffier* (Templar preceptor of Sicily, 1279: *Registri*, ed. Filangieri, XXI, 213 n. 56) based on the similarity between the first name ‘Goufier’ and the cognomen *Greffier*; however, there is no evidence to support this.

literature: Bini, *Templieri*, 415–16; Rey, 369; Dailliez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, I, 158; Bulst-Thiele, 260, 263; Claverie I, 74, 150; II, 328.

(1273), TS: chronicle: *frere Goufier fu fait commandeur grant tenant lieu de maistre*, while William of Pontóns, the previous Templar lieutenant master, and Bertrand of Fox traveled to the west to inform William of Beaujeu, Templar preceptor of Apulia, of his election (1273 V 13) as Templar master (Eracles, 463).

GUISCARD (OF LENTINI) (H) draper 1254–6; marshal 1259

origin: Italy? Guiscard, personal name, common in southern Italy. *Lentini*, toponym and family name in eastern Sicily (Fodale, “Lentini,” 1873–4). *Lentinum* (Lédenon), toponym in Gard, is less likely (Graesse II, 366, 372).

family: noble family of Lentini?

identity: There are four reasons why the Hospitaller Draper Guiscard of 1254–6 was probably identical with Guiscard, the order’s preceptor of Armenia on → 1248 VIII 7, as well as the Hospitaller Marshal Guiscard of Lentini of → 1259 X 24: (1) The name ‘Guiscard’ appears among the order’s high officials only between 1248 and 1259. (2) The evidence is close together (within eleven years) and does not overlap. (3) Serving as preceptor of Armenia would have been a good preparation for serving as conventual marshal. (4) Between 1256 and 1259/60, major personnel changes occurred in the order’s central convent, pertaining to the offices of master, grand preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, and draper. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 63, claims that Guiscard served as draper until 1258; there is no evidence to support this.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411–12, 431; Riley-Smith, 493; Bronstein, 149.

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guischarthus ballivus Armenie* (CH II 2482; RRH 1164).

(1254) early-III, TS: charter (by John of Bubie, Hospitaller castellan of Margat), consent-giver/witness: *frere Guichard drapier* (CH II 2670; RRH 1204).

1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *frere Guichart le drapier* (CH II 2810; RRH 1247; date: Mayer, “John,” 152–3).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guizardus de Lentino marescalcus Hospitalis* (CH II 2934; RRH 1280).

GUY OF BAZAINVILLE (T) preceptor of the land 1256

origin: France or Flanders? Bazainville, toponym in dép. Seine-et-Oise, or (less likely) Baisy (*Bascui villa*), toponym in Brabant (Graesse I, 225).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Hugh of *Besevilla* (witness in a charter of the Hospitaller prior of England, 1206: CH II 1233).

- literature*: Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 25; Léchaudé d'Anisy, "Documents, 353–4; Rey, 368; Curzon, *Maison*, 27; Röhrich, *Beiträge*, II, 222–3; Pétel, "Templiers" (1909), 275–6; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16, 96, 114; Bulst-Thiele, 229, 231, 236; Dailliez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 99; Barber, 155–7; Marie, *Templiers*, 152, 154; Claverie I, 113, 138, 368, 400; II, 330; Allard, "Templar Mobility," 136; Riley-Smith, "Military Orders," 143–5.
- 1243 III, (Champagne): charter, issuer: *frater Guido de Basainvilla preceptor domorum milicie Templie in Francia* (Carrière, *Histoire*, 143–5 n. 139).
- 1251 I 12, (France): charter (agreement between the Templars and the bishop of Laon), issuer: *frater Guido de Basenvilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 122–4).
- 1251 I, (France): charter (by Garin Sutor), mention: *fratre Guidone de Baseinvilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 44, f. 226).
- 1251 II, (Valenciennes): charter (by Abbot Walter of St. John in Valenciennes), witness: *freres Guis de Bazainville mestres de la chevalerie del Temple en Franche* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 277–8; Dailliez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 415–16 n. 47).
- 1252 V 1, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for Simon Doria), mention: Guy of Bazainville, Templar preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 III 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 48).
- (1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: rule/statutes, mention: when *frere Gi de Basenvila era comandaor de França*, a Templar brother had left a Templar house by climbing over the wall, was caught and brought before the chapter, where some said that such an action would only lead to expulsion from the order if he had left a castle on the frontier. Therefore, the preceptor (probably Guy) traveled to the order's central convent to present the case, where he was told that every brother who left a house of the order other than through the appropriate door had to be expelled from the order. The decision was communicated back to France (probably also by Guy), and the defendant was expelled (Upton Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 176; date: Joinville, liv).
- 1252 VII, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese Johanninus Damigo), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of 1253 XI 18: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 129).
- 1252 VIII 30, (Laon): charter (by William of Vivarius, an *officialis* in Laon), mention: *frater vero Gui de Bainvilla preceptor ut dicitur domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 49, f. 131–4).
- 1253 III 11, (Genoa): charter (by Simon Doria), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 48. → 1252 V 1).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese Lanfrancus Dentutus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 86).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese William Boletus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 12: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 93).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (for Lanfrancus Pignatarius), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 10: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 68).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (for Delomede Maniavaca), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 84).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (for Armanus Pinellus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 85).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (Louis IX of France for the Genoese Gerard of Ultramari), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 10: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 67).
- 1253 V, (Genoa): charter (for Lanfranc Pignatarius), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1254 VII 10: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 226).

- 1253 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese James Navarrus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 X 24: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 110).
- 1253 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese Lampert Auricula), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XI 29: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 168).
- 1253 VII 10, (Genoa): charter (by Gerard of Ultramari), mention: *fratre Guidone de Balsenuilla milicie Templi in Francia preceptore* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 67. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 10, (Genoa): charter (by Lanfrancus Pignatarius), mention: *fratre Guidone de Blansenuilla preceptore milicie Templi in Franciam* [sic] (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 68. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 11, (Genoa): charter (by Lanfrancus Dentutus), mention: *domino Guidone de Balsenuilla milicie Templi in Francia preceptore* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 86. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 11, (Genoa): charter (by Delomede Maniavaca), mention: *domino Guidone de Balsenuilla preceptore milicie Templi in Francia* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 84. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 11, (Genoa): charter (by Armanus Pinellus), mention: *Guidone de Balsenuilla eiusdem milicie Templi in Francia preceptore* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 85. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 12, (Genoa): charter (by William Boletus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 93. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII, TS: charter (Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers for the Genoese Franciscus of Camilla), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XII 10: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 197).
- 1253 VII, (Genoa): charter (for Roger of Savignone), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XI 4: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 111).
- 1253 VIII, (Flanders): charter (agreement between the Templars and John, the abbot of *Bona Spes*, a Praemonstratensian abbey), party to the agreement: *frater Guido de Bassenuilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 289–92).
- 1253 X 24, (Genoa): charter (by James Navarrus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 110. → 1253 VI).
- 1253 XI 4, (Genoa): charter (for Roger of Savignone), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 111. → 1253 VII).
- 1253 XI 18, (Genoa): charter (by Johanninus Damigo), mention: *fratre Guidone de Basenuilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptore* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 129. → 1252 VII).
- 1253 XI 29, (Genoa): charter (by Lampert Auricula), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 168. → 1253 VI).
- 1253 XII 10, (Genoa): charter (by Franciscus of Camilla), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 197: → 1253 VII).
- (1251–3), France: secondary literature: Guy of Bazainville served as *domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Marie, *Templiers*, 154).
- 1254 III, (Burgundy): charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of St. Bénigne of Degas and the priory of Grancey), party to the agreement: *frere Gui de Basenville precepteur des chevaliers du Temple en France* (Coll. d'Albon 56, f. 132).
- 1254 IV, (Champagne): charter (by Stephen, an *officialis* in Troyes), mention: *fratris Guidonis de Basenville domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptoris* (Coll. d'Albon 44, f. 235–7).
- 1254 VII 10 (Genoa): charter (by Gerard of Outremer and John Paganus), mention: Guy of Bazainville, preceptor of France (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 226. → 1253 V).
- 1254 VII, (Bourges): charter (agreement between the Templars of L'Ormeteau and the church of St. Oustrille in Bourges), issuer: *frater Guido de Basenville preceptor domorum milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 85–6).
- 1254, (France): secondary literature: Guy of Bazainville served as preceptor of the Templar houses of France (Marie, *Templiers*, 152).
- 1255 I 31, Naples: letter (Pope Alexander IV to the bishop of Cambrai), mention: NN, *preceptor... milicie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 252).

- 1255 III, (France): charter, issuer: “frère Gui de Basainville, précepteur des chevaliers du Temple en France” (Petit, *Histoire*, IV, 421 n. 2818).
- 1255 III, (Champagne): charter (agreement between Dean Odo and the chapter of the church at Langres and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guidonem de Basenvilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptorem* (Coll. d’Albon 53, f. 27).
- 1255 V 10, (France): charter (for four Templar *homines* in Troyes), issuer: *frater Guido de Basenvilla domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d’Albon 52, f. 187–8).
- 1255 V, (France): charter, issuer: “Guy de Basainville, grand prieur de France” (Petit, *Histoire*, IV, 423 n. 2826).
- 1255 XI 6, Anagni: letter (by Pope Alexander IV), addressee: NN, *preceptori... domus militie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 3, f. 281).
- (1256) X 4, Acre: letter (to the bishop of Orléans), sender: *frater Guido de Basainvilla domorum militie Templi preceptor in regno Hyerosolimitano*, informing the bishop about his good health, the earthquake and fire in Medina, and the advance of the Mongols (BN, n.a.fr. 7352, f. 29^v–30; Duchesne, *Historiae Francorum Scriptores*, V, 272; *RRH* 1251).
- 1258 VI 1, (Orléanais): charter (by Laudericus, the dean of the church of Meung-sur-Loire), recipient: *fratri Guidoni d(e) Baseinvilla locumtenenti magistri milicie Templi in partibus cysmarinis* (Coll. d’Albon 46, f. 174).
- 1259 I 9, Paris: charter (agreement between the Templars and the prior and convent of Plesseio Grumond), party to the agreement: *frater Guido de Basenvilla tenens locum magistri militis Templi et visitor in partibus cismarinis* (BN, lat. 10079, f. 56–7; Coll. d’Albon 41, f. 336–8; Léchaudé d’Anisy, “Documents,” 378–9 n. 1, 3).
- 1259 XII, (Orléans): charter/*vidimus* (issued by Bishop Robert of Orléans), mention: *fratri Guidoni de Basenvilla magistri milicie Templi locum tenenti in partibus cysmarinis* (Coll. d’Albon 46, f. 181. → 1258 VI 1).
- 1260 II, (Auvergne): charter (by Henry, *dominus Soliaci*), petitioner: *fratris Guidonis de Basenvilla in partibus citramarinis tenetis locum magistri ejusdem milicie* (Coll. d’Albon 58, f. 168–72).
- 1260 IV 18, (France): charter (agreement between the Templars and Count John of Brienne), party to the agreement: *frater Guido de Basainvilla gerens in Francia vices fratrum milicie Templi* (Coll. d’Albon 52, f. 208–10; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 13).
- (1260 VI 10–29), Châteaudun: letter (to Franconus of Born, Templar lieutenant preceptor of Aquitaine), sender: *frater Guido de Basenvillen visitor in partibus citramarinis* (Bulst-Thiele, 257; *RRH* 1303; date: Claverie III, 536–7 n. 605).
- 1262 III 14, Viterbo: charter (by Pope Urban IV), mention: *frater Guido de Basi villa preceptor domus militie Templi in Equitania* (*Registres d’Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. C 40; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 252).
- 1262 V 18, Mauléon: charter (agreement between Abbot William of Mauléon and the Templars), mention: *fratrem Guidonem de Basenvilla preceptorem domorum milicie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d’Albon 37, f. 424–5).
- 1264 IV 3, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the abbot of St. Geneviève in Paris), mention: *fratri Guidoni de Basavilla* (*Registres d’Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 1536).
- 1264 VI 14, (Aquitaine): charter (agreement between the Templars and Abbot Stericus of St. Astier), party to the agreement: *Guido (de Basen) villa domorum milicie Templi in Aquitania preceptor humilis* (Coll. d’Albon 37, f. 80).
- 1264 IX 26, (Aquitaine): charter (agreement/exchange between Raymond Guillelmi of Séverac and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratre Guidone de Basenvilla humili preceptore domorum milicie Templi in Aquitania* (Coll. d’Albon 37, f. 39–40).

GUY OF FORESTA (T) marshal 1277

origin: England or France? *Foresta*, toponym in various parts of England and France, and name of two Templar houses that, in the thirteenth century, were located in English-controlled parts of France (La Forêt, dioc. Amiens, and La Forêt-du-Temple,

- dioc. Limoges) (Graesse II, 91–2; *Procès* I, 243; II, 179, 302; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 441; 7 (1900), 249, 538).
- family*: comital family of Forez in southern France? He may have belonged to this family which frequently used ‘Guy’ as a first name (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, III.4, table 739; *CH* I 1107; *CH* II 1431). It is unknown whether he was related to William, lord of Foresta (donor to the Templars in Aquitaine, 1236: Bulst-Thiele, 223), or William of *Foret* (Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus, 1237–8: *CH* II 2163, 2174; Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 50; *RRH* 1076c, 1078; La Monte, “Register,” appendix, 495–8).
- status*: knight (*Procès* II, 360).
- literature*: Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 517–18; Rey, 256; Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 512; Léonard, *Introduction*, 108; Parker, *Knights*, 125; Barber, “James,” 93, 96; Bulst-Thiele, 266–7, 281, 305–6, 308; Lord, *Knights Templar*, 197; Barber, 292; Demurger, *Jacques*, 118, 126, 172–3; Claverie I, 111, 114, 205; II, 330; Barber, *Trial*, 261.
- 1272 II 3, Lincoln: charter (agreement between the Templars and Roger of Mortuomari and his wife Dionysia), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guydonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Walter of Sibbeston (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 145).
- 1272 II 16, Lincoln: charter (agreement between the Templars and Walter of Oseville), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Walter of Sibbeston (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 151).
- 1272 II 16, Lincoln: charter (agreement between the Templars and Alan Helle), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guydonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Henry of Ronceliz (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 152).
- 1272 V 10, (England): charter, mention: *fr(ater) Guido de Foresta minister in Anglia* (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 404, citing the Close Rolls of Henry III of England).
- 1272 VII (29–30), (England): charter, mention: *fr(ater) Guido de Foresta minister in Anglia* (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 404, citing the Close Rolls of Henry III of England).
- 1272 X 18, Westminster: charter (Henry III of England for his itinerant justices in the county of Essex), mention: NN, *magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 153).
- 1273 VII 25, Westminster: charter, issuer: *Brother Guy de Forr(esta)’ master of the military order of the Temple in England*, giving the Templars permission to appoint lieutenants in legal matters until 1273 XI 1 or until Guy’s return (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 53).
- 1273 VII 30, Paris: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Guy master of the order of the Temple in England*, traveling to Scotland by the king’s permission and receiving permission to appoint lieutenants who in turn received permission to appoint lieutenants until the next Easter (1274 IV 1) or until Guy’s return (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 57).
- 1274 II 3, Westminster: charter (agreement between the Templars and Edmund of Aynecurt), party to the agreement: *fratrem Wydonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Richard Fitz Jordan (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 154–5).
- 1274 III, (England): charter, mention: *fr(ater) Guido de Foresta minister in Anglia* (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 404, citing the Close Rolls of Edward I of England).
- 1274 VII 8, Westminster: charter (agreement between the Templars and Richard of Colynton and his wife Margeria), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guydonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Richard Fitz Jordan (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 156–7).
- 1274 VII 9, (England): charter, mention: *fr(ater) Guido de Foresta minister in Anglia* (Coll. d’Albon 61, f. 404, citing the Close Rolls of Edward I of England).
- 1274, (England): charter, issuer: *Brother Guy master of the military order of the Temple in England*, traveling to lands on the other side of the sea (i.e. the Latin east) by the king’s permission and receiving permission to appoint two lieutenants in legal matters until the next Midsummer (1275 VI 24) (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 115).
- 1274, (England): charter, issuer: *Brother Guy de Foresta master of the military order of the Temple in England*, appointing two Templars as his lieutenants for the next three years,

- or until his own return, or until such a time when a new provincial master would come in his place (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 124).
- 1275 II 9, Westminster: charter (agreement between the Templars and Hugh Duket, represented by John of Stoke), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guydonem de Foresta magistrum milicie Templi in Anglia*, represented by Richard of Cesterton (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 162–3. At this time, Guy may have already left for the east).
- (1272–5), *apud Wileweton* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Chesterton, → 1309 XI 15–17, London): *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta tunc magistrum in Anglia* had received William of Chesterton into the order circa thirty-two [sic] years earlier (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 110–11. The date of 'circa thirty-two years earlier' has to be rejected because it would date this reception to 1277 when Guy was serving as conventual marshal. Either William of Chesterton's memory was not very good, or the number has to be read XXXV instead of XXXII. The latter is assumed here; it allows us to date the reception to Guy's first tenure as Templar master of England, namely 1272–5).
- 1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *Guidone de Foresta mareschalco* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).
- (1282), *apud Quiely* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by Thomas of Thoraldeby, → 1310 IV 10, Lincoln): *Willelmum* [sic, misread or misspelled for *Guidonem*] *de Foresta* had received Thomas of Thoraldeby into the order twenty-eight [sic] years earlier (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 41. The date of 'twenty-eight years earlier' poses no problem, especially since 'Guy' appears without any title here. However, XXXVIII may have to be read XXXVIII, which would date this reception to 1272 when Guy was definitely in England, or XVIII, which would date this reception to 1292 when Guy was definitely back in England).
- 1291 IX 10, Amesbury: charter (Edward I of England for a jury in the earldom of Oxford), mention: *Guy master of the Knights Templars in England* and six other Templars mentioned by name, accused of wrongdoing with regard to mill ponds (*CPR: Edward I*, II, 445).
- 1291 IX 21, Devizes: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Guy de Foresta master of the Knights Templars in England, Scotland and Ireland*, who was sick and received permission to appoint two lieutenants for one year (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 407; *CPR: Edward I*, II, 446).
- 1291 IX 21, Devizes: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Guy Forest master of the Templars, to whom all the houses of that order are subject as well as in Ireland as in Scotland and England*, who was informed that his lieutenants, John of Mohun and William of La Forde, had permission to appoint lieutenants in legal matters for one year (*Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, III, 422 n. 956).
- (1291), *apud Flaxflet*: information from a later trial deposition (made by Richard of Casuyt, → 1310 V 1, York): *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta tunc magnum preceptorem in Anglia* had received Richard of Casuyt into the order nineteen years earlier (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 95).
- 1292 VI 11, *apud Dynesle* (England): charter, issuer: *frater Guydo de Foresta milicie Templi in Anglia magister* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 189; cf. *ibid.*, f. 373).
- 1292 IX 16, Knaresborough: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Guy de Foresta master of all the Knights Templars in Ireland, Scotland and England*, who was sick and received permission to appoint two lieutenants for one year (*CPR: Edward I*, II, 508).
- 1292 IX 16, Knaresborough: charter (Edward I of England for all his officials and faithful subjects), mention: *fratri Guidoni de Foresta magistro milicie Templi in Anglia* who was released from the obligation to follow judicial summons for one year (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 190–1).
- 1292 IX 16, Knaresborough: charter (Edward I of England for all his officials and faithful subjects), mention: *fratris Guidonis de Foresta magistri milicie Templi*, who had the king's permission to use the Templars Brian of Jay and John of Koningstone as his

- lieutenants, because all Templar houses and Templar brothers in Ireland, Scotland, and England were under his command, because he was occupied by various matters, and because he was incapacitated *quadam debilitate sui corporis* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 190; cf. *ibid.*, f. 407).
- (1292 XII 25), *apud Belesale* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by John of Stoke, → 1310 I 27, London): *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta* had received John of Stoke into the order seventeen years earlier, calculated back from Christmas (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 117). John of Stoke repeated his deposition on → 1311 VII 11, adding that he was received into the order a second time one year later in the presence of Templar Master James of Molay at which time a denial of Christ's divine sonship was involved (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 234–5).
- 1292, (England): list of Templar masters of England: *magister Guido de Foresta anno Domini mill(esi)m(o) CCmo LXXXVIIo* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 378–9; Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568 n. 958; Blancard, “Documents,” 421, incorrectly dating ‘1242;’ Bulst-Thiele, 16, incorrectly dating ‘1242’).
- 1293 VI 10, Westminster: charter (Edward I of England for the Templar John of Mohun, charged with keeping *canes currentes sine warranto*), petitioner: NN, *magistri milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 192).
- (1293) VI 11, *apud Dyneslee* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by Roger of Norreis, → 1309 XI 8–11, London): *fratrem Guidonem de Foreste tunc magnum preceptorem in Anglia* had received Roger of Norreis into the order sixteen years earlier on the feast of St. Barnabas (VI 11) (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 69).
- 1293 (before VI 18), (Provence): letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Edward I of England), mention: *fratre Guydone de Foresta* who should receive the king's permission to travel to a Templar ‘general chapter’ in southern France (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 105–6; Kervyn de Lettenhove, “Deux lettres,” 234–5, where Guy's cognomen is incorrectly featured as *de Fortescue*; Bulst-Thiele, 356–7; date: Edward I of England granted the request on 1293 VI 18 which thereby becomes the *terminus ante quem*. This ‘general chapter’ seems to have taken place in Montpellier in 1293 VIII (Bulst-Thiele, 305)).
- 1293 VI 18, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Guydo de Foresta magister milicie Templi in Anglia qui de licentia regis profectus est ad partes transmarinas*, receiving permission to appoint a lieutenant until Michaelmas of the next year (1294 IX 29) (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 193–4; *CPR: Edward I*, III, 22).
- 1293 XI 4, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Guy de Foresta master of the Knights Templars, who has oversight of all the houses of the order in Ireland and Scotland as well as England*, who received permission to appoint two lieutenants for one year, and who was released from the obligation to follow judicial summons for one year (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 41. → Peter of Haghham, Hospitaller prior of England, received a similar dispensation that same year).
- 1293 XI 4, Westminster: charter (Edward I of England for all his officials and faithful subjects), mention: Guy of Foresta, Templar master of England, who received permission to have the Templars John of Mohun and Roger of Rollings serve as his lieutenants, because he was occupied by various matters and because he was sick (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 195; cf. *ibid.*, f. 407).
- (1293) XI (16 or 20), *apud Belesale* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by John of Stoke, 1311 VII 1, London): *fr(atrem) Guidonem de Foresta magnum praeceptorem in Anglia* had received John of Stoke into the order eighteen years earlier on the feast of St. Edmund (Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 398–400. The feast *Edmundi episcopi Cantuariensis* is XI 16, the feast *Edmundi regis* is XI 20).
- 1293 XII 8, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *fratri Guydoni de Foresta magistro milicie Templi in Anglia* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 196–7; *CCR: Edward I*, III, 339; Bulst-Thiele, 357).
- (1293 end of the year), *apud Beneram* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by Robert of Gowardeby from the archdiaconate of Lincoln, → 1310 (early

- in the year), Lincoln): Templar Master James of Molay had recruited Templars circa eighteen years ago *et tunc temporis erat magnus preceptor Anglie frater Guido de Foresta* (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 253; date: James of Molay was in England at the end of 1293).
- 1294 VI 16, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Guy de Foresta master of the Knights Templars in England, Ireland, and Scotland*, who received permission to appoint two lieutenants until Michaelmas of the next year (1295 IX 29), and who was released from the obligation to follow judicial summons until then (CPR: *Edward I*, III, 75).
- 1294 VI 16, Westminster: charter (Edward I of England for all his officials and faithful subjects), mention: Guy of Foresta, Templar master of England, who received permission to have the Templars Richard of Herdwick and William of Fonde serve as his lieutenants (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 201; cf. *ibid.*, f. 407).
- (1294) XI 11, *apud Strode* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by Ralph of Barton, → 1309 X 25, London): *frater Guido de Foresta tunc magnus preceptor in Anglia* had received Ralph of Barton into the order circa fifteen years earlier on the feast of St. Martin (XI 11) (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 7, 13–14).
- (1295 c.VIII 15), *apud Keel* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by Thomas of Tocci, → 1311 VI 29, London): *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta tunc magnum preceptorem in Anglia* had received Thomas of Tocci into the order fifteen or sixteen years earlier around the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary (VIII 15). He had allegedly encouraged him to perform illicit acts, which Thomas had refused to do (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 229–34; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 396–8. Since Guy left England around → 1296 IV 24, this reception must have occurred in 1295).
- (1295), *apud Dineslee* (England): information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Egidon, → 1309 XI 7–8, London): *Willelmum* [sic, misread or misspelled for *Guidonem*] *de Foresta tunc magnum preceptorem ordinis in Anglia* had received William of Egidon into the order fourteen years earlier (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 62).
- (1291–6), London: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Robert Le Dorturer, → 1309 XI 19, London): *frater Guido de Foresta magnus preceptor Anglie* had allegedly tried to force Robert Le Dorturer to engage in homosexual acts, but Robert had been able to flee (Schottmüller II.3, 89; cf. Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 517–18). Robert Le Dorturer repeated his deposition on 1310 I 9, adding that he had suspected Guy and a certain Robert of clandestine activities because they spent long periods of time behind the closed doors of Guy's chamber in London (Coll. d'Albon 62, f. 132–3, 138; cf. *ibid.*, f. 246–7).
- (1292–6) Easter, London: charter, issuer: *frater Guydo de Foresta milicie Templi in Anglia magister* (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 147. The charter was issued in the context of a Templar provincial chapter).
- 1296 IV 24, Berwick: charter (Edward I of England for the constable of the castle of Dover), mention: *Guydoni de Foresta nuper magistro milicie Templi in Anglia . . . una cum familia sua necessaria et tribus fratribus suis militibus ejusdem ordinis*, traveling in the entourage of Bernard of Got, the cardinal bishop of Albano (and future Pope Clement V). He should be permitted to leave England (Coll. d'Albon 61, f. 199–200; cf. *ibid.*, f. 407; CCR: *Edward I*, III, 511).
- (1304 XII 25), La Lande des Verchers: information from a later trial deposition (made by G. of Haut-Mesnil, → 1307 XI 7, Paris): *fratrem Guidonem de Foresta militem preceptorem dicte domus* [La Lande des Verchers] had received G. of Haut-Mesnil into the order three years earlier, calculated back from the next Christmas. The ceremony allegedly involved compromising statements (*Procès* II, 360; date: *ibid.*, 357, 361. It seems that Guy of Foresta retired to the mild climate of the Loire valley since the Templar preceptory of La Lande des Verchers is located in the vicinity of Saumur. He probably died before the Templar trial began since he was not among those interrogated).
- 1307 XI 7, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1304 XII 25).
- 1309 X 25, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1294) XI 11.

- 1309 XI 7–8, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1295).
 1309 XI 8–11, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1293) VI 11.
 1309 XI 15–17, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1272–5).
 1309 XI 19, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1291–6), first part.
 1310 (early in the year), Lincoln: trial deposition, mention: → (1293 end of the year).
 1310 I 9, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1291–6), second part.
 1310 I 27, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1292 XII 25), first part.
 1310 IV 10, Lincoln: trial deposition, mention: → (1282).
 1310 V 1, York: trial deposition, mention: → (1291).
 1311 VI 29, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1295 c.VIII 15).
 1311 VII 1, London: trial deposition, mention: → (1292 XII 25), second part; (1293) XI (16 or 20).

GUY OF LA GUESPA (H) lieutenant master 1281

origin: Spain? The clues are his tenure as castellan of Amposta (1261–8) and his cognomen.

literature: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 520; Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 423.

- 1261 XI 7, (Spain): charter (by Geralda of Guardálada), recipient: Guy of La Guespa, Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 294).
 1264 IV 8, Valencia: charter (by the bishop of Valencia), recipient: *Gui(doni) de Laguespa*, castellan of Amposta (*CH* III 3091).
 1266, (Spain): charter (agreement between Marquesa of Guardálada and the Hospitalers), party to the agreement: *frater G. de la Guespa humilis castellanus Emposte* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 295–6).
 1268 IX 16, (Spain): charter (agreement between the monastery of Benipazá and the Hospitalers), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guidonem de la Guespa castellanum Emposte* (Betí, *Rosell*, 91–8 n. 15).
 1268, (Spain): charter, issuer: Simon of Luna, the lieutenant of Guy of La Guespa, castellan of Amposta (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 187).
 1278 I 20, near Naples: charter (marriage agreement on behalf of Bohemond VII of Tripoli and Margaret, the daughter of Louis of Acre, vicomte of Beaumont, and granddaughter of King John of Jerusalem), witness: *fratre Guidone Lagueppa ejusdem ordinis* (Rey, *Recherches*, 45–8; *RRH* 1422).
 1279 III 27, Capua: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *frere Guiz de la Guespe de l'ordre de l'Ospital de Saint Jehan de Jerusalem* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, XXI, 213 n. 54).
 1281 VIII 6, Acre: charter (by Brother George, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Albares, located between Carcassonne and Narbonne in the Languedoc), recipient: *fratri Guydoni la Guespe locumtenenti magistri sancti Johannis Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 566 65 H; *CH* III 3764–5; *RRH* 1439a–b).

GUY OF MAHÓN (H) preceptor 1163–70

origin: Spain? Mahón or Maó (*Magonis Portus*), toponym on the Balearic island of Menorca. The fact that Menorca was under Muslim control until 1231 does not mean that there was no Christian population on the island in the twelfth century.

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller Preceptor G. who, in → 1169, traveled to the west as a member of a delegation sent by King Amalric of Jerusalem. It is unknown whether he was identical with *frater Guido Hospitalis* who, in 1183, witnessed a charter issued by Humphrey IV of Toron (Marsy, 146–7 n. 29; *RRH* 628).

literature: Röhrich, 343–4; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 126–7; Delaville Le Roulx, 72–3, 409, 414; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitalers’ High Dignitaries,” 17.

- 1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jerusalem: charter (Eustach and his wife Agnes, as well as Adam Niger and his wife Osmunda, for the Hospitalers), witness: *fratrem Guidonem de Moun*

- tunc temporis preceptorem* (CH I 312; RRH 391; date: the same document listed for → Gerald of St. Andrew).
- (1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jerusalem and Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for Duke Bela III of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia), witness: *frater Guigo de Mahone preceptor Hospitalis* (CH I 309; RRH 458; date: Mayer II, 869).
- 1165 IV 28, TS: charter (Walter, prince of Galilee and castellan of St. Omer, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Guignonis ejusdem preceptoris* (CH I 345; RRH 414).
- 1166 IV 29, Ramla: charter (Baldwin of Ibelin, lord of Mirabel, for the Hospitallers of Nablus), mention: *tempore magistri [Girberti Hospitalis, et fratris Guignonis de Ma]auni, preceptoris, et fratris Oldini Rol[lant, preceptoris de Spina]* (CH I 354; RRH 423).
- 1167 III, (Jerusalem): charter (by Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem), consent-giver: *Guignonis preceptoris* (CH I 375; RRH 430).
- 1167, (Jerusalem): charter (Petrionilla for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guido de Maun preceptor ejusdem* (CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a).
- (1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for the *burgenses* of Bethgibelin), witness: *Guigo preceptor* (CH I 399; RRH 457; date: the same document listed for → Amoravius).
- 1169 (before VII 29), TS: secondary literature: since the delegation from the Latin east sent to the west by King Amalric of Jerusalem in the spring of 1169 had had to turn back because of a storm at sea, a second delegation was sent which included the Hospitaller Preceptor G. (Röhrich, 343–4, who refers to him as “Guibert;” Delaville Le Roulx, 72–3. For the first delegation sent in the spring of 1169 cf. RHGF XVI, 187–8 n. 120; RRH 464).
- 1169 VII 29, Benevento: letter (Pope Alexander III to all nobles, knights, and faithful in Christ), mention: *G. praeceptorem Hospitalis*, traveling with a delegation from the Latin east that had just arrived in the west (*Alexandri III Opera*, ed. Migne, 599–601 n. 626).
- 1169 VII 29, Benevento: letter (Pope Alexander III to Archbishop Henry of Rheims), mention: NN, *praeceptor Hospitalis* (probably Guy of Mahón), traveling with a delegation from the Latin east that was now, after a visit with the pope, on its way to Louis VII of France (*Alexandri III Opera*, ed. Migne, 601–2 n. 627).
- 1170 VII, (St. Gilles): charter, recipient: *Guigone de Maïhono preceptore* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 300. At this time, → Pons Blan was probably already conventual preceptor, which means that Guy may have already served as preceptor of the west. Le Blévec-Venturini, 243–4, suggest that he was preceptor of St. Gilles, which I consider unlikely because his activities in 1170 extended beyond St. Gilles, and because he was preceptor of the west in → 1171 IV).
- 1170, (France): charter (by Duke Hugh III of Burgundy), recipient: *Guidonis venerabilis preceptoris fratrum Hospitalis* (CH I 413).
- 1171 IV, Girona (Aragón): charter (by Alphonso II of Aragón), recipient: *Guidonis de Mahun prefati Hospitalis citra mare preceptoris* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 350–2 n. 222; CH I 426).

GUY OF SEVERAC (H) (grand) preceptor 1307–10

origin: France. Séverac, toponym and family name in Provence (Contamine, “Séverac-le-Château,” 1803).

family: noble family of Séverac? Guy IV of Caylus, lord of Séverac, and his wife Richardis of Panat (married since 1232) had at least seven children, among them the oldest son Guy V, as well as a later-born son, also named Guy. The latter may be identical with the Hospitaller Guy of Séverac. In 1270, Guy IV traveled to the east. His younger son Guy may have accompanied him and joined the Hospitallers there (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XIV, table 190. For the practice of giving identical names to siblings cf. Mayer, “Gleichnamige Geschwister,” 1–17).

- literature*: Mas Latrie, "Histoire des archevêques," 253; Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 424; Hill, *History*, II, 259; Riley-Smith, 211–12, 224; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," 166–7; Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Interventions in Cilician Armenia," 124; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 123, 125, 127; Coureas, *Latin Church*, 169; Claverie II, 273; Luttrell, *Town*, 16; cf. Chapter Three.
- 1307, Cyprus: chronicle: in the dispute between Henry II of Cyprus and his brother Amaury of Lusignan, the Hospitaller preceptor (probably Guy of Séverac) sided with the king. In 1307, when Henry was forced to corroborate Amaury's appointment as regent, *el comendator dell'Hospital* was present (Bustron, 153–4; "Cronicha di Strambaldi," ed. Mas Latrie, 23, where this is dated to 1306; Leontinos Makhairas, *Recital*, I, § 56, who states that the appointment was sealed with the Hospitaller preceptor's two seals: δύο βούλλες τοῦ κομμεντοῦρη τοῦ Σπιταλλίου).
- 1308 I, Nicosia: chronicle: the Hospitaller (grand) preceptor (probably Guy of Séverac) was present when a delegation of the spiritual and secular lords of the kingdom of Cyprus forced Henry II of Cyprus to confirm in writing Amaury of Lusignan's appointment as regent for life (Amadi, 262, 266; cf. Bustron, 149).
- 1308 V 8, Nicosia: chronicle: *fra Guido Severac commandator del Hospital del san Joan* presented Pope Clement V's letter appointing Peter of Erlant, bishop of Limassol, as vicar of the vacant archdiocese of Nicosia (Amadi, 283; cf. Bustron, 164–5).
- 1309 V, Nicosia: chronicle: *el commandator del Hospital* (probably Guy of Séverac) presented Pope Clement V's letter stating that the plans for the crusade were in full swing and that the order's master (Fulk of Villaret) would be leading the expedition (Amadi, 298–9; Bustron, 175).
- 1309 VIII 21, Nicosia: chronicle: *fra Guido Siverac commandator del Hospital* served as the member of a delegation sent by Amaury of Lusignan and charged with effecting the resignation of Henry II of Cyprus (Amadi, 302; cf. Bustron, 176).
- 1310 VI 5, Famagusta: chronicle: on the day of Amaury of Lusignan's assassination, *fra Guido Severac comendator del Hospital* returned from Armenia where he had negotiated with King Oshin on behalf of the Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret to obtain the release of Henry II of Cyprus (who was in exile there). He anchored at Famagusta but stayed on his ship for fear of Amaury, who had not appreciated the fact that the Hospitallers had taken Henry II's side. In order to agree to the latter's release, Oshin had asked for a letter from Amaury; this was now impossible to obtain (Amadi, 336).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus and Armenia: chronicle: after hearing of Amaury of Lusignan's assassination, the Hospitaller *commandator* (Guy of Séverac) traveled to Armenia, hoping to free Henry II of Cyprus by presenting forged letters (i.e. letters written in Amaury's name). However, the Knight Nouveau d'Argent, a former *compagnon* of Amaury, who was traveling with Guy, managed to get to King Oshin of Armenia first and claimed that the Hospitallers had assisted in murdering Amaury, Isabella (Amaury's wife and Oshin's sister), and their children. After the knight's disappearance, Guy became suspicious, stayed aboard his ship in the port of Malo (on the coast of Cilician Armenia), and sent word to Oshin that Amaury was dead, and that he has come to obtain Henry's release. Oshin, however, now demanded a letter from Isabella as proof that his sister and her children were still alive, whereupon Guy returned to Famagusta (Bustron, 201–3).
- 1310 VI 26, Cyprus: chronicle: *fra Guido Siverac gran commandador del Hospital et prior de Navarra*, together with forty Hospitaller knights, landed at Famagusta. Joined by his order's conventual prior (John of Laodicea) and the Knight Thomas of Picquigny, Guy proceeded to Nicosia to negotiate the restoration of Henry II of Cyprus (Amadi, 354, 358; cf. Bustron, 214, 217. It seems that Guy served as grand preceptor and prior of Navarre at the same time, but I have found no evidence for the claim made by Delaville Le Roulx, 424, that he already held the office of prior of Navarre in 1302).

1310 (second half of the year), Cyprus and Armenia: chronicle: *fra Guidone Siverac gran commendator dell'Hospital* was charged with escorting Isabella, the widow of Amaury of Lusignan and sister of King Oshin of Armenia, back to Armenia. She took the opportunity to inform him that she appreciated him less than a pistachio: *non l'apprecio quanto vale un' pistaccio* (Bustron, 231–2; cf. Amadi, 376, 378).

1312 II 28, Tudela: charter: issuer: *freyre Guy de Seuerac humil prior del Hospital de Sant Johan de Jerusalem en Nauarra* (Zalba, “Documento,” 33–4).

HENRY (H) hospitaller 1221

origin: unknown.

identity: probably not identical with → Henry (H) hospitaller 1255–6, due to the common name and the time gap of over thirty years. Not identical with → Henry (H) marshal 1267.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1221 V (before 15), Damiatta: charter (agreement between Bishop John of Acre and Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu, confirmed by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), witness: *frater Henricus hospitalarius* (CH II 1718; RRH 945; date: the same document listed for → Ferrand of Barras).

HENRY (H) hospitaller 1255–6

origin: unknown.

identity: probably not identical with → Henry (H) hospitaller 1221, due to the common name and the time gap of over thirty years. Not identical with → Henry of Fürstenberg or → Henry (H) marshal 1267.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1255 II 11, Acre: charter (John Marraim, a knight of Acre, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Henrico hospitalario* (CH II 2714; RRH 1212).

1255 V 1, Acre: charter (by John Aleman, lord of Caesarea), witness: *fratre Henrico hospitalario* (CH II 2732; RRH 1234).

1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *fiere Henri hospitalier* (CH II 2810; RRH 1247; date: Mayer, “John,” 152–3).

HENRY (H) marshal 1267

origin: unknown.

identity: probably not identical with → Henry (H) hospitaller 1255–6. Not identical with → Henry of Fürstenberg.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410–11 (missing in the list of marshals).

1267 X 19, TS: charter (agreement between Henry, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, and the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), witness: *fratribus Henrico Marescalco...dicte domus Hospitalis* (CH III 3283; RRH 1356).

HENRY OF FÜRSTENBERG (H) (grand) preceptor 1259–62

origin: Germany. Fürstenberg, family name.

family: noble family of Fürstenberg? Count Egino V of Urach and Freiburg (d.1236) and his wife Adelaide of Neuffen (d.1248) had at least seven children, among them Count Henry I of Fürstenberg (d.1283). The Hospitaller Henry of Fürstenberg may also have been their son since it was not unusual to use the same name more than once within one generation of the same family, especially if one of the bearers was intended for an ecclesiastical career (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, V, table 10. For the practice of giving identical names to siblings cf. Mayer, “Gleichnamige Geschwister,” 1–17). Between 1257 and 1280, Count Henry I repeatedly issued charters for the Hospitallers, which confirms the connection between his family and the order (CH II 2860, 2883; CH III 3062, 3284, 3733). Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches*

Urkundenbuch, II, 385–6, suggests that the Hospitaller Henry of Fürstenberg may have been a son of Count Henry I; however, since Henry I was born either (1225–8) or (1228–34), he cannot have been the father of the Hospitaller Henry who served as his order's grand preceptor in the Latin east between 1259 and 1262, when Henry I was merely between twenty-five and thirty-four years old.

identity: The Hospitaller official Henry of Fürstenberg who served in Germany and central Europe between 1255 and 1258, the Grand Preceptor *Henricus (T(h)eotonicus)* who was in Acre in 1259, the unnamed *preceptor Hospitalis* who appeared in the Latin east in 1261, the Grand Preceptor *Henry de Fer* of 1262, the Hospitaller official Henry of Fürstenberg who served in Germany and central Europe between 1266 and 1272 (with a brief visit in the east in 1269), and the Hospitaller Henry of Fürstenberg who was preceptor of Rheinfelden in 1279 and a simple brother in 1279 and 1280, were probably one and the same person. Herquet, *Chronologie*, 38, also considers *Henricus (T(h)eotonicus)* and *Henry de Fer* as identical. Borchardt, "Hospitallers, Bohemia and the Empire," 208–9, assumes that they were two different persons of the same name, for example uncle and nephew. In this case, I follow Herquet because I see no compelling reason for two different persons. Henry of Fürstenberg was not identical with 'Henry the German' (Templar master of Italy, 1239–42: Bellomo, *Templar Order*, 364).

literature: Herquet, *Chronologie*, 38; Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 428; Jan, "Würdenträger," 291–2; Borchardt, "Hospitallers in Pomerania," 299–300; Borchardt, "Hospitallers, Bohemia and the Empire," 208–9; Hunyadi, "Hospitallers in the Kingdom," 261; Claverie II, 165, 201 ("Henri du Fer"); Bronstein, 149.

1255 II 4, Ujest: charter, issuer: *frater de Wristeynberk preceptor Hospitalis Jerosolimitani per Alamaniam, Boemiam, Poloniam et Moraviam* (CH II 2713; Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, II, n. 581).

1256 VI 13, Heimbach: charter, issuer: *frater Heinricus humilis preceptor sancte domus Hospitalis Jherosolimitani per Alimaniam, Bohemiam, Austriam et Poloniam* (Wyss, *Hessisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 109 n. 138).

1256 VIII, EU: charter, issuer: "Henri de Furstenberg (*Fristinberc*)," Hospitaller preceptor of Germany, Bohemia, Poland, and Moravia (CH II 2823).

1256 XII 7, EU: charter (by Kuno, a Cluniac prior), mention: "Henri, grand-prieur de l'Hôpital de Haute-Allemagne" (CH II 2839).

1258 XII 28, (near Würzburg): charter, issuer: "Henri (de Furstenberg)," preceptor of Germany, Bohemia, Austria, Moravia, and Poland (CH II 2908).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Henricus Theotonicus magnus preceptor Hospitalis in Accon* (CH II 2934; *RRH* 1280).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Henricus magnus preceptor Hospitalis in Accon* (CH II 2935; *RRH* 1281).

1259 X 25, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), petitioner: *fratris Henrici Teotonici magni preceptoris dicte domus in Accon et locum dicti magistri tenentis* (CH II 2936; *RRH* 1282).

1260 I 13, Cologne: charter, issuer: Theodore of *Vristenheim*, referring to himself as *vices gerens in partibus inferioribus fratris Henrici preceptoris domorum hospitalis Jerosolimitani per Alemanniam, Bohemiam, Austriam, Moraviam ac Poloniam* (Lacomblet, *Urkundenbuch*, II, 282 n. 499).

1260 IV 14, Acre: charter (John Grifus, a knight of Acre, and his wife Agatha for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Craphi hospitalariū existentis tunc loco magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis in Accon* (CH II 2949; *RRH* 1291. This document suggests that Henry of Fürstenberg was either not in Acre or not available for this transaction).

1261 I 11–17, (Acre): charter (the papal legate, Bishop Thomas of Bethlehem, presiding over a trial held to determine which of Acre's towers and fortifications should be assigned to the custody of the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese), witness (1261 I 15): NN, *preceptore Hospitalis* (Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298).

- 1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Henry de Fer grant comandeor de l'Ospital* (CH III 3045; RRH 1322).
- 1266 IV 29, Constance: charter (for Bishop Everard of Constance), issuer: *frater Hainricus de Fürstenberg humilis preceptor Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani per Alamanniam, Boemiam, Ungariam, Poloniam et Taciam* (CH III 3219; Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 458).
- 1269 VIII 24, Roggweil: charter (agreement between the monastery of St. Urban and the Hospitaller preceptory of Thunstetten), consent-giver: *fratris Henrici de Fürstenberg praedicti Hospitalis (Hierosolymitani) per Alamanniam, Bohemiam et Daciam preceptoris* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 467). It is by no means certain that Henry of Fürstenberg was present here; he may have merely given his consent to the arbitration).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Henri de Fer grant comandor d'Alemagne* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- (1270/1) II 10, EU: charter (by Count Geoffrey of Ziegenhain), recipient: Henry of Fürstenberg, Hospitaller grand prior of Germany (CH III 3386).
- (1270/1) II 10, EU: charter (by Count Geoffrey of Ziegenhain), recipient: *fratri Heinricho de Fürstenberg magno preceptori sancte domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitane per Alemanniam* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 469).
- (1270/1) II 10, EU: charter (for Conrad, Hospitaller preceptor of Klingenuau), issuer: *frater Heinrichus de Fürstenberg commendator ordinis sancti Johannis Jerosolymitani per Alemanniam* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 473).
- (1270/1) II 10, EU: charter, issuer: *Henricus de Vristenberg*, grand prior of Germany, Bohemia, and Austria (CH III 3412).
- 1271 III 1, EU: charter (by Henry, Peter, and James of Wikeswile), witness: *frater Heinrichus de Fürstenerb praeceptor domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani per Alemanniam, Bohemiam et Austriam* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 475).
- 1272 I 19, Prague: charter (by King Přemysl Ottokar of Bohemia), recipient: *frater Henricus magister ordinis eiusdem per Boemiam* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, II, n. 583).
- 1272 VI, EU: charter, issuer: *frater Henricus de Vristenberg humilis preceptor per Alemanniam* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, II, n. 584).
- 1272 VI, EU: charter, issuer: Henry of Fürstenberg, Hospitaller preceptor of Germany (CH III 3455).
- 1272 VIII 24, EU: charter, issuer: *Heinr(icus) de Vristenberg*, preceptor of Germany (CH III 3470).
- 1279 III 20, EU: charter (by Count Louis of Homberg), mention: “Henri de Fürstenberg (Vristenberg),” Hospitaller preceptor of Rheinfelden (CH III 3693).
- 1279 XI 6, Hohenrain: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers of Hohenrain and Werner of Buzzen, as well as the latter’s wife Ida), witness: *fratre H. de Fürstenberg* (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, I, n. 538).
- 1280 VI 3, Rottweil: charter, witness: Hospitaller Brother Henry of Fürstenberg (Riezler, *Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch*, II, n. 587).

HERBERT OF DUNIÈRES (H) hospitaller 1186

origin: France? Dunières, toponym in dép. Haute-Loire (Graesse I, 674).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

- 1185, TS: charter (Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Herberti de Limeris* [probably misspelled or misread for *Duneris*] (CH I 754; RRH 642; date: Mayer II, 878).
- 1186 IV 25, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for John Poterius), witness: *frater Herbertus de Duneires hospitalarius* (CH I 803; RRH 651).

HERVEUS OF LYONS (T) turcopolier 1262

origin: France. Lyons, toponym in dép. Rhône. Claverie I, 118; II, 331, suggests al-Lajjun (Galilee) or Lyons.

literature: Rey, 370; Claverie I, 118; II, 331.

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Hervi de Lyon turcoplier* (CH III 3028; RRH 1318).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Hevin de Lion turcoplier* (CH III 3029; RRH 1319).

1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Hervi de Lyon turcoplier* (CH III 3044; RRH 1321).

HUBALD (H) prior 1136 (with reservations)

origin: unknown.

literature: Burgdorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 18.

1136 X 10, Palermo: charter (Roger II of Sicily for the Hospitallers of Jerusalem), petitioner: *fratris Hubaldi venerabilis magni prioris ejusdem sacrae domus Hospitalis et conventus ipsius* (Lünig, *Codex*, II, 1635–8 n. 1, where he is referred to as 'Gubald;,' CH I 119; RRH 1296. With this charter (of which the original is lost), Roger confirmed to the Hospitallers—following the petition of their Grand Prior Hubald—the church of St. John in Messina, which his father, Roger I, had given to them. The charter has come down to us in the form of a *vidimus* (now also lost, i.e. Lünig's edition is all that remains) issued by Patriarch James of Jerusalem (i.e. between 1255 and 1261). The Hospitaller official Hubald is not otherwise known. That his title is augmented by the adjective *magnus* may have been the doing of the Sicilian royal chancery which, in 1136, was even 'newer' than the Hospitaller community in Jerusalem. The latter was then in the process of developing its leadership structures, but was not using *magnus* in the titles of any of its officials. Even at the time the *vidimus* was issued, i.e. over one hundred years later, the conventual prior was not called 'grand prior' (even though the adjective *magnus* was then used more frequently in the titles of Hospitaller officials). Perhaps the unusual title was used to distinguish him from any local Hospitaller officials who might have been using the title of prior in 1136. If the document is in fact genuine, it constitutes the first evidence for the conventual prior and shows him in a role that would be far from unusual for his successors, namely that of an 'international' envoy. Matzke, "De origine," 4 (on the basis of the research of Carlrichard Brühl), considers this document a forgery. Yet, of the various elements of the charter's dating (incarnation year 1136, eleventh indiction, and tenth year of Roger's lordship) only the indiction is problematic (which is often the case in medieval charters). Roger did not gain control over all the Hauteville possessions in southern Italy (particularly Capua) until 1127 VII; thus, on 1136 X 10, he would have been in the tenth year of his lordship. Therefore, I retain Hubald in my list of conventual priors, albeit with reservations).

HUBERT (T) → ALBERT (OF VIENNE) (T)

[HUGH (H) preceptor of Acre? 1269]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 431, features him in his list of Hospitaller preceptors of Acre. However, he was merely the official in charge of the order's real estate in and around Acre (cf. Chapter Two), because his title is *baillis des maisons* (plural) and not *bailli de la maison* (singular), and because the title *bailli* (with one exception, namely → William of Villiers on 1192 II 2) was not used for the conventual (grand) preceptor between 1191 and 1291. The transaction in which Hugh was involved on 1269 IV 19 confirms this interpretation, as it deals with real estate in Acre, located in the street of the Provençals (CH III 3334; RRH 1364).

HUGH OF AMPURIAS (T) lieutenant marshal 1302

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Ampurias, toponym in the province of Gerona.

family: comital family of Ampurias. The *Gestes des Chiprois* refer to him as *fis dou conte d'Enpures* (*Gestes*, 237 § 477). He may have been the son of Hugh V, count of "Ampurdan" (1269–77), and the brother of Pons Hugh IV, count of "Empordà," who lived between c.1264 and 1313 (Claverie, "Cristiandat," 90).

literature: Forey, "Military Orders and the Ransoming," 262–3; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 105–6; Claverie, "Cristiandat," 89–91, 99–100, 110–11; Demurger, *Jacques*, 154; Demurger, *Templiers*, 420; Claverie I, 111, 195; II, 85, 103, 110, 267, 331.

1289 IV 26, Tripoli: chronicle: *frere Huguet fis dou conte d'Enpures, frere dou Temple*, was captured when the troops of Sultan Qalawun were taking Tripoli (*Gestes*, 237 § 477).

(1290 IV 26–1291 V 18), Sicily: letter (James I of Sicily to Templar Master William of Beaujeu), mention: Hugh of Ampurias, a Templar brother, who was in captivity and for whose release everything should be done (Finke II, 1–2 n. 1; date: Claverie III, 590–1 n. 671).

1294 VI 19, (Aragón): letter (James II of Aragón to the Mamluk sultan), mention: *fr(atrem) Hugonem de Impuriis* whose release the king was trying to obtain (*AA* III, 514 n. 234).

(1294–9) VIII 10, Barcelona: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: Templar Brother Hugh of Ampurias (Finke II, 2. The year in which this letter was sent is not given; *terminus post quem* is 1294, the year James II of Aragón asked the Mamluk sultan for Hugh's release; *terminus ante quem* is 1299, the year before the Templars retook Ruad, a campaign in which it appears Hugh participated).

1302 IX–X, Ruad: chronicle: the Templar garrison of the island was besieged by Mamluks who were offering the Templars safe-conduct, should they agree to surrender. The Templars, on the advice of *frere Hugue d'Enpure*, accepted the offer, but were then captured and carried off to Egypt as slaves (*Gestes*, 310 § 637; cf. Amadi, 238–9; Bustron, 133–4).

1302 IX–X, Tortosa (Ruad?): information from a later trial deposition (made by Henry Danet, Templar preceptor of Ireland, → 1310 II 12, Dublin): three days before Tortosa (Ruad?) was taken by the Muslims, *frater Hugh de Empures qui fuerat loco marescalli apud Tortosam* fled to the Muslims and denied his Christian faith (Coll. d'Albon 63, f. 153–4; cf. *ibid.*, n.a.l. 62, f. 243; date: *ibid.*, n.a.l. 63, f. 127, 141).

1310 II 12, Dublin: trial deposition, mention: → 1302 IX–X.

[HUGH OF BESANÇON (T) prior? 1307–10]

identity: He had been received into the order of the Temple in Andravilla (Morea) in 1280 and was *prior de ordine Templi* at the time of the trial (Schottmüller, II.3, 176, cf. *ibid.*, 263; Nicholson, *Knights Templar*, 119; Claverie I, 212). Since his title appears without toponym it is uncertain whether he was the order's conventual prior.

HUGH OF JOUY (T) marshal 1251/2

origin: France? Jouy-sur-Morin, toponym in dép. Seine-et-Marne. *Gaudiacum* or *Gaugiacum*, toponym in various parts of France (Graesse II, 132–3). Jouy, cognomen in Spain (Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 702–3 n. 472).

literature: Campomanes, *Dissertationes*, 9; Rey, 255; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 510–11; Melville, *Vie*, 249; Forey, *Aragón*, 309, 311–12, 420–1; Bulst-Thiele, 226–7; Forey, 53; Barber, 154–5; Demurger, *Jacques*, 40; Demurger, *Templiers*, 357–8; Claverie I, 49, 111, 264; II, 35, 78, 331.

(1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: chronicle: *frere Hugue de Joÿ qui estoit mareschal du Temple*, acting on behalf of the Templar master Reynald of Vichiers), had reached an agreement with the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus (an-Nasir Yusuf) with regard to the joint administration of an area that was considered Templar territory. Louis IX

- of France, who had not been consulted and was upset because an emir sent by the sultan now expected Louis's consent, declared the agreement void and, disregarding the intervention of the Templar master and Queen Margaret of France, saw to it *que frere Hugue, qui a faites les couvenances, soit banni de tout le royaume de Jerusalem* (Joinville, § 511–14; date: *ibid.*, liv).
- 1254 IX, (Spain): secondary literature: Hugh of Jouy served as master of Aragón-Catalonia from 1254 IX (Forey, *Aragón*, 309, 420–1).
- 1255 IV 17, (Spain): charter (by GERALDA of Anglesola, *vicecomitissa* of Bas), mention: *Vgoni de Joy domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia magistri* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 314).
- 1255 IV 28, (Spain): charter (Margaret, the wife of William of Montcada, for the Jews of Tortosa), mention: *fratri Ugoni de Joy magistro milicie... Templi* (in Aragón-Catalonia) (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 91–2, n. 76).
- 1255 V 4, Miravet, charter, issuer: *frater Hugo de Joyeu domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia magistro* [sic] (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 315).
- 1255 V 11, Naples: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *dilecto filio... preceptori domus milicie T(empli) in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 258).
- 1255 V 13, Miravet: charter (for GERALDA of Anglesola), issuer: *frater Hugo de Joyheu magister domus milicie Templi in Catalonia et Aragonia* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 314).
- 1255 IX 11, Miravet: charter (agreement between William of Ager, Templar preceptor of Cantavieja, and the city council of Cantavieja), consent-giver: *fratris Hugo de Joy domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia magistri* (Forey, *Aragón*, 390–1 n. 21).
- 1255 X 1, (Spain): charter (by Hugh of Cervelló), mention: *dom(i)no Hugone magistro milicie Templi* (in Aragón-Catalonia) (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 315).
- 1257 III 23, Lateran: letter (Pope Alexander IV to the bishop of Zaragoza), mention: *magistri et fratrum domus milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cattalonia* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 316).
- 1257 III 31, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro et fratribus domus milicie T(empli) in Ispania* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 317).
- 1257 IV 3, Lleida: secondary literature: *fr(ere) Hugo de Johis maestre de el Temple en Aragon y Cataluña* was party to an agreement (Campomanes, *Dissertaciones*, 9).
- 1257 VI (perhaps 1258 III), (Spain): secondary literature: Hugh of Jouy served as Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia until 1257 VI (perhaps 1258 III) (Forey, *Aragón*, 420–1).
- 1258 III 19, Tortosa (Spain): charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), petitioner: *fratris Hugonis de Joieu magistri milicie Templi in Aragone et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 98–9 n. 85).

HUGH OF MONTLAUR (T) marshal 1242–4

origin: Spain or France? *Monte lauro*, family name in northeastern Spain and southern France in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Hugh served as Templar master of Spain and Provence between 1234 and 1238. Demurger, *Templiers*, 247, suggests that Hugh originated from Auvergne, because he witnessed a charter for the Templars of Le Puy issued → (1217–27). A charter issued on → 1216 VII 23 mentions a *terra Hugonis de Monte Laure* in Provence. Carraz, *Ordre*, 318–19, suggests that he originated from Languedoc. Claverie II, 331, suggests that he originated from Montlaur on the Ardèche.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Hugh of Montlaur, archbishop of Aix (1167: Gams, *Series*, 482; Coulet, “Templiers,” 32–3); or to the Templar Bernard of Montlaur (preceptor of various places: Alfambra, 1248–9; Mallorca, 1251; Aiguaviva, 1252; Castellón de Ampurias, 1252–3; Mas Deu, 1258–9; Castellote, 1260; Huesca, 1263–4; Léonard, *Introduction*, 90; Forey, *Tempars*, 422–3, 428–9, 433–4; Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 125); or to any of the individuals with the cognomen Montlaur appearing in Aragón, Maguelone, and Carcassonne at the time of the Templar trial (Procès II, 271; Finke II, 164–8 n. 94/I, 321–4 n. 153).

- identity*: probably identical with the southern French layman of the same name who appears in the charters of → 1216 VII 23 and (1217–27).
- literature*: Campomanes, *Dissertationes*, 62; Rey, 255; Röhricht, 863–5; Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 561; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16; Forey, *Aragón*, 420; Bulst-Thiele, 193–4, 209–10; Claverie, “Débuts,” 574; Claverie I, 165–7, *et passim*; II, 55, 327, 331; Carraz, *Ordre*, 98, 319, 460; Demurger, *Templiers*, 247.
- 1216 VII 23, (Provence): charter (for the monastery of St. Mary in Clairecombe, Provence), mention: *terra Hugonis de Monte Laure* (Manosque, f. 121’ 14 O).
- (1217–27), (Auvergne): charter (for the Templars of Le Puy), witness: *Ugo d(e) Monlaur* (Coll. d’Albon 14, f. 288; date: *ibid.* Claverie II, 331, dates this document to 1219–20. It is unknown whether Hugh had already joined the Templars at this time, but it is conceivable that he joined the order in the context of the Fifth Crusade, 1216–21).
- 1234 V 7, (Spain): secondary literature: Hugh of Montlaur, in his capacity as Templar (provincial) master, attended a provincial chapter in Navarre (García Larragueta, “Temple,” 657, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes militares, San Juan, leg. 673, n. 2, and leg. 681, n. 57. García Larragueta, *ibid.*, lists him in the same office for 1247, which might be a dating error, because Hugh did not survive the battle of Gaza on → 1244 X 17).
- 1234 XI 21, near Baux: charter (by Hugh of Baux, viscount of Marseilles), recipient: *fratri Hugoni de (M)onte Lauro magistro domus Templi in partibus Yspanie et Provincie* (Coll. d’Albon 6, f. 238–40).
- 1234 XI 23, Arles: charter, issuer: *frater Hugo d(e) Monte Lauro magister domus Templi in Provincia et in partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d’Albon 7, f. 193–6, 199–203; *ibid.*, n.a.l. 8, f. 137–8, 168; cf. *ibid.*, n.a.l. 7, f. 207–9. → 1234 XI 21).
- 1234 XI 28, Baux: charter (by Barralus, son of Hugh of Baux), recipient: *domino Hugoni d(e) Monte Lauro magistro domus militie Templi in Provincia et in partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d’Albon 7, f. 197–8, 204–6. → 1234 XI 21).
- 1235, (Montcada): secondary literature: in the context of Aragón’s efforts to conquer Valencia, “Maestre del Temple en Aragón [sic] Hugo de Monlauro” participated in the siege and conquest of the castle of Montcada (Campomanes, *Dissertationes*, 62).
- 1235, (Spain): secondary literature: Hugh of Montlaur served as an arbiter in a dispute between James I of Aragón and Nuño Sanchez, count of Roussillon and Cerdaña, a cousin of James’s father; Peter II of Aragón (Campomanes, *Dissertationes*, 62).
- 1236 III 14, (southern France): charter, mention (retrospectively): *fratri Hu(goni) de Montelauro magistro Templi in Provincia et partibus Ispanie* (Coll. d’Albon 8, f. 229–35. → 1234 XI 21).
- 1236 VI, Montpellier: charter/*vidimus* (for Louis IX of France), issuer: *frater Hugo de Monte Lauro domus milicie Templi in Provincia et partibus Hyspanie magister* (Layettes, ed. Teulet *et al.*, II, 319 n. 2453; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 365–6 n. 11).
- 1236 XII 16, Arles: charter (agreement between Archbishop John of Arles and John of Castroboc, Templar preceptor of St. Gilles), mention (a declaration by John of Castroboc): *omnia supradicta per fratres nostros et per dominum Hu(gonem) de Monte Lauro magistrum citra mare faciam comprobari et sigillo ejusdem magistri firmari* (Coll. d’Albon 6, f. 258–66).
- 1237 XII 26, (Spain): charter (by Berengaria of Llorac), recipient: *fratri Ugoni de Montelauro magistro in Provincie et partibus Yspanie* (Sans i Travé, *Col·lecció*, 335–6 n. 241).
- 1238 III 27, Marseilles: charter, issuer: *frater Hugo de Monte Lauro magister domorum Templi in Provincia et in quibusdam partibus Spanie* (Moris, *Cartulaire*, II, 161 n. 96).
- (1234 V–1238 IV; undated), (near Montpellier): charter, recipient: *Hugoni de Monte Lauro magistro domus Templi in Proventiae et partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d’Albon 15, f. 3’; date: Forey, *Aragón*, 420: Hugh’s tenure as master of Provence and parts of Spain).
- (1234 V–1238 IV; undated), (near Montpellier): charter, recipient: *fratri Hugoni de Monte Lauro magistro domus Templi in Proventia et partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d’Albon 15, f. 81–3; date: Forey, *Aragón*, 420: Hugh’s tenure as master of Provence and parts of Spain).

- 1238 IX 28, Valencia: secondary literature: Hugh of Montlaur participated in the conquest of Valencia (Demurger, *Templiers*, 247).
- 1242 VI 7, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars, negotiated by Patriarch Albert of Antioch), party to the agreement: *fratrem Hugonem de Montelirracō marescalcum militie Templi* (Manosque, f. 383 40 H; cf. *CH* II 2276; Bulst-Thiele, 210; *RRH* 1099a).
- (before 1244 X 17), Caesarea: rule/statutes, mention: a Templar general chapter, attended by *frere Hugue de Monlo et mult d'autres viels homes*, deliberated the case of a brother from France who had had himself ordained subdeacon without his superior's permission. The defendant was expelled from the order (*RT* 585; Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 184: *Ugō de Monlor*; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 194. Hugh of Montlaur was probably the marshal at this time since he appears with the title in one of the following statutes).
- (before 1244 X 17), Jaffa and Arsuf: rule/statutes, mention: the Templar convent was in Jaffa when, at midnight, the signal was given to depart, and one brother grabbed another brother by the hair and pushed him to the ground. The next day, when the convent was at Arsuf, *frere Hugue de Monlo...mareschaus*, who had meanwhile heard about the incident, brought it before the chapter. During the subsequent deliberations, *frere Hugue de Monlo* urged that the customs of the house should be followed. The defendant was found guilty, lost his habit, was placed in irons, and carried off to Atlit (*RT* 592–3; cf. *ibid.*, 590).
- (before 1244 X 17), Jaffa: rule/statutes, mention: while the Templar convent was in Jaffa, the turcopolier, accompanied by ten knights, found himself between two Muslim ambushes. Since it seemed to some of the knights that the Muslims wanted to attack the turcopolier, four of them, without waiting for the permission of their preceptor of the knights, proceeded against the Muslims, and two of them lost their horses. The case was brought before the chapter. However, because the turcopolier probably would have been in danger had it not been for the early counterattack, and because it all basically ended well, the defendants were allowed to keep their habit and received only a mild punishment. During the chapter meeting, *frere Hugue de Monlo* pointed out that the counterattack could have failed (*RT* 614–15; cf. Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 187–8. Hugh of Montlaur was probably the marshal at this time since he appears with the title in one of the preceding statutes).
- 1244 X 17, Gaza: chronicle: in the battle of Gaza, the army of the crusader states suffered a defeat at the hands of the Egyptians and Hwarizmians. Templar Master Armand of Périgieux and *freres Hugues de Monlos, marescal dou Temple*, either died in combat or shortly thereafter in captivity (“*Annales de Terre Sainte*,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 441 (A redaction), where this is incorrectly dated to 1244 VII 11, i.e. confused with the fall of Jerusalem; the B redaction has the correct battle but features him as *mareschaus dou Boutron, Templiers*; cf. Amadi, 197; *Gestes*, 145–6 § 252).

HUGH REVEL (H) (grand) preceptor 1251–8; master 1258–1277/8

origin: France or (unlikely) England? Most scholars suggest that he originated from Dauphiné (Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 372; Delaville Le Roulx, 212; King, *Knights*, 323; Riley-Smith, 186; Bronstein, 149). Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel*, 1–8, 30–2, 67–8, 77, suggests an English or Norman-French origin; cf. Barber, (review) “Humphery-Smith,” 135–7.

family: unknown. Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel*, 1–8, 30–2, 67–8, 77, suggests that he belonged to the Norman-French family of Revel (which had possessions in the Midlands, as well as Cambridgeshire and Suffolk), that he was the great-grandson of Richard Reinell (*custos* of the castles of Exeter and Launston, 1191; sheriff of Devon, 1191–4), and that he was the second son of Walter Reynell of Pitney (Somerset) and Matilda (daughter of Everard of Trumpington); however, this is based exclusively on late medieval and early modern heraldry and genealogical tables and, thus, fails

- to convince. It is unknown whether he was related to Robert Revel (who appears in a charter issued by John of England, 1199: *CH* I 1093), or to the Hospitaller Peter *de Revello* (brother in Provence, 1180: *CH* I 581), or to Bernard Revel (mentioned in Aragón, 1161/2: Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 210–11 n. 104); however, these three ‘Revels’ show how widespread the cognomen was. His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 322: “Or, a demi-vol, azure”).
- literature*: Herquet, *Chronologie*, 41; Röhricht, “Combats,” 398; Delaville Le Roulx, 211–29, 231, 432; Riley-Smith, 186–9, *et passim*; Bulst-Thiele, 256; Mayer, *Bistümer*, 215–21; Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Vasallen*, 34; Vermeulen, “Traité d’armistice,” 188; Forey, 75; Barber 168; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 48–9; Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel*; Burgtorf, “Ritterorden,” 182; Demurger, *Jacques*, 58–9, 61, 63, 66; Claverie I, 148–9, *et passim*; II, 188–9, 199–200, *et passim*; Bronstein, 149, *et passim*; Carraz, *Ordre*, 500; Riley-Smith, “Military Orders,” 139–40.
- 1243 V 31, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars), mention: *frere Hugue Revel chastelain del Crac*, one of the arbiters (*CH* II 2296; *RRH* 1111).
- 1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Hugh de Loroil* [sic, should read *Revel*] (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).
- 1251 VIII 29, TS: charter (agreement between Peter of La Tour and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *fratrem Hugonem preceptorem Hospitalis sancti Iohannis in Aquon nomine Hospitalis* (Manosque, f. 435’ 47 J; Delaville Le Roulx, “Inventaire,” 88 n. 272; *RRH* 1197a).
- (1252) II 3, TS: charter/*vidimus* (issued by Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem, Archbishop Henry of Nazareth, and Bishop Walter II of Acre), petitioner: *frere Hugues Revel grand commandeur* (Delaville Le Roulx, “Inventaire,” 52 n. 52).
- 1253 XII 22, Acre: charter (Nicholas of Arcu for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratri Hugoni Revel ejusdem domus magno preceptori in Accon* (*CH* II 2662; *RRH* 1209; cf. Manosque, f. 33 6 k).
- (1254) II, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for the brotherhood of St. James at Acre), consent-giver: *frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur* (*CH* II 2666; *RRH* 1214a; cf. Manosque, f. 521’ 58 S. → 1254 VIII).
- 1254 VI 1, TS: charter (by Lady Margaret of Sidon), mention: the appointment of the archbishop of Tyre, the abbot of St. Samuel in Acre, the Hospitaller marshal, *frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur dudit Hôpital*, and the prior of the Carmelites as executors of Lady Margaret’s testament (*CH* II 2686; *RRH* 1215a).
- (1250 X 17–1254 VI 8; undated), TS: charter/*vidimus* (issued by Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem, Erzbischof Henry of Nazareth, and Bishop Walter II of Acre), petitioner: *fratris Hugonis Revel magni praeceptoris Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherusalem* (Pauli, *Codice*, I, 205–6 n. 162; *RRH* 342 (part II); date: Hugh Revel became (grand) preceptor after 1250 X 17, i.e. after the Hospitaller Master → William of Châteauneuf had returned from his captivity in Egypt and arrived in Acre, making that the *terminus post quem*; the patriarch died 1254 VI 8, making that the *terminus ante quem*. However, it seems that this document belongs within the context of → (1252) II 3).
- 1254 VIII, TS: charter (by the brotherhood of St. James at Acre), co-recipient: NN (Hugh Revel), *commandeur de l’Hôpital dudit Acre* (Manosque, f. 170’ 18 M; *CH* II 2689; *RRH* 1216a. → (1254) II).
- 1254 IX 22, casale Robert: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for Julian of Sidon), witness: *fratre Hugone Revel magno preceptore Hospitalis* (*CH* II 2693; *RRH* 1220).
- 1255 II 11, Acre: charter (John Marraim, a knight of Acre, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *fratri Hugoni Revel magno preceptori* (*CH* II 2714; *RRH* 1212).
- 1255 IV 19, TS: charter (by Matthew of Burgo, a knight from Beirut), recipient: *fratrisque Hugh Revel magni preceptoris dicte domus* (Manosque, f. 168’ 18 H; *CH* II 2733; *RRH* 1234a).

- 1255 V 1, Acre: charter (by John Aleman, lord of Caesarea), recipient: *Hugoni Revel magno preceptoris dicte domus* (CH II 2732; RRH 1234).
- 1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), mention: *frere Hugue Revel grant comandeor de nostre maison d'Acre*, one of three arbiters in the dispute between the Hospitallers and John of Jaffa in the county of Ascalon (CH II 2810; RRH 1247; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- 1256 IV 30, TS: charter (by John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), mention: *frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur* (CH II 2817; RRH 1249c; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- 1256 VI, TS: charter (agreement between John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *frere Hugues Revel grand commandeur d'Acre* (Manosque, f. 654 83 C).
- (1256), TS: charter (Philip of Montfort, lord of Tyre, for the citizens of Marseilles), witness: *Hugone de Revel magno praeceptore Hospitalis* (Ruffi, *Histoire*, I, 96; RRH 1297).
- (1256/7) II 22, TS: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), mention: *religiosum fratrem Hugonem Revelle magnum preceptorem dicte domus*, one of the arbiters (Manosque, f. 312 31 D).
- (1256/7) II 22, TS: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), mention: *frère Hugues Revel grand-commandeur*, one of the arbiters (CH II 2857; RRH 1257b. This charter contains a different set of arbiters than the immediately preceding document).
- (1256/7) III, Tripoli: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli), recipient: *frere Hugu Revel grant comandor de la maison del Hospital d'Acre* (CH II 2801; RRH 1229).
- (1258 VI 24–X 9), TS: chronicle: *frere Hugue Revel quy adons estoit grant comandor* was elected Hospitaller master (*Gestes*, 155 § 285; date: Riley-Smith, 186).
- 1258 X 9, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Order), party to the agreement: *frater Hugh de Revel domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani magister et pauperum Christi custos* (CH II 2902; RRH 1269).
- 1258 XII 16, TS: charter (agreement between Archbishop Henry of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugues Revel* (CH II 2907; RRH 1270a).
- 1259 IV 14, near Tripoli: charter (by Hugh of Gibelet/Byblos), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (CH II 2915; RRH 1272).
- 1259 IV 19, TS: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (CH II 2916; RRH 1272a).
- 1259 IV 21, TS: charter (agreement between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hug(ue) Reuel* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 63; CH II 2917; RRH 1272b, 1284).
- 1259 V 25, Acre: charter (by the *bailli* of the Venetians in Acre), recipient: Master *Ugone Revel* (CH II 2919; RRH 1273a (part I)).
- 1259 VII 17, TS: charter (agreement between the *cantor* of the church of Tripoli and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master Hugh Revel (Manosque, f. 352' 36 E; CH II 2921; Delaville Le Roulx, "Inventaire," 96 n. 315; RRH 1274a).
- 1259 VIII 8, Venice: charter (by the doge of Venice), mention: Master *Hugonem Revem* (Manosque, f. 429' 46 P; CH II 2926; RRH 1273a (part II). → 1259 V 25).
- 1259 X 24, Acre: charter (by Archbishop Henry of Nazareth), recipient: Master *Hugoni Revel* (CH II 2934; RRH 1280).
- 1259 X 24, Acre: charter (by Archbishop Henry of Nazareth), recipient: NN, *magistrum . . . sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Jerusalem* (CH II 2935; RRH 1281).
- 1259 X 25, (Acre): charter (agreement between Archbishop Henry of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugonem Revel* (Manosque, f. 260 26 E; CH II 2937; RRH 1282a).
- 1259 X 25, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), petitioner: Henry (the German), grand preceptor and lieutenant master (CH II 2936; RRH 1282. Master Hugh Revel was represented here by → Henry of Fürstenberg).

- 1260 IV 22, Acre: letter (to Charles I of Anjou), co-sender: NN, Hospitaller master (Delaborde, "Lettre," 206–11; *RRH* 1291a).
- 1261 I 11, Acre: charter, witness: *D(omi)no fratre N.* [sic, should read *H.*] *de Revel magistro Hospitalis* (Bigoni, "Quattro documenti," 59–62 n. 2; *RRH* 1297a).
- 1261 I 11–17, (Acre): charter (the papal legate, Bishop Thomas of Bethlehem, presiding over a trial held to determine which of Acre's towers and fortifications should be assigned to the custody of the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese), witness (1261 I 17): NN, *magistro Hospitaliorum* (Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298).
- (1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), issuer: Hospitaller Master (*Hugue*)s *Reuel* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).
- 1261 V 1, TS: charter (by Balian of Ibelin), mention: NN, *le maistre et le covent* (*CH* III 2985; *RRH* 1302).
- (1261), EU: charter (by Pope Urban IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 1).
- 1262 V 1, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3020; *RRH* 1317; cf. Manosque, f. 549' 62 Z).
- 1262 V 1, Tripoli: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3022; *RRH* 1317b; cf. Manosque, f. 613' 74 9).
- 1262 V 27, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugues de Revel* (*CH* III 3026; *RRH* 1317c).
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318).
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Hugue Reuel* (*CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319).
- 1262 IX 19, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: Master *Hugue Revel*, here also confirming the statutes of the (general) chapters held at Caesarea, Jaffa, Acre, and the Vigne Neuve (*CH* III 3039; *RRH* 1319b).
- 1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (by Templar Master Thomas Berardi, recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321).
- (1262/3) I 11, TS: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Archbishop Henry of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), mention: Master *Hugonem Revel* (Manosque, f. 292' 29 H; *CH* III 3050; *RRH* 1322b).
- (1262/3) I 17, Acre: charter (by Archbishop Henry of Nazareth), mention: Master *Hugh Revel* (*CH* III 3051; *RRH* 1314).
- (1262/3) II 8, Acre: charter (by Archbishop Henry of Nazareth), recipient: Master *Ugoni Revel* (*CH* III 3053; *RRH* 1316).
- 1263 IV 4, Acre: letter (to Henry III of England), co-sender: Master Hugh Revel (*CH* III 3059; Strehlke, 115 n. 124; *RRH* 1325).
- 1263 VIII 20, Orvieto: letter (by Pope Urban IV), mention: Master Hugh Revel (*Registres d'Urbain IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 344).
- 1263 IX 6, Orvieto: letter (by Pope Urban IV), mention: Master Hugh Revel (*Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, IV, 71–4 n. 4866).
- 1263 IX 30, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *fratrem Hugonem Revel magistrum* (*CH* III 3075; *RRH* 1329b).
- 1263, TS: chronicle: NN, Hospitaller master, sent a letter to the Muslims/Sultan Baybars (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 54).
- 1264 VII 18, Orvieto: letter (by Pope Urban IV), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 546 n. 616).
- 1264 IX 8, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: the Hospitaller master is not mentioned (*CH* III 3104; *RRH* 1333a).

- 1264 X 8, Acre: charter (by Hugh of Byblos), recipient: *frere Hugue Revel honorable maistre* (Richard, "Comté," 379–81 n. 6; *CH* III 3106; *RRH* 1335a).
- 1265 II, TS: charter (by Eschiva, princess of Galilee and Tiberias), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3116; *RRH* 1336a).
- 1265 III 14, Acre: charter (agreement between Bishop Peter of Hebron and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugonem Reuel* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVIII, 5; Manosque, f. 669; *CH* III 3120; *RRH* 1337).
- 1265 (summer), Perugia: letter (by Pope Clement IV), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 550–1 n. 621).
- 1265 IX 26, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *fratrem Hugonem Revel magistrum* (*CH* III 3180; *RRH* 1338a).
- 1265 X 29, Acre: letter (to Louis IX of France), co-sender: Master Hugh Revel (*Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, IV, 155–7 n. 5100; *CH* III 3192; *RRH* 1339. Hugh's appended seal bears the circumscription *hVGO CVSTOS*: Douët d'Arcq, *Collection*, III, 244 n. 9882; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 236–7 n. 189–90).
- 1265 XI 5, TS: charter (by James of Lamendélé), mention: NN, Hospitaller master, one of the executors of James's will (*CH* III 3194; *RRH* 1339a).
- (1266) I, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Peter of Hebron and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3202; *RRH* 1342a).
- (1266) II, Perugia: letter (by Pope Clement IV), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 552 n. 622).
- 1266 III 3, Acre: charter (Raoul of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde, for Amaury Barlais, his cousin), guarantor: *frere Hugue Revel honorable maistre dou dit Hospital* (*CH* III 3213; *RRH* 1324).
- 1266 III 3, (Acre): charter (by Amaury Barlais), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3214; *RRH* 1342c).
- 1266 III 12, Perugia: charter (by Pope Clement IV), recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (*Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 1030; *CH* III 3215).
- 1266 III 14, Perugia: charter (Pope Clement IV for the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 3216).
- 1266 V 17, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), addressee: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 3221).
- 1266 (V 17 or VI 16), Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), co-addressee: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 553–4 n. 624).
- 1266 VIII 2, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), addressee: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 3228).
- 1266 (VIII 6 or 7), Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 554 n. 625).
- 1266 IX 30, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Clement IV), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 555 n. 626).
- 1266 X 3, TS: charter (by Julian of Sidon), recipient: Master *Hugues de Revel* (*CH* III 3231; *RRH* 1344a).
- 1266 X 27, Acre: charter/*vidimus*, petitioner: *fratris Hugonis Revel venerabilis magistri domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Jerusalem* (*CH* II, p. 232–3; cf. *CH* II 1590; *RRH* 908 (part III)).
- 1266, TS: chronicle: NN, Hospitaller master, sent a letter to the Muslims/Sultan Baybars and received a response (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 87, 96).
- (1267) V 27, Acre: letter (to Thibaut II/V, king of Navarre and count of Champagne), co-sender: *frere Hugues Revel gardeor de poures de Crist*, Hospitaller master (Pauli, *Codice*, I, 326 n. 46; *Thesaurus*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 1013–14; D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, VI, 21 n. 3407; *CH* III 3262; *RRH* 1348).
- 1267 V (29/30), TS: truce agreement (between Sultan Baybars and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: NN, *master of the order of the Hospital such-and-such in Acre and*

- the coastlands* (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 33–41 n. 1; cf. Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 104).
- 1267 VI 15, TS: charter (Catherine, the daughter of the *burgensis* Saliba of Acre, for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3263; *RRH* 1349; cf. Manosque, f. 386 40 R).
- 1267 VI 28, Acre: charter/*vidimus*, co-issuer: Master *Ugo Revel* (*Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, IV, 228 n. 5292; *CH* III 3264; *RRH* 1350).
- 1267 VI 28, Acre: letter (Patriarch William II of Jerusalem to Louis IX of France), seal: Master Hugh Revel (Claverie III, 318–19 n. 381; *RRH* 1351).
- 1267 VII 7, Acre: charter (by Erard of Vallery), guarantor: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 320 n. 383; *RRH* 1352).
- 1267 X 1, Acre: letter (to the Hospitaller preceptor of Manosque), sender: Master *Hugonem Revel* (Manosque, f. 237 23 @).
- 1267 X 19, TS: charter, issuer: Simon of Rocco, syndic and proctor of *fratris Hugonis Revel magistri* (Manosque, f. 614 74 #).
- 1267 X 26, Acre: charter (by Bishop William of Tortosa), recipient: Master *Hugoni Revel* (*CH* III 3282; *RRH* 1355).
- 1267 X 19, TS: charter (agreement between Henry, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master Hugh Revel (*CH* III 3283; *RRH* 1356).
- 1268 V 14, TS: charter (by Bishop William of Tortosa), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3307; *RRH* 1357a).
- 1268 VI 10, Acre: letter (to the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Master *Hugh Revel* (*CH* IV, p. 291–3 n. 3308; *CH* III 3308; *RRH* 1358a; cf. Manosque, f. 528 59 R. Hugh's appended seal bears the circumscription *FRATER HVGO CVSTOS* (front), *HOSPITALIS JHERUSALEM* (back)).
- 1268 IX 30, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *Hugonem Revel magistrum* (*CH* III 3317; *RRH* 1360a).
- (1267–8), TS: chronicle: NN, Hospitaller master, sent a letter to the Muslims/Sultan Baybars (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 128).
- 1269 IV 19, Acre: charter (by Hugh of Hadestel, viscount of Acre, and eleven jurors of the *cours des bourgeois* of Acre), mention: Master Hugh Revel (*CH* III 3334; *RRH* 1364).
- 1269 VI 1, TS: letter (to Berengar, Hospitaller lieutenant prior of St. Gilles and preceptor of Manosque), sender: Master *Hugues Revel* (Manosque, f. 437' 47 Q).
- 1269 VII, Tyre: charter (by Philip of Montfort), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3346; *RRH* 1366).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (for Balian of Ibelin), issuer: Master *Hugue Revel* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- 1269 XI 11, Acre: charter (by Amaury Barlais, lord of Arrabia), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3236; *RRH* 1367).
- 1269 XI 12, Acre: charter (for Ferdinand Sancho, an illegitimate son of James I of Aragón), issuer: Master *Hugonem Revel* (Manosque, f. 499' 55 S; *CH* III 3372).
- 1269 XI 15, TS: charter (for a certain *dominus Semen*), issuer: Master *Hugues Revel* (Manosque, f. 573' 76 L).
- 1269 XI, Acre: charter (by Hugh III of Cyprus and Jerusalem), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3371; *RRH* 1368).
- 1269, Acre: charter (by Hugh III of Cyprus and Jerusalem), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (*CH* III 3323; *RRH* 1370).
- 1269, Acre: charter (by Balian of Ibelin), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (*CH* III 3326; *RRH* 1371).
- 1270 IV 5, Acre: charter (for Stephen of Fulburn, prior and treasurer of the Hospitaller house in London), issuer: Master *Hugh Revel* (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 117; *CH* III 3388; *RRH* 1373a).

- 1270 VI 15, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *Hugonem Revel magistrum* (CH III 3396; RRH 1274b).
- 1270 VI, Nicosia: charter (by Hugh III of Cyprus and Jerusalem), mention: Master *Hugues Revel* (CH III 3393; RRH 1374b).
- 1270 VII 10, TS: charter (by Anno of Sangershausen, master of the Teutonic Order), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (Manosque, f. 517 57 9; CH III 3400; RRH 1374c).
- 1271 I 1, Tyre: charter (by John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (CH III 3408; RRH 1286).
- 1271 early-I, Tyre: charter (by John of Montfort, lord of Tyre and Toron), recipient: Master *Hugue Revel* (CH III 3409; RRH 1372).
- 1271 III 11, Acre: charter (annulment of an agreement between Archbishop Guy of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), party to the annulment: Master *Hugone Revel* (CH III 3414; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 192–4 n. 151; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 15; RRH 1373; cf. Manosque, f. 34' 6 R; CH III 3050–1; RRH 1322b, 1314).
- 1271 (after IV 8), TS: chronicle: Sultan Baybars sent a letter to Master Hugh Revel, informing him that the Mamluks had conquered Krak des Chevaliers (1271 IV 8) (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 146).
- 1271 (after IV 8), TS: chronicle: Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel and the Templar preceptor of Tortosa approached Sultan Baybars to obtain a truce agreement (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 146).
- 1271 IV 13, TS: truce agreement (between Sultan Baybars and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Hugh Revel, leader of the entire Hospitaller order and of all brothers in the region of the Syrian coast (*al-Mubasir al-Muqaddam al-galil' Ifriz Azuladkal*) (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 49–57 n. 3).
- 1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (for Guy II, lord of Byblos), issuer: Master *fratre Hugone* (CH III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360' 37 A).
- 1271 X 20, Acre: charter (for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), issuer: Master Hugh Revel (CH III 3433; RRH 1382a).
- 1272 III 19, Lateran: letter (by Pope Gregory X), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 561–2 n. 633).
- 1272 IV 6, Acre: charter (by Prince Edward of England), recipient: NN, *magistri et conventus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani Accon* (CH III 3445; RRH 1384a).
- (1272 III 31–VIII 1, EU): letter (by Pope Gregory X), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 562–3 n. 634).
- (1272 III 19–X 8, EU): letter (by Pope Gregory X), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 563–4 n. 635).
- 1272 X 13, Acre: charter (agreement between the abbey of Cluny and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), issuer: Master *Hugh Revel* (CH III 3476; RRH 1385b).
- 1273 V 17, Acre: letter (to Count Guy of Flanders), sender: Master *Hugues Revel*, relating the death of Templar Master Thomas Berardi (1273 III 25) and the election of his successor, William of Beaujeu (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 55–6; CH III 3507; Riant, "Six lettres," 390–1 n. 5; RRH 1387).
- (1273 summer, EU): letter (by Pope Gregory X), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 568–9 n. 639).
- 1273 X 7, Acre: charter (for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), issuer: Master *Hugo Revel* (CH III 3519; RRH 1391a; cf. CH III 3512, 3563).
- 1274 I, TS: charter (by Guy II, lord of Byblos), recipient: Master *Hugues Revel* (CH III 3526; RRH 1393a).
- 1274 V, Acre: charter (by Bartholomew of Gibelet/Byblos), recipient: *frere Hugue Revel honorable maistre* (Richard, "Comté," 374–5 n. 4).
- 1274 V, Acre: charter (by Bartholomew of Gibelet), recipient: *frere Hugue Revel honorable maistre* (Richard, "Comté," 376–7 n. 5).
- 1274 V, Acre: charter (by Bartholomew of Gibelet), recipient: *frere Hugue Revel honorable maistre* (Richard, "Comté," 377–82 n. 6; cf. Manosque, f. 353' 36 H).

- 1274 X 23, Lyons: charter (by Pope Gregory X), recipient: NN, Hospitaller *magistro* (CH III 3554).
- 1275 III 13, Lyons: charter (by Pope Gregory X), recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 42 n. 31; *RRH* 1402).
- 1275 IV 20, Lyons: letter (Pope Gregory X to Philip III of France), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*Registres de Grégoire X*, ed. Guiraud, n. 1071).
- 1275 VI 27, Barnes: charter (Edward I of England for William Fitz Roger, Hospitaller prior of Ireland), mention: Master *Hugone Revel* (CH III 3578; *CPR: Edward I*, I, 97; *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*, II, 200 n. 1146).
- (1275) IX 30, Acre: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: Master *Hugue Revel* (CH III 3584; Kohler and Langlois, "Lettres," 53–5 n. 1; *RRH* 1403).
- (1276) III 10, TS: charter (agreement between Bohemond VII of Tripoli and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugues Revel* (CH III 3595; *RRH* 1407a).
- 1276 IX 25, Acre: letter (to William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Master *Hugh Revel* (CH III 3611; *RRH* 1408). The attached magisterial lead seal bears the circumscription +*FRATER hVGO CVSTOS* (front), *hOSPITALIS IhERVSALEM* (back): Pauli, *Codice*, table VIII n. 9; Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 236 n. 188; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 99 n. 121; Humphery-Smith, *Hugh Revel*, 29).
- 1276 XII 16, TS: charter (agreement between Archbishop Bonacursus of Tyre and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugonem de Revel* (Manosque, f. 508' 56 9).
- 1277 IV 1, TS: charter (agreement between Bohemond VII of Tripoli and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Hugh Revel* (CH III 3621; *RRH* 1411a).
- 1277 V 28, Acre: charter/*vidimus* (issued by Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem), recipient: *sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherusalem ac pauperum Christi custodis scilicet fratris Hugonis Revel* (Manosque, f. 443' 48 F).
- 1277 VI 7, Acre: chronicle: Master *Hugh Revel* was in Acre (Amadi, 214).
- (1259–77) VI 18: letter (to Jacques Ponces), sender: Master *Hugues Revel* (Manosque, f. 498 55 L; date: based on *Hugh Revel's* tenure as Hospitaller master; the day, VI 18, is given in Manosque, *ibid.*).
- (1243 V 31–1278 VI 16; undated), Acre: inscription: recording *Hugh Revel's* name: *CESTE: O.../CARnACIO n IhC.../AGAThe: AUGE.../hVGUE REUEL.../AVME DESTOR.../ComEnCEOR D...* (Clermont-Ganneau, "Seconde lettre," 371; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, "Première lettre," 324–6. The name *AGAThe* might refer to the feast of St. Agatha (II 5); date: based on *Hugh Revel's* presence in the Latin east).
- (1258 X 9–1278 VI 16; undated), (Tripoli): charter (for the Hospitaller Brother Boucus, son of Mirtot of La Garssie), issuer: Master *Hugues Revel* (Manosque, f. 483 53 H; CH III 2888; *RRH* 1270b; date: based on *Hugh Revel's* tenure as Hospitaller master).
- (1258 X 9–1278 VI 16; undated), TS: charter/*vidimus* (issued by Bishop Peter of Valenia), petitioner: Master *Hugh Revel* (*RRH Additamentum*, n. 595; date: based on *Hugh Revel's* tenure as Hospitaller master; cf. CH I 589; *RRH* 595).
- (1258 X 9–1278 VI 16), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Hugh Revell* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1258 X 9–1278 VI 16), TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Hugh Ryvell* ("Cronica magistrorum defunctorum," ed. Dugdale, 797).
- (1258 X 9–1278 VI 16), TS: private seal (black wax): Master *Hugh Revel*, bearing the circumscription +*FRATER: HVGO: CVSTOS* (King, *Knights*, 316).
- (1277 after VI 7–1278 before VI 16), TS: secondary literature: *Hugh Revel* died (Bulst-Thiele, 267, suggests that *Hugh*, whose last reference dates to → 1277 VI 7, died prior to 1277 VII 1, the day his successor → Nicholas Lorgne appears as grand preceptor. However, *Hugh's* absence from the transaction of 1277 VII 1 (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413) is insufficient evidence for his death, because *Nicholas* does not appear as Hospitaller master until 1278 VI 16 (*Gestes*,

- 208 § 402; there incorrectly dated to 1279), which must therefore be considered the *terminus ante quem* for Hugh's death; cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 457 (A redaction), where Hugh's death is reported to 1278).
- 1281 IX 13, Orvieto: charter (by Pope Martin IV), mention: *quondam Hugonis Revel magistri Hospitalis Jerosolimitani* (*Registres de Martin IV*, ed. Olivier-Martin, n. 22).
- 1294 VIII 5, Grane: charter (by Count Aymar IV of Valentinois), mention (retrospectively): (the late) Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel (*CH* III 4252).

HUGH SALOMONIS OF QUILY (T) marshal 1153

origin: France. *Quilir locus* (Quily), toponym in Bretagne (Graesse III, 224). Schlumberger, "Communication," 145–6, suggests Quilliac near Pont-Melvez.

family: Salomonis, patronym (i.e. son of Solomon)?

identity: Since the undated inscription reporting the death of this Templar official was found at Ascalon, most scholars assume that he died during the siege of Ascalon (1153 I 25–VIII 19), perhaps as one of the forty Templars who were killed together with their master, Bernard of Tremelay, during an attack on the city on 1153 VIII 16 (Rey, 255; Schlumberger, "Communication," 146; Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouveaux monuments," 462–3 n. 7; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; for the siege of Ascalon cf. Bulst-Thiele, 55; Nicholson, "Before William," 112–14). According to Clermont-Ganneau (*ibid.*), Hugh Salomonis of Quily may have been identical with *Hugh marescalcus* who witnessed a charter of Count Hugh of Jaffa in 1133 (*CH* I 97; *RRH* 147), or with the Templar marshal who lost his life during the siege of Acre in 1291; however, *Hugh marescalcus* was a court official of the count of Jaffa, and the name of the Templar marshal of 1291 was → Peter of Sevre.

literature: Rey, 255; Schlumberger, "Communication," 146; Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouveaux monuments," 462–3 n. 7; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; Claverie I, 111; II, 78–9, 331 (dating the inscription "vers 1250"); cf. Chapter Eight.

(1153 I 25–VIII 19; undated), (Ascalon): inscription: recording the death of the Templar Marshal Hugh Salomonis of Quily who was killed by a catapulted stone: *mARESChAVD(VS): hVGO: SALOMONIS: dEqVILIVGO: TEMPLI: MILICIE: P(RO)VI/ d(VS): EXIMIE: mILES: BELLATOR: /FORTIS: PEDES: ASSILLATOR: /hOSTIBVS: hORIBILIS: CVM: SOCI/IS: hVMILIS: TORMENTI: STRAd(VS)/ICTV: LAPIdIS: TVMVLATVS: VT/LEGIT(VR): TITVLO: CO(N)dIT(VR): hOC: TVMVLO* (Sandoli, *Corpus*, 256–7 n. 346; transcription mine on the basis of the photograph provided *ibid.*; Claverie II, 79. The inscription was found at Ascalon prior to 1876 by Jaffa's former French consul, Monsieur Chevarrier (Schlumberger, "Communication," 145). It was subsequently acquired by Baron Ustinow and is now at Oslo University, Norway (Pringle, *Churches*, I, 69–80; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, "Nouveaux monuments," 462–3 n. 7). The text of this inscription, particularly its list of virtues, is reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude*, which would be a good reason to date it to the twelfth century. It is likely that stones were catapulted on both sides of the siege of Ascalon in 1153, and since there is no other record of this Templar official, I maintain that he was killed during that siege).

IRMENGAUD (T) grand preceptor 1198

origin: unknown.

literature: Daillez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, I, 157; Claverie I, 32.

1198 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Girbert Eral for the abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *fratre siquidem Irmengaud tunc existente magno praeceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a).

ISEMBARD (H) (grand) preceptor 1207–8, 1217–19; lieutenant master 1219

origin: France? The clues are his tenure as proctor of the Hospital in Paris (1194), prior of France (1201–3), and grand *provisor* of France (1212).

- identity*: Delaville Le Roulx (*CH* IV, p. 512) suggests that the 'Isembards' who appeared in various Hospitaller offices between 1201 and 1231 were probably one and the same person. Since the name is so rare, and since the evidence fits into a fairly straightforward chronological order, Delaville Le Roulx's suggestion is retained here, but expanded to include evidence for → 1194, when Isembard (probably the same individual) was serving as a Hospitaller proctor in Paris.
- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 414–15, 417; Bronstein, 66, 77–8, 150, 154.
- 1194, (France): secondary literature: Isembard served as Hospitaller proctor in Paris (Mannier, *Ordre*, 47).
- 1201 IV 27, (Acre): charter (Marin Mazuc, a Genoese, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Isembardi tunc temporis prioris Francie* (*CH* II 1145; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 216–17 n. 174; *RRH* 783).
- 1202 VII, (France): charter, issuers: Ogerius, Hospitaller preceptor in *Gallia*, and *frater J. prior ejusdem domus in Francia* (*CH* II 1164. The initial 'J.' probably stands for 'Isembard' who also served as prior of France in 1201 and 1203).
- 1203 IX, (France): secondary literature: "Isembard" served as prior of France (Bourquelot, "Notice," 185–90).
- 1203 (X 7–31), Paris: charter (by Philip II of France), mention: *fratri Isembardo priori domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Francia* (*CH* II 1177).
- 1203, Corbeil: charter (Countess Matilda of Flanders for the Hospitallers), witness: *S. Isembardi prioris in Francia* (*CH* II 1167. It is conceivable that Isembard traveled to the east in the entourage of the newly elected Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal who arrived there by 1204 VII 19 (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a)).
- 1207 XII 18, Acre: charter (by Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, confirming the donation that Alix, daughter of Turgin, had made to the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratris Isembardi ejusdem domus magni preceptoris* (*CH* II 1276; *CH* IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824).
- 1207/8 II 22, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea, in agreement with her husband Aymar of L'Ayron, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Isembardus preceptor Acconensis* (*CH* II 1250; *RRH* 818; date: the same document listed for → Aymar of L'Ayron).
- 1207/8 II, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea, in agreement with her husband Aymar of L'Ayron, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Isembardus preceptor Accon* (*CH* II 1251; Manosque, f. 543^v 62 A; *RRH* 819).
- (1211) II, EU: charter (for John Creton, a *burgensis* of Péronne), issuer: *frère Isembart procureur général de toutes les maisons de l'Hôpital de S. Jean de Jérusalem établies en deça les monts* (*CH* II 1360).
- 1212 IV, EU: charter (agreement between the nuns of Paraclet and the *curatus* of Châtel), issuer: Isembard, *magnus provisor in Francia* (*CH* II 1382; *CH* IV, p. 337).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (Leo I of Armenia for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Isembardus* (*CH* II 1426; *RRH* 869).
- 1214 IV 23, Tarsus: charter (Leo I of Armenia for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Isembardus* (*CH* II 1427; *RRH* 870. In this and the previous document, Isembard appears without title, yet as the first of his order's witnesses, before the castellan of Seleucia and the preceptor of Antioch, which suggests that Isembard was serving as conventual preceptor or grand preceptor of the east at this time).
- 1217 VIII 28, TS: charter (for Raymonde, a Hospitaller *donata*), issuer: *frère Isembardus commandeur de l'Hôpital saint Jehan in Accon* (Manosque, f. 20^v 4 q).
- 1217 IX 1, TS: charter (affirming the transaction of → 1217 VIII 28), issuer: *frère Isimbard* (*CH* II 1584; *RRH* 899a. The document's date and contents are so closely related to that of → 1217 VIII 28, that it seems safe to assume that Isembard, despite the missing title, was still conventual preceptor of Acre at this time).
- 1219 VIII, (Acre): charter (for Guy of Ronay), issuer: *frater Isimbardus preceptor domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis in Accon et locum magistri ejusdem Hospitalis tenens in partibus Syrie* (*CH* II 1656; *RRH* 923. The Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu was in Egypt at the time).

- 1222 X, (France): charter (for the abbey of St. Maur-les-Fossés), issuer: *frater Ysimbardus domus Hospitalis in cismarinis partibus preceptor humilis* (BN, fr. 20335, vol. I, f. 26; *CH* II 1758).
- 1231 III 12, Lateran: charter (Pope Gregory IX for his *familiaris* Gundisalvus), mention: Gundisalvus was holding the office of sacristan in the church of the Augustinians at Oxford *de licentia magistri Hospitalis Hierosolymitani et postmodum fratris Isembardi qui vices ipsius citra mare gerebat* (*CH* II 1977; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, n. 564. It is unclear whether Isembard still held the office of Hospitaller lieutenant master in the west at this time).

[JACQUELIN OF MAILLE (T) marshal? 1187]

identity: Scholars have long had their disagreements about the Templar Jacquelin of Maillé who originated from Touraine (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 248–9; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 7; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 67–8; his cognomen probably refers to Maillé in dép. Indre-et-Loire), whose family may have been among the vassals of the count of Anjou (Bulst-Thiele, 112–13; *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou*, ed. Halphen and Poupardin, 119, 127–8, 157, 178, 210), and who lost his life at the battle of Cresson on 1187 V 1 (for this battle cf. Nicholson and Nicolle, *God's Warriors*, 58). Depending on the sources consulted, some have considered him a Templar marshal (Rey, 255; Röhrich, *Beiträge*, I, 118; Baldwin, *Raymund III*, 91; Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 784; Runciman, *History*, II, 453; Melville, *Vie*, 128; Riley-Smith, 65; Dailliez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, I, 154; Bennett, “Règle,” 187; Barber, 111–12), others a simple, albeit very valiant Templar knight (Delaville Le Roulx, 95; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 248; Bulst-Thiele, 112–13, who, *ibid.*, 111, had first incorrectly referred to him as the Templar marshal; Demurger, *Templiers*, 224). According to the “*Estoire de Eracles*,” one of the key sources for the history of the Latin east, *frere Jaque de Mailli qui estoit mareschal dou Temple*, on 1187 V 1, objected to the intentions of the Templar Master → Gerard of Ridefort to attack a Muslim army that vastly outnumbered the Christians near Nazareth; Gerard accused him of cowardice, which was rejected by Jacquelin who then died in the ensuing battle against the Muslims (Eracles, 40). In addition to several related Old French sources (*Gestes*, 12 § 45; “*Annales de Terre Sainte*,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 433), the Latin *Libellus de expugnatione*, too, refers to Jacquelin as the Templar marshal (*Anonymi Chronicon*, ed. Prutz, 8, 64 (irregular pagination); “*Libellus*,” ed. Stevenson, 215–16). However, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* and the Latin continuation of William of Tyre feature him as a *miles* with no further title (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 248–9; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 7; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 67–8). *Ambroise* mentions his death without calling him the Templar marshal (*History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 40 v. 2496–7; *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 67 v. 2501–2). The answer can be found in two contemporary letters. On 1187 IX 3, Pope Urban III wrote from Verona to the English prelates that the Templar master had reported to him the losses of the battle of Cresson in which the Hospitaller master, the Templar Marshal Robert Fraissnel, the (Templar) Brother Jacquelin, fifty knights, and ten sergeants had perished (VOP III, 322–4 n. 148; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De principis instructione*, 201–2). After the battle of Hattin (1187 VII 4), the prelates and barons of the Latin east wrote to the pope and to the Emperor Frederick I that, on 1187 V 1, the Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort, the Templar Seneschal Urs, the (Templar) Marshal Robert Fraissnel, the (Templar) Knight Jacquelin of Maillé, the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins, and other members of both orders had been moving toward Tiberias, and that there had been a battle on the same day in which the Hospitaller master, the (Templar) Brother Robert Fraissnel, the (Templar) Brother Jacquelin of Maillé, and many other knights had lost their lives (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; *RRH* 658). There is no reason to question the reliability of these letters, and they both affirm that not Jacquelin of Maillé but, rather, Robert Fraissnel was the Templar marshal on

1187 V 1. We have considerably more information about → Robert Fraissnel than about Jacquelin of Maillé. Nonetheless, the fact that Jacquelin is mentioned in all these sources suggests that he must have been a very well known member of the order, so much so that his fame as a fighter eclipsed that of the order's marshal. The *Itinerarium peregrinorum* compares him to St. George (*Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 248–9; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 7; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 112–13; Nicholson, 116), and his death was depicted by the French nineteenth-century artist Gustave Doré (Demurger, *Vie*, 32/33 figure 7).

JAMES OF BOIS (T) preceptor of Acre 1233

origin: France? Bois, toponym in dép. Seine-et-Oise (CH III 4103, p. 567; CH IV, p. 408).

literature: Rey, 372.

1233 X 3, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and citizens of Marseilles), witness: *fratris Jacobi de Bois commendatoris domus Templi Aconensis* (CH II 2067; RRH 1046).

JAMES OF DAMMARTIN (T) (grand) preceptor (of the land) 1307–10

origin: France. Dammartin-les-Templiers, toponym in Burgundy (Graesse I, 655; Bulst-Thiele, 307). Claverie II, 332, suggests Dommarien in dép. Haute-Marne.

identity: Even though the chronicles relating the events of the Templar trial on Cyprus occasionally use the title of 'grand preceptor' when referring to the Templar Preceptor James of Dammartin, the office of the order's grand preceptor of the east was, at that time, held by → Raimbaud (II) of Caromb who was imprisoned in France.

literature: Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 435; Hill, *History*, II, 236; Demurger, *Jacques*, 121, 164, 177; Claverie I, 186, 357; II, 281–2, 332, *et passim*; Barber, *Trial*, 254; cf. Chapter Three.

(1295), Dijon: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1310 V 19, Nicosia): (*Jacobus*) *de Doumanin* had been received into the order fifteen years earlier by Templar Master James of Molay. He had vowed obedience and chastity (Schottmüller II.3, 192–3; cf. *ibid.*, 325–8; date: *ibid.*, 145, 191, 219, 323, 331).

(1303 after VI 24), Limassol: information from a later trial deposition (made by Abraham of Castroalbo, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Jacobus de Doumany* had attended Abraham of Castroalbo's reception into the order seven or eight years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 216; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208, and the same evidence listed for → Aimo of Oiselay).

1307 I 31, Nicosia: charter (Henry II of Cyprus confirming his abdication), witness: James of *Domaranz*, Templar preceptor of Limassol (Claverie III, 346–7 n. 417).

(1307), Nicosia: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Baneta, → 1310 V 8, Nicosia): *frater Jacobus de Doymalin preceptor terre in Nimotio* had attended Peter of Baneta's reception into the order three years earlier (Schottmüller II.3, 173; date: *ibid.*, 145, 170).

(1307–8), Nicosia: chronicle: in the dispute between Henry II of Cyprus and his brother Amaury of Lusignan, the Templars sided with the latter. In 1307 or 1308, the Templar marshal (Aimo of Oiselay) and the order's *gran commandator* (probably James of Dammartin) were waiting for Henry to leave the royal palace in Nicosia which they intended to seize; however, Henry was warned and stayed in the palace (Amadi, 260–1; cf. Bustron, 149).

1308, Cyprus: chronicle: *el commandator de Cipro* was *fra Jacobo* when Amaury of Lusignan, who had deposed his own brother (Henry II) and seized the lordship over Cyprus, proceeded against the Templars on behalf of Pope Clement V (Amadi, 287; cf. *ibid.*, 289; Bustron, 165–9).

1308 V 27, Nicosia: information from a later letter (sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V, → 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus): the Templar officials, among them the *preceptor* (probably James of Dammartin), submitted themselves to Amaury who

- was acting on behalf of the pope (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5).
- 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus: letter, mention: → 1308 V 27.
- 1308 (after VI 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after a bout of resistance, the Templar officials were taken into custody: *el mariscalco* and one half of the brothers were brought to casale Khirokitia, *el commandator* and the other half of the brothers were brought to casale Yermasoyia. When it became known that the marshal and the preceptor were making plans to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese, Amaury of Lusignan placed *el commandator* and all other Templar officials under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara (Amadi, 290–1).
- 1310 IV, Cyprus: trial records, mention: the Templars, including *eorum magnum preceptorem*, were cited to be questioned (Schottmüller II.3, 148. This statement cannot refer to → Raimbaud of Caromb, the grand preceptor of the east, who was imprisoned in France at this time, but, rather, must refer to James of Dammartin, the order's preceptor of Cyprus).
- 1310 V 8, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1307).
- 1310 V 19, Nicosia: trial deposition, defendant: *frater (Jacobus) de Doumanin preceptor ordinis Templi in Cypro*, who stated that to his knowledge there had been no errors in the order, and that he knew nothing about heads of idols in the order (Schottmüller II.3, 192–3; cf. *ibid.*, 325–8; date: *ibid.*, 145, 191, 219, 323, 331. → (1295)).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 after VI 24).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar officials, among them *el gran commandator*, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta (Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219).
- (1311) V 6, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Balian of Mirabel, a knight from Famagusta): stating that he had seen *fratrem Jacobum de Don Marin* and other Templar brothers devoutly receiving communion in their church at Nicosia *ut faciunt alii christiani* (Schottmüller II.3, 396; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125; Edbury, “Military Orders,” 103).

[JAMES OF FAUCON (T) preceptor of Nicosia? 1291]

identity: Claverie II, 332, lists a James of Faucon (“Jacques de Faucon”), Templar preceptor of Nicosia in c.1291. According to a trial deposition (made by the Templar Brother Robert Scot, 1309 XI 13, London), Robert Scot had initially been received into the Templar order twenty-six years earlier (i.e. c.1283 XI) at Atlit, but had subsequently left the order. After two years, he had gone to Rome where he had made his confession. After many negotiations, he was readmitted to the order at Nicosia in Cyprus by James of Faucon, on the mandate of the grand master ‘who now is’ and the convent (*resumpsit habitum Nicosie in Cipro a fratre Jacobo de Fauconi de mandato magistri magni qui nunc est et conventus*) (Helen Nicholson, citing Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 454, f. 46^r, in a letter to the author). The trial records do not state that James of Faucon was a preceptor.

[JAMES OF MOLAY (T) grand preceptor? 1292]

identity: On 1311 V 12, during the Templar trial in Paris, the Templar Knight Hugh of Fauro claimed that the Templar Master James of Molay had once held the office of grand preceptor (*Procès* II, 224–5). According to Hugh’s trial deposition the election of the last Templar master had been controversial. A majority had favored Hugh of Peraud, and only a minority had supported James of Molay. James had then sworn, in the presence of the Hospitaller master (probably still John of Villiers) as well as Odo of Grandson, that he would agree to Hugh’s election. Thereupon the majority had agreed that he (i.e. Molay) should be made grand preceptor in accordance with what was customarily done after the death of a master (*quod ipse fieret magnus preceptor qui fieri consuevit post obitum magistri*). The Templar statutes indeed stipulate that a

grand preceptor of the interim should be appointed to govern during the time period between the death of the old master and the election of the new master, and that this grand preceptor should be obeyed as if he were the master (*RT* 198–204). According to Hugh of Fauro, James of Molay used his new office to order the brothers ‘to turn the cap into a cape,’ namely to promote him from grand preceptor to grand master, since he would be master whether they wanted it or not, and, thus, his election happened under pressure (*Procès* II, 224–5: *mandavit eis quod, ex quo facerent capam, id est magnum preceptorem, facerent capucium, id est ipsum magnum magistrum, quia vellent aut nollent ipse esset magister, et sic per impressionem factus fuit*). Hugh’s entire trial deposition is rather negative and, thus, has to be taken with a grain of salt. The Templar statutes make it quite clear that the grand preceptor of the interim (i.e. Molay) was not to be present during the actual election of the master (*RT* 212–15). It is unlikely that Molay would have blatantly ignored his order’s normative texts and risked a controversial election so shortly after the fall of Acre. It is equally unlikely that Hugh of Peraud would have accepted such a move quietly. Furthermore, there is no other source to verify Hugh of Fauro’s claims. Molay might well have been the grand preceptor of the interim, whose office was quite different from and considerably more powerful than that of the conventual (grand) preceptor. Apart from the mandated exclusion from the actual election process, there is nothing in the Templar statutes that would have prevented the grand preceptor of the interim (i.e. Molay) to stand as a candidate in the election of the master (Trunz, *Geschichte*, 13, suggests that James of Molay may have been the preceptor of the election). According to the evidence available to us, Molay never served as a conventual (grand) preceptor under another Templar master. Between the death of the Templar Master → Thibaut Gaudini (1292 IV 16) and the beginning of Molay’s tenure as Templar master (1292 IV 20: Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36) only a few days elapsed, and shortly after his election, Molay traveled to the west (Bulst-Thiele, 299). If his election had been controversial, he would have stayed in the central convent to consolidate his position.

JAMES OF TASSI (H) grand preceptor and lieutenant master 1286

origin: Italy? The clue is his extensive service in southern Italy (1269–81). His familiarity with Charles I of Anjou could also support a French origin.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Thessy (1228–30: Riley-Smith, 164–5).

literature: Röhrich, 990–1; Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 419; Riley-Smith, 305, 366; Schadek, “Familiaren,” 340; Claverie I, 97; Mayer, “Krondienst,” 315.

1266 III 3, Acre: charter (Raoul of Beirut, lord of Blanchegarde, for Amaury Barlais, his cousin), guarantor: *frere Jacque de Taci* (*CH* III 3213; *RRH* 1324).

1269 VII 3, Lucera: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), petitioner: *frater Jacobus de Tassi prior Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Messana dilectus consiliarius noster* (*CH* III 3348).

1269 VII 17, Lucera: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), recipient: *Jacobo de Tassi priori Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Messana* (*CH* III 3358).

1270 VIII 23, Trapani: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: James of Tassi, Hospitaller prior of Messina (*CH* III 3401).

1271 VI 16, Lagopesole: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: NN, prior of Messina (*CH* III 3424).

1272 VI 23, Naples: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), petitioner: James of Tassi, prior of Messina (*CH* III 3457).

1272 IX 2, Monteforte: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: James of Tassi, prior of Messina, who was sent to collect debts owed by the ‘king’ of Tunis (*CH* III 3473).

1272 XI 14, Aversa: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), recipient: James of Tassi, prior of Messina, who was his advisor and familiar, and was now charged with returning

- the siege equipment to Sicily that had been left in northern Africa after the crusade against Tunis (*CH* III 3483).
- 1273 IV 6, Foggia: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), co-recipient: James of Tassi, prior of Messina (*CH* III 3498).
- 1273 IV 18, Foggia: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: James of Tassi, prior of Messina (*CH* III 3502).
- 1273 IV 18, Foggia: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), co-recipient: James of Tassi, prior of Messina, who had traveled to Tunis on Charles's behalf (*CH* III 3503).
- 1273 V 5, Trani: charter, mention: James of Tassi, prior of Messina (*CH* III, p. 289).
- 1278 I 20, near Naples: charter (marriage agreement on behalf of Bohemond VII of Tripoli and Margaret, the daughter of Louis of Acre, vicomte of Beaumont, and granddaughter of King John of Jerusalem), witness: *fratre Jacobo de Tassy priore Hospitalis sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani in Barulo* (Rey, *Recherches*, 45–8; *RRH* 1422).
- 1279 III 26, Capua: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: James of Tassy, Hospitaller prior of Barletta (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, XXI, 213 n. 55).
- 1279 VII 20, Lagopesole: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: James of Tassi, prior of Barletta, who was his advisor and familiar (*CH* III 3701; *CH* IV, p. 355).
- 1280 III 1, Belvedere: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *frater Jacobus de Tassis prior Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolymitani in Barulo* (Jamison, "Documents," 173 n. 155, reprint, 401; *CH* III 3717).
- (1277–80), (Italy): secondary literature: James of Tassi served as Hospitaller prior of Barletta (Salerno, *Ospedaliere*, 157).
- 1281 VII 6, Orvieto: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *fratris Jacobi de Taxci prioris sacre domus Hospitalis in Barolo dilecti consilarii et familiaris nostri*, whom the Hospitaller master had recalled to the east (*CH* III 3758).
- 1286 VI 27, Acre: charter (Henry II of Cyprus for the French garrison of the castle of Acre), witness: *Jacobus de Taxci magnus preceptor domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis tenens locum magistri* (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 671–3; *RRH* 1466. James of Tassi's seal appended to this charter bears the circumscription *S PRECEPTORIS HOSPITALIS ACCONENSIS*: King, *Seals*, 42, table VIII n. 1. The Hospitaller Master John of Villiers who had been elected as Nicholas Lorgne's successor in 1285 was still in the west at this time (*CH* III 3940, 4022; *RRH* 1480a). In his absence, James of Tassi probably played an important role when Henry II of Cyprus was crowned king of Jerusalem (Henry I) at Tyre on 1286 VIII 15, which was followed by festivities at Acre held *à la herberge de l'Ôspitau de Saint Johan* (*Gestes*, 253 § 502)).

[JOHN (H) marshal? 1219]

identity: The Hospitaller Brother John, who is occasionally referred to as his order's marshal for 1219 (Röhricht, *Studien*, I, 18; Van Cleve, "Fifth Crusade," 383), was, in fact, the marshal of Pope Honorius III. Together with the Templar Brother Martin, who was the pope's *cubicularius*, John assisted with collecting the 'twentieth' which was intended to support the east and the Fifth Crusade (Lappenberg, *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch*, I, 367 n. 421; Potthast 5956).

JOHN (H) prior 1248, 1268–9

origin: unknown.

identity: not identical with → John (H) treasurer 1237. Even though there is a twenty-year gap in the evidence for this Hospitaller prior (during which we find a certain → Gerard (H) prior 1255–64 holding the office), the Prior John of 1248 and the Prior John of 1268–9 were probably one and the same person, especially considering that the order's conventual priors were utilized as 'international' envoys, which temporarily removed them from the order's headquarters and necessitated the appointment of a replacement. Delaville Le Roulx, 413, 431, suggests that the individual who held the office in 1248 was the prior of the central convent, but the one who served

in 1268–9 merely the order's prior of Acre. In my opinion, these are two different titles for one and the same office. It is unknown whether he was identical with → NN (H) prior 1244.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, 431.

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Johannes prior Hospitalis* (CH II 2482; RRH 1164).

(1268) II 10, TS: inventory (list of items kept in the Hospitallers' church at Acre), mention: *in custodia fratris Johannis prioris ecclesie domus predictae* (Manosque, f. 178 19 H; cf. CH III 3292; RRH 1363a).

(1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Johan le prior d'Acre* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).

JOHN (H) treasurer 1237

origin: unknown.

identity: not identical with → John (H) prior 1248, 1268–9. In the 1230s, the name John was rather rare in the Hospitaller convent. Thus, the Treasurer John of 1237 was probably identical with John, the brother in charge of the order's *auberge* located on Acre's Montmusard in → 1239 IV. As a former treasurer, he would have been well qualified to work in this capacity.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412 (missing in the list of treasurers).

1237 VI 18, (Acre): charter (Peter of Vieillebride, Hospitaller preceptor of Acre, for Simon, son of Thomas *de la Chaenè*), witness: *frere Johan tresorier* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; CH II 2166; RRH 1076b).

1239 IV, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps for Lutold, the grand preceptor of the Teutonic Order), witness: *frere Johan l'aubergere* (CH II 2224; RRH 1091).

[JOHN OF GRAILLY (T) marshal? 1289]

identity: Setton, *History*, II, 842 (index), incorrectly refers to John of Grailly as "marshal of the Temple." He was, in fact, the commander of a French contingent and helped with the defense of Tripoli in 1289, in which the Templar Marshal → Geoffrey of Vendat also played a part. In 1291, John of Grailly was severely injured during the defense of Acre, but he was able to leave the city on a Venetian ship (Runciman, "Crusader States," 592, 597).

JOHN OF LAODICEA (H) prior 1299–1313

origin: Aragón-Catalonia and Latin east. Laodicea (Latakia/al-Ladiqiya), toponym in northern Syria and family name.

family: family with ties to Aragón-Catalonia. His father was probably Aragonese. His brother (Matthew) was also a Hospitaller (preceptor of Barcelona, 1311; preceptor of St. Celoni, 1312; envoy of James II of Aragón to Cyprus to conduct marriage negotiations, 1312; present at the royal court of Aragón, beyond 1313) (AA III, 282; Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 206–7; II, *passim*; Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 6; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 156–7; Bonet Donato, *Orden*, 63).

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → NN (H) prior 1293.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, 421; Riley-Smith, 212–14; Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 95; Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 157, 176–7; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125, 138–9; Luttrell, "Island," 156; Luttrell, *Town*, 16; Burgdorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 18; cf. Chapter Three.

1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers, protesting Master William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), mention: *nos messages les religieux frere Guillaume de Chau et frere*

- Johan de la Licha nostre priour* who were sent to the master as envoys of the convent (CH III 4468).
- 1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: *nous especiaus messages les religieux nos amés fraires frere Guillaume de Chaus et frere Joan de la Liche nostre priour* who were sent to the master as envoys of the convent (CH III 4469).
- 1308 V 2, (Spain): charter (for Peter of Ripa, the future Hospitaller preceptor of Aviñonet) issuer: John of Laodicea, *prior conventus transmarini* and lieutenant of Master Fulk of Villaret in the grand preceptory of Spain (CH IV 4797).
- (1308) XI 29, (Marseilles): charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the proctors of Aymar IV of Poitiers, count of Valentinois), witness: “Philippe [sic, should read ‘John’] de Laodicée,” Hospitaller prior of Limassol (CH IV 4829).
- 1308, Cyprus: chronicle: John of Laodicea was serving as *prior del Hospital* when Amaury of Lusignan, who had deposed his own brother (Henry II) and seized the lordship over Cyprus, proceeded against the Templars on behalf of Pope Clement V (Bustron, 167–8; cf. *ibid.*, 165–9; Amadi, 287).
- 1310 VI 5, Cyprus: chronicle: when the papal legate Raymond of Pins and *il prior del Hospital* (John of Laodicea) wanted to speak to Amaury of Lusignan, the latter was found murdered (Bustron, 197).
- 1310 VI 26, Cyprus: chronicle: the Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Guy of Séverac, together with forty Hospitaller knights, landed at Famagusta. Joined by *fra Gioan de la Lizza prior del convento* and the Knight Thomas of Picquigny, Guy proceeded to Nicosia to negotiate the restoration of Henry II of Cyprus (who had been exiled to Armenia by his own brother Amaury of Lusignan in 1310 II) (Bustron, 217; cf. Amadi, 358).
- 1312 VIII 24, Barcelona: letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: the Hospitaller Matthew of Laodicea, sent to Cyprus as the king’s envoy, and Matthew’s brother, *frere Johan de la Licxa...qui es comanador de Xipre* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 117. Matthew belonged to an Aragonese delegation sent to Cyprus on behalf of James II who intended to marry Maria of Lusignan. Being the brother of John of Laodicea, the then highest-ranking Hospitaller on Cyprus, undoubtedly enhanced Matthew’s status, cf. *AA III*, 282–3).
- 1312 VIII 24, Barcelona: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: *fratri Iohanni de la Licxa comendatori in Cipro ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Iohanni Iherosolimitani* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 118).
- 1312 X 22, Rhodes: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: *frater Iohannes de Leodiccia domus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani prior humilis conventus cismarini* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 122).
- 1313 V 27, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to his envoys on Cyprus), mention: *frere Johan de la Licxa prior del convent del Espital de lla mar* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 136).
- (1312–14) II 23, Nicosia: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: *frater Iohannes de Laodiccia sancte domus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani domini magistri Hospitali in Cipro humilis vices gerens*, who also mentioned his own brother, Matthew of Laodicea (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 697–8).
- (1314): chronicle: *fra Joan de la Lizza vescoco de Limisso* traveled to Aragón on behalf of Henry II of Cyprus to guarantee Maria of Lusignan’s dowry (Amadi, 395).
- 1315, (Cyprus): secondary literature: John of Laodicea returned to Cyprus where he met Peter of Soler, the Aragonese envoy (Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 157. In the same year, James II of Aragón married Maria of Lusignan. However, their union, just like the one entered into two years later by Henry II of Cyprus and Constance of Aragón, remained childless, which thwarted all hopes of uniting the crowns of Cyprus-Jerusalem and Aragón).

1322 (VII 1–X 21), (Cyprus): secondary literature: John of Laodicea died (Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 157).

JOHN OF LOCHES (H) hospitaller 1278

origin: France? Loches, toponym in dép. Indre-et-Loire.

identity: The eighteenth-century summary of a charter issued on → 1278 X 16 refers to him as both *frère* and *hospitalier de la maison d'Acre*; since the latter is the title of a high conventual official, since he is the recipient of the transaction recorded in the charter, since the transaction pertains to the important Hospitaller casale Manueth north of Acre (Riley-Smith, 430), and since no other hospitaller is known for the year 1278, I believe that John of Loches was, in fact, the conventual hospitaller.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411 (missing in the list of hospitallers).

1278 X 16, TS: charter (by John of Mamistra), recipient: *frère Jean de Loche hospitalier de la maison d'Acre* (CH III 3679; RRH 1425a).

JOHN OF RONAY (H) (general/grand) preceptor and lieutenant master 1245–50

origin: France and Latin east? Ronay-l'Hôpital, toponym in Champagne and family name in Acre.

family: knightly family of Ronay from Acre? It is unknown whether he was related to them. In 1219, Guy of Ronay rented a house from the Hospitallers in Acre (CH II 1656; RRH 923). He and his wife Agnes had (at least) two sons, Nicholas and Guy, who were in Acre in 1255 (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 45; CH II 2722; RRH 1228, 1232).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 196, 409, 433; Riley-Smith, 181; Bulst-Thiele, 222; Richard, *Histoire*, 358; Claverie II, 54, 75; Bronstein, 25, 116, 150; Bronstein, “Mobilization,” 29.

1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), mention: *frère Johan de Ronay comendeur de la maison de Triple*; guarantor: *frère Johan de Rona(I comand)or de Triple* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102).

1245 IV 3, Acre: charter (by John and Simon of *Treucis*), recipient: *fratris Joannis de Ronay preceptoris generalis eiusdem domus vices magistri gerentis* (CH II 2353; RRH 1135). John of Ronay assumed the leading role in the Hospitaller convent after the master, → William of Châteauneuf, had been captured by the Muslims at the battle of Gaza on 1244 X 17).

(1245 VIII 19–1246 I 19), EU: letter (Emperor Frederick II to Alphonso X of Castile) mention: the emperor's plan to send an envoy to the Hospitaller master (*ad eundem magistrum*) (Winkelmann, *Acta*, II, 51–2 n. 47. This envoy was probably sent to Lieutenant Master John of Ronay, because the Master → William of Châteauneuf was still in captivity at this time).

1248 V 25, Lyons: letter (by Pope Innocent IV), addressee: NN, *vicemagistro et conventui domus Hospitalis Hierosolymitani*, who were admonished to refrain from giving any support to the claims of the Emperor Frederick II or his son Conrad with regard to the kingdom of Jerusalem (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 4107; CH II 2471. On the same day, a similar admonition was sent to the Templar master).

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratri Johanni de Ronay magno preceptori et vice-magistro domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani*; witness: *frater Willelmus de Vals socius vice-magistri* (CH II 2482; RRH 1164).

1248 VIII 19, (Acre): charter (by Simon of *Cathena*), recipient: *fratri Johanni de Ronay eiusdem domus magno preceptori* (Manosque, f. 468 51 C; CH II 2483; RRH 1164a).

1248 XI 30, Acre: charter/*vidimus* (issued by the archbishop of Nazareth and the bishop of Acre), mention: *fratri Johanni vicemagistro domus Hospitalis Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 450 48 Y; CH II 2491. → 1248 VIII 7).

(1248–9 winter), Cyprus: chronicle: *les maistres dou Temple* [William of Sonnac] *et de l'Ospitalu* [Lieutenant Master John of Ronay] came from Acre to Cyprus where

- they conferred with Louis IX of France about the upcoming crusade against Egypt (*Gestes*, 147 § 262. The Hospitaller Master → William of Châteauneuf was still in captivity at this time).
- 1250 II 8, Egypt: chronicle: *frères Henris* [sic, should read 'John'] *de Ronnay prevoz de l'Ospital* informed Louis IX of France that his brother, Count Robert of Artois, had been killed during the latter's attack on the Muslim camp, which had resulted in the first battle of Mansurah (Joinville, § 244; date: *ibid.*, li. Richard, *Histoire*, 358, follows Joinville and refers to John of Ronay as "Henri de Ronnay").
- 1250 II 8, Egypt: chronicle: allegedly only two Templars and one Hospitaller survived the first battle of Mansurah (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, V, 154. The surviving Hospitaller was probably John of Ronay who reported the outcome of the battle to Louis IX of France on the same day, → 1250 II 8).
- 1250 II 11, Egypt: information from a later letter (by a Hospitaller, → 1250 (after II 11), TS): the *vicemagister Hospitalis*, elsewhere in the text referred to as *fr(ater) Joh(annes) de Bonay* [sic], who was first thought to have been captured after the second battle of Mansurah, was in fact killed in combat (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; *CH* II 2521; *RRH* 1191. Riley-Smith, in his commentary in Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 185–6, incorrectly claims that the Hospitaller lieutenant master was killed during the crusaders' retreat from Damietta, 1250 IV 5/6).
- 1250 (after II 11), TS, letter, mention: → 1250 II 11.
- 1250 X 18, Lyons: letter (Pope Innocent IV to the abbot of St. Samuel in Acre), mention (retrospectively): NN, *vice magistri... Hospitalis Jerosolimitani* (Manosque, f. 351 35; *CH* II 2542; *RRH* 1193a. Even though the pope would have received the news of the lieutenant master's death by this time, he continued to refer to the latter's suggestions into the following year).
- 1251 II 25, Lyons: letter (Pope Innocent IV to the abbot of Belmont, dioc. Tripoli), mention (retrospectively): NN, *dilectum filium vicemagistrum Hospitalis Jerosolimitani* (*CH* II 2553; *RRH* 1197).

JOHN OF VILLA (T) draper 1308–10

origin: France? The sole clue is his reception into the order in Paris (1295). Claverie II, 333, suggests that he originated from Champagne.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templars → Florentin of Villa (preceptor, 1299) or Peter of Villa (brother in Picardy, 1303: Schottmüller II.3, 186).

status: sergeant? In the records of the Cypriote trial, the deposition of the 58th Templar bears the heading *hii sunt sergentes* (these are sergeants). The five Templars whose depositions follow are referred to as either *serviens* or *sergens*. The 63rd deposition, namely that of John of Villa, does not mention his status. However, the 64th deposition is that of a *sergens* as well. Depositions 65–70 are those of knights, the 71st deposition has no reference to status, the 72nd deposition is that of a knight, and depositions 73–6 are those of sergeants: Schottmüller II.3, 205–17. The context of John's deposition and the abovementioned heading suggest that he may have been a sergeant.

literature: Rey, 370; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 405, 454; Hill, *History*, II, 236; Demurger, *Jacques*, 82, 181; Claverie I, 118; II, 333, *et passim*; Barber, *Trial*, 254; cf. Chapter Three.

(1295), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *Johannes de Villa* had been received into the order fifteen years earlier by Templar Master James of Molay. He had vowed obedience and chastity (Schottmüller II.3., 208–9; cf. *ibid.*, 348–51; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208, 219, 348).

1308, Cyprus: chronicle: John of Villa was serving as *drapier* when Amaury of Lusignan, who had deposed his own brother (Henry II) and seized the lordship over Cyprus, proceeded against the Templars on behalf of Pope Clement V (Bustron, 167–8; cf. *ibid.*, 165–9).

- 1308 V 27, Nicosia: information from a later letter (sent by Amaury of Lusignan to Pope Clement V, → 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus): the Templar officials, among them the *draparius* (probably John of Villa), submitted themselves to Amaury who was acting on behalf of the pope (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 85; Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 193–5).
- 1308 (after V 27), Cyprus: letter, mention: → 1308 V 27.
- 1308 (after VI 1), Cyprus: chronicle: after a bout of resistance, the Templar officials were taken into custody: the marshal and one half of the brothers were brought to casale Khirokitia, the preceptor and the other half of the brothers were brought to casale Yermasoyia. When it became known that the marshal and the preceptor were making plans to flee Cyprus with the hired help of the Genoese, Amaury of Lusignan placed *el drapier de la terra* and all other Templar officials under strict surveillance at casale Lefkara (Amadi, 290–1).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Johannes de Villa drapperius de ordine militie Templi* who stated that, to his knowledge, there had been no errors in the order, that he knew nothing about heads of idols in the order, but that the order did possess the head [reliquary] of St. Euphemia (Schottmüller II.3, 208–9; cf. *ibid.*, 348–51; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208, 219, 348, → (1295)).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Peter Cadelli *iuratus ut supradictus frater Johannes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 209; cf. *ibid.*, 351; date: *ibid.*, 208).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Eubald of Rumolys *iuravit ut supradictus frater Johannes* (Schottmüller II.3, 353; date: *ibid.*, 348).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Gawain of Raval *iuravit ut supradictus frater Johannes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 355; date: *ibid.*, 348).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Percival of St. Alcovino *iuratus ut supradictus frater Johannes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 211; cf. *ibid.*, 357; date: *ibid.*, 208).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Martin Martini *iuravit ut supradictus J(oh)annes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 212; date: *ibid.*, 208).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Andrew of Hencorte/Liencourt *iuratus ut supradictus frater J(oh)annes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 212; cf. *ibid.*, 358; date: *ibid.*, 208).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Berengar of Monteolivo *iuratus ut supradictus frater J(oh)annes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 213; cf. *ibid.*, 360; date: *ibid.*, 208).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial records, mention: the Templar Raymond of Montaigne *iuravit ut supradictus frater Johannes de Villa* (Schottmüller II.3, 362; date: *ibid.*, 348).
- 1310 (after VI 5), Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar officials, among them *el drappier*, were placed under strict surveillance in their house at Famagusta (Amadi, 360; cf. Bustron, 219).
- (1311) V 4, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Percival of Mar Januensis, a citizen of Nicosia): stating that he had nothing negative to say *contra personam drapperii vel submareschalci in Cipro* (Schottmüller II.3, 161; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).
- (1311) V 4, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Othelin Rouss, merchant and citizen of Genoa): stating that he had nothing negative to say *contra fratrem Johannem drapperium* (Schottmüller II.3, 162; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).

JOSCELIN (I) OF TOURNEL (H) marshal 1262

name: Clermont-Ganneau reads 'Josseaume d'Estornel' in the fragment of the following undated inscription from Acre (perhaps contemporary to Hugh Revel, i.e. 1243 V 31–1278 VI 16): *CESTE: O.../CARnACIO n IhC.../AGAThe: AUGE.../hVGUE REUEL.../AVME DESTOR.../COMEnCEOR D...* (Clermont-Ganneau, "Seconde lettre," 371; cf. Clermont-Ganneau, "Première lettre," 324–6). However, it is uncertain whether *AVME DESTOR* is part of a personal name. Even if it is, the first name could be 'Guillaume,' and the cognomen does not have to end in 'nel.' Following

Clermont-Ganneau, Delaville Le Roulx spells Joscelin's name *Jocelme*, *Jocelmus*, and *Joceahme* (with the exception of the evidence for 1248). In minuscule writing, *ni* and *m* are sometimes hard to distinguish, thus turning *Jocelinus* into *Jocelmus*. I suggest 'Joscelin.'

origin: France? Tournel, family name.

family: noble family of Tournel-en-Gévaudan? He may have been the son of Guy Meschin II of Tournel and Alaysette Pelet (married since 1214), as well as the uncle of → Joscelin (II) of Tournel (Hospitaller grand preceptor, 1306) (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XIV, table 193). The Hospitallers Peter of Tournel (preceptor of various places: Renneville, 1273; Thor-Boulbonne, 1277–9, 1305–8; Puyssiran, 1281–9; St. Sulpice, 1293; Castelsarrasin, 1293–7: *CH* III 4233, 4375; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 115, 145, 159, 307) and Joscelin (III) of Tournel (preceptor of Gap, 1293; preceptor of Castelsarrasin, 1298–1307: *CH* III 4233; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 307) probably belonged to this family as well. It is unknown whether the family was related to any of the Templars and Hospitallers who served in Spain and bore the cognomen de *Tornello* (*CH* II 1742, 1833; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 356; Ubieto Arteta, *Documentos*, I, n. 104; Forey, *Aragón*, 447), or to the Genoese *Tornellus* family (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–3 n. 32–3; *RRH* 1176, 1183; Claverie I, 399–400).

identity: not identical with → Joscelin (II) of Tournel, due to the time gap.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 433; Riley-Smith, 427, 493; Claverie II, 201; Bronstein, 29, 139, 150; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 30.

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Jocelinus de Tonel* (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).

(1254) early III, TS: charter (by John of Bubie, Hospitaller castellan of Margat), consent-giver/witness: *frere Jocelme de Tornel*, one of the prudhommes (*CH* II 2670; *RRH* 1204).

1255 VI 30–VII 2, Galilee: charter (concerning the Hospitallers taking possession of nine casalia in the area), issuer: *frater Jocelmus de Tornell de ordine domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani vice et nomine dicte domus ac magistri et fratrum domus ejusdem* (*CH* II 2747; *RRH* 1237).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Jocelmus castellanus Montis Thabor* (*CH* II 2934; *RRH* 1280).

1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Jocelmus castellanus Montis Thabor* (*CH* II 2935; *RRH* 1281).

1259 X 25, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Jocelmo castellano Montis Tabor* (*CH* II 2936; *RRH* 1282).

(1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Jos(ceume Destournel)* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).

1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Joceahme d'Estornel mareschau de l'Ospital* (*CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322).

JOSCELIN (II) OF TOURNEL (H) grand preceptor 1306

name: *CH* IV 4735 transcribes his name as *Gantelmus*. I suggest *Joscelinus*: → Joscelin (I) of Tournel.

origin: France? Tournel, family name.

family: noble family of Tournel-en-Gévaudan? He may have been the son of Odilo Garin III of Tournel and Miracle of Montlaur. Odilo Garin III was the son of Guy Meschin II of Tournel who may have been the father of → Joscelin (I) of Tournel (Hospitaller marshal, 1262) (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XIV, table 193).

identity: not identical with → Joscelin (I) of Tournel, due to the time gap.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 419; Luttrell, *Toun*, 16.

1304 I 29, Barletta: charter (Charles II of Anjou for his grand justiciar), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of Barletta (*CH* IV 4631).

- 1304 I 29, Barletta: charter (Charles II of Anjou for the justiciar of Otranto), mention: "Josselin de Tornello," Hospitaller prior of Barletta (*CH* IV 4632).
- 1304 III 1, Aversa: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), recipient: NN, *prioris . . . sacre domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Barolo* (*CH* IV 4641).
- 1304 VI 30, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: *fratris Joscelini de Tornello prioris ejusdem Hospitalis in Barolo* (*CH* IV 4659).
- 1304 VIII 1, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of Barletta (*CH* IV 4663; it is unknown whether Joscelin (II) of Tournel still held the office at this time).
- 1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (the Hospitallers' conventual officials and general chapter for the Master Fulk of Villaret), co-issuer: *frater Gantelmus de Turnello, sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani humilis magnus preceptor Nimocii* (*CH* IV 4735).

JOSEPH OF CANCY (H) treasurer 1248–71

origin: England. Cancy, family name in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (King, *Knights*, 277; Lees, *Records*, cxcī–cxcīi, who also mentions Chauncy in Hertfordshire). Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 238, suggests Chancay in dép. Indre-et-Loire, or Chancey in dép. Haute-Saône.

family: unknown. His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (Fincham, *Order*, 79: "Gules, three eagles displayed argent").

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller Treasurer Joseph of → 1248.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 427; Prutz, "Die finanziellen Operationen," 45; Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 406; Fincham, *Order*, 79; King, *Grand Priory*, xi; King, *Knights*, 284; Riley-Smith, 312, 483; Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 523; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 75, 78, 81, 100, 234; Lloyd, *English Society*, 28, 34; Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 19–20; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 116, 170, 207–8; Bronstein, 150; Burgtorf, "Herrschaft," 43; Riley-Smith, "Military Orders," 139, 141.

- 1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Joseph thesaurarius* (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).
- 1252 V 6, TS: letter (to the Dominican Walter of St. Martin), sender: *frater Joseph de Cancy sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem humilis Achon thesaurarius* (*CH* II 2605; *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 100–2; *RRH* 1199).
- 1253 XII, Acre: charter (by John Aleman, lord of Caesarea), co-recipient: *frere Joseph de Canci tresorier del desuzdit Hospital* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 35/II; *CH* II 2661; *RRH* 1210).
- 1255 II 11, Acre: charter (John Marraim, a knight of Acre, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Joseph thesaurario* (*CH* II 2714; *RRH* 1212).
- 1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *frere Joseph tresorier* (*CH* II 2810; *RRH* 1247; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- 1260 IV 14, Acre: charter (John Grifus, a knight of Acre, and his wife Agatha for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratri Joseph de Canci thesaurario ejusdem domus* (*CH* II 2949; *RRH* 1291).
- (1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Joseph de Cansi tresorier d'Accre* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).
- 1269 IV 19, Acre: charter (by Hugh of Hadestel, viscount of Acre, and eleven jurors of the *cours des bourgeois* of Acre), mention: *frere Joseph tresorier de la dite maison* (*CH* III 3334; *RRH* 1364).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Joseph tresorier* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- 1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Joseph de Canci thesaurarius*

- (*CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a. Bronstein, 150, also lists *CH* II 3439 as evidence for Joseph's career; however, this document does not contain his name).
- 1273 (before VIII 6), (England): chronicle: *frater Joseph Hospitalarius Jerusalem* was appointed *thesaurarius domini regis in Anglia capitalis*. He allegedly came up with the idea to levy a tax on the export of wool ("*Annales prioratus de Dunstaplia*," ed. Luard, 258. According to Prestwich, *Edward I*, 100, Orlandino of Poggio was the inventor of this tax).
- 1273 VIII 6, Paris: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *fratrem Joseph de Chancy thesaurarium nostrum* (Delisle, *Mémoire*, appendix, 244 n. 2).
- 1273 X 2, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Brother Joseph, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 32).
- 1273 X 2, Westminster: charter (by Walter of Merton, chancellor of England), mention: Joseph of Cancy, Hospitaller prior of England, who had been appointed treasurer of the crown (*CH* III 3518).
- 1273 XI 5, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Joseph de Cauncy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 36–7).
- 1273 XI 21, Stebbing: charter (by the archdeacon of St. Albans), recipient: *fratrem Ioseph procuratorem Hospitalis Ierusalem* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 193–4 n. 202).
- 1273 XII 10, London: letter/*writ of aid* (Edward I of England to the prior of Kenilworth), mention: *Brother Joseph de Cancy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 110).
- 1273 XII 10, London: letter (Edward I of England to the sheriff of Kent and the mayor of Canterbury), mention: *Brother Joseph de Cancy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 110).
- 1274 III 3, London: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: NN, Hospitaller prior of England, receiving a letter of protection "à passer outre mer" valid until Michaelmas (1274 IX 29) (*CH* III 3531. These might have been Joseph of Cancy's 'traveling papers' to the Second Council of Lyons which met 1274 V 7–VII 17 as there would not have been enough time for him to travel to the east and back).
- 1274 VI 11, Westminster: letter (Edward I of England to the treasurer of the New Temple in London), mention: *Joseph, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the treasurer* (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 52; *CH* IV, p. 354 n. 3539bis).
- 1274 VII 18, Westminster: charter (for the papal nuncio, Master Raymond), issuer: *Brother Joseph de Cauncy, treasurer* (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 54).
- 1274 VIII 11, London: charter (by Templar Master William of Beaujeu), mention: *fratris Joseph thesaurarii dicti domini regis* (Rymer, *Foedera*, I.2, 141).
- 1274 (X), England: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: Joseph, prior of England, who was the defendant in an *assize de novel dissaissin* (*CH* III 3549).
- 1274 XI 10, Northampton: charter (execution of the testament of Archbishop Boniface of Canterbury), witness: *J. de Chauncy, treasurer* (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 64).
- 1274 XI 12, Westminster: charter (plea before the King's Bench), defendant: NN, *prior Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 214–15 n. 227).
- (1274), (England): letter (to Edward I of England), co-senders: *J. de Kauncy, the treasurer*, and the other barons of the Exchequer (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 95).
- 1275 I 23, Ringwood: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Chancy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 144).
- 1275 II 3, Caversham: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Cancy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 146).
- 1275 III 18, Quarrington: letter (Edward I of England to the treasurer of the New Temple in London), mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 83).
- 1275 V 20, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Chancy, the treasurer* (*CCR: Edward I*, I, 172).

- 1275 X 24, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Brother Joseph de Cauncy* as the supervisor of a royal tax official (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 251; cf. *ibid.*, 248).
- 1275 XI 12, Westminster: letter (Edward I of England to the treasurer of the New Temple in London), mention: *Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 114).
- (1275), (England): charter (by Richard, son of Peter Breton), recipient: *fratri Iosepho tunc priori Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 374–5 n. 655).
- 1276 I 18, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 264).
- 1276 I 19, Winchester: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: NN, prior of England, who had complained to the king (CH III 3593).
- 1276 I 20, Winchester: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 131–2).
- 1276 II 13, Quenington: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Cauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 136).
- 1276 III 15, Little Maplestead: charter (by Simon of Narford), recipient: *fratri Iosep tunc priori Hospitalis in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 116–17 n. 187).
- 1276 V 10, Westminster: charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Cauncy, the king's treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 338).
- 1276 V 10, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 140).
- 1276 V 16, Westminster: charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 339).
- 1276 V 16, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Cauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 141).
- 1276 VI 9, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Cauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 147; CH III 3603).
- 1276 (after VI 11), (England): charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 344).
- 1276 VI 25, Melchbourne: charter (agreement between the abbot of Bec Hellouin and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *fratrem Iosep de Chauncy dicte domus Hospitalis priorem humilem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 194–5 n. 203).
- 1276 VII 6, London (bishop of London for the Hospitallers), mention: *frater Iosep de Chancy prior hospitalis* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 190–2 n. 199).
- 1276, (England): secondary literature: Joseph of Cancy, prior of England, purchased the tithes of Stebbing from the abbey of Bec-Hellouin (Gervers, “Pro defensione,” 9).
- (c.1276), (Rouen): charter (abbot of St.-Cathérine-du-Mont for the Hospitallers), petitioner: *Iosep de Chauncy venerabilis prioris in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 192 n. 200).
- 1277 I 14, Bruern (England): *inquisitio post mortem*, co-inquisitor: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 188).
- 1277 III 30, Norwich: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Kauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 375).
- 1277 VI 25, Woodstock: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Joseph de Cauncy, prior of the said Hospital*, who had delivered all royal jewels from their safekeeping in the Hospitaller priory (of Clerkenwell) outside of London to the Tower, with the exception of a certain ruby which Joseph had delivered earlier to Queen Eleanor by order of the king (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 215; CH IV, p. 354 n. 3625bis).
- 1277 IX 29, Melchbourne: charter (for Richard of Bergholt), issuer: *frater Iosep de Chauncy fratrum Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem prior in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 155–6 n. 250).

- 1277 (X), (England): charter (by Richard Fitz Ellis), recipient: *fratri Iosep priori Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 152–3 n. 246).
- (1273–7), (England): charter (by Robert of Harlow), recipient: *fratri Iosep de Chauncy tunc priori hospitalis in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 77–8 n. 120).
- 1278 V (23–5), Westminster: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: *brother J. de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 456; date: *ibid.*, 455–6).
- 1278 VI 14, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: Joseph of Cancy, prior of England (CH IV, p. 355 n. 3665bis).
- 1278 VI 28, Westminster: charter, recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer*, and two other royal officials charged with procuring the outstanding payments from the *great tallage* that had been levied upon the Jews in England six years earlier (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 273).
- 1278 VII 15, Windsor: charter, recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John in England*, and three other royal officials charged with the establishment of a *tallage* to be levied upon the Jews in England (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 274).
- 1278 XI 3, Hertford: charter (by the itinerant justices of the king of England), mention: NN, prior of England (CH III 3682).
- 1278 XI 4, Westminster: charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, the king's treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 511).
- 1278 XII 15, Westminster: charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John in England, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 550).
- 1279 III 17, Woodstock: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph of Cauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 305).
- 1279 IV 25, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Joseph de Chauncy, prior of St. John of Jerusalem . . . constantly attendant on the king's service at the Exchequer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 308; CH IV, p. 355 n. 3694bis).
- 1279 XI 15, Westminster: charter, mention: *Brother Joseph de Chaucy, the treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, I, 583).
- 1279 XI 26, Windsor: charter (receipt for payments made on behalf of Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy, the treasurer* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 353).
- 1280 VI 2, Westminster: letter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Joseph de Chauncy* who had been entrusted with all royal jewels (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 375).
- 1280 VI 8, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, receiving a letter of protection valid until Michaelmas (1280 IX 29) (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 378).
- 1280 VI (before 10), Westminster: charter, recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy* who was released from the obligation to render an account for the time when he served the king as treasurer or in any other capacity (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 382).
- 1280 VI 10, Westminster: charter, recipient: *Joseph de Chauncy, sometime treasurer of the Exchequer*, who had returned all documents, silver, gold, jewels, and other royal possessions that had been entrusted to him (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 383. This suggests that Joseph's service as royal treasurer ended in or by 1280 VI).
- 1280 VI 10, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Joseph de Chauncy, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 381).
- 1280 VI 13, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: Joseph of Cancy, prior of England (CH IV, p. 355 n. 3726bis).
- 1280 XII 28, Burgh: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient, NN, prior of England (CH III 3736).
- (1273–80), England: charter (by Ralph Fitz Hamon), recipient: *fratri Iosep priori Hospitalis* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 20 n. 32).
- (1273–80), England: charter (concerning the building of the prior's chapel at Clerkenwell), issuer: *frater Ioseph Chauncy prior* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 571 n. 961).

- (1273–80), (Stebbing): charter (by Ralph, son of Thomas Bellamy), recipient: *fratri Iosep de Chauncy priori sancte domus Hospitalis in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 199 n. 207).
- (1273–80), (Stebbing): charter (by John, son of Thomas), recipient: *fratri Iosep de Chauncy priori sancte domus Hospitalis de Jerusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Prima Camera Essex*, 200 n. 208).
- 1281 II 10, Disning: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *Joseph de Chauncy, late prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (CPR: *Edward I*, I, 424).
- 1281 V 1, (Acre): letter (to Edward I of England), sender: *Joseph de Cancy, humble brother of the Holy House of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, dwelling at Acre* (Sanders, *Crusader's Letter*, 7–13. The letter suggests that Edward I of England had written to Joseph during the 'passage of the cross' which is named after the feast of *exaltatio crucis*, IX 14, suggesting that Joseph had left England in or by 1280 IX).
- (1281) IX 25, Acre: letter (Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne to Edward I of England), mention: *frere Joseph de Cancy* who could not return to England because he was in need of rest (Köhler and Langlois, "Lettres," 58–9 n. 4; *CH* III 3766; *RRH* 1442; date: *CH* *ibid*. This letter is very fragmentary).
- 1282 III 31, Acre: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: *frere Joseph de Cancy, de la sainte maison del Hospital de Jerusalem, humble frere demorant en Acre*, informing the king about the battle of Homs (1281 X 30) (*CH* III 3782; *RRH* 1446).
- 1282 V 20, Worcester: letter (by Edward I of England), addressee: *to his dearest in Christ and faithful secretary, Brother Joseph de Chauncy*, whom the king was urging to return to England (Sanders, *Crusader's Letter*, 14–15; *CH* III 3790; *RRH* 1448. Joseph remained in the east where he died in 1282 or 1283).
- (1282/3) V 19, TS: list of Hospitaller priors of England: *frater Ioseph Chauncy prior obiit undevicesimo die maii* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 571 n. 961. The last evidence of Joseph alive is his letter of → 1282 III 31. If he died on 1282 V 19, Edward I of England, who wrote to him on → 1282 V 20, would have had no way of knowing that. The other possible date of his death is 1283 V 19. By → 1284 II 7, Edward I was aware that Joseph had passed away).
- 1284 II 7, Nettleham: charter (Edward I of England for Richard Costard), mention: *Brother Joseph de Chauncy, sometime prior of St. John of Jerusalem in England and treasurer of the Exchequer* (CCR: *Edward I*, II, 253).
- 1288 VI 7, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), mention: *the time when Brother Joseph de Cauncy was his treasurer* (CCR: *Edward I*, II, 508).

JOSSEAUME OF ESTORNEL (H) → JOSCELIN (I) OF TOURNEL (H)

KRAFT (H) → CRAPHUS (H)

LAMBERT (H) marshal 1188

origin: unknown.

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → NN (H) marshal 1191.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410.

1188 X, (Tyre): charter (Hospitaller Master Armengaud of Asp for Queen Sancha of Aragón), consent-giver: *fratris Lamberti marescalci* (*CH* I 860; *RRH* 677).

MARTIN GONSALVE (H) preceptor 1193

origin: Spain? Gonsalve, personal name, common on the Iberian Peninsula.

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, lists him with some reservations in his list of Hospitaller (grand) preceptors, indicating that he might well have been a local preceptor. In the witness list of a charter issued in → 1193 I, he appears after the order's castellans of Margat and Krak des Chevaliers, a brother without title, the prior and the marshal, but before four other Hospitallers. However, the charter deals with Hospitaller properties in the south of the principality of Antioch, which would explain Martin's

comparatively low position in the witness list. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Hospitaller Provost Martin (without cognomen) who served alongside the Grand Preceptor Borell in Tyre in 1188 (*CH* I 860; *RRH* 677), or the Hospitaller Brother *Martinus Gonçalvez* who appeared in Portugal in 1217 (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 168–9 n. 164), or the Hospitaller Brother *M. Gonsalvi* who served there in 1232 (*CH* II 2037).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; Bronstein, 150.

1193 I, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon for the church of Valencia), witness: *frater Martinus Gotzaldus preceptor* (*CH* I 941; *RRH* 708).

1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Martinus Goceauve* (*CH* I 972; *RRH* 717; date: Mayer II, 883).

MARTIN OF LOU (I) treasurer 1292

origin: unknown. Claverie I, 210; II, 334, suggests a Spanish origin.

literature: Demurger, *Jacques*, 112–13, 181; Claverie I, 210; II, 334.

1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Martin de Lou tressorer* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).

MARTIN SANCHE (H) draper 1248–50

origin: Spain? The clues are his mission to Aragón (1232) and his cognomen.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller of the same name (brother, 1289; lieutenant preceptor of Falces, 1294: García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 562–3 n. 509, 610–14 n. 537).

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller draper of → 1250 II 11. Not identical with the Portuguese Templar Martin Sanche (d.1234 V 14: Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 158; Capêlo, *Portugal*, 147–9).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 196, 412; Riley-Smith, 181; Bulst-Thiele, 222; Bronstein, 139, 150.

1232, TS: letter (Hospitaller Master Guerin to James I of Aragón), mention: *lator presentium frater Martinus Sancii* who would have further news to report (*AA* Nachträge, 659 n. 1).

1248 II 14, TS: charter (by Hugh of Gibelet), witness: *frere Martin Senche comandor de la maison de l'Ospitalu a Triple* (Richard, “Comté,” 371–3 n. 3).

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Martinus Sanche draperius* (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).

1250 II 11, Egypt: information from a later letter (by a Hospitaller, → 1250 (after II 11), TS): the Hospitaller lieutenant master (John of Ronay), who was first thought to have been captured after the second battle of Mansurah, was in fact killed in combat *cum drapario Hospitalis* (Martin Sanche?) (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 191–7; *CH* II 2521; *RRH* 1191).

1250 (after II 11), TS, letter, mention: → 1250 II 11.

[MATTHEW (H) turcopolier? 1255]

identity: Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 65, incorrectly features him in his list of Hospitaller turcopoliers. Matthew appears in the witness list of a charter issued on 1255 VII 2 as *Matheo turcopolis* (*CH* II 2747; *RRH* 1237). He was merely one of four turcoples (*turcopoli*) listed in the document, not a turcopolier (*turcopolerius*).

MATTHEW OF CLERMONT (H) preceptor 1289; marshal 1291

origin: France. Clermont, toponym in Auvergne.

identity: In the literature he is occasionally, albeit incorrectly, referred to as the Hospitaller marshal of 1289 (King *Knights*, 288–9; Runciman, *History*, III, 406–7; Riley-Smith, 195), or as the Templar marshal of 1291 (Stickel, *Fall*, 61, 71).

- literature*: Rey, 256; Röhricht, 999–1003, 1017–20; Röhricht, “Untergang,” 10, 29–30; Delaville Le Roulx, 241, 411; Stickel, *Fall*, 53; Riley-Smith, 196–7; Bulst-Thiele, 276; Nicholson, 126–7; Demurger, *Jacques*, 89; Claverie II, 10, 85, 90, 92, 95, 117.
- 1289 IV 26, Tripoli: chronicle: *le comandour de l’Ospital frere Mahé de Clermont* managed to escape as the troops of Sultan Qalawun were taking Tripoli (*Gestes*, 237 § 477. Matthew’s title appears without toponym, which suggests that he was his order’s conventual preceptor).
- 1291 V 16, Acre: chronicle: *Matheus marescalcus Hospitalis* and the Hospitallers successfully pushed back the troops of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf at the gate of St. Anthony (“Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 71–4; “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 771–2).
- 1291 V 18, Acre: chronicle: after the death of Templar Master William of Beaujeu, *frere Mahé de Clermont mareschau dou l’Ospital de Saint Johan* and the Hospitallers tried to push back the troops of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf that were entering the city. The marshal was later killed in the street of the Genoese (*Gestes*, 255 § 505; cf. “Magister Thadeus,” ed. Huygens, 118; *Magistri Thadei Neapolitani Hystoria*, ed. Riant, 22–3; “Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 71, 84–5, 89–93; “De excidio urbis Acconis libri II,” ed. Martène and Durand, 771, 778–9, 781–2).
- 1291 (late V), Cyprus: letter (by Hospitaller Master John of Villiers), mention: *nostre amés amis frere Mahuis de Clermont nos marescaus* was killed during the fall of Acre (1291 V 18) (*CH* III 4157; *RRH* 1513).

MATTHEW SAUVAGE (T) preceptor 1260

origin: France. *Picardus* and *de Picardia* (from Picardy), toponyms (*Procès* I, 645).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Hugh Sauvage, a surgeon and participant of the English Crusade (1270–2: Lloyd, *English Society*, 124).

identity: probably not identical with the Templar Brother Matthew on Cyprus mentioned in the order’s Catalan rule because this individual seems to have been active during the mastership of Peter of Montaigne (1219–32: Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 168–9).

status: knight (*Procès* I, 209).

literature: Rey, 373; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 428–30; Röhricht, 915–16; Barber, “Propaganda,” 51–2; Bulst-Thiele, 260, 292; Forey, “Military Orders and the Ransoming,” 265; Burgtorf, “Ritterorden,” 196–8; Claverie I, 304–5, *et passim*; II, 105, 334, *et passim*; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 12; Barber, *Trial*, 210.

1261 II, near Toron (northern Galilee): chronicle: *freres Mahiex Sauvages commandeur dou Temple* was captured during a raid against Muslim territory and later released after the payment of a ransom (“Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 449–50; cf. Eracles, 445; *Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–7; Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 49).

1263, TS: letter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel to Sultan Baybars), mention: *frère Sauvage (Ifir Safaj)*, the commander of the Templars in Cyprus, who had delivered a verbal message from the sultan to the Hospitallers (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 54).

(1267–8), TS: chronicle: *frère Sauvage (Ifir Mahi Safaj)*, the lord of Safitha (*Chastel Blanc*) and *Antartus (Tortosa)*, heard that Sultan Baybars was moving toward Homs. He offered him his services and traveled in his entourage, and because of that the Templar properties entrusted to him were spared by the Mamluks (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 117).

(1267–8), TS: chronicle: after his conquest of Safeth (1266 late-VII), Sultan Baybars came to Syria where he was met by *frère Sauvage (Ifir Mahi Safaj)* who asked the sultan’s protection for Safitha and Tortosa. In return, Baybars demanded the surrender of Jabala, which the Templars and Hospitallers had conquered, and the Templars surrendered their part of Jabala (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 128).

- 1271 (II), Safitha: chronicle: Sultan Baybars laid siege to Safitha, whereupon NN, the *commander of Antartus (Tortosa)* (Matthew Sauvage?), intervened. He offered to order the Templar garrison to surrender in return for the sultan's guarantee that he would let the garrison depart unharmed. Baybars agreed, and it was done accordingly (Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 143; date: Runciman, *History*, III, 333).
- 1271 (after IV 8), TS: chronicle: the Hospitaller master and NN, the *commander of Antartus (Tortosa)* (Matthew Sauvage?), asked Sultan Baybars for a truce (Ibn al-Furat II, 146; date: probably shortly after the fall of Krak des Chevaliers (1271 IV 8). Riley-Smith (in Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 237, 239) has speculated that → Peter of Sevrey was the unnamed Templar preceptor of Tortosa who successfully negotiated with Baybars in 1271, but in my opinion it is more likely that the office was still held by Matthew Sauvage, who had a record of successfully negotiating with Baybars).
- (1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): circa forty years earlier, when Anthony Sici had interacted with the Templars in the east as their *clericus et notarius, frater Matheus dictus le Sarmage* was Templar preceptor of Sidon. This Matthew had become the sultan's blood-brother (*frater illius soldani Babilonie qui tunc regnabat quia unus eorum de sanguine alterius mutuo potaverat propter quod dicebantur fratres*). Moreover, he had a companion named Geoffrey who later became 'a master' of the order (probably referring to → Geoffrey of Charny, the future preceptor of Normandy) (*Procès* I, 645; date: *ibid.*, 642. In a forthcoming publication, I will argue that there is ample contextual evidence for this blood-brotherhood).
- (1275–91), TS: information from a later trial deposition (made by Hugh of Narsac, → 1311 V 8, Paris): Templar Master William of Beaujeu and *frater Matheus lo Sauvage miles* had had friendly relations with the sultan and the Muslims. Matthew had frequently conversed with them, and William had employed Muslims—allegedly for the sake of their (i.e. the Christians') safety. Hugh of Narsac saw this as the root of the errors of which the order was later accused (*Procès* II, 209; date (of the trial deposition): *ibid.*, 202; date (contents): Templar Master William of Beaujeu was in the east between 1275 and 1291, and he died during the siege of Acre (Bulst-Thiele, 259–94; cf. *Procès* II, 215; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 454).
- 1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).
- 1311 V 8, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1275–91).

[MICHAEL (H) turcopolier? 1255]

identity: Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 65, incorrectly features him in his list of Hospitaller turcopoliers. Matthew appears in the witness list of a charter issued on 1255 VII 2 as *Matheo turcopolis* (*CH* II 2747; *RRH* 1237). He was merely one of four turcoples (*turcopoli*) listed in the document, not a turcopolier (*turcopolierus*).

[NICHOLAS OF GUSANZ (H) hospitaller? 1178–81]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, mentions him with some reservations in his list of hospitallers. The two charters of 1178 and 1181 that allegedly feature him as hospitaller are only available as eighteenth-century summaries by Raybaud. It is conceivable that Raybaud concluded from the wording in the documents available to him (which probably read *frater Hospitalis* or *hospitalarius*, which Raybaud would have translated into *frère de l'Hôpital* or *hospitalier*) that Nicholas was a Hospitaller official, not just a simple brother. For the official in charge of the hospital at the order's headquarters in Jerusalem, the title *hospitalarius* was first used in 1176/7, namely for → Stephen (H) hospitaller 1176–81. Between 1162 and 1173, we find the titles *custos infirmorum*, *procurator infirmorum*, and *custos egrorum* for → Piotus and → William of Forges respectively. Thus, the documents featuring Nicholas of Gusanz definitely belong to a transition period. The summary of the charter issued on 1178 VIII 20 refers to him as *frère Nicolas hospitalier* (*CH* I 545; *RRH* 559b; cf. Mayer, *Varia*, 179),

however in a charter that has survived in its original form and is dated 1178 VIII 31, he only appears as *fratris Nycholai de Gusanz* and *fratris Nicholai de Gosanz* (CH I 546; RRH 560; cf. Mayer, *Varia*, 43, 179) without any further titles. In the summary of a charter issued before 1181 IX 23, he appears as *frère Nicolas hospitalier* (CH IV, p. 258 n. 595bis; RRH 611a; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 169), while in the original documents of the same year, he is merely *frater Nicolaus* or *fratris Nicolai* (CH I 613–14; RRH 609–10; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 169) without any further titles. In 1182, he received a donation on behalf of his order, and the document suggests that he was holding a Hospitaller office in the county of Tripoli: *fratri Nicholao de Gusancio tunc temporis domus Hospitalis Montis Peregrini preceptori* (CH I 620; RRH 620; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 433). All documents involving Nicholas of Gusanz, whether they belong to 1178, 1181, or 1182, pertain to property located in the principality of Antioch or the county of Tripoli, and, thus, have nothing (or at best indirectly) to do with the running of the hospital or the office of the hospitaller of Jerusalem. Consequently, Nicholas of Gusanz was not the hospitaller of his order's central convent. It is unknown whether he was identical with a layman of the same name who surfaced in Richerenches (southern France) in 1148 (CT 529), or with the Hospitaller Priest Nicholas (without cognomen) who was in the east in 1150 and 1152 (CH I 192, 202; RRH 257, 274; date: Mayer II, 862), or with the Hospitaller Brother Nicholas (without cognomen) who appeared in the east in 1163 (CH I 317; RRH 378; date: Mayer II, 866).

NICHOLAS LORGNE (H) marshal 1269–71, 1273; grand preceptor 1271, 1277; master 1277/8–1285

name: may refer to a physical peculiarity ('lorgnée': cross-eyed).

origin: unknown. Delaville Le Roulx, 230, suggests a French origin. King, *Knights*, 323, suggests that he originated from Provence.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitallers *Thomas Lorrne* (master's companion, 1235: CH II 2126; RRH 1063) or *Tertitius le Lorgne* (marshal, 1312: Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8). His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 322: "Argent, a fesse gules").

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller castellan of Krak des Chevaliers of → 1267 V (29/30).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 230–8, 410–11; King, *Knights*, 314; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, I.1, 141, 164–6; Cathcart King, "Taking," 87; Riley-Smith, 189–90, *et passim*; Bulst-Thiele, 266–7, 275; Forey, 64; Kennedy, *Crusader Castles*, 111, 156; Nicholson, 118; Claverie I, 82–4, *et passim*; II, 38, 177, 189; Bronstein, 29, 150; Riley-Smith, "Military Orders," 139–41.

(1250 XI 28–1254 III 1), TS: charter/*vidimus* (issued by Bishop Peter of Valenia), petitioner: Nicholas Lorgne, Hospitaller castellan of Margat (CH I 183; Pauli, *Codice*, 27–8 n. 25; RRH 253; date: *terminus post quem* is Bishop Peter of Valenia's appearance in a charter of 1250 XI 28 (CH II 2545; RRH 1194); *terminus ante quem* is the appearance of a new Hospitaller castellan of Margat (John of Bubic) in a charter of 1254 III 1 (CH II 2670; RRH 1204)).

(1254 IX 22–1269 summer-fall), Krak des Chevaliers: inscription: recording the building of a barbican 'at the time of Brother Nicholas Lorgne': AV: TEnS: D/E: FR(ER)E: nICIO/LE: LOR(G)nE: F/V: FETE: CESTE/BARBACAnE (Forey, "Ordini militari," 258; Deschamps, *Châteaux*, I.2, figure CXIV c; date: *terminus post quem* is 1254 IX 22, when Aymar of La Roche was still Hospitaller castellan of Krak des Chevaliers (CH II 2693; RRH 1220); *terminus ante quem* is → 1269 summer-fall, when Nicholas Lorgne was serving as Hospitaller marshal. Since Krak des Chevaliers was conquered by the Mamluks on 1271 IV 8, AV: TEnS cannot refer to the time when Nicholas Lorgne was Hospitaller master, namely → (1277/8–1285 III 12). It could, however, refer to the first half of his tenure as Hospitaller marshal (1269–73), but it is more likely that it dates to his years as castellan of Krak des Chevaliers).

- 1267 V (29/30), TS: truce agreement (between Sultan Baybars and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: NN, *castellan of Hisn al-Akrad* (Nicholas Lorgne?) (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 33–41 n. 1; cf. Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 104).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frère Nichole de Lorgne mareschau* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- 1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Guy II, lord of Byblos), witness: *fratre Nichola marescallo Hospitalis predicti* (*CH* III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; *RRH* 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A).
- 1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Nicholaus Lorgnius magnus preceptor domus nostre Aconensis* (*CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a).
- 1273 X 7, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), witness: *fratre Nicolao de Lorgne marescallo* (*CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a; cf. *CH* III 3512, 3563).
- (1275 V 11–1277 VII 1), TS: charter (by Bohemond VII of Tripoli), mention: *frère Nicolas le Lorgne commandeur de Tripoli*, called upon to serve as one of the arbiters in a dispute between Bohemond and the Hospitaller's (titular) castellan of Krak des Chevaliers (*CH* III 3571; *RRH* 1402a; date: *CH* III, p. 322, with the slight modification that it must be taken into account that Nicholas was back as grand preceptor by → 1277 VII 1).
- 1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *fratris Nicolai magni preceptoris domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).
- 1278 VI 16, Tripoli: chronicle: *maistre frère Nicole le Lorgne* traveled to Tripoli to negotiate an agreement between Bohemond VII of Tripoli and the Templars (*Gestes*, 208 § 402, incorrectly dating this to 1279, cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 231).
- 1278 VII 23, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Nicholas III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 329–30 n. 392; *RRH* 1424).
- 1278 VIII 4, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *le religieux et honest frère Nichole Lorgne* (*CH* III 3670; *RRH* 1424a).
- 1278 IX 5, TS: charter (agreement between Bohemond VII of Tripoli and the Templars), mention: Master *Nicolas le Lorgne*, one of the arbiters (*CH* III 3672; *RRH* 1424b).
- 1278 IX 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond VII and the bishop of Tripoli), mention: Master *Nicoles Lorgne*, one of the arbiters (*CH* III 3673; *RRH* 1425).
- 1278 IX 20, Viterbo: letter (by Pope Nicholas III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 572 n. 644).
- 1279 III 26, Capua: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: Master Nicholas Lorgne (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, XXI, 213 n. 55).
- 1279 VI 3, Rome: letter (by Pope Nicholas III), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 573–4 n. 646).
- 1280 III 1, Belvedere: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *frater Nicolaus Lornus sacre domus Hospitalis S. Johannis Hierosolimitani in Acon magister* (Jamison, "Documents," 173 n. 155, reprint, 401; *CH* III 3717).
- (1279–80) VII 26, TS: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: Master Nicholas Lorgne (*CH* III 3702; *RRH* 1470).
- 1280 VIII 4, Lleida: letter (by Peter III of Aragón), addressee: Master *Nicholao Lorn(io)* (*CH* III 3728; cf. *CH* IV, p. 297–8 n. 3683bis).
- 1280 X 5, Acre: letter (by Bishop Geoffrey of Hebron), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 575–6 n. 649; *RRH* 1436).
- 1280 X 10, Acre: charter, issuer: Master *Nicolaus Lorgnius* (*CH* III 3731; *Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 102 n. 352; *RRH* 1436a).

- 1280, TS: charter (by the envoys of Agrimond of Bethsan), recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 3716; *RRH* 1437b).
- 1281 III 1, S. Estebán de Gormaz: charter (by Alphonso X of Castile), mention: Master Nicholas Lorgne (*CH* III 3743; cf. *ibid.*, 3731; *Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 102 n. 352; *RRH* 1436a).
- 1281 VI 5, TS: charter (by Milleval, the widow of Nicholas of La Spata), recipient: Master *Nycolao Lorenio* (Manosque, f. 277 27 Y; *CH* III 3751; *RRH* 1438a).
- 1281 VII 6, Orvieto: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 3758).
- 1281 VIII 6, Acre: charter (by Brother George, a monk from the Benedictine monastery of Albares, located between Carcassonne and Narbonne in the Languedoc), recipient: Guy of La Guespa, the lieutenant of Master *Nycolas Lorganius* (Manosque, f. 566 65 H; *CH* III 3764–5; *RRH* 1439a–b).
- (1281) IX 25, Acre: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: Master *Nycole de Lorgne* (Kohler and Langlois, “Lettres,” 58–9 n. 4; *CH* III 3766; *RRH* 1442; date: *CH* III, *ibid.*).
- (1282) III 5, Acre: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: Master *Nycole de Lorgne* (Kohler and Langlois, “Lettres,” 59–61 n. 5; *CH* III 3781; *RRH* 1445).
- 1282 IX 21, Acre: letter (to William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Master *Nycolaus Lorgnius* (*CH* III 3797; *RRH* 1448a).
- 1283 VI 3, TS: truce agreement (between Sultan Qalawun and representatives of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem), party to the agreement: Master Nicholas Lorgne (Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, 73–91 n. 6; *CH* III 3832; *RRH* 1450).
- 1283 IX 27, Acre: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *fratrem Nicolaum Lorgne* (*CH* III 3844; *RRH* 1451a).
- (1278–84) III–IV, Acre: letter (to Edward I of England), sender: Master *Nycole le Lorgne* (*CH* IV, p. 297 n. 3653bis; *RRH* 1443a).
- (1277–84) X 15, Acre: letter (to the Hospitaller preceptor of Manosque), sender: Master *Nycolaum* (Manosque, f. 347 35 K).
- (1277–84) XII 8, TS: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Walter of Beloy), party to the agreement: Master *Nicolas le Lorgne* (*CH* III 3684; *RRH* 1425b).
- (1277/8–1285 III 12), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Nicholaus Lorzne* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1277/8–1285 III 12), TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Nicholaus de Lorgne* (“Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797).
- (1277/8–1285 III 12), TS: seal (lead): Master Nicholas Lorgne, bearing the circumscription +*FRATER NICOLAUS CVSTOS* (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 237 n. 191; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 99 n. 122).
- 1285 III 12, TS: chronicle: *trespassa frere Nicole de Lorgne maistre de l’Ospitau de Saint Johan* (*Gestes*, 217 § 428; date (year): cf. the context *ibid.*, 217 § 427).
- 1299 III 22, Lateran: charter (by Pope Boniface VIII), mention (retrospectively): *quondam fratris Nicolai magistri maioris Hospitalis ejusdem Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani* (*Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d’Athènes et de Rome, n. 2957; *CH* III 4447).

[NN (T) marshal? 1153]

identity: Claverie, “Débuts,” 578, states that “le maréchal du Temple et le grand maître Bernard de Trémelay (*primus prepositus et dux illius exercitus*)” stormed all the way into the center of Ascalon which, in 1153, was under siege from the Franks; they encountered vigorous resistance and fell. However, his translation (“le maréchal... et le grand maître”) is incorrect. Apart from the fact that, in the early twelfth century, *dux* and *marescalcus* were separate titles known in the crusader states (Cahen, *Syrie*, 453, 457–60, 463–4), the sentence from the continuations of Sigebert of Gembloux containing the quoted phrase (*Primus prepositus et dux illius exercitus, qui fraternae societatis professione templo militans, cum suo cuneo irrupit, et usque ad plateam civilatis agmine suorum*

stipatus perveniens, gradum fixit; ibi artatus angustis platearum, maceris cinctus, et superiminentibus tectorum domatibus, et omni parte conflente turba circumventus, opprimitur, et cum omni turba suorum obtruncatur) is governed by verb forms in the third person singular and should be translated as follows: ‘The top official and leader of that contingent, [in] which those of the fraternal society serve [who are] by vow [dedicated] to the Temple, rushed in with his formation and, closely surrounded by the forward-movement of his [co-fighters] coming to the square of the city, took position; there, compressed by the narrowness of the streets, enclosed by walls and the overhanging roofs of the houses, and from every side surrounded by the gathered crowd, he was overwhelmed and slaughtered with the whole number of his [co-fighters]’ (‘Auctarium Aquicinense,’ ed. Bethmann, 396; cf. ‘Auctarium Affligemense,’ ed. Bethmann, 401). Thus, the phrase *primus prepositus et dux illius exercitus* refers to only one person, namely the Templar Master Bernard of Tremelay, who was indeed killed (Bulst-Thiele, 55; cf. Nicholson, ‘Before William,’ 112–13). All this notwithstanding, I maintain that there was also a Templar marshal present during the siege of Ascalon in 1153, namely → Hugh Salomonis of Quily, who was killed during the siege by a catapulted stone; the Templar marshal is, however, not mentioned by the continuations of Siegbert of Gembloux.

NN (H) marshal 1170 → RAYMOND OF TIBERIAS (H)

NN (H) prior 1170 → BERNARD (H)

NN (T) preceptor 1171 → WALTER (II) OF BEIRUT (T)

NN (T) seneschal 1179 → BERENGAR (OF CASTELPERS) (T)

[NN (H) prior? 1184]

identity: According to Marinus Sanutus, ‘Liber,’ 190, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the *prior Hospitalis*, and the Templar master traveled to Philip II of France in 1184. However, it was not the Hospitallers’ conventual prior but, rather, the order’s master (Roger of Moulins) who went on this particular trip (Delaville Le Roulx, 92–3).

NN (H) preceptor (Jerusalem)/(treasurer?) 1187

literature: Röhrich, 458.

1187 (IX 30–X 2), Jerusalem: chronicle: on 1187 IX 30, Saladin had announced his conditions for the surrender of Jerusalem, including the payment of a certain amount of money for each person wanting to leave the city freely and avoid captivity. In order to come up with the funds necessary to ransom those of the city’s inhabitants who lacked the funds, the patriarch (Heraclius), the citizens, and Balian of Ibelin wanted the Hospitallers to give up the monies that Henry II of England had deposited with them for a future crusade. The order’s *comandierres* (preceptor) said that he had to seek the counsel of the Hospitaller brothers first, and once the latter had given their consent, the monies were made available (Eracles, 90; cf. *Continuation*, ed. Morgan, 68; *Chronique d’Ernoult*, ed. Mas Latrie, 219. It is unknown who this Hospitaller preceptor was, since the order’s (Grand) Preceptor → Borell was already in Tyre at this time; thus, this *comandierres* was probably the highest-ranking Hospitaller left in Jerusalem, perhaps the order’s treasurer, → Geoffrey (H) treasurer 1177–81, 1187).

NN (T) marshal 1189 → GEOFFREY MORIN (T)

NN (H) marshal 1191

literature: Röhrich, 587–8; Delaville Le Roulx, 110–11; Riley-Smith, 113; Gillingham, *Richard*, 189–90.

1191 IX 7, near Arsuf (between Jaffa and Caesarea): in light of the Muslims' constant attacks on the crusader army, the Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus informed Richard I of England that the Hospitallers were eager to do battle. While Richard wanted to wait, *uns chevaliers li mareschals ospitaliers* and a knight (Baldwin of Caron) proceeded to attack the Muslims, whereupon the entire Christian army followed them, and the Muslims suffered a defeat (*History (Ambroise)*, ed. Ailes and Barber, I, 103 v. 6375–6; *Estoire (Ambroise)*, ed. Paris, 170; cf. *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Stubbs, 269; Haymarus Monachus, *De expugnata Accone*, 24 § 97. The marshal could have been → Lambert, who had served in that capacity in 1188, or → William Borell, who would hold the office by 1193, or a third, unknown person).

NN (T) seneschal 1195

1195 IX, Acre: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Genoese), guarantor: *ego senescalcus domus militie cum consilio conuenti et capituli nostri (Liber iurum*, I, 411–12 n. 410; *RRH* 724).

NN (H) general preceptor 1203 → PETER OF MIRMANDE (H)

NN (H) marshal 1219 → AYMAR OF L'AYRON (H)

NN (T) marshal 1219

literature: Röhricht, 736; Bulst-Thiele, 168.

1219 VII 31, Egypt, near Damietta: chronicle: the Templar master (William of Chartres), together with the order's unnamed *marescalco* and other Templar brothers, managed to fend off a Muslim attack on the crusader camp (Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 210 § 27; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 47–8. According to the “Fragmentum,” ed. Röhricht, 181, the Templar marshal carried the order's banner on this occasion: *el manescalc portec lo bausan*).

NN (T) preceptor and lieutenant master 1220

literature: Claverie II, 322.

1220 IX 8, Damietta: charter (by Boniface and Barrufaldinus, captains of the Bolognese crusaders), co-recipient: *commendatorem qui est loco magistri Templi* and NN, Hospitaller master, who were appointed proctors of the Bolognese community to receive 100 besants from Robert of Lucca (Röhricht, *Studien*, IV, 73 n. 51; Claverie III, 94–5 n. 65).

NN (T) (treasurer) 1221

1221 late-VIII, Egypt: chronicle: pirates took the goods of Hospitallers and Templars, and killed a Templar knight who was defending these goods (*militem unum nobilem ac religiosum fratrem Templi in defensione depositorum interfecerunt*) (Oliver of Paderborn, *Schriften*, 277 § 80. This Templar knight may have been the order's treasurer).

NN (T) preceptor 1223 → WILLIAM CADEL (T)

NN (T) prior 1225

identity: Claverie II, 322, suggests that he was identical with the unnamed Templar prior of the city of Tripoli of 1224 (Claverie III, 468 n. 526); however, there is no evidence to support this.

literature: Claverie II, 322.

1225 VII 18, Rieti: letter (by Pope Honorius III), addressee: *priori militie Templi Ierosolimitani*, who was informed that the pope had sent letters to the archbishop of Caesarea and the bishop of Acre, instructing them to admonish the lords of the land to refrain from usurping jurisdiction in the city and diocese of Antioch. The pope also

asked the prior to place the patriarch of Antioch in possession of his churches and to see to his protection as much as possible (*Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 5568; Claverie III, 468–9 n. 528].

[NN (H) marshal? 1229]

identity: Röhricht, 783 (also Röhricht, *Beiträge*, I, 39–40, 80), claims that the Emperor Frederick II and the envoys of Sultan al-Kamil agreed upon a treaty on 1229 II 18 at Jaffa ‘in the presence of ... the Hospitaller marshal’ (‘in Gegenwart...des Johannitermarschalls’); however, the evidence cited by Röhricht (Ibn Khallikan; the letter sent by Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem on 1229 III 26; Roger of Wendover) does not support this. I assume that Röhricht mistook the Frankish nobleman Aymar of L’Ayron, who was traveling in Frederick’s entourage in 1229, with his uncle of the same name who had indeed been a Hospitaller marshal, but had probably lost his life in 1219 during the Fifth Crusade: → Aymar of L’Ayron.

NN (T) preceptor 1229

literature: Bulst-Thiele, “Geschichte,” 208; Bulst-Thiele, 181–2; Van Cleve, “Crusade,” 458; Burgtorf, “Ritterorden,” 189–90; Claverie II, 322.

1229 III 18, Jerusalem: information from a later letter (sent by Patriarch Gerold of Jerusalem to Pope Gregory IX, → 1229 III 26, Acre): the Emperor Frederick II left Jerusalem after lunch, and asked the bishops of Winchester and Exeter; the Hospitaller master (probably Bertrand of Thessy), and the unnamed *preceptorem domus militie Templi* (since the Templar master was absent: *magistro Templi absente*) to come to him (Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, III, 109; *RRH* 1001).

1229 III 26, Acre: letter, mention: → 1229 III 18.

NN (H) prior 1233 → WILLIAM (H) prior 1233–5

NN (H) preceptor 1235 → ANDREW POLIN (H)

NN (T) preceptor 1237 → BARTHOLOMEW OF MORET (T)

NN (T) preceptor 1239 → BARTHOLOMEW OF MORET (T)

NN (H) preceptor 1244

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → William of Senlis, the Hospitaller grand preceptor of 1240 and 1242. Bronstein, 23, 153, suggests that he was.

literature: Röhricht, 861–2; Bulst-Thiele, “Geschichte,” 222–3; Bulst-Thiele, 210; Bronstein, 23, 153.

1244 VII 11, Jerusalem: information from a later letter (sent by Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem, the prelates and barons of the Latin east, the Templar master, the Hospitaller master, and the preceptor of the Teutonic Order to Pope Innocent IV, → 1244 IX 11, Acre): the Hwarizmians (a Turkish people called in by the sultan of Egypt to help against the Christians) entered Jerusalem, conquered the Armenian church of St. James, and decapitated the imperial castellan as well as the unnamed *praeceptorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis* who had attempted a sortie against them (*Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 93; *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 159; *RRH* 1123).

1244 IX 11, Acre: letter, mention: → 1244 VII 11.

NN (T) turcopolier (1244)

(before 1244 X 17), Jaffa: rule/statutes, mention: while the Templar convent was in Jaffa, the unnamed *Turcopliers*, accompanied by ten knights, found himself between two Muslim ambushes. Since it seemed to some of the knights that the Muslims

wanted to attack the turcopolier, four of them, without waiting for the permission of their preceptor of the knights, proceeded against the Muslims, and two of them lost their horses. Only then did the other knights (with the permission of the preceptor of the knights) and the turcopolier get involved and were able to overcome the Muslims. The case was brought before the chapter. However, because the turcopolier probably would have been in danger had it not been for the early counterattack, and because it all basically ended well, the defendants were allowed to keep their habit and received only a mild punishment (*RT* 614–15; cf. Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 187–8; date: the Templar Marshal → Hugh of Montlaur was involved in the chapter's deliberations, and he died on 1244 X 17, during or after the battle of Gaza).

NN (H) prior 1244

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → John (H) prior 1248, 1268–9.
literature: Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 18.

1244 (soon after X 17), TS: letter (by the archbishop of Tyre), mention: in the battle of Gaza (1244 X 17), most of the brothers of the respective central convents of Hospitallers, Templars, and the Teutonic Order had been killed. The news would be conveyed to Louis IX of France through letters which *priorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis* would bring to him (*Chronicle of Melrose*, ed. Anderson and Dickinson, 95; *Chronica de Mailros*, ed. Stevenson, 163).

NN (H) marshal 1248 → WILLIAM OF COURCELLES (H)

NN (T) marshal (1249) → REYNALD OF VICHIER (T)

NN (H) draper 1250 → MARTIN SANCHE (H)

NN (T) preceptor 1250

and

NN (H) preceptor 1250

1250 IV 5–6, near Sharamsah (Egypt): information from a later letter (→ 1250 V 15, Acre): the crusader army was defeated, and Louis IX of France as well as *fratres praeceptores Templi utriusque, Hospitalarii, et quam plures barones et alii milites* were captured by the Muslims (“*Annales monasterii de Burton*,” ed. Luard, 288; *RRH* 1190. It is unclear whether these preceptors were high officials of the two orders’ respective central convents).

1250 V 15, Acre: letter, mention: → 1250 IV 5–6.

NN (T) treasurer 1250

literature: Delisle, *Mémoire*, 7–9; Bulst-Thiele, 223–6; Barber, 152; Claverie II, 322.

1250 V 8 (and the following days), Egypt: chronicle: contrary to the wishes of Templar Preceptor Stephen of Ostricourt, but following a suggestion of Templar Marshal Reynald of Vichiers, and with the consent of Louis IX of France, Jean de Joinville wanted to take 30,000 pounds from the Templar treasury aboard the order’s main galley to pay the ransom for the king’s brother and others in Muslim captivity. When the unnamed *tresorier du Temple* refused to surrender the key to Joinville, claiming that he did not recognize him, he was ordered by the order’s marshal to hand over the key because Joinville would otherwise open the treasury by force (Joinville, § 381–4; date: *ibid.*, lii–liii).

NN (T) preceptor 1254

(1254) early III, TS: charter (agreement between Hugh of Barlais, Templars and Hospitallers), party to the agreement: NN, *commandeur du Temple* (Manosque, f. 493 54 Z; date: *CH* II 2670; *RRH* 1204).

NN (H) marshal 1254 → PETER OF BEAUNE (H)

NN (H) prior 1255–6 → GERARD (H) prior

NN (H) marshal 1256 → RAIMBAUD (H)

NN (T) marshal 1256

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → Stephen of Ciskey.

1256 III 10, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between the church of Acre and a cleric named Signoretus), mention: *marescalcis Templi et Hospitalis Iohannis Ierosolimitani cum magna societate militum fratrum suorum qui uenerant ibidem ad custodiendum personam dicti domini archiepiscopi* [the presiding judge, Archbishop Egidius of Tyre] *ne dictus S. qui armatus comparuerat cum pluribus amicorum suorum eundem dominum archiepiscopum in aliquo posset offendere* (BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; Claverie II, 424–6 n. 12; III, 303–4, 624; *RRH* 1226).

NN (H) preceptor 1261 → HENRY OF FÜRSTENBERG (H)

NN (T) preceptor of Acre 1261 → GONSALVE MARTIN (T)

NN (T) marshal 1261 → STEPHEN OF CISSEY (T)

NN (H) prior 1264 → GERARD (H) prior

NN (T) marshal 1271 → AMBLARD (OF VIENNE) (T)

NN (H) marshal 1272

literature: Röhricht, 966; Burgtorf, “Ritterorden,” 177.

1272, Cyprus: chronicle: the Templar master (Thomas Berardi), the unnamed *mareschal de l’Ospital*, the preceptor of the Teutonic Order, John of Grailly, and other envoys from the kingdom of Jerusalem traveled to Cyprus to bring about an agreement between Hugh III and the barons of Cyprus (Eracles, 463. The dispute between the king and the barons concerned the duration of the mainland military service that the king should be allowed to require from his barons).

NN (H) marshal 1288

1288 VI 22, Barcelona: letter (by Alphonso III of Aragón), addressee: *nobilibus ac religiosis viris marascallo et conventui sacre domus Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Jherosolimitani*, as well as, in a separate letter, Hospitaller Master John of Villiers. The king complained about the master’s treatment of the Aragonese Hospitallers → Boniface of Calamandrana and → Raymond of Ribells, telling the marshal and central convent that it was hardly conceivable that the master had acted in this way *sine vestro consilio* (*CH* III 4007; *AA* III, 3–4 n. 2; cf. *CH* III, p. 519).

NN (T) preceptor of the land (1272–91) → THIBAUT GAUDINI (T)

NN (H) prior 1293

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with → John of Laodicea.

1293 X 15, Paris: charter (by John of Turno, the Templar treasurer of Paris), mention: John (Cholet), cardinal priest of St. Cecilia, had willed one third of his monies to the cause of the Latin east, and the executors of his will had deposited these monies in the Templar house of Paris. The (titular) patriarch of Jerusalem, the Hospitaller prior (*prioris Hospitalis*), and the Templar master were now called upon to decide how to use these monies (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 161–2 n. 28bis).

NN (H) (grand) preceptor and lieutenant master 1299

identity: not identical with → William of St. Stephen who served as Hospitaller preceptor of Cyprus between 1299 and 1303, because the dossier of documents compiled in 1299 at the Hospitaller convent (to protest Master William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon) mentions that the grand preceptor (of Limassol), who was also the lieutenant master, read the master's invitation (CH III 4462), while the preceptor of Cyprus (William of St. Stephen) and the other high conventual officials, following the marshal, protested the invitation. Thus, we need to distinguish between the grand preceptor and the preceptor of Cyprus, a distinction confirmed by the *esgarts* of 1303 (CH IV 4619, 4620).

literature: Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 432; Riley-Smith, 198–9.

1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys), mention: *le grant comandor de Limasson qui tient vostre* [the Hospitaller master's] *luet en Chipre* assembled the Hospitaller convent's prudhommes in the church and read to them the master's invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon (CH III 4462; date: CH III, p. 766).

1299 XI–XII, Cyprus: chronicle: Chiol, an envoy of the Ilkhan Ghazan of Persia, negotiated with Amaury of Lusignan (the brother of Henry II of Cyprus), the Templar master (James of Molay), and the unnamed *commandator del Hospital che teniva el loco del maestro* with regard to aid for the king of Armenia against the Mamluks and with regard to a joint military venture against the sultan of Egypt. No agreement was reached (because the Templars and Hospitallers were unable to find a consensus) (Amadi, 234, 236; cf. Bustron, 131).

NN (H) lieutenant draper 1299

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers, protesting Master William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), mention: NN, *le tenant leuc dou drapier*, one of the *baillis de la maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4468).

1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *tenant leuc dou drapier*, one of the *baillis de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).

[NN (T) admiral 1301]

identity: It has been claimed that the Templars had an admiral (Coureas, *Latin Church*, 132; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 103), based on a charter issued on 16 June 1301 at Famagusta by a certain Master Henry of Tyre (Polonio, *Notai*, 493–4 n. 413). The charter contains the phrase *quandam cartam sive scripturam factam ex parte domini admirati sive capitanei vel comitti* [sic, misspelled or misread for *comitis*] *Templi*, which translates into 'a document from the admiral or captain or count of the Temple.' This vague wording is not conclusive proof that the Templars had an admiral in 1301 (cf. also Chapter Three).

[NN (T) treasurer? early fourteenth century]

identity: Ponsard of Gizi, the Templar preceptor of Payns, stated on 1309 XI 27 in Paris during the Templar trial that he had written a letter to the pope after the Templar treasurer had insulted him (*Procès* I, 36–9: *thesaurarius Templi dixerat sibi verba contumeliosa*; cf. Barber, *Trial*, 146–8). The treasurer mentioned here was probably the official in charge of the order's treasury in Paris—perhaps John (II) of Turno (cf. Bulst-Thiele, 295)—because the preceptor of Payns would have had far more reason to interact with this official than with the order's conventual treasurer on Cyprus.

NN (H) preceptor 1307 → GUY OF SEVERAC (H)

NN (I) (grand) preceptor 1307–10 → JAMES OF DAMMARTIN (T)

NN (I) treasurer 1308 → ALBERT (OF VIENNE) (T)

NUN (H) hospitaller 1219

origin: Spain? Delaville Le Roulx, 411, suggests a Spanish origin by referring to him as ‘Nuño.’ A ‘Nuño Sanchii’ appears in a 1221 charter from Aragón (*CH* II 1706).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1219 VIII, (Acre): charter (Issembard, Hospitaller preceptor of Acre and lieutenant master in Syria, for Guy of Ronay), witness: *frater Nun hospitalarius* (*CH* II 1656; *RRH* 923).

O. (H) preceptor 1170–2

origin: unknown.

identity: During the internal crisis caused by the second resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly, a certain individual only known as O. took over the office of conventual preceptor (probably in late 1170/early 1171), an office previously held by → Pons Blan. Delaville Le Roulx, 409, mentions him as “O...” in his list of Hospitaller (grand) preceptors. According to Hiestand, the initial could stand for ‘Odinus’ (VOP II, 226–7). Various Hospitaliers used the name ‘Odinus’ and its variants between 1163 and 1185: a brother in the Latin east (1163–5: *CH* I 317, 340; *RRH* 378, 419; date: Mayer II, 866), the preceptor of Spina (1166: *CH* I 354; *RRH* 423; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 433), the castellan of Belvoir (1173: *CH* I 443; *RRH* 502; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, “Trois chartes,” 413; Delaville Le Roulx, 432), another brother in the Latin east (1175: VOP II, 230–3 n. 21a–b; *CH* I 474; *RRH* 513), the prior of St. Gilles (1177–82: Coll. d’Albon 71, f. 182–3; *CH* I 507, 520, 528, 542, 571, 578, 581, 583, 600, 624–5; VOP I, 312–13 n. 123, 334–5 n. 143; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 39–40, 46, 75, 104, 270, 289, 292, 322, 326, 372; cf. *CH* III 3489; cf. also Delaville Le Roulx, 415; Le Blévec, “Hôpital,” 18; Santoni, 150, 183), the preceptor of Acre (1184: *CH* I 663; *RRH* 640; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 431), and another prior of St. Gilles (1185: *CH* I 760; 1185: Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 290; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 415). Selwood, *Knights*, 149, suggests that all these, including the Preceptor O. of 1170–2, were one and the same person. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the data for these individuals can easily be listed to form one single career. In addition, the preceptor of 1170–2 must have been so prominent that it was sufficient for the order’s central convent, as well as the pope, to just refer to him as ‘O.’ However, the question who this O. was cannot be answered with any certainty, which is why I simply cite the evidence below that pertains to his tenure as conventual preceptor.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 77, 409; Riley-Smith, 61–2; cf. Chapter One.

(1170–1171 before I/II), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): some time after the second resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly and the election of the new master (Custus), the old preceptor (Pons Blan) and the new preceptor (*nouo preceptore*) appeared before King Amalric of Jerusalem. The new preceptor asked Pons Blan why he had appealed to the pope, since this was not in keeping with the order’s customs, even though he had been guaranteed full justice in the matter. Pons Blan replied that he had subjected himself to a higher judgment and would therefore not appear in chapter. Thereupon *preceptor O.* seized the equipment of both Pons Blan and his companion, and prohibited them, on behalf of the order, from traveling to the pope (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480).

(1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170–1171 before I/II).

1172 VI 20, Tusculum: letter (by Pope Alexander III), addressee: *dilectis filiis O. praeceptoris et caeteris fratribus Hospitalis Iherosolimitani* (VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; *CH* I 434; *RRH* 492a).

O. OF VEND. (T) preceptor of Jerusalem 1184

origin: France or England? *Vend.*, abbreviated toponym in northern France (Vendeuvre-sur-Barse), western France (Vendôme), or Buckinghamshire (Wendover), or abbreviated family name in northern France (Vendeuvre-sur-Barse).

family: noble family of Vendeuvre-sur-Barse? It is unknown whether he was related to them. Odo of Vendeuvre (d.1200), a son of Hildwin II of Vendeuvre and the latter's second wife Oda, was married to Beatrice of the Holy Sepulcher. They had a daughter named Oda (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, XIII, table 157). The Templar Knight William of Vendeuvre appeared in Tyre in 1187 (Müller, *Documenti*, 26–31 n. 23–5; *Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 181–3 n. 4; *RRH* 665–8). In the early thirteenth century, John of Vendeuvre served as a notary to the king of Jerusalem (Mayer II, 739).

identity: If he was identical with Odo of Vendeuvre (d.1200), he only served in the order temporarily and then (by 1190 at the latest) returned into the world (Mayer II, 741). He was not identical with the Templar Knight William of Vendeuvre who appeared in Tyre in 1187 (Bulst-Thiele, 117, suggests that he was; Mayer II, 741, convincingly rejects this). It is unknown whether he was identical with → Odo (T) preceptor 1155. Since his initial 'O.' can stand for a variety of names, and since his abbreviated cognomen 'Vend.' can refer to a number of different places (and families), I retain him as 'O. of Vend.'

literature: Bulst-Thiele, 108–9, 122; Kedar and Pringle, "La Fève," 167.

(c.1184), TS: letter (by the Templar Seneschal Gerard of Ridefort), addressee: *fratri O. de Vend. preceptori in Ierusalem* (Abel, "Lettre," 288–95; Bulst-Thiele, 360 n. 1, 415; Claverie III, 623).

ODO (T) preceptor 1155

origin: unknown.

identity: He was the first Templar official in the Latin east to appear with the title of *com(m)endator*. However (contrary to what has been suggested by Rey, 367–8, 373), he was not the official in charge of his order's house at Acre. Mayer, II, 862–3, has shown that the legal transactions witnessed by him were recorded at Acre (*datum*), but had actually taken place in Jerusalem (*datum*). The witness lists of all three charters in question include the abbot of the *Templum Domini*, the abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, the prior of Mount Zion, and the viscount of Jerusalem—all prominent individuals from Jerusalem, who were present at the transactions, but probably not at their recording. Thus, Odo was probably a Templar official serving in Jerusalem and, in my opinion, most likely the order's conventual preceptor. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Templar Odo who, during the siege of Ascalon in 1153, witnessed a charter issued by Philip of Nablus for St. Lazarus (Marsy, 133–4 n. 14; *RRH* 308; Jankrift, *Leprose*, 47, incorrectly dates this transaction to 1155 which was, in fact, the year when it was confirmed), or with the Templar Odo who served in the west as *magister cisalpinus* in 1158 (Coll. d'Albon 70, f. 185), or with the Templar Preceptor → O. of Vend. of (c.1184). He was not identical with the future Templar Master Odo of St. Amand who had not even joined the order in 1155 (cf. Bulst-Thiele, 87–98).

1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Odo commendator* (Bresc-Bautier, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 301; date: Mayer II, 862–3).

1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Count Amalric of Ascalon for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *frater Odo comendator* (Bresc-Bautier, 127–9 n. 46; Rozière, 117–20 n. 59; *RRH* 300; date: Mayer I, 126; II, 862–3).

1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *frater Odo commendator* (Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41; Rozière, 110–113 n. 56; *RRH* 299; date: Mayer II, 862–3).

ODO OF PINS (H) draper 1273; master 1293/4–6

origin: France? Opinions vary whether he hailed from Provence, the Midi, the Languedoc, or northern Catalonia (Delaville Le Roulx, 247; Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monumens*, I, 290; Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 417).

family: noble family of Pins? It is unknown whether he was related to them. On 1297 VIII 27, a certain William Raymond (II) of Pins, son of William Raymond (I) of Pins and brother of Sansanier, Mary, and Hugh of Pins, issued his testament which named the Hospitallers as beneficiaries (*CH* III 4384). In the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers Gerard of Pins and Roger of Pins played significant roles in the leadership of their order (Delaville Le Roulx, 247; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 13, 84, 129–47. Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 177). Villeneuve-Bargemont, *Monumens*, I, 290, suggests that Odo of Pins was the nephew or grand-nephew of Galceran III of Pins, a baron from Catalonia. However, this author’s work is, at times, very ‘creative’ and often (for example also in this case) fails to cite corroborating evidence.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 247–250, 408, 412; Riley-Smith, 205–6; Luttrell, “Hospitallers’ Historical Activities, 1530–1630,” 58; Bulst-Thiele, 319; Bronstein, 151.

1273 X 7, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), witness: *fratre Odone de Pinibus draperio* (*CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a; cf. *CH* III 3512, 3563).

(1293 X 20–1294 IX 30), Limassol: chronicle: following the death of Hospitaller Master John of Villiers, *frere Eude dou Pin* was elected Hospitaller master (*Gestes*, 319 § 669; date: *terminus post quem* is the last evidence for the mastership of John of Villiers (1293 X 20: *CH* III 4234); *terminus ante quem* is the first evidence for the mastership of Odo of Pins (1294 IX 30: *CH* III 4259). According to a sixteenth-century account, Odo’s election occurred under dubious circumstances, cf. Luttrell, “Hospitallers’ Historical Activities, 1530–1630,” 58).

1294 IX 30, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *maistre Odde dou Pin* (*CH* III 4259).

1295 III 31, Limassol: letter (to William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Hospitaller Master Odo of Pins (*CH* III 4276; for Odo’s attached seal cf. Pauli, *Codice*, II, i n. I).

1295 (before VIII 12), papal court: statutes (proposed to Pope Boniface VIII to reform the order of the Hospital), mention: Master Odo of Pins (*CH* III 4267; date: *CH* III 4293. Odo’s conduct as master was apparently a major reason for this proposal).

1295 VIII 12, Anagni: letter (by Pope Boniface VIII), addressee: Master Odo of Pins, about whose conduct as master the pope had received complaints (*CH* III 4293).

(1294–5) IX 6, TS: letter (to William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Master *Oddo de Pinibus* (Manosque, f. 410^v 54 E).

1295 IX 12, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *frere Odde dou Pin* (*CH* III 4295).

(1293/4–1296 III 17), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Odo de Pinibus* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).

(1293/4–1296 III 17), TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Odde*, mentioning *ejus inconueniens portamentum* and conflict with the pope (“*Cronica magistrorum defunctorum*,” ed. Dugdale, 798).

(1293/4–1296 III 17), TS: seal (lead): Master Odo of Pins (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 238 n. 195).

1296 III 17, Limassol: chronicle: *morite fra Heude del Pin maestro del Hospital a Limisso* (Amadi, 233. It seems that Odo actually had plans to travel to the west to respond to the pope’s complaints (Delaville Le Roulx, 249; Bulst-Thiele, 319). In the seventeenth century, Girolamo Marulli mistook a tombstone in Barletta in southern Italy for that of Odo of Pins, cf. Tommasi, “Fonti,” 168, 186).

1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys), mention: *Odde dou Pin*, the predecessor of William of Villaret, whom the pope had admonished to adhere to the Hospitaller order's customs (*CH* III 4462; date: *CH* III, p. 766).

OGERIUS (H) grand preceptor 1190–1

origin: France? The clues are his tenure as prior of St. Gilles (1185, 1188–90), master or prior of France (1191–8), and preceptor of France (1202–3).

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller of the same name who served as prior of St. Gilles in → 1185 (before VI 25), as well as between 1188 X and 1190 (before X 31); as master or prior of France between → 1191 (after V 9) and 1198 VIII 21; as prior of Italy on → 1199 II 8; and again as preceptor of France between → 1202 VII and 1203.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 415–17, 419; Santoni, 155–6, 183; Bronstein, 161.

1185 (before VI 25), Dijon: charter (by Duke Hugh III of Burgundy), recipient: *Ogerii venerabilis viri dicte domus tunc apud Sanctum Egidium prioris* (Coll. d'Albon 71, f. 189–189^v; *CH* I 721. Ogerius's successor in this office was, from 1185 VI 25, Odinus (*CH* I 677, 760); however, Ogerius had resumed the office by → 1188 IX).

1188 IX, (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratris Augerii predictae domus prioris* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 347).

1189 (II–IV), (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), mention: *Otgerio existente priore* of St. Gilles (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 211).

1190 III (1–24), (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), mention: *Ogerio existente priore domus Hospitalis Sancti Egidii* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 259).

1190 IV 30, (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), recipient: *Ogerio ejusdem domus priore* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 371).

1190 (before X 31), (France): charter (by Duke Hugh III of Burgundy), mention: *Ogerius*, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 3582, inserted in a charter of the Hospitaller preceptor of Dijon of 1275 VIII).

1190 (before X 31), Marseilles: charter (by Count Henry II of Champagne), consent-giver: *dilecti mei fratris Ogerii prioris S. Egidii* (*CH* I 888. Ogerius came to the east with the fall passage of 1190 at the latest, perhaps sent ahead of the newly (in absence) elected Hospitaller Master → Garnier of Nablus).

1190 X 31, near Acre: charter (Clarembald of Noyers for the Hospitallers of Arbonne and the Hospitaller Brother Stephen of Corbeil), mention: *frater Ogerus domus Hospitalis Iherosolimitani tunc temporis magnus preceptor*, conferring a certain property upon said Stephen of Corbeil (*CH* I 900; *RRH* 697a).

1191 V 9, near Acre: charter (Conrad of Montferrat, *rex electus* of Jerusalem, for the Venetians), guarantor: *Rogerus* [read: *Fr(ater) Ogerius*] *magnus Hospitalis praeceptor* (Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; *RRH* 705; date: Mayer II, 882. For the misspelling or misreading of the name cf. Bulst-Thiele, 124–5. The new Hospitaller Master → Garnier of Nablus probably arrived in Acre on 1191 VI 8, and it seems that Ogerius returned to the west soon thereafter).

1191 (after V 9), (France): charter, issuer: *frater O[gerius] magister universarum domuum Hospitalis in Francia constitutarum* (*CH* I 904; *CH* IV, p. 270–1 n. 1052bis, which Delaville Le Roulx incorrectly dates to (1199–1203); the appended seal bears the circumscription +S(IGILLVM) OGERI(I) PRIOR(IS) hOSPIT(ALIS) GALL(IAE); Douët d'Arcq, *Collection*, III, 246 n. 9895).

1194 (VIII), (France): charter, issuer: *Ogerus Dei gratia domus Hospitalis prior in Francia* (*CH* I 965).

1195 V, Mons: charter (by Count Baldwin V of Hainault), witness: *Ogerus prior ipsius Hospitalis in Francia* (*CH* I 973).

(1195 IV 16–1196), EU: charter (by Garcias of Lisa, Hospitaller grand preceptor of the west, and Gilbert of Vere, Hospitaller prior of England), witness: *fratre Ogero priore Francie* (*CH* IV, p. 331–2 n. 972quater).

- 1198 VIII 21, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Ogerii prioris Francie* (CH I 1031; RRH 742).
- 1199 II 8, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent III to settle the disputes between Templars and Hospitallers in the area of Margat and Valenia), mention: *Ogerius preceptor Italie* who had been sent to the papal court in this matter (*Register Innocenz' III*, ed. Hagender, I, 818–20 n. 561 (567); CH I 1069; “Regesti,” ed. Bramato, n. 73; Potthast 595; RRH 751).
- 1202 VII, EU: charter, co-issuer: *frater Ogerius Hospitalis Jerosolimitani preceptor in Gallia* (CH II 1164).
- 1203, Corbeil: charter (Countess Matilda of Flanders for the Hospitallers), witness: *S. Ogeri commendatoris... in Francia* (CH II 1167).

P (H) turcopolier 1256 → PETER (II) OF VIEILLEBRIDE (H)

PALMERIUS (H) lieutenant prior 1285

origin: unknown.

- 1285 XI 25, Acre: inventory, mention: *memorial des ornementz de la eglise de Accon que indumenta erant apud fratrem Palmerium in thesauro in sua custodia, quando in ecclesia prefata tenebat locum prioris* (Manosque, f. 467' 51 B).

[PETER (I) marshal? 1295]

identity: Under the date of 1295 IV 15, the ledgers of the Templar house of Paris contain the entry: *De Petro marescallo nostro* (Piquet, *Banquiers*, 124). Since the office of marshal existed on various levels of the Templars' hierarchy (for example, in 1304, P. of Druyes was the 'personal' marshal of the Templar Draper → Geoffrey of Charny, while → Aimo of Oiselay was serving as conventual marshal), this entry is insufficient to qualify Peter as a marshal of the order's central convent. He was probably the marshal of the Templar house in Paris or the 'personal' marshal of the order's master of France.

PETER (H) treasurer 1141

origin: unknown.

- 1141 II 3, Nablus: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *Petrus thesaurarius, Raimundus* (CH I 139; RRH 201. In 1141, the Peter and Raymond temporarily served together as treasurers).
- 1141 (after II 3), Nablus or Jerusalem: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem and Prior Peter of the Holy Sepulcher for the Hospitallers and for Robert of the Casale St. Gilles), co-recipients: *Petro thesaurario, Raimundo thesaurario* (CH I 140; Bresc-Bautier, 226–7 n. 107; Rozière, 114–15 n. 140, incorrectly omitting the title *thesaurarius* for Raymond; RRH 205).
- 1141, Jerusalem: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witnesses: *Petro thesaurario, Raimundo thesaurario* (CH I 138; RRH 204).
- 1146 II 1, Jaffa: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witnesses: *Petrus thesaurarius, Raimundus* (CH I 173; RRH 244; date: Mayer I, 739; II, 860; Rheinheimer, *Kreuzfahrerfürstentum*, 50–1, has shown that this witness list was taken from the above-mentioned charter of → 1141 II 3, which makes this document of 1146 II 1 useless as evidence that Peter or Raymond served as Hospitaller treasurers in 1146).

PETER OF ARAMON (T) draper 1241

origin: France. Aramon, toponym in dép. Gard (Graesse I, 129).

literature: Rey, 369; Claverie I, 118; II, 335.

- 1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Pierre d'Aramont le draper* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102).

PETER OF BEAUNE (H) marshal 1254

origin: France? *Biaune* and *Baune* (Beaune), toponyms in Burgundy.

identity: identical with the unnamed Hospitaller marshal who, on → 1254 VI 1, was appointed one of the executors of the testament of Margaret of Sidon. Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 434, suggests that he was identical with → NN (H) marshal 1248 who wrote letters to Louis IX of France. However, since → William of Courcelles was serving as Hospitaller marshal in 1248, it is more likely that he wrote these letters. It is unknown whether Peter of Beaune was identical with *frater Petrus castellanus de Margat* in 1248 (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 434; Burgtorf, "Ritterorden," 178; Bronstein, 151.

1254 VI 1, TS: charter (by Lady Margaret of Sidon), mention: the appointment of the archbishop of Tyre, the abbot of St. Samuel in Acre, the unnamed *mareschal de l'Hôpital*, the Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Hugh Revel, and the prior of the Carmelites as executors of Lady Margaret's testament (*CH* II 2686; *RRH* 1215a).

1254 VI 6, TS: chronicle: Lady Margaret of Sidon died on 1254 VI 5, and on the following day *morut Pierres de Biaune mareschal del Ospital* (Eracles, 441; cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 446; Amadi, 203).

PETER OF CAMPAGNOLLES (H) treasurer 1204–6

origin: France. Campagnolles, toponym, name of a Hospitaller house (castle), and family name in southern France (*CH* I, p. xxxiv; *CH* I 893; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, lxxiv n. CXIII).

family: noble family of Campagnolles. Relations between this family and the Hospitallers dated back to the early twelfth century. In 1109, William Pons of Campagnolles and his wife Ermeiruz donated property in the diocese of Béziers to the Hospitallers (Du Bourg, *Histoire*, lxxiii–iv n. CXII; *CH* I 17; Selwood, *Knights*, 52). Arnold of Campagnolles served the order in various functions (mentioned in a charter of the viscount of Marseilles, 1186; preceptor of Béziers and Agde, 1190; preceptor of Trinquetteille, 1196–8, 1203, and probably again 1209–10; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, lxxiv n. CXIII; *CH* I 772, 893; Amargier, *Cartulaire*, iv; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 98, 114, 143, 268–9; Bronstein, 156). It is unknown whether Peter of Campagnolles was related to Fulk and Gallus *de Campagnola*, participants of the Fifth Crusade (Röhrich, *Studien*, IV (V), 92).

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, does not mention him in his list of Hospitaller treasurers. According to a charter issued in Acre on → 1204 VII 19, Peter *de Campinoll(es)* was one of the Hospitaller *officiales*. An inscription from Acre indicates that, on → 1206 X 18, a *frater* by the name of Peter *de Campagnolis*, who had been *thesaurarius Accon(ensis)*, had died. If we put the Hospitaller official Peter of Campagnolles of 1204 together with Brother Peter of Campagnolles, the treasurer of Acre who died in 1206, the result is the Hospitaller Brother Peter of Campagnolles who apparently served as his order's treasurer in Acre between 1204 and 1206. He was probably identical with the layman of the same name who appeared in Béziers in → 1190 V, as well as with a Hospitaller brother of the same name who surfaced in the kingdom of Aragón on → 1200 IV 13.

literature: Bronstein, 151.

1190 V, (France): charter (by Roger II, viscount of Béziers), mention: Arnold of Campagnolles, Hospitaller preceptor of Béziers and Agde, receiving the *castellum de Campannolis*, for which *Petrus de Campannolis* was owing the *albergum* [a payment made to the viscount to be released from the hospitality obligation] for five knights (*CH* I 893; Du Bourg, *Histoire*, lxxiv n. CXIII).

1200 IV 13, (Aragón): charter (Peter II of Aragón for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Petri de Campanuolis* (*CH* I 1114. It is conceivable that Peter of Campagnolles met

- the future Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal while on the Iberian Peninsula and that he later traveled to the Latin east in Alphonso's entourage).
- 1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Petrus de Campinoll(es)* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a. The list containing his name concludes with the phrase *fratres Hospitalarii et officiales domorum vestrarum*. Thus, he may already have been serving as conventual treasurer at this time).
- 1206 X 18, (Acre): inscription: recording the death of Brother Peter of Campagnolles, the treasurer of Acre: *AnnO: AB: InCARnATL/O(n)E D(OMI)nI: m̃r: CCº: VI: XVº: K(A)L(EnDAS)/nOV(EM)BR(IS): OBIT: FR(ATER): PET(RVS)/DE: CAmPAIGNOLIS:/ThESAURARIVS AC/CON(ENSI): O: hOmO Q(V)I: mE/(A)SPICIS: QYOD: ES* [followed by one line now missing] (Sandoli, *Corpus*, 302–3 n. 405; Clermont-Ganneau, *Etudes*, II, 151–2 § 17, who suggests that the missing last line might have read either *fui quod sum eris* or *habes esse*).

PETER OF CASTELLÓN (T) treasurer 1306–7

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Castellón, family name and part of the name of two Templar houses in Aragón (Castellón de Ampurias and Castellón de Encús) (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383; Forey, *Aragón*, 77, 89, 99–100, 102, 124, 320, 415–19 n. 45, 428).

family: noble family of Castellón? It is unknown whether he was related to them. In the thirteenth century, the family was among the Templars' benefactors (Forey, *Aragón*, 112). In 1295, Peter William of Castellón appeared in a charter issued by James II of Aragón; he was also mentioned during the Templar trial (*Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 654–5 n. 410; Finke II, 98–100 n. 66, 159–64 n. 93). At the time of the trial, William of Castellón served as archdeacon of Carcassonne, and Pons of Castellón was the chamberlain of the church of Carcassonne (Finke II, 321–4 n. 153). The Templar James of *Castilhione* was interrogated during the trial at Poitiers (Finke II, 329–42 n. 155).

identity: not identical with either one of the two Templar sergeants of almost exactly the same name who, according to the records of the Templar trial, had served in the dioceses of Langres and Bordeaux but were, at the time of the trial, already dead (*Procès* I, 507: Peter of *Castellioneto*; II, 214: Peter of *Castelhione*), because the Templar Treasurer Peter of Castellón was still alive on → 1319 XI 22. His career shows that it was possible for a sergeant to obtain the important office of conventual treasurer (Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 385–6).

status: sergeant (Finke II, 370–1 n. 157).

literature: Forey, *Aragón*, 264, 294, 329, 343; Bulst-Thiele, 315; Claverie, "Cristiandat," 118; Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 385–6; Demurger, *Jacques*, 181, 188–9, 207–9, 229–31, 288; Claverie I, 140, 391; II, 217, 324, 334; Forey, "Templar Knights," 636; Carraz, *Ordre*, 504.

(1293), Mas Deu (Roussillon): information from a later trial deposition (made by John of Roses, → (1309/10), Mas Deu): *Petrus de Castellione serviens* had received John of Roses into the order circa 1293 (Finke II, 370–1 n. 157).

(1299) III (15/16), Mas Deu: information from a later trial deposition (made by Bernard Septembris, → 1310 I 25, Mas Deu): *P. de Castilhione* had attended Bernard Septembris's reception into the order circa eleven years earlier, calculated back from the next mid-March (*Procès* II, 505; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 223 n. 22; Alart, "Suppression," 61–2; date: *Procès* II, 500; Sans i Travé, *ibid.*, 216).

(1297 or 1303; undated) X 1 (Tuesday), (Aragón): charter, mention: *P. de Casteyllo* served as a collector of incomes due to the Templars (in Tarragona and other places) (ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 551).

1303 II 5, (Lleida), charter, mention: "fra Pere de Castelló lloctinent de comandor de la milícia del Temple al castell de Torres de Segre" (Pons i Guri, *Inventari*, 52 n. 172).

- (1304 after Christmas), Torres: letter (to Peter of St. Just, Templar preceptor of Alfambra), sender: *fratre P de Casteyllo* (AA Nachträge, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1293–1305; undated), Peñíscola: charter, mention: the Templar Peter of Castellón served as *cambrer* in Peñíscola (ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 579: *P de Castelo*; 606: *P de Casteyllo*. Peter's experience as a collector of incomes and as a *cambrer* uniquely qualified him for the office of conventual treasurer).
- (1294–1305), Torres de Segre: secondary literature: the Templar Peter of Castellón was in charge of Torres de Segre (Forey, "Templar Knights," 636, citing ACA, ORM, San Juan, pergs Torres de Segre, 51, 64).
- (1306) I 26, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to the Templar Brother Peter of St. Just): mention: *fratri Petro de Castellione thesaurario nostro Nycossiensis* who would come to Aragón soon (Forey, "Letters," 164 n. 10).
- (1306) I 27, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to James II of Aragón), mention: *Petrum de Castellione thesaurarium nostrum Nycossiensem* who would be sent to Aragón soon, combined with the request to allow the Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia, Berengar of Cardona, to travel to the east with the September passage (Forey, "Letters," 164–5 n. 11).
- (1306) IV 20, Limassol: (Templar Master James of Molay to James II of Aragón), mention: Templar Treasurer Peter of Castellón who would be sent to Aragón (Forey, "Letters," 165 n. 12).
- (1306) VI 14, Ambel: letter (to the preceptor of the Templar passage in Marseilles), sender: *P de Casteyllo tresorer del Temple en Chipre*, mentioning his upcoming return to the east (ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 334; date: considering the Templar master's letter of → 1307 IX 10, this document probably belongs to 1306).
- (1306) VI 20, (Spain): letter (to Peter of St. Just, Templar preceptor of Alfambra), sender: the Templar *fratre P de Casteyllo*, mentioning that the Templar master and the Hospitaller master would follow an invitation and travel to the pope (ACA, CRD Templarios, n. 55; Finke II, 13–14 n. 11; Claverie II, 217).
- (1307) IX 10, Poitiers: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Simon of Lenda, the new master of Aragón-Catalonia), mention: *P de Casteillon*, who had been to Catalonia because James had asked the previous master of Aragón-Catalonia to procure Peter an office. However, nothing had come of that, whereupon Peter had returned to Cyprus, and James had appointed him *tresorier*. James now informed Simon that he was expecting Peter's return to the west and asked Simon to procure him an office (Forey, "Letters," 168–70 n. 17).
- 1310 I 25, Mas Deu: trial deposition, mention: → (1299) III (15/16).
- (1309/10), Mas Deu: trial deposition, mention: → (1293).
- 1313 IV 28, Aiguaviva: list of pensions, mention: the (former) Templar *P de Castellione* received a pension from the incomes of the former Templar house of Aiguaviva (ACA, registro 273, f. 271).
- 1319 XI 22, Lleida: list of pensions, mention: the (former) Templar Peter of Castellón lived in Aiguaviva and received a pension of 500 sous of Barcelona from the Hospitallers (Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383, 389, 392. This low amount—→ Berengar of St. Just received 4,000 sous of Barcelona—shows that Peter had indeed merely been a sergeant and might have been a simple brother at the time of the trial).

PETER GALTERII (H) treasurer 1181

origin: France? The clue is his tenure as preceptor of St. Gilles (1177–80).

family: Galterii, patronym (i.e. son of Walter)?

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller of the same name who served as preceptor of St. Gilles between → 1177 XII 21 and 1180. It is unknown whether he was identical with *frère Pierre trésorier de l'Hôpital*, who served as preceptor of Boncourt in Picardy in 1210 (Mannier, *Ordre*, 539. An identification with the Treasurer → Peter of 1141 can be ruled out due to the time gap, and an identification with the

Treasurer → Peter of Campagnolles can be ruled out because the latter had died in 1206); should they be identical, this would be an interesting parallel to the case of → Robert Anglicus/Thesaurarius, namely a ‘new’ cognomen referring to earlier service as one of the high conventual officials.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

1177 XII 21, Narbonne: charter (by Count Raymond V of Toulouse), recipient: *fratri Petro Gallerii ejusdem Hospitalis apud S. Egidium preceptori* (CH I 525; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, I, 113 n. 276).

1177, St. Cécile: charter (for the Hospitallers), witness: “frère Pierre Gautier, commandeur de l’Hôpital de Saint-Gilles” (Le Blévec, “Hôpital,” annex I).

1180, Aix: charter (Count William IV of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *Petro Gauterio commendatore Hospitalis* of St. Gilles (CH I 578).

1181 IX 10, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *Petrus Gallerii* (CH I 606; *RRH* 603).

1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guericus of Petra), witness: *frater Petrus Gallerii thesaurarius Hospitalis* (CH I 610; *RRH* 607).

1184, near Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for a certain Bisanson), witness: *Petrus Gallerii* (CH I 663; *RRH* 640).

PETER OF HAGHAM (H) hospitaller 1269

origin: England. Haghham, toponym in Leicestershire.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Richard of Haghham (Hospitaller lieutenant prior of England, 1281–2: CH IV, p. 355 n. 3748bis) or to Gilbert of Haghham (coroner in the county of Lincoln, 1295: *CCR: Edward I*, III, 424).

literature: Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 799; Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 427; King, *Grand Priory*, xi; Claverie II, 137; Bronstein, 151; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 12–13.

(1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Pierre de Hayem hospitalier* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; *RRH* 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 66, incorrectly dates this document to 1261 and, thus, lists Peter as the order’s hospitaller for 1261).

1289 VIII 13, Rieti: letter (Pope Nicholas IV to Edward I of England), mention: *Petri de Hezquam Hospitalis sancti Johannis*, the Templar → Artaud (of Beaumont), and two Dominicans, were sent to inform Edward about the crucial situation in the east (Rymer, *Foedera*, I.3, 49; *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 7509; CH III 4049; Potthast 23040; *RRH* 1491a).

1289 IX 13–20, Rieti: letter (Pope Nicholas IV to the patriarch of Jerusalem and others in the Latin east; multiple copies), mention: in accordance with the wishes of the four envoys from the east, among them *Petri Hospitalis sancti Johannis*, twenty galleys would be sent to the east within a year (CH III 4054; *Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 2252–7).

1290 VI 20, Westminster: charter (Edward I of England to William of Henley, Hospitaller prior of England), mention: “Pierre de Haghham,” receiving permission to serve as William’s lieutenant while the latter was traveling to the east (CH III, p. 568).

1290 X 22, (England): secondary literature: Peter of Haghham served as Hospitaller prior of England (Delaville Le Roulx, 427; King, *Grand Priory*, xi).

1291, (England): secondary literature: Peter of Haghham serves as prior of England (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 799).

1293 V 21, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: NN, Hospitaller prior of England (Peter of Haghham?), who was released from the obligation to follow judicial summons for one year (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 16; CH III 4216).

- 1293 V 23, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Peter de Haghham, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, who was sick and responsible for the houses and brothers of his order in Scotland and Wales, and who received permission to appoint two lieutenants for one year (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 16; *CH* III 4217. → Guy of Foresta, Templar master of England, received a similar dispensation that same year).
- 1293 XI 27, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Brother Peter de Haghham, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, who was released from the obligation to follow judicial summons in the county of Surrey (*CCR: Edward I*, III, 378).
- 1293, (England): secondary literature: Peter of Haghham served as prior of England (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 799).
- 1294 VI 19, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: Peter of Haghham, prior of England, receiving an extension on the permission of → 1293 V 23 until Michaelmas of the next year (1295 IX 29) (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 75; cf. *CH* III, p. 620).
- 1295 II 25, Lateran: letter (Pope Boniface VIII to Edward I of England), mention: *frater Petrus de Hocham prior domorum Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani per regnum Anglie consistentium* (*CH* III 4272).
- 1295 VIII 6, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Peter de Haghham, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, to whom the houses and brethren of the Hospital in Scotland and Wales are also subject, who was sick and received permission to appoint two lieutenants until Michaelmas of the next year* (1296 IX 29) (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 138; cf. *CH* III, p. 620).
- 1296 VIII 28, Berwick-on-Tweed: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Peter de Haghham, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England to whom also the houses of that order in Scotland and Wales are subject, whereby he is full of business, and who is weak, and who received permission to appoint two lieutenants until Michaelmas of the next year* (1297 IX 29) (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 194; cf. *CH* III, p. 620).
- 1297 VI 28, Westminster: charter (by Edward I of England), recipient: *Peter de Haghham, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, by reason of his sickness and of his having charge also of the houses and brethren of the said Hospital in Scotland and Wales, who received permission to appoint two lieutenants until Michaelmas of the next year* (1298 IX 29) (*CPR: Edward I*, III, 256; cf. *CH* III, p. 620, where this document is incorrectly dated to 1297 VI 26).
- 1297 VII 2, (England): secondary literature: Peter of Haghham served as prior of England (Delaville Le Roulx, 427).
- (1298) I 11, (England): list of Hospitaller priors of England: *frater Petrus de Hakham prior tempore regis E(dwardi) primi obiit undecimo die ianuarii* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961. Peter had been sick since at least → 1293 V 23, and since his successor was in office by 1297 X 15 (*CH* III 4391), Peter probably died shortly thereafter).

PETER OF K(E)RAK (H) prior 1163–5

origin: Latin east. *Crato*, toponym, either Kerak (Transjordan) or Krak des Chevaliers (county of Tripoli).

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, suggests that he was the Hospitallers' conventual prior. In → (1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), he appeared again in his order's headquarter (without title); perhaps he was still serving as conventual prior at that time. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Hospitaller *magister* Peter who served in the principality of Antioch in 1175 (VOP II, 230–3 n. 21a–b; *CH* I 474; *RRH* 513).

status: priest (*CH* I 312; *RRH* 391).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413.

- 1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jerusalem: charter (Eustach and his wife Agnes, as well as Adam Niger and his wife Osmunda, for the Hospitallers), witness: *dom(i)num Petrum magistrum clericorum* (CH I 312; RRH 391; date: the same document listed for → Gerald of St. Andrew).
- (1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jerusalem and Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for Duke Bela III of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia), witness: *Petrus de Crato clericorum magister et ecclesia custos* (CH I 309; RRH 458; date: Mayer II, 869).
- (1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for the *burgenses* of Bethgibelin), witness: *frater Petrus de Crato* (CH I 399; RRH 457; date: the same document listed for → Amoravius).

PETER OF MANAIA/MONE(T)A (T) (grand) preceptor 1204–8

origin: Latin east? The sole clue is his appearance in Nazareth as a layman (1175).

Claverie I, 395, suggests that he belonged to a rich family from Acre with ties to Tripoli.

identity: probably identical with the layman Peter of Moneta of → 1175 VI 26.

literature: Rey, 372; Claverie I, 395; II, 188, 335.

1175 VI 26, Nazareth: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for a certain Baruta and his heirs), witness: *Petrus de Moneta* (CH I 480; RRH 525).

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Petrus de Manaia magnus preceptor* (CH II 1197; RRH 797a).

1207/8 II 22, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea, in agreement with her husband Aymar of L'Ayron, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petrus de Moneta preceptor* (CH II 1250; RRH 818; date: the same document listed for → Aymar of L'Ayron).

1207/8 II, TS: charter (Juliana of Caesarea, in agreement with her husband Aymar of L'Ayron, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petrus de Monea preceptor* (CH II 1251; Manosque, f. 543' 62 A; RRH 819).

PETER OF MIRMANDE (H) general preceptor 1203

origin: France. Mirmande, toponym in the Rhône valley.

family: According to the → 1163 charter documenting his entering the order of the Hospital, he was married to *Willielma*, and the couple had two sons (Odo and Stephen). It is unknown whether he was related to Armand of Mirmande (Hospitaller brother in the Velay, 1179: Poble, "Ordre," 180), or to the Templar Hugh of Mirmande (companion of the master of Aragón-Catalonia, 1239; master of Toulouse, 1244–5: Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24; Forey, *Aragón*, 335).

literature: Röhrich, 706–10; Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 432; Burgdorf, "Ritterorden," 176; Bronstein, "Cambios," 230; Claverie I, 40; Bronstein, 137–8, 151, 166; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 29.

1163, Alleyras (Puy-en-Velay): charter (documenting Peter of Mirmande's entering the Hospitaller order), issuer: *ego Petrus de Mirmanda dono me ipsum Deo et pauperibus Hospitalis Jherusalem pro fratre et servo* (Chassaing, *Cartulaire*, n. 16).

1184, near Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for a certain Bisanson), witness: *frater Petrus de Mirmanda* (CH I 663; RRH 640).

1185, TS: charter (Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Petri de Mirmanda* (CH I 754; RRH 642; date: Mayer II, 878).

1193 I, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon for the church of Valenia), witness: *frater Petrus de Mirmanda castellanus Crati* (CH I 941; RRH 708).

1198 VIII 21, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Petri de Mirmanda tunc temporis castellani Crati* (CH I 1031; RRH 742).

1199 VI 15, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petrus de Mirmanda tunc temporis castellanus Crati* (CH I 1085; RRH 757).

1199 IX 6, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petrus de Mirmanda tunc temporis castellanus Crati* (CH I 1096; RRH 759).

- 1203 III 1, TS: charter (by Soffred of St. Praxedis, cardinal legate), recipient: *Petro de Mirmanda generali preceptor*i (Manosque, f. 374 38 @).
- 1203 III 4, TS: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Helena, the daughter of one Hugh of Buissarra), party to the agreement: *fratrem Petrum de Mirmanda generalem preceptorem Hospitalis sancti Johannis de Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 404 43 J; *CH* II 1156; *RRH* 787b; cf. *CH* II 1174).
- 1203, Antioch: information from a later letter (sent by Soffred of St. Praxedis, cardinal legate, to Pope Innocent III, → 1204 X, TS): Soffred of St. Praxedis, the Templar master (Philip of Plessis), the unnamed *generalis preceptor Hospitalis* (Peter of Mirmande), and other envoys from the kingdom of Jerusalem traveled to Antioch where a war of succession had erupted after the death of Bohemond III of Antioch (d.1201) (Hiestand, “Die päpstlichen Legaten,” 585–98 n. VIII; *Innocentii III Opera*, ed. Migne, IV, cli-clix; *RRH* 794).
- 1204 X, TS: letter, mention: → 1203.

PETER OF MONE(T)A (T) → PETER OF MANAIA (T)

PETER OF MONTCADA (T) preceptor of Acre 1284–9

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Montcada, toponym and family name.

family: noble family of Montcada (in the thirteenth century, the ‘second family’ in Aragón, after the royal house; named after a castle near Barcelona, not to be confused with Montcada near Valencia). Peter was the son of Raymond II of Montcada from the family’s Tortosa-Fraga lineage (d.1229, during the conquest of Mallorca) and his wife Galbors (Sobrequès i Vidal, *Barons*, 240–1; Forey, *Aragón*, 311; Shideler, *Montcadas*, 12–13, 216–19, 231. Among Peter’s close relatives were several royal seneschals of Aragón, as well as bishops of Urgell and Lleida (*CH* III 4299; Sobrequès i Vidal, *Barons*, 240–1). The Montcadas had close ties to the Templars (Forey, *Aragón*, 57, 347; Forey, 108; Shideler, *Montcadas*, 201; Jaspert, “Bonds,” 30–1). It is unknown whether Peter was related to the Templar William of Montcada (brother in Aragón-Catalonia, 1307: Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 161)).

identity: probably identical with the individual of the same name who appears in charters issued on → 1261 IV 21 and 1264 IX 22. Not identical with the individual of the same name who was lord of Fraga in the last quarter of the thirteenth century and probably his cousin (*CH* III 3652; Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 209–12 n. 173).

literature: Campomanes, *Dissertaciones*, 66; Rey, 372; Röhricht, “Untergang,” 11; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 409, 432; Röhricht, 999–1003; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Sobrequès i Vidal, *Barons*, 125; Forey, *Aragón*, 156, 311, 313; 329, 342, 421; Bulst-Thiele, 99, 276; Shideler, *Montcadas*, 116, 158, 231; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 73; Forey, “Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives,” 261; Vones, *Geschichte*, 134; Claverie, “Cristiandat,” 85; Demurger, *Jacques*, 82; Demurger, *Templiers*, 246; Claverie I, 194; II, 84–5, 334; Barber, *Trial*, 232, 238.

(c.1197–1230), (Spain): secondary literature: Peter’s father, Raymond II of Montcada, married Galbors c.1197 and died 1229 IX. Thus, Peter was probably born between c.1197 and 1230 (Forey, *Aragón*, 311; Shideler, *Montcadas*, 116, 158, 231).

1261 IV 21, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (William Guerrell for the Templar preceptor of Tortosa), mention: *Guillelmus Guerreyll baiulus Petri de Montecatano* [sic] in *Dertusa* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 104–6 n. 91).

1264 IX 22, Perpignan: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars of Mas Deu), witness: *Petrus de Monchada* (Coll. d’Albon 31, f. 130–1).

(1274 XI 18), Zaragoza: information from a later trial deposition (made by Raymond of Ça Guardia, → 1310 I 20, Mas Deu): *frater Petrus de Moncada tunc magister sive preceptor in Aragonia et Catalonia* had received Raymond of Ça Guardia into the order circa thirty-five years earlier, calculated back from the Sunday after the past feast of St. Martin (*Procès* II, 462; Sans i Travé, *Procès*, 220 n. 8; Alart, “Suppression,” 56; date: Sans i Travé, *ibid.*, 202, 212. However, between 1267 III and 1278 II, →

- Arnold of Castellnou was Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia; Peter of Montcada was one of his lieutenants).
- 1276 (before VII 26), Albaida (kingdom of Valencia): chronicle: *frater Petrus de Montecatano magister militie Templi in Hispania* was captured by Muslims while fighting alongside James I of Aragón (d.1276 VII 26), but subsequently managed to escape (*Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Barrau Dihigo and Massó Torrents, 63); information from a later letter (sent by Raymond of Çà Guardia, Templar preceptor of Mas Deu and lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia, to James II of Aragón, → (1307) XII 8, Miravet): *fratre P. de Muncada que ere mestre Darago fo pres en la vayl Dalbayda...en defensio de la fe et de vostre regne* (Finke II, 70–3 n. 48/I).
- 1276 VIII 9, Alcoi (Spain): charter (by Peter III of Aragón), recipient: *fratri Petro de Montecatheno magistro milicie Templi in Aragonibus et Catalonia* (Soldevilla, *Pere*, II.1, 62 n. 3. → Arnold of Castellnou, the actual master of Aragón-Catalonia, had probably already left for the east, and Peter was serving as his lieutenant).
- (1276 VI–1277 III), (Aragón-Catalonia): charter, mention: Peter of Montcada, Templar lieutenant master of Aragón-Catalonia (Forey, *Aragón*, 334, citing ACA, registro 22, f. 72; *ibid.*, registro 38, f. 11; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, código 470, f. 20–2 n. 27).
- (1277/8), Gardeny: information from a later trial deposition (made by Peter of Vilagranada, → 1310 II 19, Lleida): *fr(atrem) Petrum de Monte Catano in Gardeyno tunc magistrum Aragonie* had received Peter of Vilagranada into the order circa thirty-two years earlier (Finke II, 364–78 n. 157; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 191 n. 13; date: Sans i Travé, *ibid.*, 189).
- 1279 IX 6, Mas Deu: charter (by the Templar preceptor of Mas Deu), mention: *fratre Petro de Montechada magistro milicie Templi in terra Aragonie et in terra Catalonie et tenente locum magistri in Yspania* (Coll. d'Albon 30, f. 169–70).
- 1279 XI 6, Tortosa (Spain): charter (for Muhammad Gavarretg, the qadi of the Sarracens of Tortosa), issuer: *frater Petrus de Monthechatano magister milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 166–7 n. 138).
- 1280 VI 23, Balaguer: charter (Peter III of Aragón for Templars and Hospitallers), co-recipient: Peter of *Monte Cathano*, Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia (*CH* III 3727).
- 1281 I 23, (Spain): charter (the Templar preceptor of Miravet for the settlers of Algars), mention: *fratris Petri de Montecathano domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia magistri* (Font Rius, *Cartas*, I, 505–7 n. 344).
- 1281 IV 8, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Bishop Arnold of Tortosa for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratri Petro de Montecatheno magistro domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 168–70 n. 140).
- 1281 IV 8, Tortosa (Spain): charter (for Bishop Arnold of Tortosa), issuer/witness: *frater Petrus de Montechatano magister domus milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia...Sig+num.fratris Petri de Montechatano magistri domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 170–2 n. 141).
- 1281 V 19, EU: charter, issuer: *frater Petrus de Montecathano domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia magistro* [sic] (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 555 n. V).
- 1281 VII 28, (Spain): charter (for the settlers of Puigreig), issuer: *frater Petrus de Montecathano domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonie magister* (Font Rius, *Cartas*, I, 507–8 n. 345).
- (1279–81), (Spain): secondary literature: Peter of Montcada served as Templar visitor of Spain (Forey, *Aragón*, 329, 342).
- (1280/1), (Zaragoza): charter, issuer: *Pere de Montcada mestre provincial dels Templers y lloctinent del gran mestre a Espanya* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 352; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 99, where this document is incorrectly dated to 1180/1).
- (1279 IV–1282 X/perhaps early 1283), (Spain): secondary literature: Peter of Montcada served as Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 421; Claverie, “Cristiandad,” 85).

- (1284/5, on a Sunday), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by Guy Delphini, 1311 I 19, Paris): *Petro de Montade preceptore Aconensi* had attended Roncelin of Fos's reception into the order circa twenty-six years earlier (*Procès* I, 418; date: *ibid.*, 415).
- 1289 (before IV 26), Tripoli: chronicle: *frere Piere de Montade coumandour d'Acre*, together with other Templars and Hospitallers, traveled to Tripoli to aid the city in its defense against Sultan Qalawun (*Gestes*, 235 § 474).
- 1289 IV 26, Tripoli: chronicle: *frere Piere de Moncade coumandour dou Temple* was killed in battle as the Mamluks were taking Tripoli (*Gestes*, 237 § 477. Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 432, incorrectly gives 1288 as the year of Peter's death).
- 1292, (Spain): charter, mention: *difunt Pere de Muncada* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 317–18).
- (1307) XII 8, Miravet: letter, mention: → 1276 (before VII 26).
- 1310 I 20, Mas Deu: trial deposition, mention: → (1274 XI 18).
- 1310 II 19, Lleida: trial deposition, mention: → (1277/8).
- 1311 I 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1284/5, on a Sunday).

[PETER OF PODIO (H) prior? 1138/9]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, features him in his list of conventual priors of the Hospital. However, Peter of Podio was probably merely the Hospitaller prior of Mount Pilgrim near Tripoli. He appears in the witness list of a charter issued by Countess Cecilia of Tripoli between 1138 XII 25 and 1139 XII 24, probably in Tripoli, as *Petro de Podio priore de Hospitali* (Bresc-Bautier, 188–9 n. 80; Rozière, 183–4 n. 92; *RRH* 192). The official in charge of the Hospitallers' house on Mount Pilgrim had been using the title of *prior* since at least 1126 (*CH* I 75; *RRH* 113b). Peter of Podio was probably identical with Peter (without cognomen), the Hospitaller prior of Mount Pilgrim in 1142 (*CH* I 144; *RRH* 212; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 433; date: Mayer II, 858–9).

PETER OF (LA) RECAZI/RAIACE (T) preceptor of Acre 1198

origin: unknown. Claverie II, 335, suggests 'La Rajace' in dép. Indre-et-Loire, or Larajasse in dép. Rhône.

literature: Claverie I, 32, 41, 111, 117; II, 335.

1198 VI, TS: charter (Templar Master Girbert Eral for the abbot of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *fratre Petro de la Recazi preceptore domus Templi in Acon* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 17; Kohler, "Chartes," 166 n. 56; *RRH* 740a).

1203, Antioch: charter (Bernard of Moreuil for the Templars), recipient: *fratris Petri de Raiace tunc temporis magni preceptoris domus Antiochie* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 240; Trudon des Ormes, *Étude*, 367–8 n. 63, incorrectly omitting the word *Petri* between *fratris* and *de Raiace*; *RRH* 792a).

PETER OF ST. ROMANUS (T) grand preceptor 1241

origin: France? St. Romanus, name of Templar houses in various parts of France (Léonard, *Introduction*, 161: Burgundy; 247: Gascony or Blois).

identity: probably identical with the Templar of the same name who served as master/preceptor of France in → 1225 XI and 1238 VI–VII, and as preceptor of Tripoli on → 1243 V 31. It is unknown whether he was identical with the Peter of St. Romanus who witnessed a charter of Duke Raymond V of Narbonne in 1186 (*CH* I 818). He was not identical with the Templar of the same name who served as preceptor of Perpignan in 1241–4 (Coll. d'Albon 28, f. 326–41, 346–93; cf. Léonard, *Introduction*, 91; Vinas, *Ordre*, 143) and Zaragoza in 1245 (Forey, *Aragón*, 386–8 n. 19; cf. *ibid.*, 445), because their careers overlap.

literature: Rey, 368, 374; Carrière, *Histoire*, 26; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16, 114; Bulst-Thiele, "Geschichte," 209; Claverie I, 117; II, 189, 199, 336.

1225 XI, (France): charter, issuer: *frater Petrus de sancto Romano magister militiae Templi in Francia* (BN, n.a.f. 7359, f. 392–3).

- 1238 VI, (France): charter, issuer: *frater Petrus de sancto Romano magister milicie Templi in Francia* (Layettes, ed. Teulet et al., II, 383–4 n. 2726).
- 1238 VII, (Chalon-sur-Saône): charter (for the Cistercians of Ferté), issuer: *frater Petrus de sancto Romano humilis preceptor domus milicie Templi in Francia et in partibus cismarinis* (Coll. d'Albon 57, f. 56).
- 1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), guarantor: *P de S. Romain grant comandeor* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102).
- 1243 V 31, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars), party to the agreement: *frere Pierre de S. Romain comandeor en la terre de Triple* (CH II 2296; RRH 1111).

PETER OF SARDINES (H) turcopolier 1248

origin: Italy? Sardinia, toponym (island) in the western Mediterranean.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Bronstein, 151.

1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petrus de Sardines turcoplerius* (CH II 2482; RRH 1164).

PETER OF SEVREY (T) draper 1284/5; marshal 1291

origin: France. Sevre, toponym and name of a Templar house in dép. Saône-et-Loire. *Bourgnon* (Burgundian), toponym (Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 453–4; cf. Léonard, *Introduction*, 154; Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 232; Graesse III, 374, 376, 393). Michaud, “Poitou,” 120, suggests that he originated from Poitou; however, there is no evidence to support this.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to any of the Templars of the same name (preceptor of Bure, between 1292 and 1307: *Procès* I, 296, 301, 538, 581; II, 175, 264, 358, 394; Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 224, 235–8; Léonard, *Introduction*, 150; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 453–4; Forey, 181; young knight brother, 1307: *Procès* II, 309; cf. *ibid.*, I, 114, 583; Bulst-Thiele, 300; Barber, *Trial*, 73–4), or to the Templars John of Sevre or Ancherius of Sevre (mentioned in Paris, 1310: *Procès* I, 67, 110, 137, 151).

identity: Riley-Smith (in Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 237, 239) suggests that he was identical with the unnamed Templar preceptor of Tortosa who successfully negotiated with Sultan Baybars in 1271; however, it is more likely that, in 1271, this office was held by → Matthew Sauvage who had occupied that post in 1267/8 and even then successfully negotiated with Baybars. On the other hand, the office may have passed to a German Templar named Peter in 1271, because the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli stated in his trial deposition of 1311 III 3 that, circa forty years earlier (i.e. c.1271), the Templar preceptor of Tortosa, a *frater Alemanus miles nomine Petrus*, had seen to it that he (Anthony) had been tonsured by the bishop of Tortosa (*Procès* I, 645). Bulst-Thiele, 291, doubts (and I agree with her) that Anthony, who was rather well traveled, would have referred to a Templar from Burgundy as *Alemanus*.

status: knight (*Procès* II, 222).

literature: Rey, 256, 370, 379; Röhrich, “Untergang,” 32; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 405, 409, 427; Röhrich, 1023–4; Bulst-Thiele, 291; Stickel, *Fall*, 79–80; Barber, 177; Richard, *Histoire*, 478; Demurger, *Jacques*, 81–2, 89; Demurger, “Outre-mer,” 229; Claverie I, 111, 118, 186, 188, 192, 303–4; II, 95–7, 103, 336; Barber, *Trial*, 7.

(1284/5, on a Sunday), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by Guy Delphini, 1311 I 19, Paris): *Petro de Severi draperio* had attended Roncelin of Fos's reception into the order circa twenty-six years earlier (*Procès* I, 418; date: *ibid.*, 415).

(1286 spring–1291 IV 5), Tortosa: information from a later trial deposition (made by Hugh of Fauro, → 1311 V 12, Paris): *fratrem Petrum de Siuriaco militem castellanum de Tortosa* had received Hugh of Sayset from Auvergne and Jordanus from Burgundy into the order, which Hugh of Fauro had heard while he was in the east (*Procès* II, 222; date: *ibid.*, I, 320; II, 218; *terminus post quem* is Hugh of Fauro's arrival in the

east, i.e. 1286 spring at the earliest, since he had been received in the west on 1285 XI 11; *terminus ante quem* is the beginning of the siege of Acre on 1291 IV 5 which required Peter of Sevre's presence there rather than in Tortosa).

1291 V 18–28, Acre: chronicle: during al-Ashraf's conquest of Acre (1291 V 18), a number a Christians had found refuge in the city's Templar castle which was then under the command of *le mareschau frere Piere de Severy*. A few days later (1291 V 25), al-Ashraf's offer of a safe departure was accepted, and Muslim troops were admitted into the castle to supervise the evacuation. However, when the latter allegedly began to molest women and children, the Christians closed the gates and killed the Muslims. *Le mareschau dou Temple* who *fu mout proudome bourgognon et avoit nom frere Piere de Severy* then went to the sultan to explain what had happened, but was immediately executed (1291 V 26). The Templar castle, undermined by al-Ashraf's forces, collapsed on 1291 V 28 (*Gestes*, 255–6 § 505–8; cf. Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 231; Amadi, 226; Bustron, 125–6).

1311 I 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1284/5, on a Sunday).

1311 V 12, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1286 spring–1291 IV 5).

PETER OF VARES (T) preceptor 1300

origin: unknown.

literature: Rey, 377; Schein, *Fideles*, 164; Barber, 293; Courcas, *Latin Church*, 133; Claverie I, 207; II, 262, 336 ("commandeur de nef").

1300 II 25, Famagusta: charter (by the Genoese Peter Rubeus), recipient: *fratri Petro de Vares preceptori domus milicie Templi* (Desimoni, "Actes passés à Famagouste," 42–43 n. 74).

PETER (I) OF VIEILLEBRIDE (H) (grand) preceptor 1237–9, master 1239/40–2

origin: France. Vieille Brioude, toponym in Auvergne. I retain the traditional spelling 'Vieillebride.'

family: He was probably related to → Peter (II) of Vieillebride, who may have been his nephew. His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (King, *Knights*, 322: "Checky, argent and gules, a chief ermine").

identity: not identical with → Peter (II) of Vieillebride.

literature: Du Cange, *Familles*, 894; Herquet, *Chronologie*, 39; Delaville Le Roulx, 183–9, 410; King, *Knights*, 314, 322; Riley-Smith, 174–80; Claverie I, 60; II, 30–1, 189, 203; Bronstein, 151; Lower, *Barons' Crusade*, 175.

1216 II, TS: charter (by Bertrand, lord of Byblos), co-recipient: *frère Pierre de Vieille-Brinde* (CH II 1462; RRH 885a).

1237 VI 18, (Acre): charter (for Simon, son of Thomas *de la Chaene*), issuer: *frere Pierre de Vielle Briude de la sainte maison del Hospital de Jerusalem humil comandor en Acre* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641, which also mentions that the original of this document carried the round black wax seal of the Hospitaller preceptor of Acre with the depiction of a griffon: *scelle d'un sceau rond en cire noire, où est représenté un grifon avec cette légende autour, S. PRECEPTORIS HOSPITAL' ACCON*; CH II 2166; RRH 1076b).

1238 XII, (Acre): charter (Maria of Jaffa, the wife of Guy of Aulnay, for the Hospitallers), recipient: the Hospitaller Infirmary Andrew, acting *au nom de frère Pierre de Vieille Brinde grand-commandeur* (CH II 2212; RRH 1084a).

1239 IV, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps for Lutold, the grand preceptor of the Teutonic Order), witness: *frere Perre de Vielle Bride grant commandeur de l'Ospital de san Johan* (CH II 2224; RRH 1091. After the death of Bertrand of Comps (late 1239/early 1240), Peter of Vieillebride was elected as his successor).

1240 summer, TS: chronicle: during the crusade of Thibaut of Champagne (1239 IX–1240 IX), as-Salih Ismail, the ruler of Damascus (a younger brother of al-Kamil), offered the Christians a treaty of protection against his own nephew as-Salih Ayyub,

- the ruler of Egypt (a son of al-Kamil). As a result of the negotiations, the Templars received Safeth in Galilee, whereupon the Hospitallers entered into negotiations with as-Salih Ayyub who offered Ascalon and the release of Christian prisoners. In the summer of 1240, the *maîtres del Ospital frere Pierre de Vieille Bride* swore to this separate treaty in Ascalon. After that, he and his convent moved from Jaffa back to Acre, since the Hospitallers had no obligations toward the ruler of Damascus (Eracles, 420; cf. *Gestes*, 122 § 216).
- 1240, Acre: charter (for the Teutonic Order), issuer: *frater Petrus de Veteri Privata Dei gracia sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos et conventus ejusdem domus* (CH II 2245; RRH 1097).
- 1241 VI, TS: charter (by John of Ibelin), recipient: *fratri Petro de Veteri Brivata ejusdem domus Hospitalis Jerosolimitani magistro* (Manosque, f. 545 62 G; CH II 2274; RRH 1100).
- 1241 (after VI), TS: charter (by Balian of Ibelin), recipient: *magistro fratri Petro de Veteri Brivata* (Manosque, f. 334' 33 X; CH II 2277).
- (1241 after VII 1, EU): letter (by Richard of Cornwall), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 138–44; RRH 1101).
- 1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *frere Pierre de Vieille Bride honorable maistre de la sainte maison del Hospital de saint Johan de Jerusalem* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102). For the attached magisterial lead seal, which bears the circumscription +FRATER: PETRVS: CVSTOS (front), cf. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 236 n. 185; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 98 n. 119).
- 1242 VI 7, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars, negotiated by Patriarch Albert of Antioch), party to the agreement: Hospitaller Master Peter of Vieillebride (CH II 2276; RRH 1099a; cf. Manosque, f. 383 40 H).
- 1242 (before IX 17), TS: chronicle: *ly maistre frere Piere de Villebride et ly covens de l'Ospital* were at Margat, fighting a war against the sultan of Aleppo. Meanwhile, because the Hospitallers were suspected of cooperating with Richard Filangieri, the *bailli* of Emperor Frederick II in the Latin east, Balian of Ibelin was laying siege to the Hospitaller headquarters in Acre for six months. Consequently, *ly maistre et ly covent de l'Ospital* returned to Acre and stayed outside of the city at Vigne Neuve, a casale belonging to the order. They were able to convince Balian to raise the siege (*Gestes*, 126–7 § 222–3).
- (1239/40–1242 IX 17), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Petrus de Wulebride* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1239/40–1242 IX 17), TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Petrus de Villa Brida* (“Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797; cf. King, *Knights*, 314).
- 1242 IX 17, Acre: inscription: recording the death of Master Peter of Vieillebride, who is called the ‘eighth’ master (according to Sandoli calculating back to the Third Crusade). It is remembered that, during his mastership, the Count of Montfort and other French nobles were freed from captivity (a reference to the treaty with as-Salih Ayyub of → 1240 summer), and that Count Richard of Cornwall (re)-built the castle at Ascalon: +ANNO AB INCARNA(C)IONE DOMINI MCCXLII OBIT FRATER PETRVS DE VETERI BRIVATO/OCTAVVS MAGISTER SANCTE DOMVS HOSPITALIS IERUSALEM POST OCCVPATIONEM SANC/TE TERRE XV KLS OCTOBRIS CIVVS A(N)I(M)A REQVIESCAT IN PACE AMEN CIVVS TEMPORE COMES/MONTISFORTIS ET ALII BARONES FRANCIE A CAPTIVITATE BABILONIE LIBERATI FVERVNT DVM RICH/ARDVS COMES CORNVBIE CASTRVM ERIGERET ASCALONE (Acre, Hospitaller compound, transcription mine; Goldmann, “Découverte,” 8–10. Incorrectly dated by Sandoli, *Corpus*, 303–5 n. 406; Prawer, “Military Orders,” 223–4; Bronstein, 151).

PETER (II) OF VIEILLEBRIDE (H) turcopolier 1256–9/61

origin: France. Vieille Brioude, toponym in Auvergne. I retain the traditional spelling ‘Vieillebride.’

family: He was probably related to → Peter (I) of Vieillebride, who may have been his uncle.

identity: not identical with → Peter (I) of Vieillebride. Delaville Le Roulx, 413, suggests that the Hospitaller Turcopolier P. of → 1256 I was identical with Peter of Sardines, the order's turcopolier of 1248. Since then, a charter of → (1259–61) V 1 has come to light that features Peter (II) of Vieillebride as turcopolier, and because of the smaller time gap between 1256 and (1259–61)—namely four years, compared to eight years between 1248 and 1256,—I now suggest that the Hospitaller Turcopolier P. of 1256 was probably identical with Peter (II) of Vieillebride.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Bronstein, 151.

1253 XII 22, Acre: charter (Nicholas of Arcu for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Petro de Veteri Brida de Hospitali* (CH II 2662; RRH 1209; cf. Manosque, f. 33 6 k).

1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *frere P. turcoplier* (CH II 2810; RRH 1247; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).

(1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Pierre de Vieille Bride tricolier* (Marsailles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).

PIOTUS (H) (hospitaller) 1162–70

origin: unknown.

identity: Hiestand (in VOP II, 223, 225) suggests that he was the *procurator infirmorum* who, in → (1170–1171 before I/II), protested against the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly's intention to resign.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1162, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Ogerius for Rudolph Burduyni), witness: *Pioch custode infirmorum* (Manosque, f. 481' 53 B; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40; cf. CH I 300; CH IV, p. 247; RRH 376c).

1163 (II 18–IX 23), Jerusalem: charter (Eustach and his wife Agnes, as well as Adam Niger and his wife Osmunda, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratremque Piotum custodem infirmorum* (CH I 312; RRH 391; date: the same document listed for → Gerald of St. Andrew).

(1164 mid-IX–1165 III 15), (Jerusalem and Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for Duke Bela III of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia), witness: *frater Piotus* (CH I 309; RRH 458; date: Mayer II, 869. His position in the witness list, namely after prior, preceptor, and treasurer, suggests that he may still have served as hospitaller at this time).

1167 III, (Jerusalem): charter (by Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem), consent-giver: *fratris Pioti custodis infirmorum* (CH I 375; RRH 430).

1167, (Jerusalem): charter (Petronilla for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Piotus custos infirmorum* (CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a).

(1167 XII 25–1168 VII 13), TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly for the *burgenses* of Bethgibelin), witness: *frater Piotus* (CH I 399; RRH 457; date: the same document listed for → Amoravius. Piotus's position in the witness list, namely after preceptor and treasurer, suggests that he was probably still serving as hospitaller at this time).

(1170–1171 before I/II), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): when the intention of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly to resign became known, NN, *procurator infirmorum* (Piotus?), together with several other Hospitaller officials, unsuccessfully tried to dissuade him. After Gilbert's resignation, the *procurator infirmorum* deliberated with the other officials about how to proceed. He supported the order issued by the patriarch of Jerusalem that Gilbert should resume his office, he helped re-install him

as master, and he accompanied Gilbert to his negotiations with the patriarch. After Gilbert's second resignation, *fratre [Pio]to* and several other officials wrote a letter to the pope. Piotus was probably the *socius* of Pons Blan, the former preceptor. The new preceptor (O.), seized the equipment of both and prohibited them, on behalf of the order, from traveling to the pope (late 1170/early 1171) (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480).
(1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170–1171 before I/II).

[PONS (H) hospitaller? 1155]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 411, features him in his list of hospitallers of the order of St. John. However, Pons was probably merely in charge of the order's hospital at Acre and was, thus, not the hospitaller of the central convent. In August 1155, Agnes, the wife of a knight named Galius, made a donation to the Hospitallers through the viscount of Acre and *in manu fratris Givaldi Hugonis, preceptoris totius domus Hospitalis Iherusalem, et in manu Givaldi, magistri de Accon, ceterorumque fratrum, scilicet Petri Amelii, capellani, Antelmi, Berengarii, Pontii, custodis Hospitalis infirmorum, Petri de Limoges, et aliorum multorum* (*CH* I 237; *RRH* 311). The role of the viscount of Acre, the charter's dating referring to *Frederico Aconiensis episcopo*, and the fact that the Hospitaller master of Acre was serving as a co-recipient suggest that this transaction took place and was recorded at Acre. The Hospitaller brothers listed after Gerald, the order's master of Acre, are, in my opinion, officials of the order's house at Acre. Pons, the *custos Hospitalis infirmorum*, appears in such a subordinate position that it is hard to imagine that he was the conventual hospitaller. Moreover, the pre-1187 charter evidence for the conventual hospitaller reveals that he was exclusively involved in transactions in or near Jerusalem (→ Piotus, William of Forges, and Stephen), which means that he remained close to the order's main hospital. Considering that his office was originally identical with that of the community's leader (the master), this is not surprising.

PONS (H) marshal 1206

origin: unknown.

1206 IX 21, Acre: charter (Maria la Marquise, daughter of Conrad of Montferrat and Isabella of Jerusalem, for Peter II of Aragón), witness: *fratris Poncii marescalci* (ACA, CRD extra series n. 20, n. 242; Claverie III, 266–7 n. 306).

PONS (T) preceptor of Acre 1277

origin: unknown.

identity: It is unknown whether he was identical with Pons, the Templar preceptor of Antioch in 1242 (Manosque, f. 383 40 H), or with Pons of Brouzet who held various Templar posts between 1260 and 1292 (Claverie II, 336).

literature: Rey, 372; Bulst-Thiele, 266–7; Claverie II, 336.

1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *Pontio comandatore Aconensi* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).

PONS BLAN (H) preceptor 1170

origin: unknown.

identity: identical with the—at first unnamed—*preceptor* who, in → (1170–1171 before I/II), protested against the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly's intention to resign, because later on in the same report he is referred to as *P. Blaus qui preceptor domus erat dum hec agi inciperent*.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 77, 409; Riley-Smith, 61–2; cf. Chapter One.

(1170–1171 before I/II), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): when the intention of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly to resign became known, NN, the *preceptor* (Pons

Blan), together with several other Hospitaller officials unsuccessfully tried to dissuade him. After Gilbert's resignation, the preceptor deliberated with the other officials about how to proceed. He supported the order issued by the patriarch of Jerusalem that Gilbert should resume his office, he welcomed Gilbert back to Jerusalem, he helped re-install him as master, and he joined the patriarch's prohibition directed at Gilbert that the latter should not resign from the office of master again without papal approval. When Gilbert resigned a second time, *frater Pontius Blauus cum fratribus qui parti sue adherebant* repeated this prohibition, albeit to no avail. When the majority of the chapter, led by Gilbert, consented to the election of a new master, Pons Blan remained silent. After Gilbert's second resignation, the preceptor (Pons Blan) and several other officials wrote a letter to the pope. Then, *P. Blauus qui preceptor domus erat dum hec agi inciperent* and the new preceptor went before King Amalric of Jerusalem. The new preceptor asked Pons Blan why he had appealed to the pope, since this was not in keeping with the order's customs, even though he had been guaranteed full justice in the matter. Pons Blan replied that he had subjected himself to a higher judgment and would therefore not appear in chapter. Thereupon the new preceptor (O.) seized the equipment of both Pons Blan and his companion *P. (Piotus?)* and prohibited them, on behalf of the order, from traveling to the pope (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH I* 403; *RRH* 480).

(1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170–1171 before I/II).

PONS BOSCHANT (H) draper 1221

origin: Hungary? (Powell, *Anatomy*, 237, without citing any specific evidence).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Bronstein, 151.

1221 V (before 15), Damiatta: charter (agreement between Bishop John of Acre and Hospitaller Master Garin of Montaigu, confirmed by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), witness: *frater Pontius Boschant drapperius* (*CH II* 1718; *RRH* 945; date: the same document listed for → Ferrand of Barras).

1221 (X 16–XI 1), Acre: charter (by Count Henry I of Rodez), witness: *frater Pontius drapperius domus Hospitalis* (*Veterum scriptorum collectio*, ed. Martène and Durand, I, 1168–72; *CH II* 1760; *RRH* 959).

PONS OF GUSANZ (T) turcopolier (1268–73)

origin: France. *Proenza* (Provence), toponym. Claverie II, 336, suggests that he was a member of the Gozon family.

identity: Considering the time gap between 1212 and (1268–73), he was probably not identical with *Ponz de Gusanz donatus* who witnessed a charter issued by Nicholas Agulos for the Templars in 1212 (Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire*, 228 n. 261; cf. *ibid.*, clxiv).

literature: Daillez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, 171; Claverie I, 118, 170; II, 336; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 11.

(1268–73), EU/TS/EU: rule/statutes, mention: according to the Catalan fragment of the Templar rule, a Templar named *frere Po(n)s de Gusans* left a Templar house in Provence (*Proenza*) and took a wife. After her death, he asked to be re-admitted into the order and was told that he would have to do penance since he had been a brother and had not had permission to leave the house. He replied that he had never taken a vow or made a promise; rather, he had fallen ill on a sea voyage to the east and had asked to be received into the order. Consequently, he had obtained the order's mantle as one dying without a vow or promise. Then, however, after his recovery, he had worn the mantle like a brother and had even become *torcupler deu covent*. Yet, he had not thought that he was supposed to stay in the order and had therefore returned the mantle. The brothers argued that staying in the order longer than a year and a day was, according to church law, the equivalent of a promise. Hence, Pons was ordered to do penance for a year and a day and regained the habit (Upton Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 183; date: since the Catalan fragment seems to relate

the events in a more or less chronological order, the dating suggested here is based on the events related prior to and after the story of Pons of Gusanz, which can be dated to 1268 as the *terminus post quem* and 1273 as the *terminus ante quem*. Thus, it appears that Pons served as turcopolier after → Herveus of Lyons (1262), but before → Thibaut Gaudini (1277).

PONS OF MADIÈRES (H) turcopolier 1271

origin: France. Madières, toponym in Provence (Graesse II, 440).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Bronstein, 151.

1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Poncius de Maderiis turcopolerius* (CH III 3433; RRH 1382a).

[PONS MENESCAL (T) marshal? (c.1196–1228)]

identity: The Templar Pons who appears with the cognomen ‘Menescal’ (marshal) on the Iberian Peninsula between 1196 and 1228 was not the marshal of the order’s central convent; rather, he was preceptor of Monzón (1196), master of Aragón-Catalonia (1196–9), one of the lieutenant masters of Aragón-Catalonia between 1202 and 1228, and preceptor of Miravet, as well as Tortosa and La Ribera (1210–11) (Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 381–4 n. 15, 420–1, 435; Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 14–15 n. 8, 17–19 n. 11–12, 29–31 n. 24, 36–38 n. 30, 39–41, n. 32, 269–70 n. 215). A Templar named William Menescal surfaced on the Iberian Peninsula in 1278 (Paragolas i Sabaté, *ibid.*, I, 69).

RAIMBAUD (H) (grand) marshal 1255–9

origin: Spain? The clues are his trip to Spain while serving as marshal (1255–6) and his tenure as (grand) preceptor of Spain (1240–50).

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller marshal of → 1256 III 10. During his tenure as marshal, Raimbaud traveled to Spain, endowed with additional powers (hence the title *mariscal mayor*), and this makes it very likely that he was also identical with Raimbaud, the Hospitaller (grand) preceptor of Spain between → 1240 VII 18 and (1250) V. He was perhaps also identical with the Hospitaller Brother Raimbaud of Vilemor who witnessed a charter of the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel on → (1259–61) V 1. He was not identical with the Hungarian Hospitaller Raimbaud of Voczon who served as proctor, prior, and master of Hungary (1225–39: CH II 1821, 2161, 2171, 2182, 2205; CH II, p. 511; Delaville Le Roulx, 430; *Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. Auvray, n. 3696–7, 3849, 3852, 4455; Potthast 10367; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 214), as grand preceptor of the west (1247–50: Manosque, f. 452 49 A; CH II 2445, 2481, 2525; CH IV, p. 350; Delaville Le Roulx, 415; Fejér, *Codex*, IV.1, 447–54; IV.2, 75–6), and as master and preceptor for Italy and Hungary (as well as temporarily for Slavonia and Austria) (1250–4: CH II 2526, 2588–9, 2615, 2638, 2663, 2694, 2932; Delaville Le Roulx, 419, 430; RRH 1202a, 1211a; *Registres d’Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 6698; Hunyadi, “Hospitallers,” 84–6), because their careers appear to overlap.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410–11, 421; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 17.

1240 VII 18, Valencia: charter (by James I of Aragón), recipient: *fratri R[iombaldo] comendatori domorum Hospitalis Jherusalem in quinque regnis Ispanie* (CH II 2255; cf. Delaville Le Roulx, 421, where CH II 2316 is incorrectly listed as further evidence for Raimbaud as grand preceptor of Spain).

(1239–40) IX 2 and 15, Tudela: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Garcias of Artiga, Hospitaller prior of Navarre, and the dean of the church of Tudela), witness: *Reombaldo commendatori Hospitalis Iherosolimitani in Yspania* (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 274–6 n. 283).

- 1240, (Spain): charter (by Simon of Urrea), recipient: *fratre Riambaldo maiori comendatori quinque regnorum de Ispania ordinis Hospitalis* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 220).
- 1242 III 16, Valladolid: charter (by Ferdinand III of Castile), recipient: *don Riambaldo comendador mayor dessa misma Horden en España* (*Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 492–3 n. 287).
- 1243 V, (Spain): charter, issuer: *frey Reonibalt grand comendador del Hospital de los Vo Reinos d’España* (*Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 493–4 n. 288).
- 1245 VIII 17, (Spain): charter (by Gerald Amic, Hospitaller lieutenant castellan of Amposta), consent-giver: *fratris Riambaldi comendatoris tocius Ispanie* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 214–15).
- (1250) V, (Spain): charter, mention: *frey Riumbalt grand comendador de las cosas* [sic] *del Hospital de Iherusalem ennos V regnos d’Espanna* (*Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 521–3 n. 312).
- 1255, (Navarra): charter (by the Hospitaller prior of Navarre), witness: *Reombalt mariscal del Hospital devandito et tenent logar de magistro d’aquent mar*, adding his seal to the document (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 365–7 n. 363).
- 1256 I 29, Lateran: charter (Pope Alexander IV for Patriarch James of Jerusalem, the future Pope Urban IV), mention: *fratre Raibardo marescalco Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani* (*Registres d’Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 1096; *CH* II 2785; *RRH* 1244b. The patriarch was probably at the papal court at the time, and Raimbaud, too, was probably in the west because we find a Hospitaller lieutenant marshal in Acre at the same time, namely → Geoffrey of Reillanne).
- 1256 III 10, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between the church of Acre and a cleric named Signoretus), mention: *marescalcis Templi et Hospitalis Iohannis Ierosolimitani cum magna societate militum fratrum suorum qui uenerant ibidem ad custodiendum personam dicti domini archiepiscopi* [the presiding judge, Archbishop Egidius of Tyre] *ne dictus S. qui armatus comparuerat cum pluribus amicorum suorum eundum dominum archiepiscopum in aliquo posset offendere* (BN, lat. 9071, n. 12; Claverie II, 424–6 n. 12; III, 303–4, 624; *RRH* 1226).
- 1259 II 1, Toledo: charter (by Alphonso X of Castile), recipient: *Rimbalt mariscal mayor aqueude la mar de la Orden del Hospital de Sant Juan* (*Libro*, ed. Ayala Martínez, 550–3 n. 336).
- (1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: *frere Raymbaut de Vilemor* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).

RAIMBAUD (II) OF CAROMB (‘I) (grand) preceptor (of the land) 1300–12

origin: France. Caromb (*Carombus*), toponym in Provence (Graesse I, 435).

family: He was the nephew of Raymond II of Barjole, bishop of Carpentras (*Procès* II, 374; Gams, *Series*, 530). He was probably also related to the Templar Raimbaud (I) of Caromb, who may have been his uncle (master of the west, 1239; lieutenant master of the west, 1245–6; master of Provence, 1250–9: *Layettes*, ed. Teulet *et al.*, II, 116 n. 3917; Trudon des Ormes 7 (1900), 561; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16, 20, 27; Bulst-Thiele, 201 (confusing him with Reynald of Caro, preceptor of Safeth); Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 208 (incorrectly referring to him as master of Hungary: *ibid.*, n. 214); Claverie I, 199, 276; II, 337; Carraz, *Ordre*, 302, 320–2). The latter may have been a descendant of the Knight Peter of Caromb (St. Gilles du Gard, 1169: Claverie I, 199).

status: knight (*Procès* II, 374).

literature: Dupuy, *Histoire de la condamnation*, I, 30–1; Lea, *History*, III, 326; Schottmüller I.1, 199–200, 249, 563; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 406; Finke I, 393–4; Pétel, “Templiers” (1909), 320; Léonard, *Introduction*, 20; Bulst-Thiele, 333–4; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 121; Lalou, “Templerprozeß,” 538; Demurger, *Jacques*, 20, 112–3, 170, 180–1, 246; Demurger, “Outre-mer,” 226–7; Riley-Smith, “Structures,” 129, 140;

- Claverie I, 198–200, *et passim*; II, 303, 337; Carraz, *Ordre*, 302, 322, 485, 532; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitaliers’ High Dignitaries,” 17; Barber, *Trial*, 23, 69, 83, 130, 281.
- (1247), (EU): information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 XI 10, Paris): *Raymbaudus de Caron* was circa sixty years old (*etatis sexaginta annorum ut dixit vel circa*) in 1307. Thus, he must have been born around 1247 (*Procès* II, 374).
- (1265 V 24), Richerenches: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 XI 10, Paris): *Raymbaudus de Caron* had been received into the order by Roncelin of Fos, Templar preceptor of Provence, forty-three years earlier, calculated back from the next feast of Pentecost. The ceremony had allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 374; cf. Finke II, 324–9 n. 154: *ipse tunc XVII annorum etatis vel circa existens fuit factus miles et receptus in ordine Templi*).
- 1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Ryenbaut de Caron* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).
- 1300 XI 10, Limassol: charter (Templar Master James of Molay for Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón-Catalonia), witness: *frater Rimbaldus de Carona preceptor Nimocii* (Forey, *Aragón*, 414–15 n. 44).
- (1302) V 1, Famagusta: information from a later trial deposition (made by Gawain of Raval, → 1310 V 28, Nicosia): *frater Rambaldus de Ciaren tunc magnus preceptor dicti ordinis* had attended Gawain of Raval’s reception into the order eight years earlier, calculated back from the last V 1 (Schottmüller II.3, 210–11; date: *ibid.*, 145, 208).
- (1304 III 29–V 17), Limassol: information from a later trial deposition (made by Humbert of Germilla, → 1311 II 17, Paris): *Racinbandus de Caron, preceptor tunc Cypri*, had attended the reception of the Templar Knight Anthony of Vercelli and the Templar Sergeant James of Rupella circa seven years earlier, calculated back from the next time period between Easter and Pentecost (*Procès* I, 562; date: *ibid.*, 320, 560).
- (1304) X 25, Limassol: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to the preceptor of Miravet), mention: Raimbaud of Caron, Templar preceptor of the land (cited in *AA Nachträge*, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- (1304 after Christmas), Torres: letter (the Templar Peter of Castellón to Peter of St. Just, preceptor of Alfambra), mention: *Rimbau de Caro qui es comanador de la terra* according to the Templar master’s letter of → (1304) X 25 (*AA Nachträge*, 445–6 n. 9, reprint, 677–8).
- 1307 XI 10, Paris: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Raymbaudus de Caron miles dicti ordinis preceptor Chipri* (*Procès* II, 374; date: *ibid.*, 372, 377. It seems that he was tortured because, later the same day, *corrigeno dictum suum*, he added further incriminating statements to his earlier trial deposition. → (1247), (1265 V 24)).
- 1308 VIII 12, Poitiers: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Faciens misericordiam*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question *ipsum magistrum, et Francie, terre Ultramarine, Normanie, Aquitanie ac Pictavie preceptores majores* himself at Poitiers. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them. In the cardinals’ presence, these Templar officials had confessed to and repented the illicit acts that had taken place during their respective receptions into the order, whereupon the cardinals had granted them absolution (*Procès* I, 2–7; Schottmüller II.3, 111–12; date: the same document listed for → Geoffrey of Charny).
- 1308 VIII 17–20, Chinon: letter (*inquesta dominorum commissariorum Clementis pape V*), mention: the Templar master and the order’s other high officials, including *Raymbaudus de Caron preceptor terre ultramarine*, were questioned by a papal commission (Berengar Frédel, cardinal priest of St. Nereus and Achilleus; Stephen of Suisy, cardinal priest of St. Cyriacus in Termis; and Landulph Brancaccio, cardinal deacon of St. Angelus) (Frale, *Papato*, 197–215; cf. Finke II, 324–9 n. 154; Bulst-Thiele, 327–8; Barber, *Trial*, 130, 333).
- 1308 VIII 20, Chinon: trial records, mention: the cardinals informed Philip IV of France about their questioning of the Templar officials (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 99).

- (1308) IX 27, (France): letter (Philip IV of France to James II of Aragón), mention: after the pope's departure from Poitiers, three cardinals had questioned, on behalf of the pope, *magistrum maiorem eorum, visitatorem generalem in regno nostro, Cypri, Normannie [duc]atus, Aquitanie preceptores* (Finke II, 171–2 n. 95).
- (1308) XII 30, Toulouse: letter (Pope Clement V to Philip IV of France), mention: the pope had originally intended to question *magistrum et... Francie... terre ultramarine... Normannie... Aquitanie ac Pictavie preceptores maiores* himself at Poitiers. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 109).
- 1308, (papal state): catalog of articles (intended for presentation to Templars that had yet to be questioned), mention: the master and other officials of the order, among them the *magnus preceptor Cypri*, had repeatedly confessed to the accusations brought against them (Gilmour-Bryson, *Trial (Papal State)*, 83 § 124).
- 1309 V 22, Avignon: letter (Pope Clement V to the French bishops: *Licet per ea*), mention: the pope has reserved for himself the judgment over *magistro dicti ordinis ac... Francie, ... Normannie, ... Pictavie, ... Provincie et... terre ultramarine maioribus preceptoribus ordinis supradicti* (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 5066–7, 5073).
- 1310 III 2, Paris: trial records, mention: the Templar Master James of Molay asked the members of the papal commission to write to the pope, asking that the latter should summon those whose judgment he had reserved for himself (this group would have included Raimbaud of Caromb) (*Procès I*, 88; date: *ibid.*, 87).
- 1310 III 14, Paris: catalog of articles (intended for presentation to Templars that had yet to be questioned), mention: the master and other officials of the order, among them the grand preceptor of Cyprus, had repeatedly confessed to the accusations brought against them (*Procès I*, 96; date: *ibid.*, 89).
- 1310 IV 1, Paris: trial records, mention: Reynald of Provins, Templar preceptor of Orléans, asked the members of the papal commission to place *magister noster, Francie, Aquitanie, Cypri, Normannie preceptores*, and all Templar brothers currently in the custody of the king, into the hands of the church (*Procès I*, 127; date: *ibid.*, 119).
- 1310 IV, Cyprus: trial records, mention: the Templars, including *eorum magnum preceptorem*, were cited to be questioned (Schottmüller II.3, 148. This statement cannot refer to Raimbaud of Caromb, the grand preceptor of the east, who was imprisoned in France at this time, but, rather, must refer to → James of Dammartin, the order's preceptor of Cyprus).
- 1310 V 28, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1302) V 1.
- 1310 XI 22, Avignon: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Regnans in coelis*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question the high Templar officials, including the grand preceptor of the east, himself. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them, in whose presence they had confessed to the accusations brought against them (*Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 7479).
- 1311 II 17, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1304 III 29–V 17).
- (1311) V 5, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by Bartholomew, abbot of St. Mary of Lapaïs near Cerines, dioc. Nicosia): stating that he had nothing negative to say about the person of *fratris Reymbaud* (Schottmüller II.3, 164; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125. Since the non-Templar witnesses were asked about the grand preceptor, this deposition probably refers to Raimbaud of Caron and not to the Templar Raimbaud Blacas who was on Cyprus at this time, cf. Schottmüller II.3, 154, 168, 228).
- (1311) V, Nicosia: trial deposition (made by the thirty-five non-Templar witnesses): stating that they had nothing negative to say *contra magnum preceptorem in Cypro* (Schottmüller II.3, 376–99; Finke I, 391 (trial deposition of John of Nemoris, the treasurer of the church of Limassol); date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125).
- 1312 III 22, Vienne: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Vox in excelso*), mention: the pope had originally intended to question the high Templar officials, including the grand

- preceptor of the east, himself. However, since some of them had fallen ill and were unable to travel, he had sent three cardinals to them, in whose presence they had confessed to the illicit acts that had taken place during their respective receptions into the order (*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo *et al.*, 312–19).
- 1312 V 6, Vienne: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Considerantes dudum*), mention: the pope had reserved for himself the judgment over the high Templar officials, including *Terrae Sanctae, Normanniae et Aquitaniae ac Pictaviae et provinciae Provinciae magnos praeceptores* (*Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. Alberigo *et al.*, 323–5).
- 1312 XII 31, EU: charter (by Pope Clement V: *Dudum in generali*), mention: the pope transferred the trial of the high Templar officials imprisoned in France, including *Normannie, ... Aquitanie, ... Pictavie, ... Provincie et ... quondam Terre Sancte magnos ipsius ordinis preceptores*, to Arnold, cardinal bishop of Albano; Nicholas, cardinal priest of St. Eusebius; and Arnold, cardinal priest of St. Prisca (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 342; *Regestum Clementis papae V*, ed. Monachi O. S. Benedicti, n. 10337. The adverb *quondam* before *Terre Sancte* (but not before *magnos ipsius ordinis preceptores*) suggests that Raimbaud of Caromb was already deceased; cf. Imperio, *Tramonto*, 121, who suggests that Raimbaud may have fled).

RAYMOND (H) treasurer 1135, 1141, 1150

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

- 1135 XII 19, near Caesarea: charter (Isembard for the Hospitallers), witness: *S. Raimundi thesaurarii fratris Hospitalis* (*CH I* 115; *RRH* 159).
- 1141 II 3, Nablus: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *Petrus thesaurarius, Raimundus* (*CH I* 139; *RRH* 201. In 1141, Peter and Raymond temporarily served together as treasurers. Since Raymond served as treasurer before and after 1141 II 3, it is conceivable that his title was accidentally omitted in this document).
- 1141 (after II 3), Nablus or Jerusalem: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem and Prior Peter of the Holy Sepulcher for the Hospitallers and for Robert of the Casale St. Gilles), co-recipients: *Petro thesaurario, Raimundo thesaurario* (*CH I* 140; Bresc-Bautier, 226–7 n. 107; Rozière, 114–15 n. 140, incorrectly omitting the title *thesaurarius* for Raymond; *RRH* 205).
- 1141, Jerusalem: charter (Patriarch William I of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witnesses: *Petro thesaurario, Raimundo thesaurario* (*CH I* 138; *RRH* 204).
- 1146 II 1, Jaffa: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witnesses: *Petrus thesaurarius, Raimundus* (*CH I* 173; *RRH* 244; date: Mayer I, 739; II, 860; Rheinheimer, *Kreuzfahrerfürstentum*, 50–1, has shown that this witness list was taken from the above-mentioned charter of → 1141 II 3, which makes this document of 1146 II 1 useless as evidence that Peter or Raymond served as Hospitaller treasurers in 1146).
- 1150 V 24, TS: charter (Robert of the Casale St. Gilles for the Hospitallers), witness: *Raimundus thesaurarius* (*CH I* 192; *RRH* 257).

RAYMOND OF AMPURIAS (H) admiral 1309

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Ampurias, toponym in the province of Gerona.

literature: Finke I, 41; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 64–6; Luttrell, “Aragonese Crown,” 8–11; Luttrell, “Hospitaller Life,” 112; Luttrell, “Hospitaller Priory,” 4; Luttrell, “Ospitalieri di San Giovanni,” 83, 89; Luttrell, “Ospitalieri e l’eredità,” 75; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 94; Forey, *Fall*, 230, 239, 245; Luttrell, *Town*, 18; Carraz, *Ordre*, 504.

1302 IX 28, Girona: letter (James II of Aragón to Hospitaller Master William of Villaret, mention: *frater R[aimundus] de Impuriis* (*CH IV* 4573; cf. *AA III*, 11).

1302 XII 8, Tarragona: charter (James II of Aragón to Gaucerand of Cort), mention: *fratri R[aimund]o de Empuriis* (*CH IV* 4578).

- 1309 IX 2, Marseilles: secondary literature: Hospitaller Admiral Raymond of Ampurias concluded agreements with people from Provence, Genoa, and Barcelona about the arming, provisioning, and transporting of troops for the upcoming crusade (Baratier and Reynaud, *Histoire*, II, 215; cf. Luttrell, "Ospitalieri di San Giovanni," 89; Carraz, *Ordre*, 504).
- (1306–10), TS: secondary literature: Raymond of Ampurias participated in the conquest of Rhodes (Luttrell, "Hospitaller Life," 112; Luttrell, "Ospitalieri di San Giovanni," 83).
- 1314 VI 8, (Aragón): letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ampurias who refused to obey the Hospitaller master (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404. The Hospitaller master deposed him as castellan of Amposta, which Raymond refused to acknowledge until 1317: Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 11).
- (c.1314), EU: secondary literature: Raymond of Ampurias, Hospitaller prior of Catalonia, was accused of indecent acts (Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, 94).
- (1311–14), EU: secondary literature: Raymond of Ampurias served as Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404; Luttrell, "Hospitaller Priory," 4, citing G. Meloni, "L'attività in Sardegna di Raimondo d'Ampurias, dell'ordine dell'Ospedale di Gerusalemme," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 11 (1981), 549–58).
- 1316 IX, Lleida: charter, mention: Raymond of Ampurias, Hospitaller brother (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404).
- 1317 VIII 12, EU: charter (by Pope John XXII), mention: Raymond of Ampurias who was to be arrested (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 66).
- 1319 XII 22, Tarragona: letter (*notula emancipacionis, renunciacionis et ingressus ordinis domini infantis Jacobi*), witness: *fr(atre) R. de Impuriis priore Cathalonie* (AA III, 371).
- (1319 XI 17–1324 X 14), EU: secondary literature: Raymond of Ampurias served as Hospitaller prior of Catalonia (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 404; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 66; Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 8–9; Forey, *Fall*, 230, 239, 245).
- (c.1325), EU: letter (by Cardinal Orsini), mention: *fratre Ray[mundo] de Empuriis* (AA II, 818–20 n. 509; cf. Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 8: Raymond had claimed the county of Ampurias "through his own alleged hereditary rights").
- (1326) I 15, Avignon: letter (Arnold of Cumbis to James II of Aragón), mention: *fratri R[aymundo] de Impuriis* (AA III, 506–7 n. 232).
- (1326), EU: secondary literature: Raymond of Ampurias acted on behalf of the Hospitaller master (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 66).
- 1331 III 14, EU: letter (Pope John XXII to Alphonso IV of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ampurias (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 66).

RAYMOND OF BEAULIEU (H) hospitaller 1299; marshal 1301

origin: France? Beaulieu (*Bellus locus*), toponym primarily in France, but also in England and Scotland, and name of a monastery near Nicosia (Graesse I, 246–7).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411–12.

1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller convent versus Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), co-plaintiff: *fratre Raymont de Bel Leu hospitalier* (CH III 4464).

1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitaliers), mention: NN, *hospitalier*, one of the *baillis de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).

1301 XII 31, (Limassol): *esgart* (between Hospitaller Marshal Raymond of Beaulieu and Grand Preceptor Fulk of Villaret), co-plaintiff: *le mareschal qui fu en celui tens frere Raimont de Bel Luec* (CH IV 4553).

RAYMOND MOTET (H) general preceptor (1222–5) (with reservations)

origin: France? Motet, cognomen, occurring in twelfth-century southern France (CH I 4, 152).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Pons Moteti (Hospitaller priest) or the layman William Motetus (both mentioned in the Hospitaller preceptory of Manosque, 1293: *CH* III 4228).

identity: In a letter that has only survived in the form of an undated summary in the sixteenth-century inventory of Manosque, we encounter the Hospitaller General Preceptor R(aymond) Motet. He also appears in third place in the witness list of a charter issued by Hospitaller Master Betrand of Comps in → 1239 IV, after the order's grand preceptor and hospitaller, but before the treasurer and four other brothers, which indicates that he was a brother of some prominence. The title of 'general preceptor' appears in the east also for → Peter of Mirmande and → John of Ronay, and both used this title during times when the master was absent from the central convent. If this title was reserved for times when the master was absent, then the only significant absence of a Hospitaller master that comes somewhat close to 1239 is that of Garin of Montaigu who traveled to the west between 1222 and 1225 (hence the dating suggested for the document below).

literature: Bronstein, 152.

(1222–5), TS: letter (to Nicholas Lou), sender: *fratre R. Motet commandeur general de l'Ospital de Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 456 49 P. The text mentions an older donation made by a *Reyne Man*, which, in my opinion, is a misspelling or misreading for *Reyne Mari(e)*, i.e. most likely a reference to Maria la Marquise, queen of Jerusalem between 1205 and c.1212; this would further support my suggestion with regard to the dating of this document).

1239 IV, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps for Lutold, the grand preceptor of the Teutonic Order), witness: *frere Raimon Motet* (*CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091).

RAYMOND PETRI (H) prior 1193

origin: unknown.

family: Petri, patronym (i.e. son of Peter)?

identity: He is missing in Delaville Le Roulx, 413 (list of Hospitaller priors). Bronstein, 152, refers to him as a "simple brother." His position in the witness list of the 1193 charter seems rather low for a conventual prior, namely behind the castellans of Margat and Krak des Chevaliers. However, the charter deals with Hospitaller properties in the south of the principality of Antioch, and he is listed before the marshal, the conventual preceptor, and six other Hospitaller brothers.

literature: Bronstein, 152.

1193 I, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon for the church of Valencia), witness: *frater Raimundus Petri prior* (*CH* I 941; *RRH* 708).

RAYMOND OF RIBELLS (H) grand preceptor 1303

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Ribells, family name (Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 11).

family: noble family of Ribells. It is unknown how he was related to them, but on → 1288 VI 22, Alphonso III of Aragón referred to him as a 'man of high nobility,' and 'Raymond' was one of the first names used by this family (Forey, *Aragón*, 56–7; Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 248–9 n. 136, 502–5 n. 342; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 132, 161, 324–5, 351). The family had feudal ties to the counts of Urgell, had been represented at the royal court of Aragón since at least the twelfth century, and was connected to both Templars and Hospitallers (Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 246–7 n. 133, 502–5 n. 342; Bofarull y Mascaró, *Procesos*, VIII, 79–80 n. 28; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 102, 324–5). It is unknown how Raymond was related to the following members of this family who surfaced during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: Arnold (Hospitaller preceptor of Lleida, 1274: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 523), Pons (recipient of a charter issued by Alphonso III of Aragón, 1290: *CH* III 4099), Bernard Raymond (son of the aforementioned Pons, c.1300: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 278),

- Eleanor (Hospitalier prioress of Alguayre, 1294–7: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 538), James (Hospitalier preceptor of Barbens und Barberà, 1319/20: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 395, 528; Sans i Travé, *Procés*, 329), Amorosus (advisor to Peter IV of Aragón, 1337/8: Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 193; II, n. 461), and Marquesa (Hospitalier prioress of Alguayre, 1330–48: Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 538).
- identity*: probably identical with the layman of the same name mentioned in a charter of → 1261 VIII 8.
- literature*: Bosio, *Dell'istoria*, II, 17; Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 421, 423; Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," 11; Riley-Smith, 307–8, 351, 371; Forey, *Aragón*, 310; Luttrell, "Island," 156.
- 1261 VIII 8, Tarragona: charter (by James I of Aragón), mention: *R. de Ribellis* (Girona y Llagustera, "Mullerament," 245).
- 1276 V 31, Barcelona: charter (by the Infante Peter of Aragón, son of James I), mention: *fratrem [Raimundum de Ripell]lis castellanum Emposte* (*CH* III 3602).
- 1276 XII 9, EU (Aragón): charter, issuer: Raymond of Ribells, Hospitalier castellan of Amposta, with seal (Delaville Le Roulx, "Sceaux de l'ordre," reprint, 8).
- 1277 VI 9, Canals: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), mention: *frater R(aymundus) de Ripellis castellanus Emposte* (*CH* III 3624).
- 1277 VIII 11, Setge de Montesa: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), recipient: *fratri Raimundo de Ribellis castallano Emposte* (Soldevilla, *Pere*, II.2, 100 n. 87).
- 1277 VIII 12, Jativa: charter, issuer: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta and master of Aragón-Catalonia (*CH* III 3631).
- 1277 X 9, Bocairent (Aragón): charter (by Peter III of Aragón), mention: NN, *venerabilis castellani Emposte*, who had provided counsel (*CH* III 3634).
- 1277 XI 8, Valencia: charter (agreement between Peter III of Aragón and the Hospitaliers), party to the agreement: *frater Raymundus de Ribellis venerabilis castellanus Emposte* (*CH* III 3638).
- 1277, Aragón: charter, mention: Gaucerand of Timor served as the lieutenant of Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 187).
- 1277, Aragón: charter (by Gaucerand of Puigvert), recipient: *fratri R. de Ripellis castellano Emposte* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 202; cf. *ibid.*, 298).
- 1278 II 18, Valencia: letter (Peter III of Aragón to Peter of Montcada, lord of Fraga), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta, who had made accusations against the latter. The king now ordered Peter to respond to these within fifteen days either in person or through a proctor (*CH* III 3652).
- 1278 III 1, Castalla: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), mention: *Raymundo de Ripellis*, castellan of Amposta (*CH* III 3653).
- 1278 III 28, Valencia: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), recipient: *R(aymundo) de Ripellis*, castellan of Amposta (*CH* III 3656).
- 1279 V 17, Barcelona: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), recipient: *R(aymundi) de Ribellis*, castellan of Amposta (*CH* III 3696).
- 1280 III 23, Valencia: letter (by Peter III of Aragón), addressee: *R(aymundo) de Rippellis*, castellan of Amposta, who had asked the king for help against Raymond of Angellara, who was threatening the castle of Termens. Peter stated that the Hospitalier castellan had fortified Termens against the king's wishes (*CH* III 3720).
- 1280 VI 23, Balaguer: charter (Peter III of Aragón for Templars and Hospitaliers), co-recipient: NN, Hospitalier master of Aragón-Catalonia (Raymond of Ribells?) (*CH* III 3727).
- 1280 VIII 4, Lleida: letter (Peter III of Aragón to the Hospitalier Master Nicholas Lorgne), mention: Raymond de *Rippellis*, castellan of Amposta, who was late with the payment of the tithe required by the pope for the Holy Land, would not be allowed to travel *ad partes ultramaris* until the matter would be settled (*CH* III 3728; cf. *CH* IV, p. 297–8 n. 3683bis).
- 1280 VIII 21, (Spain), charter, mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (Pons i Guri, *Inventari*, 37 n. 107).

- 1280 XII 7, Valencia: charter (by Peter III of Aragón), mention: Raymond *de Ribellis* (CH III 3735; cf. *ibid.*, n. 4423).
- 1283 IV 27, Zaragoza: letter (by the Infante Alphonso of Aragón, son and lieutenant of Peter III), addressee: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta, who was ordered to come to the kingdom of Valencia on 1283 VI 1 to help defend that kingdom against an impending attack by the Muslim 'king' of Morocco (CH III 3827).
- 1283 VI 28, Tarazona: charter (by the Infante Alphonso of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (CH III 3836).
- 1285, (Aragón): charter (by the Infante James of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (CH III 3888).
- 1286, France: secondary literature: Philip IV of France wrote to Pope Honorius IV, asking him to tell the masters of the Hospital and the Temple to appoint provincial masters in Aragón that would support the French cause. This was an implicit attack on Berengar of St. Just, the Templar master of Aragón, and Raymond of Ribells, the Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (i.e. that order's highest-ranking official in Aragón) (Riley-Smith, 307; Forey, *Aragón*, 310).
- 1288 VI 22, Barcelona: letter (Alphonso III of Aragón to an unnamed Hospitaller marshal and the order's central convent, as well as, in a separate letter, to Hospitaller Master John of Villiers), mention: *fr(atrem) R. de Ripellis dilectum nostrum*, a man of high nobility, great wisdom, and great piety, whose wisdom, conduct, and good reputation had contributed much to the Hospitallers. The master had sent him to Alphonso with an audacious message, not because of any guilt, but to the shame of the king and the promotion of the king's enemies, because the master knew that Raymond was connected to Alphonso by relation, natural origin, and affection. The king asked that this situation be rectified (CH III 4007; AA III, 3–4 n. 2; cf. CH III, p. 519).
- 1290 IV 30, Barcelona: letter (Alphonso III of Aragón to the Hospitaller Master John of Villiers) mention: *in breui venerabilis ac dilectus consiliarius noster frater R(aimundus) de Ribellis erit in partibus ultramarinis* (CH III 4090; cf. AA III, 4. Raymond was apparently on his way to the east).
- 1295 II 8, Cubel: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *frater Raimundus de Ripellis magno* [sic] *preceptor Hordinis Sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani in Hispania* (Libro, ed. Ayala Martínez, 654–5 n. 410).
- 1295 VII 19, Nuevalos: charter (by the Infante Peter of Aragón), petitioner: *fratrem R(aimundum) de Ribellis magnum comendatorem ordinis Hospitalis sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani in Ispania* (CH III 4282).
- (1295), (Aragón and Castile): secondary literature: Raymond of Ribells escorted Isabella of Castile, the first wife of James II of Aragón, back to Castile. Pope Boniface VIII had refused the dispensation necessary for this marriage (Isabella's grandfather, Alphonso X of Castile, was also the father of James II of Aragón) (Bosio, *Dell'istoria*, II, 17).
- 1296 VI 6, Murcia: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Raymond of Ribells, Hospitaller grand preceptor of Spain (CH III 4316).
- 1296 X 5, Perpignan: charter (by James II of Mallorca), recipient: *fratri Raimundo de Rippellis magno comendatori bonorum Hospitalis sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani in Yspania* (CH III 4323).
- 1296 XI 20, Cadaques: letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *frater Raymundus de Ripellis magnus rerum Hospitalis in Ispania comendator* who had brought a complaint before the king (CH III 4327).
- 1296 XI 20, Cadaques: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, grand preceptor of Spain (CH III 4328).
- 1298 VI 20, Palamos: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (CH III 4423; cf. *ibid.*, n. 3735).
- 1298 VI 20, Palamos: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta and lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in Spain (CH III 4424).

- 1298 VI 29, Colliure de Rosselló: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: *fratri R. de Ripellis castellano Emposte ac tenenti locum venerabili magistri Hospitali Iherosolimitani in Ispania* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 198).
- 1298 VI 29, near Argilers: letter (Raymond Fulconis, viscount of Cardona, to James II of Mallorca), witness/co-sender: *fratris Raimundi de Ribeles castellani Emposte magistri Hospitalis in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 37).
- 1298 VI 30, (near Argilers): letter (James II of Aragón to James II of Mallorca), witness/co-sender: *fratris Raimundi de Ribeles cast(ell)ani Emposte magistri Hospitalis in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 35; cf. *ibid.*, 37).
- 1298 VI 30, near Argilers: letter (Bishop Peter of Carcassonne to James II of Mallorca), witness: *venerabili fratre Raymundo de Ripellis castellano Emposte magistro ordinis Hospitalis in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (Baluze, *Vitae*, III, 39).
- 1299 VI 8, Anagni: charter (by Pope Boniface VIII), mention: *R(aimund)o de Ripellis*, castellan of Amposta and *tenenti in Ispania locum magistri generalis Hospitalis ejusdem* (CH III 4466; cf. *ibid.*, n. 4424).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys, protesting the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret's invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), mention: *frere Raymont de Rebelles* (CH III 4463; date: CH III, p. 766).
- 1300 III 4, Barcelona: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: *R(aimundus) de Rippellis*, castellan of Amposta and lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in Spain (CH III 4490).
- (1295–1300) III 31, Tarragona: letter (Archbishop Roderic of Tarragona and his provincial council to James II of Aragón), mention: *fr(ere) R. de Rippoll* [sic], Hospitaller master of Spain (AA II, 841–2 n. 521; date: Delaville Le Roulx, 421; Gams, *Series*, 76).
- 1300 V 26, Lleida: charter (by James II of Aragón), petitioner: *R(aimund)o de Ripellis*, castellan of Amposta and lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in Spain (CH III 4504).
- 1300 VIII 1, Avignon: information from a later charter (→ 1300 VIII 19): Hospitaller Master William of Villaret served as a co-arbiter in a dispute between the order's castellany of Amposta and the female Hospitallers of Sigena, witness: *Raymundo de Ripellis*, castellan of Amposta and lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in Spain (CH III 4513).
- 1300 VIII 19, *Cartelatio* (Italy?): charter (Hospitaller Master William of Villaret for the female Hospitallers of Sigena), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta and lieutenant of the Hospitaller master in Spain (CH III 4513).
- 1300 XI 15, Valencia: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (CH III 4517).
- (1300) XI 22, Valencia: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: Raymond of Ribells, castellan of Amposta (CH III 4520).
- (1301 X 22), Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), mention: mention: all 'chambers' (a type of benefice) of the conventual brothers should be at the discretion of the marshal, i.e. he could give a chamber that became available to a brother of the same tongue (geographical origin) to which its former holder had belonged. All other chambers should be at the discretion of the grand preceptor. Exempt from all this were the chambers assigned by (and to?) *Raymont de Rebelles/Raimundi de Rebelli* and Bernard of Chemin (CH IV 4549, § 10).
- 1303 II 5, (Limassol): *esgart* (Gerard of Gragnana, the conventual hospitaller, versus the Marshal Simon Le Rat), mention: *frere Raymont de Rebelles grant comandor* who was conducting the investigation (CH IV 4586).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus Daniel Lombart, lieutenant of the Hospitallers' master sergeant), plaintiff: *frere Raymon de Rebeles qui estoit adonc grant comandor de la terre* (CH IV 4613).

- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus NN, Hospitaller master, i.e. William of Villaret), plaintiff: *.i. frere qui adonc estoit grant comandor de la terre et avoit nom frere Raymon de Rebelles* (CH IV, n. 4614).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus Daniel, the Hospitallers' master sergeant), plaintiff: Hospitaller Brother Bertrand Bonace *par comandement dou grant comandor qui adonc estoit qu'il y mist en so leuc* (CH IV 4616. Raymond of Ribells had apparently asked that this *esgart* be initiated on his behalf).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (demanded by Hospitaller Marshal Simon Le Rat), defendant: *grant comandor de la terre qui adonc estoit frere Raymont de Rebelles* (CH IV 4617).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (Hospitaller Brother Arias Perez versus Hospitaller Brother Hugh Poitevin), mention: *frere Raymont de Rebelles qui adonc estoit grant comandor* (CH IV 4619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 66).
- 1305 IV 16, Valencia: charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *olim fratri R(aimund)o de Rippellis* (CH IV 4718. The wording suggests that Raymond had died before 1305 IV 16).
- 1305 X 17, Montpellier: charter (by Pope Clement V), mention: *quondam fratri R(aimundo) de Ripellis* (CH IV 4701).

RAYMOND OF ST. MICHAEL (H) preceptor 1178

origin: France? The clues are his appearance in Manosque (1168) and his tenure as prior of St. Gilles (1173).

family: The witness list of a charter issued in Manosque in → 1168 (third document) contains twenty-one names, among them the Hospitallers R(aymond) of St. Michael, Chatbert of St. Michael, and B. of St. Michael; since Raymond of St. Michael served as prior of St. Gilles in → 1173, and since Manosque is in the vicinity of St. Gilles, Raymond, Chatbert, and B. may have been members of the same local family.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 415; Santoni, 151, 156, 181.

- 1168, Manosque: charter (Count Bertrand II of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *Raimundo de S. Micha(hele)* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 330; CH I 385).
- 1168, Manosque: charter (Count Bertrand II of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris R(aymundi) S. Michahelis* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 336; CH I 384).
- 1168, Manosque: charter (Count William IV and Count Bertrand II of Forcalquier for the Hospitallers), witness: *R(aimundus) S. Michahelis* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 335; CH I 386).
- 1173 XII, (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), recipient: *Raimundo de Sancto Michael priori Sancti Egidii* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 175).
- 1173, (France): charter, issuer: Raymond of St. Michael, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (Le Blévec, "Hôpital," 18, citing Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), 56 H 4299).
- 1174 VIII, (France): charter (for the Hospitallers of St. Gilles), recipient: *Raimundo de Sancto Michael ejusdem domus priore* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 267).
- 1174 XII, St. Gilles: charter (for the Hospitallers), recipient: *Raimundo domus Sancti Egidii Hospitalis Iherosolimitani priori* (Le Blévec-Venturini, supplément II).
- 1175 IV, (France): charter (for the Hospitallers), recipient: *R(aimundi) de Sancto Michael prioris domus Hospitalis Sancti Egidii* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 308).
- (1173–6) VIII, Barbastro: charter (Alphonso II of Aragón for the Hospitallers), recipient: *Raymundi de S. Michael prioris S. Egidii* (CH I 541; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 128; date: the year given in this document's dating (1178) is probably incorrect because O(l)dinus (*Heldinus*) took over as prior of St. Gilles in 1177 (Delaville Le Roulx, 415); thus, the date should be: (1173–6) VIII).
- 1177, (France): charter (Count (Philip) and Countess (Elizabeth) of Flanders and Vermandois for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratris Raimundi ejusdem Hospitalis apud S. Egidium prioris* (CH I 505).

1178 V, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for William of Blanchegarde), witness: *frater Raimundus de Sancto Michaelae preceptor* (CH I 538; RRH 558).

RAYMOND OF TIBERIAS (H) marshal 1165–70

origin: Latin east? Tiberias, toponym in Galilee. According to an 1165 charter, he was master of the Hospitaller house of Tiberias and marshal at the same time. It is unclear whether there is a connection between his activities as marshal and the village *Marescalcia* west of Tiberias (Runciman, *History*, II, 487–8).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Rainer *Tyberiadis* and Peter *Tyberiadis* (Hospitallers, 1126: CH I 74; RRH 112; date: CH I 77; RRH 114), or to Anselm *Tyberiadis* and Paganus *Tyberiadis*, (Hospitaller co-brothers, 1168: CH I 398; RRH 448).

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller of the same name who appeared in the east in → 1163 (I 8 or 19) and 1168, and who served in the west in → 1164 VI as a preceptor when he received a donation together with, but ranking higher than the order's prior of St. Gilles (he was, however, at this time not the conventual preceptor—an office held by → Guy of Mahón between 1163 and 1169—but, rather, a 'special' preceptor sent to the west by the Hospitaller master, perhaps, as Delaville Le Roulx, 414, suggests, the first of the "grands-commandeurs de ça mer," i.e. the first (grand) preceptor of the west). When → Guy of Mahón traveled to the west in 1169, he also used the title of preceptor (1170; augmented in 1171 by the phrase *citra mare*), while → Pons Blan was serving as conventual preceptor in east. Raymond was probably still serving as marshal in → (1170) when the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly's resignation caused a major crisis in the order's central convent (VOP II, 223).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 414, 433; cf. Chapter One.

1163 (I 8 or 19), TS: charter (William of Maraclea and his wife Beatrice for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Raimundi de Tiberiade* (CH I 317; RRH 378; date: Mayer II, 866).

1164 VI, St. Gilles: charter (Count Raymond V of Toulouse for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Raimundo de Tabaria preceptori Iherosolimitani xenodochii* (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 323; CH I 333).

1165 IV 28, TS: charter (Walter, prince of Galilee and castellan of St. Omer, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Raimundi marescalci domus Tyberiadis magistri* (CH I 345; RRH 414). Since the Galilee was a frontier region, it makes sense that the Hospitaller marshal was, at this time, also in charge of the Hospitaller house in Tiberias. One of the casalia donated here, namely Desaut, was located on the southeastern Galilean border (Riley-Smith, 483, 486), which would further explain Raymond's presence and dual role. Finally, while the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly is named as a co-recipient in this charter, he was actually on his way to the west (Mayer II, 869), which suggests that the emergence of the office of marshal in the order of St. John coincided with the increasingly 'international' activities of the order's master).

1167 III, (Jerusalem): charter (by Patriarch Amalric of Jerusalem), consent-giver: *Raimundi Tyberiadis marescalci* (CH I 375; cf. CH IV, p. 316; RRH 430).

1168 IV, (Tiberias): charter (by Prince Walter of Galilee), witness: *frater R. de Tabaria* (Strehlke, 5–6 n. 4; RRH 447; cf. Mayer II, 44, 49).

(1170), TS: information from a later letter (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III, → (1171 I/II), TS): NN, *marescalci* (Raymond of Tiberias?), and the order's convent wrote a letter, attempting (unsuccessfully) to prevent the resignation of Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly. After Gilbert's second resignation, NN, *marascaleo* (Raymond of Tiberias?), and other several officials wrote a letter to the pope (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; CH I 403; RRH 480).

(1171 I/II), TS: letter, mention: → (1170).

RELIS (T) → RORIC OF LA COURTINE (T)

RE RIC OF CORTENO (T) → RORIC OF LA COURTINE (T)

RE RIC OF KÜR TEN (T) → RORIC OF LA COURTINE (T)

REYNALD OF VICHIER S (T) marshal 1249–50; master 1250–6

origin: France? *Vicherium*, toponym in Champagne (Vicherey) or the Ile-de-France (Vichères) (Bulst-Thiele, 226; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 510; Claverie II, 321, 337).

Another possibility would be Vichères in dép. Eure-et-Loire (Graesse III, 604).

family: unknown. Bulst-Thiele, 226, suggests that he was related to Reynald *Bichiers* (witness of a charter issued by Bishop William of Langres, 1135: *Gallia Christiana*, ed. Monachi Congregationis S. Mauri, IV, instrumenta, 165 n. 42). Tommasi, “Fonti,” 176–7, suggests that he was related to Josbert of *Nicher* (Templar master of Sicily, d. 1287). The Templar Geoffrey of Vichiers served as general visitor of England, France, and Germany between 1286 and 1293 (Coll. d’Albon 52, f. 288; Léonard, *Introduction*, 17; Bulst-Thiele, 281). There is no conclusive proof that Reynald was related to any one of these.

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Templar marshal who, according to the order’s Catalan rule, was at (Damietta) in → (1249). Bulst-Thiele, 230, suggests that he was identical with Reynald (without cognomen), Templar preceptor of Landrecis (Hainault) on → 1241 VIII 22. According to Barber, 225–6, 374, Reynald of Vichiers was one of the *freres proudomes* who, according to the Templar rule, confessed in the order’s central convent during the mastership of Armand of Périgueux (1232–44) that they had been received into the order through simony. The case reached the pope who argued in favor of clemency. The brothers in question then surrendered their habit, but since they were brothers of (otherwise) good reputation, the archbishop of Caesarea helped to absolve them on behalf of the pope, whereupon they were again received into the order, and one of them later even became Templar master (*et puis fu li uns maistre dou Temple*) (RT 545–9). Since Reynald of Vichiers (unlike William of Sonnac, the other potential ‘candidate’ for this role of a former simonist who later advanced to the mastership, cf. Curzon’s note in RT, p. 287) had actually been to the Latin east prior to his election as master, namely as preceptor of the order’s palace at Acre in → 1240 XI, Barber’s argument is convincing. Since there is not really enough time in Reynald’s career between 1240 and 1256 for an investigation involving the papal court, the incident must have taken place prior to 1240, which is why Barber dates it to the 1230s. Rey, 372, and Bulst-Thiele, 226, consider Reynald—based on the evidence for → 1240 XI—the order’s preceptor of Acre; however, he was then actually the preceptor of the order’s palace at Acre, i.e. a subordinate official (cf. RT 87, 93, 299, 335, 610).

literature: Rey, 251–2, 255, 372; Delisle, *Mémoire*, 7–9; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 395; Léonard, *Introduction*, 114; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 452; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 306; Melville, *Vie*, 248; Bulst-Thiele, 218, 223–31; Forey, 53; Barber, 152–5; Demurger, *Jacques*, 38–40; Claverie I, 363, *et passim*; II, 321, 337, *et passim*; Carraz, *Ordre*, 495. 1240 XI, Acre: charter (Templar Master Armand of Périgueux and other Templar officials for the Order of St. Lazarus), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Rainaldi de Vichierio eodem tempore preceptoris palatii domus nostre Accon...frater Rainaldus de Vichierio* (Marsy, 155–7 n. 39; RRH 1096).

1241 VIII 22, (Hainault): charter (for Burkhard of Avesnes), issuer: *Renaudus frater militie Templi preceptor ballivie de Laudimesio* [Landrecis] (Coll. d’Albon 49, f. 101; Reiffenberg, *Monuments*, I, 342 n. 22).

1242 I, (France): secondary literature: Reynald of Vichiers served as Templar preceptor of France (Carrière, *Histoire*, 26).

1242, (Burgundy): charter (by Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy), petitioner: *Renaud grand maître des frères du Temple en France* (Petit, *Histoire*, IV, 334 n. 2450).

- 1243 I, (Soissons): charter (for the Templar chapter of Soissons), issuer: *frater Renaudus de Vicheriis domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 64–71).
- 1246 VI, (France): charter (for John li Caezes de Rigecort), issuer: *frater Renaudus de Vicher domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 47, f. 111–12).
- 1246 VII, (Burgundy): charter (agreement between the abbey of St. Bénigne in Dijon and the Templars of Dijon), issuer: *frater Renaudus de Vicherio domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 56, f. 229–30; Petit, *Histoire*, IV, 355 n. 2543).
- 1246 VIII 19, Marseilles: charter (agreement between Hospitallers, Templars, and the *syndici* of Marseilles, with regard to Marseilles furnishing twenty ships and ten galleys for the upcoming crusade of Louis IX of France), party to the agreement: *fratrem Rainaldum de Vicherio preceptorem milicie Templi in Francia* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 369–73 n. 1; Layettes, ed. Teulet et al., II, 632–3 n. 3557; *CH* II 2413).
- 1246 IX 13, Genoa: charter (agreement between Hospitallers, Templars, other envoys of Louis IX of France, and Genoa, with regard to the chartering of sixteen ships for the upcoming crusade), party to the agreement: *fratrem Renaldum preceptorem dominice milicie Templi Ierosolimitani in Francia* (Belgrano, “Charte,” 232; insert in the charter of → 1246 X).
- 1246 X, St.-Germain-en-Laye: charter (by Louis IX of France), mention: Reynald of Vichiers, preceptor of France, and his negotiations in Genoa (*CH* II 2425; → 1246 IX 13).
- 1247 V 22, (Artois): charter, issuer: *frater Reginaldus de Vicheriis domorum milicie T(em)pli in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 48, f. 428).
- 1247 VII, (France): charter (for the Templars of Choisy, dép. Seine-et-Marne), issuer: *frater Reginaldus de Vicheriis domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 44, f. 182).
- 1248 V, (Troyes): charter, issuer: *frater Renaudus de Vichier domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Pétel, “Templiers” (1910), 316–17 n. 19).
- 1248 VI, (Troyes): charter (by Master John, an *officialis* from Troyes), mention: *fratris Renaudi de Vicher domorum milicie Templi in Francia preceptoris* (Coll. d'Albon 52, f. 154).
- 1248 VIII 25, EU: secondary literature: Louis IX of France left for Cyprus where he would arrive on 1248 IX 17. Reynald of Vichiers was probably traveling in his entourage (Bulst-Thiele, 226).
- 1248 IX 20, Lyons: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), co-recipient: NN, *preceptori domus milicie Templi in Francia* [perhaps still referring to Reynald of Vichiers?] (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 200).
- 1249 V 12, Limassol: charter (the Templars' conventual officials for the Genoese Odo Tornellus, Stephen of Guiberto, and William Gervasius), co-issuer: *frater Raynaldus manescalcus Templi* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176).
- 1249 XII 6, Egypt (south of Damietta): chronicle: *frere Renaut de Bichiers qui estoit lors marechal du Temple* initiated, without the permission of Louis IX of France, a successful Templar attack against the Muslims (Joinville, § 185–6; cf. Rothelin, 597).
- (1249), (Damietta): rule/statutes: an unnamed Templar *marexal* gave permission for an exchange of equipment which was later challenged in chapter (Upton-Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 194).
- 1250 II 8, near Mansurah: chronicle: Joinville reports that a military offensive launched by Count Robert of Artois cost all mounted Templars involved their lives, which the master had later told him (*comme le maistre le me dit depuis*) (Joinville, § 219; date: *ibid.*, li. Here, *maistre* probably does not refer to William of Sonnac, who died a few days later (1250 II 11), but, rather, to the future Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers who, in 1250 II, was still Templar marshal, but who would have reported this incident to Joinville later).
- 1250 V 8 (and the following days), Egypt: chronicle: contrary to the wishes of Templar Preceptor Stephen of Ostricourt, but following a suggestion of *frere Renaut de Vichiers qui estoit marechal du Temple*, and with the consent of Louis IX of France, Jean de Joinville wanted to take 30,000 pounds from the Templar treasury aboard the order's main

- galley to pay the ransom for the king's brother and others in Muslim captivity. When the unnamed Templar treasurer refused to surrender the key to Joinville, claiming that he did not recognize him, he was ordered by the order's marshal (Reynald of Vichiers) to hand over the key because Joinville would otherwise open the treasury by force (Joinville, § 381–4; date: *ibid.*, lii–liii).
- 1250 (after V 13), Acre: chronicle: after his arrival in Acre (1250 V 13), Louis IX of France gratefully supported the election of Reynald of Vichiers as Templar master, *pour la courtoisie que il avoit faite au roy en la prison* (Joinville, § 413; date: *ibid.*, liii).
- 1250 (VI–VII), Acre: chronicle: Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers saw to it that 360 pounds, which Joinville had deposited with the preceptor of the Templar palace at Acre, were returned to Joinville (Joinville, § 412–14; date: *ibid.*, liii).
- 1250 VIII, TS: charter (for the Genoese Boniface of Turre), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1250 XII 2: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 38bis).
- 1250 X, TS: charter (for the Genoese Paschal of Vignale), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1251 III 9: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 44; Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 61).
- 1250 XII 2, (Genoa): charter (by Boniface of Turre), mention: *frater Rainaudus de Uichelio, magister Templi* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 38bis. → 1250 VIII).
- 1251 III 9, (Genoa): charter (by Paschal of Vignale), mention: *frater Raynaldus de Uicherio Dei gratia pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 44. → 1250 X).
- 1251, Atlit: chronicle: Master Reynald of Vichiers served as a godfather to Peter of Alençon, son of Louis IX of France, born in the Templar castle of Atlit (Joinville, § 514. Thus, it seems that the Templar rule's prohibition of Templars serving as godfathers (*UT* 71; *RT* 72) did not necessarily apply to the order's master).
- 1252 V 1, TS: charter (for Simon Doria), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 III 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 48).
- (1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: chronicle: Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf and Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers successfully convinced Louis IX of France to renew the fortifications of Caesarea. Both masters rebuffed an Assassin envoy who was asking Louis to relieve the Assassins of the tribute payments they were forced to make to Hospitallers and Templars (Joinville, § 453; date: Joinville, liv).
- (1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: rule/statutes, mention: when Guy of Bazainville was Templar preceptor of France, a Templar brother had left a Templar house by climbing over the wall, was caught and brought before the chapter. The case was ultimately decided *a Cesayre per davant le maistre frere Renaut de Vixer*. The brother was expelled from the order (Upton Ward, *Catalan Rule*, § 176; date: Joinville, liv).
- (1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: chronicle: the Templar Marshal Hugh of Jouy, acting on behalf of the Templar master (Reynald of Vichiers), had reached an agreement with the Ayyubid sultan of Damascus (an-Nasir Yusuf) with regard to the joint administration of an area that was considered Templar territory. Louis IX of France, who had not been consulted and was upset because an emir sent by the sultan now expected Louis's consent, declared the agreement void and, disregarding the intervention of the Templar master and Queen Margaret of France, had the Templar marshal banished from the kingdom of Jerusalem (Joinville, § 511–14; date: *ibid.*, liv).
- 1252 VII 3, Perugia: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), recipient: NN, *magistro... milicie Templi Jerosolimitani* (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 5861; Claverie III, 423–4 n. 11).
- 1252 VII 15, Perugia: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 234–5).
- 1252 VII, TS: charter (for the Genoese Johanninus Damigo), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XI 18: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 129).
- 1253 I 30, Perugia: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), recipient: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 6256).

- 1253 III 11, (Genoa): charter (by Simon Doria), mention: Master Reynald of Vichiers (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 48. → 1252 V 1).
- 1253 III 18, Perugia: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), recipient: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Innocent IV*, ed. Berger, n. 6432).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (for the Genoese Lanfrancus Dentutus), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 11: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 86).
- 1253 V, TS: charter (for the Genoese William Boletus), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 VII 12: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 93).
- 1253 VI, TS: charter (for the Genoese James Navarrus), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 X 24: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 110).
- 1253 VI, TS: charter (for the Genoese Lampert Auricula), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XI 29: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 168).
- 1253 VII 11, (Genoa): charter (by Lanfranc Dentutus), mention: *dominus frater Raynaldus de Vicherio Dei gratia pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 86. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII 12, (Genoa): charter (by William Boletus), mention: *dominus Raynaldus de Vicherio pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 93. → 1253 V).
- 1253 VII, TS: charter (for the Genoese Franciscus of Camilla), issuer: Master Reynald of Vichiers (mentioned in a charter of → 1253 XII 10: Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 197).
- 1253 X 24, (Genoa): charter (by James Navarrus), mention: *frater Rainaldus de Vicherio magister Dei gratia milicie Templi* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 110. → 1253 VI).
- 1253 XI 18, (Genoa): charter (by Johanninus Damigo), mention: *frater Raynaldus de Vicherio Dei gratia pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 129. → 1252 VII).
- 1253 XI 29, (Genoa): charter (by Lampert Auricua), mention: *frater Renaldus de Vichelio Dei gratia pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 168. → 1253 VI).
- 1253 XII 10, (Genoa): charter (by Franciscus of Camilla), mention: *frater Rainaldus de Vicherio Dei gratia pauperis milicie Templi magister* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, n. 197. → 1253 VII).
- 1254 IX 25, Anagni: charter (by Pope Innocent IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 249).
- 1254 IX (23 or 30), Acre: letter (the barons and prelates of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the highest officials of the military orders, to Henry III of England), co-sender: Templar Master R(eynald of Vichiers) ("Annales monasterii de Burton," ed. Luard, 368–9; *RRH* 1221; date: Claverie III, 529).
- 1255 III 3, (Italy): charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *maestre* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 255).
- 1255 V 11, Naples: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), mention: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 482).
- 1255 VII 5, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 262).
- 1255 VII 7, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 266).
- 1255 VII 15, Acre: charter (for the Templars in Champagne), issuer: *frère Renaud de Vichiers maître de la poure chevalerie du Temple de Ierusalem* (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 12; *Layettes*, ed. Teulet et al., III, 246–9 n. 4184; cf. D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Histoire*, V, n. 3081–2).
- 1255 VII 23, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 272).
- 1255 VIII 1, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 274).
- 1255 VIII 31, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 278).
- 1255 IX 6, Anagni: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 282–3).

- 1255 XII 5, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 289).
- 1255 XII 9, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), mention: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 971).
- 1255, TS: secondary literature: a ten-year truce concluded with the sultan of Damascus was in accordance with the intentions of the Templar master (Bulst-Thiele, 229; Barber, 155).
- 1256 I 18, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, *magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 290).
- 1256 I 20, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 1075).
- (1250 after V 13–1256 I 20), TS: rule/statutes: *maistre frere Renaut de Vichier* issued a statute regarding how brothers should be taking their meals (*RT* 616).
- (1250 after V 13–1256 I 20), TS: list of Templar masters: *magister Reginaldus de Vichers* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, “Documents,” 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16).
- (1250 after V 13–1256 I 20), TS: seal of Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers (Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 61, 66; cf. Marillier, *Armorial*, 76).
- 1256 I 20, TS: list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): *XIII k(a)l(endas) febr(uarii) obiit frater Reginaldus de Vicheriis decimus non(us) magister militie Templi cuius a(n)i(m)a requiescat in pace* (BN, lat. 15054, f. 40; Bulst-Thiele, 230, suggests that he died during a raid of the Christians against the Muslims south of Jaffa).
- (1256 I 20), TS: chronicle: *et morit frere Renaut de Juchieres maistre du Temple* (Eracles, 443; cf. “Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 446–7).
- 1256 I 23, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), recipient: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 1085. The pope would not have learned of Reynald's death until the spring).
- 1256 I 27, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), mention: NN, Templar master (*Registres d'Alexandre IV*, ed. Bourel de la Roncière, n. 1104).
- 1257 IV, TS: charter (John of Montfort, lord of Toron, for the Templars), mention: the late Templar Master *Reinaud de Vichiel* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 43; Delaville Le Roulx, “Inventaire,” 94 n. 306; *RRH* 1258a).
- 1264 IV 3, Orvieto: charter (Pope Urban IV for the abbot of St. Geneviève, Paris), mention: *quondam frater Reginaldus de Vicheriis magister domus militie Templi* (*Registres d'Urban IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 1536).
- 1277 VIII 18, Acre: charter (by the representative of the Genoese consul in Acre), mention: the late *dominus Raynaldus de Vichis humilis magister domus milicie Templi* (Bigoni, “Quattro documenti,” 64–5 n. 4; *RRH* 1413c).

RICHARD (H) treasurer 1207–19

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

- 1207 XII 18, Acre: charter (by Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, confirming the donation of Alix, daughter of Turgin, to the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *fratris Ricardi thesaurarii* (*CH* II 1276; *CH* IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824).
- 1219 VIII, (Acre): charter (Isembard, Hospitaller preceptor of Acre and lieutenant master in Syria, for Guy of Ronay), witness: *frater Ricardus domus Hospitalis thesaurarius* (*CH* II 1656; *RRH* 923).

RICHARD LE LO(U)P (T) draper 1262

origin: Spain? *Lo(u)p* (*lupus*, wolf), cognomen, fairly common cognomen in Navarre at that time (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 679–82).

literature: Rey, 370; Claverie II, 338.

- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Richart le Lop drapier* (*CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Richard le Loup drapier* (CH III 3029; RRH 1319).

RICHARD OF PANELLI (H) → RICHARD OF RAVELLO (H)

RICHARD OF RAVELLO (H) draper 1306–12

origin: Italy. Ravello, toponym near Amalfi (Graesse III, 238).

identity: The Hospitaller Draper Richard of *Panelli* (1306) and the Hospitaller Draper Richard of *Rav(i)elino* (1312) were probably one and the same person.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412 (where he is also incorrectly listed as draper for 1306 V 27 when, in fact, Walter Anglicus was holding the office); Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 32.

1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (the Hospitallers' conventual officials and general chapter for the Master Fulk of Villaret), co-issuer: *frater Riccardus de Panelli* [sic, should read *Ravelli*] *drapperius* (CH IV 4735).

1312 X 17, Rhodes: charter (Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the conventual officials for Albert of Schwarzburg, grand preceptor and now proctor at the papal court and the courts of western Europe), co-issuer: *frater Richardus de Ravelino draperius*; mention: *fratre Richardo de Ravielino draperio*, i.e. the Hospitaller draper, the prior of Rome, the prior of Venice (who also served as the order's general proctor at the papal court), three (former) companions of the master, and Durand of Praepositura (preceptor of Montchalix and La Sauvetat d'Aurillac), now nominated to serve as Albert's *socios consiliarios et coadjutores* (Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 451–8; Rymer, *Foedera*, II.1, 57–8).

ROBERT (H) prior 1192

origin: unknown.

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, 431, lists him as a prior of Acre, but not as a conventual prior; probably because he is named after the Hospitaller preceptor of Acre in the witness list of a charter issued on → 1192 II 2. However, after the Third Crusade's conquest of Acre (1191), the Hospitallers established their headquarters in Acre, and there was no further need for a prior of Acre because the conventual prior now resided there.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 431.

1192 II 2, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Robertus ejusdem domus ecclesie prior* (CH I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; RRH 699; date: Strehlke, *ibid.*).

ROBERT (H) treasurer → ROBERT ANGLICUS/THESAURARIUS (H)

ROBERT ANGLICUS/THESAURARIUS (H) treasurer 1192; preceptor 1194

origin: England. *Anglicus* (English), toponym.

identity: The Hospitaller Treasurer Robert (without cognomen) who served on → 1192 II 2 is probably identical with the Hospitaller Robert Anglicus, who appeared in → 1182 in the Artois and on → 1194 I 5 as preceptor of Acre. He is, in my opinion, also identical with Robert Thesaurarius (le Trésorier) who served as Hospitaller prior of England → (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1). Delaville Le Roulx (in CH IV, p. 335) suggests that the latter's cognomen was based on a previous tenure as Hospitaller treasurer of Clerkenwell; however, there is no evidence to support this. Considering the prior of England's high position in his order's hierarchy, Robert would have had little use for a cognomen alluding to a previous 'lower' office. On the other hand, a cognomen alluding to a previous office that had added to Robert's prestige would have been most welcome. Therefore, I am convinced that Robert's cognomen 'Thesaurarius (le Trésorier)' indicates that he had held the office of conventual treasurer—at a time, when the Third Crusade and, thus, many Englishmen had been in the east,

- who could have remembered him later when he came to England to take over the English Hospitaller priory.
- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 412, 426; King, *Grand Priory*, xi; Bronstein, 12, 78, 152; Burgdorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 15.
- 1182, Hesdin (Artois): charter (Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders and Vermandois, for the Hospitallers), co-recipient: *Roberti Anglici* (*CH* I 617).
- 1192 II 2, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Robertus thesaurarius* (*CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699; date: Strehlke, *ibid.*).
- 1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Robertus Anglicus tunc commendator domus Hospitalis Acconensis* (*CH* I 972; *RRH* 717; date: Mayer II, 883).
- 1204 V 18, Winchester: charter (King John of England to those favored in his testament), co-recipient: *Roberti Thesaurarii tunc prioris Hospitalis in Anglia*. The document also bears the seal of the Hospitaller prior of England (*CH* II 1191; Delaville Le Roulx, “Sceaux des prieurs anglais,” 6).
- 1205 V 8, London: charter (agreement between Simon Fitz Norman and William of Brinkley), mention: Robert Thesaurarius, Hospitaller prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1219bis).
- 1205 X 6, London: charter (agreement between Geoffrey of Say and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Robertum Thesaurarium*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335–6 n. 1222bis).
- 1205 X 27, London: charter (agreement between Robert Fitz Hugh and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Robertum Thesaurarium*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 336 n. 1223bis).
- 1206 (I), Ossington: charter (for Robert, son of Ivo of Wicham), issuer: *frater Robertus Thesaurarius prior fratrum Hospitalis Jerosolimitani in Anglia* (*CH* II 1233; cf. *CH* I, p. clxii).
- 1206 (after V 11), Melchbourne: charter (for Paulinus of Gerstang), issuer: *Robertus Thesaurarius*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 336 n. 1238bis).
- (1206), (England): charter (for Bishop Herbert of Salisbury), issuer: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* II 1229).
- 1207 II 13, Woodstock: charter (by Odo Patrick), recipient: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 336 n. 1255bis).
- (1206 VI 3–1207 VI 7), Westminster: charter (agreement between Robert of Waie and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 336 n. 1241bis).
- 1209 III 24, London: letter (by King John of England), mention: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England, as one of the king’s envoys sent to Otto IV of Germany (*CH* IV, p. 337 n. 1327bis. Otto IV was crowned emperor on 1209 X 4, and Robert may have attended the coronation).
- 1209 XII 1, Gloucester: charter (agreement between Walter, son of Robert of Risley, and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 337 n. 1341bis).
- 1210 XI 3, Northampton: charter (agreement between Roger of Cramville and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 337 n. 1358bis).
- 1210 XII 1, Lichfield: charter (agreement between William of Parles and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 337 n. 1358ter).
- 1210 XII 1, Lichfield: charter (agreement between Robert Fossard and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 337 n. 1358quater).

- 1212 VII 15, Northampton: charter (agreement between William Fitz Ralph and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 337–8 n. 1392bis).
- 1213 III 3, Westminster: charter (agreement between Richard Basset and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 338 n. 1408bis).
- 1213 IX 3, Nottingham: charter (King John of England for A. of St. Maur, Templar master of England), mention: *R(oberto)*, Hospitaller prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 338 n. 1412bis).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for Adam Casse Fitz Robert), issuer: *R(obertus) Th(esaurarius)*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 334 n. 1190bis/I).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for Gilbert Fitz Reynfrid), issuer: *R(obertus) Thesaurarius*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 334 n. 1190bis/II).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for Patrick, a cleric from Kirknewton), issuer: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1190bis/III).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for Adam, the cooper), issuer: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1190bis/IV).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for Walter, son of William of Capellis), issuer: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1190bis/V).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (agreement between Robert Wollop and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Robert Thesaurarius, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1190bis/VI).
- (1204 IV 28–1214 I 1), (England): charter (for William, son of Ralph of Campes), issuer: *Robertus Thesaurarius*, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 335 n. 1190bis/VII; Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 290 n. 510).
- 1214 I 1, Waltham: charter (by King John of England), recipient: *R(oberto)*, Hospitaller prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 338 n. 1421bis).
- (1214) X 26: list of Hospitallers priors of England: *frater Robertus thesaurarius prior tempore eiusdem priorisse* [Fina of Buckland] *obiit vicesimo sexto die octobris* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961. His successor, Henry of Arundel, was in office by 1215 VIII 30).

ROBERT (II BURGUNDIO) (T) seneschal 1132–4; master 1136/7–1149

origin: France. Burgundio, family name in northern Anjou (Jessec, “Family,” 31).

Michaud, “Poitou,” 120, suggests that he originated from Poitou, probably because of William of Tyre’s claim that Robert hailed from Aquitaine (Guillaume de Tyr XV.6, 682–3). Claverie II, 321, suggests that he originated from Champagne.

family: noble family of Craon. Reynald Burgundio, lord of Craon (d.1101), and his wife Ennoguena of Vitré had at least four sons, among them the future Templar Robert (II Burgundio). One of Robert’s great-grandfathers (Reynald Burgundio, count of Nevers and Auxerre) was married to Adela of Normandy and, thus, the son-in-law of Robert II of France (d.1031). Robert’s paternal grandfather (Robert I) went on the First Crusade, and one of his brothers (Henry) participated in the crusade of 1129 (Guillaume de Tyr XV.6, 682–3; Du Cange, *Familles*, 871; Grousset, *Histoire*, II, 125; Jessec, “Family,” 40, 44; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 85, 102, 109; Demurger, *Templiers*, 97–8).

identity: Rey, 253–5, does not feature him in his list of Templar seneschals, probably because Robert did not appear in this office in the Latin east. However, the seneschal was the master’s lieutenant wherever the master was absent (*RT* 99), and therefore there can be no doubt that Robert was, in fact, the order’s seneschal. He later became the order’s master. He was probably identical with the Templar Knight Robert of → 1125 X 20, as well as with Robert Burgundio, a knight of St. Stephen of Jerusalem in → 1127 (after IX 22) (Selwood, *Knights*, 62). Röhrich, 219, suggests that Robert

- was identical with a certain Burgundius, who traveled to the Latin east in the early twelfth century, was married to Richeza, the sister of Anselm of Canterbury (d.1109), and had a son from that marriage (*S. Anselmi Opera*, ed. Gerberon and Migne, I, 104–5 n. 66; cf. *ibid.*, 105 n. 67); according to Bulst-Thiele, 31, this is unlikely.
- literature*: Rey, 247; Röhrich, 219; Melville, *Vie*, 35, 59; Bulst-Thiele, 28, 30–40; Melville, “Débuts,” 27; Jesse, “Family,” 31–60; Riley-Smith, “Families,” 3; Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 159; Selwood, *Knights*, 62; Claverie, “Débuts,” 576–7; Claverie I, 27, 104–5; II, 321; Carraz, *Ordre*, 92; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 16; Demurger, *Templiers*, 97–8.
- (c.1093), (Anjou): information from a later charter (→ 1134): when the church of St. Mary of Chamiliaco was donated to the priory of St. Clement (Craon), the witnesses included Rainnaldo Burgundio, Mauritio, Aymerico et Roberto filiis eius (Bulst-Thiele, 38–9).
- 1096 II 11, Angers: charter (Reynald, son of Robert (I) Burgundio, for the Augustinians of La Roë, dép. Mayenne), witness: *Mauricio et Henrico et Roberto filiis meis* (Bulst-Thiele, 39; cf. *ibid.*, 30, where the author suggests that Robert (II) Burgundio may have heard the crusade sermons of Pope Urban II and Robert of Arbrissel).
- 1105, Angers: charter (by Geoffrey IV Martell, count of Anjou), witness: *Mauritius, dominus Credonis* [Craon], *Robertus, frater eius* (Bulst-Thiele, 39).
- (1105–1125 before X 20), (France): secondary literature: Robert (II) Burgundio entered the service of Count Wolgrin of Angoulême, stayed temporarily at the court of the dukes of Aquitaine, became engaged to the daughter and heiress of Jordan Eschivat, the lord of Chabannes and Confolens, but then left his fiancée and her territories to one William of Matas in order to join the Templars (which may have occurred in 1125 in the east) (Bulst-Thiele, 30–1).
- 1125 X 20, TS: charter (Bishop Bernard of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *S. Roberti militis Templi* (CH I 71; CT 3; RRH 106).
- (1125), EU: charter (by Baldwin Brochet of Himiacho), recipient: *militibus Hierosolymitani Templi Henrico et Roberto* (CT 4).
- 1127 (after IX 22), Saumur: charter (Count Fulk V for the monastery of St. Florent in Saumur), witness: *Robertus Burgundio miles Sancti Stephani Jerusalem* (Chartrou, Anjou, 364–7 n. 37. Nothing further is known about the connection between Robert and St. Stephen outside the gates of Jerusalem).
- (1113–29), Angers: charter, mention: *Robertus Burgundus iussu comitis* [Count Fulk V] *tulit sententiam in favorem monachorum* (Chartrou, Anjou, 375–6 n. 44).
- 1132 IX 19, EU: charter (by Count Armengaud VI of Urgell), recipient: *in manu ejusdem Robertus* [sic] *dapiferi et Hugonis Rigaudi* [sic] *confratris societatis eorum* (Sans i Travé, Collecció, 102–3 n. 27; CT 47).
- 1132 X 3, EU: charter (Bernard Petri for the Templars), mention: *hoc donum facio in presencia Roberti senescalch et Uguoni Rigalli* (CT 48).
- 1132 XII 28, (Auvergne): charter (by the Templar Hugh Rigaudi), witness: *Robbertus qui senescalchus Templi fuerat* (CT 52).
- (1133 III 26–1134 IV 14), (Langres): charter (by Bishop William of Langres), mention: a donation made *in manu Roberti senescalci, militibus Templi* (CT 61; Robert was elected Templar master after the death of Hugh of Payns (d.1136/7 V 24); it is unknown whether he was in the east at the time of his election).
- 1134, EU, charter (by Bishop Guy of Le Mans), mention: → (c.1093).
- 1137 (IX 24–XII 24), (Jerusalem): charter (by William, castellan of St. Omer, and his son), recipient: *in manu... Roberti milici(a)e Templi magistri* (CT 141; RRH 173; date: Mayer II, 857).
- 1138 (after VI 16), (Richerenches): charter (by Bertrand of Balmis), recipient: *Roberto eiusdem milicie magistro* (Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire*, 36–7 n. 33; CT 125; date: Ripert-Monclar, *ibid.* In 1138/9, Robert traveled through southern France and possibly Aragón).
- 1139 I 27, EU: charter (by Peter Rogerii), recipient: *dom(i)no Roberto Bergoin ipsius milicie magistro* (CT 181).

- 1139 III 29, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent II: *Omne datum optimum*), recipient: *Roberto magistro religiose militi(a)e Templi quod Iherosolimis situm est* (VOP I, 204–10 n. 3; VOP II, 96–103; *CT, Bullaire*, 5).
- (1139), (France): charter (by Peter, the abbot of the monastery of St. Gilles), recipient: *Rotberto magistro Templi* (Coll. d'Albon 5, f. 7; *CT* 187; date: Bulst-Thiele, 39).
- (1139), Teqoa (TS): chronicle: *Robertus cognomine Burgundio natione Aquitanicus magister Templi* participated in a largely unsuccessful military engagement (Guillaume de Tyr XV.6, 682–3).
- (1140 IV 7–1141 III 29), Noyon: charter (by Bishop Simon of Noyon), recipient: *fratri Roberto magistro militum Templi Iherosolimitani* (*CT* 205; cf. *CT* 141).
- 1142 I 12, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent II), recipient: *Roberto magistro milicie Templi* (*CT, Bullaire*, 7; cf. *CT* 61).
- (1139–43) V 1, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent II), mention: *dilecto filio nostro Roberto magistro ipsius domus* (VOP I, 212–13 n. 6; *CT, Bullaire*, 6).
- 1143 XI 27, Girona: charter (Count Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona for the Templars), mention: *Rodbertum magne excellentie magistrum Iherosolimitane milicie* (Sarobe i Huesca, *Collecció*, 89–93 n. 9; Sans i Travé, *Collecció*, 110–14 n. 25; *CT* 314).
- (1137–43) XI, (Aragón), EU: charter (by Count Raymond Berengar IV of Barcelona), recipient: *Raimundo* [sic] *Dei gratia milicie Iherosolimitane magistro* (*CT* 145: the original probably read *Roberto*, not *Raimundo*).
- 1145 XII 3, (Richerenches): charter (Nicholas of Borboton for the Templars), mention: *Roberti memorate milicie magistri* (Ripert-Monclar, *Cartulaire*, 9–10 n. 7; *CT* 371. Bulst-Thiele, 40, points out that Robert was not present at this transaction).
- (1147) VII 21, Auxerre: charter (by Pope Eugenius III), recipient: Templar Master *Robert* (VOP II, 208–9 n. 5).
- 1148 VI 24, Palmarea (near Acre): chronicle: under the leadership of Conrad III of Germany, Louis VII of France, Baldwin III of Jerusalem, and the latter's mother (Queen Melisendis), the participants of the Second Crusade convened for a *curia generalis* which was also attended by *Robertus magister militie Templi*; *Raimundus magister domus Hospitalis* (Guillaume de Tyr XVII.1, 760–1; *RRH* 250).
- (1136/7 after V 24–1149 I 13), TS/EU/TS: list of Templar masters: *Magister Burgundus* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, “Documents,” 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16).
- (1136/7 after V 24–1149 I 13), TS/EU/TS: chronicle: according to William of Tyre, Robert was a man of pious memory in the Lord, an outstanding knight, strong in battle, noble with regard to his origin and his manners, and from Aquitaine (*vir pie in domino recordationis, miles eximius et in armis strenuus, nobilis carne at moribus dominus Robertus, cognomine Burgundio, natione Aquitanicus, magister militie Templi* (Guillaume de Tyr XV.6, 682–3).
- 1149 I 13, TS: list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): *id(ibus) Januarii (...) obiit frat(er) Robertus Burgu(n)dus s(e)c(un)d(u)s mag(iste)r templ(i)* (BN, lat. 15054, f. 39^r; date: Bulst-Thiele, 38).
- 1150 III 30, Lateran: charter (by Pope Eugenius III), mention: *bone memorie Roberto predicti Templi magistro* (VOP I, 218–20 n. 13; *CT, Bullaire*, 22).
- 1156 IV 6, Benevento: charter (by Pope Hadrian IV), mention: *bone memorie Roberto predicti Templi magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 1, f. 106–8; *Papsturkunden in Spanien*, ed. Kehr, I, 352–3 n. 74).
- (1171–81) II 6, Tusculum: charter (by Pope Alexander III), mention: the late *Rotberto... magistro* (VOP I, 326–9 n. 135).

ROBERT OF CAMVILLE (I) preceptor of Acre 1200–4

origin: France/England. Camville, family name in Normandy. Claverie II, 338, suggests that he originated from Chanville in eastern France.

family: noble family of Camville. He may have been the younger brother of Richard (II) of Camville. Richard (II) participated in the Third Crusade, was appointed one

of the three justiciars *super totum navigium* by Richard the Lionheart, later became one of the two English lieutenants on Cyprus, and lost his life during the siege of Acre (1191) (Röhricht, 551; Runciman, *History*, III, 46; Bulst-Thiele, 125; Prestwich, "Camville," 1425–6).

literature: Léonard, *Introduction*, 163; Claverie I, 32; II, 338.

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Robbertus de Chamvill[er] preceptor domus Aconie* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a).

(1200–4), EU: charter (Villanus of Alneto for the Templars, referring to a donation made by him during his stay in the Latin east), mention: *hoc donum fuit factum in presentia... fratris Roberti de Chaumille qui tunc erat preceptor domus Templi Acon* (Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455; date: Claverie III, 79–80 n. 43, suggests "1200?;" however, Robert was still preceptor on → 1204 VII 19, which is why I date "(1200–4)").

1207, (France): charter (agreement between the Templars and the prior of *Buili*), party to the agreement: *fratre Roberto de Chanviles preceptore domus Templi de Ulmo Tiaudi* [L'Ormeteau, dép. Indre-et-Loire] (Coll. d'Albon 58, f. 52).

ROBERT FRAISNEL (T) grand preceptor 1179/81; marshal 1187

origin: France and Latin east? *Fraisnel*, toponym in various parts of France (La Fresnay-au-Sauvage, Fraisse-sur-Agout, Le Fraissinet, Fresnoy-en-Val, or Fresnay), name of a Hospitaller house near Cambrai (*Fraisnoi*), name of a Templar house in the preceptorate of St. Eulalie (*Fraissinet*), and family name in late twelfth-century England (*Fraxineto* or *Freinel*) as well as the principality of Antioch (Graesse II, 99, 103; *CH* I 447; Selwood, *Knights*, 197; Lees, *Records*, 149–50 n. 4, 151 n. 6, 216 n. 6; Paoli, *Dell'origine*, 464).

family: noble family from Champagne/Antioch. It is unknown how he was related to them. Paoli, *Dell'origine*, 464, suggests that the family originated from Champagne. Until 1164, they held the castle of Harenc (Harim) in the principality of Antioch. Guy Fraisel appeared as early as 1110 and William Fraisel (*Fraisnelli*) was at the court of Prince Raymond I of Antioch in 1140 (BN, n.a.fr. 6793, f. 160–1; Bresc-Bautier, 176–83 n. 76–7; Rozière, 169–78 n. 88–9; *RRH* 194–5; Mayer, *Varia*, 60).

literature: Rey, 254; Nicholson and Nicolle, *God's Warriors*, 58.

(1179 after X 9–1181 fall), Acre: charter (Arnold of Aurillac for the Templars), co-recipient: *per manus fratris Ursi de Aln(et) et fratris Roberti Fresn(e)l tunc temporis domus Templi altero senescallo altero magno preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis).

1183 (before IX 1), TS: charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *frater Robertus Fraisel* (VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 89–90 n. 42; *RRH* 631; date: VOP III, *ibid.*).

1187 V 1, Cresson (near Nazareth): information from a later letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS): *fratre Roberto Frauiel marschalco* was traveling toward Tiberias in the entourage of Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort, when the latter decided to attack a Muslim army. The battle ended in a total defeat for the Christians. Robert Fraisel was one of the casualties (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; *RRH* 658).

1187 IX 3, Verona: letter (Pope Urban III to the English prelates), mention: *frater Robertus Frenellus mareschallus Templi* and his death at Cresson (VOP III, 322–4 n. 148; Giraldus Cambrensis, *De principis instructione*, 201–2).

1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS: letter, mention: → 1187 V 1.

1187 XI 23, EU: chronicle: the letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23) mentioning the battle of Cresson and the Templar Marshal Robert Fraisel was read publicly in the west (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6).

ROBERT OF MERDOGNE (H) draper (1291–1303)

origin: France. Merdogne, toponym in Auvergne (Graesse II, 549).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

(1291 after V 18–before 1303), (Cyprus): information from a later *esgart* (→ 1303 (c.XI 3)): *Robert de Merdoigne qui avoit esté drappier* before the tenure of the Hospitaller Draper → Walter Anglicus (*CH* IV 4618; date: → the next entry).

1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (Hospitaller Draper Walter Anglicus versus the Hospitaller infirmarer), mention: *Robert de Merdoigne qui avoit esté drappier aucunes années avant de luy* [Walter], had made similar claims versus the infirmarer because, as Robert had said, that was the way things had been done in Acre, which had been confirmed to Robert by *freres qui avoient esté compagnons de drappier en Acre* (*CH* IV 4618. This suggests, against Delaville Le Roulx, that Robert of Merdogne held the office of draper after the fall of Acre (1291 V 18) but before the tenure of → Walter Anglicus).

ROBERT OF VINEIS (H) hospitaller 1235–9

origin: unknown, perhaps France? *Vineium* (Vence), toponym in Provence (Graesse III, 632). His cognomen is too generic to establish his origin.

identity: He appears with the cognomen ‘of Vincis’ in → 1235 XI, but is probably nonetheless identical with the Hospitaller Robert (without cognomen) who served on → 1237 VI 18 and in 1239 IV. If Sultan al-Kamil did indeed will ample income and money to the Hospital in → 1238, Robert probably would have received it on behalf of the sick. Delaville Le Roulx, 411, assumes that Robert’s tenure was interrupted by that of a certain Andrew; however, the latter was not a hospitaller but, rather, the order’s infirmarer: → [Andrew (H) hospitaller? 1238].

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Bronstein, 152.

1235 XI, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Guerin for Nicholas Antelini), witness: *frater Robertus de Vineis hospitalarius* (*CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063).

1237 VI 18, (Acre): charter (Peter of Vieillebride, Hospitaller preceptor of Acre, for Simon, son of Thomas *de la Chaene*), witness: *frere Robers li hospitalers* (Arles, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 164, f. 641; *CH* II 2166; *RRH* 1076b).

1238, TS: chronicle: before his death, al-Kamil, the Ayyubid sultan of Egypt, allegedly *liberaliter legavit redditus opulentissimos et pecuniam multam infirmis in domo Hospitalis* (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, III, 486. This may, of course, be one of the ‘invented’ stories contained in the works of Matthew Paris).

1239 IV, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps for Lutold, the grand preceptor of the Teutonic Order), witness: *frere Robert l’hospitalier* (*CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091).

RODERIC PETRI (H) marshal 1259/61, 1271

origin: Spain? The clue is his tenure as preceptor of Consuegra in Castile (1241).

family: Petri, patronym (i.e. son of Peter)? It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar Roderic Petri (preceptor of Villa Palmas; mentioned during the Templar trial in Castile, 1310: Javierre Mur, “Aportacion,” 75–8 n. 3).

identity: probably not identical with the Hospitaller Roderic Petri Poncii (preceptor of Alcañiz, 1284: *CH* III 3859), due to the latter’s different patronym.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Bronstein, 152.

1241 III 6, Córdoba: charter (by Ferdinand III of Castile), co-recipient: *dompno Roderico Petri esistenti comendatori in Consogra* (*CH* II 2269).

(1259–61) V 1, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), witness: [*frere Rodericus*] *de Perere mareschal* (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte 56 H 4059 (original); Manosque, f. 289 28 #; date: the same document listed for → Craphus).

1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Rodericus Petri marescallus*

(*CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a. Bronstein, 152, also lists *CH* III 3429 as evidence for Roderic's career; however, this document does not contain his name).

RODERIC RODERICI (H) hospitaller 1273

origin: Spain? Roderic Roderici, name of the chancellor of Henry I of Castile in 1215 (*CH* II 1447). It is unclear whether this was a relative.

family: Roderici, patronym (i.e. son of Roderic)?

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoyno, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Rodericus Roderici* (*CH* III 3433; *RRH* 1382a).

1273 X 7, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), witness: *fratre Roderico Roderici hospitalario* (*CH* III 3519; *RRH* 1391a; cf. *CH* III 3512, 3563).

[ROGER OF LARINO (H) preceptor? 1184]

identity: Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 61, features him in his list of Hospitaller preceptors. However, Roger of Larunt (whose cognomen—*Larunt*, *la Rum*, *Lirone*—is probably a misspelling or misreading of Larino, a community in southern Italy) was not the order's conventual preceptor but, rather, the Hospitaller preceptor of Antioch (Delaville Le Roulx, 431). In 1184/5, Roger appeared in a charter of the patriarch of Antioch, in 1185 he witnessed (without any title) a charter issued by Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers in the county of Tripoli, and in 1187 he surfaced as Hospitaller preceptor (*bailli*) of Antioch in a charter issued by Bohemond III of Antioch (*CH* I 665, 754, 783; *VOP* II, 288–95 n. 90; *RRH* 636, 642, 649; cf. Mayer II, 269, 878; Mayer, *Varia*, 35–6).

ROGER OF VERE (H) draper 1262

origin: England. Vere, family name.

family: noble family of Vere (earls of Oxford, 1141–1703). His uncle was Robert of Vere (d.1221), the third earl of Oxford. His father (as well as that of Sir Simon of Vere) was Sir Walter of Vere, the earl's brother (Fryde, *Handbook*, 476; Lloyd, *English Society*, 107; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, II, 174). His relatives probably included the Hospitallers Gilbert of Vere (brother 1190–5; prior of England, 1195–9: *CH* IV, p. 325–6, 328–32; Delaville Le Roulx, 426) and Guy of Vere (brother, 1199: *CH* I 1093–4), as well as Baldwin and Roger of Vere, both nephews of the third earl of Oxford and participants of the Fifth Crusade (Lloyd, *English Society*, 107). His coat of arms is probably an early-modern invention (Fincham, *Order*, 79: “Quarterly gules and or, in the first quarter a mullet argent”).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 427; Parker, *Knights*, 125; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 300; Bronstein, 152.

1255 VI 30–VII 2, Galilee: charter (by Joscelin (I) of Tournel), witness: *fratre Rogerio* (*CH* II 2747; *RRH* 1237. This Hospitaller brother was probably Roger of Vere).

1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Rogier de Vers drapier de l'Ospital* (*CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322).

1264 VIII 15, Canterbury: charter (by Henry III of England), mention: *Robert* [sic] *de Ver prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, the Templar master of England (Amblard), and the archdeacon of Oxford were sent to the continent as the king's proctors to inform Louis IX of France about the peace agreement between Henry, his son Edward, and the barons (*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, V, 366).

1264 XI 14, Windsor: charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: *Roger de Veer, prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England* (*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, II, 51).

- 1265 XI 12, Westminster: charter (agreement between Alexander, son of Richard of London, and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *fratrem Rogerium de Veer priorem Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia*, represented by John of Ashstede (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 278–9 n. 489).
- 1267 I 13, (England): charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Walter of Audley), party to the agreement: Roger of Vere, Hospitaller prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 353 n. 3240bis).
- 1269 VI 14, Winchester: charter (by Henry III of England), mention: Roger of Vere, prior of England, had departed for the east with royal permission (*CH* III 3337).
- 1269 VI 14, Winchester: charter (by Henry III of England), mention: Roger of Vere, prior of England, *habet litteras regis de protectione*, valid between 1269 VI 24 and 1270 IX 29 (*CH* III 3338).
- 1269 VI 14, Winchester: charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: Stephen of Fulburn, Hospitaller treasurer of Clerkenwell and lieutenant of *frater Rogerus de Ver prior Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia* (*CH* III 3339).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Rogier de Ver prior d'Engleterre* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; *CH* III 3047; *RRH* 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- 1269 X 20, Melbourne: charter, issuer: Henry of Cherhill, deputy of the Hospitaller prior of England (Roger of Vere) (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 109–10 n. 175. At this time, Roger was traveling in the east).
- 1269 (year's end), England: information from a later list of Hospitaller priors of England: *frater Rogerus de Veer prior dedit ecclesie de Clerkenwell unam de six ydriis in quibus Ihesus convertat aquam in vinum anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo undeseptuagesimo* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961; cf. John 2:1–11. Roger apparently brought one of the jars used at Christ's first miracle from the east to England where he donated it to the Hospitaller church at Clerkenwell).
- 1270 IV 5, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Stephen of Fulburn, prior and treasurer of the Hospitaller house in London), mention: *Rogerum de Veer*, Hospitaller prior of England, who had reported favorably about Stephen (*CPR: Edward I*, I, 117; *CH* III 3388; *RRH* 1373a).
- 1270 IX 3, *Botnesford*: charter (by Simon of Vere, the son and heir of Sir Simon of Vere who, in turn, was the son of Sir Walter of Vere), recipient: *Roger de Veer, his uncle, prior of the Knights Hospitallers in England*, and the English Hospitallers (*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, II, 174; cf. *CH* II 1269; *CH* IV, p. 336–7, dated to 1270 IX 5).
- 1270 IX 21, Castle Cary: charter, mention: Roger of Vere, prior of England (*CH* II 1270, incorrectly dated to 1207; cf. *CH* IV, p. 336–7).
- 1270 X 9, (England): charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Robert of Audley), party to the agreement: Roger of Vere, prior of England (*CH* IV, p. 353 n. 3403bis).
- 1271 VII 15, Merton: charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: Roger of Vere, prior of England (*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, II, 174).
- 1272 V 25, Westminster: charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: *Roger de Veer, prior of the Hospitallers in England* (*Calendar of the Charter Rolls*, II, 182).
- 1272 VIII 4, London: charter, issuer: *R(ogerus) de Ver*, prior of England (*CH* III 3465; *RRH* 1385a; cf. *CH* I, p. clxii).
- 1272 XI 12, Westminster: charter (by Henry III of England), recipient: *fratri Roberto de Veer priori Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia*, receiving permission to appoint a lieutenant in legal matters until the next Lent (1273 III 1–IV 8) (*Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, XIV, 590; *CH* III 3480).
- 1272 XI 12, Chelmsford: charter (agreement between Thomas Fitz Otis and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *fratrem Rogerum de Veer priorem Hospitalis sancti*

- Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia*, represented by John of Capenore (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 518 n. 888; cf. *ibid.*, 526 n. 896).
- (1272 after XI 12), Chelmsford: charter (by Thomas Fitz Otis), recipient: *fratri Rogero (de) Ver priori Hospitalis sancti Iohannis Ierusalem in Anglia* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 526 n. 895).
- (1264–1273 II 15): charter (arbitration of a dispute involving the female Hospitallers of Buckland), arbiter: *Rogerus de Vere prior Hospitalis praedicti* (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 837).
- (1264–1273 II 15): secondary literature/seal: Roger of Vere served as Hospitaller prior of England. His prior's seal has survived (King, *Grand Priory*, xi; Delaville Le Roulx, 427. For the seal: Fincham, *Order*, 86 (“Bronze green. A shield of arms: diapré, three sixfoils, Ver or Vere. Legend wanting”), citing London, British Museum, ms. Harley, Ch. 44 E 22).
- (1273) II 15: list of Hospitaller priors of England: *frater Rogerus de Veer prior... obiit quinto decimo die februarii, anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 570–1 n. 961; Dugdale, *Monasticon*, VI.2, 799. The year given here (1270) is incorrect, as the evidence listed above shows. Roger probably died in 1273. His successor → Joseph of Cancy began his tenure as prior of England no later than 1273 X 2).

ROLAND (BURGUND(I)ENSIS) (H) hospitaller 1198–9

origin: France? *Burgund(i)ensis* (Burgundian), toponym.

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller Roland *Burgund(i)ensis* who witnessed two charters of Count Bohemond (IV) of Tripoli on → 1199 VI 15 ad 1199 IX 6. The witness lists of the three charters of 1198 and 1199 are very similar, and the name Roland only appears once in each charter.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1198 VIII 21, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Rollandi hospitalarii* (CH I 1031; RRH 742).

1199 VI 15, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Rolandus Burgundiensis* (CH I 1085; RRH 757).

1199 IX 6, TS: charter (Count Bohemond of Tripoli for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Rollandus Burgundensis* (CH I 1096; RRH 759).

RORIC OF LA COURTINE (T) seneschal 1191

origin: France? La Courtine (*Cortina*), toponym in Auvergne (Graesse I, 578). Claverie I, 32, suggests “Kürten” and, thus, a German origin.

identity: The Templar Seneschall *Reric de Corteno*, who appeared near Acre in → 1191 (IV 14–VII 12), was probably identical with the Templar Seneschal *Relis*, who appeared near Acre on 1191 V 9 (Bulst-Thiele, 124, suggests that *Relis* is a misreading or misspelling of *Amio*; I consider this much less likely), and the Templar Brother *Roric*, who witnessed two charters during the siege of Acre, → (1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13). He was not identical with Reric (Roric?) Doreor or ‘of Orouer,’ who served as Templar preceptor or master of Le Lieu-Dieu-du-Fresne (dép. Cher) in 1199–1200 (Coll. d’Albon 58, f. 127–33; cf. Léonard, *Introduction*, 164).

literature: Rey, 255; Claverie I, 32, 105.

(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Guy and Odo of Chouilly, with the consent of their brother Hugh, for the Templars), co-recipient: *fratris Rorici* (Mayer II, 909–11 n. 13; date: *ibid.*, 909–10).

(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Henry of Arzillières for the Templars), witness: *fratre Rorico* (Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14; date: the same document listed for → Amio of Ays).

1191 V 9, near Acre: charter (Conrad of Montferrat, *rex electus* of Jerusalem, for the Venetians), guarantor: *Relis dominus militie Templi senescalcus* (Tafel-Thomas I, 212–15 n. 76; RRH 705; date: Mayer II, 882).

1191 (IV 14–VII 12), near Acre: charter (Graus of Bapaumes for the Templars), witness: *fratre Rerico de Corteno milicie domus Templi senescalco* (Coll. d'Albon 45, f. 22–3; Métais, *Templiers*, 23–4 n. 17).

ROSTAGNUS (H) preceptor 1162

origin: France? Rostagnus, name, occurring in southern France at that time (*CH* I 772; II 1327).

identity: Several scholars have assumed that Rostagnus, the Hospitaller preceptor of 1162, served as some kind of anti-master between 1170 and 1172, namely during the crisis caused by the resignation of the Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly. The alleged evidence for this is the lead seal of a Hospitaller master, dated 'before 1230' and bearing the circumscription +*ROSTAGNVS CVSTOS* (front), +*OSPITALIS IHERUSALEM* (back) (Schlumberger, *Sigillographie*, 233 n. 168; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 96 n. 115; cf. Herquet, *Chronologie*, 42–4; Delaville Le Roulx, 81, 408; King, *Seals*, 9, 11, 21; Riley-Smith, 62). However, the brothers of the order's central convent who informed the pope of the events following Gilbert's resignation did not mention such an anti-master. Their statement, *reuoluto siquidem spacio quatuor mensium orta est inter fratres discensio non modica* (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480), is insufficient evidence for an anti-master, especially since → Castus of Murols was actually the Hospitaller master at that point. The pope, in his reply of 1172 VI 20, also did not mention an anti-master (VOP II, 227–30 n. 20; *CH* I 434; *RRH* 492a). The only known leader of an opposition in the order's central convent during this crisis was the former Hospitaller Preceptor → Pons Blan. Furthermore, the evidence suggests that the barons and prelates of the kingdom of Jerusalem had a strong interest in seeing the order's internal crisis resolved, and would probably not have stood by silently if there had been the election of an anti-master (cf. Chapter One). Consequently, one will have to come up with a new explanation for the abovementioned seal (In the second half of the twelfth century, the title *custos* was not reserved for the Hospitaller master. In 1177, we find a *custos operis* named Berard (Gerard?) and a *custos helemosine* named Gottschalk, both Hospitallers: *CH* I 508; *RRH* 540. However, these minor officials were certainly not entitled to a lead seal). It is unknown whether Rostagnus, the Hospitaller preceptor of 1162, is identical with a Hospitaller of the same name who served as *dapifer* in the Hospitaller house of St. Gilles in 1171 (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 234).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; cf. Chapter One.

1162, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Ogerius for Rudolph Burduyni), witness: *Rostano preceptore* (Manosque, f. 481' 53 B; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, ms. 338–9 (858–9), vol. II, f. 40; cf. *CH* I 300; *CH* IV, p. 247; *RRH* 376c).

SAIS (H) treasurer 1235, 1239

name: I suggest 'Sais' because it seems closer to the vernacular than 'Sayxius.'

origin: unknown.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412.

1235 XI, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Guerin for Nicholas Antelini), witness: *frater Sayxius thesaurarius* (*CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063).

1239 IV, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps for Lutold, the grand preceptor of the Teutonic Order), witness: *fratre Sais lo tresorier* (*CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091).

SANCHO BELARDO (T) → AMBLARD (OF VIENNE) (T)

SANCHO OF ARAGÓN (H) admiral 1306

origin: Spain. Aragón, family name.

family: Aragonese royal family (natural descendants). Peter III of Aragón had at least six children from his marriage to Constance of Hohenstaufen, three children from

- his concubine Maria Nicolau, and four children from his concubine Inés (or Agnes) Zapata. Among the latter's children was Sancho, who became a Hospitaller and was, through his father, a half-brother of James II of Aragón as well as Frederick III of Sicily, and an uncle of Alphonso IV of Aragón (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, II, table 71; *Diccionari Biogràfic*, IV, 213–14; Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, I, 213; *AA II*, 682; *CH IV*, p. 11; Luttrell, “Hospitaller Life,” 104; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 157). Simon Zapata, a member of Inés's family, belonged to the entourage of Peter III in 1277 (Soldevilla, *Pere*, II.1, 89 n. 65–6), and Gundisalvus Zapata, archdeacon of Tarazona, served as Alphonso IV's proctor at the papal court in 1328 (*AA I*, 433–7 n. 290, 292). Sancho was not the only direct ‘connection’ between the Aragonese royal family and the Hospitallers. In 1310, the Infanta Blanca entered the convent of female Hospitallers at Sigüenza (Bonet Donato, *Orden*, 63–4).
- literature*: Delaville Le Roulx, 413; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 413, 520; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 120–3; Luttrell, “Aragonese Crown,” 6, 11–15; *Diccionari Biogràfic*, IV, 213–14; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291,” 165; Luttrell, “Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421,” 282; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, 265; Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 95; Luttrell, “Hospitaller Life in Aragón,” 99; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 156–7; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 138–9; Bonet Donato, *Orden*, 67–8; Schein, *Fideles*, 177; Forey, *Fall*, 187, 233–4, 236; Luttrell, “Island,” 156; Luttrell, *Town*, 18.
- (1300 V), (Aragón): charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *Sancio fratri nostro* (*AA II*, 912–5 n. 586).
- 1300 VI 1, Lleida: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: *frere Sanche*, the king's half-brother (*CH III* 4505).
- 1301 VII 26, Lleida: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: Sancho of Aragón, the king's half-brother (*CH IV* 4541).
- 1304 VII 7: letter (by Frederick III of Sicily), mention: *nobilem Sanchium de Aragonia fratrem suum* whom the king had sent with a fleet of ten galleys against Byzantium. Because of Sancho's youth, Frederick had ordered a number of more mature knights to accompany him as advisors and leaders (*AA II*, 680–9 n. 431).
- 1305 (IV–V), (eastern Mediterranean): secondary literature: Sancho and his fleet lent naval support to the Catalan Company in the Romania and then returned to Sicily (Schein, *Fideles*, 179–80).
- 1306 V 27, Limassol: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the Genoese Vignolo of Vignoli), witness: *fratre Sancio de Aragonia admirato* (Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6).
- 1312 II 28, Tudela: charter (by Guy of Séverac, Hospitaller prior of Navarre), consent-giver: *don freyre Sanz de Atayo* [sic, should read *Arago*] (Zalba, “Documento curioso,” 33–4).
- 1312 V 15, (Aragón): charter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *frare Sans d'Aragó hospitaler tingués la batllia d'Emposta* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 412).
- 1313 III 29, (Aragón): letter (by James II of Aragón), mention: *fr(ater) Sancius de Aragona* and others were sent to Henry II of Cyprus to negotiate a marriage between Henry II and Constance, James's sister, as well as one between James II and Maria, Henry's sister (*AA III*, 283).
- 1313 V 27, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to his envoys traveling to Cyprus), co-addressee: *fratrem Sancium de Aragonia de ordine Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 135).
- 1313 V 28, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to his envoys traveling to Cyprus), mention: *frare Sanxo* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 137).
- 1313 V 28, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to his envoys traveling to Cyprus), mention: *consiliarium nostrum fratrem Sancium de Aragonia de ordine Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 138).
- (1313) IX 25, Nicosia: letter (the Franciscan Rodulf, confessor to Henry II of Cyprus, to James II of Aragón), mention: *consiliarium vestrum fratrem Sancheum de Aragonia ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani* (Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 693–4).

- (1313) X 8, Nicosia: letter (Philip of Ibelin, seneschal of Cyprus, to James II of Aragón), mention: *fratrem Sanchium de Aragonia ordinis Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani* (Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 695–6).
- 1313 X 22, Barcelona: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: *fratri Sancio de Aragonia dilecto fratri nostro*, then on Cyprus as a member of a royal embassy from Aragón (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 146).
- (1314) I 31, Limassol: letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: *fratrum suorum humillimus frater Sanccius de Aragone sancte domus Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani in Nimocii conventu degens* (Mas Latric, *Histoire*, III, 696–7).
- 1314 II 2, Nicosia: letter (Henry II of Cyprus to James II of Aragón), mention: *frater Sancius de Aragonia de ordine Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 147).
- 1315 V 29, Barcelona: letter (James II of Aragón to the official in charge of the royal arsenal), mention: *fratri Sancio germano nostro de ordine Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani*, to whom military equipment had been sent *ad partes Xipri* (Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II*, II, n. 176).
- 1315, (Aragón): secondary literature: James II of Aragón married Maria of Cyprus. Sancho of Aragón had played a key role in the preceding negotiations. Two years later, Henry II of Cyprus would marry Constance of Aragón. Both marriages remained childless, which thwarted all hopes of uniting the crowns of Cyprus-Jerusalem and Aragón (Housley, *Italian Crusades*, 95; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 138–9).
- (1317) VI 22, Messina: letter (Narnau Torelles to James II of Aragón), mention: *Sanxo*, the brother of Frederick III of Sicily (*AA III*, 337–40 n. 159).
- 1319, (southern Italy): secondary literature: Sancho served as Hospitaller prior of Messina (*Diccionari Biogràfic*, IV, 213–14. After many years in the vicinity of James II, this allowed Sancho to be close to his other half-brother, Frederick III of Sicily).
- 1321, (Aragón): charter (by James II of Aragón), petitioner: *fratris Sancii de Aragonia fratris nostri de ordine Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Iherosolimitani* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 412).
- 1323, (Aragón): secondary literature: Sancho served as Hospitaller castellan of Amposta (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 120).
- 1325, (Catalonia): secondary literature: James II of Aragón and the Hospitaller Master Hélon of Villeneuve (1319–46) disagreed about who should be appointed the Hospitaller master's lieutenant in the priory of Catalonia. Despite James's initial objections, Sancho received the post (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 413, 520; Housley, *Avignon Papacy*, 265; Bonet Donato, *Orden*, 68).
- 1330 X 24, Montpellier: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), mention: *frater Santius de Aragonia locumtenens in Castellania Emposte* who was present (Tipton, "1330 Chapter General," 301).
- 1330, (Aragón): secondary literature: Sancho served as castellan of Amposta (Bonet Donato, *Orden*, 67).
- 1337, TS: secondary literature: the Hospitallers' general chapter recalled Sancho from his post of castellan of Amposta due to charges of him being negligent in sending the *responsiones* to the order's treasury (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 120).
- 1338 V 7, Almunia: charter, issuer: *frater Sancius de Aragonia sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani humilis castellanus Emposte* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 368–70 n. IV; cf. *ibid.*, 119).
- 1339 XII 15, (Aragón): charter, issuer: Sancho of Aragón, castellan of Amposta (*CH I*, p. cxliii).
- 1340, TS: secondary literature: the Hospitallers' general chapter again recalled Sancho from his post of castellan of Amposta. From then on, Sancho was only 'acting' castellan of Amposta (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 120).
- 1341, (Aragón): secondary literature: Peter IV of Aragón, son of Alphonso IV and grand nephew of Sancho of Aragón, protested against the appointment of Juan Fernández of Heredia as Hospitaller castellan of Amposta. According to the compromise reached, Sancho retained the administration of the castellany until his

death and was then to be succeeded by Heredia (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 121–3).

1346, (Aragón): secondary literature: Sancho of Aragón died (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 123; Luttrell, “Aragonese Crown,” 6, 11–15; *Diccionari Biogràfic*, IV, 213–14; Luttrell, “Hospitalier Life in Aragón,” 99).

[SANZOLI DE GRASSE (H) admiral? 1307]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 413, features a certain “Sanzoli de Grasse” in his list of Hospitaller admirals. As evidence he cites a charter (*CH* IV 4756) that needs to be addressed in some detail here, in order to show that “Sanzoli de Grasse,” the alleged admiral, was not a Hospitaller admiral but, rather, a misread phrase containing three place names (Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 15). On 1307 X 22, Charles II of Anjou gave a number of castles, places, and territories in southern France to the Hospitallers: *castro Urganis, S. Andiol, Avinionensis dyocesis, S. Juliani Lomontener et Admirati, Aquensis diocesis, de Gredolis et de Rosselo, Regensis diocesis, et de Vols, Sistaricensis diocesis*. In the summary which precedes his edition of this charter, Delaville Le Roulx identifies these as the castles of Orgon, St. Andiol, St. Julien le Montagnier, Gréoux, Rousset, and Volxs; however, he fails to identify *Admirati* which, later on in the text of the charter, resurfaces as *castrum de Admirato* and is today known as Amirat (Pays de Grasse). The part of the charter’s witness list, that is of interest here, reads as follows (according to Delaville Le Roulx’s transcription): *fratribus Rostagno de Sabrano, Aurayce preceptore; Gaufrido Raymundi, preceptore Arelatis; Hugone Eustacie, Avinionensis preceptore, militibus; et frater [sic] Sanzoli, Grassie amirato ordinis Hospitalis predicti, testibus ad hec vocatis et rogatis*. Sanzoli was hardly the admiral of Grasse, because Grasse is located inland, northwest of Cannes (départ. Alpes-Maritimes), and was, thus, even in the early fourteenth century, not really in need of an official with maritime responsibilities. Secondly, why would a capitular bailiff of the order of St. John, namely the admiral, be listed behind three local Hospitaller officials in southern France at a time when, the master’s travels in the west notwithstanding, the order was engaged in a major maritime operation, namely the conquest of Rhodes? I conclude that the crucial phrase in the witness list has to be read: *militibus, et fratr(ibus) S. Anzoli, Grassie (et) Amirati ordinis Hospitalis predicti, testibus ad hec vocatis et rogatis*. This simply means that the Hospitaller brothers of St. Andiol, Grasse, and Amirat served as additional witnesses. I suspect that Delaville Le Roulx based his edition on the seventeenth-century copy of the charter that was easily accessible to him in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Collection Dupuy, vol. 644, f. 82), rather than utilizing the original and contemporary copies of the document available at Marseilles (Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), H 175: original; *ibid.*, Reg. B 2, f. 109b: cop. s. XIV; H 249: 2 cop. s. XIV).

[SEDULUS (H) proctor? 1145]

identity: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, features ‘Sedulus’ with reservations in his list of Hospitaller (grand) preceptors. However, ‘Sedulus’ was not a Hospitaller official but, rather, an adjective (meaning ‘diligent’). A charter issued by Count Raymond II of Tripoli in 1145, i.e. at a time when the titles of Hospitaller officials were still far from established, contains the phrase *in manum Raimundi Magistri et Seduli Procuratoris*, which should be translated ‘into the hand of Raymond, the master and diligent proctor’ (Pauli, *Codice*, I, 25 n. 15; *CH* I 160; *RRH* 236; cf. *CH* I 144; *RRH* 212).

SEGUIN (H) prior 1207

origin: France. The clues are his tenure as sacristan (1203) and his appearance as a simple brother in southern France (1203/4).

identity: probably identical with the Hospitaller of the same name who can be traced as a sacristan and a simple brother in southern France between → 1203 IV and (1203/4).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413.

- 1203 IV, (southern France): charter (by Sennoret, Hospitaller lieutenant prior of St. Gilles and preceptor of Trinquetaille), witness: *Seguinus fr(ater) et sacrista* (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 303–4 n. 300).
- 1203 V 29, (southern France): charter (Guerreiata for the Hospitallers), witness: *fr(ater) Seguinus sacrista* (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 301–2 n. 298).
- 1203 VI, (southern France): charter (Rostagnus of Tarascona for the Hospitallers), witness: *fr(ater) Seguinus* (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 261–2 n. 248).
- 1203 VI, (southern France): charter (Raymond Botin for the Hospitallers), witness: *fr(ater) Seguinus* (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 298–9 n. 295).
- 1203 IX 5, (southern France): charter (Raymond VI, duke of Narbonne and count of Toulouse, for the Hospitallers of St. Gilles), witness: *Seguinus* (CH II 1179).
- (1203/4), (southern France): charter (William and Bertrand of Porcellet for the Hospitallers), witness: *fr(ater) Seguinus* (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, 259–61 n. 247).
- 1207 XII 18, Acre: charter (by Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, confirming the donation of Alix, daughter of Turgin, to the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Seguinus prior* (CH II 1276; CH IV, p. 337; *RRH* 824).

SIMON LE RAT (H) marshal 1299, 1303, 1306–10; preceptor of Cyprus 1303

origin: France. The clue is his tenure as prior of France (from 1313).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to any of the following Hospitallers with the cognomen ‘Le Rat’: Geoffrey (preceptor of Antioch, 1198–9; master, 1206–7: Delaville Le Roulx, 408, 431), Thomas (lieutenant prior of France, 1275–81: CH III 3574, 3757; Delaville Le Roulx, 418), or William (preceptor of Beauvais-en-Gatinais, 1330: Mannier, *Ordre*, 102).

literature: Mannier, *Ordre*, xxxiv; Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitalliers à Rhodes*, 36, 58; Luttrell, “Hospitallers’ Historical Activities, 1291–1400,” 4; Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Vasallen*, 316; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 124; Forey, 191; Forey, “Literacy,” 196; Luttrell, *Town*, 17.

1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller convent versus Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), co-plaintiff: *freres Simon le Rat mareschal* (CH III 4464).

1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: *nous avons fait saeller ceste letre dou saell de nostre mareschal [NN] qui est nostre chief et amé et des autres baillis de la maison* (CH III 4468).

1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *notre mareschal qui est nostre chavetaïne*, one of the *baillis de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).

(c.1300), Cyprus: secondary literature: a vernacular translation of the psalter, probably done on Cyprus, was dedicated to Simon Le Rat (Luttrell, “Hospitallers’ Historical Activities, 1291–1400,” 4; Forey, 191; Forey, “Literacy,” 196).

1303 II 5, (Limassol): *esgart* (demanded by Gerard of Gragnana, the conventual hospitaller), defendant: *le mareschal qui lors estoit frere Symon le Rat* (CH IV 4586).

1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (demanded by Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Raymond of Ribells), defendant: Daniel Lombart, the lieutenant of the Hospitallers’ master sergeant, who was subordinate to the lieutenant marshal (at a time when Simon Le Rat was marshal) (CH IV 4613).

1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Raymond of Ribells), plaintiff: *Sysmon Lerat qui adonc estoit mareschal* (CH IV 4617).

1303 (after XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (demanded by Gerard of Gragnana, the new Hospitaller marshal), defendant: *frere Sysmon le Rat qui avoit esté mareschal l’année passée*, and who, according to the rubric, *fu fait comandor de Chipre à cel chapitre* (CH IV 4620).

1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (the Hospitallers’ conventual officials and general chapter for the Master Fulk of Villaret), co-issuer: *frater Symon Rapti marescallus* (CH IV 4735).

- 1309 after VIII 21, Cyprus: chronicle: in the conflict between Henry II of Cyprus and his brother Amaury of Lusignan, the Hospitaller Marshal Simon Le Rat was called in from Limassol as a mediator, but Amaury became suspicious of Simon and prohibited the latter's access to the king (*dapoi have el signor de Sur [Amaury] supition da fra Simon Le Rat mariscalco del Hospital et non lassò più intrar in la casa del re*) (Amadi, 312; cf. Bustron, 182).
- 1310 VII 26, Cyprus: chronicle: *fra Simon Le Rat mariscalco del Hospital*, together with the Hospitaller priors of France, Germany, and Venice, as well as a contingent of eighty knight brothers and two hundred footsoldiers, came from Rhodes to Cyprus to support the restoration of Henry II of Cyprus (Amadi, 370–1; cf. Bustron, 226).
- 1313 V 27, Sours: inventory (list of former Templar goods and incomes), mention: *fratre Symone Rati sancte domus Hospitalis predicti priore in Francia*, who commissioned the inventory (Coll. d'Albon 46, f. 77; cf. Mannier, *Ordre*, xxxiv).
- 1316, EU: secondary literature: Simon Le Rat served as Hospitaller prior of France (Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Vasallen*, 316).
- 1318 III 6, Paris: charter, issuer: *frère Symon le Rat de la sainte maison de l'Hospital de Saint Jehan de Hierusalem humble prieur de France*; seal: +FRERE SIMON LE RAT (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 234–8 n. 37; Douët d'Arcq, *Collection*, III, 246 n. 9892).
- 1327 III 2, (Avignon): letter (by Pope John XXII), mention: Simon Le Rat, prior of France, had died (Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, 58).

SIMON OF LA TOR (T) (grand) preceptor (of the kingdom) 1271

origin: unknown. His cognomen (*de la Tor, de Turri*) is contained in too many different place names to determine his origin (Graesse III, 502, 530–2). According to Forey, *Aragón*, 329, he was not a Spaniard, despite his tenure as visitor on the Iberian Peninsula.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar → William of La Tor.

identity: probably not identical with the Templar Simon of *Turri* (Mas Deu, 1310: *Procès* II, 450, 456; this individual had witnessed a reception into the Templar order at Mas Deu in 1292), due to the time gap.

literature: Rey, 369, 378; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 433; Bulst-Thiele, 280–1; Bramato, “Ordine,” 226; Guzzo, *Templari*, 62–3; Claverie I, 113; II, 338.

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Symon de la Tor chastelain dou Saphet* (CH III 3028; RRH 1318).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Simon de la Tor chastelain dou Saphet* (CH III 3029; RRH 1319; cf. Rey, 378).

1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Guy II, lord of Byblos), witness: *fratre Symone de Turri magno preceptore domus Templi* (CH III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360' 37 A).

(1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): *fratrem Symonem de Turri preceptorem regni Jerosolimitani* had participated in chapter meetings of the order's high officials circa forty years earlier (*Procès* I, 642–3, 646; date: *ibid.*, 642).

(1274) X 3, Acre: letter (the Templar castellan of Atlit to Edward I of England), mention: *nostre char frere Simon de la Tor*, who had been ordered by the Templar Master William of Beaujeu to travel to Apulia (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 93–4; cf. Bulst-Thiele, 280–1 note 90a. Contrary to what has been suggested by Claverie III, 569–70 n. 640, Simon was not the co-author of this letter and was only the former preceptor of the kingdom of Jerusalem).

1275, (Sicily): charter, mention: *fr(atris) Simonis de Turre magistri eiusdem domus in Apulia* (Registri, ed. Filangieri, XIV, 14 n. 81).

(1275–6), (Sicily): charter, mention: *fr(atris) Simonis de Turre mag(ni) preceptoris domus militie Templi in regno, dom(ini) casalis S. Bartholomei de Faranzo* (Registri, ed. Filangieri, XII, 226 n. 198; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 330; cf. *ibid.*, I, 137).

1277, (Iberian Peninsula): charter, mention: Simon of La Tor was Templar visitor on the Iberian Peninsula (Forey, *Aragón*, 329, 343, citing ACA, reg. 40, f. 26^v and 38^v; *ibid.*, pergam. Pedro III, n. 46; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Gran Priorado de Navarra, pergam. Barberà, n. 71).

1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).

[SIMON OF SAREZARIIS (H) prior? 1311]

identity: *frater Symon de Sarezariis prior Hospitalis S(anc)ti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Nicosia*, who gave his testimony on (1311) VI 5 in Nicosia during the Cypriote Templar trial, was not the Hospitallers' conventual prior but, rather, the prior of the local Hospitaller house or hospital at Nicosia (Schottmüller II.3, 398–9; cf. Finke I, 391: *fr(ater) Symon de Suzeraiis*; date: Edbury, *Kingdom*, 125). By 1310 (at the latest), the Hospitaller convent had been moved to Rhodes (Luttrell, "Ospitalieri e l'eredità," 70; Luttell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78," 156; Claverie I, 359; II, 295; Barber, *Trial*, 256).

SIMON OF VILLEY (H) draper 1260

origin: France. *Villejus* and *Villaiuns* (Villey-sur-Tille), toponym in Burgundy (Graesse III, 628).

identity: probably identical with Simon of Villey, Hospitaller grand preceptor of Cyprus in → 1267.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411; Claverie II, 205; Bronstein, 152.

1260 I 23, (county of Tripoli): charter (arbitration of a dispute between Hospitallers and Templars), co-arbiter: *frère Simon de Villejus drapier de la maison de l'Hôpital de Jérusalem* (CH II 2943; RRH 1287a; date and alternate spelling of his cognomen: Manosque, f. 164^v 18 A: *Villejust*).

1267, Paphos: charter (agreement between Bishop Paul of Paphos and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Symonem de Villaiuns magnum preceptorem domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Cipro* (Manosque, f. 85 10 S).

STEPHEN (H) treasurer 1173–5, 1181

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with the subtreasurer of the same name who served in → 1167. Otherwise, Stephen was too common a name in the Hospitaller convent of the twelfth century to warrant any further attempts to identify him with any other Hospitallers of that name. However, thus far I have not found any documents from this time period (1167–81) that contain both Stephen, the treasurer, and Stephen, the hospitaller; thus, there is the remote possibility that these two were one and the same person after all.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412–13.

1167, (Jerusalem): charter (Petronilla for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus subthesaurarius* (CH I 372; CH IV, p. 248–9; RRH 434a).

1173 X, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Jacobite Arion), witness: *frater Stephanus thesaurarius* (CH I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; RRH 501).

1173, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Syrian Meletos, archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis), witness: *fratre Stephano thesaurario* (CH I 443; RRH 502; location: the same document listed for → Garin of Melna).

1174 VI, TS: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus thesaurarius* (CH I 464; RRH 516).

1175, (Jerusalem): charter (Gila for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus thesaurarius per cuius manus factum est hoc* (CH I 469; RRH 535).

1181 (before IX 10), TS: charter (Hugh of Flanders for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus thesaurarius* (CH I 603; RRH 611; date: the same document listed for → Garnier of Nablus).

1181 IX 10, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus* (CH I 606; RRH 603). It is unclear whether this Stephen, who

appears behind → Peter Galterii (the future Hospitaller treasurer), was → Stephen (H) hospitaller 1176–81, or Stephen, the (former) treasurer, or another Stephen).

STEPHEN (H) hospitaller 1176–81

origin: unknown.

identity: Stephen was too common a name in the Hospitaller convent of the twelfth century to warrant any further attempts to identify him with any other Hospitallers of that name.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

1177 I, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for Sibylla of Rama), witness: *frater Stephanus Hospitalis* (CH I 508; RRH 540. I assume that Stephen was the hospitaller because the witness list features the Preceptor Garnier (of Nablus) and the Treasurer Geoffrey before him, and the *magister asinarie*, the *custos operis*, the *custos elemosine*, and the almoner after him. All witnesses appear without cognomina, but all carry some sort of title; *Hospitalis* seems to refer to Stephen's responsibility).

(1176–1177 before III 23), Jerusalem: charter/statutes (issued by Hospitaller Master Josbert), recipient: *fratri Stephano hospitalario et omnibus aliis suis successoribus* (CH I 494; RRH 547; cf. Bonnet, "Privilège," 272, where the Old-French version of this text is edited from a fourteenth-century manuscript: *a frayre Esteve en sel tems hospitalier*; date: Manosque, f. 479 52 S, which features Josbert's successor on 1177 III 23).

1178 V, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins for William of Blanchegarde), witness: *frater Stephanus hospitalarius* (CH I 538; RRH 558).

1181 IX 10, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin IV of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Stephanus* (CH I 606; RRH 603. It is unclear whether this Stephen, who appears behind → Peter Galterii (the future Hospitaller treasurer), was Stephen, the hospitaller, or → Stephen (H) treasurer 1173–5, 1181, or another Stephen).

1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guericus of Petra), witness: *frater Stephanus hospitalarius* (CH I 610; RRH 607).

STEPHEN OF BROSSE (H) grand preceptor 1273

origin: France. Brosse, toponym and family name in dép. Indre (Boussard, "Brosse," 717).

family: noble family of Brosse. It is unknown how he was related to them. Members of this family can be traced back into the tenth century when they were appointed *vicecomites* of Limoges (Schwennicke, *Europäische Stammtafeln*, III.4, tables 773–5; Boussard, "Brosse," 717).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 418; Nicholson, 118; Bronstein, 152.

1273 X 7, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), witness: *Stephano de Braco magno preceptore domus nostre in Acon* (CH III 3519; RRH 1391a; cf. CH III 3512, 3563).

1278 XII 22, Montbrison: charter (agreement between Joan of Montfort, countess of Forez, and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Stephen of *Brocco*, Hospitaller prior of Auvergne (CH III 3685).

1279 IX 16, (France): charter, issuer: Stephen of *Broco*, prior of Auvergne (CH III 3704).

1280 III 20, (France): charter (agreement between Count Robert II of Artois and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Stephen of Brosse, prior of Auvergne (CH III 3719).

1282 IX 21, Acre: letter (Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne to William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), mention: *fratri Stephano de Broco quondam priori nostre domus in Alvernia*, whom the Hospitaller master, during Stephen's visit to the east, had entrusted with certain relics. These relics were now said to be in the possession of William of Villaret. The master ordered their surrender to a priest who would then take them to an appropriate place in Auvergne (CH III 3797; RRH 1448a).

STEPHEN OF CISSEY (T) marshal 1261–2

origin: France. *Sissiacum* (Cissey), toponym in Burgundy (Graesse III, 392). Claverie II, 326, suggests Sissy in dép. Aisne.

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Templar marshal who, in → 1261 I 11–17, was present during a trial held to determine which of Acre's towers and fortifications should be assigned to the custody of the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese (Bulst-Thiele, 242). Probably not identical with the Templar Brother Stephen (without cognomen and title) whom the order's master sent to Spain in 1261 ("Annales monasterii de Burton," ed. Luard, 495; cf. Barber, 156), because, at that time, Stephen of Cissey was traveling to the papal court in his capacity as the order's marshal. It is unknown whether he was identical with → NN (T) marshal (1256), who protected the Archbishop Egidius of Tyre while the latter was presiding over a trial of the church of Acre against a cleric named Signoretus. Despite Stephen of Cissey's refusal to obey Pope Urban IV's command to resign as marshal, a new Templar marshal was in office by the end of 1262 (→ William of Malaio). After the reconciliation between Stephen and Urban's successor, Pope Clement IV, Stephen took charge of the Templar province of Sicily-Apulia (from 1270 at the latest, until his death in 1272/3), where he was succeeded first by William of Beaujeu, then by → Simon of La Tor. Contrary to what has been suggested by Rey, 372 (following Dupuy, *Histoire de l'ordre*, 170), Stephen of Cissey did not serve as Templar preceptor of Acre in the fall of 1271.

literature: Rey, 255–6; Röhrich, 915–16; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 102; Lea, *History*, II, 242; Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, 234–8; Waas, *Geschichte*, II, 16; Schadek, "Familiaren," 339; Bulst-Thiele, 242, 244–5, 260, 292; Richard, *Latin Kingdom*, B, 448; Bramato, *Storia*, I, 111, 125, 128, 137, 158; Bramato, "Ordine," 113, 124, 140; Forey, "Military Orders and the Ransoming," 265; Forey, 170; Barber, 158, 170; Guzzo, *Templari*, 57, 62, 68, 72; Bronstein, 34; Claverie I, 68, 111, 168; II, 326, *et passim*; Burgtorf, "Templars' and Hospitallers' High Dignitaries," 17.

1261 I 11–17, (Acre): charter (the papal legate, Bishop Thomas of Bethlehem, presiding over a trial held to determine which of Acre's towers and fortifications should be assigned to the custody of the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese), witness (1261 I 15 and 17): NN, *marescalco Templi* (Tafel-Thomas III, 39–44 n. 346; *RRH* 1298).

1261 II, near Toron (northern Galilee): chronicle: a raid against Muslim territory, allegedly instigated by the Templar marshal, *frere Esteve de Soizy*, failed. The Templars lost all their equipment. The leaders (including the lord of Beirut) ended up in Muslim captivity, but Stephen of Cissey escaped and was accused of not fighting because he had allegedly been jealous of the lord of Beirut with regard to a lady of the land. The prisoners were later released, after the payment of a ransom ("Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 449–50; Eracles, 445; *Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–7; cf. Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 49).

1262 before V 31, TS: secondary literature: since → William of Malaio was serving as Templar lieutenant marshal on 1262 V 31, Stephen of Cissey probably embarked on his journey to the papal court before that date (Bulst-Thiele, 242).

(1261 VIII 29–1263 VIII 13), EU: letter (Pope Urban IV to the Templar master), mention: the insolence of the Templar marshal, which had taken on scandalous proportions (*statum marescalci eiusdem ordinis cuius insolentia tanto continuata tempore assidue periculosum crescebat in scandalum*), wherefore the pope had sent instructions to the master (Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 289 n. 17; Claverie II, 427–8 n. 13; *Registres d'Urban IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, appendix, n. 2858; date: between Urban's election on 1261 VIII 29 and his concession in this matter on → 1263 VIII 13).

1263 VIII 13, Orvieto: letter (Pope Urban IV to the Bishop of Paris), mention: a papal order issued to the Templars of Paris and Sens to capture *fratrem Stephanum de Syssiaco eiusdem ordinis*, and a papal order to the bishop of Paris to see to the execution of this order on pain of excommunication, was now revoked because the Templars were

- claiming that Stephen had left the area (Coll. d'Albon 3, f. 397–8; *Registres d'Urban IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 336).
- (1261–3), (southern Italy): secondary literature: during his flight from Pope Urban IV, Stephen of Cissei allegedly stayed temporarily in the Templar house of Monteclopio in the Valle dell'Era (Bramato, *Storia*, I, 111, 125; Bramato, “Ordine,” 113; Guzzo, *Templari*, 68).
- 1265 III 31, Perugia: charter (by Pope Clement IV), recipient: *fratri Stephano de Sisseyo ordinis militie Templi Ierosolymitani* who was granted the absolution he had requested (Pope Urban IV had excommunicated him) (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 12; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 21).
- 1265 III 31, Perugia: charter (by Pope Clement IV) recipient: *eidem fratri Stephano* who was ordered to return to the Latin east for a one-year penance and, following that, to return to the pope (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 13; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 22).
- 1265 (after III 31, Perugia or Orvieto): letter (Pope Clement IV to the Templar master), mention: *dilectum filium nostrum S(tephanum de Sisseyo) tunc vestri ordinis marescalcum quem idem predecessor [Pope Urban IV] marescalcie officio reputabat indignum*, with a detailed report about the confrontation between Pope Urban IV and Stephen of Cissei at the papal court and its aftermath until the present reconciliation between the new pope and Stephen (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 4–7; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 836; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 290–1 n. 18; date: Claverie III, 547–8 n. 617).
- 1265 IV 12, Perugia: letter (Pope Clement IV to the prelates of the Latin east, and to the masters and convents of the Temple and Hospital), mention: *fratrem Stephanum de Sisseyo* (*Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 23; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 268).
- 1265 (c.VI 24), EU/TS: information from an earlier charter (→ 1265 III 31, second charter): Stephen of Cissei was supposed to return to the Latin east around the feast of St. John [probably St. John the Baptist] (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 13; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 22).
- 1266 (summer/fall), TS: information from an earlier charter (→ 1265 III 31, second charter): Stephen of Cissei was supposed to return to the pope after a one-year penance which would have been over in 1266 (summer/fall) (Coll. d'Albon 4, f. 13; *Registres de Clement IV*, ed. Jordan, n. 22); chronicle: the Templar master allegedly took Stephen's habit and sent him back to the west, where he stayed until the election of Pope Gregory X (1271), whom he then came to escort from Acre to the papal court, and the new pope helped him regain his Templar habit (*Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–6. However, the charter evidence below suggests that Stephen was back holding office as a Templar before 1271).
- 1269, (southern Italy): charter, mention: one Abraham, *vicarius* of the Templar master of Sicily (Stephen of Cissei?) (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, IV, 150 n. 1006; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 283).
- (1270) XI 21, (southern Italy): charter, recipient: *pro parte fr(atris) Stephani mag(istri) domus militie Templi in Regno Sicilie* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, VII, 17 n. 43).
- 1270 XI, (Capua): charter, mention: *frater Stephanus de Scisseio mag(ister) domus militie Templi in regno [sic]* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, VII, 11 n. 4; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 291; Guzzo, *Templari*, 57, 62).
- (1271) V 18, (southern Italy): charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: *fratris Stephani de Siriaco* who was expected to return *de partibus Ungarie* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, VI, 221 n. 1185).
- 1271 (after IX 1): chronicle: *freres Estiene de Sissi frere du Temple et commanderres de Puille* [Apulia] was a member of the delegation traveling to the Latin east on behalf of the cardinals and Charles I of Anjou to escort Thedald Visconti, archdeacon of Liège (Lüttich), then traveling in the east, who had been elected pope (Gregory X) in absence (1271 IX 1), to the papal court (Eracles, 449; cf. *ibid.*, 471).

- 1272 II 23, Naples: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), recipient: *fratris Stephani de Sise preceptoris sacre domus militie Templi* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, VIII, 97 n. 49; cf. *ibid.*, V, 234 n. 99; Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 313).
- 1272 (III–XII), EU: letter (Pope Gregory X to the Templar master), mention: Stephen of Cissey (Bramato, *Storia*, II, n. 314).
- (1272), (southern Italy): charter (by Charles I of Anjou), recipient: *fr(atr) Stephano de Sesciayo mag(istro) domorum militie Templi in regno Sicilie* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, 106 n. 89).
- 1273 III 30, Orvieto: letter (Pope Gregory X to the Priest Louis, rector of the church of Donna Maria), mention: *ob sinceritatis affectum quem gessimus circa personam quondam Stephani de Sessey fratris militie Templi Jerosolimitani devoti nostri cujus familiaris fuisse diceris* (*Registres de Grégoire X*, ed. Guiraud, n. 235; cf. *AA* Nachträge, 617. This suggests that Stephen had died).

STEPHEN OF MESES (H) grand preceptor 1264–6

origin: unknown.

literature: Röhricht, 935; Delaville Le Roulx, 410, 414; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 631; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 79–80; Bronstein, 152; Claverie II, 81.

1264 IX 16, Acre: charter (the *burgensis* Saliba of Acre, a Hospitaller *confrater*, for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratrem Stephanum de Meses magnum preceptorem dicti Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani* who was named heir and one of the executors of Saliba's will (*CH* III 3105; *RRH* 1334).

(1266) II 13, (Acre): charter (by the Venetian Matthew Marmora), recipient: *fratri Stephano de Moses magno preceptori Hospitalis sancte domus Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 530 59 9; *CH* III 3207; *RRH* 1342b).

1266 X 28, Caroublier (Tell Kharruba), near Acre: chronicle: *freres Estevenes de Mores grant commandour* was killed by Muslims in an ambush, while he and others were returning from a raid against Tiberias (“*Annales de Terre Sainte*,” ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 453 (B redaction); cf. Amadi, 208; Bustron, 111–12; Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 127: *The Franks were defeated and most of them killed. There was great mourning for them in Acre as some of their kings were killed on this expedition*).

1267 VI 15, TS: charter (Catherine, the daughter of the *burgensis* Saliba of Acre, for the Hospitallers), mention: the late Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Stephen of Meses (*CH* III 3263; *RRH* 1349; cf. Manosque, f. 386 40 R).

STEPHEN OF OSTRICOURT (T) preceptor (of the land/kingdom) 1249–50

origin: Flanders. *Otricourt* and *de Alta Turre* (Ostricourt), toponym in the triangle of Lille, Arras, and Cambrai.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Geoffrey of Ostricourt, a participant of the Fifth Crusade (Marseilles, 1218: Röhricht, *Studien*, III, 59–60 n. 10).

literature: Delisle, *Mémoire*, 7–9; Bulst-Thiele, 223–6; Barber, 152; Lopéz Martínez-Morás and Pérez Barcala, “*Órdenes Militares*,” 494; Claverie I, 113, 146–7; II, 76–7, 325.

1249 V 12, Limassol: charter (the Templars' conventual officials for the Genoese Odo Tornellus, Stephen of Guiberto, and William Gervasius), co-issuer: *frater Sthephanus de Alta Turre preceptor terre regiminis Hierusalem* (Belgrano, *Documenti*, 61–2 n. 32; *RRH* 1176).

1250 V 8 (and the following days), Egypt: chronicle: contrary to the wishes of *frères Estiennes d'Otricourt qui estoit commanderes dou Temple*, but following a suggestion of Templar Marshal Reynald of Vichiers, and with the consent of Louis IX of France, Jean de Joinville wanted to take 30,000 pounds from the Templar treasury aboard the order's main galley to pay the ransom for the king's brother and others in Muslim captivity. However, the Templar preceptor (Stephen of Ostricourt) rejected Joinville's invitation to join him to see how much he would be taking (Joinville, § 381–4; date: *ibid.*, lii–liii).

[STEPHEN OF SAFETH (T) prior? 1307–10]

identity: Stephen of Saphet, who had been received into the order of the Temple at Nicosia in 1295, was *presbiter prior domus Templi in Nimocio* at the time of the Cypriot trial, which means that he was a leading member of the Templar clergy at Limassol, but not at Nicosia where the order's main conventual church was located (Schottmüller, II.3, 191–2, 323–5; cf. Claverie I, 179, 206; II, 287, 326; cf. also Chapter Five). Therefore, I do not consider him one of the order's conventual priors.

STEPHEN OF SISS(E)Y (T) → STEPHEN OF CISSEY (T)

TERRICUS (T) (grand) preceptor 1187–8

origin: unknown. Bulst-Thiele, 107, 117, suggests that he originated from Flanders.

identity: probably identical with the Templar 'Master Theoderic' who was able to flee from the battlefield at Hattin on → 1187 VII 4 (Röhrich, 438; cf. Du Cange, *Familles*, 878–9). Probably also identical with Terricus, the envoy representing the Templars at the papal court on → 1199 II 8 (Bulst-Thiele, 117). During the captivity of the Templar Master → Gerard of Ridefort (1187 VII 4–1188 late-VI), Terricus directed the affairs of his order, and he is one of our best sources for the events of 1187/8. According to Mayer (in *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. Mayer, 88), Terricus might have commissioned the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, one of the most important sources for the Third Crusade. It is unknown whether he was identical with any of the individuals from the second half of the twelfth century—both Templars and laymen in the Latin east—who shared his first name, but also had a cognomen (Terricus *Galerannus*: Bulst-Thiele, "Templar," 292; Terricus of Tournai: *CH* I 367; *RRH* 424; cf. Mayer, *Varia*, 43; Terricus of Asper: Strehlke, n. 7; Terricus of Monzón: Coll. d'Albon 50, f. 30–1; Terricus of *Termonde*: Strehlke, n. 31, 34–8).

literature: Rey, 368; Röhrich, 438; Mayer, "On the Beginnings," 443–57; Bulst-Thiele, 117–19, 138; Prawer, *Crusader Institutions*, 485; Burgdorf, "Selbstverständnis," 23, 32–3; Claverie I, 29; II, 100; Bronstein, "Mobilization," 28.

1187 VII 4, Hattin: chronicle: *magister militie Templi Teodoricus* managed to escape from the battlefield at Hattin (*Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 70; cf. *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, II, 328; *Matthaei Westmonasteriensis Flores historiarum*, ed. Luard, 98).

1187 (after VII 4–late IX), TS: letter (the Hospitallers to Archembald, master of Italy), mention: *frater Terricus magister domus Templi* escaped at Hattin ("Magni presbyteri Annales," ed. Wattenbach, 508; Ansbert, *Historia*, 3: ms. M; *CH* I 832; *RRH* 661).

1187 (VII 4–7 or after VII 10, before VIII 6), Tyre: charter (the prelates and barons of the Latin east for the Genoese), witness: *frater Terricus preceptor Templi* (Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice*, II, 318–20 n. 170; *RRH* 659; date: Mayer II, 879–80).

1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre): letter (to Pope Urban III), sender: *Tyricus pauperrime milicie Templi dictus preceptor cum universo pauperrimo et fere adnichilato fratrum conventu* (*Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. Waitz, 137–8; "Annales Colonienses maximi," ed. Pertz, 793; *RRH* 660).

1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre): letter (to Count Philip of Flanders), sender: Terricus (*RRH* 660; cf. Röhrich, "Brief," 623, citing a ms. in a public library in Mons).

1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre): letter (to all of Christianity), sender: Terricus (*Radulfi de Diceto Opera*, ed. Stubbs, II, 49–50; *RRH* 660).

1187 (VII 10–VIII 7), (Tyre): letter (to all Templar preceptors and brothers), sender: *frater Terricus pauperrime domus Templi dictus magnus preceptor omniumque fratrum pauperrimus et fere omnino adnichilatus conventus* (*Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 86–7; *RRH* 660; date: Claverie III, 383–3 n. 457; cf. "Magni presbyteri Annales," ed. Wattenbach, 507–8; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 13–14; *Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 324–5; *Gervasii monachi Cantuariensis Opera*, ed. Stubbs, 375; "Aimerici patriarchae Antiocheni et Terrici Templariorum magni praeceptoris epistolae," ed.

- Migne, 1408–9 n. 4; cf. also Holtzmann, “Quellen,” 409, citing London, British Museum, Add. 24145, ms. s. XII, f. 77’, n. 3).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan commune in Tyre), witness: *frater Terris domus militie Templi magni preceptoris* (Müller, *Documenti*, 26–8 n. 23; *RRH* 665).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the citizens of St. Gilles, Montpellier, Marseilles, Barcelona, and Nîmes), consent-giver: *fratris Terri domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris* (*Regesto*, ed. Haberstumpf, 95–7 n. 1; Mayer, *Marseilles Levantehandel*, 181–3 n. 4; *RRH* 666).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans), consent-giver: *fratris Terris domus militie Templi magni preceptoris* (Müller, *Documenti*, 28–9 n. 24; *RRH* 667).
- 1187 X, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisans again), consent-giver: *fratris Terri domus milicie Templi magni preceptoris* (Müller, *Documenti*, 30–1 n. 25; *RRH* 668).
- 1188 (after I 1), (Tyre): letter (to Henry II of England), sender: *frater Terricus quondam magnus preceptor domus Templi Jerusalem* (*Cronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. Stubbs, II, 346–7; *Gesta regis Henrici secundi*, ed. Stubbs, II, 40–1; *Lateinische Fortsetzung*, ed. Salloch, 87–8; Edbury, *Conquest*, 165–6; *RRH* 669).
- 1188 (I), Tyre: letter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat and others to Bela III of Hungary), co-sender: NN, *magnus preceptor Templi* (Ilgen, “Brief,” 135–7; *RRH* 670).
- 1188 V, Tyre: charter (Marquis Conrad of Montferrat for the Pisan *societas Vermiliorum*), consent-giver: *fratris Terrici tunc eiusdem militie magni preceptoris* (Müller, *Documenti*, 34–35 n. 28; *RRH* 675).
- 1188 late-VI, TS: chronicle: Ralph of Diceto incorrectly states that Saladin was compensated with a number of cities and castles *pro liberatione Theodorici magistri militie Templi*, while, in fact, it was the Templar Master → Gerard of Ridefort who was then released from captivity (*Radulfi de Diceto Opera*, ed. Stubbs, II, 56).
- 1199 II 8, Lateran: charter (by Pope Innocent III to settle the disputes between Templars and Hospitallers in the area of Margat and Valenia), mention: *Terricus* who had been sent to the papal court in this matter (*Register Innocenz’ III.*, ed. Hagender, I, 818–20 n. 561 (567); *CH* I 1069; “Regesti,” ed. Bramato, n. 73; Potthast 595; *RRH* 751).

THIBAUT (T) turcopolier → THIBAUT GAUDINI (T)

THIBAUT GAUDINI (T) preceptor of Acre 1270–1; turcopolier 1277; (grand) preceptor (of the land) 1279–91; master 1291–2

origin: France. Gaudini, family name.

family: family from the Ile-de-France. It is unknown how he was related to them, but ‘Thibaut’ was one of the first names used by this family. Bulst-Thiele, 292, has traced members of the Gaudini family in the area between Chartres and Blois in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Thibaut (1181), Thibaut (1236), the brothers William and John Gaudini (both knights), as well as the Templars Gilotus and Geoffrey Gaudini (both sons of a certain Gaudinus, 1254), and the Templar William (preceptor of Chartres, 1285, 1293, 1299; preceptor of Sours, 1286; *Procès* I, 558; cf. *ibid.*, II, 185; Trudon des Ormes 6 (1898), 162; Léonard, *Introduction*, 121–2; Claverie II, 339).

identity: In the sources, he is occasionally referred to as *le moine, monne*, or *monachus* (monk: Coll. d’Albon 46, f. 196; *Procès* I, 646; II, 313; “Excidium Aconis,” ed. Huygens, 91; “De excidio,” ed. Martène and Durand, 781–2), even though he was a Templar knight (*Procès* II, 238). One possible explanation is the fact that Thibaut was such a frequently used name in the Gaudini family that one had to distinguish the Templar official from the family’s laymen who shared the same name. Thibaut, the Templar turcopolier of 1277, was probably identical with Thibaut Gaudini because that would fill a gap in the latter’s career (however, Claverie II, 339, considers them two separate individuals).

status: knight (*Procès* II, 238).

literature: Du Cange, *Familles*, 891; Rey, 253, 369–70, 374; Schottmüller I.1, 588–9; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 395–6, 405, 408–9, 431, 433; 7 (1900), 588; Röhricht, 915–16, 991; Bulst-Thiele, 256, 260, 266–7, 291–4, 302; Stüchel, *Fall*, 79–80, 84; Forey, “Military Orders and the Ransoming,” 265; Schein, *Fideles*, 79; Barber, 174–5, 177–8; Forey, “Letters,” *passim*; Demurger, *Jacques*, 82, 91–4, 96–9, 108–9, 115, 118, 173; Demurger, “Outre-mer,” 228; Claverie I, 152–6, *et passim*; II, 321, 339, *et passim*; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 17; Allard, “Templar Mobility,” 133; Forey, “Career,” 188; Barber, *Trial*, 7.

1261 II, near Toron (northern Galilee): chronicle: *Tibaut Gaudin et fu puis comandor de la terre dou Temple longuement* (the future long-term preceptor of the land) was captured during a raid against Muslim territory and later released after the payment of a ransom (*Gestes*, 163–4 § 305–7; cf. Ibn al-Furat, ed. Lyons, II, 49; Eracles, 445; “Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 449–50).

1270 IX 1, Acre: charter (by Hugh, lord of *Chantomes* from the diocese of Chartres), recipient: *a la noble religieux homme frere Thiebault le moine Gaudin commandeur de la maison de celle meisme cheualerie en Acre au jour recevant ladite aumosne por les freres de celle meisme cheualerie* (Coll. d’Albon 46, f. 196–7).

(1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): *Theobaldum dictum Monnegandi* [sic, should read *monachum Gaudini*] *preceptorem Acconensem* had participated in chapter meetings of the order’s high officials circa forty years earlier (*Procès* I, 642–3, 646; date: *ibid.*, 642).

(before 1273 III 25), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Errée, → 1311 III 9, Paris): *Theobaldo Gaudini qui postea fuit magnus magister ordinis* had attended Guy of Charbac’s reception into the order circa thirty-two years earlier (*Procès* II, 14; date: *ibid.* I, 320; II, 6, 11).

1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *Tibaldo turcuplerio* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).

(1279), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by John Ducis, → 1307 X 25, Paris): *fratrem vocatum Monachum Gaudi preceptorem terre ultramarine* had received John Ducis and fifteen others into the order twenty-eight years earlier (*Procès* II, 313; date: *ibid.*, 277, 311).

(1284/5, on a Sunday), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by Guy Delphini, 1311 I 19, Paris): *Theobaldi Gandi preceptore terre ultramarine* had attended Roncelin of Fos’s reception into the order circa twenty-six years earlier (*Procès* I, 418; date: *ibid.*, 415).

(1283–6) VI 24, Atlit: information from two later trial depositions (made by Peter Maurini, → 1309 VI, Clermont, and → 1311 V 19, Paris): *frater Tibaldus Galdini tunc preceptor Terre ultramarine* had received Peter Maurini into the order circa twenty-six years earlier (1309 deposition)/circa twenty-five years earlier (1311 deposition), calculated back from the next feast of St. John (second deposition). The ceremony had allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (first deposition: Sève, *Procès*, 192; date: *ibid.*, 106, 242; second deposition: *Procès* II, 238–9; date: *ibid.* I, 320; II, 233. The feast of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on VI 24).

1287 V 24, Acre: chronicle: *le comandour dou Temple frere Tibaut Gaudin* negotiated between the Genoese and the Pisans, and achieved the release of Pisan fishermen who had been captured by the Genoese Admiral Orlando Ascheri in the port of Acre (*Gestes*, 227 § 454).

(1272 XI 20–before 1291 V 18; undated), TS: letter (to Edward I of England) sender: NN (Thibaut Gaudini?), *humble comandor de la terre de la cheualerie dou Temple en roiaume de Ierusalem*, requesting a travel permit for the Templar preceptor of England (Bulst-Thiele, 365 n. 6; date: after Edward I’s accession to the throne and prior to the fall

- of Acre; Claverie III, 570 n. 641, ascribes this document to Simon of La Tor and dates it '1274 early October,' which is unlikely given Thibaut's career as conventual preceptor).
- 1291 (after V 18), Acre and Sidon: chronicle: after the Mamluk conquest of Acre and the death of the Templar Master William of Beaujeu (1291 V 18), the Templars' *grant coumandour de la terre* fled to Sidon where he was elected as the order's new master, and the *maistre novyau si avoit nom frere Tibaut Gaudy* (*Gestes*, 256–7 § 509–10; cf. Amadi, 226; "Excidium Aconis," ed. Huygens, 91–2; "De excidio urbis Acconis libri II," ed. Martène and Durand, 781–2, stating that Thibaut was elected in Acre and was able to transport some of the order's treasure and the relics to safety: *fratrum adiutorio de thesauris quod potuit cum sacro-sanctis reliquiis ecclesie Templi ad mare salubriter deportavit*).
- 1291 (before VII 14), Sidon: chronicle: *maestro fra Thebat Guadin* fled to Cyprus while Sidon was being besieged by the Emir Shujai (Bustron, 126–7).
- 1291 VIII 22, Nicosia: letter (to the Templars on behalf of the Templar Bernard of Fonte), sender: *frater Tybaldus Gaudini pauperis milicie Templi magister humilis* (Bulst-Thiele, 294).
- 1291 VIII 29, Nicosia: letter (to all Templar brothers), sender: *frater Tybaldus Gaudini Dei gratia pauperis militie Templi magister humilis* (Forey, "Letters," 160 n. 1).
- 1291 IX 6, Nicosia: letter (to the Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia), sender: *frere Tybaut Gaudin par la grace Deu humble maistre de la povere chevalerie dou Temple* (Forey, "Letters," 160–1 n. 2).
- 1291 IX 8, Nicosia: letter (to Berengar of Cardona, Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia), sender: *frere Tibaut Gaudin par la grace Deu humble maistre de la povere chevalerie dou Temple* (Forey, "Letters," 161 n. 3).
- 1292 I 23, EU: letter (by Pope Nicholas IV), recipient: Templar Master Thibaut Gaudini who was told to travel to Armenia (*Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 6854).
- (1291 after V 18–1292 IV 16): list of Templar masters: *Magister Theobadus Gaudyn* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 568–9 n. 959; Blancard, "Documents," 421; Bulst-Thiele, 16).
- (1292) IV 16, (TS): list of deceased Templars (*martyrologium* of Rheims): *XVI k(a)l(endas) maii obiit fr(ater) Theobald Gaudino vicesim(us) secund(us) magist(er) Templi orate p(ro) eo* (BN, lat. 15054, f. 44'; date: his successor was in office shortly thereafter: Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).
- 1307 X 25, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1279).
- 1309 VI, Clermont: trial deposition, mention: → (1283–6) VI 24.
- 1311 I 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1284/5, on a Sunday).
- 1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).
- 1311 III 9, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (before 1273 III 25).
- 1311 V 19, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1283–6) VI 24.

THOMAS MAUSU (H) treasurer 1273–5

origin: unknown.

identity: The Hospitaller Treasurer Thomas of → 1273 VIII–X was probably identical with the Hospitaller Treasurer Thomas Mausu who died on → 1275 IX 1, and with Thomas Mausu, the Hospitaller preceptor of the vault who had witnessed a charter on → 1264 IX 16. This illustrates that—at least as far as the office of treasurer was concerned—it was possible in the Hospitaller convent to rise from the intermediate level of leadership to the order's highest level of collective leadership (Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 384–5).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 414, 431; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 79–80; Burgtorf, "Leadership Structures," 384.

1264 IX 16, Acre: charter (the *burgensis* Saliba of Acre, a Hospitaller *confrater*, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Thomas Mausu preceptore volte sancti Johannis Iherosolimitani* (*CH* III 3105; *RRH* 1334).

- 1273 VIII 9, Acre: charter (for Richard Anglicus, a citizen of Acre), issuer: *frater Thomas sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani thesaurarius in Accon* (CH III 3514; RRH 1389; cf. Manosque, f. 157^v 17 N).
- 1273 VIII 21, Acre: charter (for the Hospitallers), mention: *frere Thomas tresaurier de la religion de saint Jehan de Jherusalem* (Manosque, f. 571 66 B).
- 1273 VIII 25, Acre: charter (by the papal legate, Patriarch Thomas of Jerusalem), mention: *frater Thomas thesaurarius sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani* (CH III 3515; RRH 1391).
- 1273 X 7, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for the abbey of St. Chaffre and the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne), witness: *fratre Thoma thesaurario* (CH III 3519; RRH 1391a; cf. CH III 3512, 3563).
- 1275 IX 1, (Acre): inscription: recording the death of the Hospitaller Treasurer Thomas Maus and requesting prayers for his soul: *ICI: GIST: FRERE: TO/mAS: mAVSV: TRESORI/ER: D(E): LOSPTAL: S(ALNT): IOhN:/Q(V)I: TRESPASSA: LE: I: IOR:/D(E): SEPT(m)B(RE): LA(N): D(E): LI(N)CARn(ATIO)N/Th(ES)V: CRIST: m^r: CC: LXXV:/PRIE: TVIT: P(OR): SARmE:* (Sandoli, *Corpus*, 313–14 n. 416, where the name is misread as *TOMAS mAT V*; however, the photo published *ibid.* allows the correction to *TO/mAS: mAVSV*).

URS OF ALNETO (T) seneschal 1179/81, 1187

origin: France. *Alnetum*, toponym in various parts of northern France and Champagne (Aulnay, Aulnois, Aulnoy, Aunay, Aunou, Lannoy, or Launois). *Alneto*, family name in Hainault, England, Burgundy, the Latin empire of Constantinople, and Frankish Greece (Graesse I, 65; CH I 506; Lees, *Records*, 113 n. 7; Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455; Lock, *Franks*, 10).

family: family of Alneto. Prior to joining the Templars, he donated half of his mills in Alneto to the order, which was confirmed by his feudal lord, Herveus III of Douzy, upon the request of Count Thibaut V of Blois and Troyes: → (1157–79; undated). Urs was probably related to Herveus of Alneto who, in 1197, stated that one half of the mills of Alneto belonged to the Templars, while the other half belonged to Hildeburg of Alneto, who was probably also one of Urs's relatives (Coll. d'Albon 45, f. 37).

literature: Rey, 254; Claverie I, 105; Nicholson and Nicolle, *God's Warriors*, 58.

(1157–79; undated), (Douzy): charter (for the Templars), issuer: *Ursus de Alneto pro remedio anime sue donavit Deo et domui Templi medietatem molendinorum suorum de Alneto* (Coll. d'Albon 45, f. 6–7; date: *ibid.*, f. 20).

(1179 after X 9–1181 fall), Acre: charter (Arnold of Aurillac for the Templars), co-recipient: *per manus fratris Ursi de Aln(et) et fratris Roberti Fresn(e)l tunc temporis domus Templi altero senescallo altero magno preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 5, 25bis).

1183 (before IX 1), TS: charter (agreement between the Templars and the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness: *frater Ursus de Alneto* (VOP III, 301–3 n. 126; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 89–90 n. 42; RRH 631; date: VOP III, *ibid.*).

1187 V 1, Cresson (near Nazareth): information from a later letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS): *fratre Hurson eiusdem domus senescalco* was traveling toward Tiberias in the entourage of Templar Master Gerard of Ridefort, when the latter decided to attack a Muslim army. The battle ended in a total defeat for the Christians (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6; RRH 658. Urs of Alneto was probably killed, but his death was not recorded).

1187 (VII 4–XI 23), TS: letter, mention: → 1187 V 1.

1187 XI 23, EU: chronicle: the letter (sent by the prelates and barons of the Latin east to the pope and to Emperor Frederick I, → 1187 (VII 4–XI 23) mentioning the battle of Cresson and the Templar Seneschal Urs of Alneto was read publicly in the west (*Hugonis et Honorii chronicorum continuationes Weingartenses*, ed. Weiland, 475–6).

VELASCO MARTINI (H) hospitaller 1306

origin: Portugal. The clue is his tenure as an official in Portugal (1297).

identity: probably identical with a Hospitaller official of the same name, who appeared in Portugal on → 1297 IV 20, and the individual named *Vasque Martin/Vasco Martini*, mentioned on Cyprus in → 1303 (c.XI 3) as well as in several charters of Pope John XXII in → 1319 III–V.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412, 422; Luttrell, “Hospitallers in Cyprus, 1310–78,” 160–1; Luttrell, *Town*, 18.

1297 IV 20, Santarem: charter (by King Dinis of Portugal), recipient: *fratri Valasco Martini comendatori Crati et Sartagine ac tenenti locum magni comendatoris omnium que ordo Hospitalis habet hac [sic] possidet in regnis nostris* (CH III 4371).

1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (Hospitaller Brother Arias Perez versus Hospitaller Brother Hugh Poitevin), mention: *frere Vasque Martin* (CH IV 4619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 66).

1306 XI 3, Limassol: charter (the Hospitallers’ conventual officials and general chapter for the Master Fulk of Villaret), co-issuer: *frater Velascus Martini hospitalarius* (CH IV 4735).

1319 III 1, Avignon: charter (Pope John XXII for the Hospitaller Albert of Schwarzburg), mention: *Vasco Martini* (Richard, *Documents*, 113–15 n. 1).

1319 III 1, Avignon: letter (Pope John XXII to the Hospitaller general preceptor of Armenia), mention: *Vasco Martini* (Richard, *Documents*, 115–17 n. 2).

1319 V 22, Avignon: letter (Pope John XXII to the bishops of Limassol and Paphos), mention: *Vasco Martini* (Richard, *Documents*, 118–20 n. 3).

WALTER ANGLICUS (H) draper 1303–6

origin: England. *Englès* and *Anglicus* (English), toponym.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Thomas l’Englès (seneschal, d. shortly before 1303 II 5 on Cyprus: CH IV 4586).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Luttrell, *Town*, 19.

1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus the Hospitaller infirmarer), plaintiff: *le drappier qui adonc estoit qui avoit nom frere Gautier l’Englès* (CH IV 4618; cf. the same document listed for → Robert of Merdogne).

1306 V 27, Limassol: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret and the Genoese Vignolo of Vignoli), witness: *fratre Gallerio Anglico dunperio* [sic, should read *draperio*] (Delaville Le Roulx, 274–6).

WALTER (II) OF BEIRUT (T) preceptor 1169, 1171; seneschal 1169

origin: Latin east. Beirut, toponym in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

family: noble family of Beirut-Brisebarre. He was the son of Guy I (lord of Beirut, 1127–40; mother unknown) and the nephew of Guy’s older brother Walter I (lord of Beirut, 1125–7), and he administered Beirut (1140–47) prior to joining the Templars. His brother Guy II (1147–56) then took over the lordship. Both had a sister (Agnes). Guy II married a certain Maria, and their children included Walter III (lord of Beirut until 1166, of Montréal until 1173, and of Blanchegarde until 1186), as well as Guy of Beirut (d. prior to 1197) who married Juliana of Caesarea. Juliana’s second marriage was to → Aymar of L’Ayron (Nielen, *Lignages*, 60, 71–7, 101, 110–13, 118; Nickerson, “Seigneurie,” 159–60, 162, 168–9; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 292).

identity: probably identical with the layman of the same name who, on → 1135 I 2, witnessed a charter in the principality of Antioch, and the unnamed Templar preceptor who, in → (1171 I/II), participated in the deliberations in Jerusalem after the resignation of Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly.

literature: Rey, 254, 376; Léonard, *Introduction*, 15; Richard, *Comté*, 67; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 292; Claverie I, 38, 105; II 177; cf. Chapter One.

1135 I 2, Latakia: charter (Walter of Sourdeval, constable of Antioch, for the Hospitallers), witness (of the confirmation by Princess Alice of Antioch): *Gualterius Biruti* (CH I 109; RRR 150; date: Mayer, *Varia*, 34).

- 1144 (late IV–VIII 31), TS: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witnesses: *Galerius Berithensis* (Bresc-Bautier, 107–9 n. 38; Rozière, 65–8 n. 34; *CT* 328; *RRH* 226; date: Hiestand (review), “Bresc-Bautier,” 286; Mayer II, 859).
- 1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Galerius de Berito* (Bresc-Bautier, 134–6 n. 50; Rozière, 124–7 n. 62; *RRH* 301; date: Mayer II, 862–3).
- 1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Count Amalric of Ascalon for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *frater Gauterius de Berito* (Bresc-Bautier, 127–9 n. 46; Rozière, 117–20 n. 59; *RRH* 300; date: Mayer I, 126; II, 862–3).
- 1155 I 14, Jerusalem (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *frater Galerius de Berito* (Bresc-Bautier, 113–15 n. 41; Rozière, 110–113 n. 56; *RRH* 299; date: Mayer II, 862–3).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Gallerii Beritensis* (Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363; date: VOP III, 354).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter, (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *fratris Gallerii Beritensis* (Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364; date: VOP III, 354, analogous to *RRH* 363).
- 1163 VIII 6, TS: charter (agreement between Bishop Anterius of Valenia and Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort), witness: *frater Galerius Brusebarre* (Pauli, *Codice*, 40–1 n. 39; *RRH* 381).
- 1164 (XI), TS: letter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort to Louis VII of France), mention: the carrier of this letter, *fratrem Galerium honestum et in negotiis Dei sollicitum* (*RHGF* XVI, 80–1 n. 245; *RRH* 406).
- 1164 (XI), TS: letter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort to Louis VII of France), mention: the carrier of this letter, *fratrem Walterum virum prudentem et discretum gemina quoque ingenuitate et avorum scilicet et morum bene conspicuum* (*RHGF* XVI, 79–80 n. 244; *RRH* 407).
- 1166, Rheims: charter (arbitration of a dispute between the abbeys of St. Denis of Rheims, St. Remigius of Rheims, and the Templars), arbiter: *dom(i)nus Galerius Brisebarre magister Templi* (of the west/this side of the sea) (Coll. d’Albon 51, f. 6–7; VOP II, 219–21 n. 17).
- 1166, (Artois): charter (for the abbot of St. Silvin in Auchy), issuer: *Walterus Brisebarre omnium fratrum Jerosolimitani Templi qui sunt citra mare Dei nutu primatum obtinens* (Coll. d’Albon 47, f. 176–7; cf. *ibid.*, f. 343–4).
- (1165–1167 before IV), EU: charter (for Master Robert Amicle), issuer: *Walterius de Barut qui eo tempore magister fuit in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 43, f. 20).
- 1167 IV 27, TS: charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Count Palatine Otto the Elder of Wittelsbach), witness: *frater Walterus de Berito* (Grauert, “Tempelherrenurkunde,” 294; cf. Mistele, “Geschichte, 20 n. 1; *RRH* 446).
- 1169 III 16, near Tortosa (TS): charter (Bishop Peter of Tortosa for the Templars), witness: *frater Galerius de Berito preceptor* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 15–16 n. 5; *RRH* 462; date: Mayer II, 195).
- 1169 VIII 20, Acre: charter (King Amalric of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *Gualterius senescallus Templi* (*CH* I 409; *RRH* 466; date: Mayer II, 156, 870).
- (1171 I/II), TS: letter (the Hospitaller convent to Pope Alexander III), mention: after the second resignation of Hospitaller Master Gilbert of Assailly, NN, *preceptore etiam Templi* (Walter of Beirut?), participated in an assembly of the spiritual and secular lords of the kingdom of Jerusalem, which decided to present the matter to the pope (VOP II, 222–7 n. 19; *CH* I 403; *RRH* 480).

WALTER OF LIENCOURT (I) lieutenant draper 1292

origin: France. *Picardus* (from Picardy), toponym. Liencourt, toponym in Picardy. *Biencuria* (*Belincuria*), name of a Templar house (dioc. Beauvais) (Schottmüller II.3, 181; Graesse II, 389; *Procès* II, 118). Claverie II, 326, suggests Liancourt in dép. Oise.

family: He was related (*propinquus*) to the Templar Adam of Benovalle: → (1303 VI 24).

It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar Andrew of Hencorte/Liencourt (received into the order, 1301: Schottmüller II.3, 213; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 127).

status: knight (*Procès* I, 407, 501, 518; Schottmüller II.3, 58).

literature: Léonard, *Introduction*, 138–9; Imperio, *Tramonto*, 53; Demurger, *Jacques*, 112, 181; Claverie II, 326; Barber, *Trial*, 78.

c.1257, (EU): information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 X 22, Paris): *Gancherius de Lienticuria* was fifty years old (*etatis quinquaginta annorum*) in 1307. Thus, he must have been born c.1257 (*Procès* II, 298).

(1272–4), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1307 X 22, Paris): *Gancherius de Lienticuria* had been received into the order circa thirty-four or thirty-five years earlier by Amaury of La Roche. The ceremony had allegedly involved illicit acts and compromising statements (*Procès* II, 298–9; date: *ibid.*, 296); information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1308 VI 30, Poitiers): *Galscherus de Lyencourt* had been received into the order circa thirty-four years earlier by Amaury of La Roche (Schottmüller II.3, 58–9; date: *ibid.*, 58).

1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Gaucher de Liencort tenant leuc de draper* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).

(1295), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by Ralph of Taverniaco, → 1311 III 2, Paris): *Gaucherus de Liencourt* and others had attended a Templar general chapter in Paris circa sixteen years earlier (*Procès* I, 627–8; date: *ibid.*, 624).

(1298 VII 27), Rheims: information from a later trial deposition (made by Simon of Cormessi, → 1311 II 9, Paris): *fratrem Galcherum de Liencuria militem preceptorem Remensem et Laudunensem* [Rheims and Laon] had received Simon of Cormessi into the order circa twelve years earlier on the Sunday after the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, calculated back from the last feast of St. Mary Magdalen (*Procès* I, 518–19; date: *ibid.*, 517. The feast of St. Mary Magdalen is celebrated on VII 22; in 1298, it was on a Tuesday).

(1272/4–1296/8), TS: information from a later trial deposition (made by himself, → 1308 VI 30, Poitiers): the day after his reception, Walter had left for the east where he stayed for circa twenty-four years (Schottmüller II.3, 59. If he was back in the west → c.1295, his reception into the order must have taken place by 1272 at the latest; however, one needs to take the timespans given in these trial depositions with a grain of salt).

(1303 VI 24), Paris: information from a later trial deposition (made by William of Arreblayo, → 1311 II 5, Paris): *Galterus de Liencourt miles* had attended a Templar general chapter eight years earlier on the feast of the Nativity of St. John, and his relative Adam of Benovalle was then received into the order (*Procès* I, 501; date: *ibid.*, 498. The feast of the Nativity of St. John is celebrated on VI 24).

(1304 XII 25), Neuville (Côte d'Or): information from a later trial deposition (made by Aimo of Gala, → 1310 V 14, Nicosia): *frater Galcerius de Liencurt Picardus preceptor tunc balivie Remensis* [Rheims] had received Aimo of Gala into the order five years earlier, calculated back from the last Christmas (Schottmüller II.3, 181; date: *ibid.*, 176).

(1304), Neuville (Côte d'Or): information from a later trial deposition (made by Humbert of St. Jorio, → 1311 I 16, Paris): *fratrem Galterum de Biencuria militem preceptorem Remensem* had received Aimo of Clermont into the order circa seven years earlier (*Procès* I, 407; date: *ibid.*, 402).

1307 X 22, Paris: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Gancherius de Lienticuria preceptor Remensis* (*Procès* II, 298; date: *ibid.*, 296. → c.1257; → (1272–4), first part).

1308 VI 30, Poitiers: trial deposition, defendant: *frater Galscherus de Lyencourt preceptor Remensis* (Schottmüller II.3, 58–9; date: *ibid.*, 58. → (1272–4), second part; → (1272/4–1296/8)).

1310 V 14, Nicosia: trial deposition, mention: → (1304 XII 25).

1311 I 16, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1304).

1311 II 5, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1303 VI 24).

1311 II 9, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1298 VII 27).

1311 III 2, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1295).

[WILLIAM (H) hospitaller? 1184]

identity: This individual, listed by Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte*, 66, as the hospitaller of the order of St. John for 1184, was, as Delaville Le Roulx, 411, 431, has already pointed out, merely the hospitaller of the order's house in Acre. In 1184, the Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins issued a charter near Acre, and the Hospitaller witnesses were Garnier of Nablus (the conventual preceptor), Odinus (preceptor of Acre), the treasurer, the castellans of Krak des Chevaliers and Belvoir, four brothers, *frater Guillelmus, hospitalarius Aconensis*, and the prior of Acre (*CH* I 663; *RRH* 640); the conventual hospitaller would have been placed much higher in this witness list.

WILLIAM (T) lieutenant marshal → WILLIAM OF MALAIO (T)

WILLIAM (H) prior 1233–5

origin: unknown.

identity: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller prior mentioned in a letter sent by Pope Gregory IX on → 1233 IV 23. Probably not identical with the Hospitaller William of Antioch who appeared in 1239 as the last of eight witnesses in a charter issued by Hospitaller Master Bertrand of Comps (*CH* II 2224; *RRH* 1091), since such a low position would not befit a (former) conventual prior.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413.

1233 IV 23, Lateran: letter (Pope Gregory IX to the archbishop of Nazareth and others), co-recipient: NN, prior of the Hospital of Jerusalem (*CH* II 2049).

1235 XI, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Guerin for Nicholas Antelini), witness: *frater Willelmus prior ecclesie* (*CH* II 2126; *RRH* 1063).

WILLIAM (T) seneschal 1129/30

origin: unknown.

identity: According to Rovik, “Templars,” appendix III, 15, this Templar seneschal was identical with the Templar William Fauco who witnessed a charter issued by Baldwin III of Jerusalem in 1144 (Bresc-Bautier, 107–9 n. 38; Rozière, 65–8 n. 34; *CT* 328; *RRH* 226; date: Hiestand (review), “Bresc-Bautier,” 286; Mayer II, 859); however, apart from them sharing the same, rather common first name, there is no evidence to support this assertion. The Templar Seneschal William of 1129/30 was probably not identical with → William of La Guerche, the order's seneschal of 1160, due to the time gap.

literature: Rey, 254; Barber, 35, 342; Claverie I, 105.

(1129 XII 25–1130 IX 1), (Jerusalem): charter (William, prior of the Holy Sepulcher, for the abbey of St. Mary in the Valley of Josaphat), witness (after Baldwin II of Jerusalem, but before Count Hugh of Troyes): *Willelmus dapifer Templi* (Bresc-Bautier, appendix, 347–8 n. 1; Delaborde, *Chartes*, 43–5 n. 17; *RRH* 133; date: Bresc-Bautier, *ibid.*).

WILLIAM OF ACERRA (H) prior 1185

origin: Italy. *Acerium* (Acerra), toponym in the province of Naples (Graesse I, 10).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 413.

1158 (IX 1–XII 24), TS: charter (Hugh of Ibelin for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Willelmus de Acer* (Bresc-Bautier, 136–8 n. 51; Rozière, 128–30 n. 63; *RRH* 333).

1173, (Jerusalem): charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Syrian Meletos, archbishop of Gaza and Eleutheropolis), witness: *fratre Guillelmo Dacer* (*CH* I 443; *RRH* 502; location: the same document listed for → Garin of Melna).

- 1175, (Acre): charter (agreement between Bishop Joscius of Acre and Hospitaller Master Josbert), witness: *Willelmus de Acir* (*CH* I 471; *RRH* 532).
 1181 XI 9, Jerusalem: charter (agreement between Hospitaller Master Roger of Moulins and Archbishop Guerricus of Petra), witness: *frater Willelmus de Acerio* (*CH* I 610; *RRH* 607).
 1185, TS: charter (Raymond of Trois Clefs for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Willelmi de Acerio prioris clericorum* (*CH* I 754; *RRH* 642; date: Mayer II, 878).

WILLIAM OF ARZILLIÈRES (T) marshal 1200–4

origin: France. Arzillières, toponym in dép. Marne and family name (Graesse I, 142).

family: noble family of Arzillières. He was the son of William of Arzillières. His brother Walter came to the Latin east in 1190. His brother Henry participated in the Third and Fourth Crusades and was related to Duke Hugh III of Burgundy (d.1192) by marriage (Petit, *Histoire*, III, 482; Röhrich, 523, 689; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 36; Mayer, “Einwanderer,” 28–29; Mayer II, 912). The family can be traced back to at least 1088, probably held land from the counts of Champagne, and was related to the chronicler Geoffrey of Villehardouin (Lalore, *Cartulaire*, 187–8 n. 57; Mayer II, 665; Petit, *Histoire*, III, 144).

literature: Claverie I, 32, 111; II, 328.

1189, (France): charter (Walter, lord of Arzillières, for the abbey of Chapelle-aux-Planches), consent-givers/witnesses: *laudante hoc uxore mea Isabel et fratribus meis Willemo et Henrico laudantibus*, furthermore, as witnesses, *magister* Adam of Arzillières and *prepositus* Laurentius of Arzillières (Lalore, *Cartulaire*, 35–6 n. 34).

(1189), (France): charter (by Hugh, count of Rethel and lord of Belfort), mention: *Walterus, dominus Ardilleriis, Elizabeth* [sic] *uxor ejus, fratres ejusdem Walteri Willelmus Seiliez et Hanricus* (Lalore, *Cartulaire*, 37 n. 36).

(1190 VII 28–1191 IV 13), near Acre: charter (Henry of Arzillières for the Templars), mention: *intuitu Dei et fratris mei Willelmi pro remedio anime mee parentumque et antecessorum meorum* (Mayer II, 911–14 n. 14; date: the same document listed for → Amio of Ays. There may be a connection between this donation and William entering the order).

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Willelmus de Ardilleriis marescallus* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a).

(1200–4), EU: charter (Villanus of Alneto for the Templars, referring to a donation made by him during his stay in the Latin east), mention: *hoc donum fuit factum in presentia fratris Guillelmi de Ardillières qui tunc erat marescallus militie domus Templi* (Petit, *Histoire*, III, 481–2 n. 1455; date: Claverie III, 79–80 n. 43, suggests “1200?,” however, William was still preceptor on → 1204 VII 19, which is why I date ‘(1200–4)’).

WILLIAM BORELL (H) marshal 1193

origin: France? Borell, name, common in twelfth-century southern France and northern Spain, particularly Catalonia (Amargier, *Cartulaire*, n. 25, 57, 72, 73, 105, 109, 117). Borel, toponym in Yorkshire (Lees, *Records*, 123). In light of the English participation in the Third Crusade, the possibility of an English origin must be considered.

identity: A certain layman named *Guillelmus Borrellus* witnessed a number of charters in the Hospitaller priory of St. Gilles between 1157 and 1174 (*CH* I 253; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 267, 285, 297, 299–300, supplément II; Amargier, *Cartulaire*, n. 72–3). Due to the considerable time gap between 1174 and 1193—the year in which the Hospitaller Marshal William Borell appears as a charter witness—, it is unclear whether these two were identical. The latter was not identical with the Hospitaller (Grand)-Preceptor → Borell who never appears to have used the first name ‘William.’ It is unknown whether the Hospitaller Marshal William Borell was identical with → NN (H) marshal 1191 (King, *Knights*, 151, suggests that they were identical).

literature: Delaville Le Roux, 410; Bronstein, 152.

1193 I, TS: charter (Hospitalier Master Geoffrey of Donjon for the church of Valenia), witness: *frater Willelmus Borrel marescalus* (CH I 941; RRH 708).

WILLIAM CADEL (I) preceptor 1222–3

origin: France. Cadel, family name in Provence (Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 298; Carraz, *Ordre*, 98). Claverie II, 328, suggests that he originated from Psalmody in dép. Vaucluse.

family: family from southern France. In → 1184, Peter *Catellus* issued a charter for the Templars of *Lunel* (near Montpellier) and mentioned his mother Florencia and other members of his family, namely Rostagnus, as well as the brothers Matthew and William *Catellus*, and (as witnesses) Bernard and Bertrand *Catellus*. This William *Catellus* and the Templar William Cadel were probably identical, considering that the latter’s career began in same region, namely at St. Gilles. Two charters issued on → 1209 XI 11 at Psalmody (near St. Gilles) mention William *Catelli*, Templar master of Provence, as the recipient and list (among the witnesses) the monks Pons and Bermundus *Catelli*, as well as the laymen Rostagnus and Bertrand *Catelli*. William, Rostagnus, and Bertrand had also appeared in the charter of → 1184 (Carraz, *Ordre*, 308). It is, however, conceivable that we are dealing with representatives of different generations of the same family.

identity: The Templar official William Cadel appears in various functions in the west between → 1201 IV and (1214–16) and, again, between 1223 and 1232 VII 29. The time gap between 1216 and 1223 suggests a participation in the Fifth Crusade. In → 1222 early-IX, the Templar master (Peter of Montaigu) sent him to the west as his lieutenant and member of a delegation from the Latin east, and in → 1223 III-late-V, an unnamed member of this delegation was referred to as a Templar preceptor. William Cadel and this unnamed preceptor were probably one and the same person. However, whether William traveled to the west while holding the office of conventual preceptor cannot be said with absolute certainty; it is, in my opinion, very likely because the title of the Templar preceptor traveling with the delegation is not qualified by any toponym, and William had, after all, left the east as the master’s lieutenant. There is no connection between the Templar official William Cadel and a layman named William *Caldellus* who appeared in Flanders in 1179 (Dailiez, *Templiers en Flandre*, 322–3 n. 34, 374). Contrary to what has been suggested by Bulst-Thiele, 177, the Templar official William Cadel was not identical with Robert, a Templar master (probably the order’s Italian provincial master), who is mentioned in a charter of the Emperor Frederick II issued in 1223 II (Winkelmann, *Acta*, II, 14–16 n. 13; *Regesta Imperii*, V.1, ed. Böhmer and Ficker, 302 n. 1440).

literature: Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24; Delisle, *Mémoire*, 38; Röhrich, 755, 757–8; Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August*, IV, 486; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 16, 25–6, 30, 76; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 297–8; Forey, *Aragón*, 420, 436; Bulst-Thiele, 172, 177, 187, 297; Barber, 131, 358; Selwood, *Knights*, 153; Guzzo, *Templari*, 28–9; De la Torre Muñoz de Morales, *Templarios*, 121, 125; Claverie I, 360; II, 328; Carraz, *Ordre*, 98, 308, 311, 318–21; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitaliers’ High Dignitaries,” 16–17.

1184, (southern France): charter (Peter *Catellus* for the Templars of *Lunel*, near Montpellier), mention: his mother Florencia and other members of his family, namely Matthew, Rostagnus, and William *Catellus* (William and Matthew being brothers), and, as witnesses, Bernard and Bertrand *Catellus* (Coll. d’Albon 15, f. 209–11).

1201 IV, (southern France): charter (by Archbishop Ymbert of Arles), witness: *frater Willelmus Cadel preceptor domus Sancti Egidii* (Coll. d’Albon 10, f. 2–5).

1201 VIII, (southern France): charter (by Boquerius of Montfrin), mention: *Guil(le)lmi Catelli preceptoris domus Templi de Sancto Egidio* (Coll. d’Albon 12, f. 19–20).

1201 X 7, (St. Gilles): charter (by William and Bertrand of Marraco, brothers), recipient: *Guillelmo Cadello ejusdem domus* [St. Gilles] *preceptore* (Coll. d’Albon 6, f. 3–4).

- 1202 I 15, (St. Gilles): charter (by Bertrand Pellicerii and Raymond Valerii), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo Catello domus milicie Templi Sancti Egidii preceptori* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 7–8).
- 1202 I, (St. Gilles): charter (agreement between Bernard Ibilotus and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmmum Catellum preceptorem domus milicie Templi sancti Egidii* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 5–6).
- 1202 III 17, (St. Gilles): charter (by Bonitus Sabaterii and his wife Gilia), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo Catello domus milicie Templi Sancti Egidie preceptori* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 9–10).
- 1202 V, (southern France): charter (by Lagetus of Medenis), recipient: *Guillelmo Catello preceptori domus Templi Sancti Egidii* (Coll. d'Albon 12, f. 29–30).
- 1202 V, (southern France): charter (by Goufier of Tolobrica, a knight), recipient: *Guillelmo Catello preceptore ipsius domus Templi d(e) Sancto Egidio* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 11–12).
- 1202 VI 23, (St. Gilles): charter (by William Calveti), recipient: *G(u)illelmo Cadello ejusdem domus* [St. Gilles] *preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 17).
- 1202 VI, St. Gilles: charter (by Abbot Ermenganus of St. Gilles), recipient: *Guillelmo Cadello preceptore* (of St. Gilles) (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 13–16).
- 1202 VII, (St. Gilles): charter (agreement between the Templars and the Hospitaller seneschal of St. Gilles), party to the agreement: *Guillelmus Cadellus domus milicie Templi ville Sancti Egidii preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 18–19; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 83).
- 1202 VII, (St. Gilles): charter (agreement between the Templars and the Hospitaller seneschal of St. Gilles), party to the agreement: *Guillelmus Cadellus domus milicie Templi ville Sancte Egidii preceptor* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 20–21; Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 84).
- 1202 XI, (St. Gilles): charter (by Raymond Bertrandi), recipient: *Guillelmo Cadello ejusdem domus* [St. Gilles] *preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 22).
- 1202 XII 10, (St. Gilles): charter (agreement concerning the canal of *Cotore*), party to the agreement: *Guillelmmum Cadellum preceptorem domus milicie Templi ville Sancti Egidii* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 23–4).
- (1202/3) III 4, (St. Gilles): charter (by Rostagnus *Posqueriarus*), recipient: *G(u)illelmo Cadello ejusdem domus* [St. Gilles] *preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 27–9).
- (1202–3), (St. Gilles): charter (by Bertrand Victori), recipient: *Guillelmo Cadello ejusdem domus* [St. Gilles] *preceptore* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 25–6).
- 1204 III, Arles: charter (Raymond of St. Andiol for the Templars), witness: *Guillelmus Catellus magister domus milicie* (of Provence) (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 32).
- 1204, (Valence): charter (exchange between the abbey of St. Ruf and the Templars of Valence), consent-giver: *Guillelmus Catellus magister Provincie et ad maiorem firmitatem sigillum suum apposuit*; seal: *+.S. PRECEPTORIS P(RO)VINCIE* (Coll. d'Albon 9, f. 353–6; Saint-Hilaire, *Sceaux*, 114; cf. Marillier, *Armorial*, 103).
- 1205 VII, (Arles): charter (by Hugh Raymond and Rufus Berengar), recipient: *Guillelmo Cadello magistro Provincie* (Coll. d'Albon 7, f. 63).
- 1206 IX 8, (Provence): charter (by Pons of *Castro Rainardo*), mention: *existentibus tunc temporis domino Poncio de Rigaldo in Provincia et in partibus Yspanie magistro et W(illelmo) Catelli sub ipso in Provincia commendatore* (Coll. d'Albon 10, f. 246–7).
- 1206 X, (Jalès): charter (by Arpin of Bec), recipient: *in manus domini magistri G. Catelli* (Coll. d'Albon 13, f. 85).
- 1206 XI, Arles: charter (by Bertrand of Porcellet), recipient: *Guillelmo Catello magistro domus milicie Templi* (Coll. d'Albon 7, f. 69–70).
- 1206, La Selve: charter (for the Templars), recipient: *maestre de Proenssa Guillem Cadel* (Ourliac and Magnou, *Cartulaire de La Selve*, 142–3 n. 32).
- 1207 III, (Provence): charter (by Alixendis and her son John), co-recipient: *magistro ejusdem domus W. Catello* (Coll. d'Albon 8, f. 212).
- 1207 III, (Provence): charter (by Bertrand Gantelmi), co-recipient: *magistro quodam W. Catello* (Coll. d'Albon 8, f. 213).
- 1207 VI, (Provence): charter (Bertrand of Scripta for the Templars), mention: *magistro existente Guillelmo Catelli* (Coll. d'Albon 8, f. 215).

- 1207 X 27, Perugia: letter (Pope Innocent III to the abbot of St. Afrodisius in Bourges), mention: NN, *magistri... militie Templi in Provincia* (Coll. d'Albon 2, f. 192–3).
- 1207 XI, (Provence): charter (by G. Langerius), recipient: *G. Cadel magistro Provincie* (Coll. d'Albon 10, f. 154–6).
- (1208/9) III 6, Montfrin: charter (Albaronus for Peter, Templar preceptor of St. Gilles), mention: *frater Guillelmus Catelli*, the former Templar preceptor of St. Gilles (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 40–4).
- (1209) III, (Provence): charter (by Count Alphonso II of Provence), recipient: *G(ui)ll(el)mi Chatelli magistri Provi(nc)e* (Coll. d'Albon 11, f. 11–12).
- 1209 XI 11, Psalmody: charter (by Abbot Bernard of Psalmody), mention: *fratre Guillelmo Catelli domus Templi militiae in partibus Provincie magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 52–8).
- 1209 XI 11, Psalmody: charter (by Abbot Bernard of Psalmody), recipient: *fratri Guill(el)mo Catelli in partibus Provincie magistro* (Coll. d'Albon 6, f. 59–66).
- 1209 XII 13, Aix: charter (Peter II of Aragón for the monastery of St. Pons-de-Géménos, near Marseilles), witness: *fr(ater) Guillelmus Cadelli magister milicie in Provincia* (Bulst-Thiele, 187).
- 1210 X 23 (Aragón): charter (by the inhabitants of Ascó), co-recipient: *Guillèm Cadell comanador de Montzó* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 180).
- 1210 XI 17, Lleida: charter (by Peter II of Aragón), co-recipient: *fratri Guillelmo Catelli commendatori de Monte Sono* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 186–7; cf. Miret y Sans, *Cartoral*, 22–3).
- 1212 VI 17, Toledo: charter (by Peter II of Aragón), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo Catelli comendatori castri de Monte Sono* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 343; cf. *ibid.*, 518).
- 1212 XI 29, Barcelona: charter (by Peter II of Aragón), recipient: *fratri G(ui)ll(e)lmo Catello honorando magistro domus milicie Templi in Provincia et in quibusdam partibus Hypanie* (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 188–90).
- (1212 X–1213 V), (Aragón): secondary literature: William Cadel served as Templar master of Provence and parts of Spain (Forey, *Aragón*, 420; Bulst-Thiele, 172).
- 1214 IX 6, (France): secondary literature: the Templar William Cadel received a letter of safe-conduct from King John of England (Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 297).
- 1214 IX 13, (France): secondary literature: King John of England agreed to approve the treaty with Philip II of France, which would be concluded on his behalf by the abbot of Westminster, the Templar William Cadel, and others (Cartellieri, *Philipp II. August*, IV, 486; Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 297–8; Bulst-Thiele, 177).
- 1214 IX 28, (Chinon): secondary literature: the Templar William Cadel, *magister cismare*, signed the truce between France and England (Bulst-Thiele, “Templer,” 297).
- 1214 XI 21, (Flanders): secondary literature: King John of England authorized William Cadel, Templar master (of the west), to claim 1,400 pounds sterling from the citizens of Ypres who owed the king this sum (Delisle, *Mémoire*, 38).
- 1215 III 23, (Aragón): charter (by William of Cervaria), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo Cadelli venerabilis [sic] domus milicie Templi in cismarinis partibus magistro* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 7–8 n. 1; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 180–1).
- (1214–15), (Toulouse): secondary literature: William Cadel allegedly served as Templar master of Toulouse (Du Bourg, *Histoire*, 24; Léonard, *Introduction*, 76. It is more likely that he appeared in Toulouse in his capacity as Templar master of the west).
- (1214–16), (southern France): charter (Bishop of Avignon for the Templars of Richerenches), mention: *Guillelmi Catelli magistri cismarini domus milicie* (Coll. d'Albon 10, f. 6–7).
- 1222 early-IX, TS: chronicle: a delegation from the Latin east that included the king of Jerusalem (John of Brienne), a papal legate (Pelagius), the patriarch of Jerusalem (Ralph of Merencourt), the Hospitaller master (Garin of Montaigu), and a lieutenant of the Templar master (*il y envoia un prodome de ses freres en son lue, qui avoit nom frere Guillaume Cadel*) to attend the court assembly summoned by the Emperor Frederick II to Verona for 1222 XI 11 and to negotiate the emperor's intended marriage to

- King John's daughter (Eracles, 355; cf. "Annales de Terre Sainte," ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 437; *Gestes*, 20 § 80, 29 § 104; Amadi, 115; Marinus Sanutus, "Liber," 210).
- 1222 IX 14, Famagusta: charter (agreement between Templars and Hospitallers, promulgated by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate), party to the agreement: NN, Templar 'master' (this was perhaps William Cadel on his way to the west) (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, n. 83; Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 619–22; *RRH* 938; cf. Coureas and Schabel, *ibid.*, n. 95).
- 1223 III, Ferentino: secondary literature: a Templar preceptor (William Cadel), as a member of a delegation from the Latin east, was present at a meeting between Pope Honorius III and Emperor Frederick II (Röhricht, 757–8; Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 298; Barber, 131; Guzzo, *Templari*, 28–9).
- (1223 IV 27), Lateran: letter (Pope Honorius III to Philip II of France), mention: NN, *preceptore Templi* (William Cadel), as present at a recent meeting between the pope and the emperor (Rodenberg, *Epistolae saeculi XIII*, 152–5 n. 225; *Regesta Honorii III*, ed. Pressutti, n. 4262; cf. *ibid.*, n. 4304).
- 1223 late-V, (Lateran): letter (Pope Honorius III to Philip II), mention: NN, *preceptore Templi* (William Cadel?), as present at a recent *colloquium* between the pope and the emperor in Campania (Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia*, II, 375–7).
- 1223, Sens: secondary literature: the Templar William Cadel was in France, traveling to England (Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 298).
- 1224 IV, (England): secondary literature: Henry III of England ordered the Templar William Cadel to pay 1,400 marks to Count Hugh of La Marche, which the king owed to the count (Bulst-Thiele, "Templer," 298).
- 1224 V 20, Westminster: charter (Henry III of England for the Templars), mention: *fratris W. Kadel magistri domus Templi citra montes* (*Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, I, 438–9).
- 1230, Carcassonne: charter (agreement involving the Templars and the castle and community of *Monte Rotundo*), mention: Peter of Malon, lieutenant of *Guillelmum Catelli magistrum domus Templi in partibus Yspanie et Provincie* (Coll. d'Albon 19, f. 54–63).
- 1231 IX 3, (Montfrin): charter (Albaron, lord of the castle of Montfrin, for the Templars), recipient: *Guil(lelmo) (Catelli) magistro domus Templi in Provincia et partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d'Albon 12, f. 119).
- 1232 VII 29, (southern France): charter (Bishop Bernard of Béziers for the Templars), consent-giver: *Guillelmi Cadelli magistri in Provincia et in quibusdam partibus Yspanie* (Coll. d'Albon 16, f. 436–43 (*vidimus* of 1256 IV 27); cf. *ibid.* 70, f. 51').
- (1236/7) II, (Provence): charter (by Rainer of Usèz), mention (retrospectively): *G. Cadello tunc temporis magistro* (of Provence) (Coll. d'Albon 10, f. 185–7).

WILLIAM OF CHÂTEAUNEUF (H) marshal 1241; master 1242/3–1258

origin: France (Vertôt, *Histoire*, I, 369; Delaville Le Roulx, 190; King, *Knights*, 322–3; Bronstein, 153). Barber, "Order of Saint Lazarus," 443, suggests a connection between William and the crusader lordship of Châteauneuf (Hunin) in the northern Galilee; however, there is no evidence to support this.

family: family from Roussillon or Languedoc? It is unknown whether he was related to them. According to the testament of Count Gerard II of Roussillon issued on 1172 VII 4, a certain *Guillelmus de Castronovo* was to receive the *honor* of the castle of Malpas and hold it from the Hospitallers (*CH* I 435). This William of Châteauneuf may have been a relative (perhaps the grandfather) of the future Hospitaller official of the same name. His coat of arms is probably an early modern invention (King, *Knights*, 320, 322: "gules, three triple-storied towers, masoned sable").

identity: probably not identical with *Willelmus de Novo Castro*, a participant of the Fifth Crusade who was in Marseilles on 1218 V 5 (Röhricht, *Studien*, IV, 59–60 n. 10), due to the time gap.

- literature*: Röhricht, 861–5; Delaville Le Roulx, 190–210, 410; King, *Knights*, 314; Bulst-Thiele, “Geschichte,” 222–4; Riley-Smith, 180–6, 483, 493; Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 310; Bulst-Thiele, 209; Nicholson, 86; Bronstein, 23–6, 153; Claverie I, 69–71, 294; II, 54, 77, 188, 199; Burgdorf, “Selbstverständnis,” 31; Riley-Smith, “Military Orders,” 144.
- 1233 X 3, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and citizens of Marseilles), witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Castronovo* (CH II 2067; RRH 1046).
- 1241 XI 18, Tripoli: charter (agreement between Bohemond V of Antioch and the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Gui(llelme de) Chastel Neuf mareschal* (CH II 2280; RRH 1102).
- 1242 (before IX 17), TS: secondary literature: William of Châteauneuf may have been in charge of the negotiations with Balian of Ibelin who was laying siege to the Hospitaller headquarters in Acre for six months (Riley-Smith, 180).
- (1242 after IX 17–1243 V), TS: letter (to Thibaut IV/I, count of Champagne and king of Navarre), sender: Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf (Coll. d’Albon 59, f. 76; García Larragueta, *Gran priorado*, II, 297–8 n. 304; Castro, *Catálogo*, I, 187 n. 384; RRH 1140; date: the same document listed for → Andrew Polin).
- 1243 V 31, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars), party to the agreement: Master *Guillaume de Chastel Neuf* (CH II 2296; RRH 1111; for the attached magisterial lead seal cf. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 236 n. 187).
- 1243 VIII, TS: charter (by John, son of William of Byblos), recipient: *maître de la maison de l’Ospital de saint Johan frere Guillaume de Chasteauneuf* (CH II 2298; RRH 1113).
- 1244 IV 3, TS: charter (issued on behalf of the Emperor Frederick II), recipient: *grand-maître de Châteauneuf* (CH II 2320; RRH 1118a).
- (1243–4) V 5, Acre: letter (to Briton, a knight in Marseilles), sender: Master *Guilelmus de Castro Novo* (CH II 2322; RRH 1129a).
- 1244 (before VII 11), Jerusalem: secondary literature: Master William of Châteauneuf visited Jerusalem in the entourage of Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem (Prawer, *Histoire*, II, 310).
- 1244 VIII 20, Acre: charter (by John of Rocherouge), recipient: *Guilielmo de Castronouo magistro domus ipsius Hospitalis recipienti* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 25; CH II 2330; RRH 1122).
- 1244 IX 11, Acre, letter (Patriarch Robert of Jerusalem and others to Pope Innocent IV), co-sender: *frater Willelmus*, Hospitaller master (*Chronica de Mailbros*, 156–62; RRH 1123).
- 1244 IX, TS: charter (by Thomas of Aquino, Frederick II’s *bailli* in the kingdom of Jerusalem), recipient: Master William of Châteauneuf (CH II 2331; RRH 1123a).
- 1244 X 17, Gaza: chronicle: *frere Guillaume dou Chastel, neuf* [sic], Hospitaller master, was captured during the battle (*Gestes*, 145 § 252; cf. “Annales de Terre Sainte,” ed. Röhricht and Raynaud, 441: the A redaction incorrectly reports William’s captivity in the context of the conquest of Jerusalem earlier the same year; Eracles, 430; Rothelin, 564; Amadi, 197; “Annales monasterii de Burton,” ed. Luard, 261).
- 1244 XI 25, Acre: letter (Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem and papal legate, and others to the English prelates), mention: after the battle of Gaza (1244 X 17), *magister vero Hospitalis...cum multis aliis capti in Babiloniam sunt deducti* (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 337–44; CH II 2340; RRH 1127).
- (1244 XI), TS: letter (an unknown sender to the lord of Merlai), mention: NN, Hospitaller master, was allegedly killed during the battle of Gaza (1244 X 17). This information is incorrect as William of Châteauneuf was captured alive (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 307–11; CH II 2339; RRH 1125. William cannot have been the author of this letter).
- (1244 XI), EU: letter (by Emperor Frederick II), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 505–6 n. 570; RRH 1126).

- (1245 VIII 19–1246 I 19), EU: letter (Emperor Frederick II to Alphonso X of Castile), mention: Frederick expressed his intention to send an envoy to the Hospitaller master (*ad eundem magistrum*) (Winkelmann, *Acta*, II, 51–2 n. 47. At the time, the Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf was still in captivity).
- (1244 X 17–1250 IX), Egypt: chronicle: Master William of Châteauneuf (during his captivity in Egypt, perhaps in the context of his release) knighted the sultan of Egypt; this story is probably fiction (“*Annales monasterii de Wintonia*,” ed. Luard, 92).
- 1250 IX, Egypt: chronicle: Master William of Châteauneuf was released from captivity after the payment of a substantial ransom (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, V, 211; cf. “*Annales de Terre Sainte*,” ed. Röhrich and Raynaud, 444 (B redaction); Eracles, 439; Rothelin, 625; Amadi, 201).
- 1250 X 17, Acre: information from a later letter (sent by Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf to Walter of St. Martin, → 1250 (after X 17), Acre): Master William of Châteauneuf returned to Acre after several years of captivity in Egypt (*CH* II 2541; *RRH* 1193; cf. Amadi, 201).
- 1250 (after X 17), Acre: letter (to Walter of St. Martin, an (English) Dominican), sender: *frater Guillelmus de Castro Novo*, Hospitaller master (*CH* II 2540, citing *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 203; *RRH* 1192).
- 1250 (after X 17), Acre: letter (to Walter of St. Martin), sender: *frater Guillelmus de Castro Novo*, Hospitaller master (*CH* II 2541, citing *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, VI, 204; *RRH* 1193).
- 1252 III, TS: charter (by Ralph of Beirut), recipient: Master William of Châteauneuf (Manosque, f. 331 33 J; *CH* II 2593; *RRH* 1198c).
- 1252 IV 19, TS: charter (by Raymonde, the wife of Nicholas of Messan), recipient: Master William of Châteauneuf (*CH* II 2600; *RRH* 1198d).
- (1251 III–1252 V), Caesarea: chronicle: Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf and Templar Master Reynald of Vichiers successfully convinced Louis IX of France to renew the fortifications of Caesarea. Both masters rebuffed an Assassin envoy who was asking Louis to relieve the Assassins of the tribute payments they had to make to Hospitallers and Templars (Joinville, § 453; date: Joinville, liv).
- 1252 VI 6, Westminster: letter (by Henry III of England), co-recipient: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 528 n. 595).
- 1252 VII, Acre: charter (by Henry I of Cyprus), recipient: Master *Gugliame de Chastel Neuf* (*CH* II 2612; *RRH* 1200).
- 1252 X 8, Acre: letter (to the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles), sender: Master *Guillaume de Castronovo* (Manosque, f. 517' 58 B).
- (1252), TS: charter (marriage contract between Euphemia, the daughter of King Hetoum of Armenia, and Julian of Sidon), mention: *frere Guilliam de Chastel Nov*, Hospitaller master (*CH* II 2581; *RRH* 1202).
- 1253 X 7, Acre: letter (to the Hospitaller preceptor of Germany), sender: Master *Guillermus de Castro Novo* (*CH* II 2653; *RRH* 1207a).
- 1253 XII, Acre: charter (by John Aleman, lord of Caesarea), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chastelneuf* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 35/II; *CH* II 2661; *RRH* 1210).
- (1254) II, TS: charter (for the brotherhood of St. James at Acre), issuer: Master *Guillaume de Châteauneuf* (*CH* II 2666; *RRH* 1214a; cf. Manosque, f. 521' 58 S. → 1254 VIII).
- (1254) early III, TS: charter (by John of Bubie, Hospitaller castellan of Margat), mention: John was acting *par le comandement et l'otrei do maistre* (*CH* II 2670; *RRH* 1204).
- 1254 VIII, TS: charter (by Julian, lord of Sidon), recipient: Master *Guillelme de Chastel Neuf* (*CH* II 2688; *RRH* 1217).
- 1254 VIII, TS: charter (by the brotherhood of St. James at Acre), co-recipient: William of Châteauneuf, *grand maistre de la religion... de l'Hospital dudit Acre* (Manosque, f. 170' 18 M; *CH* II 2689; *RRH* 1216a. → (1254) II).

- 1254 IX 22, casale Robert: charter (for Julian of Sidon), issuer: Master *Guillelmus de Castronovo* (CH II 2693; *RRH* 1220).
- 1254 IX (23 or 30), Acre: letter (the barons and prelates of the kingdom of Jerusalem, as well as the highest officials of the military orders, to Henry III of England), co-sender: Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf ("Annales monasterii de Burton," ed. Luard, 368–9; *RRH* 1221; date: Claverie III, 529).
- 1255 IV, TS: charter (by John Aleman, lord of Caesarea), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chastelneuf* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 48; Manosque, f. 469 51 H; CH II 2725; *RRH* 1233).
- 1255 V, TS: charter (by John Aleman), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Châteauneuf* (CH II 2731; *RRH* 1235a).
- 1255 VI, Acre: charter (by Archbishop Egidius of Tyre), mention: Master *Guillermi de Castronovo* (CH II 2737; *RRH* 1236).
- 1255 VI, TS: charter (by John Aleman), recipient: Master *Guillelme de Chastel Neuf* (CH II 2738; *RRH* 1238).
- 1255 VI 30–VII 2, Galilee: charter (by Joscelin (I) of Tournel), mention: Joscelin was acting *vice et nomine dicte domus ac magistri et fratrum domus ejusdem* (CH II 2747; *RRH* 1237).
- 1255 VII, TS: charter (by Archbishop Henry of Nazareth), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chastel Neuf* (CH II 2748; *RRH* 1239).
- 1255 VIII 16, Acre: charter (agreement between Archbishop Hugh of Nicosia and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Guillelmum de Castro Novo* (Coureas and Schabel, *Cartulary*, 234–6 n. 91; CH II 2762; *RRH* 1240).
- 1255 VIII, TS: charter (by John of Ibelin, lord of Arsuf), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chastel Neuf* (CH II 2753; *RRH* 1241).
- 1256 I 28, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars), issuer: Master William of Châteauneuf (CH II 2784; *RRH* 1244a).
- 1256 I, Acre: charter (for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), issuer: Master *Guillaume de Chastel Neuf* (CH II 2810; *RRH* 1247; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- 1256 II 9, Lateran: charter (by Pope Alexander IV), mention: Master William of Châteauneuf (CH 2 2789; *RRH* 1246b).
- 1256 III 31, Lateran: letter (by Pope Alexander IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie III, 531 n. 599; *RRH* 1246d).
- 1256 VI 23, TS: charter (by John of Ibelin), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chasteauneufz* (Manosque, f. 506 56 Q; CH II 2845; *RRH* 1245; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- 1256 VII, Jaffa: charter (by John of Ibelin), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chasteau Nuef* (CH II 2853; *RRH* 1246; date: Mayer, "John," 152–3).
- (1256/7) II 14, TS: charter (by Henry, the uncle of Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli), recipient: Master William of Châteauneuf (CH II 2796; *RRH* 1246c).
- (1256/7) II 22, TS: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), mention: Master *Guillelmum de Castronovo* (Manosque, f. 312 31 D).
- (1256/7) II 22, TS: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and the Hospitallers), mention: Master William of Châteauneuf (CH II 2857; *RRH* 1257b. This charter contains a different set of arbiters than the immediately preceding document).
- (1256/7) III, Tripoli: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli), mention: *frere Guillaume de Chastel Noef*, Hospitaller master (CH II 2801; *RRH* 1229).
- (1256/7) IV, TS: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli), recipient: Master *Guillelme de Chasteauneuf* (CH II 2807; *RRH* 1248).
- 1257 IV, Acre: charter (agreement between Bishop Florentius of Acre and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: Master *Guillelmum de Castronovo* (CH II 2865; *RRH* 1258).
- (1256/7), TS: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and John of Ibelin), party to the agreement: Master William of Châteauneuf (Manosque, f. 371 38 L).

- (1257/8) II 15, TS: charter (Julian, lord of Sidon, for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chasteauneufz* (Manosque, f. 504 56 H; *CH* II 2852; *RRH* 1257).
- (1257/8) II 20, TS: charter (Julian, lord of Sidon, for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master *Guillaume de Chasteau* (Manosque, f. 322 32 H; *CH* II 2856; *RRH* 1257a).
- (after 1242 IX 17–1258 before X 9), TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Willelmus de Castello* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (after 1242 IX 17–1258 before X 9), TS: chronicle: eulogy for *Castello novo Guillelmus* (“Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 797).
- (after 1242 IX 17–1258 before X 9), TS: seal (lead): +*FRATER GVILLELMVS CVSTOS* (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 236 n. 186; Sandoli, *Corpus*, 98 n. 120).
- (1258 before X 9), Vigne Neuve, near Acre: chronicle: William of Châteauneuf, *le maistre de l’Ospitau se tint là, y demoura tant que j. maladie le prist, dont il morut* (*Gestes*, 154–5 § 283, 285; date: Riley-Smith, 186).
- 1259 IV 19, TS: charter (by Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli for the Hospitallers), mention (retrospectively): *Guillaume de Châteauneuf* (*CH* II 2916; *RRH* 1272a).
- 1259 IV 21, TS: charter (agreement between Bohemond VI of Antioch-Tripoli and Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), mention: *bone memoire frere Guillaume de Chastel Nuef* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. V, 63; *CH* II 2917; *RRH* 1272b, 1284).
- 1265 II, TS: charter (Eschiva, princess of Galilee and Tiberias, for the Hospitallers), mention (retrospectively): (the late William) *de Châteauneuf* (*CH* III 3116; *RRH* 1336a).

WILLIAM OF COURCELLES (H) marshal 1248

- origin*: France. Courcelles, toponym in various parts of France (Courcelles-sur-Vesle, Corcelles, or Courcelles-les-Lens) and in Hainault (Graesse I, 569–70). Demurger, “Aristocrazia,” 65, suggests a Burgundian origin. Bronstein, 153, suggests that he originated from Auvergne.
- family*: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller “Jean de Courcelles” (lieutenant master of the west at the time of the Second Council of Lyons: Claverie II, 209).
- identity*: probably identical with the unnamed Hospitaller marshal mentioned by the papal legate Odo of Châteauroux in his letter to Pope Innocent IV on → 1249 III 31.
- literature*: Röhrich, 968–9; Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Riley-Smith, 143, 285; Bulst-Thiele, 218, 261, 300–1; Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, 222–3; Claverie II, 199, 231; Bronstein, 129, 139, 153; Bronstein, “Mobilization,” 29.
- 1240, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Peter of Vieillebride for the Teutonic Order), witness: *fratre Guillelmo de Correllis* (*CH* II 2245, proposing *Corcellis* as the correct reading for the cognomen; *RRH* 1097).
- 1248 VIII 7, Acre: charter (Peregrinus, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Willelmus de Corcellis marescalcus* (*CH* II 2482; *RRH* 1164).
- (1248 X 23, Acre): information from a later letter (sent by Odo of Châteauroux, cardinal legate, to Pope Innocent IV, → 1249 III 31, (Cyprus)): NN, Templar master (William of Sonnac), and NN, *marescallus Hospitalis* (William of Courcelles), had sent a letter to Louis IX of France (D’Achéry, *Spicilegium*, III, 625; *RRH* 1168; cf. Guillaume de Nangis, “Vita,” 366; date: D’Achéry, *ibid.*: *sexta feria post festum beati Lucae*, i.e. 1248 X 23).
- (c.1248 XII 6, Acre): information from a later letter (sent by Odo of Châteauroux, cardinal legate, to Pope Innocent IV, → 1249 III 31, (Cyprus)): NN, *marescallus Hospitalis* (William of Courcelles) had sent a letter to Louis IX of France (D’Achéry, *Spicilegium*, III, 625; *RRH* 1169; date: D’Achéry, *ibid.*: *circa vero festum beati Nicolai*, i.e. c.1248 XII 6).
- 1249 III 31, (Cyprus): letter, mention: → 1248 X 23 and → (c.1248 XII 6).
- 1256 I, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master William of Châteauneuf for John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa), witness: *frere Guillaume de Corcelles* (*CH* II 2810; *RRH* 1247; date: Mayer, “John,” 152–3).

- 1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Scorsellis* (CH II 2934; RRH 1280).
- 1259 X 24, Acre: charter (Archbishop Henry of Nazareth for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Scorsellis* (CH II 2935; RRH 1281).
- 1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Guillaume de Corcelles* (CH III 3045; RRH 1322).
- 1265 III 14, Acre: charter (agreement between Bishop Peter of Hebron and Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), witness: *fratre Guillelmo de Corcellis* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVIII, 5; Manosque, f. 669^r 86 K; CH III 3120; RRH 1337).
- 1267 X 19, TS: charter (agreement between Henry, abbot of St. Mary of the Latins, and the Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), witness: *Guillelmo de Scorzellis* (CH III 3283; RRH 1356).
- (1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Cerceles* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).
- 1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Guy II, lord of Byblos), witness: *fratre Guillelmo de Scorsellis* (CH III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; RRH 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^r 37 A).
- 1271 X 20, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for John Petri of Avoino, the major-domo of Alphonso III of Portugal), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Scorselles* (CH III 3433; RRH 1382a).
- 1274 I 16, Brindisi: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), recipient: *fr(atri) Guillelmo de Corcellis* (*Registri*, ed. Filangieri, XI, 136 n. 224: *pro fr(atri) Guilelmo et sociis de securo conductu*; CH III 3528).
- 1274 (before V 7), TS/EU: chronicle: *frere Guillaume de Corceles frere de l'Ospital* traveled to the Second Council of Lyons (which opened on 1274 V 7) (Eracles, 464).
- 1274 X 15, Lyons: charter (by Pope Gregory X), recipient: William of Courcelles, Hospitaller brother, who was in France in crusade-related matters (*crucifixi negotium*) (CH III 3553).
- (1306 after VI 6), (Cyprus): letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Pope Clement V), mention: *fuit etiam de ordine Hospitalis sancti Joannis frater Guillelmus de Corcellis cum pluribus aliis fratribus et discretis ejusdem ordinis*, referring to William's attendance at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) where the question *super facto unionis religionum Templi et Hospitalis* had already been discussed (CH IV 4680).

WILLIAM OF FORGES (H) hospitaller 1173

origin: France. *Forgia* (Forges-les-Eaux), toponym in Normandy (Graesse II, 92).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 411.

- 1173 X, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Josbert for the Jacobite Arion), witness: *frater Willelmus de Forgia custos egrorum* (CH I 450; Prutz, *Malteser Urkunden*, 105–6 n. 29; RRH 501).

WILLIAM OF LA GUERCHE (T) seneschal 1160

origin: France. *Guerchia* and *Guirchia* (La Guerche), toponym and name of a Templar house in Brittany (Léonard, *Introduction*, 110). Michaud, “Poitou,” 120, suggests that he originated from Poitou. Bulst-Thiele, 67, suggests that he originated from southern France.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to Raymond of *Guirchia* (witness in a charter of Prince Raymond I of Antioch, 1140: Bresc-Bautier, 176–83 n. 76–7; Rozière, 169–78 n. 88–9; RRH 194–5), or to the Antiochene noble Adam of *Guirchia* (1149: CH I 183; RRH 253).

identity: Even though he appears in only one of the four → 1160 charters listed below with his cognomen, it is safe to assume that there was only one Templar seneschal

- named William in 1160, namely William of La Guerche. He was not identical with → William (T) seneschal 1129/30, due to the time gap.
- literature:* Rey, 254, 376; Richard, *Comté*, 67; Claverie I, 105.
- 1160 VII 26, Nazareth (*actum*) and Acre (*datum*): charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Guillelmus comilitonum Templi senescalcus* (Bresc-Bautier, 123–7 n. 45; Rozière, 102–7 n. 54; *RRH* 354; cf. Mayer I, 658; II, 864).
- 1160 XI 29, Jerusalem: charter (Baldwin III of Jerusalem for the Hospitallers), witness: *Guillelmus de Guerchia commilitonum Templi senescalcus* (*CH* I 296; *RRH* 355).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Willelmi videlicet senescalci* (Bresc-Bautier, 158–9 n. 64; Rozière, 152–3 n. 76; *RRH* 363; date: VOP III, 354).
- (1160), (Jerusalem): charter, (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Holy Sepulcher), witness: *Willelmi videlicet senescalci* (Bresc-Bautier, 157–8 n. 63; Rozière, 150–2 n. 75; *RRH* 364; date: VOP III, 354, analogous to *RRH* 363).
- 1167 IV 27, TS: charter (Templar Master Bertrand of Blanchefort for the Count Palatine Otto the Elder of Wittelsbach), witness: *frater W. de Guerchia* (Grauert, “Tempelherrenurkunde,” 294; cf. Mistele, “Geschichte, 20 n. 1; *RRH* 446).
- 1169 III 16, near Tortosa (TS): charter (Bishop Peter of Tortosa for the Templars), witness: *frater Willelmus de Guirchia* (Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 15–16 n. 5; *RRH* 462; date: Mayer II, 195).

WILLIAM LOMBARDUS (H) preceptor 1201

origin: Italy. *Lombardus* (Lombard), toponym.

identity: In September 1192, a layman by the same name (*Guillelmus Lombardus*) witnessed three charters in the Hospitaller priory of St. Gilles (Le Blévec-Venturini, n. 120, 128, 133). However, since the Hospitaller William Lombardus appeared less than six months later, in → 1193 I, in a very prominent position in the witness list of a charter issued by the Hospitaller master, namely even before prior, marshal, and preceptor, I doubt that the two were identical.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409; Bronstein, 153.

- 1193 I, TS: charter (Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon for the church of Valenia), witness: *frater Willelmus Lombardus* (*CH* I 941; *RRH* 708).
- 1201 IV 27, (Acre): charter (Marin Mazuc, a Genoese, for the Hospitallers), witness: *fratris Guillelmi Lombardi preceptoris tunc temporis domus Hospitalis Accon* (*CH* II 1145; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 216–17 n. 174; *RRH* 783).
- 1201 V, (Acre): charter (Christine, daughter of the late Roger of Cayphas, for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guillelmus Lombardus tunc temporis preceptor domus Hospitalis Accon* (*CH* II 1146; *RRH* 784).

WILLIAM OF MALAIO (T) lieutenant marshal 1262; marshal 1262; draper 1271–7

origin: France. *Malaium*, toponym in various parts of France (Moulay, Les Mallets, or Malay) (Graesse II, 452; Claverie I, 118; II, 329).

identity: Between 1262 and 1285, William of Malaio held a number of high offices in his order: lieutenant marshal in 1262 (cognomen: *de Malaï*), marshal in the same year (cognomen: *de Malay*), draper in 1271 (cognomen: *Malarî*, *Molaho*) and 1277 (cognomen: *de Malassi*), and preceptor of France 1283–5 (cognomen: *de Molaio*, *de Maialais*, *de Mallayo*). Because his cognomen is spelled in so many different ways, Rey, 256, 370, and Dailiez, *Templiers: Gouvernement*, 155, 162, suggest that we are dealing with three separate individuals, namely the lieutenant marshal and marshal of 1262, the draper of 1271, and the draper of 1277. I suggest that we are dealing with just one individual whose cognomen was simply misspelled or misread. If I am correct, William of Malaio was one of the few officials of the Temple or the Hospital who, in the course of their careers, served as both draper and marshal (→ Guiscard (of

- Lentini) and → Peter of Sevrey). The suggestion put forth by Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 433, that William was “drapier ou sous-maréchal” in 1271 is based on a misunderstanding of the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli’s trial deposition and an error in Michelet’s edition of the same (*Procès* I, 646: *fratrem Guillelmum draperium et permareSCALLUM ordinis*); the text must be read in its wider context and the word *permareSCALLUM* must be separated into two words: *per majores ordinis videlicet... fratrem Guillelmum draperium et per marescallum ordinis illarum parcium, cujus nomen ignoro ad presens*. In 1271, → Amblard (of Vienne) probably held the office of marshal.
- family*: It is unknown whether he was related to James of Molay, the last Templar master (Demurger, *Jacques*, 280, suggests that they may have been related).
- literature*: Key, 256, 370; Trudon des Ormes 5 (1897), 433; Léonard, *Introduction*, 115; Bulst-Thiele, 266–7; Demurger, *Jacques*, 51, 280; Claverie I, 111, 118, 186; II, 141, 198, 201, 329.
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Malai tenant leu de mareschal* (*CH* III 3028; *RRH* 1318).
- 1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Malai tenant leu de mareschau* (*CH* III 3029; *RRH* 1319).
- 1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Malay mareschal* (*CH* III 3044; *RRH* 1321).
- 1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Guillelme de Malay mareschau dou Temple* (*CH* III 3045; *RRH* 1322).
- 1271 III 11, Acre: charter (annulment of an agreement between Archbishop Guy of Nazareth and the Hospitallers), witness: *fratre Guillelmo Malart drapperio dicte domus militie Templi* (*CH* III 3414; Pauli, *Codice*, I, 192–4 n. 151; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 15; *RRH* 1373).
- 1271 VI 2, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Guy II, lord of Byblos), witness: *fratre Guillelmo Molaho drapperio predictae domus Templi* (*CH* III 3422; Prutz, *Entwicklung*, 366 n. 17; *RRH* 1378; cf. Manosque, f. 360^v 37 A).
- (1271), Acre: information from a later trial deposition (made by the notary Anthony Sici of Vercelli, → 1311 III 3, Paris): *Guillelmum draperium* had participated in chapter meetings of the order’s high officials circa forty years earlier (*Procès* I, 642–3, 646; date: *ibid.*, 642).
- 1277 VII 1, near Acre: charter (peace agreement between John of Montfort and representatives of the city of Venice), witness: *Guillelmo de Malassi drapperio* (Tafel-Thomas III, 150–9 n. 369; *RRH* 1413).
- 1283 VII 9, (France): charter (for Peter Normannus, Templar preceptor of Laon), issuer: *frater Guillelmus de Malaio preceptor domuum [sic] militie Templi in Francia* (Coll. d’Albon 49, f. 336–7: *vidimus* of 1284 X 9, by Guy, *officialis* of Laon).
- 1284 VII, (France): charter (agreement between Stephen of Lyons, royal *bailli* of Chaumont in Champagne, and the Templars), party to the agreement: the proctor of *frere Guillaume de Maialais grant commandeur de la chevalerie de Temple* (Coll. d’Albon 53, f. 200–2).
- 1285 III, (France): charter (Adam, abbot of the Praemonstratensian abbey of *Bona Spes* in Flanders, for the Templars), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo de Mallayo domorum militie Templi in Francia preceptor* (Coll. d’Albon 48, f. 414–18).
- 1311 III 3, Paris: trial deposition, mention: → (1271).

WILLIAM OF MAROLH (H) marshal 1194

origin: France. *Marollh*, toponym in various parts of France (Marolle, Marolles-les-Bailly, or Mareuil) (Graesse II, 501–2; Bronstein, 153).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar Thomas of Marolio (Tortosa, Latin east, 1169: Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 112–13 n. 29; Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents*, 15–16 n. 5; *RRH* 462; date: Mayer II, 195).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Bronstein, 153.

1194 I 5, TS: charter (Count Henry II of Champagne for the Hospitallers), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Marolh tunc temporis marescalcus Hospitalis* (CH I 972; RRH 717; date: Mayer II, 883).

WILLIAM OF MONTAIGU (H) draper 1233

origin: France? *Monte Acuto*, toponym in France (Montaigu-sur-Champeix in Auvergne or Montaigu in Laonnois) and Castile (Monteagudo), family name in England (Montagu). Considering that the French family of Montaigu was omnipresent on Cyprus and the Syrian mainland in the first half of the thirteenth century, I retain the French spelling of William's cognomen (Graesse II, 590; Delaville Le Roulx, 137; *LdMA* VI, 774–5, 783–4. → Garin of Montaigu).

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Hospitaller Master → Garin of Montaigu.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 412; Bronstein, 153.

1233 X 3, Acre: charter (agreement between Templars, Hospitallers, and citizens of Marsilles), witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Monte Acuto draperii* (CH II 2067; RRH 1046).

WILLIAM OF MONTAÑANA (T) grand preceptor 1262

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Montañana, family name.

family: noble family of Montañana. The family had close ties to the Templars, especially those at Gardeny, since at least 1162 (Sarobe i Huesca, *Col·lecció*, 222–3 n. 111, 258–9 n. 143, 333–5 n. 208, 757–9 n. 516, 795–6 n. 541; Forey, *Aragón*, 46). It is unknown whether the Templar Grand Preceptor William of Montañana of 1262 was related to the notary Raymond of Montañana (1268: Forey, *Aragón*, 395–7 n. 24), the Templar Peter of Montañana (Monzón, 1269, 1289: Miret y Sans, “Inventaris,” 62; Forey, *Aragón*, 272), the canon Raymond of Montañana (Lleida, 1284: CH III 3865), the merchant Raymond of Montañana (Lleida, 1291: Forey, *Aragón*, 403–4 n. 32), or the fourteenth-century Templar William of Montañana (Mallorca, 1314, 1319: Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Alart, “Suppression,” 79, 96; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383, 393).

identity: probably not identical with the Templar of the same name who was receiving a pension from the Hospitallers on Mallorca between 1314 and 1319 (Villanueva, *Viage*, V, 226–32 n. 9; Alart, “Suppression,” 79, 96; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 383, 393), due to the time gap.

literature: Rey, 369, 373; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 334, 420; Claverie I, 194, 201; II, 330.

1260 VIII 10, (Aragón): charter (agreement between Geralda of Bas and the Templars), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmum de Montanyana magistrum* (of Aragón-Catalonia) (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 316).

1261 IV 21, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (William Guerrell for the Templar preceptor of Tortosa), mention: *fratri Guillelmo de Montaynana magistro milicie Templi* (in Aragón-Catalonia) (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 104–6 n. 91).

1261 VI 4, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (agreement between the Templars and Raymond of Montcada), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmum de Montayhana magistrum milicie Templi in Cathalonia et Aragone* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 106–8 n. 92).

(1258–1262 II): secondary literature: William of Montañana served as Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Forey, *Aragón*, 313, 420).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Montaignane comandeor de Saette* [Sidon] (CH III 3028; RRH 1318).

1262 V 31, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Montegnane comandeor de Saïete* [Sidon] (CH III 3029; RRH 1319).

- 1262 XII 18, Acre: charter (Templar Master Thomas Berardi for the Hospitallers), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Montignane grant comandeur* (CH III 3044; RRH 1321).
 1262 XII 19, Acre: charter (arbitration of a dispute between Templars and Hospitallers), witness: *frere Guillaume de Montignan grant comandeur dou Temple* (CH III 3045; RRH 1322).
 1272 IV 25, Lleida: charter (James I of Aragón for the Templars), mention (retrospectively): *fratrem Guillelmum de Montaynana olim magistrum Templi* (of Aragón-Catalonia) (Coll. d'Albon 59, f. 230–1; Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 148–9 n. 118).

WILLIAM OF PONTÓNS (I) lieutenant master 1273

origin: Aragón-Catalonia. Pontóns, toponym (castle) near Barcelona (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 267).

family: noble family of Pontóns. It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar Pons of Pontóns (*socius* of the master of Aragón-Catalonia, 1271; preceptor of various places: Grañena, 1272; Novillas 1272–3; Alfambra, 1273, 1289, 1295; Castellote, 1280–1; Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 247; Miret y Sans, “Inventaris,” 65; Forey, *Aragón*, 315, 423, 429, 432, 438).

literature: Bini, *Tempieri*, 415–16; Léonard, *Introduction*, 26; Girona y Llagustera, *Mullerament*, 245–7; Bulst-Thiele, 260; Forey, *Aragón*, 344, 352, 420; Claverie I, 149–50; II, 330.

c.1259 X, (Iberian Peninsula): secondary literature: William of Pontóns allegedly served as Templar preceptor of Horta (Forey, *Aragón*, 432).

1262 III 20, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (agreement between the Templars and the bishop and chapter of Tortosa), party to the agreement: Peter of Queralt, Templar preceptor of Monzón and *tenentem locum fratris Guillelmi de Pontons magistri milicie Templi in Aragone et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 112–14 n. 96).

(1262) IV 13, (Aragón): letter (James I of Aragón to Pope Urban IV), mention: William of Pontóns, royal envoy (Girona y Llagustera, *Mullerament*, 245; Soldevilla, *Pere*, I.1, 99).

1262 IV 26, Viterbo: letter (Pope Urban IV to James I of Aragón), mention: *frater Guillelmus de Pontons magister milicie Templi in regnis tuis nuntius tuus* (*Registres d'Urban IV*, ed. Porez and Guiraud, n. 94).

1262 X 29, (Aragón): charter (by the Templar preceptor of Mas Deu), witness: *fratris G(ui)l(e)lmi Pontones domorum milicie Templi in Arago(ni)a et Cathalo(ni)a magistri* (Coll. d'Albon 27, f. 316–25).

1262 XI 20, (Tortosa, Spain): charter, issuer: Peter of Montpalau, *procuratorio nomine fratris Guillelmi de Pontons magistri domorum milicie Templi in Aragone et Cathalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 114 n. 97).

1263 IV 26, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (for Bishop Arnold of Zaragoza), co-issuer: *frater Guillelmus de Pontons magister milicie Templi in Aragone et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 116–17 n. 99).

1263 V 10, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (agreement between the Templars and the city of Tortosa), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmum de Pontons magistrum* (of Aragón-Catalonia) (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 117–18 n. 100).

1263 V 12, La Suda-Tortosa: charter (agreement between the Templars and Raymond of Montcada), party to the agreement/witness: *fratrem Guillelmum de Pontonibus magistrum milicie Templi in Aragone et Catalonia... Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Pontonibus magistri milicie Templi in Aragona et Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 118–20 n. 101).

1263 V 14, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (agreement between the Templars and Raymond of Montcada), party to the agreement: William of Pontóns, Templar master of Aragón-Catalonia (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 120 n. 102).

1263 V 14, Tortosa (Spain): charter (agreement between Bishop Bernard of Tortosa and the Templars), party to the agreement/witness: *fratrem Guillelmum de Pontibus magistrum milicie Templi in Aragone et Cathalonia... Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Pontonibus magistri milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cathalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 120–7 n. 103).

- 1263 VII 25, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for Dominic Carxie), consent-giver: *fratris Guillelmi de Pontons magistri milicie Templi in Aragone et in Catalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 127–9 n. 104).
- 1263 VII 25, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for James Baco), consent-giver: *fratris Guillelmi de Pontons magistri milicie Templi in Aragone et in Cathalonia* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 129–30 n. 105).
- 1263, (Navarre): charter, mention: William of Pontóns (García Larragueta, “Temple,” 657–8, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes militares, San Juan, leg. 663–4 n. 10).
- 1264 IV 10, Alagón: charter (by James I of Aragón), recipient: *fratri G(uillelm)o de Pontonibus magistro domus milicie Templi in Aragonia et Catalonia* (Forey, Aragón, 394–5 n. 23).
- 1264, (Aragón): charter (by Gerald of Alentorn, Templar preceptor of Villem), consent-giver: *Guillèm de Pontons mestre dels Templers in Aragó y Catalunya* (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 247).
- 1265 VII 28, Perugia: charter (by Pope Clement IV), recipient: NN, *magistro et fratribus domorum milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cattalonia* (Coll. d’Albon 4, f. 45).
- 1266, (Navarre): charter, mention: William of Pontóns (García Larragueta, “Temple,” 657–8, citing Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes militares, San Juan, leg. 681 n. 21).
- (1262 III–1266 VI or VIII): charter, mention: William of Pontóns, Templar master of Aragón (Miret y Sans, *Cases*, 515).
- 1266 XII 10, Viterbo: charter (issued by Pope Clement IV), mention: NN, *dilecti filii magister... domus milicie Templi in Aragonia et Cattalonia* (Coll. d’Albon 4, f. 58).
- (1273), TS: chronicle: *frere Guillaume du Poncon qui avoit tenu lieu de maistre* and Bertrand of Fox traveled to the west to inform William of Beaujeu, Templar preceptor of Apulia, of his election (1273 V 13) as Templar master (Eracles, 463).

WILLIAM OF ROC(C)AFORTE (T) lieutenant master 1244

origin: Spain or Italy? Rocafort, toponym in Navarre. Roccaforte, toponym in Piedmont.

Claverie II, 329, suggests Roquefort-sur Soulzon in dép. Aveyron. Another possible location would be Rochefort in dép. Charente-Inférieure.

status: knight (Coll. d’Albon 13, f. 359; 21, f. 136–43).

literature: Léonard, *Introduction*, 48, 65; Bulst-Thiele, 213; Barber, 145, 361; Claverie II, 329.

1244 XI 25, Acre: letter (Robert, patriarch of Jerusalem and papal legate, and others to the English prelates), co-sender: *frater Guillelmus de Rokaforti vicemagister domus militie Templi* (*Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica maiora*, ed. Luard, IV, 337–44; *CH* II 2340; *RRH* 1127).

1258 II 1, (Languedoc): charter, mention: *W de Rocafort fraires que so del Temple comandaires que so de la mayo del Temple de la Selva* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 69–71).

1258 III 12, La Selve: charter (for the Templars), recipient: *Guilem de Rocafort comandador de la maio de la Selva del Temple* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 75–7).

1259 X 2, (Languedoc): charter (agreement between the Templars and Hugh of Brugueira), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmum de Rupe Forti preceptorem domus de Silva milicie Templi* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 81–5).

1259 XI 25, (Languedoc): charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fratre W de Rocafort comandaire de la maio de la Selva* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 86–8).

1261 V 1, La Selve: charter, issuer: *fratre Guilems de Rocafort comandaire de la mayo de la Selva del Temple* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 98–100).

1261 XII 5, (Languedoc): charter, issuer: *fratre Gualt(er)* [sic] *de Rocafort comandaire de la maio del Temple de la Selva* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 101–5).

1263 IV 19, La Selve: charter, issuer: *Guilem de Rocha fort co(m)mandaire de la maio del Temple de la Selva* (Coll. d’Albon 21, f. 107–10).

- 1263 VIII 31, (Languedoc): charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fraire Guill(e)m de Rocafort comandador de la dicha maio* [La Selve] (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 115–17).
- 1263 IX 8, La Selve: charter, issuer: *fraire Guilem de Rochafort comandaire de la maio de la cavalaria del Temple de la Selva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 118–21).
- 1263 XII 29, (Languedoc): charter, issuer: *frater Guilelmus de Rupe Forti preceptor domus milicie Templi de Silva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 122–5).
- 1264 I 22, (Languedoc): charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fratri Guil(e)l(m)o de Rupe Forti preceptor domus milicie Templi de Silva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 126–8).
- 1264 III 1, La Selve: charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fraire Guilem de Rochafort comandador de la maio de la cavalaria del Temple de la Selva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 129–30).
- 1265 X 12, (Languedoc): charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fratri Guill(elm)o de Rocaforti militi preceptor domus milicie Templi de Jallesio* (Coll. d'Albon 13, f. 359; cf. *ibid.*, f. 356, 362).
- 1266 XI 25, La Selve: charter (by Roncelin of Fos, Templar preceptor of Provence), witness: *frater Guil(e)l(m)us de Rupe Forti preceptor domus de Silva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 134–5).
- 1267 I 4, Ventajo: charter (for the Templars), recipient: *fratri Guill(elm)o de Rupe Forti militi preceptor domui* [sic] *milicie Templi de la Selva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 136–43).
- (1258–67; undated), (Languedoc): charter, issuer: *W. de (Roca)fort comandaire de la maio de la Selva* (Coll. d'Albon 21, f. 72–4; date: *ibid.*, f. 144).

WILLIAM OF ST. STEPHEN (H) preceptor of Cyprus 1299–1303

origin: unknown.

family: unknown. Luttrell's repeated claim (→ *literature*) that he was an Italian (a Lombard) and related to the Hospitallers Martin of St. Stephen (prior of Rome, 1306; chamberlain of Pope Clement V; brother of James of St. Stephen; and uncle of the latter's son Franceschino) as well as Daniel of St. Stephen (lieutenant of the general visitor of Lombardy, 1315), is based on circumstantial evidence, namely William's stay in Lombardy → (before 1299) and Daniel's office-holding in Lombardy. In contrast, Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 96, has argued that William's language was French (not Italian), that 'St. Stephen' was not a rare cognomen, and that Daniel of St. Stephen's commissioning of a collection of statutes in Old French is insufficient proof for a relationship between the two. Around 1300, Old French was used in three Hospitaller *langues* (Provence, Auvergne, and France) and, next to Latin, a key language of 'international' communication. William called himself *Guillaume de Saint Esteven* (f. 175^v) or *Guill(aume) de Saint Estenne* (f. 217) in his Parisian manuscript (BN, fr. 6049) and *Guillaume de saint Estiene* (f. 140^r) in his Roman manuscript (Vatican, lat. 4852); neither suggests an Italian background. Thus, I refer to him as 'William of St. Stephen,' a Hospitaller of unknown origin and family.

identity: not identical with → NN (H) (grand) preceptor and lieutenant master 1299.

literature: Delisle, "Maître," 23; Delaville Le Roulx, "Statuts," 347; Delaville Le Roulx, 432; Luttrell, "Fourteenth-Century Hospitaller Lawyers," 450; Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Historical Activities, 1291–1400," 3; Riley-Smith, 272; Luttrell, "Notes on Foulques," 89; Luttrell, "Templari," 7; Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," *passim*; Forey, "Literacy," 196; Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Early Written Records," 139; Luttrell, "Hospitallers' Early Statutes," 11–16, 18–21; Riley-Smith, "Structures," 135–6; Claverie I, 102.

1282, Acre: translation of ancient Latin texts into Old French (Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and *De inventione*, performed by Master John of Antioch, a priest), sponsor: William of St. Stephen (Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 95, citing Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 590).

(1278–83), Acre: collection of statutes, sponsor: *frere Guillaume de saint Estiene frere de l'ospital de saint Johan de Jerusalem* (Rome, Vatican, lat. 4852, f. 140^r). The scribe may have been John of Antioch, cf. Klement, "Von Krankenspeisen," 101–4).

- (before 1299), EU: information from a later collection of statutes (→ (1299 VI 3–1303 c.XI 3)): William of St. Stephen stayed temporarily in the Hospitaller priory of Lombardy (Delaville Le Roulx, “Statuts,” 350, citing BN, fr. 6049, f. 240–1).
- 1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller convent versus Master William of Villaret, protesting his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon), co-plaintiff: *frere Guillaume de Saint Esteven comandor de Chipre* (CH III 4464).
- 1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *comandor de Chipre*, one of the *baillis de la maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4468).
- 1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: NN, *comandor de Chipre*, one of the *baillis de nostre maison* adding their seal to the document (CH III 4469).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (Hospitaller Brother Arias Perez versus Hospitaller Brother Hugh Poitevin), mention: NN, *le comandor de Chypre* (CH IV 4619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 66).
- (1299 VI 3–1303 c.XI 3), Cyprus: collection of statutes, compiler: *fre(re) Guillaume de saint estenne ado(n)c coma(n)dor/de chipre* (BN, fr. 6049, f. 217; cf. CH I, p. lxxxiii; date: William of St. Stephen was preceptor of Cyprus until the general chapter of 1303 XI, at which time the office was taken over by → Simon of Le Rat: CH IV 4620. The Paris manuscript containing William of St. Stephen’s collection of statutes, BN, fr. 6049, was written in or shortly after 1330).
- (after 1310): secondary literature: Oldrado of Ponte cited the work of one Richard of St. Victor concerning the origins of the Hospital, which may have been a constitutional history of the Hospitaller order by William of St. Stephen (Luttrell, “Notes on Foulques,” 89).

WILLIAM OF SENLIS (H) grand preceptor 1240–2

origin: France. Senlis, toponym in Champagne (Graesse III, 385).

identity: not identical with William, the butler of Senlis, who participated in and died on the crusade of Count Thibaut IV of Champagne in 1239 (Rothelin, 539; cf. Eracles, 413–14; cf. also Röhrich, 852–3; Grousset, *Histoire*, III, 372, 379, 381). It is unknown whether he was identical with → NN (H) preceptor 1244.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 410; Bronstein, 23, 153.

1240, Acre: charter (Hospitaller Master Peter of Vieillebride for the Teutonic Order), mention/witness: *coram preceptore Hospitalis sancti Johannis... fratre Guillelmo Silvanectensi magno preceptore domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis* (CH II 2245; RRH 1097).

1242 VI 7, TS: charter (agreement between Hospitallers and Templars, negotiated by Patriarch Albert of Antioch), party to the agreement: *fratrem Guillelmum de Sancto Lissio magnum preceptorem sancti Johannis Jherosoli(mi)tani* (Manosque, f. 383 40 H; cf. CH II 2276; RRH 1099a).

WILLIAM OF LA TOR (T) turcopolier 1292

name: I retain the spelling *la Tor*, used in the 1292 charter featuring him as turcopolier.

origin: Aragón-Catalonia or France? The clues are his appearances in Tortosa (1263–4) and Provence (1275). Claverie I, 118, suggests that he was one of the “chevaliers francophones.”

family: It is unknown whether he was related to the Templar → Simon of La Tor.

status: knight (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 127–30 n. 104–5, 132–40 n. 108–11).

literature: Léonard, *Introduction*, 34; Bulst-Thiele, 198–9, 313; Edbury, *Kingdom*, 103; Demurger, *Jacques*, 112–3, 115, 181; Claverie I, 79, 118; II, 238, 245, 329.

1263 VII 25, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for Dominic Carxie), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Turi militis... Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turi militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 127–9 n. 104).

- 1263 VII 25, (Tortosa, Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for James Baco), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Turi militis*... *Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turi militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 129–30 n. 105).
- 1264 III 2, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for Bernard Figuerola), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Turis militis*... *Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turri militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 132–4 n. 108).
- 1264 III 2, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for John of Fontanes), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Turis militis*... *Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turri militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 135–7 n. 109).
- 1264 III 9, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for John of Fontanes), witness: *Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turri militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 137–8 n. 110).
- 1264 III 9, Tortosa (Spain): charter (Dalmat of Fonollar, Templar preceptor of Tortosa, for Bernard Figuerola), consent-giver/witness: *fratris Guillelmi de Turri militis*... *Sig+num fratris Guillelmi de Turi militis* (Paragolas i Sabaté, *Templers*, II, 139–40 n. 111).
- 1275, (Provence): charter, mention: *Guillelmus Turris*, Templar preceptor of Argence (Léonard, *Introduction*, 34).
- 1292 IV 20, Nicosia: letter (Templar Master James of Molay to Berengar of Cardona, master of Aragón), witness: *frere Guillen de la Tor turcopler* (Forey, *Aragón*, 405–6 n. 36).
- 1293, Cyprus: chronicle: *frere Guillerme de la Tour*, traveling on a Templar galley, came to the aid of Venetian galleys that were under attack by the Genoese, and was killed by a crossbow (*Gestes*, 275–6 § 537; cf. Amadi, 230: *un frate chiamato Glielmo della Torre*).

WILLIAM OF TURRE (T) (treasurer) 1204

origin: unknown. His cognomen is contained in too many different place names to determine his origin (Graesse III, 530–2).

identity: In a list of petitioners made up of Templar and Hospitaller officials (*de collegiis vestris*... *officiales domorum vestrarum*), William of Turre appears without title, → 1204 VII 19, but is preceded by the Templars grand preceptor, marshal, and preceptor of Acre, and followed by four Hospitaller officials (the marshal and three others without titles who, however, from other contemporary documents can be identified as the Preceptor → Garin of Montaigu, the Hospitaller → Fulk Bremont, and the Treasurer → Peter of Campagnolles). Might William have been the Templar treasurer, since that order's treasury at Acre was kept in a tower and his cognomen (*de Turre*) points to a tower (cf. Chapter Two), and because his position in the Templar group parallels that of the treasurer in the Hospitaller group?

1204 VII 19, Acre: charter (Soffred of St. Praxedis and Peter of Marcellus, cardinal legates, for Templar Master Philip of Plessis and Hospitaller Master Alphonso of Portugal), co-petitioner: *Willelmus de Turre* (*CH* II 1197; *RRH* 797a).

WILLIAM OF TYNERIIS (H) preceptor 1231

name: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 417, 433, refers to him as William of “Tinières” (following Raybaud). I retain the spelling *Tyneriis*, used in the 1231 charter featuring him as preceptor.

origin: France? The clue is his tenure as prior of France (1232). His cognomen may refer to Dunières in Auvergne (Bronstein, 153).

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 417, 433; Riley-Smith, 170; Burgtorf, “Ritterorden,” 176; Claverie II, 54; Bronstein, 153, 156.

1216 II, TS: charter (by Bertrand, lord of Byblos), co-recipient: *frère Guillaume de Tinières commandeur de Tripoli* (*CH* II 1462; *RRH* 885a).

1230, Cyprus: chronicle: *frere Guillaum de Tineres*... *mout privé de mon seigneur de Baruth* [John of Ibelin] helped negotiate the surrender of the castle of Dieu d'Amour (Cyprus), held by supporters of Frederick II, to the Ibelin (*Gestes*, 68 § 152; cf. Amadi, 145: *fra Guilelmo de Tiniers*).

1231 IX 28, TS: charter (by Balian, lord of Sidon and *bailli* of the kingdom of Jerusalem), co-recipient: *fratri Guillelmo de Tyneriis preceptoris Aconensi* (CH II 1996; RRH 1027).

1232 XI, EU (France): charter (for the hospital of St. John at Angers), issuer: *frater Willelmus de Tineris domus Hospitalis prior humilis in Francia* (CH II 2036).

WILLIAM OF VILLARET (H) draper 1269–70; master 1296–1305

origin: France. *Villaretum* (Le Villaret), toponym and family name in Provence: → Fulk of Villaret.

family: noble family of Villaret: → Fulk of Villaret.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, *Archives*, 196; Röhricht, 1000; Delaville Le Roulx, 251–66, 412, 416; Riley-Smith, 206–9, 298–301; *Guillaume de Villaret* (1985); Santoni, 114, 162, 183; Forey, “Women,” 71; Forey, “Military Orders and Secular Warfare,” 86; Nicholson, 21, 118; Claverie, “Cristiandat,” 104; Selwood, *Knights*, 99, 107, 179; Demurger, *Jacques*, 146, 148–9; Riley-Smith, “Structures,” 142; Claverie II, 257, 264; Bronstein, 89–91, 131, 153–4, 165; Carraz, *Ordre*, 376, 449, 456, 473–4, 500; Burgtorf, “Selbstverständnis,” 36; Burgtorf, “Templars’ and Hospitallers’ High Dignitaries,” 16–18.

(1269 summer-fall), (Acre): charter/invalidated draft (Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel for Balian of Ibelin), guarantor: *frere Guillaume de Villaret drapier* (MNL, AOSJ, vol. XVI, 5; CH III 3047; RRH 1313; date: the same document listed for → Boniface of Calamandrana).

1269 XII 12, Avignon: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Count Aymar III of Valentinois), party to the agreement: William of Villaret, lieutenant of the Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3376; cf. CH III 4320).

1270 I 22, Orange: charter (for the count of Valentinois), issuer: *Guillelmus de Vilareto tenentes locum prioris et gerentes vices magistri in prioratu Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani de S. Egidio* (CH III 3384).

1270 III 22, Niort: charter (by Count Alphonso of Poitiers), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3387. This might refer to William’s predecessor at St. Gilles).

1270 VI, Aimargues: charter (Count Alphonso of Poitiers and Toulouse for the Hospitallers), recipient: *fratri Guillelmo de Vilareto ejusdem domus Aconis draperio ac venerabilis magistri Hospitalis ejusdem et prioris in prioratu S. Egidii locumtenenti* (CH III 3394. The address *vice priori* is used here as well).

1271 III 31, Beaucuire: charter (for Philip of Saulx-Bernard), issuer: *Guillelmus de Villareto*, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles, seal: +SIGILLVM PRIORIS SANCTI EGIDII (CH III 3416; Douët d’Arcq, *Collection*, III, 250 n. 9928).

1271 IV 1, Trinquetaille: charter (for the Hospitaller preceptor of St. Maurice), issuer: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3418).

1272 VII 11, Orvieto: letter (Pope Gregory X to the provost of the church of Forcalquier), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3459).

1272 VIII 6, St. Gilles: charter (for William of Mora), issuer: *Guillelmus de Vilareto*, prior of St. Gilles, seal: +SIGILLVM PRIORIS SANCTI EGIDII (CH III 3467; Douët d’Arcq, *Collection*, III, 250–1 n. 9929).

1272 X 19, Orvieto: charter (by Bartholomew, archdeacon of Amiens and papal chaplain), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3477).

1273 V 22, Trinquetaille: charter (by the Hospitaller ‘general’ chapter of St. Gilles), recipient: *Guillelmo de Vilareto*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3508).

1273 VII 11, Le Puy: charter (by Jordan, abbot of St. Chaffre), mention: two *procuratores venerabilis fratris Guillelmi de Vilareto prioris domorum Hospitalis predicti in prioratu S. Egidii* (CH III 3512; cf. CH III 3563).

1274 IV 27, Lyons: charter (by Pope Gregory X), recipient: *Guillelmo de Villareto*, prior of St. Gilles and newly appointed rector of the county of Venaissin (CH III 3536).

- 1275, Cavaillon: charter, mention: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (Le Blévec, "Hôpital," 38).
- 1276 I 9, (southern France): charter (for La Bastide de Fajolles, dép. Tarn-et-Garonne), issuer: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (Higounet, "Hospitaliers," 347).
- 1276 IX 25, Acre: letter (by Hospitaller Master Hugh Revel), addressee: *fratri G. de Villareto priori ejusdem domus Sancti Egidii vel locum ejus tenenti* (CH III 3611; RRH 1408).
- 1277 IV 8, Viterbo: charter (by Raymond Marin, papal chamberlain), mention: NN, *le prieur de Saint Egid recteur du conte de Venise* (Manosque, f. 202 21 E).
- 1278 I 21, Rome: charter (by Pope Nicholas III), recipient: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles and rector of the county of Venaissin (*Registres de Nicolas III*, ed. Gay, n. 227; CH III 3648).
- 1278 XII 23, Naples: charter (by Charles I of Anjou), mention: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3686).
- 1280 V 26, Fronton: charter (for Constance of Marsan), issuer: *Guilhelmus de Villaret*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3723; Du Bourq, *Histoire*, lii–liv n. LXXVI).
- 1281 I 18, Toulouse: charter (by John of Grailly, knight), recipient: *Guilhelmus de Vilarcto*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3737).
- 1281 X 5, Orvieto: charter (by Pope Martin IV), mention: NN, *prior...Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani in Provincia* (CH III 3768).
- 1281, (Avignon): charter, mention: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (Le Blévec, "Hôpital," 42, citing Marseilles, Archives départementales (Bouches-du-Rhône), Ordre de Malte, 56 H 4265).
- 1282 I 27, Orvieto: charter (by Pope Martin IV), recipient: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles and rector of the county of Venaissin (CH III 3778).
- 1282 IX 21, Acre: letter (by Hospitaller Master Nicholas Lorgne), addressee: *fratri Guillermo de Vilarcto ejusdem domus priori S. Egidii*, who seemed to have taken certain relics from Stephen of Brosse, the Hospitaller prior of Auvergne, and was now ordered to surrender these to a priest who would then take them to an appropriate place in Auvergne (CH III 3797; RRH 1448a).
- 1283 VII 11, Manosque: charter (by Berengar Monachus, Hospitaller preceptor of Manosque), mention: *Guillelmum de Villareto*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3838).
- 1283 VII 24, St. Gilles: charter (for the Hospitaller preceptor of Manosque), issuer: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3839).
- 1283 XI 26, Carpentras: charter (by Beatrice of Mévouillon, lady of Visan), mention: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles and rector of the county of Venaissin (CH III 3846).
- 1284 III 29, (southern France): secondary literature: William of Villaret's last mention as rector of the county of Venaissin (Delaville Le Roulx, 251).
- 1285 XI 13, Rome: charter (by Pope Honorius IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3916).
- 1286 XI 1, (Provence): charter (for the church of St. John at Aix), issuer: *G. de Vilarcto*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3946).
- 1287 VI 4, Fronton: charter (for Guibert of Thémines), issuer: *Guillelmus de Vilarcto*, prior of St. Gilles (CH III 3961).
- 1288 IX 30, Rieti: letter (Pope Nicholas IV to the patriarch of Jerusalem and others in the Latin east), mention: *Guillelmum de Villert Hospitalis Sancti Egidii priorem* (*Registres de Nicolas IV*, ed. Langlois, n. 620; CH III 4021; RRH 1480).
- 1289 IV 12, Condom (Gascogne): charter (agreement between Edward I of England and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *frater Guillelmus de Villareto prior sancti Egidii domorum Hospitalis sancti Johan(n)is Ierosolimitani* (CH III 4034, 4035; Goineaud-Bérard, *Templiers*, 221–2 n. 5).
- 1289 VIII 29, Rieti: charter (by Pope Nicholas IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (CH III 4051).

- 1289 VIII 30, Rieti: charter (by Pope Nicholas IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4052).
- 1289 X 10, Acre: letter (by Hospitaller Master John of Villiers), addressee: *fratri Guillelmo de Villareto ejusdem domus priori Sancti Egidii* (*CH* III 4060; *RRH* 1498).
- 1290 V 13, Rome: charter (by Pope Nicholas IV), mention: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4096).
- 1292 X 31, Manosque: charter (by the inhabitants of Manosque), recipient: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles and representative of Charles II of Anjou (*CH* III 4197).
- 1292 XII 15, Manosque: charter (for the inhabitants of Manosque), issuer: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles and representative of Charles II Anjou (*CH* III 4204).
- 1293 I 22, Nice: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles, *dilectus consiliarius familiaris et fidelis noster* (*CH* III 4207).
- 1293 VII 20, Canterbury: letter (Edward I of England to his officials in Aquitaine), mention: William of Villaret, Hospitaller provincial official (*CH* III 4222).
- 1293 VIII 31, Manosque: charter (agreement between the Hospitaller preceptor and the inhabitants of Manosque), mention: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4228).
- 1293 X 4, Montpellier: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' provincial chapter), chapter leader: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4233).
- 1294 VIII 5, Grane: charter (by Count Aymar IV of Valentinois), mention: William of Villaret (*CH* III 4252).
- 1295 III 31, Limassol: letter (by Hospitaller Master Odo of Pins), addressee: William of Villaret, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4276).
- 1295 (before VIII 12), papal court: statutes (proposed to Pope Boniface VIII to reform the order of the Hospital), co-author: *frere Guillaume de Vilaret home coneu des roys et des barons et des princes et aymé d'eaus au jour prior de S. Gile* (*CH* III 4267; date: *CH* III 4293).
- 1295 VII 21, Anagni: letter (by Pope Boniface VIII), addressee: NN, Hospitaller prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4284).
- (1294/5) IX 6, TS: letter (by Hospitaller Master Odo of Pins), addressee: *Guillelmo de Villareto*, prior of St. Gilles (Manosque, f. 410^v 54 E).
- 1296 III 26, Cyprus: collection of statutes/chronicle: William of Villaret was elected Hospitaller master after the death of Odo of Pins (BN, fr. 6049, f. 245; *Gestes*, 319 § 669; Amadi, 233; cf. *CH* III, p. 681).
- 1296 IV 3, Limassol: letter (by the Hospitaller convent), addressee: Hospitaller Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4310).
- (1270–96, spring), (Provence): charter (for the inhabitants of Caignac), issuer: William of Villaret, prior of St. Gilles (*CH* III 4439. This charter was apparently issued before William learned of his election to the mastership).
- 1296 VIII 8, Avignon: charter (by Count Aymar of Valentinois), mention: William of Villaret (*CH* III 4320; cf. *CH* III 3376).
- 1296 X 6, Gellone: charter (for the count of Valentinois), issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4324).
- 1296, La Tronquiere: archival notes (sixteenth-eighteenth centuries): Master *Guillaume de Villaret* held his first chapter (BN, fr. 32957, f. 202).
- 1297 IV 18, Marseilles: charter (by James II of Aragón), recipient: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4370).
- 1297 V 27, Fronton: charter (for Barascon of Thémynes), co-issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4375).
- 1297 VIII 23, Avignon: charter (for Jordan of Calderach), issuer: Master William of Villaret (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 620 n. 542).
- 1297 X 20, (southern Germany): letter (by the Hospitaller preceptor of Weissensee), addressee: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4392).

- 1297 X 23, Nîmes: charter, (issued by the count of Vienne and Albon), recipient: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4393).
- 1297 XI 18, Kleinerdingen: letter (by the Hospitaller preceptor of Kleinerdingen), addressee: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4394).
- 1297, Marseilles: information from later letters (sent by the Hospitaller convent to Hospitaller Master William of Villaret and to the convent's envoys, → 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): Master William of Villaret led a Hospitaller general chapter (*CH* III 4461–2).
- 1297, (Auvergne): secondary literature: Master William of Villaret gave the Hospitaller house of Fieux to Bonsom of Thémînes for the establishment of a convent of female Hospitallers (Forey, “Women,” 71).
- 1298 II 23, near Capua: charter (by Robert of Anjou, general vicar of the kingdom of Sicily), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 4406).
- 1298 III 27 and 28, La Tronquière and Beaulieu: charter (for the female Hospitallers of Beaulieu), issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4413).
- 1298 VII 24, Toro: letter (by the Hospitallers of Portugal), addressee: William of Villaret, *magistro dignissimo* (Benavides, *Memorias*, II, 170–1 n. 123).
- 1298 IX 19, Pamplona: charter (by the Hospitaller prior of Navarre), mention: Master William of Villaret (García Larragueta, *Gran Priorado*, II, 624–7 n. 546).
- 1298 IX 26, Avignon: charter (for the Hospitallers of Sigena), issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4432).
- 1298 X 25, Rieti: letter (by Pope Boniface VIII), addressee: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* III 4433; *Registres de Boniface VIII*, ed. Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, n. 2825).
- 1299 II 11, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master *Guillelmi de Vallereto* (*CH* IV 4443bis).
- 1299 III 5, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: Master William of Villaret, *dilectus consiliarius et familiaris noster* (*CH* III 4445).
- 1299 V 15, Manfredonia: charter (by the master of the port), mention: *magistro Doilo* [sic, should read *Glmo*, i.e. *Guillelmo*] *Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani vel eius locum tenente in Cipro* (Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 97–8; *CH* III 4460; → [Doilus]).
- 1299 VI 11, Anagni: letter (Pope Boniface VIII to Henry II of Cyprus), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Claverie II, 436–41 n. 19).
- 1299 VI 3, Limassol: *esgart* (demanded by the Hospitaller convent), defendant: Master William of Villaret who was criticized for his invitation to a general chapter to be held on 1300 VIII 1 in Avignon (*CH* III 4464).
- 1299 VI 12, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4468).
- 1299 VI 16, Limassol: letter (the Hospitaller convent to all Hospitallers), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4469).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (by the Hospitaller convent), addressee: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4461; date: *CH* III, p. 766).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys), mention: Master William of Villaret who, since his appointment as prior of St. Gilles (1270), had only come to the east twice, even though he should have come six times (*CH* III 4462; date: *CH* III, p. 766. The years in which these two trips took place have yet to be determined).
- 1299 (V 8–VI 16), (Limassol): letter (the Hospitaller convent to its envoys), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4463; date: *CH* III, p. 766).
- 1299 VIII 23, Guildford: letter (by Edward I of England), addressee: Master William of Villaret (*CCR: Edward I*, IV, 314–15).
- (1296–1300), (Provence): secondary literature: Master William of Villaret left the Hospitaller priory of St. Gilles vacant and probably governed it himself during his prolonged stay in southern France (Santoni, 162).

- (1296–1300), (southern France): letter (to James II of Aragón), sender: Master William of Villaret (*AA* III, 10–11; cf. Claverie, “Cristiandat,” 104).
- 1300 I 14, Wetherby: letter (Edward I of England to the Hospitaller prior of England), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CCR: Edward I*, IV, 378).
- 1300 II 15, Lateran: charter (Pope Boniface VIII for Theodore of Coles, a layman from the diocese of Limassol), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4488).
- 1300 IV 4, Barletta: charter (the royal officials in the port of Barletta for the Hospitallers), recipient: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4496).
- 1300 VII 27, Nîmes: charter (for Manosque), issuer: Master *Guillermus de Vilareto* (*CH* IV 4510bis).
- 1300 VIII 1, Avignon: information from a later charter (→ 1300 VIII 19): Hospitaller Master William of Villaret served as a co-arbiter in a dispute between the order’s castellany of Amposta and the female Hospitallers of Sigena (*CH* III 4513).
- 1300 VIII 19, *Cartelatio* (Italy?): charter (for the female Hospitallers of Sigena), issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* III 4513).
- 1300 XI 5, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *le religious frere Guillaume de Vilaret* (*CH* III 4515).
- (1301 III, Cyprus): letter (by the Hospitaller Bernard William of Entença), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (Finke II, 4–5 n. 4; Claverie III, 605–6 n. 695).
- 1301 IV 12, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4535).
- 1301 VI 7, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master William of Villaret, *dilecto consiliario et familiari nostro* (*CH* IV 4538).
- 1301 X 22, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *le religious frere Guillem de Vilaret* (*CH* IV 4549).
- 1301 X 22, Limassol: statutes for the Hospitaller priory of Germany (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *le religious maystre frere Guillaume del Villaret* (*CH* IV 4550).
- 1301 X 22, Limassol: charter (for the female Hospitallers of Beaulieu), co-issuer: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4548).
- 1301 XII 31, (Limassol): *esgart* (between Hospitaller Marshal Raymond of Beaulieu and Grand Preceptor Fulk of Villaret), co-arbiter: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4553).
- 1302 VIII, Valréas: charter (agreement between the Hospitallers and Humbert of Vienne), mention: Master William of Villaret (Le Blévec, “Hôpital,” 40).
- 1302 IX 28, Girona: letter (by James II of Aragón), addressee: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4573; cf. *AA* III, 11).
- 1302 X 28, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *le religious frere Guillaume del Vilaret* (*CH* IV 4574).
- 1303 II 26, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), mention: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4589).
- 1303 VII 25, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4604).
- 1303 XI 3, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers’ general chapter), chapter leader: *le religios frere Guillaume de Vilaret* (*CH* IV 4612).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (demanded by Hospitaller Grand Preceptor Raymond of Ribells), defendant: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* IV 4614).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (versus an unnamed Hospitaller brother), plaintiff: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* IV 4615).
- 1303 (c.XI 3), Limassol: *esgart* (the Hospitaller Brother Arias Perez versus the Hospitaller Brother Hugh Poitevin), mention: NN, Hospitaller master (*CH* IV 4619; cf. *ibid.*, p. 66).
- 1304 I 9, Lateran: charter (by Pope Benedict XI), mention: Master William of Villaret (*Registre de Benoît XI*, ed. Grandjean, n. 187).

- 1304 XI 13, Naples: charter (by Charles II of Anjou), petitioner: Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4671).
- 1304 XI 23, Limassol: statutes (issued by the Hospitallers' general chapter), chapter leader: *fratrem Guilielmum de Villareto magistrum* (*CH* IV 4672).
- (1296 III 26–1305 VI 9), EU: letter (by Edward I of England), addressee: *frere Guiliam de Villaret* (*CH* III 4308).
- (1296 III 26–1305 VI 9), EU: letter (by Edward I of England), addressee: *noble homme et frere William de Villaret* (*CH* III 4309).
- (1296 III 26–1305 VI 9), EU/TS: list of Hospitaller masters: *Magister Willelmus de Villareto* (Gervers, *Cartulary: Secunda Camera Essex*, 569–70 n. 960).
- (1296 III 26–1305 VI 9), EU/TS: chronicle: eulogy for Master *Guillelmus de Villareto* (“Cronica magistrorum defunctorum,” ed. Dugdale, 798).
- (1296 III 26–1305 VI 9), EU/TS: seal (lead): Master William of Villaret (Schlumberger *et al.*, *Sigillographie*, 238 n. 196).
- 1305 VI 9, Cyprus: information from a later letter (sent by Fulk of Villaret, → 1305 VII 1): Master William of Villaret died (Luttrell, “Ospitalieri e l’eredità,” 69, citing ACA, pergamenos extra inventario Jaime II, carpeta 204, n. 288; *Gestes*, 319–20 § 670–3).
- 1305 VII 1, Cyprus: letter, mention: → 1305 VI 9.
- (1306) III 6, Limassol: letter (Hospitaller Master Fulk of Villaret to James II of Aragón), mention: *recolende memorie domino avunculo et predecessori nostro* (*AA* III, 145–6 n. 65).
- (1306), Aix: inventory (list of donors to the church), mention: the late Hospitaller Master William of Villaret (*CH* IV 4708).

WILLIAM OF VILLIERS (H) preceptor 1192

origin: France or England? Villiers, family name in France and England (Contamine, “Villiers I,” 1691–2; Lees, *Records*, 263–4 n. 1, 270–1 n. 6). William of Villiers came to the Latin east during the Third Crusade, which had French and English participants, and he held Hospitaller offices in both France and England.

family: It is unknown whether he was related to William of Villiers (1154, 1165), son of Paganus of Villiers, lord of Warrington in Lancashire (Lees, *Records*, 263–4 n. 1, 270–1 n. 6); or to John of Villiers (pilgrim to Acre, 1204; participant of the Fifth Crusade: Röhrich, 689; Röhrich, *Studien*, IV, 133); or to William of Villiers, husband of Mabilie of Maugastiau (Nielen, *Lignages*, 121, 125); or to the Hospitaller Master John of Villiers (1285–93: Delaville Le Roulx, 239; Riley-Smith, 190).

identity: His title of *domus Acconensis bajulus* on → 1192 II 2 confused Delaville Le Roulx, 409, 414, 431, as to whether he was the local preceptor of Acre or the conventual preceptor. However, due to the relocation of their headquarters (1187/91), the Hospitallers had to adjust the titles of some of their officials. William’s witnessing a charter alongside the Templar seneschal with no other members of the military orders present on → 1192 II 10 is evidence of his high (i.e. conventual) rank.

literature: Delaville Le Roulx, 414, 417, 426, 431; King, *Grand Priory*, xi; Bronstein, 12, 15, 66–7, 77–8, 135, 138, 140, 154, 156; Bronstein, “Mobilization,” 26, 29.

1192 II 2, (Acre): charter (Hospitaller Master Garnier of Nablus for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Meleriis domus Acconensis bajulus* (*CH* I 919; Strehlke, 23 n. 26; *RRH* 699; date: Strehlke, *ibid.*).

1192 II 10, Acre: charter (King Guy of Jerusalem for the Hospital of the Germans in Acre), witness: *frater Guillelmus de Viliers preceptor hospitalis Acconis* (Strehlke, 23–4 n. 27; *RRH* 701; date: Mayer II, 881).

1193 IV 30, TS: letter (by Hospitaller Master Geoffrey of Donjon), addressee: *fratre W. de Villeruns preposito ultramarino* (*CH* I 945; *RRH* 712).

1199, EU: charter (by Garcias of Lisa, Hospitaller preceptor of the west), witness: *fratris W. de Vileris prioris Anglie* (*CH* I 1056).

1202 X 30, Lancaster: charter (agreement between William Fitz Roger and the Hospitallers), party to the agreement: *Guillaume prieur d’Angleterre* (*CH* IV, p. 334 n. 1165bis).

- 1207, EU: charter (for the dean of St. Rieul, Senlis), issuer: William of Villiers, prior of France (*CH II* 1243).
- 1208, EU: charter (Count Robert III of Alençon for the Hospitallers), mention: *frater W. de Villeriis magister Hospitalis in Francia* (*CH II* 1283).
- 1209 VIII 11, EU: charter (for the priory of Charité-sur-Loire), issuer: William of Villiers, prior of France (*CH II*, p. 108, citing Paris, Archives Nationales, S 5165, n. 3–4. Bronstein, 154, lists *CH II* 1330–2 as further evidence for William's career; however, these documents do not contain his name).
- 1210, (France): charter (agreement between Nivelon of Freteval and the Hospitallers), mention: Brother Robert Cosset, proctor *per litteras fratris Willelmi de Villaris magistri Hospitalis in Francia* (Métais, *Chartes*, 222–4 n. 185).

CONCLUSION

The central convent of Hospitallers and Templars evolved in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Both institutions responded to the challenges accompanying their growth as well as the changes in their environment with a striking ability to adapt and an effort to become somewhat alike structurally. There was competition as well as bi-directional imitation. In their early days, both communities strove to free themselves from the control of the patriarch of Jerusalem and to represent themselves in accordance with the increasingly important role played by their masters at the royal court of Jerusalem. Thus, when it came to their conventual leadership structures, they turned for inspiration not to the sacred but, rather, to the secular sphere, and imitated the princely court and its officials. Yet, the only ‘classic’ court office to achieve lasting prominence in both orders was that of the conventual marshal. This is not too surprising: Templars and Hospitallers were (or were on their way to become) military orders.

In the first part of this study, we have seen that the convent not only met the orders’ need for adequate representation, but was, above all, the nucleus of their administration. In the Hospitaller convent, the office of treasurer appeared first (1135), indicating that the community’s financial needs and affairs had taken on considerable proportions. By 1150, a preceptor was serving as the master’s deputy when the latter was traveling—a timely addition given the number and duration of journeys to the west undertaken by Hospitaller masters in the twelfth century. As the order’s charitable branch expanded, particularly its care facility in Jerusalem, a hospitaller was added (by 1162). The prior, responsible for the conventual church and priests, as well as the community’s spiritual and liturgical needs, surfaced in 1163 (however, ‘a’ prior may have served as an envoy of the Jerusalem convent in the west as early as 1136). The Hospitallers’ military pursuits, which evolved in part from their endowment with frontier real estate, led to the installation of a marshal by 1165. With the creation of each new office, the Hospitallers demonstrated their ability to adapt.

Due to the loss of the Templars’ central archive, the step-by-step development of their conventual administration is not as easily discernible. Apart from the master, the first official to appear was the

seneschal (1129/30) who represented the master wherever the latter was absent, and in the order's early years that included traveling to the west. Three decades later, in the early chapters of the Templars' *retrais* (c.1165), we encounter the order's conventual leadership collective, namely—next to the seneschal—the marshal who was entrusted with military responsibilities; the preceptor of the land who served as both conventual treasurer and administrator of the order's real estate in the kingdom of Jerusalem; the preceptor of Jerusalem who, in 1191, was replaced by the preceptor of Acre due to the relocation of the kingdom's capital; and the draper who oversaw the clothing department. Yet, the Templars, just like the Hospitallers, did not create this group of officials over night. In both orders, each 'new' conventual office has to be seen as evidence of the master delegating some of his authority in response to a representative or administrative need.

The office and title of 'preceptor' was by far the most variable one, not just in the central convent, but on all levels of administration. By adding a *locus* (such as 'of the land' or 'of Jerusalem'—but also 'of the vault') or an adjective (such as *magnus* or *generalis*—but also *parvus*), the title could be used to denote officials anywhere in the orders' hierarchy. In the central convent of both orders, we eventually find a preceptor who, in the course of the thirteenth century, was increasingly referred to as the 'grand' preceptor—a title initially used for an ad-hoc official entrusted temporarily with a significant task (such as leading the order during the interim between the master's death and the election of a new master). Historians of the military orders may occasionally be tempted to place an individual with the title of 'preceptor' into the hierarchy where they think he belongs. Yet, much caution is needed for, during the time period considered here, the title of 'preceptor' was the orders' primary administrative 'flexibility valve.'

The main difference between the master and all other officials was that the former was elected for life, while the latter only served *pro tempore*. In both orders, the high conventual officials came to be installed during the general chapter (we have, however, no information how their conventual priors were appointed). As this study has shown, the term 'general chapter'—at least during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—was not confined to the formal gatherings at the orders' headquarters. It could also be used for their supraregional assemblies in the west. In the east, 'general chapters' were presumably held annually, and the representatives of the orders' eastern provinces (Jerusalem, Tripoli, and Antioch; later also Cyprus and Armenia) were expected

to attend these. The western provincial masters, preceptors, and priors only had to travel to their respective order's central convent in certain intervals to render account—apparently every four years in the order of the Temple and every five years in the order of the Hospital. They did not all come to the general chapter in the same year but, rather, traveled in a staggered fashion. This facilitated both horizontal mobility and regular communication between east and west, between the center and the periphery.

The sources allow us to observe the Hospitallers' conventual leadership collective 'without master' for the first time after the resignation of Master Gilbert of Assailly (1170). The order's preceptor, marshal, hospitaller, and prior participated in an endeavor (which was only temporarily successful) to convince Gilbert to resume his office. However, they were almost certainly also part of the action when the conventual brothers demanded 'unanimously' to be more involved in major decisions, especially concerning the order's military obligations. Thus, the Hospitaller convent was fighting for the right of participatory governance at a time when the Templar convent may have already found it guaranteed in its early *retrais* (c.1165).

The year 1187 put the central convent of both orders to the test. First they lost their masters, because one died in battle, the other was captured by the Muslims; then they lost a substantial number of their fighting brothers to summary execution after the battle of Hattin; and then they lost their headquarters when Saladin conquered Jerusalem. Yet, they survived. At Tyre, the respective grand preceptors led them in their effort to regroup and brought in qualified leaders from the west. During the four years until 1191, both orders operated 'without masters' for extended periods of time, but the charter evidence suggests that their 'lieutenancy' or 'place-holding' mechanisms worked quite well. Following the establishment of Acre as the new capital of the kingdom, both Hospitallers and Templars moved their headquarters there. This was facilitated by the fact that both communities already owned significant property in the city. Since the middle of the twelfth century, their masters had been serving as influential advisors at the royal court. They wanted and were expected to retain that role, and therefore had to continue to be in close proximity to the ruler (or his decision-making representative) by maintaining a permanent presence in the capital. In light of this, the theories that the Hospitallers may have moved their convent to the castle of Margat in northern Syria after 1187, or that the Templars may have relocated their headquarters

to the castle of Atlit south of Acre after 1218, or to the island fortress of Ruad after 1300, make little sense.

The move to Acre resulted in several changes to the conventual leadership structures. These changes, again, illustrate the orders' ability to adapt and their effort to become alike in order to facilitate interaction on comparable levels. Thus, the office of the Templar seneschal, which had never made it to the highest conventual level in the order of the Hospital, disappeared. The office of the Templar treasurer was gradually separated from that of the preceptor of the land, which made the former more similar to the Hospitaller treasurer and the latter more similar to the Hospital's conventual preceptor. Prior to 1187, local officials had been in charge of the orders' houses in Acre. After 1191, the Hospitallers merged the office of their preceptor of Acre with that of their conventual preceptor. The Templars retained their preceptor of Acre as a separate official who, in the hierarchy, stood below the preceptor of the land. Yet, considering that the Templar convent did not have a hospitaller and that, in the witness lists, the latter and the Templar preceptor of Acre occupied approximately the same rank, this is an example for the effort to become alike by developing parallel leadership structures. By the early thirteenth century, the Hospitallers added the office of draper, which the Templars had already had during the Jerusalem phase of their history. In addition, in both orders, the turcopolier, responsible for auxiliary troops and originally a subordinate of the marshal, gained considerably in status. Moreover, the convent became more 'itinerant,' leaving Acre and, in some cases, even the kingdom of Jerusalem. The activities of the conventual officials, particularly their logistical support and military achievements during the Fifth Crusade (1218–21) and the Crusade of Louis IX of France (1248–54), were recognized by their contemporaries: chroniclers often mentioned them together (increasingly joined by representatives of the Teutonic Order). Certainly, there was competition and confrontation, but there continued to be bi-directional imitation—and probably more cooperation than medieval and modern critics of the military orders have been willing to concede.

When al-Ashraf conquered Acre in 1291, both orders relocated their headquarters to Cyprus. Similarly to 1187/91, this required a merger between the orders' conventual structures and their local personnel configurations. Until their move to Rhodes (completed by 1310), the Hospitallers achieved this by adding the preceptor of Cyprus to their circle of high conventual officials. He worked with the (grand) preceptor

and took on the role of looking after the convent's daily needs. Since the Templars' conventual preceptor was a so-called 'preceptor of the land,' his office had to be merged with that of the order's preceptor of Cyprus because the latter was also a 'preceptor of the land' (and Cyprus really was not big enough for the both of them).

While on Cyprus, the Hospitallers added two officials to their conventual leadership as capitular bailiffs (i.e. officials selected and commissioned by the general chapter), namely the admiral, responsible for the order's maritime activities, and the turcopolier, whose office had been steadily growing in prestige for some time. As individuals, these two now responded directly to the master, while their military responsibilities, at least for the time being, remained under the oversight of the marshal. Despite the absence of the office of admiral in their order, the Templars were no less involved in maritime activities than the Hospitallers. The Templar turcopolier, like his counterpart in the order of the Hospital, moved up into the inner circle of his order's conventual leadership, and the office of the Templars' conventual treasurer became almost completely emancipated from that of their preceptor of the land. Thus, while on Cyprus, the two orders' conventual leadership collectives grew to be even more alike. Yet, while we know that the Hospitallers' Cypriote headquarters were in Limassol, it is not clear that the Templars actually decided on one place. They had their arsenal in Limassol (on the coast, ready for overseas deployment), but their treasury and church in Nicosia (close to the royal court), and it seems that their convent moved back and forth between these two places. This mobility certainly facilitated their vigorous resistance when the trial against them reached Cyprus.

During the trial against the Templars (1307–14), the order's conventual leadership found itself in two different locations. The master (James of Molay) and the highest-ranking preceptor of the east (Raimbaud of Caromb) were in France, while the other conventual officials (the marshal, the preceptor of Cyprus, the draper, the turcopolier, and the treasurer) remained on Cyprus. The high level of resistance shown by the latter under the marshal's vigorous leadership is clear evidence that the master's absence had not left the Templar convent incapable of action. That the conventual officials were forging concrete plans to escape from Cyprus, even after their arrest, illustrates that they had every intention to assert their responsibility for the governance of their order as a whole. They surrendered only when it became clear that the pope would not support their cause. The restoration of King Henry II

of Cyprus, whom the Templars had opposed in his dispute with his brother Amaury of Lusignan, did not help their cause either. Yet, the Templar marshal obviously retained enough energy to be involved in conspiracies and uprisings even after he had been incarcerated. This demonstrates that the ‘conscious level of leadership’ that Marie Luise Bulst-Thiele was willing to attribute to the Hospitallers, but not to the Templars, was, in fact, a characteristic of both orders.¹

The second part of this study has analyzed the central convent’s organizational structures. In a treatise composed on Cyprus around 1300, the Hospitaller William of St. Stephen compared his order’s master to the helmsman of a ship, in charge of the rudder and, thus, the overall direction, but not supposed to meddle in the affairs of the other officials on board.² In the military orders’ hierarchy, the high conventual officials ranked immediately below the master. Within the larger group of ‘capitular bailiffs’ (or ‘capitular commanders’ as they were called in the order of the Temple), namely those selected and commissioned by the general chapter, they formed the elite group of ‘conventual bailiffs’ and, thus, ranked above all western and eastern provincial masters, preceptors, and priors. There was, however, also a hierarchy among the conventual bailiffs. The Templars’ seneschal, marshal, and preceptor of the land ranked on a higher level than their preceptor of Jerusalem (or, later, of Acre), draper, turcopolier, and treasurer. The thirteenth-century charter evidence suggests that the Templar marshal eventually came to rank on a par with the conventual preceptor and may even have become his order’s second-in-command. Due to the Hospitallers’ transformation from a primarily charitable organization into a military order, their internal hierarchy changed as well. In the twelfth century, their preceptor, hospitaller, and treasurer had formed the top level of leadership below the master. In the thirteenth century, the Hospitaller marshal moved up to a position above the hospitaller, and the draper pushed the treasurer to the lowest spot in the hierarchy of the order’s conventual bailiffs. The Hospitallers’ conventual prior was neither a conventual nor a capitular bailiff. Nonetheless, his status was high as evidenced by the stipulation that he was to be asked first for his opinion when the order considered the appointment of a grand

¹ Bulst-Thiele, “Prozeß,” 402.

² BN, fr. 6049, f. 264: *Ce meismes est de nostre maistre, car ne apertient asson office entremetre soi do gouvernement des soueirans offices, mais que en porueant les et en comandant que chascun official soit curios et face son office selonc que droit est et que requert la nature de chascun office et des choses et de tens*; cf. Riley-Smith, 280.

preceptor, and by the fact that he was one of his order's key international envoys. Little is known about the Templars' conventual prior, but it is becoming increasingly clear that his office, conspicuously absent from the order's normative texts, came into being in the thirteenth century, which is further evidence of the two orders' efforts to become more alike in their conventual leadership structures.

The conventual officials' superior rank can also be inferred from their generous equipment with horses and entourage, and—in the order of the Temple—certain types of tents. It is noteworthy that, in the early fourteenth century, the entourage of some of these officials included 'court' officials: for example, the Templars' draper had his own marshal, and the Hospitallers' preceptor and marshal each had their own butler. Originally, the conventual officials had surrounded the master like a royal household. By 1300, in accordance with their high rank in what had become 'international' organizations, they were enjoying their own formal households.

Regarding the conventual officials' functions, there were clear 'qualitative' differences. In the twelfth century, the Templar seneschal—as the master's ex-officio representative—had the most extensive authority of all conventual officials (apart from the master). The preceptor, the marshal, and the prior in both orders, as well as the hospitaller in the order of the Hospital, were primarily in charge of 'human beings,' while the draper and the treasurer of both Templars and Hospitallers oversaw 'repositories,' namely those for clothing and money. In both orders, the highest-ranking conventual preceptor was responsible for the storage and distribution of provisions, and the servant brothers employed in those areas reported to him. The armed conventual brothers were subordinate to the marshal who, in addition, also supervised two 'repositories' of his own, namely the arsenal and the stables, as well as brothers employed in those areas—further evidence of his high rank. Moreover, the marshal had not only military, but also disciplinary functions. Though clothing and its storage was the draper's main responsibility, which may not seem like much, he enjoyed a high status—probably because he was also expected to monitor the strict dress code.

The conventual officials' collective participation in decision-making had an impact far beyond the headquarters. Together, they advised the master with regard to personnel appointments and major transfers of property. Accordingly, they were sometimes referred to as 'prudhommes,' as those who counseled the master in key decisions (however, the term was not reserved for them alone). From the early fourteenth century on, the Hospitallers' conventual officials 'proofread' those charters that

required the consent of the master and the convent, as well as the conventual seal, to ensure that their text reflected the decisions made by the collective. The conventual officials' obligation to cooperate also extended to other areas; for example, cross-bows, considered particularly dangerous, were stored in the treasury, even though the marshal oversaw their use and presumably also the brothers charged with their repair. In the order of the Hospital, the servant brothers manufacturing the cross-bows were—as individuals—subordinate to the preceptor, but—for their work—answerable to the marshal, and this could lead to conflict. The conventual officials monitored the responsible use of resources, and this, too, required cooperation. When a brother at the Hospitaller convent felt that he was dying, the prior took his confession and inquired about the prospective inheritance. After the brother's death, minor officials dispatched by the marshal, the draper, and almost certainly also the hospitaller sealed the inheritance. The Hospitallers' normative texts stipulated precisely what was to be done with the individual items contained in a brother's inheritance. When disputes arose, the Hospitallers used the means of *esgart*, namely a case-by-case decision rendered by the collective of the brothers, to settle the matter. The term *esgart* appears in the normative texts of both orders. Like in other religious houses of the Middle Ages, important decisions were reached collectively, and the few cases in which a master found himself in disagreement with his convent are the exception, not the rule.

The conventual leadership played a key role in legal transactions. The analysis of the Hospitallers' charters shows that, in the twelfth century, a nuclear group—consisting of the preceptor, the hospitaller, and the treasurer—often appeared in the witness lists (next to the master), and this nuclear group continued its work in the thirteenth century. The charters also reflect the Hospitallers' transformation into a military order. Until 1191, the marshal only appeared in 3 of the 59 charters featuring other high conventual officials (5%). Between 1191 and 1291, he appeared in 27 of 92 such charters (29%). In the order of the Temple, the seneschal and the (grand) preceptor frequently appeared together in the charters prior to 1191. Between 1191 and 1291, the (grand) preceptor, the marshal, and the preceptor of Acre formed the nuclear group (next to the Templar master). The analysis of charters featuring the conventual officials of both orders together yields particularly noteworthy results. In the respective twelfth-century documents (with two exceptions), only the very highest representatives

of Hospitallers and Templars appeared together, namely masters, seneschals, and preceptors, and all legal transactions recorded in these charters involved either the king of Jerusalem (two thirds of all cases) or whoever else was the most 'powerful' lord in the kingdom at the time—be it a regent, a *rex electus*, or a crusading king (such as Richard I of England). Thus, in the twelfth century, the orders met on the highest level in more than one sense. This continued in the thirteenth century but expanded to include other high conventual officials (especially the marshals). Since the king of Jerusalem was not nearly as 'present' in the thirteenth century as he had been in the twelfth, it was now in the charters of papal legates that the high officials of both orders appeared together.

The conventual leadership collective was indispensable because the orders' masters were often away from their headquarters. Between 1120 and 1310, the Templar convent was 'without master' for at least 33 years (17% of the time), and the Hospitaller convent was 'without master' for at least 37 years (19% of the time)—due to the masters' travel to the west, participation in various crusades or campaigns against Egypt, or time spent in captivity, as well as due to the interims following the death of a master (which became even longer if a new master was elected *in absentia* and had to travel to the east). These periods 'without master' probably strengthened the convent's sense of its collective responsibility for the governance of the order. However, when the convent could see no compelling reason for the master to be away, and he prolonged his sojourn elsewhere, things could get testy—as evidenced by the Hospitaller convent's opposition against Master William of Villaret's extended stay in and summoning of a general chapter to southern France (1299). Ultimately, William yielded to the convent's wishes and relocated to Cyprus. However, on the day for which he had summoned the general chapter to southern France, he held an assembly of supraregional importance at Avignon (just barely refraining from calling it a 'general chapter'). The Hospitallers' conventual officials would not forget this episode. In 1306, when Fulk of Villaret, the new master (and William's nephew), wanted to travel to the west, they issued him precise travel papers for the duration of his upcoming journey and, thus, emphasized their claim to collective governance. Yet, in the long run, Fulk managed to antagonize the convent to the point where his deposition became unavoidable (1317/19). Just like many other examples given in this study, this shows that the

central convent was not a mere annex to the master; it was the “power structure at the center.”³

The third part of this study has focused on the two orders’ leading conventual personnel. The prosopographical catalog (Chapter Nine) has presented the evidence for the careers of 230 conventual officials—to the extent that I have been able to identify it. New documented lists of these officials, sorted ‘by office,’ have been included in Chapter Five (Tables 17–34). For the Hospitallers, several ‘new’ discoveries can be reported, namely Prior Raymond Petri (1193), Treasurer Peter of Campagnolles (probably since 1204, but certainly in 1206), Marshal Pons (1206), General Preceptor Raymond Motet (with some reservations, for 1222–5), and Turcopolier Peter (II) of Vieillebride (1259/61, probably identical with a turcopolier so far only known as ‘P.’ for 1256). From the list of the order’s hospitallers, Andrew (1238) and Bernard Corbel (1248) have to be removed as they were, in fact, merely infirmarers (an office not identical with that of the hospitaller). The alleged Hospitaller Admiral ‘Sanzoli de Grasse’ has turned out to be a misreading for three place names in southern France (St. Andiol, Grasse, and Amirat). As far as the Templars are concerned, Robert Fraissnel, thus far only known as marshal, has to be added to the list of grand preceptors (1179/81). In the list of Templar seneschals, a first period of office has to be included for Urs of Alneto (1179/81), so far only listed as seneschal for 1187, and there was an unnamed Templar seneschal in 1195. From the list of the Templar preceptors of Acre, Reynald of Vichiers has to be removed for the year 1240, when he merely held the office of ‘preceptor of the palace at Acre’ (which is not identical with that of ‘preceptor of Acre’). The alleged name of one of the Templar marshals, ‘Cimb(e)lard’ (1271), probably has to be changed to ‘Amblard,’ and Albert (of Vienne) should be added to the list of Templar treasurers for 1308–10.

Based on Joshua Prawer’s characterization of the military orders as an “instrument of social mobility,” this study has analyzed the conventual officials’ careers.⁴ In twenty-five percent of all cases, the officials’ social background can be ascertained and, as a result, Prawer’s thesis that these individuals were recruited exclusively from Europe’s lower nobility has to be revised. Their background ranged from country gentry to the highest nobility, and it did include the nobility of the crusader states.

³ Forey, “Constitutional Conflict,” 15.

⁴ Prawer, *Latin Kingdom*, 278.

However, comparatively few nobles from the crusader states enjoyed high-level careers in the military orders—perhaps because the crusader states were always suffering from a notorious lack of manpower, or perhaps (though this is pure speculation) because westerners received preferential treatment by the military orders to attract even more westerners, or perhaps because eastern nobles feared that allowing too many of their own to join the military orders would give the latter even more influence than they already had. Another significant finding is that, at least during the period studied here, not all high conventual offices were held by knight brothers; for example, the Templar Treasurer Peter of Castellón was a sergeant brother. It is, however, safe to assume that the Templars' seneschals, as well as both orders' (grand) preceptors and marshals, were knight brothers, because they, either always or under specific circumstances, were in command of knight brothers. Expertise acquired prior to entering a military order was certainly utilized; for example, the Hospitaller Marshal Aymar of L'Ayron was a former marshal of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Age was not nearly as important a career-determining factor as years of membership in an order: for example, the Hospitallers expected a candidate for the office of grand preceptor to be an 'old' brother (*ancien*), namely one who had been in the order at least twenty years. Thus, considering that eighteen was a realistic age for individuals entering the order, one could attain the office of grand preceptor prior to reaching age forty.

The conventual officials' careers also reveal that the military orders were instruments of horizontal mobility, and recent research suggests that the exploration of this subject has only just begun.⁵ The careers of over forty percent of the conventual officials can be traced in both the east and the west. Most of them originally came from France, but the Iberian Peninsula also contributed a considerable number; a few came from England and Italy; only three of them (all Hospitallers) were German; and two (a Templar draper and a Hospitaller draper) seem to have had a central-European background. Three of the five Hospitaller grand preceptors serving between 1291 and 1310 came from Provence, which makes this the only office that—prior to 1310—foreshadowed this order's future practice of basing the appointment to a conventual office on the candidate's geographical origin. With very few exceptions, both orders apparently reserved the office of marshal to brothers from France. One plausible explanation for this is that French was the military

⁵ Burgtorf and Nicholson, *International Mobility*, 204–6.

command language of the crusader states. Thus, geographical origin certainly was a career-determining factor.

Only a few conventual officials traveled to the west while in office. The clear exception were the Hospitallers' conventual priors: five out of thirteen traveled to the west on behalf of their order (but then a lot of the rules that applied to the order's conventual bailiffs did not apply to the prior). Very rarely did the Hospitallers send a high official to the west on a special assignment and allowed him to retain his conventual title; for example, William of Villaret was still draper when he took on the office of lieutenant prior of St. Gilles, but not for long. Usually, if such officials stayed in the west, they lost their conventual titles. The high conventual offices frequently served as springboards for further careers in the west. One third of all (grand) preceptors and one fifth of all marshals were able to bring their 'conventual' prestige to new high-level offices in the west.

High-level careers in the military orders were neither as 'chaotic' as Joseph Delaville Le Roulx has suggested, nor did they follow the 'recognizable patterns' that Jonathan Riley-Smith has proposed. Rather, one may observe a few 'tendencies.' Holding a high conventual office tended to turn into a springboard for the mastership. During the period studied here this was the case for ten of the twenty-four Hospitaller masters and six of the twenty-three Templar masters. Most of them were former (grand) preceptors or marshals (or, in the twelfth-century, Templar *seneschals*). In the central convent, it was possible to occupy different high offices in succession (the exception being the office of the Hospitallers' conventual prior), and occasionally an individual was reappointed to a conventual office that he had held at an earlier stage in his career. In both orders, the office of the conventual (grand) preceptor tended to be given to those who had previously held a high office in the east or the west, and their careers often continued on a high level in the east or the west. To obtain the office of marshal, service in the east was an advantage for candidates in both orders. However, due to its military nature, the office of marshal could also end a career faster than any other office: six Templar marshals and three Hospitaller marshals died in combat, and for a number of marshals in both orders the office was the last one they ever occupied. Former drapers of both orders, as well as former Templar preceptors of Acre, tended to receive posts on a higher level in the east or the west; thus, these offices can be considered springboards for further careers. For the treasurers, *turcopoliers*, and priors of both orders, the overall evidence is too limited to justify any

general statements, but the three Hospitaller admirals who served prior to 1310 all continued their careers in higher offices. Until the middle of the thirteenth century, the office of hospitaller in the order of St. John was a veritable career 'dead end;' those holding the office cannot be found in any other subsequent office. This apparently changed around 1260, and former hospitallers from then on continued their careers in the east or the west. By that time, many of the hospitaller's original responsibilities had probably been delegated to subordinate officials.

The most striking proof that contemporaries considered the military orders' high conventual officials to be 'important' (for good or for bad) is the fact that even popes and kings occasionally tried to influence their careers. They asked that certain officials be promoted to certain posts; for example, King Louis IX of France successfully obtained Amaury of La Roche's appointment as Templar provincial master of France. They asked that certain officials be dismissed from their posts; for example, Pope Urban IV persistently demanded that the Templar Marshal Stephen of Ciskey be stripped of his office. They also asked that certain officials be made available to them directly; for example, King Edward I of England apparently requested that the Hospitaller Treasurer Joseph of Cancy be sent to England where he would become Edward's royal treasurer. Some conventual officials were so successful in the tasks entrusted to them outside of their own orders that they became international diplomats. The most prominent example for the twelfth century is the Templar Preceptor Geoffrey Fulcherii who was employed by King Louis VII of France, King Amalric of Jerusalem, King Henry II of England, and Pope Alexander III. In the thirteenth century, the Hospitaller Preceptor Boniface of Calamandrana enjoyed the trust of King James II of Aragón, King Charles II of Naples, and Pope Boniface VIII.

Careers were also influenced from within the orders. Some masters successfully groomed their successors; for example, the Hospitaller Masters Hugh Revel and Nicholas Lorgne, as well as the Templar Master Thibaut Gaudini were systematically built up by their respective predecessors. Other masters made every effort to establish the brothers they favored; for example, the Templar Peter of Castellón enjoyed the special protection of Master James of Molay. There were cases of nepotism, certainly on the part of the Hospitaller Master William of Villaret who promoted his nephew Fulk. There were also instances of unfairness; for example, the Hospitallers Boniface of Calamandrana and Raymond of Ribells were temporarily shunned by their order's

leadership. A few Templars and Hospitallers earned enough 'clout' in the course of their lives to direct their own careers. The Hospitaller Joseph of Cancy left England to return to the east against the preferences of King Edward I; it seems that, despite his own English origins, Joseph wanted to be back in the Holy Land where he had served for over twenty years. The Templar Guy of Foresta, who had served his order in England and in the east, spent the last years of his life in a local preceptory in the Loire valley; as he got older, he may have decided to retreat to this milder climate.

In the time period studied here, Hospitallers and Templars did not produce any major historiographical works. That makes it harder to get their 'internal' perspectives on the personalities of their conventual officials. Nonetheless, it has been shown here that letters and charters, the Templars' trial records, and the 'external' narrative sources do tell us quite a bit about these very real 'human beings.' Letters of recommendation and charters of appointment indicate the character traits most highly regarded by contemporaries, namely wisdom, level-headedness, courage, and honesty. Thus, it is the absence or neglect of these traits that gives us the most personal insights, such as the violation of the English forest laws by the future Templar Marshal Amblard of Vienne, or the apparent tendency of the former Hospitaller Draper William of Villaret to 'relieve' other Hospitallers traveling through southern France of relics bound for other destinations. In the Templars' trial records and in the contemporary Arabic sources, we find evidence that the Templar Preceptor Matthew Sauvage had an outstanding personal relationship with the Mamluk Sultan Baybars, which may have taken the form of a blood-brotherhood. A close reading of the source material will undoubtedly continue to provide glimpses into the personalities of the members of the military orders.

Much work remains to be done. The data compiled in the prosopographical catalog, intended to present the 'collective biography' of the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars, suggest that there are several 'individual' biographies that would be worth writing, including those of the Templars William Cadel and Amaury of La Roche, and the Hospitallers Henry of Fürstenberg, Joseph of Cancy, and Boniface of Calamandrana: there is substantial information regarding these individuals' social background, international mobility, and careers.⁶ Furthermore,

⁶ For Boniface of Calamandrana cf. now Burgtorf, "Mediterranean Career," 73–85.

since the emphasis of this study has been on the Latin east, the names and data of the officials discussed here now need to be taken up by the local, regional, and 'national' historiography of the west, particularly of France and Spain. Despite all aspirations to be 'complete,' any prosopography is merely the expression of the researcher's knowledge and views at the time of publication. New evidence will continue to surface. Thus, prosopography is always a 'work in progress.'

Individual and collective mobility is a fascinating topic of historical research, and with regard to the military orders there are still aspects of mobility that need to be explored. A comparative scholarly naval history of the Hospital and the Temple has yet to be written, and there is ample material for it in the normative texts, charters, and treaties of both orders, but also in more unconventional sources, such as the medieval graffiti of ships and maritime creatures that can be found in some of the orders' castles.⁷ The mobility of the orders' western officials, both within and beyond their respective provinces, priories, or preceptories, also needs further comparative and transregional studies in order to comprehend the mechanisms of the orders' western networks. When and how often did these officials leave their posts? Where did they travel? Why did they travel? Who represented them during their absences? And what does all this mean with regard to the military orders as international organizations?

This study has confirmed that the "ability to adapt to new circumstances" was indeed an "abiding feature" in the history of the military orders.⁸ What is more, in light of the comparative history of the central convent of Hospitallers and Templars, particularly their effort to become more alike in their leadership structures, any suggestion that the Templars were somehow becoming outdated is hard to sustain. After all, James of Molay, when asked whether his order and that of the Hospital could be merged, pointed to the structural similarities of their central convents. When asked why the Temple fell and the Hospital survived, their medieval contemporaries might have responded, *O fortuna, velut luna, statu variabilis*.⁹

⁷ For a recent groundbreaking study on the Hospitallers' naval activities cf. Jacoby, "Hospitaller Ships," 57–72.

⁸ Riley-Smith, "Towards a History," 284.

⁹ *Carmina burana* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4660, ms. s. XIII): 'O fortune, [you are,] just like the moon, of variable state.'

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