Ships, Souls, and the Administration of the Knights of St. John in the Fourteenth Century.

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SHIPS, SOULS, AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in The Department of History

by
Mark Dupuy
B.A., Loyola University, New Orleans, 1991
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1994
May 2000

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To Dad

_Ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae; ipse subibo umeris nec me labor iste gravabit; quo res cumque cadent, unum et commune periculum, una salus ambobus erit._

_(Aeneid, Book II)_
Acknowledgments

The debts associated with any dissertation tend to be many, varied, and often, beyond restitution of any meaningful sort; repayment generally occurs on pages such as these, where many debts simply go unpaid.

No medieval book would be complete without a curse, and in such traditions, I say to the company Circuit City, which held my computer hostage for two and half months near the completion of this work - I curse thee. Anathema.

Without my mother Loraine Dupuy, little else here matters. Hers are the lessons of Job and St Francis: to suffer with dignity and without questions, and to love without conditions. Some friends, colleagues, and fellow travelers must be mentioned: Mitchell MacNaylor, Tracey Kimbrell, Kent Hare, Steven Isaac, Don Kagay, and Andy Villalon, all offered comments, criticism, encouragement, or Concha Y Toro at various stages. Of the latter group, one requires singling out, Dr Theresa Vann, who read drafts - even the miserable, loathsome, and nearly unreadable first one - of this work; she has forced me to focus and has saved me from many errors. Randall Rogers read none of this work, but his fingerprints remain all over it. Drs Victor Stater and Christine Kooi have always been helpful during the latter stages of my graduate career, and Dr John Henderson graciously agreed to serve as a reader for this manuscript; many thanks to them all. Dr David Moore has always offered encouragement, and
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Final mention here belongs collectively to Wayne Roca, S.J., Steve Schierling, and my father, Ellis Dupuy. Their lessons to me have been many and varied. Their greatest lessons came with their individual struggles with cancer, which claimed each of them within eight months of one another, and all within ten months of the completion of this work, which I wish all could have seen finished. Whatever is of value within it I owe to them; its mistakes and blunders are my own.
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Abbreviations

*Cartulaire* = *Cartulaire générale de L'Ordre des Hospitaliers de St Jean de Jerusalem* (edited by Joseph Delaville Le Roulx, 1894-1906).


*Libri* = *Libri bullarum magistrorum*, Archives of the Knights of St John, Valletta, National Library of Malta.


*NLM* = National Library of Malta


The collections published by Anthony Luttrell appear by reference to the Variorum publication date; roman numerals assigned to specific articles within the collections appear after the year of publication:

*Luttrell (1978)* = *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West: 1291-1440*.

*Luttrell (1982)* = *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers, and the Crusades: 1291-1440*.

*Luttrell (1992)* = *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*. 

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Correspondence of the Avignon popes, still being published today under the supervision of the Bibliothèque des Écoles Français d'Athènes et de Rome (B.E.F.A.R.), appear as follows (listing is chronological by reign rather than alphabetical):

Clement V = Regestum Clementis Papae V (ed. O St Benedict, 1885-1892).


John XXII, secretes = Lettres secretes et curiales se rapportant à la France (ed by A. Coulon et S. Clemencet, 1900).

Benedict XII, communes = Lettres communes (ed by J.M. Vidal, 1903-11).

Benedict XII, France = Lettres closes patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France (ed by G. Daumet, 1899-1920).

Benedict XII, closes = Lettres closes patentes intéressant les pays autres que la France (ed by J.M. Vidal, 1913-1950).


Clement VI = Lettres secretes et curiales intéressant les pays autre que la France (ed by E. Deprez et G. Mollat, 1960-61).

Innocent VI = Lettres secretes et curiales (ed by P. Gasnault et M.H. Laurent, 1959-).


Gregory XI, Communes = Lettres Communes analyses d'apres les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican (ed by Anne-Marie Hayez, Rome, 1992-).

The state of Hospitaller records poses very difficult problems for citation. As my research was performed with the Knights' Archives held on microfilm at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, I have used the following method to cite references: NLM (National Library of Malta) Archive (rather than codex, the former being the descriptive organizing term employed by HMML) and "#" (which correspond to the HMML Archive numbers, which themselves refer to the NLM codex numbers). Many Hospitaler documents, particularly the *Libri bullarum magistrorum*, have been refoliated by modern scholars with the Arabic numerals; unfortunately the new and old foliations rarely if ever coincide. When folio numbers below appear in roman numerals, I follow the old pagination, which occurs in the upper right corner of each *recto*; when they appear in Arabic numerals, the page numbers correspond to the new foliation, which generally appears in the lower right portion of each *recto*. If Arabic numerals appear with the marking (o.p.), I refer to the old pagination. The condition of the documents varies as well. Brackets ( [ ] ) denote lacunae and daggers ( † ) denote conjectural readings in difficult areas; some conjectures are more firmly grounded than others. When citing material from the B.E.F.A.R. series, I place calendared text in quotation marks, and text from the actual missives in italics.
Abstract

For a variety of reasons, the history of crusading in the later middle ages (after c. 1300) has, until recently, been a topic largely ignored by historians. Acre, the last Christian outpost in Palestine, fell in 1291, and within twenty years, one of the major corporations associated with the crusading movement, the Knights Templar, came under attack and were ultimately suppressed as a religious order. With the lack of attention to the crusade in the later middle ages came a lack of attention to the ‘crusading orders;’ few historians chose to make either topic a focus of study, and many works which deal with them do so in isolation, often inadvertently confirming what other historians already supposed - namely that the remaining Military Orders, especially the Knights Hospitaller, were in fact on the periphery of European institutions and spirituality. Investigations into the Hospitaller administrative practices and spiritual life, however, often reveal an association very much involved in the world ‘beyond the cloister,’ and one seeking significant links with the secular world, in both administrative and spiritual spheres. This very centrality, along with other factors, contributed to the stability of the Hospitallers at an otherwise unstable juncture of their history; the fourteenth century is the story of the Hospitaller attempt to relocate itself away from Palestine and its original functions as a military religious order, and to deal the problems associated with that relocation. Many of the solutions meant not simply the creation and maintenance of an
esprit de corps within the Order, but also the establishment and maintenance of ties to the secular world. The Hospital survived the fourteenth century very much in tact; it would in fact survive as an Order until the end of the eighteenth century. This dissertation investigates those methods, their success, and the general tenor of Hospitaller administrative and spiritual institutions in the fourteenth century.
Chapter One
Introduction

Scope of the Study

For far too long historians have largely ignored the interaction of the Knights of St John with the larger communities of Western Europe. The diplomatic, legal, and spiritual relations between the newly relocated Central Convent of the Knights Hospitaller at Rhodes and the West, here writ large, including not simply the rest of the church hierarchy, but also secular rulers, individual laymen, and the houses and properties pertaining to Order of the Knights of St John, in the fourteenth century have been the focus of very few studies. Of particular interest are the years between 1310 and 1377. Although its exact dates remain an area of confusion,¹ the Knights' conquest of Rhodes by 1310 offers an excellent starting point; by 1314 the suppression of the Templars and the division of their properties would accelerate internal and external difficulties of the Hospitallers, and perhaps brought with it a renewed

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¹The 'siege' of the island began in 1306, when the Hospitallers entered a joint venture with an Italian businessman. Three chroniclers cite two different names, but the *Gestes des Chiprois*, the chronicle most contemporary to the event, differs from the other two by claiming the businessman was Boniface of Grimaldi (rather than Vignolo Vignoli). Luttrell and most others place their confidence in the *Gestes des Chiprois*, but Albert Failler cannot see why Luttrell places such confidence in the chronicle simply because it is older than the other two (both from the fifteenth century); Failler argues that an original agreement named Vignoli – see “L'Occupation de Rhodes par les Hospitaliers,” in *Revue des Études Byzantines* (Paris, 1992, Tome 50), p. 124, n 35. By 1308 the city of Rhodes capitulated, but the island did not come under complete Hospitaller control until 1310.
cognizance that well-kept records are the best way to afford legal protection. In the fourteenth century, the greatest manifestation of this realization is the Knights' creation of the *Libri bullarum magistrorum*, a group of documents dealing with a wide variety of business, including the collation of property, sale of property, disciplinary matters, and admission into the Order, amongst others, and gathered into unified 'books.' They provide a relatively untapped font of information.

The period between the fall of Acre in 1291 and the conquest of Rhodes provides evidence of a continuing struggle between the Master and Central Convent, although historians disagree about the dominance of either during the Hospitallers' residence at Cyprus. The engineer of the conquest, Master Fulk of Villaret, provided a flashpoint for such struggles, and the story of his eventual deposition provides fodder for the argument that the struggle between Central Convent and Master did not end with the conquest of Rhodes. Using the aforementioned *Libri bullarum*, as well as the records of various Chapters General in the fourteenth century, this study attempts to delineate the relationship between and powers of both parties until approximately 1377. As a *terminus ad quem*, few years could rival this one. It marked not only the start of the Great Schism, but also the rise of an incredibly powerful Master, Juan

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Fernandez de Heredia, whose succession was due in large part to his status as a papal creature for much of his career. The rise of Heredia to the Magistracy also marked the point from which the *Libri* seem to take on a more regular character. Before Heredia the *Libri* are arguably still in their infancy; though they would of course continue to change in some ways after Heredia, the period with which this study is concerned is as important as any other. The fragmented nature of the records until Heredia’s time is, in fact, a more compelling reason to focus on them, piecing together what we may from those records which remain in an effort to reconstruct Hospitaller procedures and governance.

Within that same period, the Hospitallers faced other challenges. The digestion, assimilation, and defense of newly received Templar properties consumed much of the Hospitallers’ corporate time and energy in the teens and twenties. Although disputes over such properties continued into the middle part of the century, the Hospital attained relative financial solvency by the early thirties, although an active period of planned and fulfilled crusade activity did not begin until the forties, culminating in the taking of Smyrna in 1344 by a crusading league composed of the Hospitallers and others. During the same period the papacy employed the Hospital in much the same way as secular rulers did, attempting to secure its Italian domains, a process that involved the Hospitallers intimately in papal affairs in a number of ways until the start of the Great Schism. The Hospital did not remain unaffected by the fissure, as the Order split into two allegiances, like the rest of Western Christendom. While the
split caused some serious financial difficulties, the Hospital nonetheless healed itself well before the rest of Europe.\textsuperscript{3} External forces played a role in the internal affairs of the Hospital as well. As such this study considers within the stated \textit{termini} not simply the relationship between Master and Convent, but also the relationship between the Order and the 'outside world': secular monarchies, the papacy, the episcopacy, and even individual Christians in the West. The survival of the Order in the fourteenth century was critical to its longevity and endurance, and the means and methods of that survival are the focal points of this study.

\textbf{Sources}

The study employs a variety of miscellaneous primary sources, including the records of visitations to priories, inquest records, and a few extant account statements, as well as contemporary chronicles. Its primary focus, however, is on the extant Hospitaller archives from the National Library of Malta, in particular the aforementioned \textit{Libri bullarum magistrorum}, which contain not only documentation of property transfer, but also some records concerning diplomatic affairs, and the occasional loose papal bull. One of the Order's most prolific historians, Joseph Delaville le Roulx, offered some analysis of the character and nature of the \textit{Libri}, but the analysis occurred within a larger

consideration of the Hospitallers’ not insignificant archives, and thus remained somewhat limited. Anthony Luttrell, the most well-known modern historian of the Knights, has approached the chancellery procedures of the Hospitallers from a more analytical standpoint, but drew few conclusions in his initial investigation of the topic, and has since not returned to it. The Libri, which are organized along contemporary geographic and administrative divisions, have often given scholars their cues; most follow this structure and draw from the Libri whatever the demands of their particular research require. Part of the study investigates the structure of these records, both the Libri as a whole and of the individual records contained therein, and attempts the construction of a basic formulary for this section of the Knights’ archives. The structure and

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4 Delaville Le Roux, *Les archives, la bibliothèque et le trésor de l’ordre de saint-jean de Jérusalem a Malte* (Paris, 1883). Even here he admits that his focus was on the latter part of the fourteenth century: “Nous avons spécialement étudié les registres de cette série se rapportant à la fin du quatorzième siècle et au quinzième...” p. 44.


6 See, for instance, Maria Bonet Donato, *La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta* (ss. XII-XV) (Madrid, 1994). Her index lists the prioral sections dealing with Aragon in Archives 316-391, but such methods must be used with caution - in some cases notes relevant to a given priory are tucked within the business of another priory, and affairs in neighboring priories often have ramifications beyond their own jurisdictions. Similarly, Zsoltan Hunyadi of the Central European University, Budapest, is preparing a study of the Hospitallers in Hungary which considers the Libri with regards to the Hospitallers in Hungary.
nature of the records thus is almost as of much significance as the raw data of concerning people, property, and money contained therein. The records begin in the mid-1340s and continue patchily until the mid seventies, at which point they proceed with more regularity, forming a continuous stream only after 1382. As noted previously, they contain a wealth of information about tenure, expected payment of responsions to the central convent from the Hospital's Western estates, the obligations and restrictions placed on commanders who ran such estates, as well as an enormous amount of information on diplomatic affairs in the East, the payment of arrears by Priories, and the sale of lands and properties in and around Rhodes, amongst other topics.

The records thus have bearing on the internal affairs of the Order, and may grant new perspectives on the constitutional debates of the Hospital in the fourteenth century. In that vein, part of this section will also focus on the legislation produced by fourteenth century Chapters General, material provided by the Knights' central Archives for the years 1330, 1332, 1335, 1337, 1340, 1344, and 1353. It also considers other sections of the Knights' archives, specifically those dealing with statutes /legislation and papal bulls/briefs, records which are scattered about various areas of the Hospitaller archives. Similarly, I will employ a variety of cartularies – few of them transcribed in

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7 I will also consider loose magisterial bullae which precede chronologically the first records of the Libri bullarum, records which appear in the NLM, Archive 16.

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entirety — dealing with specific houses, commanderies, or priories in the West.8

Belaboring their limitations is pointless; the glimpses of Hospitaller history they afford, however brief, adumbrate the monumental task of scouring countless regional archives in an effort to get 'the big picture.' Such factors explain to some degree why the historiography of the military orders, and particularly that of the Hospitallers, lags far behind crusade historiography in general.9 Crusade historians may generally pick or delineate topics or issues which then mold and limit the evidence to be consulted. Delaville published two documentary cum analytical studies of the Hospitallers, but such an achievement requires some qualification; the second was published only posthumously by the team of scholars who actually were Delaville le Roulx by that point in his career. Closer to the point, only recently has an acceptable survey of the Templars finally appeared,10 even though they have generally attracted more attention,

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8 For instance, Michael Gervers' studies of the Essex Cartulary, the Reverend Salter's transcription from the Oxford Cartulary, and August Chaissang's excerpts from the Cartulary of Velay, amongst others. In a few cases extended catalog descriptions will be employed as pointers.

9 Luttrell once described the Hospitaller bibliography as "thoroughly daunting," although even then (1974) he realized the specialization — and in some cases repetition — of much of that bibliography. The secondary literature alone is beyond most historians in language and volume, containing publications in languages like Polish or Czech, which are often beyond the abilities of most individual Western European scholars.

scholarly and otherwise, than the Hospitallers. Although Templar history and documentation largely drew to a close with their suppression in 1312, Alan Forey produced a history of the Templars in Aragon, whose archival material regarding the Temple nonetheless remains quite rich.\textsuperscript{11}

Contemporary chroniclers, like the Villani and the Anonymous Chronicler of the Morea, amongst others, offer periodic accounts of external perceptions of the Order, as do some travelers’ logs and itineraries.\textsuperscript{12} If any single source provides a continuous font of information, though, it is the copious amount of correspondence left by the Avignon papacy. Since the opening of the Vatican Archives to scholars in the late 1800s,\textsuperscript{13} groups of scholars have dedicated themselves to publishing such letters. The attempts are generally of high quality, save the organizational decision by Guillaume Mollat and others to separate their work into volumes which treat separately papal correspondence dealing with France, and business concerning lands “other than France.” The most recent editions, concerning the pontificate of Urban V through the second

\textsuperscript{11} Alan Forey, \textit{The Templars in the Corona de Aragon} (London, 1973), p. 5: “Even so it has not been possible to examine fully all the relevant royal manuscripts in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, for to do this would in itself require years of sustained research...”

\textsuperscript{12} In particular see Chapter Seven below, pp. 209 ff.

\textsuperscript{13} On this issue, see Owen Chadwick’s recent piece on Lord Acton and his early research in the Vatican Archives in \textit{Acton and History} (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 29-76.
year of Gregory XI's pontificate, make no such distinctions, and moreover tend to offer full transcriptions rather than calendars peppered with full transcriptions of particular records, themselves chosen for reasons unknown to any save the editors.  

The limitations of these records are manifest as well. ‘Balancing’ the study by consulting the various national and municipal archives of Europe could indeed give other views of the incidents discussed within papal registers. The difficulty, however, is similar to that mentioned earlier with regards to regional Hospitaller archives; with houses, properties, and records from Ireland to Spain and from France to Cyprus, the chore is almost beyond the scope of any individual scholar. Papal correspondence is also limited in another way, particularly with regards to legal disputes. Only the disputes which reached this level of appeal can be considered. Doubtless, many other local disputes between individual houses and local secular and or episcopal authority occurred -- some exist in the cartularies transcribed by Chaissang and others -- but were resolved before reaching any higher levels of appeal. This is not always true; 

14Almost as soon as the archives opened their doors, scholars began their labors on the material. August Theiner produced two volumes of various materials relating to Hungary by 1859; see *Vetera monumenta historica Hungariam sacram illustrantia maximam partem nondum edita ex tabulariis vaticanis deprompta collecta ac serie chronologica disposita* (Rome, 1859-1860). In the 1950s, several scholars issued editions more limited in scope than those associated with the *Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* (BEFAR) series mentioned above, notably Dutch scholars like Phillipe van Isacker's *Lettres de Clement VI* (1342-1346) (edited by P. van Isacker, published by D. Ursmer Berlier, Rome, 1924).
internally some Hospitallers proved themselves ready to appeal to papal authority almost from the start of any difficulty. Such cases afford an opportunity to study the papacy's attitude towards the Hospital on issues other than those directly affecting the crusade, the extent to which it micro-managed the order's affairs, delegated judicial authority to lower levels, or demanded that the Hospital 'clean its own house.'

Issues and Questions

The issues and questions with which this study are concerned are to some degree intertwined, so much so that dissecting them and fitting them into chapters will lead to some repetition. In general, however, the study breaks down into three general areas: the 'nuts and bolts' of Hospitaller government, relations with the monarchs and church hierarchy of Western Europe, and the participation of the Hospitallers in modes of late medieval spirituality. All sections deal largely with the issue of Hospitaller survival in a period of crisis, not simply for Western Europe in general, but also for the Order in particular.

The first section deals largely with the internal functioning of the Knights of St. John at Rhodes and in the West, particularly the transfer of property within the Order, an area which has received scant attention from most historians. Part of this section involves a critical study of the notarial practices and procedures which underlay the construction, maintenance, and use of the Libri bullarum by the Hospitallers. A central problem here, intimately linked to the Libri bullarum, is the issuance of Commanderies of Grace and other
exempted properties within the Order. Not all property within the Order was created equal, so to speak; beside the obvious point that some properties were wealthier than others, one has to consider as well that certain properties offered their managers exemptions from the usual Hospitaller hierarchy of authority. Riley-Smith has defined models of the varieties of property dispersed in the Knights’ Palestinian period, but it remains to be seen if his models hold true for the Rhodian period.15 Moreover, the fourteenth century records provide evidence that individuals, like parcels of property, could be retentus ad manum magistri, or retained at the hand of the Master. 16 The nature of these retentions is still somewhat unclear, and one of the goals of this study is to define the privileges associated with both Commanderies of Grace and the various retentions which could be granted to brethren and property. Riley-Smith has argued that in the Palestinian period, especially in the thirteenth century, those brethren granted Commanderies of Grace were removed from the immediate jurisdiction of the Hospitaller chain of command, essentially making them wards of the Masters, who viewed such Commanderies as their purview. One of the goals of this study is to decipher what role, if any, such grants played in the


16See particularly Chapter Four below, pp. 88 ff.
struggles between Master and Convent. The extant proceedings of Chapters General and the statutes created therein are just as important as the Libri for this part of the investigation.

The issue of internal authority in an exempt, international order of the church, however, obviously goes beyond the internal structure and laws of that order. Offenses both subtle and gross committed at Rhodes could be dealt with summarily. Internal difficulties concerning men and property in the West, however, often required external mediation, a task generally handled for exempt orders by the Papacy; perennial troublemakers like the Franciscans required full time Cardinals-Protector. Throughout the fourteenth century the papacy proved willing to intervene in some internal affairs of the Order – particularly disputed magistracies – while maintaining a laissez-faire approach in other situations. Like many secular authorities, however, the papacy maintained an abiding interest in the affairs of the Hospitallers' Western estates and brethren, and in some cases employed them in very much the same capacity as did the secular monarchs, whose similar behavior was often nonetheless reprimanded by Avignon.

17 The office originated for the Friars Minor at Francis' request, and quickly after his death became an enormous chore, as the Order struggled over the question of whether or not the Apostles kept money-bags. The Dominicans did not get their own advocate and watchdog until the pontificate of Gregory XI; G. Mollat, The Popes at Avignon (translated from the 9th edition by Janet Love, Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1963), p. 61.
The extent to which the papacy was willing to involve itself in other internal quarrels is a complex issue. What might seem to be an internal affair was often the result of secular interference in the Order's affairs, and the papacy obviously needed to assess such situations carefully. Further complicating matters is the role of the episcopacy in these affairs. Some historians would argue that the episcopacy of Europe was little more than the plaything of secular monarchs by the fourteenth century; others would argue that such had been the case -- at least in certain regions -- for centuries. Eliminating the bishops from consideration as satellites of secular designs is problematic, though, and makes *a priori* assumptions which the evidence in question may or may not support. They formed an important rung in appellate procedures, and the extent to which the papacy was willing to allow such appeals may have something to say about larger issues, namely its own relation with the episcopacy and secular monarchs.

The final section deals with the Hospitallers and late medieval spirituality, exploring the manner in which they participated in general expressions of late medieval piety. As such this section's relation to the previous section needs little explanation; the Hospitallers had historically been linked to two of the major means of fourteenth century devotion, pilgrimage and confraternity. These forms of devotion imply a certain reach beyond the walls of the cloister, literally and figuratively; they brought to the Order closer contacts and relations with a broader Christian world. Although both had been integral parts of the Order's structures, indeed, of its very existence, since its inception, the fourteenth
century and the conquest of Rhodes brought about new challenges and new possibilities; how the Hospital responded, and how Christians in the West responded as well, forms the crux of section three. All sections are concerned, in different ways, with the methods which allowed the Hospital to survive in a period of crisis.

Historiography

Broader 'crusade' historiography has followed a variety of notable trends, but one of the most noticeable in recent years has been a revival in scholarly pursuit of 'the crusade in the later middle ages.' Nineteenth-century 'orientalists' and others were largely the writers of such history until the last two decades. Most crusade scholarship in the nineteenth century was document-based, as scholars attempted to collate and transcribe relevant documents of many sorts into single volumes or collections of volumes. Amongst such compilators are some relatively famous names: Ernst Leroux, J. Delaville le Roulx, and Karl Röricht, to name but a few.18 The compilators built the foundation upon which later historians would elaborate. Jean Richard, Joshua Prawer, and Jonathan Riley-Smith have all employed the materials left by the nineteenth century compilators to reconstruct various aspects of Crusader

history, although they tended to focus on the reconstruction of Crusader constitutional and social structures.¹⁹

Concurrent with the compilation of such materials was the writing of a few general histories of crusading in the later middle ages. Delaville le Roulx used his broad knowledge of crusader documents and archival materials to produce a general history of fourteenth century crusading disguised as a biography of Marshal Boucicaut. Nikolai Iorga produced a similar work using Philip de Mezieres as his speculum. Early in our own century, Aziz Atiya wrote what would become until only recently the most widely cited work on 'later crusading.'²⁰

Few attempts were ever made, however, to gather materials relevant to the later crusades in the manner or scale on which they were gathered for the early crusade period. Such materials remain unedited for a variety of reasons, the two most important being their very nature on the one hand, and the heuristic assumptions made by most crusade historians on the other. Extant


manuscripts and sources for the later crusades force scholars to deal with several issues, among them the increasingly widespread use of the vernacular in many documents, and an increased willingness to employ a functional cross between pure cursive scripts and old formal book hands, a hybrid known appropriately enough on various levels as batarda. Perhaps more importantly, the assumptions made by most scholars mitigated against such compilations. The fall of Acre in 1291 provided a great heuristic precipice off of which scholars would leap, bouncing off a small outcropping formed by the trial and suppression of the Templars two decades later, landing finally in the abyss known as the 'later crusades.' Critical approaches to the sources and period in recent years have, however, transformed such a picture.

Sylvia Schein and Norman Housley have most recently addressed these issues. Schein argues for continuity rather than disjunction in crusade policies and attitudes between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. While the loss of Acre clearly had an impact on pious Christians in the West, a correct periodization of the era analyzes attitudes and policies from the high water marks of the Councils of Lyons (1270) and Vienne (1314) and the period in

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21Sylvia Schein, Fideles Crucis (Cambridge, 1992). Published after the emergence of Norman Housley's corpus of works, Schein's monograph nonetheless is derived from her DPhil, completed in 1980, and one may safely say the ideas fermented before the release of Housley's works, which more or less assume her chronology. Schein admits that her chronology is actually already implicit in Riley-Smith's What Were the Crusades (1977) and Jean Richard's biography of Saint Louis (1983).
between, rather than focusing solely on 1291 and the fall of Acre. Her position's inherent historicism is its main attraction; with the benefit of hindsight we may look back and see 1291 as the end of the crusading period, but contemporaries had no such benefit, and crusade policies within that period remained largely unaffected, geared as they were even before the loss of Acre to smaller passagii rather than large movements. They keenly felt the loss, but after the initial trauma went about the business of adapting new headquarters and bases of operations to an already current and basically unchanged policy.

The chronological span of Schein's monograph is quite brief, and the work of elucidating the details of later crusade policy, narrative, and activity lay largely with other historians. Two scholars in particular, Norman Housley and Christopher J. Tyerman, have recently tended the field of crusading in the later middle ages. Housley's pluralist definition of 'legitimate crusade' leads him not only to an acceptance of a variety of activities as crusades, but also to see in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries continued examples of devotion to the crusade as a noble, worthy, and even religious idea by several strata of European society. Housley has published the most comprehensive book on the topic since those published by Delaville Le Roulx, Atiya, and Iorga, and in it he

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He has not gone uncriticized on this point, and Schein is among the most vocal of such critics; see Fideles Crucis, p. 6.

See above, note 20.
apparently overcame his fear of ‘being too bold’ which limited one of his earlier works to a study of the Avignon Papacy and its relation to the crusade movement in the fourteenth century.24

Long before Housley began his own research, Anthony Luttrell investigated the history and narrative of the Knights of St John on the island of Rhodes and in the Mediterranean in general, continuing, correcting, and augmenting Delaville Le Roulx’ posthumously published narrative history of the Knights’ first Rhodian century, Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu’à la mort de Philibert de Naillac. Luttrell has published a broad-ranging mixture of narrative and topically based studies, reflecting in some cases the limited remains of extant sources, and in others a desire to discuss very focused but nonetheless significant topics.25 By his own conviction, the production of a solid history must necessarily be based upon what might otherwise seem minute studies, details, and the smaller building blocks of prosopography.26 Although he has not yet


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synthesized his research into a single account of the Hospitallers in the fourteenth century, what Luttrell once said of Delaville Le Roulx may now reasonably be said of him: anyone who pursues issues surrounding the Knights' history during the period at Rhodes will rely heavily on his works.

Most other recent Hospitaller research, and this is true of much scholarship of the military orders in general, has remained document-based, and some very useful studies have emerged from practitioners of document-based history. Benoît Beaucage's transcription of a visitation to the Priory of St. Gilles may seem like historical 'bean-counting' at first glance, but St. Gilles was the Order's oldest and arguably most profitable Priory, and his work grants other historians an idea of the general composition of the Priory's members and goods. It is especially valuable when considered in conjunction with the release of Anne Marie-LeGras' edition of records dealing with the 1373 Inquest of the Order as whole. Originally projected to transcribe the extant records

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27 He is currently working on the monograph.

28 In his “Introduction” to the Variorum reprint of Delaville LeRouleix Naillac., p. v.


concerning all of the Hospitallers' Western properties, little has emerged in print from the project since her initial publication dealing with the Priory of France.31

Such works tend to be either regionally based or constructed from specific incidents, like inquests, visitations, and chapters general, which leave in their wake paper trails of varying size and usefulness. Such studies are often unable to generalize beyond the incident or documents which form the basis of the study because the incidents which spawned them were unique, and their very singularity prohibited the drawing of such conclusions.32 They are nonetheless important building blocks in the larger reconstruction of Hospitaller and European history. Other such studies present even other difficulties. August Chaissang's edition of the Cartulaire of Velay33 publishes only select, what he deals only with the Priory of France, itself admittedly a fairly large administrative unit. Documents concerning other priories are currently under preparation; see in particular the case of Vaticana latina 10732, which concerns the Priory of Urbs and Pisa from 1334.


32Beaucage, however, has attempted to do so in his article "Feudalism in Crisis: The Devastation of the Possessions of the Hospitallers in Provence," Reading Medieval Studies vol 7, 1981, pp. 89-100.

33August Chassaing, Cartulaire des Hospitaliers (Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem) du Velay (Paris, 1888).
might refer to as 'representative,' documents, and the archives from which such works are drawn likely contain many more materials relevant to Hospitaller history which he did not see fit to print.

This small army of historians has pursued the Knights on a regional basis, and the school most closely associated with such studies is of course that of the Annales. Annals and annaliste-trained historians in particular have investigated the Hospital in the West on a regional basis, and the marxism inherent in some of their works is patent. One of the great faults of such studies, though, is the isolation within which they sometimes treat Hospitaller affairs; however splintered or inefficient it may have been, the Hospitallers nonetheless possessed a centralized structure of authority which cannot be ignored. One of Luttrell's main critiques of Delaville's *Naillac* was that it "sometimes treated matters at Rhodes too much in isolation," ignoring "individual brethren and preceptories [which] demand further research." While producing valuable studies and bringing to light much-needed information, the trend of Annaliste research has shunted matters in the exact

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34They are largely, but not exclusively, French. See, for instance, the collection of Hospitaller documents gathered by Johanna Maria van Winter, *Sources Concerning the Hospitallers in the Netherlands, 14th to 18th Centuries* (Leiden, 1997).

35Luttrell, "Introduction" to *Naillac*, p. iii.
opposite direction. As sound Annalistes, they study the houses and properties of the Order within a local context over a period of years, seeing the Hospitallers largely as corporate managers and landlords rather than as 'athletes of Christ' and bulwarks against 'the Turk,' the images which predominate much of the literature written by still others.37

The present study is an attempt to synthesize much current secondary research as well as to bring to light new information concerning unedited material from the Hospitallers' central archives. Its focus is largely upon the Knights of St John and their procedures and internal affairs. Yet the Hospital was very much a part of European society and affairs as well, and as such the study will invariably touch upon larger issues of the fourteenth century -- the use and role of records in the centralization of authority, relations between the Avignon Papacy, secular authority, and the episcopacy, and late medieval piety -- and hopefully provide new angles from which historians may consider such topics as well.

36 The notable exception here is LeGras, who displays a marked familiarity with the Order's central archives in her study of the Papal Inquest of 1373.

37 For instance, Desmond Seward's The Monks of War, Elizabeth Schimmerhorn's On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross, and E.J. King's various histories of the Order and its English Priory. King must have been familiar with the Order's Maltese archives, but his critical apparatus often lacked rigor and specificity; see below, Chapter Five, p. 155, n. 118.
Chapter Two
Hospitaller History and Models of Governance

The Hospitallers had a history which preceded the period of this study by some two centuries, and a preliminary narrative and synoptical history of the Knights of the Hospital of St John is helpful. The crusading movement provides a necessary but insufficient context for any discussion of the Knights Hospitaller. As they long outlived the 'crusade era,' so too did the Hospitallers have an existence which preceded the advent of armed European pilgrims to the Holy City.

In spite of the claims of their foundation myths to the contrary the Hospitallers' origins rest with an Amalfitan lay fraternity in Jerusalem, organized in the 1080s to care for those visiting the Holy Places associated with the birth and life of Jesus; it was one of two foundations dependant upon a larger convent at St. Mary of the Latins, itself founded some time in the mid-eleventh century. One of these dependant houses claimed St. John -- whether originally the Almoner or the Baptist is still an issue of debate, but later Hospitallers most

\[\text{The standard accounts are those of Delaville le Roulx and Jonathan Riley-Smith. Recently published but unavailable for the writing of this dissertation: Dominic Selwood,} \text{Knights of the Cloister} \text{ (Boydell, 1999), although it admittedly concerns itself with southern France. Numerous other works of varying quality exist, but must usually be treated with caution. Anthony Luttrell has also found it necessary to elaborate upon the Order's background in a variety of articles; one of the more useful ones appears in Volume III of the Wisconsin Crusade series, Chapter VIII, pp. 278-313.}\]

\[\text{On this topic, see below, Chapter Seven, pp. 197 ff.}\]
assuredly believed it to have been the latter — as its patron saint, and it was this house which would evolve gradually into the military religious order known as the Knights of the Hospital St. John of Jerusalem, or simply the Hospitallers.

This association gained status as a full-fledged and independent religious order only in 1113 with the papal bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis*; even before that date, however, the house received gifts and grants from secular lords and pilgrims in both the West and the Holy Land. The western context is easily overlooked by those who see the rise of this association only in relation to crusading; in the same period a spate of religious associations in Europe also achieved status as exempt orders, the Carthusians and Cistercians being the most noteworthy among them. These Hospitallers accepted pious grants and donations from Christians in the West, where they also began to found new houses for the purposes of maintaining their charitable duties in Palestine.

While Riley-Smith is currently trying to prove otherwise, most historians accept that the Order did not begin any serious attempts at militarization until the mid-twelfth century; most place the transition under the magistracy of

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3 Traditionally, some historians describe the Cistercian temperament as 'martial and aggressive,' thus reflecting the 'crusade context' of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Constance Berman continues her work on Cistercian foundations (below, pp. 188-190) in a forthcoming study of the origins of the Cistercians entitled *Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in the Twelfth Century* (University of Pennsylvania Press, forthcoming). I draw my synopsis of its thesis from the on-line Anglo-Norman Newsletter of the Haskins Society.

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Raymond DuPuy, the second master of the order, whom the historical record shows as a skilled administrator, negotiator, and diplomat during a rather lengthy tenure (1122-c. 1160). Historians have marshaled a variety of evidence to support or refute given dates for militarization, most significantly the granting to the Order of frontier castles and fortifications in the West and the East, yet such grants may have been made for the sake of administration; the Hospitallers provided a continual source of men experienced at maintaining such structures, even if they did not provide an actual force of combatants and garrisons in this period. In more general terms, the Order was not a military one before Raymond's magistracy, but by the time he was dead, it had acquired many characteristics of a military-religious order.

In any case the most direct evidence of their militarization comes with the events surrounding the rise and success of the Kurd Saladin in the mid-twelfth century. The Hospitallers gave important counsel before the Battle of Mont Gisard (1177), and they played a leading advisory role in the confused affairs of the Latin armies leading to the Battle of Hattin (1187); had their advice been followed, in fact, events might not have turned as poorly as they did for the Latin armies on the Horns of Hattin, a defeat which ultimately proved to be a

4Popularly the enigmatic will of Alfonso I "the battler" of Aragon, in which he granted a third of his kingdom to the Hospital and the Temple, is seen as evidence thereof; on the will see Chapter Six, below. Similarly, Riley-Smith employs the granting of Bethgibelin -- an important military outpost used to contain the port of Ascalon -- as evidence in favor of early militarization (52). Historians of monasticism tend to follow Riley-Smith; see C.H. Lawrence's section of the Hospitallers in his Medieval Monasticism, pp. 211, 215.

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critical juncture in both crusade ideology and in the maintenance of a large Western Christian settled population in Palestine. Saladin's orders that all Hospitaller and Templar prisoners were to be executed on the spot provides solid assurance that the Hospitallers had been involved in the military affairs of the crusader kingdoms, and involved to a degree which made them easily identifiable as a threat. Indeed, Saladin was apparently only following the custom of his uncle Nur al-Din by executing all captured Templars and Hospitallers. Riley-Smith also admits that the direct evidence for militarization only appears in later twelfth century charters, which begin to make specific references to Hospitaller military activity, and the statutes of the Order, which by the 1180s begin to mention brethren at arms and to portray their function as an extension of eleemosynary activity; from the care of the sick associated with their original hospice, the Hospitallers extended the purview of their responsibilities to include the care and maintenance of pilgrim routes by military means.

The transition had not passed unopposed. In the 1160s, Master Gilbert D'Assailly backed a disastrous attempt to secure Fatamid Egypt by conquering it before it could fall to Nur al-Din. The plans provoked a major offensive by Nur

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5See the collections of articles in Crusade and Settlement (Cardiff, edited by Peter Edbury, 1985), and The Horns of Hattin (Variorum, edited by Benjamin Kedar, 1992).

6Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 75

7Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 51.
al-Din in northern Syria, and by 1164 he had captured two princes of the realm and sapped many of the Hospitallers' resources. In the wake of the military defeat, factions of the Hospital arose to voice their objection to their Order's increasing militarization. Such objections eventually fell by the wayside, and by the 1180s the Hospitallers had reached levels of power in the Crusader Kingdoms which established them even more firmly as territorial rivals to their military brethren-at-arms, the Templars. The rivalry manifested itself in many ways, and in the twelfth century appears most vividly in the series of diplomatic intrigues which led to the Battle of Hattin; during the negotiations the Temple and Hospital split into two clearly identifiable camps, the former in support of Guy of Lusignan and the latter in support of Raymond of Tripoli, whose unheeded conservative counsel would likely have prevented the defeat of the Christian army near Tiberias in 1187.

As crushing as they were, the defeat at Hattin and subsequent loss of Jerusalem by the Latins did little to check the growth and expansion of the Hospitallers. As recent historians have argued, the real period of the 'institutionalization' of the crusade did not come until the thirteenth century; the same period witnessed the real rise of the Hospitallers as a military-religious order as well. They continued their duties of counsel, served on the Haut Cour

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6 Riley-Smith, KSJ, 72.

9 See Tyerman, Invention of the Crusades, and Riley-Smith, "A Personal View."
of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and became intertwined in the various constitutional struggles of what remained of the Crusader Kingdoms in the thirteenth century. Their struggles with the Templars became more pronounced as time went on as well, particularly in the north. Each order willingly allied with various groups of Turks in the region in raids made against properties of the other order, and in Acre brethren apparently openly brawled in the streets.\textsuperscript{10}

When Frederick II laid his claims to the ‘throne’ and authority of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, he received the support of the Hospitallers; the Templars backed a baronial faction which resisted Frederick’s claims. Yet while Hospitaller and Templar undoubtably scuffled, our sources for such affairs, the clerical hierarchy of the Frankish ecclesiastical establishment, must be used with caution. By the end of the twelfth century, both orders possessed their own priests, churches, and lucrative tax exemptions, all of which set them against the clerical establishment of the crusader kingdoms. Lesser incidents also strained relations between the secular clergy and the military orders; in 1153 the Hospitallers infuriated the patriarch of Jerusalem by ringing their own church bells so loudly.

\textsuperscript{10}The struggle originated in a dispute between the Venetians and Genoese over monastic properties in Acre and developed into the War of St Sabas, in which the Templars aligned themselves with the Venetians and the Hospitallers with the Genoese; Mayer notes, however, that “Most of the fighting was done by the Italians and by the fleets which were sent out by their home ports;” Mayer, \textit{Crusades}, pp. 273-274.
that he was not able to preach his sermon on the hill of Calvary; they later apparently turned the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre into an archery range.\textsuperscript{11}

Their presence in crusading armies was ever more conspicuous in the thirteenth century. By dint of their corporate discipline, the Hospitallers and Templars could generally be found at the van or rear of crusader armies, an attempt to use their own discipline to maintain the integrity of an entire company. The Hospital also acquired, either by grant or purchase, a series of strongholds administered from Acre but spread throughout Palestine; most were in the north, particularly in and around the Principality of Antioch. Riley-Smith estimates that at one point or another during this period the Hospital commanded fifty-six fortresses in Palestine and Syria, although the totals at any given point were subject to fluctuations; on the eve of the Battle of Gaza in 1244, they held twenty-nine strongholds of varying size and importance.\textsuperscript{12} In many cases, their occupation of such places naturally involved their fulfillment of seigneurial and juridical duties as well.

Their greatest fortification, the massive Krak de Chevaliers, held out only briefly against the assaults of Baybars in 1271; the Hospitallers treated for its surrender after a relatively short one-month siege. They held on to Margat, their administrative center in the north, for another decade and a half, until

\textsuperscript{11}Hans Mayer, \textit{The Crusades} (Oxford, 1988, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition), p. 173. The story is undocumented, but likely is drawn from William of Tyre's \textit{Ecclesiastical History}.

\textsuperscript{12}Riley-Smith, \textit{KSJ}, p. 136.
Hospitaller violation of a truce prompted Baybars to lay siege to it as well in 1285. The most important city in the north, Tripoli, fell in four years, and 1291 ushered in the expulsion of the Hospitallers and most other Christian forces from Palestine. The Hospitallers relocated their headquarters to Limassol on Cyprus, itself ruled since 1191 by the Lusignan, and found a more permanent home at Rhodes by 1310.

Like most Aegean islands, Rhodes nominally fell under the jurisdiction of the Byzantine Paleologi in the fourteenth century; their authority in the Aegean was no more real than it was in mainland Greece, which in the fourteenth century was fragmented amongst Greeks, Turks, and the partisans of both the house of Anjou and the house of Aragon. The Rhodians, in fact, maintained the defense of some of their island's strongholds by means of Turkish garrisons. In 1306 the Hospitallers, under Fulk of Villaret, led a joint venture with Vignolo Vignoli to seize the island of Rhodes. The expedition almost destroyed the Hospital, but good fortune led to its seizure of a Genoese ship in Famagusta; the ship's Rhodian captain eventually treated for the surrender of the city of Rhodes, a major step in the process of Hospitaller subjugation of the entire island. By 1310 they began consolidating their legal, mercantile, and religious authority on the island, where they would remain until 1522, when the advances of

13 Most of this narrative is derived from Luttrell, “The Hospitallers at Rhodes,” (1978,1).
Suleyman the Magnificent drove them about the northern Mediterranean until they settled more permanently at Malta in 1530.

The history of the Hospital's internal structures resembles in many ways the histories of other large orders. The life and character of one or two central figures usually dominate the early years, and while later accretions may cloud, exaggerate, or even formalize their personalities, some kernel of truth generally underlay the zeal, industry, and piety ascribed to such figures. Most eventually achieved beatification and sainthood; the obvious examples abound: St Francis, St Dominic, St Ignatius. Another general pattern also emerges in the early development of religious orders; within the first century or so of their foundation, some experience a form of 'growing pain' as the order decides what its corporate mission, and in some cases theology, will be, a process which can be problematic in orders founded largely on the force of the personality of one or two founders. Francis was hardly dead before his followers nearly ripped themselves apart over the meaning of his message, and as the disagreement became intertwined with thirteenth century strains of chialism, the arguments continued to cause rifts within the Order.14

The Hospital had no early figures with the dynamism or personality of Francis, but nonetheless experienced similar early divisions. In the case of the Hospital, neither of the key figures in their early history ever achieved sainthood, although one earned the status of Blessed. Both, however, seem to have dominated Hospitaller affairs over the wishes or will of a Chapter General or Central Convent. The first master of the Order is known popularly as the Blessed Gerard. An apocryphal story relates that when the crusaders attacked Jerusalem in 1099, the city's Saracen masters forced Gerard to throw stones at those besieging the city; instead of stones he threw bread, and when the Saracens accused Gerard of treachery and threw him into jail, the loaves miraculously turned to stones, sparing Gerard a traitor's fate.

The second master, Raymond DuPuy, came to power by constitutional means, following the method of election – that is, election by professed brethren


16 This incredible inversion of the usual miracle stories involving food or water, where useless things are transformed or multiplied into life-sustaining ones, appears in the Miracles of the Hospital: Gyraldus vero, custos Hospitialis Jerusalem, serviens infirmis et pauperibus, c intendie panes in gremio super muros civitatis Jerusalem deferens, ad exercitum christianorum, more lapidum, projiciebat, ut hiis panibus alernetur, et hoc bis, vel ter, vel quater, in die facere consuevit; quapropter [a]servientibus, qui muros civitatis custodiebant, apud soldanum est accusatus. Tunc Soldanus praecipit eis qui eum accusarunt, quod ipsum, cum pane, quem in exercitum christianorum projiceret, ad se adducerent, ut sic si vera narrasent posset experiri. Porro Gyraldus una dierum, ut solitus fuerat, positis in gremio panibus, venit super muros civitatis, et cum panes christianis projiceret, Sarraceni, qui illic absconditi latebant, apprehendentes eum, duxerunt as soldanum, panibus in gremio existentibus. Et cum panes soldano putarent ostendere, voluntate Dei, non panes sed lapides invenerunt... This version is drawn from the Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux (Tome v; Paris 1895), p. 409.
only — laid out in the bull *Pie postulatio voluntatis*. Raymond had the character of an administrator, and the Rule he gave his Order bore his name for centuries thereafter. During his reign the Order took on an increasingly military character, and he is generally credited with the militarization of the Hospital, if any one figure can be so closely and singularly linked to a process of which we know so very little.

The dominance of these first two figures, and the implication of a later series of records - the *Chronicorum defunctorum magistrorum* - belies the fact that Hospitaller government quickly became complex. I will explore the issues surrounding the sources of authority in the Order below, but a survey of the theoretical structures of Hospitaller organization is both possible and useful at this stage.

The basic administrative unit of the Hospitaller organization was the Commandery, a term for which the Hospitallers used house (*domus*), bailli, or preceptory somewhat interchangeably. They served as organizing units for various estates, properties, and juridical rights in a given area, usually housed multiple brethren, varied in size and wealth, and were almost innumerable; with a few exceptions, Priors nominated and appointed commanders under their

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17Riley-Smith, *KSJ*, p. 43.

18In the Priory of France alone, for instance, an area which is centered on Paris but stretches west to Brittany and north-east to modern day Belgium, Legras notes the existence of approximately 190 commanderies from the records of the 1373 Inquest; pp. 466-467.
jurisdictions. Hospitaller houses were filiated, rather like the Cistercian system of organization. Most commanderies fell under the immediate jurisdiction of a Priory, which numbered around sixteen or so in the fourteenth century. By the fifteenth century the various Priories would themselves be organized into larger administrative units, called langues or tongues, which corresponded roughly to modern day nations of England, Spain, Italy, France, and Germany; evidence of this exists in the arrangement by which certain high offices of the Order were seen as the domain of particular langues.19 Such a process was slow, and while evidence of its development exists in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,20 such administrative distinctions are really only useful for later periods.

Houses in the West supported the Order's various activities in the East through the payment of yearly dues, known as responsions (responsiones). Upon being granted to brethren, commanderies were bound to a specific annual sum payment; they collected such funds through several means, including direct exploitation of the land, collection of rents and dues, or the levies of justice. Commanderies sent their responsions to their priors, who sent the monies to southern France and Italy, whence they travelled to the East.21 In theory, the

19Delaville, Terre Sainte, p. 309.


21Exceptions to this system exist, and will be noted below.
Chapter General, a gathering of the important groups of Hospitallers, nominated and exercised direct control over some commanders and all priors, while the priors alone often apparently appointed most commanders under their authority. In practice, such grants could take a number of forms, some of which subverted this overall hierarchy of authority. The Master possessed some properties which he granted as he saw fit, and he usually took over some houses which became vacant when the Chapter General was not in session; the Chapter General usually acquiesced to his nominations for these posts once it came into session, which happened with varying frequency in Hospitaller history.

The Chapter General constituted the supreme legislative body within the order, and theoretically all authority sprang from it. It met irregularly, though, resulting in a degree of flexibility for the Master, and attempts to regularize the convening of the Chapter General usually failed. The Chapter General consisted of the priors from the West and the Central Convent, that is, all brethren living in the Hospitaller headquarters. Usually held at the Order's headquarters, the Chapter General could nonetheless legally be held at any location where brethren were bound to a single superior; between 1310 and 1355, two Chapters General were held not at Rhodes, but at Montpellier.

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22 For a more detailed discussion of the constituency and composition of General Chapter, see Chapter Four below, pp. 82-86.


24 Riley-Smith, *KSJ*, p. 286.
The Central Convent consisted of all the brethren living at the Hospitaller headquarters; first in Jerusalem, then Acre, then Limassol, and in our period, Rhodes. Amongst these brethren were the Conventual Bailliffs of the Order, officers which included the Marshal, the Hospitaller, the Drapier, the Turcoplier, the Treasurer, and later the Admiral, all of whom were generally elected by Chapter. As Chapters General usually convened at Rhodes, the Central Convent assumed a powerful role in the Order's administration. Ideally, the Hospitaller cursus honorum included years spent in the East performing 'active service' before one could be assigned as a prior in the West, although this system was clearly open to abuse, as ambitious brethren served as little time as possible in the East in order to gain preferment to profitable Western properties. Indeed, the very language with which some Hospitaller correspondence refers to time spent in the East may be indicative of a more general dislike of time spent there. Requests for promotion to Western properties often note that a particular brother is worthy of such a promotion, as he has literally sweated for a great duration in the East.

\[\text{Luttrell, "Emmanuele Piloti and criticism of the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1306-1444" (1978, XXIV), p. 11, n 14.}\]

\[\text{Innocent VI, #1751 (5 October 1355) Master Peter Corneillan sought the houses of Genoa and Sahonensen vacated by the death of John Biandrante in the Priory of Lombardy, for one Fr Antony Spinulis de Lutulo, qui in partibus transmarinis longo tempore insudavit. The language is that of the editors, who tend to synopsize documents rather than transcribe them in entirety for the purposes of calendering as much of the correspondence as possible. Yet the same verb, insudo, is used to describe other brethren's traumatic experiences in the East, and must have some foundation in the actual text.}\]

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In the midst of all this stood the Master. Over time a series of laudatory ‘chronicles’ concerning the careers of the Masters arose; the *Chronica defunctorum magistrorum* lent a finished veneer not simply to the Masters themselves, but also to the Magistracy. *Pie postulatio* prescribed the means by which the Master was to be elected; the brethren were to choose one of their own, unhindered and uninfluenced by outsiders. Such external intervention was inevitable, however, and in the fourteenth century would occur again and again, usually at the hands of the papacy. Delaville has argued that in actual fact the Master exercised enormous power -- beyond even that which the statutes granted him -- largely due to the infrequency with which Chapters General met; 

27 curiously, he also noted that the Master’s power was “more theoretical than real,” and that his powers of appointment served as little other than a ‘rubber stamp’ on decisions already reached by Chapter. On the eve of the fourteenth century the Hospitallers tried to amend the method of magisterial election with little success; 28 Luttrell has rightfully warned against imposing the models built by Delaville and Riley-Smith on the fourteenth century, as their sources tended to be limited to earlier documentation. 29 Riley-Smith, Alan Forey, and Delaville le Roulx all have varying theories about the nature of the relationship of these


29 Luttrell, (1982, I), p. 244; see also p. 11 n 10.
last three bodies during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although all agree that crises frequently arose concerning the extent and abuse of authority amongst them. One of the goals of this work is to explore such conflicts after 1310, the year at which all of the aforementioned historians dropped their treatment of the issue. A theoretical and highly simplified schemata of the Hospital's ruling structure might resemble the graph below.

The immediate goal of the rest of this section is to offer a descriptive analysis of the *Libri bullarum magistrorum*, perhaps the broadest source of documents for Hospitaller history available for the later middle ages, and in so doing to glean what we may from it with regards to the issue of internal authority, which will be considered more fully in the next section. A number of
loose magisterial bullae exist in the Hospitaller archives; thorough examination of those documents will occur in Chapter Three. The focus, however, is on the Libri not simply as individual records, but as a whole body of documents, the compilation and structure of which have been discussed only cursorily by most historians of the Hospitallers.
Chapter Three
The Libri bullarum magistrorum: Composition and History

Overestimating the value of administrative records is difficult to do; their importance is of inestimable value, not simply to historians, but to their holders as well. A hallmark of the early stages of the French Revolution was the furious attempt to burn the archives of local châteaux and religious houses in an effort to destroy all tangible traces of legal and juridical rights and jurisdiction, and in so doing to reduce all property matters to the reality of de facto possession. In the seventeenth century, the Bollandist Daniel Papebroch undermined the authority of a whole class of monastic charters concerning Benedictine houses in St. Denis and Corbie by means of a mere note in the introduction to the April series of the Acta Sanctorum; to resuscitate the validity of the documents, and with it the status of the houses, Jean Mabillon produced his magisterial De re diplomatica, the first truly comprehensive study of diplomatics, and a work unsurpassed for nearly two centuries.

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1G. Lefebvre, The French Revolution (Routledge, 1964) Vol 1, p. 171. In August of 1792, the records of the Priory of France, held in the Tower of the Temple for almost half a century at that stage, were thrown “pell-mell” into a roofless corridor of the Tower in order to accommodate new guests - the royal family. Felix Ratison, Rapport au ministre sur les archives et la bibliotheque (Paris, 1862), pp. 304-305, 352, 358, 360, as cited in LeGras, op. Cit., p. 246.

2Amazingly, Papebroch requested Mabillon take him as a student after the Diplomatica appeared; see Dom David Knowles, Great Historical Enterprises (Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1962), pp. 47-49. Coincidentally, the April series of the Acta also undermined Carmelite traditions concerning their foundations, thus sparking a prolonged attack upon the volume that invariably became intertwined with other
The Hospitallers too knew the value of the paper trail. In sixteenth century Switzerland, some Hospitaller houses managed to survive as Catholic institutions in newly reformed cantons like Basle by absconding with all the administrative records of properties pertaining to the house, properties which often straddled the authority of more than one canton; the Hospitallers later returned to negotiate from a position of power, since only they knew the traditional rents, dues, and obligations incumbent upon those properties. This was a lesson the Hospitallers had learned well before the sixteenth century. Related to these issues is the attempt by the Hospitallers to create a centralized set of records in the fourteenth century, records eventually known as the *Libri bullarum magistrorum*.

**Modern Scholars and the *Libri bullarum***

The introduction to Lambert Larking's brief study of the 1338 Inquest of the English Priory provides a useful and in some ways comic introduction to the *Libri bullarum*. Although the centerpiece of his study was a manuscript on Malta dealing specifically with English hospitallers, no system of controversial issues of the day, notably Jesuit attitudes towards the nature of grace. When the May volume of the series offered a critique of past papal elections, the volume was placed on the Index; see Knowles, *op. cit.*, pp 14-16.


cataloging existed at the time, and Larking referred to his document as “Extant.” Nonetheless, during his stay at the Maltese Library in Valletta, Larking encountered the *Libri bullarum*, which he described in his introduction:

Besides this “Extant,” there were in the library about twenty volumes in manuscript, quarto, entitled “Bulls.” They appeared to be a registry of letters missive from the Grand Masters, relating to the government of the different preceptories in Europe, appointments of priors and other officers, grants and exchanges of lands, settlements of disputes, rebukes for misconduct, &c. They commence with the year 1346, but most of them are in a hand of between two and three centuries later, irregularly made and written in a most slovenly and illegible character. A very small portion of them relate to England. They were very uninviting, and having only a few weeks at my command, after transcribing about a dozen of them, I reserved the rest for the chances of future investigation, and applied myself to the task of transcribing the “Extant.”

Later Larking recounted a plea for assistance to the curator of the Hospitaller archives at Malta, lodged by a colleague:

Dr Vella is as much in want of an able assistant, whom he can instruct in his duties, as those who visit him are in want of a printed catalogue of the two or three thousand manuscripts which are placed under his charge. If the former were given the latter would come.

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5 More than twenty volumes exist, and most are contemporary copies written in this period in fourteenth and fifteenth century batarda – although at times they are every bit as uninviting as Larking would have us believe.

6 Here Larking almost assuredly refers to twelve entries, or letters missive, rather than to twelve years' worth of business; although the *libri* themselves generally contain well over 250 folia, each years' business runs to about 100 or so complete folia, and large gaps exist between prorial records, ostensibly for later insertions and additions.

7 Larking, p. vi.

8 Larking, p. x.
Since 1858, some catalogs of the Knights' Archives have appeared, although descriptions of the section known as the *Libri bullarum* have only occasionally been described with more accuracy and detail than that offered by Larking.

Twentieth century medieval historians, and medieval crusade historians in particular, have in many ways sat as dwarves upon the shoulders of their nineteenth century predecessors. Legal and constitutional sources bearing upon the histories of the medieval equivalents of modern states have been edited, reviewed, and in many cases, printed. Some such pursuits were the result of a mild nationalism which compelled scholars to uncover their 'national' pasts and make available to others their 'national' resources. Whatever their inspiration, many such collections are now widely available for scholarly use. The great compilations of crusade charters, grants, and legal proceedings offer historians the chance to navigate swiftly the record and narrative of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The fruits of such labors rarely extend into the fourteenth century; many crusade historians guided their studies by the assumption that the value of crusade documentation expired with the end what they perceived to be the conclusion of the crusade movement proper. In spite of this – perhaps as a result of it – an enormous amount of what may be called

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9. The various Rolls series for England, the financial records of the Kingdom of France available in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and the two volume *Registres du Tresor des Chartres* (edited by Fawtier and Guerot, Paris, 1954-66) and various studies of similar sources in Iberia, many of which appear in the *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo de la corona de Aragon*, still being added to today.

10. On the limitations of this metaphor, see Chapter One, pp. 14-16.
crusade documentation exists for the fourteenth century, although little enough of it has been edited. The Hospitaller central archives offer one such font for the later middle ages. A few historians have analyzed them for the fourteenth century, and recently work has begun on one of the least known periods of Hospitaller history, the fifteenth century. Delaville's Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes included the series of pièces justificatives common to French scholarship of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the corpus of Luttrell's works has ultimately produced a collection of useful appendices and exempla of Hospitaller documentation. Both historians founded their studies of the later history of the Hospital to an extent upon the Hospitaller Libri bullarum magistrorum, which, beyond their labors, remain still largely untapped as an historical source for both Hospitaller and Mediterranean history. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Hospitaller statutes made several appeals for the maintenance of records by the Order's various administrative units in the West. In 1262, the

Chapter General ordered priors to keep registers of the values and limitations of property within their jurisdictions; individual commanders received copies of those sections of these registers relevant to their own commanderies within the Priory. This likely required, in most situations, that the commanders first send reports to their priors, which may have caused its own problems. In 1334, one Peter Lambert refused to disclose his responson payments and was ordered to report to John of Riparia. In 1330, Chapter General decreed that Western Priories should maintain two registers with the value of the goods and lands they administered; the central convent at Rhodes was privy to one of these registers. Although such a measure would have produced an almost over-bearing amount of documentation at Rhodes, the Chapter issued it as a recordia, a type of temporary legislation within the Order, and as such we cannot be certain of the duration for which it expected such records to be maintained. Little evidence

12 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p.362.

13 John XXII, Communes, 62955 (5 April 1334); see below, p.134, n. 42.

14 Charles L. Tipton, “The 1330 Chapter General of the Knights Hospitallers at Montpellier,” Traditio (1968) no 24, p. 306:

Item. Recorde est et comande en chapitre general que chascun prieur ou bailliz fait pour chapitre general doie faire ii registres de la value de toutes les baillies de tout son prieure tant du chief comme des membres chascun per sol des quels registres soient mander lun outre mer au maistre et au convent et lautre doie remorer et garder en luers prieures.

The same ruling appears in the statutes of Vaticana Latina 3136, fol 73v:

Item recorde est e comande en chapitre general quechasun prieur ou bailli par chapitre general doie faire registres de la value de toutes les baillies de tout son prieur tan dou chief com de membres tnon eement Chasun par ssoi desquels registres doivent mander lur otramer au maistre e lautre doient guarder les priours en lures prioures.
remains of these registers, and discerning whether or not officers in the West heeded the directive is difficult.

For a variety of reasons, the same period witnessed an attempt by the Hospitallers to bring a new sense of direction to their efforts at centralized record-keeping. The flight from Acre cost the Hospital both men and records, and while both were 'replaceable,' restoration of the latter often opened the door to the temptation to create forgeries. Similarly, the moral element of the attack notwithstanding, the suppression of the Templars (1308-1312) made the Hospital aware that the maintenance of clear and well-defined privileges, rights, and grants was one of the only sure safeguards against legal assaults. The conquest of Rhodes by 1310 created a unique set of circumstances for the Hospitallers; the central convent and government of the Hospital enjoyed a relatively autonomous existence on the island, in a region where very little other centralized authority existed. Legal entanglements were generally left to commanders and priors in the West, whose records are much more concerned with the minutiae of specific parcels of land within the commanderies and

\[15\] The various motivations for Philip's attack on the Temple, originally discussed in Malcom Barber's *Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978), have recently been reconsidered in "The Trial of the Templars revisited," in MO 2, p. 329-42. Amongst the charges levied were accusations of sodomy, blasphemy, and devil worship, all three categories likely were exaggerated, as was often the case in similar trials. Accusations of sexual misconduct haunted the Hospital for most of its history, particularly in the fourteenth century; see Chapters Five and Seven. For the latest data on the proceedings against the Temple, see Anne Gilmour-Bryson's *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus* (Leiden, 1998).
In this respect, the central government delegated a great deal of authority to its ‘men on the spot,’ allowing them a measure of latitude, and commensurate responsibility, to safeguard and augment the Order’s possessions; such responsibilities are manifest in inventories and inquest documents, which afford us some glimpse of the legal and clerical fees accrued in the name of preserving the Order’s ‘heritage.’ Western priors and commanders retained their own procurators and advocates, but under unique circumstances, such as the absorption of Templar properties in the fourteenth century, the central government could appoint a single brother or a panel of brethren as Visitor to oversee and administer the internal affairs of houses in the West. Albert of Schwarzburg and Leonard Tiberti both served as Visitors of Western houses with extensive powers to negotiate with Western monarchs and to assimilate former Templar properties in the 1320s and 1330s. By and large, however, the central government of the Hospital left Western houses to their own affairs. As a result, individual commanderies and priories often possess the most detailed legal and administrative records. In spite of this state of affairs, a

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17 See, for instance, LeGras, p. 311.

18 In England they maintained brethren and advocates at the King’s Bench; see Chapter Five, p. 154.

19 Delaville, Naillac, pp. 32-33; see also the case of Isnard duBar, Chapter Five, pp. 142-44.
recognition of the need to bring order to central business manifested itself in the fourteenth century with the creation of an official chancellor. Within this period the *Libri bullarum* appear as well.

Hospital statutes in the first four decades of the fourteenth century make no reference to the creation of centrally organized records, but in the fourteenth century the Hospitallers undertook a new enterprise, the collection of a variety of administrative records into a single book, known as the *Liber bullarum magistrorum*, or book of magisterial bulls. These records, as well as other contemporary Hospitaller documents, make clear the extent to which the Hospital, like other Western European governments in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, depended increasingly upon the services of notaries. While the *Libri* themselves have no public or legal force, and therefore would not have required the services of a public notary, they often incidentally name notaries, who, by virtue of their dealings and relations with the Hospital, appear as *familiarii* or *socii*. With or without a chancellor present, the central government of the Hospital constructed a series of registers which shed light on a variety of areas relevant to Hospitaller government and administration. In

\[\text{\footnotesize {\textsuperscript{20}}Even formal, original magisterial bulla rarely included the signi of notaries public; see Luttrell, "Notes on the Chancery of the Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1314-1332,"(1978, XV), p. 416.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize {\textsuperscript{21}}NLM, Archive 316, fol 14v-15 Deodat Fabri; f 19; 143, Peter Berengar; 55, Peter Boyson; Archive 318, f 217, among others. I am currently collating information relevant to notaries employed by the Hospital in Archives 316 through 320.}\]
any case, the benefit of such records regarding Western affairs became more obvious over time, and by the 1370s, Masters maintained them with more care and diligence; from 1381 to 1525, the *Libri* proceed with more continuity, providing a series of records unique in many ways for the time, and important not simply to the history of the Hospital, but also to the Mediterranean and the West as well.

As an historical source, the Hospitaller *Libri bullarum* share at least one trait with the *Cartulaire Generale*; both are poorly named, although in the latter case Delaville is the culprit.22 The *Libri* are indeed books, but the extent to which they contain magisterial bullae is debatable. While Delaville and Luttrell both referred to documents deriving from this section of the Knights' archives as having emanated from the *Libri bullarum*, a modern cataloger, Joseph Galea, seems the popularizer of the term *Libri bullarum magistrorum*, for this is how he referred to them when notifying scholars that they were as yet unidentified and uncatalogued.23 Indeed, his heading refers as well to a variety of documents, ranging in date from 1346 to 1798, and not all strictly contained within the *Libri*; under Galea's section V, one finds as well the proceedings of

22 In the sense most ecclesiastical historians would understand the term, Delaville's *Cartulaire* is not truly a cartulary. Delaville's method of composition imparted upon it the impression of a cartulary, but the collection, while valuable, suffers from a few limitations. See Theresa Vann, "Hospitaller Record Keeping and Archival Practices," *MO2*, pp. 275-287.

council minutes and a few indices. Referring to the documents included in this section of the Knights' archives as bulls is problematic for a variety of reasons, but common usage and a general understanding of the archives' contents ultimately does not mitigate against referring to them as the Libri bullarum magistrorum. This chapter will describe the early history of the Libri as reconstructed from both their contents and from other external contemporary evidence. As such, this section and its accompanying appendices, will not simply provide evidence for the purposes of this dissertation, but hopefully also a resource for future scholarly navigation of the Libri bullarum.

The Administrative and Historical Context of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

In a very broad sense one may construe the Libri bullarum as a tool of central government in an age of increasing secular centralization in the West. Using a variety of evidence, including extent number of letters registered and amount of wax used, M.T. Clanchy has argued convincingly that the scope and amount of business handled by England's monarchs vastly increased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries -- even accounting for several factors, including the general population increase for the period. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries bore witness to the increased volume of administrative,

\[2^4\]Below, pp. 59-61.

financial, and judicial records, which themselves reflect the centralizing
tendencies of many Western monarchies. Indeed, speaking of Peter IV of
Aragon (1336-1387), Thomas Bisson noted that “His vision of an expanding
crown found clear expression in the multiplying registers of his chancery.”
Their unique position at Rhodes after 1310 transformed the Hospitallers into a
type of corporate monarchy on the island. While the Hospital faced difficulties
similar to those faced by western monarchs, it also encountered problems in
degrees unknown by their secular counterparts.
Hospitaller ‘subjects,’ brethren who administered property in the West, could theoretically be
expected to remain loyal and not alienate property with the ease and regularity
of their secular counterparts. Yet the Hospital was, ecclesiastical exemptions
notwithstanding, more likely to run into jurisdicntual difficulties, as its

26 See, for instance, Bernard Guenenee States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe
Blackwell, English translation by Julie Vale, 1985), pp. 126-29, and specifically
on the Kingdom of Valencia, R.I. Burns, Diplomatarium (Princeton, 1985), Chapters
Three, Six, and Eight. The corpus of works by Joseph Strayer is the greatest proponent
of these ideas, although they must be employed with caution; see, for instance,
Antony Black’s critique of ‘statism’ in Strayer’s On the Medieval Origins of the Modern
For a more fanciful and creative critique of Strayer and his thought, see Norman
Cantor, Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, works, and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of
the Twentieth Century (New York, 1991), Chapter Seven.


28 For purposes of comparison, in 1330 the Hospitallers had a theoretical yearly
income – in the form of responsions paid to the central convent – of about 80,000
florins; John XXII could expect about 228,000, Edward III about 546,000, and Robert
of Naples around 600,000; totals drawn from James E. Nisbet, “Treasury Records of
the Knights of St John in Rhodes,” Melita Historica, 1957, pp. 98-99.
'subjects' resided within the legal and administrative jurisdictions of other political authorities, a problem compounded by the diverse international membership of the Order. The extent to which this parallel disintegrates or remains intact is moot; the Hospital had needs which resembled those of secular authorities in the West, and could reasonably be expected to respond to those needs in a similar fashion – in this case, the response being the production of registers which could serve a variety of functions.

The nature and use of the Rolls in English history and law, for instance, is well known; by this stage they were already subdivided several times over. In his discussion of the archives of Jaume I of Valencia, Robert Burns points to three reasons historians argue secular authorities created and used registers: they afforded rulers a 'broad sweep' of the affairs of their realm; they could be used for the authentification, verification, and reconstruction of lost charters and grants; they established a record of administrative precedent.29 With regards to the registers of Jaume, Father Burns eliminates the second of these possibilities, the verification of lost charters and grants, as based on an argument ab silencio. Unfortunately, we possess even less evidence with regards to Hospitaller affairs, although the first and third of Burns' rationales could apply to the needs of the Hospital, if only by reasonable deduction. This dissertation accepts the premise that the Libri are a centralizing tool; what it

29Burns, Notararium, 49-52.
will examine in more detail is the composition of that central government and how its components -- the Master and the Central Convent -- functioned with relation to one another and with brethren in the West. At this point the form, function, and use of the Libri require some inspection.

**Inception of the Libri bullarum**

Administrative tools, however well-conceived they may be, do not always gain immediate acceptance; in England, Henry I initiated the use of the Pipe Roll in 1130, yet the continuous stream of records emanating from the Pipe Rolls does not begin until some quarter century later, under Henry II. At a fundamental level, the Libri bullarum are a series of copy books containing information relevant to a variety of the Order’s business, possibly of uneven use by the Order in the early fourteenth century. They form a continuous stream only after 1381; until that date, only entries for the years 1346, 1347, 1351, 1358, 1365, 1374, and 1378 exist, and they are the records with which this study is most concerned. One possibility for the gaps -- not only between the first five Libri, but also between 1310 and the year of the first extant Liber -- is that the records for the missing years were either destroyed before the 1522

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30 Chapter Four, pp. 83-117.

siege of Rhodes, or were themselves casualties of the siege, being destroyed or simply lost during the siege and evacuation of the island.\footnote{Luttrell, “The Hospitallers’ Early Written Records,” p. 20, in The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton. (edited by John France and William G. Zajac, Ashgate, 1998).}

Reconstruction of the Libri bullarum’s history is a difficult affair. While some central legislation dictated that western houses maintain multiple copies of their own records,\footnote{See above, p.44.} no such mandate exists for the central government of the order with regards to the Libri. The earliest transactions recorded within the Libri date to 1346. Structurally, however, some of the early books contain records concerning business of several years, suggesting a less than wholehearted attempt to maintain the records, as scribes and compilers gathered what records they could and fused them together in a single compendium.\footnote{This may be a function of dislocation as well, as they bound loose registers into the most current liber.} The documents held in Archive 316 concern affairs for the years 1346, 1347, 1357, and 1358; the Liber of Archive 317 contains records dealing with the year 1347, and Archive 318 is concerned with the business of 1351. The structure of Archive 316 grants some speculation, namely that in the last year with which it was concerned 1358, the loose records of its earlier entries -- 1346, 1347, and 1357 -- were recorded as well into a single
In 316, the general structure of the records remains intact, and the documents concerning 1346 almost all deal with the Priory of St Gilles; within St Gilles' section, the Liber of 316 jumps from 1346 to 1358, the year with which the rest of this particular Liber's records are concerned. A Liber begun in 1346 may have been continued at a later date, but this seems unlikely, as the overall structure of the records remains intact. The later division of the books into archival sections -- 316, 317, 318, 319, 320 -- has little bearing on the structure of the individual Libri; as such the Libri of Archives 317 and 318 likely precede that of 316 in terms of initial construction, but the Liber of 316 appears first, since in 1358 scribes collated records not only from 1358, but also many records pertinent to the Priory of St. Gilles from 1346, 1347, and 1357 as well. The records from 1346 are few enough (forty-seven entries over

35They may also have been gathered into the quirings of an existing liber after the successive losses of documents during the flight from Rhodes, but this raises still other questions. These issues may be solved with codicological investigations, but both Delaville and Luttrell doubtless performed such studies and made no mention of them with regards to this particular issue. The hands in the early folia, those relevant to the year 1346, of Archive 316 resemble those of most of the rest of the Liber, and one may occasionally glimpse snatches of standard formulae and a few recognizable names; the first folia are severely damaged, and only the upper inside portion of each fly remains attached to the spine. The text which survives is quite legible, more so than even those folia for 1346 which exist in their entirety.

36This system post dates Delaville's work in the Maltese archives. His notes refer to 316 through 320 as Sections I through V respectively, and so on for the rest of the Libri bullarum. By the time Luttrell began his research and publication -- see for instance, "Actividades Economicas de los Hospitalarios de Rodas en el Mediterraneo Occidental durante el Siglo XIV" (1978, VII, originally published 1958) -- the Arabic numeration was in place.

37The primary recipient of the early documents is William of Reillaine, Prior of St Gilles in the 1340s.
ten folia) to be of much use in any comparative study; most have sustained
damage of some sort or another, and those which survive are badly faded.
Discerning the reasons for the Libri bullarum’s creation is not so difficult as
determining why they were produced so sporadically in the fifties, sixties, and
seventies. Moreover, the only evidence for anything resembling a formulary
for the Libri does not appear until the 1360s. While we cannot account for
the accidents of historical survival, fifty years is rather an extended period
before a formulary appears to assist in the use and copying of the Libri.

Luttrell marshals some compelling evidence to argue that the Libri begin
with the conquest of Rhodes. Later documents state that the statutes of 1311
could be found in quibusdam cartularijs registriis cancellarie Rhodij, which
suggests the existence of both a chancellery and set of registers. Using a
Chancery inventory from 1447, Luttrell speculates that the Hospitaller Chancery
produced about one volume of documents per year between 1310 and the
compilation of the inventory, which totaled about one hundred thirty-five
volumes. The inventory, however, lacks any useful specificity; it tallies one
hundred two registers, in addition to six books of diverse things, twenty-four

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38 Luttrell, “Early Written Records,” n. 78. The codex resides in Barcelona, Arxu

somewhat confusing. It occurs in “a document of 1321” in NLM Archive 355 (1440-
1441), fol 243-243v, presumably as a copy of an older document.
old books of diverse things, two new registers, and one formulary.⁴⁰ We cannot know how many of the one hundred thirty-five volumes were, in fact, Magisterial registers; that the inventory makes distinctions among these five types of volumes may reasonably lead us to believe that not all were Magisterial registers. Counting simply the first one hundred two volumes of the inventory, we could argue that those records were magisterial bullae, giving us a series of records which date back to about 1346, the first year for which we possess records in a Liber. Even this theory is problematic, as it also requires the loss of large, random sections of the Archives, namely those records dealing with the years 1348-1350, 1352-1357, 1359-1364, 1366-1373, and 1375-1378. The possibility exists, however marginal, that the registers only begin in or around 1346.

Apparently working with less evidence than Luttrell, specifically the inventory of 1447, Delaville asserted that the records began in 1346 and accepted the lacunae between then and 1381 as not considerable; his brief account implies in fact that some thirty-five volumes of Magisterial bullae were

⁴⁰I draw these descriptions from Luttrell, “Early Written Records,” p. 20, where he refers to “102 books or registers plus six other books of ‘diversarum rerum,’ 24 ‘libri veteres’ of ‘diversarum rerum,’ and two new registers and a ‘formularium foris.’” Some of these registers may be associated with the documents requested by the central government from the priors in the 1330s; see above, p. 45. I hope to take a closer look at their source, NLM Archive 359, fol 96v (itself brought to the attention of Luttrell by Dr Sarowsky).
never written, not that they were written and then lost.\textsuperscript{41} Both accounts are plausible, and conclusive evidence on this matter may prove as elusive as the so-called 'Templar Archives.'\textsuperscript{42} We know a Hospitaller chancery existed in the early fourteenth century, yet we also know that it was an erratic institution. Believing that the \textit{Libri} should have been any less erratic may be equally problematic; did the Hospital not keep centralized registers at Cyprus\textsuperscript{43} or in Palestine? Whence came the idea in 1310 for the establishment of a centralized register?

While the Chancery certainly registered documents and magisterial 
\textit{bullae} before 1345, we have no specific reference that it registered them into the \textit{Libri bullarum}. Equally frustrating, few opportunities exist to compare extant original bullae with their corresponding entries into the \textit{Libri bullarum}.\textsuperscript{44}

\textsuperscript{41}Delaville, \textit{Les Archives}, p. 43: "Le série des registres des bulles des grands maitres commence en 1346; depuis 1527, elle n'a subi aucune perte; les lacunes sont donc antérieures à cette époque et ne sont pas considérables; un registre, quelquefois deux, manquent, surtout au commencement de la série, au quatorzième siècle; plus tard, elles deviennent de plus en plus rares."

\textsuperscript{42}Malcolm Barber, \textit{The New Knighthood} (Cambridge, 1996), p. 311 ff, where he argues, based on the publications of Rudolph Heistand, that the 'Templar archives,' of which very limited evidence exists otherwise, were left at Cyprus and destroyed when the Turks overran the island in 1571.

\textsuperscript{43}By Barber's account, the Hospitallers' Cypriot records somehow failed to make it from Cyprus to Rhodes, and were thus destroyed with the larger Templar archive. That no archival evidence of the Hospitaller residence at Cyprus exists is true, but that the Hospital, especially in light of what happened to the Temple in 1312, failed to transport their Cypriot documents to Rhodes for over two hundred years seems fantastic.

\textsuperscript{44}According to Luttrell, one of the few instances in which he was able to compare an original with a registered document (NLM, Archive 16, no 12, with
Although one would expect that a Chancellor would head the affairs and organization of the Chancery, the existence of which predated that of the Chancellor himself, one finds rather that he served as the official secretary to the Master of the Order, and for much of the first third of the 1300s, the Masters were not at Rhodes but in the West. Luttrell even notes that there are no personalities or names associated with the office between about 1330 and 1360;\(^4\)\(^5\) a chancellor more concerned with the affairs of the Order as a whole and the direct administration of the chancery than with the affairs of the Master appears only in the fifteenth century. Loose magisterial bullae, as well as other Hospitaller documentation emanating from the chancery, suffered from a variety of organizational difficulties, including the failure to employ a single

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system of dating documents. One of the extant registers ignores the structure of the previous Libri altogether, and another contains business relevant to several years, but only with regards to the Priory of France. The evidence is suggestive, but in no way conclusive, of a somewhat halfhearted attempt at maintaining effective and well-organized centralized records.

Form and Function

Describing the types of business with which the Libri dealt is an easier affair. The Libri took various forms of business and gathered them together in a single volume, usually for one but sometimes for several years, ostensibly for ease of later reference. Most entries note that the magisterial seal had been appended, but none of them contain a seal or the remnants associated with the past presence of a seal. The Libri are, in the end, copy books. They deal with a wide variety of business, and their entries contain a host of information relevant to international diplomatic affairs, the organization of passagii to the

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46Only during Villanova's stay in Europe (1319-1337) do documents date by an indiction as well by the year of the Incarnation; Ibid., p. 413.

47NLM, Archive 320.

48NLM, Archive 316.

49In this instance, subjecting the documents to a codicological survey - which cannot be performed from microfilm copies - will be illuminating.

50Nostra bulla plumbea appensa est....
east, and a great many internal affairs. A great many of the entries, however, deal with the internal transfer of property. For each year, the records of the Libri begin with those documents which correspond to the current Master’s priory of origin. For example Archive 317, containing records for the year 1347, during which Deodat of Goson was Master, begins with the Priory of St Gilles, of which Deodat had been Prior in the years directly preceding his election as Master. The remaining priories fall largely into divisions which resemble the later and larger Langues, or national groupings of the priories; first those priories associated with France (Toulouse, Auvergne, France, Aquitaine, Campania), then those associated with Spain (Catalonia, Amposte, Portugal), then England and Italy. Within those larger groupings priories and castellanies fluctuate from year to year, appearing in no particular order within that general structure. After these Prioral sections the Libri

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51 Unfortunately the letters for Innocent remain incompletely calendred. The letter of Innocent VI to Archbishop Urso of Crete involves the Knights and Kings of Cyprus as well. Although series of letters relevant to the papacy of Innocent runs to four tomes, the final fascicule of the fourth tome does not include documents relevant to 1358. In *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusade*, Housley mentions the Venetian Archbishop, but he does not mention Urso’s correspondence for the year of 1358. Supporting Venetian documents contemporary to the letter exist in *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* (1300-1454). Setton’s monumental *The Papacy and the Levant* makes no mention of it, an understandable occurrence in a work of that scope. Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Lusignan 1198-1374* (Cambridge, 1991) does not mention it either. I have transcribed the missive in Appendix Four below. The planning and execution of passegii to the east often appear as well; for the business relevant to the passage of Napoleon Tiberti and Isnard du Bar in 1358 see NLM, Archive 316, fol. 23, 93, 142-142v, 178, 201v-202, 235-236, 243v (o.p.). Disciplinary cases appear as well; for the fate of an alleged sodomite, see Archive 317, fol 211 ff.

52 Hospitaller documents refer to Aragon as Amposte.
usually contain sections with the contemporary labels *Partes Transmarine* (dealing with properties in the east, generally houses on Cyprus), *Terrarum* (generally dealing with the sale of vineyards and gardens on and around Rhodes and its neighboring islands), *Assignatione pecuniarum* (a type of rudimentary account book), *Libertatae* (exemptions and immunities granted at Rhodes, often the manumission of Greek slaves), and sometimes *Receptio confratrum*. Of these, the last is the least common in our period, and it would never enjoy the regularity or thoroughness associated with the other final sections.53 Archive 320 is unique among the early books and does not follow this pattern; it contains no prioral sections and leaves no gaps for future additions or insertions. Instead, it serves as an itinerary of the trip of Robert Juilly through the West in 1374. Several documents contained therein bear reference to this fact, composed in Avignon and then in various port cities about the northern Mediterranean; occasionally documents were drawn up within the Master’s galley.54 Otherwise the Knights generally compiled the *Libri* within this general framework.

A few types of business recur quite often in the *Libri*, including the sale of lands and gardens in and about Rhodes, the granting of various licences for travel, the creation of brethren in the order, and even the manumission of

53 Chapter Six, p. 185.

54 NLM, Archive 320, fol 60v: *datis in galea nostra in portu de belle fra[] die tertia novembris anno predicto [ 1374]*
slaves in and around Rhodes.\footnote{On slavery, see Luttrell, “Slavery at Rhodes: 1306-1440,” (1982, VI).} Certain sections of the \textit{Libri bullarum}, those dealing with sale of properties on Rhodes, bear more resemblance to charters; they list the tax due on such property, and give fairly specific and detailed descriptions of parcels thus sold.\footnote{For one exemplum, see Luttrell, “Feudal Tenure and Latin Colonization at Rhodes: 1306-1415 (1978, III, Appendix II), below, in Appendix II.A.1.} Those dealing with Western houses, however, are less specific in their delineation of properties than they are in defining the rights and duties commensurate with stewardship of those properties. Licences for travel could be general or specific in their terms, but the records of the \textit{Libri} make it quite clear that travel by brethren over great distances always required the permission of the Order’s central government, not simply one’s immediate superior. Occasionally licences creating brethren afford them the chance to travel to the convent, either at a specified date or at their will; they also refer to some brethren quite plainly as immobile, and place others in specific houses with no directives for travel.\footnote{Appendix I, § 17} Some apparently found this restrictive, so much so that they pursued appeals for transfers all the way to the Holy See.\footnote{Bonet-Donato has suggested that this is a primary example of magisterial efforts to centralize their authority; Donato, p. 119 For the papal licence, see \textit{Clement V}, 10036 (18 July 1313) : \textit{Dilecto filio fratri Fulconi de Villareto magistro hospitalis sancti Johannis Ierosolimatan. Dudum fratrem Martinum Petri de Ros tunc priorem hospitalis sancti Johannis Ierosolimitan. Messanen. Suis demeritis exigentibus ad presentium nostram personaliter}
The creation of brethren is an area over which the central government slowly tried to assume more control after the thirteenth century. In the late 1200s, Hospitaller legislation forbade the creation of brother knights without the permission of the Master; in some areas, no brethren could be created without such a licence.\textsuperscript{59} In 1344, legislation enacted under Helion de Villanova went further by prohibiting the reception of donats without similar licences.\textsuperscript{60} The \textit{Libri bullarum} contain a wealth of such licences pertinent to the

\begin{flushright}
\textit{fecimus evocari et demum ipsum ad sedem apostolicam accedentem ab administratione prioratus eiusdem duximus amovendum volentes, quod ad huiusmodi prioratus seuquamcunque aliam administrationem hospitalis eiusdem nunquam admitteretur in posterum absque nostra licencia specialis ed tanquam unus de simplicibus eiusdem hospitalis fratribus viveret sub habitu regulari. Et licet dicto fratri Martino, quod in eodem prioratu Messan. Sub simplicitate huiusmodi moraretur, iniungi fecerimus et ei per dilectum filium fratem magnum preceptorum hospitalis eiusdem in partibus cismarinis expresse mandari, nunc tamen ex certis causis providimus, quod ad aliquam domum hospitalis eiusdem Burdegalen. diocesis sub simplicitate moraturus eadem usque ad nostre voluntatis beneplactum transferatur. Quare volumus et discretioni tue per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus eundem fratrem Martinum ad aliquam domum hospitalis eiusdem dicte Burdegalen. diocesis ibidem, ut predictitur, moraturum quibuslibet postpositis occasione et dilatatione transmittus rescriptus nobis per litteras tuas harum seriem continentem, quicquid in premissis duxeris faciendum.}
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{59}Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 231.

\textsuperscript{60} Vat. lat. 3136, fol 83, #lxxv

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Item car molts priors e commandours se son souven complaynts de tant grans carreches de fratres e de donats que las cassas nols poden suportar per co es stablite comandat en virtut de sancta obedientia que daci avant fratre o donat no sia fet en nostra mayso si no en loch deffallent del cert nombre ordenat e ordonador en los baillies en la manera ques tsegunt Et adonchs non sens tcongiet Del maistre es tstantialt Que cuscun prior o bailliu per capitol general en son tprovincialt Capitol ab o consiell des prodommes faca tprimit Certa e veradera informacion de las facultats e valua delas baillias del priorat o baillia a el recomandada per capitol general e de a ordenar en cuscun segons lur poder e facultats cert nombres des fratres e de donats la qual ordenacio cuscun prior e bailliu deia mandar al maistre e al convent tdisn Ayn ab lo nombre de tots los fratres e donats que son en tots les baillies dels priorats o dela baillia a el recomandada per capitol general e si alguna baillia o baillies ultru lo dit cert nombre segons lur valua sien}
\end{flushright}

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reception of individual brethren of all ranks and a variety of social classes. Occasionally 'blanket licences,' which allowed for the creation of multiple, unspecified brethren appear in the registers, but they generally also stress the exceptional nature of the licence. In general these records display the Order's

molt mes cvarregades que alcunes autres dels dits fratres o donats que sien descarregats e mudats a les autres baillies que non son tantr carregades o la en serran necessaris totes vets volem quel stabliment fet a Rodas per nos maistre e convent las m ccc xcv a xxviii iors de septembar lo qual deffen que null prior no face fratres ne donats sens special congent del maiystre salvanmt si fratres cappellanos de ffalien en algunes ecclesies o cappelles a necessitat romagna en sa vigor e que en autre manera fara o presumira defer perda labit.

Item fratre ne donat non sia fee sens licenda)

...sino que primerament ∞naia† Fecha consciencia et reverencia a son priour et ãgeneralit de ia nomenar lo fratrem o donat que vol fer a fin que lo prior se puxa informar de la condicion de la persona et si es sufficient o no lo frater o donat que deu esset recebut et qui contra faca perda labit

See also Pierre Comeillan (fol lxxxxii, # ix)

Item con sia establir per M Elio que negun prior ni altre frater non facem fratres ne donats sens special conget del M et nos M et convent sia donat a entendre que lo dit establiment en alguna partida no nes gardat es recordat et manat in virtut de sancta obediencia que lo dit establiment sia tenguut de tot non obstant lestabliment sia tenguut de tot non obstant lestabliment sia tenguut de tot non obstant lestabliment de M Johan de Vilers usatge o custuma observada en conventu....

NLM, 316, fol 230v-231 (o.p.); 228v-229 (n.p.)(6 September 1358):

Frater Rogerius de Pinibus etc. Religioso in christo nobis carrissimo fratri Gallo de lembench domus eiusdem priori Boemie presenti et successive futuris out quocumque alio titulo dicti prioratus regamini Presidenti salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem pro parte vestra nobis suplicato ut faciendi fratres necessarios in dicto prioratu vobis generalem licencia concedere dignaremur Quia licenda huiusmodi adeo generalis non est alicui consueta concedi nec consuetudinem novam introducem in nostra religione talem videm velut istam expediat alicumque Vota vestra prout decentur possimus volentes prosequi graciose quem quandocumquem et quotiens cumquem duas fratres mori continga in dicto prioratu et eius aliqua baiulia seu baiulii tociens loco duorum fratrum huiusmodi defunctorum fratrem unum militem vel servientem aptum et idoeum ac integrum membrii sui possitis facere solepiner ut est moris et es in baiulia seu baiulii in qua seu quibus dictos duas fratres vel ipsorum alterum contigent decedere stagiom assignare in qua sibi provideri in suis neccessariis faciatis secundum bonos usus et laudabilis consuetudines domus nostre vobis tenore presencium licencia elargimur Inhibentes vobis hac serie sub virtute sacte obencie firmiter et doistricte non aliter quam in forma huiusmodi vobis data

NLM, 316, fol 230v-231 (o.p.); 228v-229 (n.p.)(6 September 1358):

Frater Rogerius de Pinibus etc. Religioso in christo nobis carrissimo fratri Gallo de lembench domus eiusdem priori Boemie presenti et successive futuris out quocumque alio titulo dicti prioratus regamini Presidenti salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem pro parte vestra nobis suplicato ut faciendi fratres necessarios in dicto prioratu vobis generalem licencia concedere dignaremur Quia licenda huiusmodi adeo generalis non est alicui consueta concedi nec consuetudinem novam introducem in nostra religione talem videm velut istam expediat alicumque Vota vestra prout decentur possimus volentes prosequi graciose quem quandocumquem et quotiens cumquem duas fratres mori continga in dicto prioratu et eius aliqua baiulia seu baiulii tociens loco duorum fratrum huiusmodi defunctorum fratrem unum militem vel servientem aptum et idoeum ac integrum membrii sui possitis facere solepiner ut est moris et es in baiulia seu baiulii in qua seu quibus dictos duas fratres vel ipsorum alterum contigent decedere stagiom assignare in qua sibi provideri in suis neccessariis faciatis secundum bonos usus et laudabilis consuetudines domus nostre vobis tenore presencium licencia elargimur Inhibentes vobis hac serie sub virtute sacte obencie firmiter et doistricte non aliter quam in forma huiusmodi vobis data

61NLM, 316, fol 230v-231 (o.p.); 228v-229 (n.p.)(6 September 1358):
concern that brother knights be of sufficiently acceptable parentage on both sides; in a record of 1381, a very un-Latin description of the Order's requirements appears -- knights must be of a parentage which is thoro legitimio. These are perhaps early manifestations of Hospitaller pre-occupation with the nobility of their brother knights, a pre-occupation which accelerated more rapidly in the 1400s. Some regional archives contain a series of proofs of nobility which date to the early fifteenth century, and the central archives of the Order hold a relatively untapped bank of proofs of nobility,

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62 Appendix I, § 18.
mostly Italian and generally dating from the late fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{63} Otherwise, the records contained within deal largely, but not exclusively, with the transfer of property.

The death of a prior, for instance, often involved the transfer of a great many brethren, sometimes not exclusively from within that priory, particularly if that prior held several commanderies as camerae or commanderies of grace. The death of William of Malleo in 1358 offers an example.

Perhaps out of habit, the first missive for the Priory of France in 1358, dated 4 June, a note about the upcoming passage to Rhodes, bears an address to William of Malleo, Prior of the Priory of France. A few letters later, though, one Fr John, knight, received the bailli of Laigni le Set, “vacated by the death of William of Malleo.”\textsuperscript{64} Similarly, Henry of St Trudone received the commanderies of Cambrai and Hainault, themselves apparently previously under Malleo’s jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{65} John of Nanteuil, then Prior of Aquitaine, began

\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{63}] Inventaire Sommaire des Archives Departementales anterieures a 1790, Archives Ecclesiastiques, Serie H, Tome I, nos 1-417, Ordre de Malta, Bulles, Privileges, Actes Capitulaires; Documents d’interet general pour le Grand Prieure de Toulouse (compiled by M.F. Pasquier, Toulouse, 1927), p. 135-140. The uncatalogued Section XV of the Malta Archives contains a series of proofs, running to about 4300 mss; see Vann, op. cit, p. 282.
\item[\textsuperscript{64}] NLM, Archive 316, fol 94v-95(o.p.) (24 Jan 1358): \textit{Religionis decor morum honestas et alia virtutu...effectus administrationis provide vos utilem faciente...exhibebit baiuliam sive domum de Laigni le Set prioratus nostri Francie per morte quondam fratris guillermi de malleo prioris dicti prioratus vacantem presencialiter et propterea ad dispocationem nostram devoluntam....}
\item[\textsuperscript{65}] NLM, Archive 316, fol. 96v (95v n.p.) (24 Jan 1358): \textit{...effectus administrationis provide vos utilem faciente domus exhibebit quia ante}
\end{itemize}

67

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his tenure as the new Prior of the Priory of France, absorbing most of Malleo's
prioral camerae as well.\textsuperscript{66} John of Duyson became the new Prior of Aquitaine,
and Reginald of Nanteuil, a Capitular Baillif of the Order and already in
possession of several properties, absorbed some baillis surrendered by Duyson
upon his promotion;\textsuperscript{67} Reginald surrendered some of his properties, we may
assume those of lesser value.\textsuperscript{68} The shifting of properties and commanders in
such situations bore some resemblance to the retirement of senior faculty in
some academic departments - everyone scrambled to get prime territory. The
magisterial bullae, though, could here serve useful functions. In some cases
they hand over property to brethren while making note of very specific parcels
of land that do not accompany the grant, parcels which remain or revert to the
authority of the Master, perhaps preventing squatting by lesser brethren. On a

\begin{quote}
cavationem prioratus nostri Francie per obitum quondam fratris guillermi de malleo
preceptorie de Cambressis prioratus eiusdem...et retinuerimus in nostram cameram et loco
eius...et ea propter preceptoria predictam de Cambressis et de Hanaut cum omnibus
membris eius...
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{66}\textsuperscript{NLM, Archive 316, fol. 99v-100 (o.p.) (29 January 1358):
The Priory of France, and all of its appurtenances, assigned at a yearly responsion
tresdecima milium florenum auri de florencia. This entry has heavy marginalia
throughout and was ultimately scratched out.

\textsuperscript{67}\textsuperscript{NLM, Archive 316, fol. 101 (o.p.); Reginald's promotion mentioned explicitly
again on 114v (n.p.); see also 106-106v, q.v below, Appendix II.B.7. Duyson's
promotion is mentioned again, in a missive in which the Master listed several
properties which he intended to reserve as camerae, fol 113 (o.p.).

\textsuperscript{68}\textsuperscript{NLM, Archive 316, fol. 104-104v (n.p.); the property known as the Bailli of
Fieiffes.}
fundamental level, they also simply helped maintain order in what could become complex situations; it should come as little surprise that several of the registers involved in the above transactions are scratched out, marked for deletion, or accompanied by heavy marginalia.

Generally, the Libri maintain a remarkably standard formula to deal with the internal transfer of commanderies. Prioral chapters usually nominated and assigned men to commanderies, and the Libri bullarum likely often reflect the ratification of such assignments by the Master and Central Convent. The loss of the registers concerning the years 1348 to 1349 is doubly frustrating, for we would expect that during those years the turnover of property within the Order would have been relatively greater than usual. Although monastic houses suffered during the plague, they tended to suffer less than their secular counterparts during the plague months; one suspects nonetheless that the turnover of property within the Order would therefore have been greater than usual. Such grants, as they appear in the Libri bullarum, usually break down into three general sections: prefatory remarks, the actual grant (naming the property and the length of tenure attached to the grant), and a series of legal clauses attached to the grant dealing with a variety of issues.

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69See Philip Zeigler, *The Black Death* (Harper, 1971) and on England, Colin Platt, *King Death* (Toronto, 1996). While some popular interpretations hold that monastic houses suffered less because of their seclusion, such was not always the case, and some European monasteries found themselves with greatly diminished numbers of brethren. In Santa Maria of Ribes the lone monk left in the wake of the plague apparently elected himself Abbot; see Bisson, op. cit., p. 165.
The prefatory remarks vary in length and style, retaining a degree of flexibility absent in the other two sections, which apparently followed strict formulae out of legal necessity. After a greeting from the Master and Convent, a few similarly formulaic remarks attest to the prospective Commander's worthiness, probity, and record of sound administration. Interestingly, the phrase *et nos conventus* sometimes appears as an insertion in the introductory clause, almost as an afterthought. Significantly, Donato argues that during his tenure as Master (1377-1399), Juan Fernandez de Heredia consciously and willingly omitted such references to the Convent. In some instances the prefatory remarks contain some mention of the death, promotion, or willing resignation of the property's former manager. In the records relevant to 1365, one finds even the prefatory remarks in highly abbreviated form, perhaps a suggestion of familiarity with the formulae not present in the early records of the *Libri*. Such abbreviation occurs in the other two sections as well, and will be discussed below.

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70 This part of the grant makes Van Winter's distinction between *commenda de gratia* and those earned by merit particularly frustrating; most grants in the *Libri bullarum* contain grants by the conferral of the special grace of the convent as well as some mention of the merits of the recipient. Chapter Four, pp. 99-100.

71 NLM, Archive 318, 31v.

72 Donato, *Orden*, p. 85.

73 NLM, Archive 319, fol 172v. Appendix II.B.21.
The formal grant generally occurs in the central part of such registers. After naming the parcel of property, the grant bound the prospective commander to it and all of its appurtenances and brethren. The grant also reminded him of his yearly obligation to pay responsions; while some entries note that portions of said responsions have been sequestered for specific purposes, such as galley maintenance, they rarely note the actual sum, as tradition or either provincial or prioral chapters had already done so. The length of time for which he will hold the property, assuming he does not impoverish or otherwise destroy it, varied from anywhere between five years and life, and statement of this term concludes the passage dealing with the formal grant.

A series of legal clauses follow the grant. They inform the recipient of most general obligations: he was to rule the property faithfully; all the brethren, sisters, and donats of the property and its dependencies were subject to his authority; the grant was an emphemetic grant, and no parcels of property were to be alienated without the licence of the master or convent; the central government reserved the right of removal. In the early years of the *Libri bullarum*, these clauses appear in full in most entries. Over time, however, they

74E.g. NLM, Archive 317, fol 10 (o.p.; 21, n.p.), Appendix II.B.10.

75Some entries in the *Libri* are blank, suggesting that negotiations concerning the commander's tenure may still have been in progress at that stage. See Appendix II.B. 4. Similarly, the conditions of some grants remained in dispute years after nomination; see Chapter Five.
are the section most subject to scribal abbreviation, although occasionally they contain very important notifications to the recipients of the grant, notices which are not a 'standard' part of the clauses.\textsuperscript{76}

With no statutory rationale for their creation, we are forced back upon speculation. These records differ in intent and usage from a charter strictly defined. Whereas charters shielded the Hospital from external legal attacks by defining the terms of ownership and often the geographic limits of properties, entries in the \textit{Libri} rarely achieve specificity greater than disclosing the popular name of a given property.\textsuperscript{77} The \textit{Libri bullarum} ideally provided an ongoing record of tenure and service for the purposes of internal organization and discipline. The uses of these records for the Hospitallers most likely correspond to the 'broad sweep' described by Fr. Burns, and afforded the Hospital the means by which it might maintain internal discipline, concerning matters as, for instance, pluralism.

Since the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers permitted what might be referred to as a system of legalized pluralism, under which a given brother might hold multiple commanderies, and in some cases priories, at a single time.\textsuperscript{78} This pluralism is manifest in the \textit{Libri bullarum}, and papal

\textsuperscript{76}Often they contained information about retentions and other privileges; see below, Chapter Four, pp. 103 ff.

\textsuperscript{77}NLM, Archive 316, fol 102 (o.p.); see Appendix II.B.6.

\textsuperscript{78}RS, \textit{KSJ}, 350-1.
correspondence even make special note of it when dealing with Hospitallers. In fact, the Holy See is less discriminating than the Order in this affair; when the papacy mentions most Hospitaller 'pluralists' after 1365, it simply refers to the properties as those which the brother legally holds as one, but the Hospitaller Livre Vert (and sometimes the Libri bullarum) is meticulous in listing houses with and without cures, and one gets the impression that the papal notification was for public display. In the fourteenth century some popes threatened to disband the Hospital if it did not clean house internally and reform itself of various offenses which darkened the name and reputation of the Order; Clement VI threatened to relieve the Hospital of former Templar properties in 1343, and Innocent VI ordered them to move their base from Rhodes to the Turkish mainland in 1354. Although the massive Papal Inquest of the Order in 1373 might be viewed in this context, it seems for the most part concerned with the internal financial affairs - rather than the moral affairs - of the Order. Juan Fernandez de Heredia, the most prolific and notable of such

79See below, Chapter Four, pp. 111-12.

80NLM, Archive 316, fol 222 (o.p.), where cum ecclesia parochiala appears as an otherwise heavily faded carot at the top of the folium, and no corresponding carot exists elsewhere in the text of the page. See also Archive 319, fol 172, with properties listed as cum ecclesia parochiala.


82Legras, Lutrell's "Introduction," p. 47. Again, this data pertains to the Priory of France only. Lutrell asserts that the episcopacy's handling of the verbal process for the inquest gave it a spiritual tenor that Gregory likely did not intend for the procedure.
pluralists, held the Priories of Castille and St Gilles, as well as the Castellany of Amposte in 1367, largely through papal influence in the internal affairs of the Order. In the fifties he held several lucrative posts. While few brethren were quite so favored, many administered several bailiwicks or commanderies at a time themselves. Although the Hospitaller brand of pluralism could be less pernicious than that often practiced by the secular clergy in the fourteenth century, it nonetheless came under fire internally; by 1367 the Hospitallers made an effort to curtail such pluralism, even to the extent of forcing some brethren to part with a few of their surplus commanderies. The extent to which this internal reform of the Hospitallers was inspired by Urban V's general attack on pluralism elsewhere in Christendom, through the bull Consueta (1366), is not known, although Delaville notes that Urban certainly approved of the maneuver. Since pluralism and its attendant evil absenteeism had both spiritual and financial dimensions, discerning which of the two posed the

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83 Delaville, Naillac, p. 164.

84 See below, Chapter Five, pp. 147-89.

85 See, however, Pantin's analysis of pluralism in England, where he argues that the 'typical' pluralist tended not to be a powerful magnate, holding several wealthy benefices at once, but rather men of relatively small means holding a few rather insignificant posts; The English Church in the Fourteenth Century (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 36-38. This interpretation still holds stock with more recent historians; see Scott Waugh, England in the Reign of Edward III (Cambridge, 1991 ), pp. 146-148.

86 Delaville, Naillac, pp. 163 ff.

87 Delaville, Naillac, p. 163.

88 No pun intended.
The gravest dilemma for the Order is difficult; dereliction in a cure of souls does deriving to the spiritual well-being of those it serves, and dereliction of duty in multiple lucrative commanderies or Priories of the Order could have destructive economic consequences for the Order and its pursuits. Inquest materials, and the Livre Vert compiled by the Hospitallers themselves, were very careful to report which commanderies came with chapels and the cure of souls, and such places generally had brother priests who fulfilled the necessary spiritual functions.89 With regards to public perception of the Order, an absentee commander would not likely influence the day to day running of hospices attached to Hospitaller domus in the West -that is, until he had, through maladministration, brought it to ruin; the grants are quite clear that such maladministration was the primary offense for which commanders could be relieved of their properties.90 Even if a house was a sinecure, if its state prohibited the proper granting of charity and hospitality, then the public image of the Hospital could nonetheless be damaged; some historians argue that the state of Hospitaller charity left much to be desired in the fourteenth century.91 Moreover, by leaving the house to ruin, commanders jeopardized not simply the

89See, for instance, LeGras, p. 269-70.

90The text of the grant clauses always state Et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dictis baiuliis [x] et illas ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsonum dicti priorati [x] hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem...

affairs of the Order, but also perhaps the spiritual desires and hopes of those who may have originally granted such properties to the Order. In any case, the *Libri bullarum*, which proceed with regularity only after the late 1370s, could be viewed as a means by which such pluralism might be kept on a leash, as they afforded the central government a record of which brethren held what properties over a period of years.

The formulae discussed above appear with regularity in the records associated with 1347 and beyond. Abbreviations of the formula may offer some clue about their use and the extent to which Hospitaller scribes became familiar with them over time. Most frequently abbreviated are the legal clauses at the end of the grant. When the actual grant is itself abbreviated, generally only one part of it is shortened, perhaps since the rest of the formula is in fact the most important part of the grant. Unfortunately, however, scribal abbreviations are arguably an untrustworthy barometer for tracking change in these sources. Many abbreviations, for instance, occur in the registers of Master Juan Fernandez de Heredia, whose organizational zeal often resulted in an increased volume of copy work, and in such a situation one expects a concomitant increase in the frequency of abbreviations as well. In the early 1400s, during the magistracy of Philibert de Naillac, the formulae were still in use, although only the legal clauses are found in highly abbreviated form.\(^9\) 2 By the same

\(^{92}\text{Appendix II.B.28.}

76
token, the records of Archive 356, drawn up in 1444 under Master Jean Lastic, often exhibit no abbreviations of these formulae at all. What does remain largely unchanged throughout this period, however, is the formula for grants themselves. It appears nearly unchanged in documents spanning at least a century, and is even employed in the itinerant business of Robert of Juilly, records drawn up largely while he tended to affairs in the West and was away from the central convent and Chancery.

To a degree, this formulary stability outstrips even that of the papacy. The fourteenth century was 'the age of Registers at the Curia;' the first regulations concerning standardized formulae appear under John XXII, and the dominant formulary for papal affairs held sway for about a century thereafter. While moot, the analogy is nonetheless useful, for the papacy, in terms of the scope and extent of its business, provided the only real model for Hospitaller chancery practices in the fourteenth century. As stable as the papacy's formulary was, the Hospitaller formulae would enjoy an even lengthier life.

93 NLM, Archive 356, see Appendix II.B.29.
94 NLM, Archive 320, see Appendix II.B.24.
95 Barraclough, 123-4; 91.
96 The volume of papal business vastly exceeds that of Hospitaller affairs. Both were international organizations, and thus faced similar difficulties, but papal concerns were even more tied to external affairs and legal structures, and as such its formulae were perhaps more subject to change than those of the Hospital. See Barraclough, 90. Luttrell believes that something like a formulary for the Libri bullarum; see above, n. 38.

77
This institutional continuity exists even further back in Hospitaller records, and elements of the grants which appear in the *Libri* also appear in earlier grants and Magisterial bullae. In 1308, Fulk of Villaret granted certain properties within the Priory of Auvergne to Jordan of Villaret in a grant which resembles in sense and, often in actual formula, the land grants of the *Libri bullarum*.97 Similarly, in a loose Magisterial bull of 1337, Helion de Villanova granted the domus of Nemaus and granges of Generaco and Luco to Peter Planteri, using a formula which very closely approximates that of the *Libri*.98 The legal formula at the end of internal property grants in the *Libri* appear, with a few changes, in those loose *bullae* of the 1330s at which I have been able to look.99 They bear resemblance as well to the internal grants of the *Libri* made on the island of Rhodes in the early 1300s.100 A few grants copied and confirmed by Clement V in 1311 and 1310 display some textual affinities with similar grants in the *Libri* although in sense they remain largely the same.101 Similarly, the registers of John XXII hold several documents concerning the collation of Hospitaller properties which may be of use in a comparative

97 *Cartulaire General*, #4801. See Appendix II.A.2

98 NLM, Archive 16, #26. See Appendix II.B.3

99 See Appendix II.A.1, NLM Archive 16, #28.

100 See note, above, Appendix II.A.1

101 Appendix II.A.5 and II.A.6, #s 6504, 5677. Admittedly, one of these is a grant of Hospitaller property to a secular lord, a practice employed with some regularity by the Hospital - see Riley-Smith, *KSJ*, p. 351.
While there may not have been a chancellor to direct a chancery for much of the fourteenth century, the stability and continuity of their documents may lead us to believe that a chancery which handled both the loose bullae discussed as well as the early construction of the Libri bullarum existed.

Conclusions

The preceding reconstruction is to a degree speculative. What emerges from an institutional standpoint, however, is an organization struggling to achieve some level of stability for itself. Any organization with nearly a millennium of history assumes a patina of stability by virtue of that history. That the Hospital struggled to maintain such equilibrium is not surprising; that they mandated the methods discussed as late as they did, is. A sixty year gap between legislation which demanded the maintenance of Prioral and local records and legislation which called for copies of similar registers to be sent to the central government is lengthy indeed, and the temptation to toy with counter-factual arguments is great; would the Hospital have enacted the legislation of the 1330s if the Temple had not fallen and vastly increased the legal and administrative complexity of their situation? We can never know.

The relationship between the Master and the various sectors of Hospitaller government faced a number of challenges in the fourteenth century, and the

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102 Unfortunately, the method of publication for the common letters of John prevents this; Mollat often gave only brief synopses of the longer registers in the Vatican Archives. See John XXII, communes, # 25741 (confirmation of a thirty year grant made by Villanova) and 58432 (confirmation of grant made at Chapter General)
maintenance of detailed records was one way of keeping affairs in order. A repository of centralized records, especially of magisterial bulls and briefs, was one tool the Hospital could employ to keep informed about the sort and number of men accepted as brethren into the Order in the West, and it could also help the Order to keep track of the length, terms, and conditions of internal property grants. Such a record would not have been as thoroughgoing as an inquest per se, but inquests represented a huge financial outlay, the likes of which the Hospitallers seem rarely willing to have made. In England, Edward III subsidized the Inquest into their poverty, and when the call for Gregory’s inquest came in, the Hospital, for a variety of other reasons as well, resisted; in fact they took the effort to draw up their own account of the state of affairs, a document known as the *Livre vert*, or Green Book. As Riley Smith has noted, the conditions under which property could be held from the Hospital varied greatly by the thirteenth century; by that time one of the more striking forms was the Commandery of Grace. The next chapter analyzes the relationship between the Master and the Chapter General, both through the


104 The pictures painted by the *Livre vert* and the formal episcopal inquest do not seem terribly different. A brief survey of houses in the Dioceses of Amiens, Beauvais, and Liege, for instance, shows that expenditures and income generally were reckoned quite closely in both sets of records.

practice of Magisterial retention of men, goods, rights, and properties, and through the sequestering of land from the Priories in the West through the granting of Commanderies of Grace.
Chapter Four

At the Hand of the Master: Property and Authority

The institutional structure of the Hospital of St John is a topic as debatable as the structure of any other medieval organization, as outward appearance sometimes belies reality, and what would seem an easy question of description becomes a point of contention. This chapter briefly recounts the nature and history of Hospitaller organizational structures from the Order's early days until the Rhodian period, at which point it considers the division, balance, and relative locus of authority within the Hospital in the fourteenth century. In some ways, the Hospital seems very much like northern Italian city-states of the trecento; it was an oligarchy which nonetheless could slip into near unrestrained monarchy.

The Knights of St. John and the Twelfth Century Context

Most exempt regular orders maintained their own hierarchies of authority, upon which the Papacy theoretically sat. With the advent of the Cistercian brand of monasticism in the twelfth century, new spiritual and institutional trends transformed Benedictine monasticism in a number of ways, although modern historians have often exaggerated the differences between Cluniac and Cistercian varieties of monasticism. The desire to maintain internal discipline and liturgical standards led to the creation of a series of

houses with filiated structures of command, wherein daughter houses depended upon mother houses in varying degrees for visitations, supervision, and sometimes the election of abbots - a step removed from what one historian has called Cluniac Imperialism.\textsuperscript{2} Perhaps more importantly, Cistercian houses also sent brethren to a General Chapter, which gave the 'new' monasticism an international character; one historian has noted that what began as an autocracy became over time a viable system of representation.\textsuperscript{3} Although the Friars eventually honed these structures towards something that resembled a system of representation unparalleled in medieval European administrative history, Cîteaux is most famed for initially employing these innovations.\textsuperscript{4} It was within this early context that Hospitaller structures originated and developed, and basic features of twelfth century Cistercian monasticism appear in the Order of St. John, most notably in the use of Chapters General. The differences between the two corporations are, however, manifest in a number of ways, particularly in the organizational structure of houses. Cistercian daughter houses developed in the most accidental ways, and could occasionally straddle political and 'national' forms of organization.

\textsuperscript{2} On 'Cluniac Imperialism,' see C.H. Lawrence, \textit{Medieval Monasticism} (Longman, 2nd edition, 1989) p. 188. In 1336, Benedict XII issued his famous 'Benedictine Bull,' in which he attempted to subject the Black Monks to more rigid centralization; he also made strenuous efforts to restore runaway monks to their monasteries. See Mollat, p. 30.

\textsuperscript{3}Lawrence, p. 190.

\textsuperscript{4} For instance, the Carthusians and Praemonstratensians, among others, not including the various associations and brotherhoods which never received sanctions as 'Orders' of the church.
barriers; while the Hospital faced similar difficulties, it could restructure itself and its own filiations as circumstances required. The absorption of the Templar properties resulted in large scale restructuring of the Order in the West; the Priory of France split into three Priories, and those of St. Gilles and Amposte each into two separate priories. The same principle existed locally as well. On one or two rare occasions, commanderies are known to have transferred from one priory to another, a phenomenon duplicated only by Franciscan restructuring of their provinces in the same areas. Hospitaller structures, therefore, could be rearranged in ways impossible for Cistercian forms of filiation, and unusual for most medieval religious orders.

Nonetheless, the Hospitallers retained other aspects of the new monasticism, particularly the use of a Chapter General for the administration of the Order's business. In the Cistercian mold, the Chapter theoretically met annually, a practice obviously impossible to maintain given the nature and restrictions of medieval travel; many abbots likely did not attend every Chapter. The Hospitaller Chapter General suffered similar limitations. Its form changed over the centuries, and was not in fact fixed until about 1206, into a form

5 Delaville, Naillac, p. 49.

6 In the thirteenth century, three commanderies transferred from the Priory of Bohemia to that of Alamannia, paralleled only by a Franciscan administrative restructuring in the same area – see Karl Borchardt, “The Hospitallers in Pomerania,” in MO2, pp. 295-306. With regards to the Hospitallers, a similar situation may have occurred in southern Italy after the Vespers as well; Luttrell, as cited in Borchardt, op. cit., p. 304, n. 31.
which would itself change in the fourteenth century. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Chapter met with some regularity of place and time; in the thirteenth century one finds no such regularity, and at one point more than half a century passed between Chapters. By the fourteenth century they met with increased frequency, if not increased regularity; Hospitaller central archives alone contain the proceedings of Chapters held in 1330, 1332, 1335, 1337, 1340, 1344, 1358, and other documentary evidence shows that the Order held chapter in (at least) 1325, 1346 and 1365 as well. In any case, the Order employed the Chapter General, a device with roots in the Cistercian revolution of monastic administration, as a cornerstone of its governing procedures throughout most of its history.

Monarchy and Oligarchy in the Hospital

The exact locus of power in the order is an unresolved issue, and is complicated by the very nature of Hospitaller government and its division into three main branches: the magistracy, the Central Convent, and the Chapter General. Beneath the papacy, the Master sat as the nominal head of the Order,

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7 Riley-Smith, KSJ, pp. 289-90.

8 The records for 1358 exist not with the other records of Chapters General, but in loose records of NLM, Archive 16, and they are somewhat damaged, apparently by water. An explicit reference to retained brethren is thus frustratingly impossible to decipher; a survey of the actual MS may or may not solve the problem.

9 See Luttrell, (1982, 1), "The Hospitallers of Rhodes: Prospectives, Problems, Possibilities," p. 247, n. 17, where he mentions this Montpellier Chapter, the only evidence of which is apparently Archivo Vaticano, Reg Vat 81, fol 397-401v.
and brethren apparently referred to him as their father, an honor consonant with the manner in which other monastics would have referred to their abbots.

Elected by the Chapter General in the Palestinian period but by the Central Convent during the Rhodian period, a discernible cursus honorum to the Magistracy nonetheless existed, and in some cases particular families dominated the upper offices of the Order for years at a time. The Central Convent, based in the East in all the pre-Maltese eras of Hospitaller history, consisted of the Master’s immediate companions, those brethren stationed in the Order’s headquarters at any given time, and the great officers, or Capitular Bailliffs, of the Order; the first group numbered two brethren, the second had a theoretical minimum in 1301 of approximately eighty brethren, and the third held seven

10 Initially, Riley Smith made this reference (KSJ, 291), pointing to p. 313 of Delaville’s Terre Sainte and thanking Lionel Butler for the communication of information about Rhodes. The reference to Delaville’s work provides no such information, but Butler’s conclusions doubtless have foundation elsewhere. When John XXII settled the schism between the Convent and Fulk of Villaret, he placed Helion de Villanova as Master, and promised that it the move ‘did not detract from the normal rights of the Convent of the Hospital to elect a Master;’ Luttrell, (1998, IV), p. 48, n. 18. The papacy interfered in the elections several times in the fourteenth century; in addition to the case of Fulk of Villaret and Maurice de Pagnac, see also the general rise to power of Juan Fernandez de Heredia, (below, Chapter Five, pp. 147-9.), culminating in his elevation to the magistracy by design of Gregory XI. While Delaville was explicit about the method of election by Chapter General, no such descriptions of the Conventual method of election exists.

11 For example, the Villaret, the Pins, the Goson, amongst others in this period. As an appendix to his Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (Paris, 1904), Delaville published a list of dignitaries of the Order until 1310, and while it generally cannot establish direct relations between Hospitallers, one gets the impression that its administration was often a family affair.
brethren in the fourteenth century. The Capitular Bailiffs, as their name implies, owed their posts to election at Chapter General as well. The Chapter General consisted of the Central Convent and whatever European Priors could attend; at best this would have added about twenty-five to thirty brethren. Of those present at Chapter, the proceedings tend only to name specifically the Capitular Bailiffs, and compiling rosters is therefore difficult. As a result, three entities comprised Hospitaller government, although the ability of the Convent to control the Chapter perhaps blurs distinctions between the Chapter and the Convent, as sheer logistics must have hampered the ability of European Priors to attend with regularity. The frequency with which Chapter occurred outside of Rhodes in the fourteenth century likely says something about the attempt of European priors to bring the Chapter more solidly into their own sphere of influence, and less fully under the control of the Central Convent.

Delaville paints a picture of relatively untrammeled magisterial authority throughout most of the order's late medieval history (through about 1421);

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12 Lists compiled from proceedings of Chapters General in the 1330s and 1340s, NLM 280, fol 1-64.

13 Over time, the Convent seemed to agree that certain offices would be the domain of specific Langues or Tongues, thus ensuring some degree of participation by the various 'national' elements of central government. In this period the Capitular Bailiffs consisted of the Hospitaller, Conventual Prior, the Admiral, Turcoplier, Treasurer, Grand Preceptor, and the Draper, and the Marshall.

14 Some commanders, Capitular Commanders, had the privilege of attendance as well, e.g. the Commanders of St. Euphemia and St. Trinity of Venosa; for other rights associated with these commanderies see below, p. 105.
Riley-Smith argues that the Central Convent, following secular baronial models of the thirteenth century, asserted its own authority against that of the Master; most recently, Jurgen Sarnowsky has described the Order as an outright oligarchy in the fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{15} Luttrell's "unfashionable conviction" that detailed biographical research must necessarily inform statistical and institutional approaches to history\textsuperscript{16} resulted in the creation of a multitude of 'mini-narratives,' implicit in which are certain positions on such institutional arguments; where necessary this paper will expound upon those implicit arguments, in spite of the fact that Luttrell has never addressed directly these issues.

Recently Maria Bonet Donato has addressed similar issues with regards to the Castellany of Aragon.\textsuperscript{17} Within the scope of her work, Donato draws conclusions most similar to Delaville, although the means in which she employs the Maltese archives limits her analysis. For Donato, the later middle ages were a period of centralization for the Order; she notes, without ever arguing, that the international character of the Order actually served as a favorable condition for

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{15}Sarnowsky, "The Oligarchy at Work," \textit{Autour de la Première Croisade}, (Paris, 1996) pp. 267-76.
\item \textsuperscript{16}Luttrell, (1978, "Introduction"), p. i. It should be noted that all such methodologies are now unfashionable. Elsewhere he has noted that the Masters between Fulk of Villaret and Juan Fernandez de Heredia were all largely ineffectual; see Luttrell, (1978, i ), pp. 300-1.
\item \textsuperscript{17}Maria Bonet Donato, \textit{La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta (ss. XII-XV)} (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 1994).
\end{itemize}
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centralization. She equates Hospitaller structures of administration with the theoretical tripartite division of power espoused by Locke, Montesquieu, and primarily Aristotle.

Donato employs the *Libri bullarum* of the National Library of Malta, as well as the Archivo de Corona Aragon, with some facility. Yet having ascribed degrees of legislative and judicial authority to the Chapter General, Donato largely ignores that section of the Hospitaller archives which deals most thoroughly with fourteenth century legislation, preferring instead to cite Delaville, E.J. King's work on the statutes of the Order, and Tipton's analysis of the 1330 Chapter General. The documents contained therein slightly alter the picture of magisterial authority painted by Donato, and to some extent make clearer Sarnowsky's portrayal of the fifteenth century Hospital as an oligarchy.

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18 Donato, *Orden*, p. 84: “Otros aspectos favorables a la centralización fueron: el carácter internacional y sobre todo, su función militar, principal diferencia respecto al resto de organizaciones cenobíticas....”

19 Donato, *op.cit.*, p. 86, n. 10: “En definitiva, y en terminología moderna estaba al frente del ejecutivo, y tenía ciertas prerrogativas en los poderes legislativo y judicial...El Capítulo General detentaba el legislativo y de forma secundaria los otros dos poderes. Es posible establecer cierta proximidad entre la organización del poder en la Orden de San Juan y la teoría de la división de los tres poderes. Dicha formulación no se debe ni a Locke, ni a Montesquieu, sino que esta planteada en Aristoteles *La Política*, (Madrid, 1982, pp. 182-191). Por tanto, cabe sugerir la posibilidad de cierta influencia de esta teoría el ideario político de la organización sanjuanista.”

20 At least, she employs those section of the registers relevant to the Castellany of Amposta in each register.

21 NLM, Archive 280. See the analysis of those statutes, as well as the relevant statutes of *Vaticana latina* 3136 below.
With respect to Magisterial control and reservation of benefices and gracias, Donato implies that the Avignon papacy's ever-increasing desire to control vacant posts may have provided a model for Magisterial primacy in the Hospital.

The Hospitallers were practical men, and never produced political theorists who could expound upon the nature of political authority within and without the Order; one could search endlessly for a Hospitaller Juan de Mariana, for instance. Their ideas about political life emerge from the proceedings of Chapter General, and were generally inspired by the realities of property stewardship within a corporation that contained several layers of stewards. Many of the Order's internal difficulties occurred over property rights.

Varieties of Property in the Hospital in the Fourteenth Century

In his study of the Order of St. John, Riley Smith noted that "by the fourteenth century, therefore, the composition of the Hospitaller commanderies was far from simple." As the basic unit of Hospitaller administration, the

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22 Donato employs the term quite broadly, much like van Winter.

23 An analysis borrowed, as in this paper, from Mollat; see below, p.91.

24 Donato, op. Cit., p. 105: "Segun Mollat, ninguna institucion manifestaba con tanta claridad el progresso de la centralizacion del Papado em la Iglesia, como la de las «vacantes»...Pensamos que la existencia de una institucion igual o parecida a la de las vacantes pontificales en la Orden de San Jan, muestra la proximidad de su gestion centralizada a la del Papado de Avinion. Quizas el Hospital desarrollo algunas instituciones de gobierno inspiradas en el Papado."

25 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 352.
commandery was an area over which the various components of central government could fight internal battles, a statement as true for the fourteenth century as it had been for the previous era of Hospitaller history.

The essential structure of the Hospital relied upon the Chapter General, during which the Order reviewed and passed legislation and dealt with the nomination and appointment of Priors to Priories throughout Europe. Once installed, the Prior oversaw the administration of all the commanderies within his Priory, handling the visitation, discipline, and in some cases, removal, of commanders under his jurisdiction. The Priors gathered the collective responses of commanders under their jurisdiction and sent them to southern France or Italy for the next passage to Rhodes, along with whatever other brethren and goods were making the passage.

Institutionally, a few permanent exceptions to these rules existed. Certain commanderies, known as Capitular Commanderies because the General Chapter appointed their commanders, had effective Prioral authority in and of themselves; such commanders answered to the Chapter General in disciplinary matters, and sent their responses directly to Hospitaller ports of debarkation rather than to the Priors who, geographically speaking, would have been their
immediate superiors. All three Capitular Commanderies in this period existed in Italy, and even Riley-Smith notes that “their origins are obscure.”

The Capitular Commanderies, which never numbered many and seem confined to Italy, represented permanent exceptions to the hierarchy of Hospitaller command. Beyond them, the Hospitallers maintained a number of temporary exceptions to the normal chain of command. Although distinctions amongst the following three types of grants were often blurry, they nonetheless represented gaps in the normal structure of Hospitaller command: retained properties, Commanderies of Grace, and camerae.

Retained properties fell under the general rubric of goods and men who had been retentus ad manus domini magistri; all such retentions came under the special jurisdiction and authority of the Master. In practice, and apparently in theory, Masters could retain or bring under their personal jurisdiction any number of things - goods, brethren, privileges, and even whole Priories. Although such practices are traditionally associated with the aggrandizement of authority, they might be used in ways beneficial to the entire Order; in 1337,

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26 The Commander of St. Eufemia, for instance, was nominally subject to the authority of the Prior of Capua.

27 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 355.

28 The papacy, for instance, employed the power of retention over the benefices of any cleric who died in the Curia, a practice which apparently led to scenes of near comical proportions, as dying prelates attempted to have themselves conveyed out of papal circumscription before they passed on. The popes expanded this principle of reservation throughout 1200s and 1300s; see Mollat, p.335-9. Even the Hospital does not seem to have been exempt from this procedure; see Cartulaire, #4898 (8 June 92.
for instance, Master Helion de Villanova retained the authority to deal with all brethren who, in ignorance, violated new or little known statutes.29

Otherwise, masters generally employed the practice of retention to bring men and goods under their direct authority and use. In the fourteenth century, they did so with alarming frequency and regularity. In the 1330s the Masters elucidated several properties and areas which were to be their domain. At one point, Master Helion de Villanova reiterated his very right to retain whichever brethren he pleased — although the statute notes that he should make such retentions with counsel.30 Similarly, in 1340, he retained 'other rights' which pertained to him in any priory.31

Beyond brethren, Masters often retained goods. Villanova, for instance, retained the authority to grant lands and properties on Rhodes, a practice most assuredly well in place by 1337. He also retained unspecified woods, streams

1310), where Clement assumed authority over the commandery of a Hospitaller who breathed his last at the Holy See. At the very least, Clement saw fit to grant the property to another Hospitaller.

29 NLM, Archive 280, fol 42v: item retinuit dictus dominus magister sibi potestatem faciendi plantam omnem illorum qui deffecissent contra statuta et bonas consuetudines domus de quibus ad presens non est bene informatus

30 NLM, Archive 280, 42v: Item dictus dominus magister sibi retinuit potestatem auctoritate et concensu dicti capituli donandi et faciendi gracias terarum insularum rodi et lengoni secularibus et alias gracias faciendi prout consilio precerum visum erit

31 NLM, Archive 280, 44v: en cestui chapitre (1340) retinet a son payer de retenir en sa main ses chambres et autres droits a lur apertenans en chascun priore ensy com est a costume sa en ariers
and fish ponds, although we may conclude that this referred only to Rhodian lands. Grants of such lands were subject to an annual census, and we may assume that the retention of such areas subjected them to the Master's taxation, licencing, and other means of extracting a profit from them.

By far, however, men and specific properties were most frequently retained. Procedurally, the master made many of these retentions ad manus nostri at the close of Chapter General, and it is within these records that many of the extant retentions appear. Many such actions, however, may reflect Capitular ratification of a fait accompli, as Masters tended to grant properties freely between Chapters. Retentions of brethren and properties also occur in the Libri bullarum as scattered references interspersed throughout the Order's other business, although on one occasion a list of retained brethren, similar to those which appear in the records of General Chapters, appears in toto at the end of a Liber.

As they appear in the proceedings of Chapters, retentions of brethren were made by the Masters with the consent of the Chapter. Brethren in the West were retained with their commanderies and harness, while brethren serving at Rhodes were simply retained "at his hand," with no mention of accompanying

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32 NLM, Archive 280, 43:
item retinuit dictus dominus magister ad manus suas nemora stagna et piscarias

33 NLM, Archive 319, fol 322v (n.p.).

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baillis or harness.\textsuperscript{34} Organizationally, Chapter records arrange brethren from the West by Priory, and those from the Central Convent by their particular ‘national’ langue or tongue. In the pages of the Libri, however, such retentions appear randomly, often with a simple note that a brother has been retained.\textsuperscript{35} In the records of Archive 320, Juilly’s registers employ a more extended formula to announce retentions,\textsuperscript{36} which is rather odd when one considers that the same records employ abbreviated forms to convey land grants.\textsuperscript{37} Other retentions appear more clandestinely, tucked into the legal clauses of the standard property grants which appear in the Libri.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{34}The harness of brethren who died at Rhodes likely reverted to the Master as spolia anyway; on the subject of the spolia of dead officers in the pre-Rhodian period, see Jurgen Burgtorff, "The order of the Hospital’s high dignitaries and their claims on the inheritance of deceased brethren,” in Autours de la Croisade, pp. 256-66.

\textsuperscript{35}NLM, Archive 316, fol ccxxvi:
Item frater Nicolaus preceptor in Citania et frater Nicolaus Willigsinauter preceptor in Melberg et in Vienna prioratus Boemie isti duo in forma predicta et die predicta [15 August 1358] fuerunt retenti ad manus domini sed non in cappellanos

\textsuperscript{36}NLM, Archive 319, fol iii\textsuperscript{v}, 62v(n.p.), and 65 (n.p.), which follow the exemplar established by NLM Arch 319, fol 184 (note 38 below) with even a few abbreviations, particularly near the end of the missive.

\textsuperscript{37}See below, Appendix II.A.22 and II.A.23.

\textsuperscript{38}NLM, Archive 319, fol clxxxiii (30 May 1364):
Frater Raymundus etc Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri Johanidicto Pindestbinch dimous eiusdem preceptori in furstemicho in lach et in Ebensfurd salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem dum laudabilia probitatis vestre merita in considerationis nostre aciem recensemus digne agimus cum vos attollimus protagita honoris et gratie spiritualis igitur vestram volentes honorare persona ut provide vestre fidei et devocionis zelus ad laudabiliora in antea ferventius animet vos cum dictis vestris bauiiis et arnesis vetris solutis annuis responsionibus et aliis vobis et iuris et dictis baiuiliis quibuscumquem incumbentibus oneribus supportandis auctoritate presentium ad manus nostras de spirituali graciam retinemus secundum bonos usus et laudabiles consuetudines domus nostre

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In addition to individual brethren, whole commanderies and priories could be retained. In 1330, Villanova retained the province of Rosne, as well as the castellany of Emposte, the Preceptories of Armenia and Naples, the Priories of Hungary, Castile, and Catalonia, as well as the County of Alife and the Duchy of Athens. Five years later he retained the bailli of Majorca and Baiol (without Rousillon), and then in 1344 he retained the Priory of Provence and all of its commanderies, as well as — at the request of the Pope — the Priory of Toulouse and the Commandery of Villedieu. In the 1360s, Raymond Berengar retained all vacant baillis in the Priories of Toulouse, Auvergne, Aquitaine, Catalonia, and Champagne — as well as other unspecified Priories. Riley-Smith noted that

mandantes harum serie universis et singulis fratribus domus nostre quacumquem auctoritate dignitate vel officio fulgentibus presentibus et futuris sub virtute sancte obedientie firmiter et districte ne contra presentis retencionis nostre gratiam aliquant venire presumant quinymo illum studeant iuxta eius mentem et si en [ ] inviolabititer observare In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa data rodi die penultima mensis maii anno incarnationis domini millesimo ccc sexagesimo quinto

39 Tipton, p. 330.

40 NLM, Archive 280, fol 54v:
estada et es de non avec tractat consellat in ordenat alguna causa que sia contra les lettres e les tramese per nostre senyor lo pape in contra lo ben playser et voluntat sieva sobre el fache del priorat de Tholosa et dela comanderia de la Villedieu retenon que sobre annea seuont lo playser et voluntat del nostre senyor lo papa per auctoritate del capitoll puexam ordenar del sobredits priorats et commandarida et si lo que dieu non vuylha alguna causa se trobasse en las ordenances fachas en aquest capitoll facha en contra les letres ou voluntat de nostre senyor lo pape sobre lo fache de susdit as in aquella que non procedis de lur consciam ni de lur certana voluntat mais de ignorancia et simplicitat de lur certa scienca cassam revocam et anullam et volen que non tayit efficaci alguna in valor

41 Berengar, Vaticana latina 3136, #29 (not numbered on the folium, but follows the entry numbered 28)
Item retenem que puscam dar les baillias qui vagars en los priorats de Tolosa et dAlvernia Aquitainia Chataluyna Campanie et dels autres priorats

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Capitular objections to the Magisterial retention of entire commanderies had little impact upon the process in and after 1303, a state of affairs which continued into the fourteenth century.42 Indeed, in the 1330s, Masters could retain three brethren per Priory outremer;43 by the 1340s the number grew to four and five.44 When considering the seemingly large number of retentions undertaken by Villanova in the 1340s, one must bear in mind several factors. In the West, several brethren served as Rectors of the Papal states, and while they received commendations, the cost to the Order, if any, is unknown.45 Similarly, in the early part of the decade, the Western proposal for a campaign to take the port-city of Smyrna in Asia Minor began to take shape; the Hospitallers played

42 Riley-Smith, KSJ, pp. 301-2.

43 Tipton, p. 306:
Item retien la maistre en per record del chapitre general i ou ii ou iii freres commandours segont que les prieures sont grans ou petis et segont les bones usances et coutumes de nostre maison
This legislation appears again, NLM, Archive 280, fol 27:
Subsequenter prefatus dominus magister retinuit ad manum suam fratres subscriptos cum baiuliis et arnesis suis cum consilio et auctoritate dicti capituli fratres retento quem tres fratres quos voluerit in quolibet prioratu possit cum eorum baiuliis et arnesis retinere

44 Vat lat 3136, lxxx, Deodat of Goson, #10:
item per auctoritate de nostra capitol totes retencions fetes tencert a mayn del M axi de la freres de la mer com del fes del ovent son revocandes et establir que tde iat avant lo M puxe retenir a son capitol per lo consielh dels prodes homes a sa mayn freres de ca mer a quels qui ly playra E de la mer com i ii iii iii en cascun priorat axi com se centra en leestablishment fet per M Elion a montpellier.
Raymond Berengar, # 29:
Primerement revocam totes retencions que t fosset fetes tant per nostre predecessors que per nos dels fratres de la mer et deca mer et retener que puiscata retento a nostres mans de lo fratres de la mer (e de ca mar) chascun priorat iii o v commanders....

45 See Chapter Five, pp. 122-150.
no small role in that proposal, and they eventually ran up costly expenses for
the maintenance of the city, for which the normal revenues of the Order would
likely have been insufficient, forcing the Masters to revert to extraordinary
means of income to cover the costs involved.46 By 1365 Roger des Pins noted
that all vacant commanderies – and those which would become vacant as well
– in all Priories were to be retained by the Treasury for one year because of the
Order’s poverty.47

The standard length of a regular retention seems to have been one year.
In the records for 1365, Robert of Juilly employed a somewhat extended formula
for the granting of retentions which serves as our best evidence of this. Given
the haphazard way in which such grants could be conferred, conclusions must
remain tentative. The most usual notification of the creation of a retained
property comes in the records of Chapter General; Archive 320 contains a copy
of a list similar to those which appear in the proceedings of Chapters General. In
319, in a rather organized fashion, appear lists of retained brethren and their
properties organized by Priory in the West (with an accompanying list of

46 Luttrell has estimated the expense of Smyrna for the Knights at 40,000
florins per annum. The Knights had a theoretical income of 80,000 florins, and a
realistic income of about 45,000 or 50,000. See Nisbet, Treasury Records, Melita
Historica, pp. 98-99.

47 Vat lat 3136, des Pins, fol 100v, # 11:
Item per gran necessitat et per grant indigencia en que nostre convent et lo essor es a
present es establir que per lo secors et sustenancions de nostre convent que quant alcun
priorat o bayllia vagara per la morte dalcun prior o commandor que lo priorat o
commander si en retenguts per i ayn en la man del mstr
Commanderies) and by *langue or tongue* in the East. In the *Libri bullarum*, these grants otherwise appear in a number of forms, though. Masters often retained brethren regardless of the properties they held, and sometimes retained properties irrespective of their commanders,48 further leading us to believe that the function of the grant was twofold: certain brethren were retained as a special favor or protection of some sort,49 and some properties were likely retained because of their wealth and potential benefit to the Master and Treasury. The Master's Companions (*socii*), for instance, sometimes appear in the lists.50 John Duyson, for instance, who worked through the middle ranks of the Hospitaller *cursus honorum* to become Prior of Aquitaine in 1358,51 was retained by the Master several times in the 1330s.52 According to King, whose publication on the statutes of the Order extend to 1310, most *spolia* of dead brethren reverted to the Marshall of the Order upon their deaths; certain of the

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48 Those retained at the Convent.

49 For example, Jean de Hesdin, a Hospitaller theologian who studied at Paris and engaged in disputation with Petrarch on the issue of papal residence (see Luttrell, 1978, XVIII, p. 138), appears as a retained brother in the *Liber bullarum* for 1365 (NLM, Archive 319, fol 320v). Petrarch apparently had little intellectual difficulty countering Hesdin's work.

50 NLM, Archive 280, fol 37.

51 See above, Chapter Three, p. 66-7. The next rung would likely have been the Priory of France.

52 In 1337, NLM 280, fol 40, and again in 1340, NLM, Archive 280, fol 45.

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effects$^{53}$ of dead retained brethren, however, reverted to the Master and Convent.$^{54}$

In spite, or perhaps because, of its brief duration, Masters used the process of retention with regularity. On several occasions, Masters renewed the previous Chapter's retention in toto, although in fairness, on other occasions all were revoked as well.$^{55}$ One practice the Masters employed regularly, though, was the retention of all vacant properties within entire priories, over and above their retentions of all their existing cameral properties there as well.$^{56}$

Alongside these retained brethren and properties existed the so-called Commanderies of Grace. By Riley-Smith's account, the Commandery of Grace appears first in 1262. The central government -- Riley-Smith gets no more specific than this -- or Master generally gave Commanderies of Grace to brethren for specified lengths of time, often for life. Dereliction of payment of responsions was the only offense for which a Prior could interfere in the affairs of a Commandery of Grace nominally within his jurisdiction;$^{57}$ the Prior could not subject such a commander to the normal mechanism of discipline, the

$^{53}$Generally plate and precious metals.

$^{54}$King, pp. 188-191.

$^{55}$Vat lat 3136, Goson, #10, see note 44.

$^{56}$NLM, Archive 280, fol 43 (1337):
Item retinet dictus dominus magister cameras suas in prioratibus vacantibus

$^{57}$Tipton, p. 305.
septaine or quaritaine, and as such Riley-Smith argues that such men were in many ways “removed from the jurisdiction of the Priors.” They were not subject simply to the Master, though; the Marshall could discipline those who failed to attend Assembly.

Greatly complicating this description of Hospitaller properties is the recent contribution of Johanna Maria van Winter, Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St John in the Netherlands: 14th to 18th Centuries. A treasure trove of procedural, statistical, and administrative information for the Hospital in the Netherlands, her work nonetheless describes one of the land grants in the Libri Bullarum as a commenda de gratia, or a commandery earned by grace – as opposed to one earned by merit. On the surface, the rationale for such a description seems apparent - why else would a land grant end up in the Book of

58 The septaine and quaritaine were seven and forty day fasts of penance for recalcitrant brethren, with in-house floggings for the penitent on Wednesdays and Fridays.

59 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 350.

60 NLM, Archive 280, fol 37v: Et retinuit sibi potestatem dictus dominus magister quem supra [ ] possit alios fratres de quibus sibi videbitur ad manum suam retinere volens et ordinans ipse dominus etiam que omnis supra nominati et retenti teneantur venire assemleyas marescali et esgardia quando precipietur [ ] et que de hiis qui defeicerunt marescallus se possit plangere. Whether assemelayas here means Chapter, and whether or not plangere means ‘to strike’ physically, are equally unclear.

61 Johanna Maria van Winter, Sources Concerning the Hospitallers of St John in the Netherlands: 14th to 18th Centuries (Leiden, 1998).

62 Ibid, p. 818; “commenda de gratia, commandery received by grace, not by merit...”
Magisterial Bulls unless it were in some way subject to their authority?

Ultimately, however, vanWinter's term Commandery of Grace has little to do with Riley-Smith's use of the same term; she notes that her use of the term is predicated upon the fact that the grant in this case went to a commander who had previously held the property for more than ten years, and that the central government issued the grant with its speciali gracia. If their assessments were the same, the Priors likely would have rebelled during this period, as the large number of grants within the Libri bullarum would themselves represent a hijacking of the Order by the Masters.

Thus, while Riley-Smith and van Winter both employ the notion of a Commandery of Grace, they do so in different ways. One relevant question remains: are retentions of brethren institutionally the same as Riley-Smith's Commanderies of Grace? For Riley-Smith, the distribution of Commanderies of Grace came at the end of General Chapter - the same place many retentions occur in the proceedings of extant fourteenth century Chapters. By the same token, some retentions occur internally within the business of the Libri bullarum, and the Liber of 1365, which allows us to compare the list of commanderies issued at Chapter with the internal retentions, likely proves that

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63 The phrase appears within a great many of the formulae within the registers, as well as in many other documents.

64 See above, p. 93 note 38.
for the Hospital one retention had the force of another. Still, did the Hospital see retained brethren as possessors of Commanderies of Grace?

The evidence is frustratingly ambiguous. No explicit statements of obligations or privileges associated with retentions exist. Such definitions which exist tend to do so in the negative. Legislation concerning the payment of responsibilities, for instance, has multiple readings. On the one hand, commanderies for which grace has been made at Chapter General (Commanderies of Grace by Riley-Smith’s definition) are listed separately from those who have been retained at the hand of the master; on the other hand the legal rights of both are indeed similar. In 1337, Villanova noted that he could make grace to whomever he saw fit, and that he had the right to retain whatever brethren he saw fit. Nonetheless, in whatever manner and on whatever level, the Hospitallers themselves made some distinctions between those two types of privileges within the Order, even if they were only distinctions of terminology.

If we have little information concerning what the brethren expected of Commanderies of Grace and retentions, we certainly know what the Masters anticipated. Legislation from 1344 informs us that all the gold, vessels, and jewels of retained brethren reverted to the Master or Treasurer upon the

65See below, note 66.

66 NLM 280, fol 37v: *item quem supra armeam possit facere gracias aliquibus proceribus prout bene sibi videntur expedire. Item quem possit illos fratres de quibus sibi videntur ad manum suam retinere*
brethren's death; their priors received the bread.\textsuperscript{67} As the brother and his baillis and harness are all generally mentioned in the initial retention, we may assume as well that the brother's gear and saddle went to the Master. Such expectations may have provoked violent episodes in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{68}

Further complicating these issues is the existence of yet another type of privilege within the Order, one with a well-established and well-documented history - the camera. Described by Riley-Smith as a variety of the Commandery of Grace, the legal definition of and expectations associated with camerae are much clearer than those associated with retentions and Commanderies of Grace.

Cameral properties existed at two levels, magisterial and prioral. In a given Priory, the Prior could name certain commanderies as his personal camerae; after the payment of responsions, the Prior enjoyed personally the usufruct of his camera. Most priors enjoyed four such camerae within their priories; by 1367, they could legally hold five commanderies within the Priories as cameral properties.\textsuperscript{69} Similarly, masters showed leniency towards individual

\textsuperscript{67}NLM, Archive 280, fol 49:
\textsuperscript{68}See the case of Aquitaine below, pp. 111 ff.
\textsuperscript{69}Delaville, \textit{Naillac}, p. 162, n 7.
Priors. In 1351, Bartolomeo Benini was allowed to retain goods within his
Priory, as well as one or two commanderies within his jurisdiction, due to
diminished responsions as a result of death and war.\(^{70}\)

Masters could also hold commanderies in the West as *camerae*, and
records in the *Libri bullarum* generally refer to such properties as *nostra camera*.
Although Masters seem to have held free reign with regards to the number of
cameral properties at their disposal, excessive use of this privilege could produce
backlash from the other parts of Hospitaller central government, and in the
thirteenth century this is exactly what happened.\(^{71}\) Masters generally granted
*camerae* to older brethren residing at Rhodes as a form of pension, and one finds
Hospitaller sisters from the Negroponte being granted a *camera* as well.\(^{72}\)

\(^{70}\) NLM, Archive 318, fol 169-169v (31 August 1351):
Frater deodatus etc religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri bartholomeo benigni dmous
eiusdem priori urbis et pisarum salutem etc Continuit supplicationis series pro parte vestra
facta nobis in affectum quemcum baiulia vestra de albaresio propter mortalitatem et
guerras sit ita quem de terrorata et devastata quem responsio aliquidis ...propter vestre
merita probitatis supplicatione predicte tamquem rationi consone favorabiliter annuentes
retinendi ad manum vestram unam vel duas baiulias vaccaturas in vestris prioratibus
supradictis vel aliquo eorundem valoris et extunc baiulie protecte in recompensione ipsius
de nostra certa scienza et speciali gratia vobis licencia concedimus et potestatem In cuius
rei etc data rodi die ultima mensis augusti anno primo

\(^{71}\) Riley-Smith, *KSJ*, p 294-5.

\(^{72}\) NLM, Archive 317, 242v (7 November 1347), The entry for 242v is severely
damaged, especially on the outer edge of the leaf; Sister Margaret’s name and a piece
of property on Rhodes are identifiable, but little else is legible beyond them. On 253 (4
March 1347), certain properties which had belonged to Sr Margaret of Negroponte are
handed over to Raymond of Esura.
Use and Abuse in the Fourteenth Century

If we can be fairly certain that the Masters knew exactly what they received via the retentions, we are left to believe that brethren enjoying the retention likely had a much less clear notion of the benefits associated with the grants, and in the fourteenth century this resulted in some episodes of violence and mismanagement.

Retentions likely carried with them benefits not unlike those Riley-Smith associated with Commanderies of Grace; retained brethren, like Capitular Commanders, were perhaps in some ways removed from the normal hierarchy of discipline within the Order. The privileges individual brethren thus retained believed they possessed seem problematic. An extreme possibility exists in the case of Monreal du Bar.

The story of Monreal du Bar may be a familiar, or at least vaguely familiar, story for military historians. In 1333, Chapter General confirmed duBar

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73 Deodat of Goson, Vatlat 3136, #22:
Item per que moltes negades es avengut segons que vos es dat dentendre que molts fratres retenguts a la mayn del M per sola confiance dela dita retencion an alienat et en penyar los bens de nostra religion et comestes molts crimes et maleficos et au manlevat den prestat peccuniest de seglars o en diversas autres maneranlos an da tprnciatt dou souverayn per non poder tobar rao dels ab los priors per rao dela dita retencio ni al lochtinteni de M qui era luy daqui non podien avar au aut recors a los cort seglars per defalta de rao et de iustitia en gran dampnatge blasine et diffamation de tota nostra religion a obviar totes les cases sus dites per tirar tmaterial et occasio als seglars de aut recors a la cort seglar contra negun frater es establit que en tots les cases desus dits lo frere retengut a la mayn de la M non se puxa en neguna manera escusar per la dita retencio del axi com dels autres qui non son retenguts a la man del M de t lettres cosas de susdites la prima partida a quests son los estes feits al capitol general celebrar a rodas per M P. Corn. Et per los prodhomes layn m ccc liii a xxix iors de julial

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for ten years in a commandery, and then to the Capitular Commandery of St. Eufemia in 1335. In 1343, when the battles over the patrimony of King Robert of Naples began, duBar appeared in the muster of Agnes of Naples, numbered amongst her counts and dukes, but most likely serving as a mercenary; the Chronicle of Domenico de Gravina referred to him as a Commander at this stage. In 1344 the central convent re-confirmed his elevation to the Capitular Commandery of St. Euphemia. Only two years later he appears amongst the mercenaries of Louis of Hungary, come to Aversa to avenge the strangulation of his brother, Andrew of Hungary; in the enigmatic and perhaps sardonic words of one modern historian, Monreale "maintained order throughout the countryside, bringing to justice the thieves who had followed the army hoping

74 NLM 280, fol 35: successive dicti et dominus magister conventus et capitulum concessunt et confirmaverunt subscriptas bauiias fratibus infrascriptis ad decem annos tantum. Vidilicet...fr Montrengali de Berreyonis bauiiam de albaribus.

NLM 280, fol 39v: subseguenter vero dictus dominus magister et conventus ac capitulum generalem fecerunt in ultramarinis partibus baylios infrascriptos. Vidilicet...Guillaum de Malleo priorum Francie [previously served as Prior of Aquitaine]...fr Montemregalem de verayone preceptorem sancte eufemie

75 The Neopolitan Chronicle of Domenico de Gravina, as cited in Emile Leonard, La Jeunesse de Jeanne l' (Monaco, 1932), Tome I, p. 247, n. 4: Erant autem ipso tempore cum duce Duracii comes Ariani et comes Apicii....et plurimi alii comites et barones apti vincere et pugnare pro duce prefato. Inter quos erat frater Morales, preceptor sacre domus Hospitalis in Neapoli, qui caput factus est omnium post dictos comites, si guerra moveretur infra dominos memoratos..."

76 NLM, Archive 280, fol 46v: as Morreale du verrayo

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to capitalize upon its success." In 1347 St. Eufemia was no longer under his control; indeed, the central government notified him that because of his irreverences, he was being transferred to the authority and obedience of the Prior of St Gilles, who was to admit Monreale to the Priory well and charitably.

In 1348 Clement VI mandated that the apostate Monreale be captured and delivered to the Curia, where he might answer for his enormous excesses and for his machinations against the Roman Church. Sometime in the next three years he likely left the Order; by 1351 he was guarding Aversa and Capua for

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Leonard, op. Cit., vol II, p. 34: "Les habitants d'Aversa eurent...gran peur que le roi Hongrie ne livrat a la destruction ou du moins au pillage la ville ou son frere avait ete tue...fra Moriale et les Hongrois maintinrent-ils l'ordre dans tout le pays et firent-ils justice des voleurs qui suivaient l'armee et voluerent profiter de ses succes." No note.

NLM 317, 205v(26 August 1347):

Fr deodat etc Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fri Montisregali de Albarno domus eiusdem salutem et cet Cum certa causa rationabili nos movente in Regno sicilie nobis ulterius vos morari vobis tenore presencium districte precipimus et mandamus sub virtutute sancte obediencie nichilominus firmiter iungentis quant receptis presentibus † sum† morosa alia ad prioratum nostram sancti egidii sub prioris inhibi obediencia in altera bauiiarum dicti prioratus circa rodanum moraturus pro stagia vos personaliter conferatis super hiis vos taliter habiturum quam nota irreverenciae evicata possitis de filhali prompta obediencia dignis dignis laudibus comendari mandantes religiosi in xristo nobis carissimo fratri .. Domus eiusdem priori sancti egidi ac locumnostram tenentem in cunctis ultramarinis partibus generali ut vos ad dictam prioratum sancti egidii declinantem benigne admictatet caritative pro tractet vobis quem in altera preceptorium dicti prioratus sancti egidii citra rodinum stagiam assignet in qua vobis provideri faciat in vestris necessariis secundum bonos usus et laudabiles consuetudines domus nostre data rodi die xxvi augusti anno septimo

Clement, France, 3816 (20 April 1348):

"Mandatur ut capiuntur et transmittantur ad curiam sub fidia custodia Monsregalis de Albarno, Hospitalis S.J. Jerosolimitani apostata, et Guillelmus de Bello Dinario, domicellus Forojuliensis diocesis, qui enormes excessus perpetrarunt et adversus R.E. multa machinari temere praesumpserunt..."
Louis of Hungary, and in 1351 he renounced his warlike ways. In February of 1352 Joanna of Naples sought remission for his sins, a request she repeated in October of that year, promising to watch over him, and reminding the Holy See that even Saul had been converted to some usefulness. Monreale quickly sought absolution himself, which Clement apparently granted; in November of 1352 he advised the Master and Convent of the Order to treat Monreale mercifully, as the Hospitaller had washed away the stains of his guilt with his contrite tears. Innocent VI congratulated him for his laudable service to the church, and shortly thereafter duBar served as Captain of War and Standard-Bearer for the Church under Jordan Orsini in Montefiascone as a stipend for his service.

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80 Clement VI, France, 4874, (8 February 1351):
"Montiregali redarguitur de gestis suis bellicosis in regno Siciliae et credat predicto A.S. nuncio..."

81 Ibid., 5190-5191, (10 February 1352):
"Regi et reginae Siciliae rogatur ut remissio facta sit Montiregali de Albarno;" Joanna's letter seeks absolution for the renegade, reminding Clement that even Saul was turned to work for good: Sperantes in Domino, cui vos electionis de persecutore Saulo factus est Paulus, quod Monsregalis de Albarno...sicut hostibus vestris, antequam ad vos converteretur, fideliter astitit, sit adversus ad vos.... (5191): "Mandatur archiepiscopo Bracharensei ut absolvat praedictum Montenregalem...alioquin per censuram ecclesiasticam procedant contra eum..."

82 Ibid., 5192, (10 February 1352):
"Praefato Montiregali rogatur ut poenitentiam faciat pro omnibus criminiis ab ipso perpetratis et fidem adhibeat jam dicto archiepiscopo." Monreal then promised to be loyal to Isnard of Albarno, the Prior of Capua; ibid., 5193.

83 Ibid., 54545, (8 November 1352):
"Eisdem [the Master and Convent] ut agant misericorditer erga Montemregalem de Albarno qui abluit culpam praeteritarum maculas contritionem lacrimis."

84 Innocent VI, 560, (15 September 1353).
good behavior;\textsuperscript{85} Innocent stopped short of making him the Rector of Ancona, but only because he promoted someone else to the post shortly before receiving Orsini's request to have duBar promoted to it.\textsuperscript{86} Monreale betrayed and attacked Orsini less than a month later.\textsuperscript{87} He acted in the manner associated with most Free Companies of the day, extorting ransoms from highly populated cities, and his reputation grew.\textsuperscript{88}

By 1353 he made the mistake of involving himself in Roman politics. In the 1350s the chaotic politics to which Romans had grown accustomed took a turn towards the surreal. In 1347, Cola di Rienzo upheld the greatest Roman traditions of demagoguery by having himself elected Tribune. By 1354, after a brief fall from power, he wrenched the title of Papal Senator out of Innocent VI.

\textsuperscript{85} \textit{Innocent VI,} 559 (15 September 1353):
\textit{Et primo circa factum dilecti filii Montisregalis de Albarno, fratris hospitalis s. Johannis Jerosolymitani, placet nobis quod salvantur ei pro preterito stipendia ei debita et pro futuro temporibus tam in officio capitaneatus et vexilliferatus ecclesie...}

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{Innocent VI,} 567 (20 September 1353):
\textit{Litteris tuis quas nobis super promotione dilecti filii Montisregalis de Albarno, fratris hospitalis s. Johannis Jerosolimitani, ad rectoriam provincie Marchie Anconitane transmiseras benigne receptis sub compendio respondentes, scire te volumus quod ante receptionem litterarum hujusmodi dilectum filium nobilem virum Johannem Angelini de Salimibenis, domicellum Senensem, duxeramus, deliberatione prehabita, ad hujusmodi officium promovendum. Sed ipsius Montisregalis obsequiorum et virtutum merita irremunerata preterire nequaquam intendimus...comensare....}

\textsuperscript{87} Gregorovius, \textit{Rome in the Middle Ages} (London, G. Bell and Sons, 1894-1902), vol. VI, Part 1, p. 356.

\textsuperscript{88} See Guissepi Gerola, "Fra' Moriale in Toscana," \textit{Archivio Storico Italiano} (series V, Tome XXXVII, Florence, 1906) citing the \textit{Cronoca Pisana}: "I caporali furono regalati di ricci doni, e Fra Moriale ebbe 15 mila fiorini d'oro ed un cavallo del valore di mille fiorini, promettendo in compenso di non invadere il territorio pisano per o spazio di 6 anni;" p. 295, n.3.

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One of history's great characters in his own right, Cola led a career which has been interpreted in a variety of ways -- Cola the Revolutionary, and Cola the martyr of democracy, amongst others.\textsuperscript{89} Whatever his historical significance, the business of running Rome invariably brought Cola into contact with racketeers like du Bar.

Cola marked his second rise to power in 1354 by driving much of the Roman aristocracy from the city; he hanged Martino di Porto, the scion of a Senatorial family, who "led the life of a tyrant, and disgraced his nobility with tyrannies and robberies,"\textsuperscript{90} as an example of both aristocratic sin and his own righteousness. Cola had need of the services provided by men like du Bar, but the relationship soured when the innkeeper's son began to suspect that Montreal would soon betray him. The chronicler of Cola's \textit{Life}, however, has nothing but praise for du Bar, whom he described as "valiant and zealous...from the time of Caesar to the present day there has never been a better man."\textsuperscript{91} Du Bar eventually paid the price of Cola's paranoia and megalomania; in 1354 he went to the executioner's block as a public robber.

As a measure of duBar's success as an adventurer, his former patrons sought quickly to absorb much of his wealth. Joanna and Louis sent several

\textsuperscript{89}The nineteenth century seems to have been particularly fond of the icon, particularly Cola as the 'last Tribune.' Bulwer-Lytton wrote a popular and famous account, and Wagner offered his interpretation of the life in Rienzi in \textit{Rienzi}.

\textsuperscript{90}Wright, G. \textit{Life of Cola di Rienzi} ( Toronto, 1987), p. 49.

\textsuperscript{91}\textit{Ibid}. p. 144.
requests to Innocent to have duBar’s properties and mobile goods turned over to
them.92 Whether Innocent complied remains a mystery, but compliance was
unlikely; in a post-script to the affair, Innocent vilified the dead former
Hospitaller, whom he likened to Totila and Holofernes rather than St Paul.93

Can we attribute duBar’s lawlessness to his possible belief that he was
exempt from some forms of the Order’s discipline by virtue of his tenure as an
‘untouchable’ Commander, even through the legal means established by the
Order’s laws and traditions? To do so would push the limits of the extant
evidence; few outlaws are ever granted the luxury of a mission statement.94 We
do know, however, that in the 1340s the behavior of many retained brethren

92Innocent VI, 785 (18 February 1354), 788, 789 (20 February 1354).

93Innocent VI, 1153, (20 October 1354):
Non potest latere te, cum longe sit lateque notorium, qualiter infelix ille quondam
Monsregalis de Albarno, Hospitalis s Johannis Jerosolimitani desertor observancie
regularis...discurrit hostiliter et quasi alter Olofernes imo illo crudeler, nulli parcens, hos
peremit glasio, hos carcere maceravit, hos afflxit incendio, hos rapina vexavit et spoliis,
hos depopulatione vastavit, hos in exilium egit, hos orbavit filis, hos patribus matribusque
privavit, viduavit nuptas, virgines rapuit, conjugatas abduxit et tot viduas, pupillos et
orphanos, clericos, religiosos...ac rebus earum damnis affectit ut impium ilium et
flagellum Dei quondam Totilam in christiano populo debachantem impietate ac servicia
superavit.

94Barbara Tuchmann creates a vivid picture of Monreale’s execution, a picture of
the Hospitaller still in velvet robes, with his own physician present to direct the
executioner’s blow, and unrepentant to the end, “justified ‘in carving his way with a
sword through a false and miserable world.” She consulted Oman’s History of the Art of
293, who tells a story only slightly less florid than Tuchmann’s. Neither is terribly
forthcoming about sources, and both may have simply been following Gregorovius’
multi volume history of Rome; see Gregorovius ( London, G. Bell and Sons, 1894-
1902), vol. VI, Part 1, p.453 . For Tuchman’s account, see A Distant Mirror (Knopf,
forced the central government to change the stipulations placed upon such grants. By 1344, internal legislation noted that retained brethren must have been with the Order for twenty or more years, due to the poor example currently being set by many such Brethren.95 Equally as noteworthy, the commandery where he started his career, the Capitular Commandery of St. Eufemia, was under direct prioral control by 1363, listed under the properties held by Isnard duBar, the Prior of Capua and a faithful servant of the papacy.96 Even if such exemptions did not produce men as notorious as duBar, they nonetheless created men notorious enough to warrant changing the rules surrounding the use and abuse of such exemptions. An episode from Aquitaine

95NLM, Archive 280, fol 48v-49: *Item car per la relation de plusieurs dignes de foys avons entendu que mouts joynesa novisses freres retenus a la main du maistre onc mal use et usent de la retencion tant en non portier a leur prieures et souveyrans deve reverence et honoire quant en ce metre soute le confiance de la dite retencion choses dishonestes et de mauvais yssempli en nostre maison Cest establ que des ores avant nessun frater sois retenues a la main dou maistre si il non avoit este fratre xx ans en la religion non revocant pour ce ceaus qui ont elue lettre de retencion dou maistre ni ceaus qui sont o seront au service dou maistre en son ostell o en laysle...*

Repeated- see Ibid, folio 51v: *En cara mays son retenguts a la man de mossenhor tuch aquels qui seron retenguts al autre capitol e aquels qui hav letras de retencion de mossenhor non contrascant qui non ayan estat xx ans en la religion fraye Et ayso se sa gran †spiritual† non derogant por so al establiment fayt qui nixum fraye non sia retengut a la man del maystre si non havra estat an xx fraye en la religion*

96Urban V, Lettres Communes, 6521 (8 September 1363). On Isnard's career, see below, Chapter Five below.

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in 1365 may also be instructive in discerning the issues surrounding retained properties. In February of 1365 the registers of Urban V relate what can be described as a minor fiasco in the Priory of Aquitaine.

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97 Urban V, Lettres Communes, 14983 (29 February 1365):

Xanctonen. Et Pictaven. Ac Andegaven. Episcopis, - cum, licaet Guillelmus Arnaudi, preceptor domorum Burghi novi et Toyre invicem canonice unitarum Hospitalis s. Johannis Jerosolimitan., Xanctonen dioc., prefatas domos fuisset assecutus ipsasque aliquandiu tenuisset pacifice, metuens ne Reginaldus de Nantolio, prior Aquitanie, dicti Hospitalis, eum super dicta domo Bughinovi molestaret, volensque dicta perturbatione occurrere, ad magistri et conventus majoris dicti hospitalis in insula Rodi residentium vel eorum in partibus cismarinis aut aliib locatenentium audientiam appellasset, tamen idem Reginaldus una cum multitudine quorumdam suooprum complicum armatorum, ad domum Burginovi predictam violenter accedens, ipsum GuiUelmum dicta domo spoliaverit ipsamque detinuerit necnon vina, blada et alia quecumque bona mobilia ad ipsum Guillellum ratione dicte domus pertinentia, rapiant et suis usibus applicent, et prefatus Guillelmus Arnaudi pro sua consequenda in hac parte justitia, a d Nicolaum Soleriis, priorum, et Petrum de Ramburellis, hospitalarium conventus Rodi dicti Hospitalis, dictorum mag. wet conventum deputatos in predictis cismarinis partibus recurrerint, qui locatenentes preceptori domorum de manso Dei, de Vilaribus et de Lubertio invicem canonice unitarum, died Hospitalis, Pictaven. [lege: Lemovicen.] dioc., una cum quibusdam aliiis suis collegis dederunt per suas litt. In mandatis ut ipsi fructibus atque bonis dicti Guillelmi Arnaudi et preceptorie sue Burgonovi et Toyre sic indebito captis, sub tuta sequestratione positis, et dicto Guillelmo, si eis videretur expediens, ad ea per consequens restituto, ad ulteriora procederent et causam terminarent; cum Brunus, preceptor dictarum domorum de Manso Dei, de Vilarbus et de Lubertio, per dictum Guillelum Arnaudi super hec requisitum pro sequestratione facienda predicta, una cum notario publico et aliiis personis ad fidem super hec faciendum idoneis, ad prefatum domum Burgonovi personaliter accessisset et, eam clausam inveniens, ad existentes in illa, vocem direxisset vicibus repetitis ut in ipsam sibi aditus panderetur tamen Petrus Gorrichoni, preceptor preceptorie seu domus de Landa, Hospitalis prefati, dicte Pictaven. Dioc., procurator dicti prioris Aquitanie, infra domum eadem existens, predicte ingressum eadem Brunoni pertinaciter derogaverit, propter quod idem Brunus fructus dictarum domorum Burgonovi et Toyre annexarum, quantum de jure potuitin locis congruis apud personas idoneas sequestravit, et licet dictus Aquitainie prior ad Sed. apost. appelleravit, tamen appellationem predictam non extitit infra tempus legitimum prosecutus, subsequenter vero priorum et preceptorum dicti Hospitalis in predictis partibus cismarinis generali capitulo, «assembleya» vulgariter nuncupata, apud locum Montispessulani, Magolen. Dioc., congregato in unum, presente dicto Petro Gorrichoni prefati prioris Aquitanie procuratore, presidentes pronuntiaverunt prefatum Guillelum Arnaudi restituendum fore ad possessionem sue predicte preceptorie Burgonovi et Toyre cum omnibus pertinentiis suis necnon redditis et aliiis bonis captis per sepedictum priorum seu suas gentes ac damnis et expensis factis per dictum Guillelum occassione predicta, eorum taxatione imposterum reservata, ipsumque Guillelum restituerint ad

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William Arnald had held the commanderies of NewBurgh and Toire (the papal registers are always careful to note the Hospitallers' legalized pluralism) peacefully for some time. He nevertheless feared Reginald of Nanteuil, the Prior of Aquitaine -- we are not made privy to the source of his fear -- and, believing that some sort of incident might occur, sent an appeal for an audience with the convent at Rhodes. Even as William made his appeal, Reginald swooped down upon NewBurg with a troop of armed men, snatching its wine, bread, and other mobile goods. The despoiled William sought redress with the Conventual Prior and Hospitaler at Rhodes. An inquest began, led by Bruno of Manse Dei, and when Reginald's procurator defended the seizure, Bruno sequestered the goods of Newburgh. A Chapter General at Montpellier restored William to the

predicta, mandantes prenominato priori Aquitanie et locumtenetibus et procuratoribus suis, necnon preceptoribus et fratribus et donatis ac hominibus dicti prioratus Aquitanie ut prountiationem predictam servarent et facerent inviolabiliter observari, et tamen dictus Reginaldus, pretendens dictam prountiationem fore iniquam, ad Sed. apost. appellavit, et papa causam Raymundo episc. Penestrin. auidendam commisit, qui causam ipsam dictis magistro et conventui terminandam remisit, et quamquam idem prior Aquitanie tam apost. quam dictorum mag. et conventus auctoritate per diversas litteras excommunicationis, suspensionis et penas alias continentes diversis vicibus successive motitus fuerit, tamen ipse contumaciter recusavit - mandatur ut predictum Guillelmum Arnaudi vel procuratorem suum ad dictarum domorum Burgonovi et Toyre et earum preceptorie et membrorum juriumque ac pertinentiarum predictarum possessionem restituant, amoto inde dictoReginaldo, predicta vero vina, blada et alia bona mobilia per dictum priorem Aquitanie vel per gentes suas occupata seu rapta, si extant, dicto Guillelmo Arnaudi reddi, si vero non extant de ipsis necnon eis extantibus vel non extantibus de fructibus dictarum domorum per dictum Reginaldum a tempore prefate spoliationis perceptis, plenam satisfactionem impendi faciant, invocato ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachii secularis...

In a postscript to this affair, by 1386 William had become receiver for the Priory of Aquitaine, and during Reginald's final illness, had assumed the functions of lieutenant of the Priory; Naillac, p. 270. Indeed, by fall of that same year, Nanteuil received a commendation, although for what I am not certain; see Urban V, France, 1951 (Sep 1365).
commanderies and their goods, and demanded that Reginald and his men leave them alone. Reginald appealed directly to the Holy See, who bumped the case to the episcopacy, which then sent the case, along with the right to discipline Reginald with excommunication and other penalties, to the Master and Central Convent of the Order. The Master and Convent scolded Reginald, who objected until the bitter end, and upheld the restoration of William Arnald to the properties and goods. Ultimately, the administration threatened Reginald not with internal disciplinary measures, but with that mostRenowned of threats, relaxation to the secular arm.

In the Magistral records of that same year, 1365, William Arnald appears with the Commandery of Newburgh\(^\text{98}\) as a retained brother. Establishing direct causal relationships between the behavior of Reginald of Nantueil and the retention of Arnald is difficult in light of the imprecise chronology offered by the historical record. A few scenarios are possible, and all are instructive.

The registers which attest to the retention of Arnald and Newburgh appear at the end of the Liber, in a format which closely resembles that used to copy retentions made in Chapter General; they may possibly be the records of brethren retained at the Montpellier Chapter General mentioned in the papal records. Although the records appear in the Liber bullarum for 1365, the records

\(^{98}\text{NLM, Archive 319, 322v; In a letter addressed to the entire Order, Ramon Berengar noted that, according to the statutes of the Order, he would retain the following brethren, amongst whom Arnald's name and the Commandery of Newburgh appear. Oddly, Troye does not appear in the retention.}\)
of the retention must have been registered some time after May of 1365, when Roger des Pins died and Ramon Berengar\textsuperscript{99} replaced him as Master. The retention, therefore, likely occurred well after the affair in Aquitaine, for which the papal records bear the date February. In both cases, though, the events which triggered the records most certainly occurred months before either register appeared, and in both cases we cannot with any certainty say when the actual events took place. The retention of Arnald may reflect the confirmation of a \textit{fait accompli} under the rule of Roger des Pins, and the usurpations, appeals, and inquiries which preceded the appearance of Reginald and William in papal court most likely all unfolded over the course of several months.

Whether or not magisterial retention of Arnald and Newburgh sparked Reginald's hostility is uncertain, but not impossible; he seized some goods --vines and bread -- which nominally reverted to him as Arnald's Prior anyway, but the other unspecified goods -- \textit{alia bona...mobilia} -- could have been anything, and may have been the sort of mobile goods, like jewels and plate, which under a retained brother, would have reverted to the jurisdiction of the Master when a retained brother died.\textsuperscript{100} Seizing such goods, particularly those which were under the jurisdiction of the Master, was an offense for which a brother could be

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{99}By the end of May.
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{100}Recall that nominally Reginald would not have received those goods anyway upon Arnald's death, as they would have passed to the Marshall.
\end{quote}
forced to surrender his habit.\textsuperscript{101} Perhaps equally as important, Reginald appealed for justice not to the Master, but directly to the Papacy, perhaps knowing beforehand the verdict which the former would have rendered.

The papal letter notes that Arnald “feared” his prior, and while the source of that trepidation may have been personal, another possibility exists.

Throughout the fifties and sixties, priors in France\textsuperscript{102} seem to have been habitually delinquent in the payment of their responsions. John of Nanteuil, likely related to Reginald, was delinquent in the payment of the responsions for the Priory of Aquitaine, of which he served as lieutenant at the time, so delinquent that the pope sought the aid of King Philip in resolving the issue; delinquency in payment of responsions seems to have been a habitual fault of most Priors, and understandably so in the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{103} As an officer, Reginald was likely effective, yet he probably fell prey to the same financial difficulties which plagued other priors in the region. He was so untimely in the

\textsuperscript{101} NLM, Archive 280, fol 48v:

\textit{Item pource que au temps passe plusors freres non devement ont mis les mains en les biens et harnoys de priors comandors et dautres freres mors retenent a soy et donant a autres et convertent en us non deus en grans damages nostres et de nostre maison a evitar de si avant semblans damages est establi que tout freres qui non apertendra qui metra les mains sur les biens pecunie vaysselle/or/ ou argent o sur qualque autre harnoys retinent a soy o tdoimant a autres o en autres us convertant de priors comandors o de qualqueautre frere mort outre la value de j marc dargent perda labit et de j marc en aval soit en xl [Hospitallier means of denoting the quarataine, a variation of monastic justice - see above, p. 98, n. 58. ]}

\textsuperscript{102} That is, the Priors of France, Aquitaine, St. Gilles, and the Auvergne.

\textsuperscript{103} Clement VI, Closes, France, 712 (4 March 1344).
payment of his responsions, that in June of 1364, Urban V appealed to the Black Prince, the nominal lord of Aquitaine at that point, to convince Reginald to make good on his obligations to the Order; calling upon the services of Edward of Wales to intervene in the Order's affairs was a dangerous and undesirable move, and is a good measure of the desperation felt by Master and Pope alike.\textsuperscript{104} Equally as telling is the fact in near that same time, Reginald received a rebuke and a threat for 'relaxation to the secular arm' if he did not obey the directives of a previous papal letter to pay his responsions to the Treasury of the Order; he seems to have intentionally hidden or destroyed the initial request.\textsuperscript{105} A prior robbing his commanders to make responsion payments is the proverbial case of 'robbing Peter to pay Paul'; prioral responsions were probably based in some part upon payments made by commanderies under their jurisdiction anyway. Yet if Reginald knew that Newburgh was a retained property, he would have been robbing Peter to pay Peter, as the \textit{alia bona mobilia} may have been goods reserved as \textit{spolia} for the Master by virtue of the retention. Arnald may only have been retained after the episode, but the papal records are clear that he feared Reginald might act as he indeed eventually acted, possibly attempting to

\textsuperscript{104}Urban V, France, 978 (1 June 1364).

\textsuperscript{105}Urban V, Lettres Communes, 11144 (27 July 1364): "ad compelleandum per litteras apost. potestatem, qui Reginaldus se taliter occultavit quod littere apost. Sibi presentari...." followed by a threat of excommunication and relaxation to the secular arm. In October of 1363 (#6576) he received a warning about his arrears, 8000 florins at that stage; the preceding missive, however, is an exact copy of that letter addressed to another Hospitaller prior, himself in arrears as well.
gain for his own use those goods which a retention of Newburgh would have taken from his jurisdiction.

Conclusions

At times in the fourteenth century, the masters took actions which might in hindsight seem excessive, perhaps even extra-legal. They increased the number of commanderies they could retain, and on occasions retained large parcels of property. Such actions may have produced unintended consequences, as retained and protected brethren often failed to uphold acceptable standards of conduct; retentions may even have led some Priors into their own forms of brigandage as they attempted to seize what they possibly felt had been taken from them.

At this stage, such incidents seem isolated though. Through the vehicle of the Chapter, Masters increased the number of properties Priors could exploit for their own benefit as *camerae*, and could also dispense similar privileges to individual brethren as circumstances dictated necessary. The expansion of magistral authority and privilege seems usually to have been done for the benefit of the Order, and the Masters likely realized that through the vehicle of General Chapter, the Priors were empowered to accept only so much. A dominating and energetic leader could still hijack the Order's command structures, and this is exactly what happened when Juan Fernandez de Heredia ascended to the magistracy. Until that time though, masters saw fit to expand the powers of their Priors, individually and corporately, as they expanded their own authority;
or, at least, they saw fit not to oppose such efforts when they initiated in Chapter General. In the 1350s, the Avignon popes and Heredia did as they saw fit with many lucrative vacant commanderies and the spolia of dead brethren, mostly using them for the benefit of Heredia in his capacity as Captain of Avignon. Heredia became powerful, and his rise to the magistracy was in many ways a function of his years of service to the papacy, years during which he and they often disregarded the normal functioning of the Order's business and bureaucracy. If the Order maintained a degree of internal stability, influence could be brought to bear on it externally. Nonetheless, if the analogy between between the Hospital and northern Italian city-states may be revived, it is interesting to note that while the Hospital fell into monarchy at the same time as most of northern Italy, by the fifteenth century it seems to have restored the traditional oligarchic structures, which almost all of the communes and free cities of northern Italy failed to do in the same period. The story of the rise of Heredia, perhaps the Hospital's equivalent to Gian Galeazzo in Tuscany, is more suited to the next section, Hospitaller relations with the West.
Chapter Five
‘All the Kings’ Men’:
The Hospital, the Papacy, and the Secular Monarchies of the West

In Dashiell Hammett’s classic *The Maltese Falcon*, the treasure-hunter/amateur scholar Caspar Gutman attempted to explain the provenance of the thriller’s title character, the Black Bird, to Sam Spade. The bird was born as tribute, a gift for the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V from the Hospitallers, who had

persuaded the Emperor Charles V to give them...Gutman held up three puffy fingers and counted them - Malta, Gozo, and Tripoli...they were to pay the emperor one - he held up one finger - falcon in the acknowledgment that Malta was still under Spain...He was giving it to them, but not unless they used it, and they couldn’t give or sell it to anybody else.¹

Charles, in fact, hoped the Knights would serve as a front line of defence for his ambitions in North Africa. He was already the nominal head of almost every military religious order in Spain and the Empire.² Charles could employ the Hospitallers to his own benefit, and in the bargain give them something they needed - a new home.


The episode, even as conveyed by Gutman, who remains reasonably within the bounds of historical accuracy, highlights some of the difficulties inherent in the foundation, establishment, and maintenance of an exempt and nominally independent monastic order, particularly a military monastic order. Recent scholarship questions the degree to which Cistercian monasticism, traditionally the most fiercely independent brand of Benedictine monasticism, was as isolated as previous scholarship has argued. That the military religious orders were exempt from certain forms of taxation and some ecclesiastical jurisdictions is still held true. Yet from their beginnings, such orders faced difficulties associated largely with their allure to secular rulers. The perceived wealth and very real manpower of the orders made them attractive to many secular rulers in the West, particularly in the conditions and circumstances of the fourteenth century. From their inception, the Hospitallers walked a razor's edge between monastic independence and a dangerous degree of reliance upon princely patronage.

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3 Of course, Gutman’s assertion that Delaville’s Les Archives contains a reference to the bird, “oblique to be sure, but a reference still,” and that Paoli’s unpublished supplement to Dell’origine ed instituto del sacro militar ordine “has an unmistakable statement of the facts,” mark Hammett as a forerunner of such historical cranks as Graham Hancock (The Sign and the Seal) and Michael Badget (Holy Blood Holy Grail). The oblique reference could be anything in Delaville’s text, and I am uncertain if such a supplement to Paoli even exists, and being unpublished and on Malta, no one likely ever will.

4 See Chapter Seven, pp. 191-94.
This chapter investigates the nature of the political and legal relations between the Hospital the papacy, and briefly some of the monarchies of western Europe: England, Navarre, Aragon, and Castille. The Order’s survival during this period of transition may be due in large part to princely patronage on a number of levels. In what ways were the Hospitallers recipients of royal patronage, and what responsibilities did they maintain for such favors? The nature of the service and patronage outlined here also has much to say about the papal policies in central Italy, the development of English law, and the Hospitaller conception of the cloister as well.

Pope and Master

Relations between the papacy and the hospital have received some attention, of varying degrees of thoroughness, in recent years. The three best studies, in fact, all appeared within three years of one another, and as such none were able to analyze, critique, or comment upon the others. In 1986, Norman Housley followed his preliminary studies of the crusade in the later middle ages

The exclusion of France was due largely to scope of the study. I have considered much of the relevant secondary literature on the Hospital in France, and such materials appear elsewhere in this dissertation. Imperial patronage is an issue I have specifically chosen not to pursue rigorously, due to a variety of complexities, including the vast network of overlapping jurisdictions within Imperial territory. I will also consider the order’s relations with the Kingdom of Naples, but only in a cursory way. The Angevin monarchs of Naples were bound closely to the affairs of Avignon, and as such will be considered in that section. The degree to which much extensive research may done in this area is questionable, as much of the Angevin archives, once quite thorough, were destroyed during the German retreat from southern Italy in 1943.
with *The Avignon Papacy and the Crusade.* In the same year, Paul Thibault's *Pope Gregory XI* included a brief but well-written and enlightening section on Gregory's relations with the order, based to a degree on Delaville's *Naillac,* but also on the BEFAR series, and as such including useful documentation. In 1987, the long-awaited publication of the 1373 inquest into the Order's possessions arrived from the Institute de Recherches des Histoires des Textes; as preliminary text to the publication of the papal-inspired inquest, the volume included an historical introduction, "Paupaté et Hôpital," by Anthony Luttrell. The two most well-known surveys of the Avignon papacy, by Yves Renouard and Guillaum Mollat, both based most of their interpretation of papal-hospitaller relations upon Delaville's *Naillac* as well.

In general, papal correspondence touched upon the Hospital in a number of ways. For a variety of reasons, papal registers record quite a few transfers of property within the Hospital; petitions for future transfers also appear in the registers. Curial letters record the granting of various commendations to brethren of the Order, commendations coming from many corners - the papacy, the Masters of the Hospital, and secular princes of

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*LeGras, op. Cit., pp. 3-41.*

*See Chapters Three and Four.*

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Europe. They also contain standard restatements of the Order's privileges, an act not uncommon for medieval monastic orders, and especially pertinent in the aftermath of the Templar suppression, as the Hospitallers attempted to safeguard their properties and rights. A number of disciplinary matters reached the curial eye, and the papacy often intervened to force western houses to pay their arrears, in which capacity Norman Housley believes it did its greatest service to the Hospital. Brethren in papal service received their orders through curial letters as well. Some of these issues have received more attention than others, and when necessary the following chronological survey will both rely upon and expound upon the interpretations of previous scholars. If the Avignon popes may be said to have had a comprehensive policy towards the Hospital, the only word to describe it would be interventionist, with varying motivations on the parts of different popes, but usually with the intention of preparing the order for expeditions to the East, expeditions which rarely got any further than the minds of their architects. The policies and attitudes of the successive popes varied drastically, and as such their relations with the Hospital changed as well.

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10 See below, p. 146, n. 88.


12 Housley, Avignon, p. 281.
Clement V (1305-1314)

Sophie Menache has argued that while the Hospitallers may have been the 'favored sons' of Clement V, even after they hijacked his 1308 crusade to secure Rhodes, by 1312 Clement had begun placing his faith and hope in others, particularly Philip IV of France. After the Council of Vienne, he issued fewer letters of protection in defense of the Order's rights and properties, and urged the Hospitallers to undertake useful activity on the Turkish mainland; this call would be heard again from successive popes.

While Clement safeguarded the rights and privileges of the Hospital, urged houses to pay their arrears, and worked to some degree for the restitution of Templar properties to the Order, he was not beyond issuing a call for the reform of the Order. While Menache sees later requests for the


14Menache, ibid., 156.

15Clement V, 5384 (23 May 1310).

16Clement V, 7885 (2 May 1312), 7952 (16 May 1312), 8961 (11 Dec 1312), 9984 (31 Dec 1312).

17Clement V, 7860 (9 May 1312):

Nos itaque dictum prioratum, personas et membra ipsius precipua prosequentes in Domino caritate, considerantes, quod ex huiusmodi celebratione capituli, ad quod fratres prioratus eiusdem discret et providi convocantur, ea que reformationis et correctionis officio indigent, de consilio dicti capituli reformantur in melius et etiam corriguntur, quodque ex huiusmode concessionibus domorum, seu preceptoriarum, ad vitam, possunt dicto prioratu dampna plurima provenire et quamdam proprietatis speciem, contra puritatem ordinis Hospitalis eiusdem inducere quodamodo videantur, ac volentes propterea super his dicto prioratu de oportuno remedio providere, volumus, et apostolica auctoritate decernimus, quod prior dicti prioratus, qui est vel erit pro tempore, seu eius locum tenens, vel alius
maintenance of internal discipline in the Order as appeals made "apparently at the request of Master Fulk of Villaret," Clement had made similar appeals even earlier, for different locations than the ones she cites, and likely of his own accord; ultimately she is forced to concur with Luttrell that Clement prepared his own program of reform.\textsuperscript{18} Clement's papacy foreshadowed in some ways trends which would develop more fully in the reigns of later Avignon popes, particularly that of John XXII.

John XXII (1316-1334)

John was perhaps the most zealous and most able administrator of the Avignon popes, whose reputation as a group lay largely with their skills as administrators. The product of his long and energetic reign is a long and steady steam of correspondence, most of which has been edited by the BEFAR scholars.

\textit{quicumque ad eiusdem prioratus regimen per dictos magistrum et conventum vel eundem magistrum dumtaxat fuerit deputatus, possit et debet deinceps statuto predicto seu inhibitione quacumque sub quavis forma verborum factis aliquatenuus non obstantibus, capitulum seu capitula in dicto prioratu celebrare, quodlibet anno, sicut prius fuerat consuetum; predictas insuper domorum seu preceptoriarum concessiones, in quantum sunt ad vitam concessae, sub quacumque forma verborum sint factae, ex certa scientia revocamus auctoritate presentium, statuentes quod deinceps domus et preceptorie predicte secundum pristinam consuetudinem concedantur et gubernentur per illos, qui nunc positi sunt vel ponentur in eis, per eum vel eos ad quem vel ad quos id noscitur pertinere.}

\textsuperscript{18}Menache, p. 162.
This correspondence has granted historians various opportunities to study John's reign and his actions with regards to a number of issues, including his relations with the Hospitallers.

That John, a noted enemy of heresy, should look after the interests of the Hospitallers, who in papal rhetoric were defenders of the Christian faith and particularly devoted to the service of the cross, is not of itself surprising. He defended their interests at many levels, although he did not blindly champion their cause to the detriment of even-handedness and justice. Defending their interests often meant saving the Hospitallers from themselves, their own administrative decisions, and their own apparent lack of discipline. Delaville's opinion, corroborated by Housley, was that John's policies saved the Order from complete collapse in the fourteenth century.

The major issue of Hospitaller history in the first third of the fourteenth century was, of course, the absorption and integration of former Templar

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19The major exception here is Delaville, who conducted his research before the publication of the BEFAR series and in the years just after the opening of the Vatican Archives to limited scholarly scrutiny, and as such had to trawl through the enormous Vatican archive as terra incognita. Some of Luttrell's early research was also conducted before the appearance of the later volumes of the BEFAR series.

20On the fraticelli, see Decima Douie, The nature and effect of the Heresy of the fraticelli (Manchester, 1932), and more recently David Burr, Olivi's Peaceable Kingdom (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993).

21Amongst others, rhetorical references to the Hospitallers as intrepid Christi pugiles; see Clement V, 7885 (2 May 1312).

22Housley, Avignon, pp. 281 ff.
properties and brethren into the Order. Here, John worked zealously to defend the Hospital against the encroachments of Western monarchies. The degree to which the papacy could secure victory in the transfer of such properties is debatable, and historians of European kingdoms often imply in their own studies that Avignon could do little in these affairs, and that the ultimate outcome in such matters was generally determined by the kings and courts of Western Europe. Judgement on a debate of that scale is beyond the scope of this study, but we may safely assert that John nominally defended the Order in its efforts to gain what Clement V's bull *Ad providam* had argued rightfully belonged to it - the bulk of the Templar legacy.

John also took an interest in the Order's defense in its disputes with towns, cities, and communes. Loup de Faro's career highlights the complexity of the circumstances of the fourteenth century. A Castilian Hospitaller, Loup abandoned his habit, and in 1318 turned on the houses and property of his own former order. Apparently, though, the troop with which Loup associated himself was no mercenary company; it was composed of local Sevillians, particularly incensed over proprietary rights to the castle of Frenegal. After the suppression of the Templars, Seville hoped to have the castle revert to its authority and

23 In Delaville, *Naillac*, see pp. 52-6. In Housley's *Avignon Papacy*, see pp. 281-83.

24 See, for instance, William C. Jordan's account of these events in *The Great Famine*, below, p. 154-6.

jurisdiction; the Hospital claimed the fortification as its legal inheritance. To bolster its position, the Hospital had the Pope place the city of Seville under interdict in 1322. This state of affairs continued until the mid-1330s, when the Hospitaller Commander of Aix, Isnard du Bar, handled a series of negotiations which resulted in the repurchase of the castle from the Order by the city of Seville. Similarly, when its larger feudatories rebelled and attacked the Order's property, often with significant destructive effect, John supported its claims for retribution. He also protected the familiares and stipendiarii of the Hospital at their request. At the same time, John did not protect the Order's interests to the detriment of a larger justice. He often forced them to settle old debts of not

26 John XXII, Communes 43829 (13 Jan 1329):
Bishops of perusin. Et Nucerin, and the abbot of the monastery of St Peter in Perusin., at the instance of Villanova, that full justice be made by the city and individuals in Plan Carp, in the diocese of Perusin., which were feudatories, joined to the Hospital and subject to the priory of Urbs and bound to pay a tenth of wine and an eigth of bread "tamen de mensibus junii et juli proxime praeteritis congregatione facta inter eos contra domum predictam et fratres agressum fecerunt armati, domos, palearia et ligna combusserunt, arbores ultra 4000 incinderunt, damnificantes domum eamdem exinde in 312 flor. et ultra."

27 John XXII, Communes 61053 (23 Aug 1333):
Priori Vicensis, in diocese of paris, et Vienn. Et Claromont eccl decanis, that n.v. Henry Montargis, knight, not be molested, as he is a stipendiary of Securio (at 150 livres tournois), given by Odo of Monteacuto and confirmed by Villanova.
insignificant sums, and when Master Helion of Villanova's agents did property damage in Genoa, John forced the Order to make retribution. Defense of the Order's interests often meant saving it from itself, which John realized and did on several occasions and in several ways. Perhaps most importantly, he helped suture a schism which had opened in the Order during the magistracy of Fulk of Villaret. The character of Villaret, given to bravado and apparently extravagance, invariably helped him create a few enemies during his career, many of whom apparently were his own brethren. In the teens part of the Central Convent shut Villaret up in Rhodini; he escaped to Lindos, where he awaited papal arbitration of the dispute. After the attempted coup the Convent convened and elected a new Master, Maurice de Pagnac. John was forced to mediate, and engineered a compromise which eventually resulted in the elevation of Helion of Villanova to the magistracy. The election violated the

28 John XXII, Communes 60648 (30 June 1333): that Villanova make restitution for 1500 florins to Peter Le Laune, knight of Nicosia and nuncio of Hugh of Cyprus for a "stipendiis ordinatis a quondam Fulcone de Villareto tempore acquisitionis insulae Rodi."

29 John XXII, Communes 46496 (14 February 1329): Simon of Auria confirmed in his possession of houses, land, and places in city of Genoa, existing in its district, for which by the master of the Hospital " concessa fuerunt in recompensationem damnorum illatorum a gente dictorum magistrorum usque ad summam 6038 lib. januensis."

Order's procedures, but, John noted, was exceptional and not to be construed as a precedent. Villanova had strong ties to the crown of France, and was present at the battle of Cassel (1328) fighting for Philip VI, for whom he served. He spent most of his magistracy in the West attempting to set the Hospital's affairs in order.

While attempted murder of abbots in monastic orders was certainly no novelty,\(^\text{31}\) the Hospitallers appear to have had a particularly unruly house in the fourteenth century, and John often took steps to maintain peace and discipline in the Hospital. In Thorolzheim, he mandated that a brother be absolved of the crime of murdering his former commander and restored to the house.\(^\text{32}\) In another curious case, John granted the Bishop of Rhodes the authority to house and habilitate brethren who had been excommunicated from the Rhodian convent for beating their brethren.\(^\text{33}\) The implications of the letter are extraordinary: they suggest not simply that such beatings were regular, but also

\(^{31}\)See, for instance, the reception offered to Odo of Cluny at Fleury, whose inhabitants threw bricks at their prospective abbot and his escort..

\(^{32}\)John XXII, Communes 42630 (12 Jun 1328): to St Peter Junior et S. Arbogasti, and treasurer of Thom (in church of Argentinum), mandated that Nicolas of Thumzenheim, "dudum fratrem conventus Thorolzheim, dioc. Argent., faciant recipi iterum in eodem conventu et eum absolvant a reatu homicidii commissi de persona fratris Henrici, tunc preceptor" of Thorolzeim. Discerning whether guilt, sin, or crime is being absolved in this case is difficult.

\(^{33}\)John XXII, Communes 53879 (11 June 1331): Archbishop of Rhodes is conceded "facultas habilitandi fratres, donatos et familiares hospitalis S.J.J. in conventu ultramarino, qui sententiam ecommunicationem incurrerint propter injectionem manuum in alios fratres et donatos predicti conventi."
that the usual internal machinery of discipline was insufficient to handle such
matters satisfactorily, and that excommunication was an acceptable resort.\textsuperscript{34}
Using such information to rebut or validate accusations of extreme laxity on the
part of the Hospitallers is difficult, especially without any comparative studies
for other religious orders, particularly the Teutonic Knights, during the same
period. These instances do raise pertinent questions about the state of discipline
within the Order itself, though, questions which may be more properly
addressed in another study.

If John XXII died a broken man, with Italy in turmoil and a spate of
denunciations made against his own theological positions,\textsuperscript{35} he nonetheless
performed a great many services for the Hospitallers; if some of his actions set
poor precedent by violating standard Hospitaller procedures, John realized this
possibility and tried to minimize the long term damage he did to the Order's
procedures by stressing the singularity of his actions. The challenges faced by
John at the end of his reign remained for his successor, Benedict XII, whose
responses to those challenges involved the Hospitallers in the most intimate
ways.

\textsuperscript{34}Excommunication in a formal sense, not simply excommunication from the
house, for which the more precise \textit{expellere} is generally employed, seems to have been
the actual punishment.

\textsuperscript{35}Benedict declared that John's technically heretical position on the Beatific
Vision had been pronounced by John as an individual.
Benedict XII (1334-1342)

Crusade historians generally criticize the crusade policies of Benedict as passive. Such may be true, for few direct actions in the name of a passage to the East were taken in the late 1330s, proving, in Housley's words, "that, like the papacy itself, the order relied on the initiatives of others."36 The onset of open, large scale hostilities between England and France in 1337 certainly accounts for some of Benedict's inactivity, as does the deteriorating status of the papal states, which were rife with what the rhetoric of the Holy See referred to as heretics, schismatics, and rebels, and naturally required attention. Although Housley's definitions of 'crusade' grant that the need to wipe away heresy at home often subordinates the task of fighting heretics abroad, he nonetheless argues that Benedict's expenditures in Italy were slight,37 implying that he did little there as well to pave the way for a projected passage to the East. Yet Benedict's actions in Italy nonetheless involved the Hospitallers.

To reestablish and maintain a grip on central Italy Benedict seems to have developed a comprehensive program which involved the installation of Hospitallers as rectors in the papal states, particularly in Spoleto, Ancona, and Campania.38 Mollat has noted that Benedict initially learned from the mistakes

36Housley, Avignon, p. 290.

37Housley, Italian Crusades, p. 178.

38Luttrell first noted this very briefly in an article in Burlington Magazine (cxiv, 1972), pp. 362, in an article more concerned with fresco representations of Hospitallers, and neither he nor Housley, who later recalled Luttrell's observation

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of John XXII, who, by the end of his reign had alienated both the Florentines and Robert of Naples, previously his biggest supporters in Italy. Benedict attempted to repair some of this damage by pursuing a policy of appeasement and clemency in Italian affairs, a policy of which the petty tyrants and lords of the region took advantage. In Mollat’s account, by “March 1339, Benedict’s patience was at an end,” and he began increasing the penalties attached to the threats he made against holders of adulterine fortifications. On 5 March 1339, he named John Riparia, Hospitaller Prior of Urbs and Pisa, as Rector of the March of Ancona; on the same day he sent notification to Napoleon Tibertis, Hospitaller Prior of Venice, that he was to serve as the Rector of Campagne-Maritime. By the end of August in 1340, Raymond of Montebrione served as rector of Spoleto.

Even when employing non Hospitallers, Benedict tended to appoint clerics of good standing and good records of administration as the Rectors of the Papal States. Recalcitrant Hospitaller brethren had been reassigned to serve

(albeit from a different article), elaborated upon the details of their duties or the implications of their use for papal policy in central Italy.

39 Mollat, pp. 118-119.
40 Benedict XII, Closes, 2230-2235 (5 March 1339)
41 Ibid, 2883-2886 (30 August 1340). Montebrione received a 4 florin per day stipend.
under Riparia in Urbs, although he seems to have required repeated episcopal assistance in the recovery of Hospitaller properties. Tibertis had a long and active career with the Hospital; even before his appointment as rector he received a licence to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Moreover, the papacy had used Hospitallers in a similar capacity before; in 1274 Guillaume Villaret served as the Rector of the Comtat Venaissin. Clement, Innocent, Urban, and Gregory would all continue to do so as well, although none used as many Hospitallers as rectors at one time as did Benedict. In the late thirties, their employ by Benedict seems to have been part of a larger policy concerning the Hospital and the papal states, a policy borne of both his frustration after the failure of appeasement to work in central Italy as well as of his continued desire

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42 John XXII, Communes, 62955 (6 April 1334):

43 Benedict XII, France, 2311 (6 April 1335):
To the Bishop of perusin: domum s. Aegidii prope Castillionum filiorum Ugolini, ad Hospitale Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani, Perusin.dioc., spectantem, a Petro Lamberti de Castillioni, fratre dicte Hospitale, per facti potentiam temere occupatam, restituat Joanni de Riparia, prior prioratus ejusdem Hospitali Urbis et Pisarum. 2312 (6 April 1335): To the Bishop of Suanen, “domum et mansionem Albaresio (belonging to the Hospital) dictum de Grosseto, ac Contum et Bindum quondam Maliae, dicti Bettini fratri filios domicellos Grossetan, violenter occupatas, restitui faciat Joanni de Riparia.”
Judging from Benedict’s first letter, John XXII’s letter from exactly one year before (note 42) had little benefit.

44 Benedict XII, Communes, 6177 (5 June 1338); see Chapter Seven below, p. 223 n. 99.

45 Luttrell, “Notes,” above, p. 130 n 30.
to achieve a peaceful resolution to their affairs. Although Mollat portrays Benedict as “out of patience” after the spring of 1339, he still seems to have preferred peaceful means to achieve his ends; a note to Riparia states that if the force of arms were necessary to achieve peace, so be it - but he preferred if his rector “showed him a better way.” Peaceful resolutions generally were not possible in central Italy. In 1346, Riparia attempted to forge an alliance with Gentile of Moliane and Gentile of Camerino by marrying two of his own nieces to their son and nephew, respectively; the effort failed, and by November Clement sent a letter to Riparia, congratulating him on his victory over Moliano.

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46 Benedict, Closes, 2512 (13 September 1339):
Riparia ordered to draw the communes of the cities and castles to himself, and with them to bring (confundat) the local tyrants to obedience; et si ad hoc armorum potestia necessaria fuerit, aptiorem modum quo fieri posset pontifici manifestet. See also Ibid, 2509 (11 September 1339), in which Benedict commended Tibertis for his diligence, and then reminded the Hospitaller to continue fostering peace and concord amongst nobles in Campania-Maritime.

47 Unfortunately the BEFAR calendar is no more specific than that; the victory may have been only political, but the speed with which negotiations broke down in subsequent correspondence leads us to believe that it was likely military.

Clement VI, 974-975 (2 May 1346):
Gentile Moliano commended for his obedience to Riparia; 1003 (10 June 1346): Riparia authorized to marry two of his nieces, “scilicet unam cum filio Gentilis Mogliano et alteram cum pronepote Gentilis de Camerino”; 1004 (10 June 1346): Riparia receives right to suspend “citationem factam ad comparendum in curia Romana nobili viro Gentile”; Clement VI, France, 2819 (20 September 1346): to Riparia, that concerning the evil obstinence of Mogliano and other tyrants and rebels in the March, he might have recourse to the legate Bertrand du Poujet. 1266 (11 November 1346): Riparia commended for victory obtained “die quinta octobris contra Gentilem de Mogliano, occupatorem terrae St Genesii ad R.E. spectantis.”
Hospitaller rectors do not seem to have possessed powers extraordinary to those usually reserved to the office. They received daily stipends and the assistance of a spiritual vicar - although Tibertis had to complain loudly before approved one for the Campagne-Maritime. They received a dispensation to traffic with heretics, rebels, and malefactors, and could themselves celebrate mass before the break of day. They nominated and in some cases appointed all major civic offices in the Duchies and Marches, although often papal approval was required for some of these appointments. They could call the inhabitants

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48 Benedict, Closes, 2235 (5 March 1339) Riparia received a six florin per diem in Ancona.

49 Benedict XII, Communes, 7313-7315. Clement VI, 349 (2 December 1343): “Thesaurio Campaniae et Maritimae mandatur ut faciat solvi salarium judiciis deputati in spiritualibus in dicti particus conquerente graviter Napoleone de Tibertis rectori provinciarum.”

50 Benedict, Closes, 7313-7314 (27 April 1339): to Napoleon “conceditur ut dictae rectoriae durante officio cum rebellibus et haereticis Campaniae Maritimaeque participare possit.” 7314: the same privilege granted to Riparia.

51 Benedict, Closes, 7315-7316 (27 April 1339): to each rector “conceditur ut quamdiu...fuerit missam antequam dies illucescat facere celebrari valeat.”

52 Clement VI, 423 (2 March 1344): Tibertis is to proclaim Benedict XII’s constitution which prohibited the assumption of such offices without papal licence.
of the various communes and cities to service,\textsuperscript{53} and were responsible for the maintenance of various towers and fortifications throughout their jurisdictions.\textsuperscript{54} Tibertis apparently was overzealous about this aspect of his job, and had to be told not to destroy properties belonging to papal familiars.\textsuperscript{55} They had the authority to deprive barons of their feudatories,\textsuperscript{56} and sat at the head of tribunals which heard criminal cases; \textsuperscript{57} for Tibertis this meant an ongoing pursuit of the Gaetani.\textsuperscript{58} Additionally the rectors found themselves performing various other duties for the Marches. Tibertis served as the guardian of noble wards, although Benedict felt compelled to remind him not to marry one girl to any of her cousins.\textsuperscript{59} Riparia often collated the goods of dead churchmen,\textsuperscript{60} and was responsible for making the Jews of Ancona wear special markings.\textsuperscript{61}


\textsuperscript{54}\textit{Clement VI}, 348 ff (10 August 1335), 762-763 (30 August 1345) Bishop of Anagni to hand over the tower of St Anthony to Tibertis, who will see to its repair.

\textsuperscript{55}\textit{Ibid}, 434 (11 March 1344).

\textsuperscript{56}\textit{Ibid}, 742, 758 (16 August 1345).

\textsuperscript{57}This authority was common to rectors of the Papal States; see Mollat, p. 126.

\textsuperscript{58}\textit{Benedict XII, Closes}, 2935 (14 Nov 1340); \textit{Benedict XII, Communes}, 8357 ( 1 July 1340); \textit{Clement VI}, 813 (27 Oct 1345)

\textsuperscript{59}\textit{Clement VI}, 375-376 (23 January 1344).

\textsuperscript{60}\textit{Clement VI, France}, 483 (4 October 1344), 1208 (31 October 1343).

\textsuperscript{61}\textit{Clement VI, France}, 1554 (12 March 1345).
Benedict likely initiated his policy of a concerted use of Hospitallers in the Papal States because of the Order’s diplomatic and administrative reputation. Initial suspicions that he may have hoped to draw upon the resources of the Order do not have much foundation in the sources, although this was not the case with Urban V and another Hospitaller, Daniel Carreto. When Heredia served as the Captain of Avignon from 1351 to 1367, Innocent did his best to enrich the Aragonese with lucrative Hospitaller properties; Heredia was chronically derelict in the payment of his responsions, and may have used the Order’s resources for his work in Aragon.62 While Benedict was meticulous about restoring Hospitaller properties to usurpers to Riparia in 1335,63 such efforts are too far removed from Riparia’s installation as rector in 1339 to argue that Benedict was ‘fattening the calf’ for later use.

The policy begun by Benedict continued under Clement VI, who retained all three Hospitallers in their respective posts. When Riparia died in 1350, Clement replaced him with a non-Hospitaller. In 1353 Innocent toyed with the idea of assigning another Hospitaller, Monreal duBar, as the rector of Ancona, but never pursued the plan.64 He did use Heredia in Avignon, though, and may also have assigned Daniel Carreto as Rector of the Romagna; Carreto also served

63Benedict XII, France, 2311-2315 (6 April 1335).
64See above, Chapter Four, p. 107 n 86.
as rector of Campania-Marittime under Urban V. Carreto’s career under Urban is instructive in the shift of papal use of the Hospitallers.

In the 70s Carreto served the Order as the Captain of Smyrna and then of the Principality of Achaiae. Before then, though, he too served the Popes in Italy. He may have begun his career in the hire of Innocent; we first see him in Urban’s employ in November of 1364, when he began his service as Rector of the Romagna. Nonetheless, the move to enrich Carreto may have begun under Clement VI in 1350, when Clement sought the Priory of Urbs and Pisa, vacated by the death of John of Riparia in 1349; possibly Clement hoped to groom him for the same tasks Riparia had performed. While he was given similar authority to Hospitaller rectors under Benedict, papal letters clearly subordinate his role to that of his spiritual rector in the Romagna, the Bishop of Ravenna. Still, when Carreto began his appointment, he was only a


66 Urban V, France, 1367 (18 November 1364): Letter addressed to Gil Albornoz, John of Fraxinetto, and Carreto, preceptor of Niciae and “provinciae Romandiolae rectoris.”

67 Clement VI, 2157, 2158 (12 March 1350).

68 Urban V, France 1687 (9 April 1365).

69 Ibid, e.g. 1813 and 1850-1852. The latter all pertain to June of 1365 and the establishment of a truce with Bernabo Visconti, and admittedly the Archbishop of Ravenna was of status more appropriate to the tasks involved.

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Commander.\textsuperscript{70} In 1363 Urban asked Alborno to find a suitable office for him,\textsuperscript{71} and the rectorship likely was it. Immediately upon Carreto's appointment, Urban, the staunch opponent of pluralism, began seeking resources to place at Carreto's disposal. He asked the Master and Convent to provide him with the Priory of Venice, or whatever other Priory they desired.\textsuperscript{72} Little seems to have come of the request immediately, and Carreto remained a Commander until at least June of 1365; he first appears as prior of Lombardy in papal records of 1370,\textsuperscript{73} by which point he served as Rector of Campagna-Marittime rather than the Romagna.\textsuperscript{74} When Urban issued his original appeal to the Order, he also sent missives to Edward III and the Hospitaller Prior of England, seeking the fruits of Swynfeld for Carreto's use.\textsuperscript{75} What became of the request is unknown; given the sequence of missives, Carreto did not hold Swynfeld previously, and

\textsuperscript{70}See above, n. 68.

\textsuperscript{71}Urban V, France, 584 (30 August 1363).

\textsuperscript{72}\textit{Ibid}, 1377-1381. In 1379 (18 November 1364) Master and Convent were "cum de prioratu Venetiarum priori Urbis et Pisarum providerent, danieli carreto, praeceptori domus de Swnefeld, Cantuarnessis diocesis, provinciae Romandiolae pro ecclesia Romana rectori, de alio prioratu vacaturo velint providere. The next letter (1380) on the same day is a request to Edward III, that he let Carreto keep the fruits of Swyenfeld. Urban then (1381) asked the Prior of England to act on Carreto's behalf.

\textsuperscript{73}Urban V, Lettres Communes, 27175 (1 July 1370).

\textsuperscript{74}Urban V, France, 3196 (Issued from Montefiascone, 25 August 1370): as Prior of Lombardy and Rector of Campania-Marittime, Carreto was to restore a tower in Anagni to a layman, contrary to the mandate of the former rector. See also Urban V, 27175; for Carreto as "olim rector Romagnia" see \textit{ibid}, 19803 (28 June 1367).

\textsuperscript{75}Urban V, France, 1380-1381 (18 November 1364).
Urban seems to have approached Edward and the Prior of England with what he hoped was a fait accompli by addressing Carreto as praeceptor domus Swynefeld in the letter directly before his request to Edward. Urban's intentions become quite clear under the circumstances, even if he remained within the bounds of his own statutes concerning pluralism.

Ultimately, papal subjugation of central Italy rested more with the dominating figure of Innocent's legate, Cardinal Gil Albornoz, than with the use of a few Hospitallers to administer the Papal States in the thirties, forties, fifties, and sixties; he is in fact largely responsible for making Urban and Gregory's return to Rome possible.76 By initiating such a policy, Benedict likely hoped to achieve several ends. Most of his rectors were clerics, if not Hospitallers, and Benedict may have hoped to rely upon the hierarchical machinery of discipline to keep his rectors in line; the Hospitallers he employed all had records of probity and discipline. While Luttrell has suggested that the use of such men as rectors provided a supply of men who were already supported by their own benefices and their own Order,77 who thus required no further sustenance, Riparia, Tibertis, and Montebrione all received standard stipends for their services in the Papal States. Lay servants, even in the service of the papacy, had a tendency to squat on fortifications and properties once subdued in the pope's

76 For an assessment of the code, see Wolfgang Weber, Die Constitutiones Sanctae Maris Ecclesiae des Kaedinals Aegidius Albornoz von 1357 (Aalen, 1982).

The papacy often resorted to the employ of 'tyrants,' and Riparia and the other rectors were responsible for directing the activities of such men.79

He may also have hoped to use the administrative machinery of the Order to his advantage. Housely has noted that in the twenties and thirties John XXII did as much as possible to prevent the transportation of funds from Italy to Avignon and then back to Italy again.80 His policy was as comprehensive as could be expected; Benedict generally employed Hospitaller priors (Carreto later served as rector while still only a preceptor), and only five such men existed locally. While Montebrione was only the Commander of Montebello, the Prior of Lombardy served as a papal captain by 1345.81 One of the others, Isnard duBar, Prior of Capua, served not only as Visitor of the Order in the troubled thirties,82 but also as the legate of Robert of Naples until that King's death in 1343,83 and finally as the Captain of papal and Hospitaller galleys.84 One

78Clement VI, 464 (16 April 1344); Benedict XII, Communes, 7547 (1 December 1339).

79Clement VI, France, 1001 (27 July 1344).

80Housley Avignon, p. 194-6.

81Ibid., p. 291; John of Biandrate was Prior of Lombardy.

82As a negotiator in Spain, see the notes from John XXII, Communes, 63100(29 April 1334).

83Benedict XII, France, 850 (12 June 1341): "Roberto regni Siciliae nuntiat se audivisse Isnardum de baro priorem domus de Capua H.S.J.J., legatum regium, eique viva voce respondisse."

84See above, p. 59 n 51.

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suspicion that if duBar had not been so busy otherwise, Tibertis would have been made rector of the Romagna or the patrimony of St Peter, and Isnard would have received the office in Campagne-Maritime. Nonetheless, little evidence remains that Benedict employed the fiscal or administrative machinery of the Hospital to centralize rectoral business in the Papal States; indeed, even Riparia made payments to various papal bankers.85

The policy’s success generally lay in undercutting the venality of rectors. Hospitaller rectors, though, certainly enjoyed their share of minor victories. All received repeated commendations from popes,86 monarchs,87 and their own Hospitaller Masters,88 although these all flowed freely and regularly enough to cast suspicion upon their value. Nonetheless, Clement specifically praised the condition of Ancona in 134489 and Riparia’s victory over Gentile

85In the 1340s, for instance, Hospitallers served as agents transferring papal funds to the East—see Housley, Papacy p. 196-8. Benedict XII, Closes, 2857 (18 August 1340): 200 florins to be assigned to Riparria from John Pererie, Collector in Tuscia; 3035 (30 March 1341), Pererie again to pay 2000 florins “pro statu et negotiis ipsius provincie (Ancona]...et ei a mercatoribus societatis Azayalorum [the Achiavoli] tradendis.”

86Note 89.

87Benedict XII, 778 (5 September 1340): Robert of Sicily commends Raymond of Montebiriono.

88Clement VI, 1375 (6 May 1347) Goson to Tibertis; Clement VI, France, 1742 (22 May 1345) Villanova to Tibertis; Benedict XII, Closes, 3117 (13 July 1341), commendation for Tibertis replacing one lost at sea.

89Clement VI, France, 1006 (27 July 1344): “eum [Riparia] laudat quod Marchiae Anconitae statum composuerit.”
Moliano two years later. In 1339 Tibertis forged a three year truce between the Gaetani and their rivals near Anagni, although this eventually crumbled. He also apparently punished excesses which previous rectors ignored, and secured the release of Raymond Orsini, an important papal ally. These were the sorts of victories one expected from this strata of officers. Only a papal legate like Albornoz, with far-reaching military and judicial authority could quell the entire papal domain. Within a reasonable sphere of expectations, though, the Hospitallers performed admirable services.

If the papacy benefitted from the use of the Hospital in central Italy, what did the Order receive? As individuals the rectors certainly received support from their papal employers; Benedict continued to work for the restoration of properties to Riparia, and reassured his rector when someone launched a campaign to smear his name and have him removed. Similarly, Clement aided Tibertis in his own attempt to have two of his nephews released from the prisons

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90 *Clement VI*, 1266 (11 November 1346).

91 *Benedict XII, France*, 2559 (10 October 1339).

92 *Clement VI*, 428 (3 March 1344).


94 *Benedict XII, Closes*, 3119 (13 July 1341):
Priors, rectors and commune of Perusin, mandated that the house of St Justin de Arno “a quondam monacho apostata O.S.B. oriundo de domo nobilium de ballionibus de Perusin., violenter armorum potentia occupatam, restituit faciant rectori praefato ac restituiti facta si aliquis velit de jure suo agere, causam suam coram competenti judice prosequatur.”

95 *Clement VI*, 701-702 (28 June 1345).
of Charles of Durazzo.\textsuperscript{96} The toll on the Order, while ultimately impossible to calculate in concrete statistical terms, must nonetheless have been great. Riparia and Montebrione, whose papal offices did not take them far from their prioral duties, seem to have experienced few difficulties, although one supposes that their vice-priors or lieutenants fairly well administered their priories. Tibertis, though, was once allowed a respite from his papal duties in order to check on the status of his priory and its appurtenances;\textsuperscript{97} three years later Clement ordered Deodat of Goson not to assign him any new duties\textsuperscript{98}. If papal employ of the Hospital did not always draw upon the financial resources of the Order, it certainly drew competent and capable administrators away from their prioral duties, which cannot have had a good effect on the Order and its administration. The popes were not alone in their use of the order in such a manner. The kings of England and the monarchs of Sicily also made frequent use of Hospitaller priors.\textsuperscript{99}

Clement VI(1342-1352)

While Clement continued to use the Hospitallers for the reduction of central Italy, his general crusade policy netted one of the greatest crusade

\textsuperscript{96}Clement VI, France, 2491 (13 May 1346).

\textsuperscript{97}Clement VI, 428-429 (3 March 1344).

\textsuperscript{98}Clement VI, 1429 (9 July 1347):
"Deodato de Gosono mandatur ut novitates non inferat Neapoleon de Tibertis, rectori Campaniae et Maritimae."

\textsuperscript{99}Below, p. 150 ff.
successes of the century, the formation of a naval league which eventually captured Smyrna. He maintained an active interest in Hospitaller affairs; although early in his pontificate he threatened to disband the order for its idleness, he nonetheless continued Benedict's policy of using Hospitallers as rectors in the papal states. He issued warnings to the order, warnings which called for internal reformation of their laxity, warnings which threatened to disband or relocate their headquarters, warnings which would be pronounced by Clement's successors as well.

Clement actively worked in the internal discipline of the Hospital, but seemed less actively involved in 'sponsoring' internal legislation for the Hospital than either Benedict or John had been. Clement attempted to coerce some brethren to pay large sums of money pro defensionis fidelium Romanie partium contra Turchos to the papal camera; the priors of Navarre and France, as well as the Commander of Silva, were to account for 10400 florins. Additionally, 48000 florins were to be exchanged between Garin of Castronovo, the Prior of

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100Clement VI, France, 2809 (16 October 1346).
Navarre, and Deodat of Goson, the Master of the order. Additionally, Clement requested 31500 florins from Goson for galley maintenance in 1349. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the demands he made upon the Order, Clement worked to make the Order's creditors pay off their debts to the Hospital, and he continued the struggle to get the Aragonese monarchs to restore properties to the order.

Innocent VI (1352-1362)

Of all the threats issued against the Order by the Avignonese popes, those declared by Innocent seem the most hostile. He too continued a policy of Hospitaller employ in the papal states, and almost admitted Monreale duBar to service in Ancona; by the time of DuBar's death Innocent's opinion of him had

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101 Garin was receiver general of the Order. This sum may reflect the total, or a large portion of it, for the previous year's responsions; it amounts to slightly more than half of the yearly income calculated by Nisbet, and hovers just above what Luttrell has argued the reasonably expected income of the Order was in a given year. Although Goson commended Castronovo, see Clement VI, France, 2780 (3 September 1346); the Receiver had also been accused of machination against the election of Goson, ibid, 2889 (14 October 1346). Clement also was forced to intervene on Castronovo's behalf when he demanded that certain preceptories given to him should be reassigned as life grants, or at least thirty year grants, rather than the single year afforded by Goson; Clement VI, 4265 (26 September 1349).

102 Clement VI, France, 4140 (10 April 1349).

103 In 1345 he warned the Florentines to make good upon all debts owed to the Hospital, Clement VI, 695 (21 June 1345); for the struggle with Aragon, see Clement VI, 1301 (15 January 1347), as well as the brief section below and the main secondary literature listed therein.

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changed. Similarly, if Heredia may be said to have been anyone's creature, Innocent was that man.

Juan Fernandez de Heredia, in the somewhat romanticized estimation of Delaville, by the end of his career Heredia was the “arbiter of European destinies,” an assessment deflated by Luttrell’s reminder that ultimately, Heredia, though a shrewd, capable, and ambitious man, nevertheless remained lower on the scale of importance in European affairs than Cardinal Albornoz. A patron of the arts and scholarship, he financed and subsidized scholars and their projects, including the first translation of Plutarch’s *Parallel Lives* from Greek into a European language. He fought in and was captured at the Battle of Poitiers, by Froissart’s chivalric account just barely escaping the wrath of Edward III with his head on his shoulders; Ghian Bou Spata captured him in Greece while on campaign in 1378 as well. Before his elevation to the magistracy, Heredia benefitted from the fruits of several posts, often all at once; in 13 he held several lucrative properties, and Innocent even sought to have made Prior of Castile in 1354, certainly an uncomfortable situation for all involved, since many of Heredia’s duties in the service of his Aragonese master

104 See Chapter Four, p. 107.

105 See Luttrell’s “Introduction” to *Naillac*, p.iii, and “Heredia at Avignon,” p. 401.


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included the defence of the frontier against Castilian incursion. His skills as an administrator made him a popular commodity, and his residency as Captain of Avignon made the maintenance of ties in Aragon all the more easy to maintain, even if he did so at the expense of his obligations to his papal masters; in 1355 he incurred a brief sentence of excommunication for his refusal to return to Avignon. In short, his career represents the difficulties and conflicts writ large, which were inherent in service to the Order.

Innocent’s political focus remained in Europe, largely accounting for the importance of Heredia in his schemes. He took very little initiative where the launching of crusades or naval leagues to the eastern Mediterranean was concerned. His policy of reform, undertaken even as he sought to violate existing safeguards for his own benefit, was as much concerned with the reform of all religious orders, of which the Hospital was but one.

Urban V (1362-1370)

By Urban’s papacy, the rectorships of many of the papal states were not only no longer in Hospitaller hands, but were also being handed out once again to secular men and regular canons of the church. He nonetheless continued

108 Ibid., p. 293.

109 Ibid., p. 300.

10Clement VI, 2138 (14 February 1350).
to use Hospitallers in his personal service. While Heredia could not be completely shielded from Urban's anti-pluralist legislation, he remained in papal favor; when Urban sailed from Marseilles to Orvieto in 1367, Heredia commanded his fleet.\textsuperscript{112} He also extended papal protection to the Hospitaller Receiver general, Arnald Ebrardi.\textsuperscript{113} While Urban remained willing to let the church hierarchy settle certain internal property disputes, he was also willing to intervene personally in what otherwise seemed to be petty internal affairs,\textsuperscript{114} of less importance than those whose judgement they let rest with the episcopacy.

Gregory XI (1370-1378)

Of the Avignon popes, Gregory was perhaps most keenly aware of the rapidly deteriorating situation in the East. In the fifties only Stefan Dushan, after the battle of Demotika, realized the threat posed by the Ottomans. By Gregory's pontificate the crisis was more readily apparent, but still had to be balanced against the difficulties in other areas, namely the power vacuum left in the eastern Mediterranean with the death of Peter Lusignan, and the continual desire to return permanently to Rome.

\textsuperscript{112} An overland passage used a Hospitaller escort as well.

\textsuperscript{113} \textit{Urban V, Letters Communes}, 11478 (17 April 1364):
“Arnaldus Eberardi, preceptor domus Berdigalen...sub b. Petris et Papa protectione suscipiuntur.”

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Ibid.}, 24364 (9 June 1369): In a lengthy missive, Urban attempted to appease Raymond Soleris; the latter had been granted the Preceptory of St Nazar after Berengar Foresi forfeited it under a sentence of excommunication. Urban restored Foresi to the property but made satisfaction for Soleris, who was in his seventies.
With all of these issues in mind Gregory took several steps. He recognized Heredia’s talent, if not his ambition, and re-appointed him as captain of Avignon. The various allegations of laxity and indiscipline among the Hospitallers continued to arouse papal suspicion of their state. Still, when Gregory called for an inquest into the condition of the Hospital in 1372, his motivations were largely to discern the material conditions of the order. Those conditions, judging largely from data concerning the Priory of France, seem now to have been quite poor. Many brethren were of an advanced age, the large majority of them were brother priests, and by the seventies the overall number of them was in decline. Plans to transfer the order to a more active base of operations finally materialized with the lease to the order of the principality of Achaia by Joanna of Naples in 1374.

England

With regards to Hospitaller external relations, the case of England bears resemblance to that of the papacy. Like the papacy, the Kings of England employed the Knights of St. John as personal servants and officers. In a broader sense, though, monarchical – and baronial – ambitions in England introduced a third party into the equation, a third party which greatly complicated Hospitaller digestion of Templar properties after 1312.

115 Note from Luttrell, “Paupate et Hopital,” p. 29. Benoit Beaucage has noted that some diocesan processes did inquire into the spiritual state of the order, and that the responses were less than heartening; see B. Beaucage, “Crisis,” pp. 90, 93.
In the 1280s, Fr Joseph Chauncey, a Hospitaller, served as royal chancellor. He would not be the last Hospitaller in the king's service, and one of his successors, Robert of Hales, provides an interesting window into Hospitaller relations with the Crown of England.

Hales first appears as the commander of Slebech and Sanford in 1358.\textsuperscript{116} In the sixties he received indulgences from Urban V as well.\textsuperscript{117} By 13\textsuperscript{1}, he had become Prior of England; he apparently also became Admiral of the King's West Fleet sometime in the 1370s. \textsuperscript{118} Such a post brought with it an enormous amount of authority; admirals controlled all ports from the Thames northward and from the Thames westward, and within their jurisdiction were such matters as the impressment of sailors, the charge of convoys, the impounding of vessels, and the enforcement of discipline among men serving in the fleet.\textsuperscript{119}

\begin{flushleft}\footnotesize\textsuperscript{116}NLM, Archive 316 fol 199 (o.p.) (1 June 1365), Hales as Preceptor of Sutton and Ade; by 1 September of the same year, he appears as Preceptor of Sandford and Slebech (220, o.p.); see also 316 fol 203 (o.p.).
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\begin{flushleft}\footnotesize\textsuperscript{117}Urban V, Lettres Communes, 18483 (2 April 1367) refers to him merely as Frater Robertus.
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\begin{flushleft}\footnotesize\textsuperscript{118}On this point I follow the sometimes untrustworthy E.J. King in The Grand priory of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in England (London, 1924), p. 48, where he states that John Redington, Prior in 1381, 'was named Admiral like the Prior before him.' King was not meticulous about his sources, and while the material could have come from any of a number of sources, it likely came from Vertot's history. Nonetheless King makes reference to Hales as Commander of Slebech and in 1358; whether or not his source was Vertot or his own archival research, that material must have been drawn from the archives.
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\begin{flushleft}\footnotesize\textsuperscript{119}H.J. Hewitt, The Organization of War under Edward III (Cambridge, 1957), p. 77.
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It was not the highest post which Hales would attain, for in the fall of 1380 he accepted a charge as Treasurer of the King. The previous treasurer had, with great foresight, resigned his post after Parliament imposed its heavier poll tax, in response to which the people registered manifestly low returns of those subject to pay the full shilling. Hales’ response as Treasurer, the dispatching of commissioners to verify the returns, helped spark the larger revolt of 1381. After sacking Clerkenwell, the Order’s headquarters for England, the mob eventually caught up with the Archbishop of Canterbury and “Hobbe the Robber,” as Hales became known, at the Tower, where both men met their fates on the block.\textsuperscript{120}

Hales, at the very least, fulfilled more than a few very important duties for his royal masters. What, however, if any, was Plantagenet policy towards the Hospital at large, as an order? Were the Hospitallers the recipients of royal favor and patronage in the fourteenth century?

In England, the ring of royal authority had been tightening since the thirteenth century. The advent of mortmain legislation after 1279 should have

\textsuperscript{120}Interestingly, ninety years later, another Hospitaller Prior serving as King’s Treasurer also died on the block; a partisan of Henry VI and the Earl of Warwick, Fr Langstrother lost his head shortly after the battle of Barnet in 1471. Hospitallers seem to have borne the brunt of popular and aristocratic resentment against others; in 1336, Fr Raymond Penn lost his head and hands in a popular rebellion in Italy. See \textit{Benedict XII, Curiale, 7504} (2 December 1339).
had a discernable effect on Hospitaller properties.\textsuperscript{121} While no full scale studies have performed, we know at the very least that the law could be applied even-handedly without working to the detriment of the Order. Mortmain legislation was not iron-clad; in 1381 a jury decided in favor of the Hospital in a suit brought against them by Edward III in 1375, claiming they had breached mortmain some thirty years previous in Chingford.\textsuperscript{122} Significantly, the jury reached this decision in January of 1381, four years after the death of Edward, months before parliamentary raising of the poll tax, and still during the regency of Richard II. Nonetheless, the crown generally shielded the hospital from episcopal visitation, certain forms of taxation and structural maintenance, and from the levies of the wool-takers.\textsuperscript{123} The Hospital also kept an advocate at the King's bench. Not surprisingly, houses like Oxford often provided corrodaries or pensions for royal favorites no longer in active service.\textsuperscript{124}

\textsuperscript{121}Literally, the Statute of the dead hand, proclaimed by Edward I to prevent secular men from alienating properties to the 'dead hand' of the church without royal consent. Generally the statutes applied to all non-royal corporations, but seem specifically aimed at church corporations. On mortmain in general, see Sandra Raban, \textit{Mortmain Legislation and the English Church} (Cambridge, 1982).

\textsuperscript{122}On the case, see Michael Gervers, \textit{The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England, Part Two, Prima Camera Essex}, (Toronto, 1992)#16.

\textsuperscript{123}I draw all of these examples from the \textit{Oxford Cartulary}, pages xxxv-xxxvii, and #s 933 and 939. Whether or not other houses enjoyed similar privileges is unknown.

\textsuperscript{124}Salter, \textit{Oxford Cartulary}, p. xxxii.
The Templar properties have been likened to "a bleeding animal thrown into a bay of hungry sharks."\textsuperscript{125} The protracted legal battles which ensued the dissolution have never been fully investigated. While Housley has described "Capetian fiscal brutality" against the Hospital in the years after 1312, the challenge in England came from the nobility as well. The Act of Parliament which finally declared the goods forfeit to the Hospital came only in 1324, which Jordan implies is attributable to the long term effects of the famine; Edward was unwilling to hand over such properties until the depressed and subsistence conditions brought about by the famine had finally seemed to pass.\textsuperscript{126}

The Hospital struggled continually against other landlords over a variety of issues, largely those concerning the maintenance and repair of roadways and dikes. In the Great Wakering, the Hospital continually ignored summons with regards to a suit brought against them by Isabel Despenser, who claimed that their laxity in maintaining sea walls led to an onrush of seawater onto her property.\textsuperscript{127} No patterns can be discerned from the few examples offered by Palmer. A case might be made for further investigation into this area, though. Cases involving the crown and Hospital directly, tend to come from the Mermoranda Rolls, and much of Palmer's data come from the Plea Rolls of the

\textsuperscript{125}William C. Jordan, \textit{The Great Famine} (Princeton, 1996), p. 82.

\textsuperscript{126}Jordan, p.82.

\textsuperscript{127}Robert C. Palmer, \textit{English Law in the Age of the Black Death} (Chapel Hill, 1993), p. 397. Palmer never reveals the outcome of the suit, although he does offer specifics about its history; the hospital was summoned in 1348, 1351 and 1354.
Court of Common Pleas, with a few emanating from the Plea Rolls of the Court of the King’s Bench. The establishment of *praemunire* as a legal principle in 1353 further complicates the judicial process for the Hospital, as anyone subject to royal authority “of any condition,” who brought suits outside the kingdom or sought appeals to royal judgements in a similar fashion, forfeited properties and freedom. In other kingdoms, the study of legal records and procedures have yielded interesting results.

**Iberia: Aragon, Navarre, and Castile**

Summarily, the picture of Iberian Hospitaller monarchical relations closely resembles that of Hospitaller relations with the papacy and the kings of England. In Aragon the attempts of the crown to dominate the Order were largely successful, with one caveat. Peter succeeded in grabbing a large portion of the Templar inheritance for himself, which he used to create ‘national’ military orders along the lines of those which existed in Castile. The Hospitallers maintained close relations with the monarchy in Aragon as well; the Prior of Castile and the Castellan of Amposte served in the cortes of the kingdom and

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128 See Palmer, pp. 342, 381, 397, 402.

129 For translated text of the statute, see *Sources of English Constitutional History* (Harper, 1937), p. 226-7. None of the secondary literature lists any suits brought against the hospital for violation of *praemunire* after 1353, but the breadth of the statute assured that it would be violated sooner or later by most religious houses; the case of Reginald of Nanteuil (Chapter Five), for instance, having occurred in Aquitaine, could have been construed as a violation of *praemunire*. Some houses did apparently violate the Statute of Laborers however - see Salter, *op. Cit.*, xxxi. One suspects that the Hospital was not alone in the violation of the latter statutes. See Steven Epstein, *Wage Labor and Guilds in Medieval Europe* (Chapel Hill, 1991) pp. 237-239.
performed personal homage to the king, but in some regions exercised high justice in their domains and held the much sought after mero y mixto imperio.\textsuperscript{130} Similarly, the Inquest materials for the Priory of France often delineate explicitly the rights and powers held by particular houses.\textsuperscript{131}

The conflicts were manifest; while the Aragonese Heredia served both pope and king, his loyalties more often than not rested with his own interests, which often meant maintaining close ties to the monarchy even after his elevation to the magistracy. In the early days of Heredia's career, both king and pope sought after his services, and at one point both Heredia and King Pedro incurred excommunications for preventing Heredia from coming to Avignon.\textsuperscript{132} In Luttrell's words, by the end of the fourteenth century, "the Aragonese Hospital had become a national order."\textsuperscript{133} And as seems to have been the case in England, in the city and region of Gallur in Aragon, the group with which the Order experienced the most difficulty was the lesser nobility and the infanzones,

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{130}In the case of Gallur, below, the Hospital originally did not possess the magical merum et mixtum imperium, or full civil and criminal jurisdictions, but at the end of the thirteenth century they regularly petitioned the Aragonese monarchs to attain it; see Carlos Barquero Goñi, \textit{La encomienda hospitalaria de Mallen durante la Edad Media (siglos XII-XV)}, (Borja, 1996), p. 62.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{131}In France the Hospitallars sometimes excercised "high, low, and middle justice, and often attempted to secure high justice in areas where they did not already possess it; see LeGras, \textit{op. Cit.}, 284 and 316 for the cases of Corbie and Chartres.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{132}See above, p. 148-9.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{133}Luttrell (1978, XI), p. 18.}

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or princes of the realm. Maria Bonet Donato, however, places an emphasis on the struggle between the Hospitallers and the campesinos in Ulldecona, a struggle which manifested itself in the payment of the local tenth.

In Navarre, Goni has also shown that while the monarchy safeguarded the rights of the Order and raised little objection to the transfer of Temple goods, the monarchy there acted as monarchs elsewhere; they proposed candidates for vacant Hospitaller posts within the kingdom and used Hospitaller properties for their own purposes. He has also noted that in court cases involving the Hospitallers and their social inferiors, and particularly their tenants, the hospital typically emerged victorious - although he does not note if the opposite, namely that the Hospitallers as a rule lost cases involving their social superiors, is equally true. All of these assessments are apparently skewed by the Hospitaller practice of retaining only the legal records pertaining to cases they won. In Castile, the monarchy tried to incorporate Hospitaller Priors of Castile under its own authority by nominating them personally; when this failed the Castilian Hospitallers waged internecine wars for the privilege of holding the

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135 Donato, p. 311.
post until the fifteenth century, by which time the monarchy was able to impose its candidates upon the Order; these were usually the sons of the Castilian upper nobility.\(^{139}\)

Conclusions

Throughout the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers were a popular source of administrative manpower for many European monarchies and for the papacy as well. The papacy and monarchies seem to have been the real beneficiaries of those relations. Individual Hospitallers may have profited personally from such ties as well, and none seem to have prospered so much as Juan Fernandez de Heredia. In many other cases, serving a monarch meant serving as a lightning rod for popular discontent with royal policy, and for some Hospitallers this had dire consequences. On an institutional level, however, such policies cannot have helped the Order as a whole. They drew capable administrators from the service of the Order, often shielding them from their responsibilities and obligations to the Hospital. If royal stewardship often brought the Hospital into conflict with the lesser nobility of the various kingdoms, the Hospital could regain and maintain amicable relations with those same strata of society by their participation in two major venues of late medieval spirituality, confraternity and pilgrimage, the focus of the next two chapters.

Chapter Six
In the Company of Brothers: Hospitaller Confraternity

On 12 October 1351, Nicholas Sardini offered the Knights of the Hospital an annual gift of one rotulum of wax. In return, the Hospitallers accepted him into their spiritual company, making him their confrater.¹ This chapter will explore the nature and meaning of Hospitaller confraternity, how it operated and how it compared to other similar medieval institutions.

Confraternity and Western Europe, pre c. 1600

Confraternity as mode of social association in the later middle ages is an area of enquiry which has received an enormous amount of recent scholarly attention. Various groups and individuals have pursued such issues and have produced a substantial body of literature on the subject, particularly with regard

¹NLM, Archive 318, 213v:
Frater Deodatus etc. Dilecto et sapienti viro Nicholas Sardini habitatori Cipri salutem et domino Attendentes pro devocionis affectum quem ad nos et nostram ordinem habere noscimini si habeatis dante domino in futurum inducimur quantum cum domino possumus condesendere notis nostras ut provide vestrua sinceritas ad religionem eandem tanto servicius devocionis incrementa suscipiat quanto ab eadem potiores favores si comoda senactois Ea propter vestris quae eis ad sancta dei evangelia corporalem manu tacta nostri fratres ac bona et vita dicti ordinis ubilibet toto possent differimus facere vestro Posse nuncio vel litteris ad nostram noticiam vel successores nostrorum aut alterius alicuis fratris nostris ordinis quem nos aut dictos nostros successores de eis certos reddat in confratrem nostram et dicte nostre religionis recipimus et aliorum in fratrum domus eiusdem consorcio autem presencium agragalus facientes vos ac pentes vestros participes in omnibus bonis spiritualibus oracionibus evangelis missis elemosinis suffragiiis et quibuscumquem alii piis operibus que facta fuerunt in nostro ordinem a prioria sui institutione et fient usquem ad finem saeculi divina gratia suffragante valentes in super ut ubicumquem sicut et alii confratres nostre religionis gaudeatis nostri privilegiis et honore rotulum autem cere unum quem in signum recognicionis et reverencia nostre domus dare anno quobus voluntate spontanea promistisis in festo nativitatis sancti johannis baptiste dare nostre domus teneamini ubicumquem fueritis annuatis In cuius rei etc data Rodi die xii mensis octobris anno primo
to Italy and southern France, and particularly with regards to the later middle ages. These studies fit well into the historical framework constructed by the likes of Richard Trexler and Edward Muir, who have noted the importance of ritual and group organization for maintaining social order. Confraternities channeled the zeal and devotion of pious Christians in urban environs, providing local sources of corporate charity and reducing the chances for social disorder; in Venice, for instance, many large confraternities operated under the umbrella of the Scola grandi, one of the most powerful corporations in the Venetian hierarchy. On the other hand, in 1419 the Priors of Florence saw fit to dissolve all confraternities “to eliminate the cause and occasion of scandals” within their city. In most locales, though, debates over the extent of clerical control of such organizations continue, and the image of many such groups – the laudesi, flagellants, and others – remains a powerful one, reinforcing the theories of those historians who have noted that on the eve of the Reformation, lay participation in the spiritual life of the church was extensive rather than

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limited. Yet confraternity as an idea is larger than a gathering of Venetian notaries presiding over the funeral of one of their own, and it is larger than a group of urban zealots attaching themselves to a local house of Dominicans and then whipping themselves about the streets of Siena. Confraternity is a notion almost as old as religious orders themselves, and it found its expression in a variety of shapes and forms.

Other medieval confraternities organized around specific, oftentimes violent, instances. Two examples among many stand out in this respect: Alfonso I 'the battler' of Aragon and the Albigensian Crusade. Alfonso willed a third of his Kingdom each to the Hospital and the Temple, and during his reign (1104-1134) gathered laymen together in the Confraternity of Belchite, whose members were pledged "never to make peace with the pagans." In the Albigensian Crusade, during the siege of Termes (1218?), the Archdeacon of Paris organized "Idlers and non-combatants" into a confraternity with the specific task of tending the engines of war, and a similar association was developed in order to drive heretics and usurers out of Toulouse. Similarly,

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7Guillaume de Puylaurens, Chronica (Paris, 1976) p. 65.
in thirteenth-century Italy, a number of organizations evolved around the battle between Guelf and Ghibelline; some of these societies served as lay associates to the Inquisition, and one even temporarily exerted a degree of legal control over the Podesta of Pama in the 1260s. 

Military confraternities seem to make most historians of confraternity uneasy. Like crusading, which serves as the ugly alter ego of pilgrimage, military confraternities provide a dark foil for what many see as the blessings of confraternal associations, namely stability, social cohesion, and charity. The study of such brotherhoods fell almost exclusively to Norman Housely, himself primarily a crusade historian. Nonetheless, few topics failed to escape Giles Meersseman's massive survey of Medieval and Renaissance confraternity, military fraternity included. Even Meersseman, though, when handling the topic, treats many of the more violent instances as those listed above, and then offers a separate section on the military orders and the spiritual uniqueness of their foundation. Ultimately, he attempts to draw distinctions between military confraternities and military orders, distinctions based largely on the social classes accepted by the two groups.

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9See note 3 above, as well as Housely's *Italian Crusades* and *Later Crusades*, in which he addresses them as well.


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attached themselves to civil authorities, largely for the purposes of extirpating heresy. That individuals might attach themselves to the Hospitallers in the fashion that they associated themselves with the mendicant orders is a possibility not explored by Meersseman.

If lay associates joined the Hospital in confraternity with an eye to some form of active participation in the spiritual life of the Order, which may be possible, then they constituted what Meersseman describes elsewhere as a confraternity; if they assumed only a passive role, accepting the spiritual benefits by simple donation and association, they constitute what Meersseman calls a “simple union of prayer.” While significant differences existed between joining the Hospitallers in confraternity and in joining the friars in confraternity, the root impulse, to share in the spiritual benefits reaped by the opus dei performed by religious orders, was the same, and the documents associated with Hospitaller confraternity make this quite clear.

Meersseman makes distinctions between confraternities which served as ‘unions of prayer’ and those which were ‘organic societies,’ and by and large the latter description precludes arguing that those who joined the Hospitallers as confraters were members of confraternities. Ronald Weissman offers broader yet

\[\text{\textit{Ibid}, p. 1240.}\]

\[\text{\textit{Ibid}, p. 168-9.}\]

\[\text{Meersseman, Ordo, p. 10.}\]

\[\text{See above, n. 1, below, n. 48.}\]
nonetheless ‘essential’ characteristics of ‘Renaissance confraternities’: they were socially heterogeneous autonomous lay institutions with a corporate character and ties to their community, and were organizations which combined interior action and collective action while maintaining a festive character and ‘cultural fluidity.’

By Weissman’s categories Hospitaller confratres were not in confraternities either.

Beginning from the premise that any degree of voluntary lay association with religious orders was a major expression of medieval piety, this chapter explores the means by which the Knights of St. John participated in and contributed to this particular variety of late medieval spirituality. It will also explore the possibility that, perhaps more so than previously believed, Hospitaller confraternity may have fulfilled more of the characteristics associated with more limited descriptions of confraternity.

Fraternal Roots of the Hospital, and confraternita vs confraternità

In spite of the claim of their own foundation myths to the contrary, the Hospitallers’ own roots rest in the activities of an eleventh century Amalfitan lay fraternity in Jerusalem. A few decades and the requisite papal documents


\[16\] See below Chapter Seven, p. 192.

\[17\] On the nature of papal support of exempt religious orders, see Luis Garcia Guijjar-Ramos, “Exemption in the Temple, the Hospital and the Teutonic Order: Shortcomings of the Institutional Approach” MO2, pp. 289-284.
later, this lay association found itself a full-fledged privileged religious order, still fulfilling the charitable functions of its genesis, but having added to its roster of duties participation in the military affairs of the Latin presence in Palestine. Having joined 'the establishment,' the Hospitallers then acted as part of the establishment; they received profitable land grants from lay folk, and received some of those lay folk as associate members of the order. In some instances, the Hospitallers accepted lay confraternities as associates in toto, and the degree to which such admissions lived by some sort of organic rule or under the supervision of regular or lay clergy, or interacted within their own larger society as a distinct organization thus more closely resembling Meerseman's definition of confraternity, is unknown.

'Associate members' may seem a non-specific term, and for this very reason it useful in this discussion; it is broad and can be construed in a variety of ways. Elizabeth Magnou has argued that in the twelfth century the Templars, like the Benedictines, employed a variety of terms to describe associate members of the order - *famulus, frater, oblatus, donatus*, etc. In the documents, modern notions of medieval conceptions of rank often run into stone walls, the term *oblatus* offering a good example. The rarity of child oblation in

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the fourteenth century, in actuality a practice never much a part of the structure of the Military Religious monastic orders, makes the initial shock of seeing the term *oblatus* in the Knights fourteenth century registers just that, a shock. When one accepts that facility of later scholarship was not the primary concern of medieval scribes and notaries, it is less shocking; in many cases the Hospitallers simply construed words like *oblatus* in the broadest sense possible – in this context, for instance, as something or someone which is given over as a gift. Riley-Smith has noted that in the later documents of the Knights’ Palestinian records, the terms *confrater* and *donatus* are used “almost interchangeably.” This is true, but some of the Knights’ fourteenth century records often prove otherwise. In most cases the Knights’ records are very specific when making distinctions between *donati* and *confratres*.

English Hospitaller traditions further complicate these matters of terminology. In English houses there existed a form of *collecta* made for the maintenance of local hospitality (here construed as care of the sick and the poor) and charity, referred to sometimes as the *fraeria* or *confraeria*. According to the English Inquest of 1338, the payment was annual and completely voluntary – no one could be compelled to give. Edward III’s recent imposition of heavy duties upon the Order and the Kingdom, which seem to the Hospitallers

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21 Riley-Smith, *KSJ*, p. 245.
to emerge daily, apparently hampered the payment of such collecta, especially in
light of their voluntary nature.\textsuperscript{22} One historian has speculated that such
payments originally fell upon the lay \emph{confratres} as a class, and while this stands
to reason, little direct evidence for this remains.\textsuperscript{23} One possibility exists, a
possibility which could potentially expand the role of Hospitaller \emph{confratres},
perhaps raising it to an extent generally only previously associated with
confraternal links to the various mendicant orders.

Meersseman notes that some early French sources, specifically the \textit{Liber
Confraternitatum} of the monastery at St Gall, employed two terms when
describing confraternity - \emph{confraerie}, which denoted an organic pious association,
and \emph{confraternite}, which described a prayer group led by a clerical or monastic

\begin{flushright}
22 \textit{The Hospitallers in England: Being the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the
Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338} (edited by Rev Lambert B.
Larking, with an introduction by John Mitchell Kemble, Camden Society, 1857; Johnson
reprint Company). From the report for the house at Grenham

\textit{Item ibidem collecta, que semel fit per annum, in diversis ecclesiis, que vocatur
Confraria, et ad voluntatem hominum si velint aliquid contribuere nec ne, quia non
possunt compelli ad contribuendum, et solebat valere per annum xxvii marcas, et
aliando plus aliquando minus, et nunc in presenti, propter paupertatum communitatis
regni, et propter diversas oppressiones ut in tallas, contributionibus domino Regi pro
defensione maris, et lanis quas dominus Rex caper per totam terram non possunt levari
nunc nisi vix...}

A similar case occurs in the Commandery of Godsfeld in Southampton, where
the inquest lists

\textit{Item confraria ibidem solebat valere lx marcas; et nunc, prop paupertate terre et
prisis regis, et taxionibus xme et xve omnium mobilium de anno in annum, ac etiam
prestatione lanarum, et custodia maris. Et multis aliiis oppressionibus, que die in diem
emergunt; et quia illud subsidium est omnino ad voluntatem donantium, vix possunt levari
in presenti...}

\textit{23} William Rees, \textit{A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the
Welsh Border} (Cardiff, 1947), p. 23.

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Perhaps the roots of the English *confraria* exist in a usage similar to that of the French *confrérie*, which, in Meersseman’s estimation, described a “pious organic association.” Regional archives may contain information detailing activities performed by such associations, and Rees, who offers no note for his assertion that the *collecta* were originally the responsibility of the lay *confratres* as a class, may ultimately be proved right, and the Hospitallers may move one step closer to conforming to some modern notions of what constituted a confraternity.

More confusing still is the tendency of English houses to refer to *fratres* and *confratres* interchangeably within charters and correspondence, in both grants to the Hospital and leases or agreements made by the Knights. Larking

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24 Meersseman, p. 14: “Si noti il plurale confraternitatum, che non designava diverse confraternite erette presso il monastero, bensi il diritto di partecipazione ai meriti della communita concesso a diverse persone, tute elencate per nome: vescovi benefattori laici, capitoli e monasteri. Quindi, si deve tradurre liber confraternitatum, non con la parola confraternita ma con confraternità, poiche ha il senso di affratellamento. In francese si adoperavano anticamente due termine: confrarie, per designare una pia associazione organica, e confraternite, per indicare il diritto alle preghiere di una comunita di chierici o di monacho.”


&175, c. 1215:

*Sciunt presentes & futuri quod ego Johannis Pilet de Oxonie pro saluta mea & antecessorem meorum dedi & concesi in libera & puram & perpetuam elemosinam hospitali sancti Johannis extra portam orientalem Oxonie & fratibus ibidem deo serventibus duas terras intra muros Oxonie...*
speculated that in every English commandery “there was one preceptor or receiver, a knight, or esquire, or chaplain of the Order, with one or more brethren, who are called confratres...[to whom] were committed the management of the estates...especially the dispensation of that hospitality which was one of the duties of the Order.”

Larking’s failure to be specific is likely due to the limitation of the sources; whether or not the confratres of which he speaks here were fully professed brethren of the Order or simply the laymen attached as associates is unclear, although he later, and without substantiation, claims that “the confrater was a miles.” In any case, the names of the post and the aforementioned payments are linked; these brethren likely administered the confraria, collecta, and other funds within a given house. If Rees is correct, though, and the collecta and the position have some origin tied to lay associates of the Order, and that lay confratres of the Order in England did serve in such an active capacity, then Hospitaller confraternity – at least in England – becomes more than ‘simply’ a confraternity as a union of prayer; it becomes a confraternity more like the organic societies of Meersseman, which were actually quite closely bound to the business and charity of a ruled order.

26 Larking and Kemble, xxxi.

27 Larking and Kemble, lxvi.

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Appeal, Cost, and Benefit of Hospitaller Confraternity

A word about the sources is useful at this stage. Most studies on spirituality and lay association with religious orders employ organizational statutes, charters, or grants which tend to state the wishes of the grantor: Ego Drogo dono... The sources with which I worked were culled largely from the central archives of the Knights of St. John, particularly the incredibly poorly-named Libri bullarum. These records are more accurately described as registers of mundane administrative business than as bullae of the Masters (which nonetheless appear occasionally in the Libri). The bulk of their business concerns the internal transfer of goods, members, and property in all of the Knights' various and widespread commanderies in the West and the East. Many would argue that such records lack the emotion and personal quality of individual grants and professions of intent, and I would agree; but we would do well to admit that even before the fourteenth century such gifts and presentations were already subject to various formulae, even when viewed from the grantor's testament. While employing very standard formulae, the Knights' central records nonetheless offer glimpses - from a variety of angles - of what sort of people associated with the order in confraternity, what the order expected of them, and what they expected of the order.

28See above, Chapter Three, p. 59.
The military orders possessed a long tradition of involvement with confraternity. Obvious examples abound - the grisled and dying William Marshal parting company with his wife in order that he might accept the full habit of the Templars, the frustrated attempts of Raymond of Toulouse's family to have him buried on Prioral grounds of the Hospitallers, the remarkable example of Alfonso noted above. Military Orders historically employed confraternity as a means of temporarily enlarging their ranks, generally for a particular campaign. The statutes of the Military Orders attest to such practices, and the historical narrative of the fourteenth century provides some notable examples as well: Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, later Henry IV King of England, King John of Bohemia, and a young Jean Boucicaut all joined the reysen of the Teutonic Knights in Marienburg against the Lithuanians. In the Middle Ages, 'confraternity' as an idea encompassed a great many things.

29 Also, Bohemund III of Antioch, a sister of the King of France, et al; Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 243.


31 For Lancaster, see Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV) In the Years 1390-1 and 1392-3, Being the Accounts Kept by His Treasurer during Two Years (ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, Camden Society, MDCCCXCIV, 1965 reprint. For King John, see William Urban, The Samogitian Crusade (Chicago, 1989). For Boucicaut (and the period in general) see J. Delaville Le Roulx, La France en Orient au XIVe Siecle: Expeditions du Marshal Boucicaut (Paris, 1886).
What do the registers of the fourteenth century *Libri bullarum* have to tell us, then, about confraternity and its meaning for the Hospital in the fourteenth century?

Acceptance into the order as a *confrater* usually required the giving of a gift and an oath on the part of the prospective associate. Indeed, in its essential forms, the structure of confraternity seems to have changed little from the twelfth century to the period of this study. The gift in this period generally consisted of wax. It could be used to fulfill a variety of functions, most significantly liturgical and clerical functions. An annual grant made on the

32 NLM, 317,f224v (n.p. 236v) (1August 1347):

Frater Deodatus etc. Dilecto nobis in christo Tedeo Simonis de Serangillis de Ancona salutem in domino. Attendentis pie devotionis affectum quern ad nos et nostram oridinem hospitalem habere noscimini et habebitis dante domino in futurum inducimur quantum cum deo possimus condesendere votis vestris ut provide vestra sinceritas ad religionem eandem tanto ferventius Devotionis incrementa suscipiat quanto Ab eodem Potieres favoris et comoda facietis Ea propter vos in confratrem nostram et nostre religionis recipimus et aliorum confratrum deus eiusdem consorcio tenorem presencium aggregamus facientis vos et parentes vestros in omnibus bonis spiritualibus orationibus jejuniis missis elemosinis suffragis vigiliis et quibuscumque aliiis piis operibus que facta fuerunt in nostro ordinem a prima sui institutione et fient usquam in finem seculi divina gratia suffragante participem et consortem et volumus sicud nostri confratres ceteri nostris privilegiis et libertatibus gaudeat volumus insuper ut ante quem [ ]

confraternitatis nostro huismodi sassequita* Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri Johann de Ripparia priori urbis et pisarum aut locuntent ipsius aut deputando per eum fratrem videlicet Nostre domus teneamini in forma que sequitur *praesertim* Ad sacrosancta dei evangelia sacramentum forma autem sacramenti predicti talis est Ego Tedeus Simonis de Serraquellis de ancona ex hac hora inantea fidelis ero domino fratri deodato de gosono Magistro Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerus et successoribus suis canonice intrantibus et fratrem hospitalis sacrum domus prefate ipso quem bona res et jura ubilibet toto meo posse procurando eorum comoda et inutilia evitando et si per me evitari non possent defferi faciam totis juribus nuncio vel litteris ad noticiam dicti domini magister vel successorum suorum aut alterius alicuius fratris ordinis memorati qui dictum dominum magistrum vel successorum eius de illis certos reddat In cuius rey testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensum datis Rodi die prima mensis Augusti anno septimo

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feast of St John was generally stipulated, although very often the terms of the agreement stated annum rather than annuatum.

As with most such grants, associates possessed a degree of latitude in choosing how much they offered; in this period, a standard gift consisted of a pound of wax, but in some cases as much as six libera are offered. Although the termini of the study flank the years -- namely 1347 and 1365 -- in which price fluctuations might have effected the size and expectations of such gifts, the standard remains fairly stable. Some historians have noted that wax, however, is a commodity which is less subject to even the most radical shifts in price. In any case grants of a substantially larger amount of wax or of different commodities are rarely recorded throughout these years. Interestingly, the wax may have had other connotations as well. During the majestic procession on the Feast of St Mark in Venice, members of many of the major guilds offered candles to the Doge as a symbol and recognition of vassalage, a symbol Muir cautiously transfers to a similar obligation laid upon confraternities, when after the processions of the following day the Scola Grandi (a conglomeration of the important confraternities) offered candles to the Doge and a number of other

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33 NLM, 317, f 232v (n.p. 244v) (31 December 1347):
\textit{die ultima decembris Georgius Vaseyo receptus fuit in confratrem hospitalis in formam promisit dare anno quolibet in festo sancti johannis sex libres cere}


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dignitaries. Perhaps the wax offered by some Hospitaller confratres, even if not in the form of a candle, served as a symbol of the bond between the confrater and the Order.

Symbolic values aside, ascribing relative values to such a gift is often difficult, but a few benchmarks may be used. Some Levantine confratres are listed as owing one rotulum of wax, an amount just shy of a liberum. One register refers to the gift given as “a pound of wax at the value of one gold florin.” Along with their gift, prospective confratres were expected to make an oath while holding a Bible, an oath in which they promised fidelity to the current master and his canonical successors, and to defend the goods, laws, and brothers of the Order; when unable to do so, they were to inform the Master or his successors in a written statement. Donati pledged a similar oath, but

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35 Muir, Ibid., p. 86.

36 NLM, 317, f223v (n.p. 235v)(6 August 1347):
   die sexta mensis augusti Johanis de tmartaf dominus de Judice de panormo fuit receptus in confratrem hospitalis et promisit dare anno quolibet unum rotulum cere anno quolibet in festo nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste ac in forma...

37 NLM,316, f. 235 (n.p. 233, Priory of Venice)(8 June 1358):
   Item die viii dicti mensis [June] Marinus Pisani filius quondam domino Nicole Pisani fuit receptus in confratrem in forma sed promisit dare blandonum unum cere unius floreni valoris

38 Above, n. 32.

39 NLM, 316, f 303 (n.p. 299)(27 August 1358):
   Frater Rogerius de Pinibus et cetera dilecto sibi in xristo PoncioRaterii salutem etc devotionis tue zelum quem ad obsequendum perpetuo in nostro ordine omnipotenti deo beati Marie virginis mari eius et sancto johannis baptiste patrono nostro et xri pauperibus te habere partem tdis Tavorabilis prossequentes Te donatem et de dicantem te et tua nostrre domui supra dicte ac viraste solemniter et pariter et voventem sacro santis
had no method of retraction, being more closely bound to the discipline of the Order. In these respects especially, the expectations of confratres seem to have changed little over the Hospitallers' first centuries.

So what did the confrater get for his florin? The question itself raises another question – did the florins necessarily always belong to a him, a confrater rather than a consoror? The question of associate's expectations will be answered shortly. The fact of the matter is that in this period the registers contain no record of consorority. The Order, of course, had sisters and female professed. On at least two occasions the Hospitallers received “a little girl of letters,” although significantly both are dispensations to bishops and canons to provide for the girls' receptions, and appear in the papal registers. In the West, Hospitaller houses often had many female postulants. In England, for instance, one of the largest Hospitaller houses, that of Buckland, had nearly fifty sisters in 1338; similarly nearly 35 sisters resided at the Hospital's convent in

\[\text{scripturis corporalem per te tactis cuicumquem tuo superiori obedienciam tuo quem posse fratres ac bona et iuria domus eiusdem defendere et salvare procurando ipsius utilia et in crementa Evitando religionem ne aliam deecero nullatenus ingredi sine superioris cui licenciam spirituali ac in cimiterio domusnostre in termino vice sue eligere sepulturam in donatum domus nostre speciale et temporal ad cimus tenore presencium de certa scientia et gracia spirituali permitentes tibi hac serie panem et aquam et vestres humiles donatis aliis domus nostre solitis exibere In cuitus rei etc Die vicesima septima mensis augusti anno lvi}\]

\[40\] John XXII, Communes, 44253, (6 Feb 1329) the reception of Margaret Gavini into the Hospitaller house at Feudis, and 62204 (1 Dec 1333) the reception of Bertranda Popia into the house at Belloloci.
Beaulieu in 1298.\textsuperscript{41} Some apparently joined the Order under coercion. In a dowry dispute in 1233, Alice Fitzmuriel argued against her dispossession in the case on the grounds that when she entered the Hospital with her husband William, she did so against her own will.\textsuperscript{42} Similarly, one Clarissa Style became the focus of an inheritance dispute.\textsuperscript{43} One party claimed wardship of the fourteen year old in 1389, arguing for her valid possession; the other party questioned the validity of her profession at Buckland some six years previous.\textsuperscript{44} Like many female monastic houses, these generally fell under the supervision of the male brethren of the Order.\textsuperscript{45} The statutes of the Order recognize them, and the legal clauses attached to the internal transfer of property remind new commanders of their duty to watch over not only the goods and appurtenances which belong to the Order, but also the people – including sorores – who are bound to their commandery.\textsuperscript{46} In a 1338 visitation to the Priory of St Gilles -- the Order’s

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{41}Alan Forey, \textit{The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the early Fourteenth Centuries} (University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 121.
    \item \textsuperscript{42}\textit{Curia regis Rolls 1223-1224} (London 1955), p. 176, as cited in Forey, \textit{op. Cit.} P. 137.
    \item \textsuperscript{44}Royals courts remanded the case the episcopacy, who validated the profession since the girl remained “content” at Buckland two years after her twelfth birthday.
    \item \textsuperscript{45}Larking and Kemble, p. 254, refer to the House at Buckland as independent of the Hospital, but brother priests resided there to fulfill the sacral duties of the house.
    \item \textsuperscript{46}NLM, Archive 316, f 180v (1358): \textit{Quocirca universis et singulis fratribus preceptoribus et baiulius et aliis fratribus confratribus sororibus et donatis sub virtute sancte obedientie ac hominibus et vassalis}....
\end{itemize}

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oldest, largest, and most lucrative Priory -- inquest records note the presence of but five donatae.47 Women could partake of the spiritual benefits garnered by their husbands' or sons' association with the order,48 but there is little evidence in the Libri bullarum that any ever joined in consorority themselves. Riley-Smith has alluded to the fact that consorority existed in the Knights' Palestinian period,49 although whether, like the knights, he blurs the lines between donati and confratres, is unclear. While there is no reason to believe that the Order should have brought such a traditional practice to an end in the fourteenth century, there is also little evidence – either in the actual records of reception or

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48 NLM, 316, fol 202v (1 October 1358): Frater Rogerius de Pinibus dei etcetera Discreto viro Nicholao Camberlayn salutem in filio virigini glorioso Attendentes pie devocionis affectu que ad nos et nostram ordinem habere noscimini et habebitis dante domino in futurum inducimur quantum cum deo posumus condescendere votis vestris ut provide vestra sinceritas ad religionem eiusdem tanto servencius devocionis incrementa suscipiat quanto ab eadem potieros favores et comoda sencieris Ea propter nos qui viristis ad santa dei Evangeliam corporalem manu tacta nos fratres ac bona ac iuria dicti ordinis ubilibet toto posse defendere et solvare procurando utilia et inutilia pro viribus evitando et si per vos evitari non posent defferri facere nuncio vel litteris ad nostram noticiam vel succesorum nostrorum aut alterius fratribus nostris Ordinis qui nos aut dictos successores de eis certos reddat in confratrem nostram et decem nostre religionis regipimus et aliorum confratrum domus eisudem consorcio tenore presneium agregamus facientes pariter qui anno quotibet in festo nativitatis santi johannis baptiste nostre domui dimidium Libera cere ubicumquem fueritis zelo devocionis inductus voluntate spontanea promististis ac uxorem liberas et parentes vestros participes in omnibus bonis spiritualibus oracionibus ieuniiis missis elemonis sufragii vigiliis et quibuscumquem alii piis operibus que facta fuerunt in nostro ordine a prima sui institutionem et fient seculi divina gracia sufragante volentes insuper ut ubicumquem sicut alii confratres gaudeatis nostris privilegiis et honore In cuius etc data Rodi die prima mensis octobris anno lvii

49 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 244.
in the legal clauses attached to the transfer of property within the Order – that consorority existed or was to any degree very frequent in the fourteenth century.

But back to the original question: what did the *confrater* get out of his links to the order? Clearly some men had several things in mind when they entered into confraternity with the order. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the papacy often reminded the Hospitallers that its *confratres* were in no way privy to the benefits of members of an exempt order, and that in disciplinary matters they were indeed subject to the authority of their local bishop.50 One Welsh trader, in fact, believed that as a *confrater* he was exempt from certain tolls and fees in the town of Staunton, an argument opposed by the townsmen themselves.51

That certain members of the martial chivalric class entered into confraternity in order to campaign 'against the pagan' -- as in the 'glory days' of the *negotium Christi* -- is fairly well-documented. The perspective afforded us by the registers is broad, and releases little information about specific intentions, although we may assume in some cases that men who joined in confraternity would likely one day fight with the Order, especially those *confratres* drawn from the local population who had a vested interest in the military success of the Knights. The Venetians pose an interesting dilemma; the

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51 Rees, p. 45.
military success of the Knights may not always have been in their best interests, yet the Sanudi and others joined them nonetheless in confraternity, perhaps more for the spiritual benefits than the material. Confraternity may also have served as a tool of diplomacy as well, and although no direct evidence substantiating such a claim exists, it is the sort of subtlety one associates with Venetian foreign policy.

Nonetheless, in a few other cases, the desire of a confrater to be buried on the Order's land -- a privilege generally reserved for donati of the Order -- is registered. Riley-Smith has argued that in the Palestinian period, confratres were informed of their option to be buried in such a manner; few elect it in this period, and the written professions which occur make no mention of it. In many instances, recognition of an associate's wishes occurs in the briefest of fashions, a two or three line reminder that on a certain day and year the associate was accepted into confraternity of the Hospital, for which he promised a particular gift, ut in forma. Occasionally the Libri offer long form registers

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52 NLM, 317, f. 232 (17 April 1347):

die xvii aprilis Dominus Nicholaus Grasseli miles, Marinus sanuti, dominus Insulae de† Xio†, Sperulius Sanuti fuerunt recepti in confratres hospitalis in forma Eligerunt sepulturam in Cemmetario hospitalis et quolibet promissit dare libras tres cere annuatum Anno xlvii [1347]. Anthony Luttrell has suggested -- rightfully so -- that the proper reading for the home of the Sanuti is Naxos, of which they were Dukes. See "Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century," in The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece, and the West 1291-1440 (Variorum, 1978), V, p. 196. The record is highly illegible here, and one is hard pressed to read either Chios or Naxos from the document. By 1346 Chios fell fully under Genoese control, although this does not preclude the presence of individual Venetians on the island; see Philip Argenti, The Genoese Occupation of Chios 1346-1560 (Cambridge, 1958).
which grant us a more general expression of the associate’s desires.

Association with the Hospital meant sharing in the benefits of all of the Hospital’s pious deeds – fasts, prayers, eleemosynarial practices, masses, and vigils. The new confrater is assured that such works “have been performed since our foundation and will be performed until the end of time.” In most cases the associate is informed that his parents receive the spiritual benefits of those deeds as well; in a few cases, the wife of the new confrater is mentioned too. In one case, a doctor of law, a relative whose exact relation to the confrater is not known, is likewise allowed to share in the pious deeds of the Order.

In one unique occurrence we are particularly forced to pose this question of intention. On 19 November 1358, the Hospitallers accepted into confraternity one Brother Ulrich of Stamling, a “noble and religious man of the order of St Benedict.” Since we are concerned with the fourteenth century in these matters, the urge to chalk this rara avis up to pluralism, albeit spiritual pluralism, is tempting indeed. An old monastic practice, that of entire

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53 NLM, Archive 317, f 224; see also note 1 to this chapter.

54 Note 1 above.

55 NLM, Archive 319, lix (9 January 1365):

_250_ die ix januari nobilis domicellus Emonetus de Montenari sub recognitio duorum grossorum fuit receptus in confratem domus et facti participes in bonis spiritualibus eius parentes et quondam dominus Guillermus de Montenaii legum doctor_

56 NLM, Archive 316, cclx (19 November 1358):

_Eadem die [decima nona mensis novembris anno lviii] Nobilis et religiosus vir frater Ulricus de Stamling, ordinis santi benedicti fuit receptus in confraternitatem in forma prescripta_
monasteries entering into confraternity with one another, is instructive in this case. At this stage Fr. Ulrich is an anomaly; I have found no other such examples of clerical confraternity, and little else is known of his life and career. That a member of another religious order, in particular the oldest and most austere of the orders, saw fit to join the Hospitallers in confraternity perhaps has something to say about the continued appeal of the recovery of the Holy Land and the Hospitallers' role in achieving that goal in the fourteenth century. In recent years some crusade historians have argued for a recasting of the traditional interpretation of the fall of Acre and Xitian attitudes towards the crusade after it. The assumption that the recovery of the Holy Land died as a focal point of religious devotion when the last ships left Acre is clearly being reconsidered by many historians, and not without cause.

Indeed, the Hospital attracted confratres from a variety of areas and social strata. Most of them come from Rhodes' neighboring islands, Chios, Nepos and the Levantine and Greek coastlines. Fr. Ulrich was a Bohemian Benedictine, and other confratres appear from most of the western priories.

As for the social status of confratres, we can distinguish when a supplicant is of high or middling ranks, but little can be deduced beyond that; in broad terms, we know that nobles and non-nobles patronized the Order in confraternity. The records contain a variety of terms to describe nobles of several ranks: from noble man (nobilis Vir), to lord (dominus) and or young lord (domicellum), to those who have no titles of nobility. In 20 February 1365,
Robert of Hales was granted a blanket privilege to accept the petition of a group of *plures nobiles et plebei* who sought confraternal ties to the Hospital;\(^5^7\) this is the one instance I have seen where neither names nor specific grants are mentioned in the acceptance of *confratres*. In 1365, John Parazali, a merchant from Narbonne, was accepted as a *confrater* of the Order. In more cases, the records note that the supplicant is the son of a noble man, apparently a subtle reminder of an applicant's dubious parentage; a standard requirement for many postulants to be accepted into full brotherhood is that they be of legitimate parentage on both sides – in later registers an odd term -- *thora legitmo* -- is employed.

Some nonetheless came from important local families. In 1358 Marino and Sperulio Sanudo, sons of the Duke of the Archipelago, were accepted in confraternity.\(^5^8\) Perhaps even more noteworthy is that Venetians – albeit Levantine Venetians – would join the Order in such an association. The sons of St Marc and the Knights of St John were generally at 'daggers-drawn' in the fourteenth century; their diplomatic and economic interests rarely coincided.

\(^5^7\) NLM, Archive 319 f 172v-173 [n.p. 178v-179] (20 February 1365):

*Fr Raymundus etc .. Fratris Roberto de Hales salutem et sinceram etc Informata que plures nobiles et plebei regiminis Anglie zelo devotionis inducti fieri desiderant seu recipi in confratrem nostre dicte domus nosque ipsorum et quocumque aliorum xristocolarum quem cum in ab est Lucro dominus facere cupientes Recipiendi in regione prefata in confratrem domus nostre informa consueta illos qui requirent in eisdem nostre domus recipimus confratres vobis tenores presencium potestatem et licenciam elargimur data Rodi die xx febroarii anno lxv[1365].*

\(^5^8\) Above, p. 183, n. 52.

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In 1356 the Republic prohibited its citizens from accepting offices or duties in areas not under her own suzerainty;\textsuperscript{59} confraternity does not seem to have fallen under such a law, however, as examples of Venetians joining the Order in confraternity are evident beyond that date.

Viewing confraternal links to the Hospital solely from the perspective of the \textit{Libri} is, like most sources, limiting. Investigations into the fourteenth century Hospitaller legislation, for instance, reveal little about confraternity to this point. Discerning how comprehensive these records of the \textit{Libri bullarum} are is difficult as well; these doubtless are not all the associates bound to the Order. There are few other records against which these numbers can be matched; existing fourteenth century visitation and Inquest records do not list \textit{confratres} of the Order, since such men were not bound as directly as \textit{donati} to the discipline and administration of specific houses. Records of grants to individual houses lay scattered about the local archives of houses and commanderies attached to the Order, again raising the continual problem associated with Hospitaller scholarship; the Order's central archives remain gathered together (even if they are organized somewhat haphazardly in places), but countless documents pertinent to the Order's international ties remain inaccessible or uninvestigated. The \textit{Libri} themselves commence only in 1346, proceeding patchily until 1381; as such one cannot even chart and compare

trends in the size and frequency of confraternal donations from the early days at Rhodes through the more stable years of the fourteenth century, or even during brief periods, like the years directly following the Black Death, when one might expect to see a rise in confraternal associations.

**The Hospitaller Attempt to Reorganize**

A final note should be made about the structure of the Hospitaller Archives. In the registers of the *Libri* until 1381, the Knights kept records pertaining to the acceptance of *confratres* scattered within the general structure of the *Libri bullarum*. Notes concerning the acceptance of brethren into confraternity may be generally be found scattered about the *Libri*, usually within the records pertaining to the Priory closest to the new *confrater*. After that date, however, the Hospitallers made an effort to keep records pertaining to confraternity separate from other registers; in Archive 321, we see for the first time a section called *receptio confratrem*. The creation of this section is concurrent with the first year of records associated with Fernandez de Heredia, and is likely not a coincidence; Heredia’s acumen as an administrator is well-known, and it made him a much sought-after commodity throughout most of his career. The attempt to organize such records, however, was a failed one. In the first year of its existence, the section logged but two entries. The section may be found again in 322 (1382-4) with only one entry; in 323 (1385-86) the section remains, but holds a letter from Heredia to one of his commanders rather than
any documents relevant to confratres. By 1389-90 (Arch 324) the section is
gone, reappearing in 1394 (Archive 328) -- albeit with no entries. 1395-6
contains one entry. The section is restored yet again under Philibert De
Naillac. For 1404-6, (Archive 333), one finds the section for reception of
confratres again (140, n.p.); two of them appear. For the years 1407-8 (Archive
334), one finds that the section has been integrated into the sections Terrarum
and Immunitates... (192, n.p.), but no one is received into confraternity during
those years. In 1409 and 1410 (Archives 335 and 336), a section for receptio
confratrem no longer exists. Few conclusions can be drawn from this;
structurally, the Knights may simply have decided to integrate the records back
into the Prioral sections.60 It is also unlikely that secular interest in confraternity
diminished in the fifteenth century, although this is an issue suited to a paper
broader in scope than this one.

Conclusions

The Libri are one of the few places where clear distinctions are made
between donati and confratres in the fourteenth century, and they afford us an
opportunity to speculate about the Hospitallers and their involvement in the
spiritual milieu of their day. The Hospitallers and their goal – the recovery of
the Holy Land – were still popular enough in the fourteenth century to draw the
interest from a variety of Western Christians – in some cases even men who

60I have not yet consulted the fifteenth century registers in enough detail to
answer such questions reliably.

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politically might not have been expected to associate with the Order in any forms. It allowed the Hospitallers to maintain diplomatic ties with their important Aegean and Levantine neighbors. Most significantly it allowed them to participate in an important venue of late medieval spirituality. Although it took a variety of forms, lay association with a privileged religious order was crucial expression of late medieval Christian piety, from England to Bohemia to Cyprus. The picture of active lay participation in the spiritual life of the late medieval church on the eve of the Reformation is by now a well-known and generally accepted one, and the Hospitallers have a place on that picture, perhaps more so than previously thought.

The Knights were well aware of the need to 'expand' the walls of the cloister and maintain contacts with a larger community of Christians. In a similar vein, they attempted to capitalize on renewed European interest in pilgrimage in the fourteenth century, in spite of the facts that their island was really off the main line of sea traffic to the East, and that they themselves were ill-prepared to handle large influxes of pilgrims at Rhodes in the first part of the century. In spite of that incapacity, the Hospitallers attempted to involve themselves in such a traffic throughout the fourteenth century.
Chapter Seven
Myth, History, and Travel in the Hospital of St. John

The previous two chapters have explored the means and process by which the Hospitallers brought themselves into closer contact with the world 'beyond the cloister' by their service to secular lords and their establishment of confraternal ties to the middling and upper classes of fourteenth-century European society. As the agents of popes and princes the Hospitallers established practical links to the legal and political world of fourteenth century Europe; by embracing confraternal associates from all over Europe and the Mediterranean, they established spiritual bonds with the Christian community at large. The dissection of medieval corporate mythology has proven a fruitful device in the study of religious orders. Corporate history often fulfills the same roles as personal history – it creates an acceptable and indeed, in the words of one historian, usable past.\(^1\) Cistercian historiography provides an excellent case study of the dissection of the corporate myths of medieval religious orders. Recently a full frontal assault has been launched upon traditional Cistercian historiography, and it is instructive as a precis to understanding and analyzing Hospitaller history and myth.

A long-held interpretation of Cistercian history involves a belief that the reforming ways of the initial Cistercians meant a return to the severe austerity of the desert fathers, with an emphasis on the injunction labora in the Benedictine directive ora et labora. These ascetic, axe-wielding monks settled on the fringes of European society, and through their labors of clearing and draining traditionally unfruitful lands, brought more and more productive land under the plow, and in so doing contributed to a larger boom in the twelfth century European economy. One of their most enduring manuscript images — and propaganda pieces — depicts two Cistercian brethren hard at work with their axes.\(^2\)

In the assault upon this corporate image and mythology, two names in particular - Constance Hoffman Bermann and Constance Brittain Bouchard - stand out. Berman launched her first salvo in 1982 with an article on the use of mortgage contracts by the Cistercians of Berdoues.\(^3\) The proverbial 'big guns' arrived in 1986 with the publication of *Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside, and the Early Cistercians. A Study of Forty-Three Monasteries.*\(^4\)

\(^2\)The most famous of such image appears in a twelfth century Cistercian text called the *Moralia in Job*; see James France, *The Cistercians in Medieval Art* (Sutton, 1998), color plate 24. See also color plate 6 and print 45 (p. 85) for similar images.


Here Berman argued that the standard 'frontier thesis' - held by such heavyweights as Marc Bloch, Henri Pirenne, and George Duby, amongst others⁵ - is inaccurate, "distorted," and in need of re-evaluation. Berman elaborated with some skill upon some old ideas about Cistercian success, those attributing it to their business acumen and managerial skills, and their direct cultivation of the land. She departs from traditional interpretations, however, with her assessment that the Cistercians made a practice of accepting only *established* lands rather than 'new,' 'virgin,' or 'uncultivated' areas⁶ as well as in her claim that the Cistercians rarely initiated land reclamation, even in marshy areas.⁷ In sum, for Berman, "Although most land given to the order appears to have had a long history of settlement, occasionally the order acquired land which had only recently been brought under cultivation by the immediate predecessors of the order."⁸ Their economic success was also due to the high profits of pastoralism, their successful 'compacting' process of organizing land, and their exemption from ecclesiastical tithes.⁹ She also claims that "Cistercian ties to towns were actively sought," and that "the order's return to the primitive Benedictine

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⁵Berman provides a virtual necrology of noted medievalists and the works in which they supported such a view, p. 8.


⁷Berman, p. 25.

⁸Berman, p. 29.

⁹Berman, pp. 40, 48, and 52.
tradition was not a turning away from growing urban centers; the urban ties established by the order's monasteries were not accidental."¹⁰ McGuire agrees with Berman as well, citing her "excellent" work and inscribing even C.H. Lawrence's name to the 'book of the dead' of Cistercian historiography.¹¹

What Berman hoped to achieve for southern France, Bouchard apparently hoped to do for the Cistercian heartland, Burgundy. She ultimately develops her own "Cistercian paradigm," within which she argues that the "Cistercians were involved from the beginning with the rapidly developing economic practices of the twelfth century and were in some instances prime movers in their evolution."¹² For Bouchard, "there never was the conflict between spiritual integrity and a willingness to take part in economic activities,"¹³ and in the course of their pawning, leasing, litigating, etc, the "monks themselves seem actively to have sought the presence and support of their networks of secular friends."¹⁴ Her assertions are significant, for - as she admits - they indirectly

¹⁰Berman, p. 121.


¹³Bouchard, p. 189.

¹⁴Bouchard, p. 173. It should be noted that Bouchard uses friends in a manner unrelated to McGuire's definition of the word.
undermine a traditional interpretation of the fall of Citeaux, i.e. that the White Monks lost sight of the vision and ideals which the second generation of Cistercians had held so strongly.

In a similar vein, the Hospitallers changed and transformed their foundation myths to broaden interest in their order and their missions. The transformation of those myths likely involved a conscious plan to increase Hospitaller participation in pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This chapter discusses the myths of Hospitaller foundations, some transformations of those myths in the fourteenth century, and how those changes were bound to the Hospitaller role in the fourteenth century pilgrim trade.

“Our Lords the Poor”: Origin and Transformation of Hospitaller Mythology

When the monks of St. Denis allowed the rogue Peter Abelard to reside at their abbey, they had little idea what was in store for them. No sooner than he arrived than did Abelard begin attacking the stories surrounding the patron of the house, St. Denis. Nominally, St Denis was the martyred missionary to the pagan Gauls, yet house tradition at St Denis had conflated him with both the Pseudo-Dionysus, an anonymous sixth-century Neo-Platonist, and Denis the Areopagite, whom Paul had converted to Christianity. Abelard soon discovered that an authority no less than the Venerable Bede argued that the Areopagite had been bishop of Corinth, not Athens (as house tradition claimed), and likely was not the same man as the martyred evangelist to the Gauls.
Having thus found this testimony of Bede’s in contradiction of our own tradition, I showed it somewhat jestingly to sundry of the monks who chanced to be near. Wrathfully they declared Bede was no better than a liar...\textsuperscript{15}

The capricious Abelard took great delight in his scholarly deflation of the cherished house myths, but they were nonetheless house myths; they were its history, and the monks of the abbey hardly appreciated Abelard’s criticisms.

States, regimes, and corporations of all shapes and sizes generally possess something they look upon as their corporate or collective history. In the middle ages, most religious orders maintained them, just as individual houses within those orders could maintain stories and accounts of their own foundation. Monastic houses also often kept chronicles of current events which often serve as our only historical narrative account of events in a given region. Yet events were important in so much as they influenced the house, which was central to the chronicle. Mixture of foundation myths with the contemporary chronicles should not, therefore, seem extraordinary, although the effect was to elevate many of the more unbelievable accounts to the level of ‘history.’ The Hospitallers never kept any sort of universal chronicle, nor, it seems, did any of their member houses in the West keep such records; such luxuries were the privilege of houses with large numbers of literate but otherwise idle brethren. The Hospital did maintain a series of myths concerning their collective past and foundation, myths which could be used in a number of ways.

\textsuperscript{15}Peter Abelard, \textit{The Story of my Misfortunes} (Illinois, 1958), p. 47
Anthony Luttrell has noted that the Hospitallers, unlike most other religious orders, never produced historians of their own past – at least not ones highly critical of the Order's myths and stories. Many of the stories concerning their origins passed almost uncritically for hundreds of years. These myths served a variety of purposes and survived in a variety of forms, however, until that point.

Hospitaller documents refer frequently to "Our lords the poor," a reflection, if only a pale one, of the order's original mission in Palestine. Although the physical Hospital in Jerusalem seems to have been quite large, and to have benefitted only slightly from Arabic medical traditions and practices, by the fourteenth century that mission was clearly subordinate to the military function of the Order. Yet the Hospitallers never completely lost sight of the charitable and hospitable aspect of their foundation, an aspect to which they have returned

\footnote{Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1291-1400" (1978, XVII ), p. 2. Use of the term official here means that many of these stories were copied not simply for personal edification, but were often copied at the Order's headquarters and attached to other types of official documentation like the Rule and Statutes of the Order.}

\footnote{Vaticana latina 3136, fol 33v:
Primerament la sainte maison del hospital soloit recevoir homes malades e femas malades e faisoyant ychiorps as malades e pourveyent les choses que estoyent mestiers as seignors e donas malades...
And fol 35v, which speaks of brethren who are au service des pouvres malades a l'hospital de jerus.}

\footnote{Above, Chapter Two.}

\footnote{Benjamin Z. Kedar, "A Twelfth Century description of the Jerusalem Hospital," MO2, pp. 3-12.}
in the twentieth century.\textsuperscript{20} They nonetheless provided a variety of forms of relief for the sick and poor of the West and the East, even if the limitations of their resources sometimes prevented them from offering food.\textsuperscript{21}

As the Hospitallers moved further away from their original mission, they embraced more wholeheartedly a series of stories which circulated about their origins. While primary documents contain a variety of references to the Hospitalling mission of the Order, nowhere is this devotion more pronounced than in a series of writings known as the \textit{Miracula}.

The Hospitallers generally bound administrative and legal codices with several 'historical' documents. A common document of this type is the \textit{Chronica Defunctorum Magistrorum}, or \textit{Chonicle of the Deceased Masters}, which served as a brief guide to the lives and careers of past Masters; in the words of one historian, they gave the Order a "venerable antiquity."\textsuperscript{22} In brief synopses, sometimes formulaic, the \textit{Chronica} stated that the Masters, "passed many laws," "were men of great courage or power." In cases where a Master was of questionable character, these formulae safeguarded the reputation of the Order as a whole.

\textsuperscript{20}The St John's Ambulance Corps and an ophthalmic hospital in Jerusalem both have ties to the Most Venerable Order of St John, the non-Catholic branch of the Hospitallers. In New Orleans an assisted living center calling itself Malta Park and bearing the eight-pointed cross operates on Prytania Street; although it is associated with the Dominicans, I am currently investigating its links to the Hospitallers.


\textsuperscript{22}Riley-Smith, \textit{KSJ}, p. 32-4.
The recollections of the career of Fulk of Villaret, however, do not whitewash a sometimes colorful and swashbuckling career; many versions mention not only his achievements, but also the attempt by the Convent to assassinate him, his eventual deposition, and the simple manner in which he spent his final days in Montpellier. Adumbrated as they are, the Chronica unfortunately constitute the closest thing resembling a universal chronicle for the Order and its history.

Another common Hospitaller 'historical' work, similar to the Chronicles of the Deceased Masters, was an Exordium to their rule, found in a number of codices spread throughout Europe, which address the issues of Hospitaller history and past. Never entirely ignored by historians, they nonetheless have begun to attract fresh attention from new theoretical, anthropological, and philological standpoints. The Exordium, also referred to as the Legenda and the Miracula of the Hospital, traced the lineage and history of the original physical Hospice in Jerusalem, and the Hospitallers generally used them not simply for

23 Luttrell, "Notes on Foulques de Villaret, Master of the Hospital, 1305-1319," (1992, IV), pp. 75-76.

24 The list of known versions has increased since Delaville's original studies; see below, p. 200 n. 36.

25 Delaville Le Roulx began his academic career by constructing his Thesis d'Etat on De Prima Origine Hospitalariorum Hierosolymitanorum (Paris, 1885). The most recently published work on the Order's origins and foundation is Alain Beltjens' AuxOrigines de l'Ordre de Malta (Brussels, 1995), which unfortunately was unavailable at the time this dissertation was produced. Also of interest is an as yet unpublished study of the Miracula by Antoine Calvet. Calvet approaches the material primarily as a linguist; at the time of this dissertation, all that was available of this work was an historical introduction and lengthy manuscript survey, both still in draft but generously provided by Anthony Luttrell.
their own edification, but also as alms-raising propaganda in the West, where the stories often circulated to legitimate the Order's worthiness of pious donations and gifts. Indeed, many beyond the Order trusted in the validity of such tales; Gerhoch of Reichersburg and Rudolf of Habsburg apparently both left documents which attest to their faiths in the Biblical and Antique history of the Order. Luttrell has noted that they may have been used by the Hospitallers in Jerusalem 'to assert their primacy over their rivals the Templars,' and a recollection of the case of yet another order, the Carmelites, is instructive here.

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, young Carmelite brethren were educated to believe that their original house in Palestine had been founded by Elijah, thus perhaps granting it the same 'venerable antiquity' sought by the Hospital through its alleged links to John the Baptist, Zacariah, and the Maccabees. Beyond such associations, though, the Carmelites may have seen this as a legal fiction which would shield them from the Fourth Lateran Council's (1215) proscription against the creation of new religious orders.


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The extant versions of the *Miracula* date generally to the mid-thirteenth century, but the tales most assuredly circulated, orally or textually, during the mid to late twelfth century. They exist in a series of manuscripts whose relations have never really been firmly established. Sections of Count Riant's editions of the *Miracula* in the *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades* relied quite heavily upon Delaville's *De Prima Origine*; in his forward to the *RHC*, Kohler admitted that a more rigorous classification of the manuscripts was needed. Approximately thirty-eight manuscripts contain variations on these stories, which Kohler described collectively as the *Exordium hospitaliarium* - while assessing almost half the total number of manuscripts collated by modern scholars. Within that larger rubric exist two larger traditions. One tradition focuses on a series of tales, ranging chronologically from the second century BC to the eleventh century AD, centered on the space of the Hospital in Jerusalem; the other group displayed a more 'historical' interpretation of the Order's past, centered on the presence of an Amalfitan lay fraternity in the Hospice of

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29 Of the situation, Karl Borchardt noted that "The origins and development of the *miracula* are unclear...;" see "Two Forged Thirteenth Century Alms raising Letters used by the Hospitallers in Franconia," *MOI*, p. 54. His work with two German versions found an apparently unique addition to the stories, the presence of a palm tree in the Hospital, by which Gabirel announced to Mary the news of her impending death; p. 54.

30 *RHC* V:cxix, n 1 - "Il serait indispensable, pour donner une edition definitive de ce texte francaise, d'etablir une classification beaucoup rigoureuse des manuscrits..." Kohler also disagrees with Delaville's opinions about the date at which the stories began to circulate, and whether the Latin redaction preceded the French - p. cxvii.
Santa Caterina shortly before the arrival of the first Crusaders. The first of these recount the series of stories which may properly be called the *Miracula*, as they deal extensively\(^1\) with five miraculous stories associated with the foundation of the physical Hospital.

In the narrative of the *Miracula*, the first block in the Order's foundation dated back to the time of Judas Maccabeus, the biblical devotion of choice for militant medieval Christianity.\(^2\) The *Miracula* claim that Judas himself made gifts for the poor near the area where the original Hospital would be built.\(^3\) The second miracle claimed that Zeccarias, the Father of John the Baptist, handled the early governance of the Hospital in Jerusalem, followed by two notable successors: a mythical figure named Julien the Roman — during whose reign Christ allegedly frequented the Hospital — and then Stephen Protomartyr. The fourth and final Miracle concerned the arrival of the Crusaders in the eleventh century. During the crusader siege of the Holy City, the Master of the Hospital,

\(^1\)This is not to say that the other group does not mention any of these miracles; Judas Maccabeus appears in two of these tales, although not in the manner in which he appears in the *Miracula*. Anaias and Caiaphas, Zeccarias, and the Julien the Roman do not appear in any fashion in the first series of stories.

\(^2\)On the theme of the early medieval Maccabees, see the doctoral thesis of Kent G. Hare, *Christian Heroism and Holy War in Anglo Saxon England* (LSU, unpublished dissertation, 1997). Allusions to the Capetians and Valios as the New Maccabees were quite common in the apocalyptic prophecy which was popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; see M. Dupuy, *Pipin's Stock and the Angelic Pope: Eschatological Themes in the Later Medieval Prophetic Tradition* (LSU, unpublished Master's Thesis, 1992).

\(^3\)The idea that Judas would send 12,000 drachmas for the poor and the dead is, of course, somewhat anachronistic.
the Blessed Gerard, threw bread rather than stones at the besiegers; when the Saracens investigated his treachery, the bread Gerard had been throwing turned to stones, and his life was spared.\textsuperscript{34} Events of Christ’s life for which the Evangelists failed to note specific locales – His reappearance after the resurrection, for instance – invariably occurred in or about the Hospital.\textsuperscript{35} The figure of Julien the Roman, apparently a link between the testamental traditions, provides a window into Hospitaller ‘historiography.’

A few common elements emerge from the various versions and redactions of Julien’s story. Julien was a member of a delegation of Romans sent to collect the tribute of the Jews in the time of Augustus. According to the myth, his boat foundered, killing all on board save Julien. Spared by the hand of God, Julien continued on to Jerusalem not to harvest the provincial taxes, but to work for the care of the sick and the poor in the original foundation used by the Hospitallers, the governance of which he assumed from Zeccarias, father of John the Baptist. By viewing the run of extant manuscripts containing the \textit{Miracula}\textsuperscript{36} and analyzing their common elements and variants, we again get some

\textsuperscript{34} See Chapter Two, p. 32, n. 6.

\textsuperscript{35} Riley-Smith, \textit{KSJ}, p. 33.

\textsuperscript{36} I establish here a general pattern based largely upon edited manuscripts which appear in the \textit{RHC}. Luttrell has added several ms’s to the list of known copies of the \textit{Miracula}, which now number approximately thirty-four; unpublished Preface to \textit{Legendes}, p. 73.
perspective as to how the Hospitallers fashioned their 'history' to suit their changing needs.

Amongst the extant manuscript versions, one alone seems based on much older traditions. An early fourteenth century manuscript version was itself based on an oral tradition of the tale datable to the reign of Henry II, between 1181 and 1185.\textsuperscript{37} In the Anglo-Norman verse version, descriptions of Julien's travels lack copious detail, noting merely that when his boat foundered, Julien washed up on an island in the sea.\textsuperscript{38} By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, some versions become more specific about Julien's voyage, naming the more specific Joa or Joha as the island upon which Julien landed. Specific though it may be, Joa is incredibly difficult to find in the Mediterranean, and in 18 Charles Kohler referred to it as an 'unknown place...which we have sought in vain on the trip to Jerusalem.' \textsuperscript{39}

By the early and mid fourteenth century, many manuscripts employ two new variants, claiming that Julien washed ashore at either Elos or Rhodes. Elos was likely a bastardization of Telos, one of Rhodes' neighboring islands and within the Hospitaller sphere of influence in the fourteenth and fifteenth


\textsuperscript{38}Hospitallers' Riwle, p. 7: Mes le fis Dieu li apparut /Qui ses meinz sus le saka/E sein a terre enporta...

\textsuperscript{39}RHC, Occid 5, p. 407, n. 5, "Locus incertus, forte Ionicum littus. In itineribus Hierosolymitanis haec frustra quaesivimus..."
centuries. By the 1400s, the variant Joha disappears entirely from the extant manuscripts, amongst which Elos remained the most popular variant. The reasons for Elos' later popularity -- as opposed to an increased use of Rodos, as one might expect -- is difficult to explain. These later, more specific references in the Miracula represent an attempt by the Hospitallers to place their new home at Rhodes into their existing and popular -- if dubious -- account of the Order's origins and past. The island had a role in the ancient past of the Hospitallers, even before they arrived there 'again' in the early fourteenth century, thus in some ways legitimizing their current residence on the island.

Julien was not himself a 'sacred' figure strictu sensu. He appears as a unique creation of Hospitaller mythology. Manuscript descriptions of him and his Roman fellows range from the medieval prudhommes to "very honest men." While certainly laudatory, such descriptions hardly place Julien on a moral or historical par with Judas Maccabeus, Zaccarias, or St Stephen. Julien's force comes from the parallel of his own story to other notable 'conversion' tales.


41 Manuscripts referring to Joa include Munich, Bibliotheca Royale, lat. 4620 (s. xiii-xiv); BN, MSS latine 5515 (s. xiv); and 14693 (s. xiv). The reference to Joha is in BN, MS françois 6049 (dated to 1302 by Delaville; see De Prima Origine, p. 57). For Rodes, see BN, MS latine 1080 (s. xv) and vatican Library, vaticana Latina 3136 (s. xiv). For Roas see BN, MS françois 1978 (1315, Delaville, Prima Origine, pp. 56-7.), and Montpellier, fac de medicin, 372 (s. xiv). For Rody see Toulouse, Archives Departementales, St Jean, 1 (s. xv). For Elos, see BN, MS françois 13531 (s. xiv), BN, MS françois 1079 (s. xv), and BN, MS françois 17255 (s. xv).
The brief tale of Julien manifests several broad themes of conversion literature. It bears several resemblances, both broad and specific, to Paul's conversion story; both were agents of the Roman Empire turned to a worthy cause, and both respond to the voice of God in a similar way. After their respective accidents, each of them asks "Who are you, Lord, and what do you wish me to do?" As Julien appears to be a unique creation of the Order, his tale was likely crafted to bear some degree of resemblance to Paul's story, if only in the structure of the dialog between man and God. It also resembled, in an adumbrated way, other aspects of medieval conversion stories, particularly that of Clovis, King of the Franks.

The detail with which Gregory of Tours (539-594) recounted the lives of the Franks naturally cannot be matched in the few lines which the creators of Julien's story allotted themselves. A theme of some varieties of conversion literature emphasizes the lawless, immoral, and oftentimes irresolute life of the convert before his or her conversion. Augustine's Confessions provide an

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42 Paul's "Qui est Domine?...Et tremens ac stupens, dixit: Domine, quid me vis facere?" appear in Biblia Sacra Juxta Vulgata, Actus Apostolorum, IX, 2-6. The redactions of Julien's tale vary slightly. The Anglo-Norman verse version runs: "Sire, ke es tu?" But has no question of Julien's duty; Riwle, pp. 7-8. The first redaction of the Miracula bears some resemblance to the Riwle: "Qui es-tu?." The second redaction manuscripts are the most developed: "Qui estes-vous?", with one version adding "Sire," and then "que vous plaist que je vous face?"

43 On the general theme of medieval conversion stories, see Karl Morrison, Understanding Conversion (University Press of Virginia, 1992) and Conversion and Text (University Press of Virginia, 1991).
obvious example, providing a moral model for even the most able sinner to ‘turn
good.’ Gregory of Tours similarly provides copious detail about the barbarous
and fratricidal existence of the Franks, behavior changed very little, actually, by
their conversion as a people. Yet amidst the barbarism, the looting, and the
murder of Gregory’s History, evidence of Clovis’ own pre-conversion goodness
exists. The story of the Ewer os Soissons, one of the more popular tales
associated with Clovis, has several didactic purposes.

In the years before his conversion, Clovis behaved in a manner consonant
with the ways of most Frankish chiefs; he and his men looted mercilessly,
particularly the booty-laden churches of the Gallo-Roman bishops. While still
adhering to their pagan ways, Clovis and his men sacked a church near Soissons,
and after they had made off with the plunder, the Bishop of Soissons sent envoys
to Clovis asking for the return of a particularly well-crafted ewer. Clovis
requested the ewer from his men, and all but one agreed; in his refusal he struck
the ewer with his axe. Clovis sent the vessel back to the bishop, and at the next
spring’s muster buried his axe in the treacherous soldier’s head. In a Germanic
culture, the story makes fairly obvious statements about the nature and
expectations of loyalty. Yet in the same story, Gregory could also emphasize
Clovis’ (relative) beneficence to the holy church before his baptism into the faith;
even as he looted Soissons blind, and although he returned a smashed ewer to

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44Gregory of Tours, The History of the Franks (trans by Lewis Thorpe,

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the Bishop of Soissons, he was still respectful of the wishes of its bishop. Indeed, Colette Beaune, perhaps overenthusiastic in her assessment of Clovis' beneficence, refers to him as a benefactor of churches because of this and other stories. Centuries after his death, Clovis' life gathered its own cult of sainthood, though like countless other local cults it never gained approval of the church hierarchy.45

Julien was not in and of himself a particularly noteworthy character; after the incident in the Mediterranean he continued on to the Hospital in Jerusalem, where he met Zacarias and lived a happy life serving the poor and the brethren of the house.46 His sanctity comes from the tradition of conversion experiences into which he fits, his association with other sacred (and well-known) figures, and his good service to the poor and the Hospital. Similarly Julien's association with Rhodes -- as a stopping point and as a place where God intervened directly in his life -- granted the island a degree of sanctification, perhaps in an attempt to make it a point of interest for fourteenth century pilgrims.47 In this vein, some medieval stories about the peregrinations of the head of John the Baptist, by the twelfth century widely accepted as the patron of the Order, would certainly have served the needs of the Hospitallers. Standard accounts note that the head

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46RHC, p. 415.

47Below, p. 214.
was put to rest in Samaria. According to at least one tradition, though, the holy head of the Baptist passed through Rhodes after a voyage to Alexandria and before a sojourn to its final resting place in Constantinople.\textsuperscript{48} The Hospitallers did capitalize on this tradition. While this sort of tale most certainly would have served the needs of Hospitaller propaganda,\textsuperscript{49} the Hospitallers were themselves a largely illiterate association of men, and the chances that many of them would have been familiar with Theodoric' Guide are fairly slim. While the Hospitallers certainly claimed to possess the arm of John the Baptist,\textsuperscript{50} they made no such claims on relics associated with his head. And while its presence on the island – at any point in time – would certainly have benefitted the Order, the story does not really fit into the logical schema of the Miracula, which do maintain a degree of consistency in that they deal with tales related not simply

\textsuperscript{48}Peregrinatios tres: Saewulf, John of Wurzburg, Theodoricus, ed by R.B.C. Huygens, with a study of the voyage of Saewulf by J.H. Pryor, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 139 (Turnhout, 1994) p. 188, lines 1389 - 92. The Hospitallers did, however, have a chapel dedicated to the site at Rhodes; see below, the account of Nompar de Caumont, p. 223.


\textsuperscript{50}This went, along with the Order’s hopes of survival, to Russia and Paul II after the French seizure of Malta in 1798. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the withered arm was in the possession of Greek monks in Mount Sion, and when the Ottomans took full control of the region they apparently seized the arm; Mehmet offered it to the Hospitallers in return for his brother Jem, whom they held captive at Rhodes in the 1480s.
to the Order, but to the sacred space of the Hospital and those associated
directly with it. The Baptizer was the patron of the Order, but the stories
surrounding the later travels of his head had little bearing on the tales of the
Miracula.

Attempts to debunk the Miracula were usually not well-received. In the
late thirteenth century a brother at Cyprus, William of St Stephano, argued that
the brief history of the Order's foundations elucidated by William of Tyre — an
eyewitness and chronicler of much crusader history in the twelfth century —
was in fact more likely closer to the truth than the narrative woven in the
Miracula.51 William's detractors took issue with all of his scholarship, and the
Miracula continued to be copied and emended into the fifteenth century. Their
popularity forced some of the Order's 'historians' to mention and acknowledge
their presence, even as their more critical attitudes attempted to steer a middle
course between Hospitaller history as preserved in the Miracula and less
spectacular -- but more plausible -- accounts of their corporate past.

By the fifteenth century, the Hospitaller office of Chancellor became more
fully a bureaucratic post than a personal secretary to the Masters of the Order.

Humanist attitudes towards both scholarship and administrative organization

51On William of St. Stephano, see Riley-Smith, KSJ, pp. 32-6, and Luttrell,
"Written Records," of which much of the middle part is dedicated to William; Luttrell
has elaborated elsewhere upon William.
infiltrated even an Order so largely non-literate as the Hospitallers.\textsuperscript{52} Even in the fourteenth century Juan Fernandez de Heredia had been a dedicated patron of scholarship,\textsuperscript{53} and his Magistracy arguably saw the first steps towards re-organization and restructuring of the Order's archives.\textsuperscript{54} Some of the Hospital's Chancellors apparently attempted to write complete histories of the Order's existence, but they are of little scholarly value.

One of these Chancellors, William Caoursin,\textsuperscript{55} produced a famous treatise accompanied by woodcuts describing and depicting the 1480 defense of Rhodes against the invasion of the Ottomans. He was also the Trebonianus of the Hospital, re-organizing some three and a half centuries of Hospitaller legislation.\textsuperscript{56} He produced a brief commentary upon the Order's origins, in which he “tried to steer a middle course” between the spectacular accounts of

\textsuperscript{52}For a useful if in some ways non-committal account of literacy in the military orders, see Alan Forey, “Literacy and learning in the military orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in MO2, p. 185-206.

\textsuperscript{53}For a recent work on Heredia see Juan Manuel Cacho Blechua, \textit{El gran maestre Juan Fernandez de Heredia} (Zaragoza, 1997). A patron of the arts and letters, Heredia sponsored many scholarly works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including one of the first translations of a Greek work into a western vernacular, the work being Plutarch's \textit{Parallel Lives}; see Luttrell,(1982, XX). Luttrell's Oxford dissertation was a biography of Heredia, and was scheduled for publication at one time. On his patronage in general, see Jean Gilkenson McKenzie, \textit{A Lexicon of the 14th Century Aragonese manuscripts of Juan Fernandez de Heredia} (Madison, 1984).

\textsuperscript{54}See above, Chapter Three, pp. 52-59.

\textsuperscript{55}Caoursin was a secular officer of the Hospital, and apparently never became a member.

\textsuperscript{56}The famous woodcuts accompany the later (1496, Ulm) edition of Caoursin's text, and did not appear with the 1480 edition.
the *Miracula* and the more critical positions of William of St Stephano; nonetheless, he still seems to have accepted personally part of the *Miracula*, as he added to them the story that Peter received the Keys of Apostolic Succession within the walls of the Hospital in Jerusalem. Even in the fifteenth century men of critical humanist temper like Caoursin realized the value of such stories, and could not abandon them entirely. The grip of such corporate mythology is as powerful, perhaps more so, as any personal fiction created by individuals. Even today, many inhabitants of the island of Malta, home of the Hospital from 1530 to 1798, deny in the face of everyday reality (Maltese is based upon and incorporates many Arabic elements in its vocabulary and structure) the influence of Arabic culture upon their own. Such histories involve the creation of an *esprit de corps* amongst larger groupings of individuals, and thus contain an element of social enforcement of shared values and beliefs, and for this reason amongst others - they can be as powerful as they are. They served other functions as well, however, and these too may account for their endurance.

Pilgrimage: Support, Critique, and Fourteenth-Century Revival

The transformation of the Hospital's myths may be bound to other issues as well, particularly to their attempts in the fourteenth century to participate fully and more frequently in the pilgrim trade of the day. Much evidence attests

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57 Riley-Smith, KSJ, p. 33. The context in which Caoursin crafted such a tale is unclear. Riley-Smith's note stems from information communicated personally by Dr Lionel Butler, with no remarks about the source.
to such a desire, but a discussion of pilgrimage after the fall of the crusader states is in order.

Even before such a discussion, however, the large theoretical framework for pilgrimage constructed by Victor Turner and popular with anthropologists and sociologists should be considered. Turner's ideas have been incredibly influential in shaping the way historians of all periods view and assess pilgrims and pilgrimage. Various historians have taken issue with his 'five characteristics' of pilgrimage, some of which are so big and inflexible as to almost demand a search for exceptions. Turner's 'bird's eye view' of pilgrimage has been influential and is still useful when discussing the institution of pilgrimage, but the framework seems less and less stable the more one descends from the sky. The purpose of this work is neither to refute nor substantiate Turner's claims and models, but his influence has been such that his name and ideas bear mentioning.

The heuristic assumptions made by many historians about the crusading zeal after the fall of Acre in 1291 have themselves been challenged in recent

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56 He developed the idea first in a contribution to History of Religions in 1973, and then again in a very popular work with his wife, Edith, called Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture (New York, 1978).


60 For other critiques, see Idinopulos's article above, pp. 13-15, and his bibliography.
years. While crusading as twelfth and thirteenth century crusaders knew it did change, those policy changes had begun well before 1291, and the style of crusading initiated after the 1270s continued to be employed in the fourteenth century. Royal and popular support, as difficult as it may be to gauge, does not seem to have tailed off, but as crusading policies centered on smaller passages of concentrated forces rather than waves of crusaders of varying usefulness, the appearance of decreased interest existed nonetheless. The same case, to an even greater degree, existed with regards to pilgrimage after the fall of Acre.

Even the popularity of pre-trecento pilgrimage had its share of criticism. Much of that criticism excoriates pilgrims for abandoning their familial responsibility. Some of it was apparently aimed at female monastics, an attempt, it would seem, to bind them more closely to their houses. The desire to bind monastics more closely to the supervision of their superiors was not applied exclusively to women; traditions of monastic critique exist, critiques which argue that monastics, living the fullest Christian life possible, merely wasted time and energy in pursuit of goals which might be better pursued at

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61 See Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis*.


64 Ibid., p 245.
Yet the vita contempliva was not the life for many Hospitallers, who as a largely non-literate Order never pursued the spiritual traditions associated with more traditional Orders, or at least it never pursued them with the same degree of learning and zeal. As such, the penitential pilgrimage, an active, physical voyage provided the sort of spiritual fulfillment most likely to appeal to members of the Hospital, although the argument could be made, and was made by Hospitaller central government, that such drains upon the manpower and resources of the Hospital were not entirely desirable.

Although a lull in pilgrimages to the East certainly occurred in the years directly after the fall of Acre, they rather rapidly assumed a new popularity by the middle part of the fourteenth century. Indeed, this was the century of the travels of John of Mandeville, whose accounts inspired and misled many a pilgrim in his wake. In 1372 St Bridget of Sweden made her pilgrimage to the Holy City, where she took up residence in St Mary of the Latins, a church associated with the original roots of the Order. From the 1340s until the start

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65 Ibid., p. 236-7.

66 The bibliography on Mandeville is even wider than that of the Hospitallers, and certainly beyond the scope of this paper. The popular version of his travels, (Penguin), suffers from a grave and serious limitation, namely it is drawn from a bastardized version of the story and offers little to make its reader aware that the lineage of Mandeville's stories has at least three branches or traditions - the insular, the continental, and one associated with Liege - of which the Moseley Penguin edition is a big mish-mash.

67 On Bridget, see Jørgenesen, p. 183. While she apparently did not pass through Rhodes, she did stay at a Hospitaller house in Italy, St John's by the Sea; on the Hospitallers and the hospice at St Mary's, see above, Chapter Two, p. 23.
of the Reformation, the number of extant pilgrimage accounts in the West drastically increased, a fact elucidated upon by Jean Richard. Many have been edited, and they are a testament to the diverse groups for whom the pilgrimage still held an allure: nobleman, clergyman, mystic, and notary alike all left accounts of their travels, and the papal registers contain an endless stream of indulgence recipients for voyages made to the Holy Sites.

The knights were quick to recognize this resurgence, but slow to act upon it in practical or effective ways. In truth, the care and protection of pilgrims was one of the original charges of the Order, even before their militarization in the twelfth century. Luttrell has asserted that the Hospitallers tried to gain an increased share of the pilgrim trade in the late fourteenth century, a premise which this dissertation accepts. Yet it seems that the Knights, from their very early years on Rhodes, had some inkling about the value and benefits of the European pilgrim trade. Such conclusions about their efforts, however, should

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69 The fifteenth century is especially rich with documentation, including accounts that are fairly well-known, having been brought to popular printed editions; see Felix Fabri and Piero Casola. Naturally, pilgrimage to places other than Holy Land were popular as well; in addition to the numerous accounts of travellers to Rome and Compostella, one thinks in very general terms of the better-known literary context for pilgrimage established by Chaucer and Boccaccio.


71 Luttrell, “Rhodes and Jerusalem: 1291-1411” (1992, X) and “Tuscany.”

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always remain within the spiritual framework and context of the traditions and
goals of the Order; their attempts may seem calculated, with all of the negative
connotations that word brings to bear, but were nonetheless in no way divergent
from the primary mission of the Hospital of Jerusalem. In the fourteenth
century, several factors mitigated against Hospitaller efforts to increase their
share of the pilgrim trade, the most important of which were geography and the
Venetian-Franciscan monopoly over the then extant trade.

Rhodes generally lay off the main carrying route to the East. Sea currents
ran easterly and then northerly over the coast of North Africa and Palestine.
Prevailing winds were northerly and generally kept sea traffic on a southerly
route.\textsuperscript{72} These factors were not insurmountable, though, and the trip to Rhodes
could and was made by pilgrims in the early fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{73}

The other obstacle, less easily overcome, was the monopoly on pilgrim
traffic held by the Venetians at sea and the Franciscans on land. Since the
eleventh century Venice and other maritime states in southern Europe had
developed and refined the machinery by which pious pilgrims might prepare and
book passage to the East, a feat possible for rich and poor alike, but in either

\textsuperscript{72}See Eliyahu Ashtor, \textit{Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages} (Princeton, 1983), p. 79, where he describes three main Venetian lines of passage: one to the Romania (the Morea), one to Cyprus, and the Alexandrian line.

\textsuperscript{73}A useful but all too brief treatment of the material occurs in Michel Ballard's "The Urban landscape of Rhodes as perceived by Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Travellers", in \textit{Intercultural Contacts in the Medieval Mediterranean} (Paris, 1994), pp. 24-34.
case “woe betide the pilgrim whose money gave out.” In the Holy Land itself, the Franciscans held a monopoly on guiding the visitation of sacred places, a privilege they held corporately since the 1340s; in these affairs they received the support of Robert the Wise of Naples, himself a Franciscan tertiary, and papal approbation. Indeed, the custos of most pilgrimages, generally a Franciscan, wielded considerable spiritual authority, authority which even granted him the right to absolve any pilgrims who had failed to receive permission from the proper ecclesiastical authority. Stories concerning Hospitaller participation in this leg of the journey often claim that they performed some sort of dubbing or a conveyance of knighthoods within the Holy Sepulchre, but not all historians agree that such things occurred. Hospitaller meddling in Franciscan monopolies may have led to some tension between the two orders. At least

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74 Savage, “Pilgrimages and Shrines in Palestine and Syria,” in Crusades IV, p. 44.

75 On Robert’s other dealings with the Franciscans, particularly his navigation of the difficult schism in the Order during the fourteenth century, see Decima Douie, The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli (London, 1933).

76 Savage, ibid., p. 52.

77 In Pilgrimage (London, 1975) p. 276, Jonathan Sumption asserts that Nompar de Caumont brought a Navarese Hospitaller to the Holy Sepulchre for a dubbing ceremony, a tale repeated in several studies of the topic, including the mass-produced Friar Felix at Large (Yale, 1950, by H.F. M. Prescott). Much of Sumption’s text lacks a sound critical apparatus. His endnotes claim that the presence of Hospitallers appears in Nompar de Caumont’s account. Luttrell believes that Sumption paints a picture of regular Hospitaller participation in such ceremonies, which he believes not to be the case; see “Tuscany,” p. 133.

78 This is not to say that individual members of the orders could not collaborate profitably together. In fifteenth century Florence, a Hospitaller Knight, a
once in his life, Francisco Suriano, who served twice in his career the Franciscan *custos* of the Holy Places, visited Rhodes. His comments were strangely contradictory.

When discussing the origins and foundations of the Order, Suriano is full of praise for the Knights, whose bravery and valor he admits. He believed that Rhodes had been granted them by the common counsel and consent of the Roman church. Yet when discussing the island of Rhodes, Suriano notes that

> The women are beautiful but all ribalds. Who would wish as medicine the milk of monogamy, I do not believe that he would be likely to find it there: and the Knights of St. John are the cause of this...79

And while he again admits the value of the Knights in patrolling the region, his description of their castle at Bodrum80 is equally as uncomplimentary as his description of their observance of monastic chastity.

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80 With the loss of Smyrna to Tamerlane in 1402, the Knights began a project to establish a new toehold in Asia Minor. They did so by erecting a huge fortification at Bodrum, the site of classical Halicarnassus. On Bodrum castle, see Anthony Luttrell, “English Contributions to the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum in Turkey: 1407-1437,” *MO2*, 163-172.
In this castle there are many big dogs similar to the Corsican or French dogs, which are most terrible: by instinct they can distinguish a Christian from an infidel by scent...and every Turk they find they kill and eat. When I was in the Levant, the Turks tried to take that castle, and the dogs did more harm to the attacking Turks than did the Knights, so that they did not dare return to the attack: and the casualties were one man and two dogs...  

Finally, Mameluk tolerance of this system allowed it to function. Lords of Jerusalem and its outlying countryside since the battle of Ayn Jalut in 1260, the Mamelukes profited as well by this traffic, and tolerated it until the ascendency of the Ottoman Turks in the fifteenth century lessened their hold on the region. Indeed, Ottoman power waxed to the detriment of all concerned with pilgrimage, Venetians, Franciscans, and Mamelukes alike.

The Hospitallers hardly possessed the sea power to assume much considerable control of the naval leg of the trip. They regularly mustered -- apparently with some difficulty -- three or four war galleys *contra Turcorum*, and the maintenance of those galleys is often mentioned directly when brethren received commanderies in the West. They might have maintained, through

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81Suriano, p.48. Suriano's judgement is not singular. In 1355, Innocent VI expressed some misgivings about the Order's zeal for confronting the Turks, misgivings in which he alluded to accusations of sexual depravity on the part of the Knights. See Luttrell, "Emmanuele Piloti and Criticism of the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1306-1444," (1978), p. 11. Most religious orders had similar accusations levied against them, and in the years following the trial of the Templars, discerning fact from fiction and rumor from bargaining chips, at least where the Hospitallers are concerned, is difficult.

82See Appendix II.A.10.
lease or let, a merchant vessel or crew as their own; yet such a venture, while likely not as expensive as the maintenance of a single war galley, would still have been burdensome, and likely not profitable in and of itself, especially given the great debt and financial responsibilities of the Hospital throughout most of the fourteenth century. Antagonizing the Franciscans in Palestine would likely have caused more trouble than it was worth, especially given papal approbation of their activities there. Nonetheless, in the fifteenth century, the Hospitallers sought a solution to these difficulties by going straight to the real masters of the trade, the Mamelukes.

Luttrell has shown that in the early fifteenth century the Hospitallers approached the Sultan of Cairo with a treaty, whose terms would have been extremely favorable to Rhodian merchants and which would have granted the Knights several concessions. The Hospitallers would have secured the Holy Places in Palestine, where several brethren would have begun rebuilding old pilgrim churches, and would themselves be free of taxation; all Hospitallers who came to the Holy Land as pilgrims would have been duty-free as well.

The treaty never came to fruition, and one wonders if the Mamelukes ever intended to honor it in the first place; in the frontier societies of medieval

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83See above, p. 215.
84Luttrell, "Rhodes and Jerusalem," p. 195.

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Iberia, such was often the case. Its terms, however, are emblematic of the zeal with which the Hospitallers sought to tie themselves more closely to pilgrimage in the late middle ages. This desire, I believe, can be traced back even further, if only to what may seem to be matters less practical than treaties and peace agreements. Although initially ill-suited to handle a large influx of pilgrims at Rhodes, the Hospitallers nevertheless actively attempted to draw them to the island. One way to do this was to keep a large cache of suitably attractive and powerful relics on the island.

Many of the fourteenth century accounts are bare enough in their descriptions of the island and its attractions. Simon Simeonis traveled to the Holy Land in 1323, and wrote an account of those travels between twenty and thirty years later; he travelled straight from Dubrovnik to Crete and then Alexandria, bypassing Rhodes entirely. William Boldensele passed through Rhodes in 1336, leaving none but a brief description - "it is an agreeable

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85 On treaties and expectations between Christians and Muslims in Iberia, see Robert Burns and Paul Chevedden, Negotiating Cultures: Bi-lingual Surrender Treaties in Muslim Crusader Spain under James the Conqueror (Brill, 1999).

86 I have used here what accounts were available, many of which were drawn from a recent French publication Croisade et Pelerinage: Recits, Chroniques et voyages en terre sainte xiie-xvie siecle (Paris, 1997), which is useful but has obvious limitations. For each of the account below, titles of more scholarly critical editions appear in the footnotes. A useful survey of German pilgrimage appears in E. Lilie-Favreau, "The German Empire and Palestinian Pilgrimage," in Journal of Medieval History, 21, 1995.

enough place." Ludolph of Sudheim travelled there between 1350 and 1361, and he made particular note of one of the relics maintained on the island. He saw a cross fashioned from the cauldron with which Christ had washed the feet of his disciples; wax imprints from this cross were seemingly useful wards against sea storms. Nompmar de Caumont, who passed through Rhodes on his way back from the Holy Land, resided on the island longer than most, almost two months. He related that he visited a chapel built on the place where John the Baptist's head had passed through on its own peregrination through the Mediterranean. In 1432, Bertrand de la Brouquiere got off his ship only long enough to view the city. One of the most detailed accounts also comes from the fifteenth century. In 1456, Louis de Rochechoart visited Rhodes. Amongst the relics he saw there: some spines from the crown of thorns and the thirty dinars for which Christ had been betrayed; he informs his reader as well that he saw a great many other relics which he did not have time to describe in his account.

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92Rochechoart, Croisades et pelerinages, pp. 1124-1167. See Revue de l'Orient Latin (Paris, 1893, t. 1 p. 1-107, ed by C. Coudere). Savage cites Rochechoart as an exception to his rule that pilgrims believed all they were told, 56, n. 56; see below, p. 217.
Friar Felix Fabri noted that at Rhodes he encountered the Knights, who as comrades were pleasant enough. In 1502, Sir Richard Guylford stopped at Rhodes on his way to Jerusalem, but stayed only two days and made no comments about the island. For most pilgrims who made an extended stay, the island held enough relics to slake their thirst.

Another way the Knights could draw visitors to Rhodes was by giving the island a certain sanctity. The presence of suitable relics achieved this to a degree. The island could be converted, although only with great difficulty, into sacred space as well. The chapel built on the spot where the head of John the Baptist is evidence of this, and the story of Julien the Roman, related earlier, might have been another way in which the Knights bestowed upon their island a sense of the holy. The Venetians, for instance, tightened the bond between themselves and their patron, St. Mark, by speciously arguing that he spent the night at Rialto, where he was visited by an angel; the “definitive account” of this tale emerged in the fourteenth century, dragging the city closer in the holy orbit of its patron, and by extension imbuing the republic and its citizens with a residue of sanctity.

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94 The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde (ed. By Sir Henry Ellis, 1851). p. 82.

95 For the various translations of Mark's body, see Geary, Furta Sacra, pp. 107-109; for a synopsis of the texts and events involved in the process, see Muir, Ritual, pp. 78-80.
Julien the Roman, one of the key figures in the Hospitaller Miracula, could likely never have been elevated to the status of beatus, which might have given the miracles associated with him a degree of credibility — in as much as the medieval pilgrim required much credibility at all. For Hazard, the pious pilgrim was in neither the position nor the frame of mind to question the veracity of much of what was shown to him. The Hospitallers, nonetheless, could point to the tale of this man who was associated with Order's past, a tale which, if it did not involve a saint still involved the hand of God in miraculous story of salvation and redemption, one reminiscent of the well-known conversion of St Paul. The Miracula were often used as alms-raising devices in West; many were copied from originals and used locally by commanders in Europe for such purposes. The transformation of the island on which Julien crashed in the Miracula from a variety of unknown islands to Rhodes or one of its neighboring islands is good evidence of early Hospitaller attempts to draw themselves and their new home into the orbit of existing pilgrimage traffic. It was one way by which they gave travellers a reason to make Rhodes a point on their itineraries, yet none of the extant accounts make any mention of the tale or of Hospitaller

96Savage, ibid., p. 56.

97And therefore the possibility of powerful relics which might be touched or purchased. On relics in general, see Patrick Geary, ibid.


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attempts to bring them to the places where God spoke with their ancient
benefactor, Julien.

Another way the Hospitallers might attract pilgrims to the island is by
encouraging pilgrimage in general, which they also did in a number of ways.
One means of so doing was by becoming active pilgrims themselves. The terms
of the 1403 Treaty ask for tax exemption for all Hospitaller pilgrims, and in the
fourteenth century a great many Hospitallers went on pilgrimage themselves.

Although travel of any sort required the issuing of a licence in the
Hospital, many brethren sought and received such licences precisely that they
might go on a pilgrimage of one sort or another. In 1338, for example,
Napoleon Tibertis, a high ranking member of the Order, received papal licence
and an indulgence to travel to the Holy Land with four of his companions.99

The Hospitallers also may have encouraged such pious acts by copying
pilgrim's guides into some of their legal compendia. The existence of a pilgrim's
guide at the end of one fourteenth century compendium of the rule, statutes,
usages and customs of the Order is evidence of the Hospitaller attempt to
encourage such journeys.

Vaticana latina 3136 contains a french version of both the Miracula and
the Chronicle of the Deceased Masters. Its Latin explicit informs us that it was

99 On Tibertis' pilgrimage, see Benedict XII, Curiale 6177; on his career
otherwise, see Chapter Five. For other Hospitaller pilgrims, see, for instance, Benedict
XII, Curiale, 8132, Benedict XII, Closes, 2498, 2499, 7360, 8132; NLM, Archive 318, f
161; Vat lat 3136, Roger des Pins, # xxiii.
copied at Rhodes in 1342. Near the end of the codex — after the explicit but before a final section which refers back to the usages — is a pilgrims’ guide, which begins “These are the Roads on which one can rightly go from the city of Acre to Jerusalem and the pilgrimages to the Holy Places which are part of a just life…”

This document is known to modern scholars as the Chemins et pelerinaiges de la terre sainte. While the codex as a whole has not escaped scholarly enquiry, the Chemins has attracted little attention.

“First one goes from Acre to Haifa,” suggests the guide. The trip continues to Caesarea and then down the coastal road towards Arsuf and Jaffa. After pointing out how far Ascalon is from Jaffa — but never going there — the itinerary turns inland past Blanchegarde and Bayt Nuba to the zenith of

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Expliciunt statuta et usatica bona n non regula sancte domus hospitalis sancti john jeros que hodie fratern domus tenent facta fine pia te laudo virgo maria yic liber scriptus est ad honorem [I ] de sancto [I ] per manum [I ] de Rodes [I ]is anno domini m cc quadregesimo y et [I ] mensis November apud civitatem colocenssem in loco vocato lo co lac in capite in ssule Rodi. Amen. qui scripsit scribat ssemper cum domino vivat.” Vaticana Latina 3136, fol. 129v.

101“Ces sont les chemins que droytament vuet aler dela cite dacre en jerus eles pelerintages de los sains eles luqo que sont en la droyt vie…” MS cit, fol 130.

102Itineraires a Jerusalem et descriptions de la Terre Sainte rediges en francais aux xi, xii, & xiii siecles (ed. By H. Michelant and G. Raynaud, Geneva, 1882), pp. 181-99. In the passages that follow I have used passages from my own transcriptions of Vaticana latina 3136; the Raynaud version is a composite and was not constructed as a critical edition.

103Primerament Von vait d acre a caiphas; hont habitans les ermitans latins que l’en apele fraters dou carme... MS cit., , fol. 130

104de sezayre ad arssus y a iii lieus...de arssus a yaphe qui est ville e chasteau sia iii lievas; MS cit., fol. 130v.

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any pilgrimage, Jerusalem. Once there, the guide describes the different gates, or intrees, to the city and the various holy places one must see and at which one must worship. After an erratic tour of the Holy City, the guide then leaves Jerusalem and describes the road to Quarantene. The next path goes south again, this time to Bethlehem, and then north to Nablus, Samaria, and Mt Tabor. Having traveled thus far north, the description stops, begins anew at Acre, and follows the road from Acre to Nazareth. The guide closes with a comment on the purpose of pilgrimage, which is undertaken because such an effort might be to the profit of our bodies and to the exaltation of our souls.

The composition of the Chemins has been dated to between 1265 and 1290, and it is apparently only extant in two versions. Its nineteenth century editor, Gaston Raynaud, reached no conclusions on its authorship, remarking only that the Vatican version originated in the fourteenth century and was

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105 "Ces sont les intrees dela saint cite de jerusalem eles luoqs sains quelon doit faire et adhorer..." MS cit, fol. 131v.

106 Ce est le chemin de jerusalem por aler a la quarantene; MS cit. 133v.

107 Ad une lieva de jerusalem si est larbre de coy ffu faite la veraye croy de jerusalem a ssamarie que len apela naplus sia xii lievas...de sebaste a mont tabor ssia x lievas; MS cit, 134v.

108 Dacre a terdenay a iii jornees e dimie; MS cit, 135.

109 "Ce est le chemin dacre a nasaret...ssains pelerinatges...illi ssoit au profit de nos cors et ad exaltation de nos armes." MS cit, fols 134-135v.

110 Raynaud, p. 180, lists the work as "avant 1265;" the other manuscript versions exists as Cambridge, Gg VI, 28.
copied by a Provencal scribe. Neither he nor Delaville le Roulx, who mentioned the Vatican codex in a number of works, made any attempt to address the question of how or why such an account came to be included in a compendium of Hospitaller devotional and legal documents.

Other works attached to such compendia often had very practical purposes. The *Devise des chemines de Babilione*, for instance, was a logistical document, containing information relevant to Hospitaller efforts to strike at Mameluke Cairo in the late thirteenth century. These *Chemins*, though, were copied or bound into this codex during the 1340s or 1350s. They follow the formal *explicit* of the preceding document, which is both illuminating and frustrating. The date remains, but the manuscript is damaged in those places which would have informed us who copied the manuscript. After the pilgrims' guide are another few folia, which themselves refer to several enumerated *usuances* of the Order; whether these *usuances* are the ones which appear in Vaticana latina 3136 is unclear. Even on microfilm, several

113 Robert Irwin, "How Many Miles to Babylon? The *Devise des Chemins de Babilione Redated*," in *MOI*, pp. 57-63.
114 See above, p. 223 n 100.
115 Several doodles left by at least one scribe earlier in the codex appear in the final folia as well.
noteworthy factors are discernable. The hands of the guide and the final folia differ from one another, but each resembles that of other hands which appear earlier in the manuscript. Damage of some sort which appears in the final folia of the codex is consonant with the damage which appears on all but the first page of the guide. A small triangular section in the lower right section of the manuscript, of decreasing size, reached all but the first page of the pilgrims' guide. The inclusion of the guide was deliberate, and further codicological inspection may call for a reevaluation of the dates currently associated with guide.

The question of audience is in some ways a moot one. Travelling without permission was a violation of the order's statutes, but most hospitalers who sought such permission seem to have received it. The guide may have been placed there solely for the benefit of the brethren, who would have set a proper example for Christians in the West by going on pilgrimage themselves. It may also have been placed there in order that, like the Miracula, it might have been used to generate alms or encourage pilgrimage directly.

Recently, Luttrell has argued that in the latter half of the fourteenth century Rhodes was the center of a 'physical and spiritual axis' between Tuscany and Jerusalem;¹¹⁶ this metaphor may perhaps be extended to Western

Christendom as a whole, and the desire of the Knights to achieve this can likely be pushed back even further, to the early part of the century.

A final note about pilgrimage and the Knights is useful. While the piety and devotion of most pilgrims is not to be denied, we should not close ourselves off to the reality that some pilgrims at Rhodes had ulterior motives. At least once in the fourteenth century, the island served as a weigh station for Carmelite and Carthusian spies en route to the Holy Land; one of these eventually joined the Hospitallers himself. During the Schism, one brother of Urbanist allegiances sought licence to travel as a pilgrim; he used his travel time in an attempt to win over many of the Clementist brethren at Rhodes. The plan failed and he was arrested. Pious pilgrims were not always what they seemed.

Conclusion

The survival of a given myth is not always a function of its flexibility; the very rigidity of some myths, in facts, accounts for their survival. The reality behind Cistercian corporate mythology has apparently been impenetrable for centuries, duping all but one or two modern historians. The Hospitallers' myths lacked such endurance, sophistication, and subtlety, but nonetheless evolved with the same goals in mind: the creation and maintenance of a 'usable past,' an acceptable image of themselves and a functional interpretation of the historical. Like the Venetians, the Hospitallers had a link to a sanctified patron whose

name, career, and history informed the world of the Hospitallers' own worth and value. The Venetians also developed a sense of sanctified space in their lagoon, something the Hospitallers possessed in Jerusalem, but something they needed to recreate after their relocation to Rhodes. Equally as important, the move to Rhodes had been precipitated by events which called the fundamental existence of the Order into question; with no Holy Land to protect, what function did such men serve? Gradually, the Hospitallers grafted these challenges upon one another, and dealt with them in similar fashions.

In some cases, the Hospitallers essentially re-wrote their corporate history in a manner that integrated their new home into their old stories; as such the move to Rhodes, while temporary, was nonetheless not really a move to an alien island, or at least, not to an island that was utterly foreign to the Knights’ past. They also attempted, in very practical ways, to encourage pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and when possible, to convince pious Christians to make Rhodes a stopping point on their itinerary. Such visitors might form useful and profitable links to the Order, even as they tended to the spiritual needs of their souls.
Chapter Eight
Towards Conclusions

Any institution that is nearly a millennium old doubtless possesses a corporate history which is a testament to its continued appeal and its ability to adapt. The Knights of St. John of the Hospital had their origins in the eleventh century, in a hospice established for pilgrims to the Holy Land. Originally a loose gathering of men and women who saw to the needs of travellers in Jerusalem, this group eventually achieved recognition as a religious order, and eventually underwent an incredible transformation into a military religious order, bearing arms in the name of Christ while upholding many of the religious duties associated with cenobitical orders - although the military aspect of their charge eventually far superseded their charitable works. In their military manifestation, they fulfilled many duties necessary to the survival of the Christian presence in Palestine, until they were eventually chased out at the end of the thirteenth century. They continue to exist in multifarious forms even into our own century: the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, with several 'alliance' orders in Germany, Holland, and Sweden, and the Venerable Order of St John, a non-Catholic order of Knighthood with no direct line of descent from the old English Grand Priory of the Knights of Malta, but occupying the old Grand Priory at Clerkenwell and currently in 'dialogue' with the S.M.O.M. with regards to
their descent from the former English Priory. Most of the orders are a repository for landed European aristocrats, and most perform a number of charitable duties. The scope of their appeal has faded somewhat, although many organizations of dubious backgrounds use the tradition and iconography associated with the Knights to dupe unsuspecting nouveau riche with a taste for nobility. After nine hundred years, the Knights Hospitaller have largely returned to their charitable functions, their active membership may soon be surpassed in number by those who study their history. Once, however, they were a thriving and popular international religious order, participating in vital ways in the spiritual and administrative life of Europe. The fourteenth century was a critical juncture in their history, a point at which their very reason for being, the protection and maintenance of holy places and Christian fortifications in Palestine, was under attack. The Knights had to adjust or collapse as an Order. Their move to the island of Malta in 1530, while perhaps a marker of their further decline, nonetheless proved the remaining vitality of the Order. In 1565 they successfully defended the island, and with it the maritime artery to the

1See H.J.A. Sire, *The Knights of Malta* (Yale, 1996) for handling of the modern Knights, and Seward, op. Cit., on the military religious orders in general.

2Upon being told that his initiation into the Knights of Malta would include a service attended by “at least a Cardinal,” Frank Sinatra gave Jimmy the Weasel Frattiano ten thousand dollars, allegedly noting that he had “been trying to get into the Knights of Malta for fifteen years...,” largely to please his mother; for Sinatra’s induction into this bogus organization, after which he apparently hoisted the Maltese flag outside of his homes, see Kitty Kelley, *His Way* (Bantam, 1986) pp. 445-6. Many thanks to Mitchell McNaylor for conveying this to me. The legitimate orders associated with the Hospitallers have established several committees to root out such groups.
western Mediterranean, against the onslaughts of Mustafa Pasha; after Ottoman successes on land at Constantinople and Mohacs, news of the victory was received with great cheer in the west, and the architect of the defense, Jean de La Vallette, gave his name to what would become the island's most important city. The money poured in from catholic monarchs over Europe, money which was largely responsible for the architectural transformation of the city of Valetta. The Hospitallers were by no means an impotent organization in the sixteenth century, and measures taken in the fourteenth may largely account for that survival.

Administratively, the Knights took several steps which might have contributed to their continued survival as an order. Much like many of their secular counterparts, and the papacy as well, the Hospitaller central government undertook a 'campaign' towards greater centralization of its authority in a number of ways.

One such step was the creation of a set of centralized records. While some secular rulers had maintained registers of their official documentation for years before the Hospitaller arrival at Rhodes, the Hospitallers seem only to have done so after 1310 or so, and the genesis of their registers, the Libri bullarum, may even come as late as the 1340s. Nonetheless, a number of factors made the maintenance of such records desirable. The Hospitallers were de facto independent lords of an island, and were at the same time an international organization of men and properties, who witnessed the dismantling of an...
organization just like their own, the Templars, in the first decade of the century. Similarly, one of the criticisms, laxity and wealth produced by pluralism, levied against the Templars before their dissolution was increasingly being applied to the church as a whole. Centralized records might help keep all such affairs under control in one form or another, and the creation of the Libri bullarum was one means of attempting to do so. For years priories in the west kept similar records to protect themselves from external litigation, and while the Libri had no legal force, they could be used to protect the order from itself. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this centralizing tendency was manifest in mandates from Chapter General which required all Priors to send copies of their own registers to the central convent, mandates which seem largely to have been ignored. The Libri bullarum, however, would enjoy a history that extended well beyond the fourteenth century.

Another means by which masters might centralize their authority was through the process of retention of men and goods 'at the hands of the Master.' Such retentions were apparently often used as a means of raising extraordinary income to meet the military needs of the Order as whole. Yet they also gave the Master the opportunity to protect ignorant brethren and to provide pensions for aging yet faithful members of the Order. While the Masters's use of this privilege had a tendency to increase in scope and frequency, most seemed to realize that ultimately the other organs of central government might take some sort of action, as they had in the thirteenth century. The grant often associated with
such retentions were generally made by the Master “with the counsel” of the Chapter, and if only by means of self-restraint, the Masters seemed to use such powers judiciously.

Similarly, when dealing with privileges extended to both the Magistracy and the Priors, namely the granting of personal camerae for benefit of their usufruct, the central government as a whole was able to maintain some semblance of balance; as Masters attempted to increase their authority and centralization in some arenas, the Priors could be placated, or rather placated themselves, by assuming an ever-increasing amount of camerae in the fourteenth century. There may have been some rebellion against magisterial authority by extralegal means, as brethren serving as administrators in the west attempted to carve out their own income for themselves, even if it meant seizing goods from their own order, in some cases from their own member houses. The isolation of such incidents is difficult to gauge, but generally the Hospitallers seem to have maintained some degree of internal stability amongst the various components of their central government.

Some of the more adept brethren may have used some of the privileges mentioned above for their own benefit or to the advantage of others outside the Order. Heredia, for instance, maintained several houses in his name, including prioral camerae, and likely used such properties to benefit himself, the papacy, and the kings of Aragon, in whose service he spent much of his early career. Other Hospitallers, in less spectacular a manner than Heredia, worked in the
service of the papacy and secular authorities. While some of them may have received personal benefits from such service, others paid a heavy toll, for as royal servants they often served as lightning rods for popular resentment against unpopular policies of their masters. In the Peasants' revolt one Hospitaller lost his head because of his links to Richard II. While it is difficult to assess, one also supposes that the thinning out of capable administrative manpower robbed the Hospital of some of its best officers and administrations, as their various masters tried to unburden their servants of various obligations and responsibilities to the Order.

Service to more powerful lords often brought the Hospitallers into conflict with the lower ranks of society. As corporate landowners they also faced the resentment of the nobility in various European kingdoms, especially during and after the division of former Templar properties. Hospitaller links to royal governments may or may not have worked to their benefit in these cases, but the Hospital could mend those fences in other ways, namely by extending and establishing spiritual links to such people.

One means of establishing those links was by accepting many strata of society as associates, or confratres, of the Order. For a fee whose value may have been as symbolic as it was financial, persons who entered into confraternity bound themselves to the order and received a number of potential benefits, generally being remembered in the divine offices celebrated by the Hospitallers; occasionally confratres requested to be buried on Hospitaller grounds as well.

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Although reception of such associates was a personal and intimate affair which may have required magisterial recognition, the Masters occasionally issued licences for blanket receptions when such needs arose. Whether or not such spiritual ties ever paid any financial dividends is impossible to judge, and is likely a flawed question from the start. Fostering goodwill amongst individuals with whom the Hospitallers might end up in court was likely dividend enough, and from a spiritual standpoint, would likely also be a flawed interpretation of the institution of confraternity. In any case, establishing such ties was important enough to have encouraged the Hospitallers to keep more accurate centralized records of such associates, as feeble and fleeting as their attempt may have been.

The Hospitallers might also engender spiritual links with such people by encouraging and playing an increasingly active role in pilgrimage. An institution whose popularity waned briefly after the fall of the Holy Land, pilgrimage rapidly ascended to previously attained heights of popularity in the 1340s. In a field dominated largely by Franciscan and Venetian monopolies, the Hospitallers nevertheless tried to carve a niche for themselves in the pilgrim trade during the 1370s and beyond. Yet the ideological effort to do so likely began earlier, as Hospitallers maintained, copied, and circulated copies of pilgrims' itineraries to encourage the passage, amongst themselves and others. Equally as important as getting people to undertake pilgrimage was convincing them to stop at Rhodes, where more extensive bonds between the Hospital and
the world beyond the cloister might be forged. To satisfy the demands of their own corporate history, the Hospitallers seem to have changed several versions of it in order to accommodate their new home at Rhodes, which the Hospitallers attempted to graft into tales of their past during the fourteenth century. Similarly, such stories served a less easily quantifiable benefit: they imparted upon the order a sense of communal past, of communal history, of communal mission, the benefits of which, if they may not be easily tabulated, should nonetheless not be readily dismissed.

If one may account in any fashion for the survival of the Hospital in the fourteenth century, his instinct is to look towards good fortune. The practical measures taken by the Hospitallers often seem half-hearted and poorly applied, and measuring the tangible and practical success of spiritual programs is next to impossible. In the upper echelons of the Hospitaller power structure, some degree of stability was achieved, largely through the organs and machinations of central government and its ability to compromise. The temptation to argue that mere inertia kept the Order afloat until the more stable and prosperous days of the fifteenth century restored their own order to the Hospital should be tempered by a recollection of the Order's activities in the fourteenth century: after a period of relative laxity they moved with some energy to assist in the capture of Smyrna, a city which after 1344 soon became the responsibility of the Order.
The answer to such questions may lie in paths other than those pursued by this dissertation. The greatest likelihood is the benefit of dependance upon powerful patrons, specifically royalty. Nominally independant, the Order nonetheless found itself at the mercy of larger corporations. As the Masters and central government of the Order tried to consolidate their sovereign authority on the Rhodes and within their ranks, they found themselves and their organization being pulled into the orbits of larger bodies. This 'nationalization' was a process which started in the 1300s, and as the order increased in popularity, it also came more and more under external control, with the Proirs of important Priories often being the preserve of royal and aristocratic privilege. Seward makes the reductio ad absurdam by claiming that a Knight Hospitaller made American independence possible, for the Admiral de Grasse, who cut off Yorktown from the British navy, was himself a Knight of Malta.3

If few reliable answers concerning the Order's survival emerge from the mists of Hospitaller documentation, a few noteworthy themes do. One is the re-evaluation of the monastic term cloister as it applied to the Knights, who politically and spiritually sought active links to people well beyond the walls. The price for such activity and service was often high, but when one considers the type and scope of responsibilities assumed by many brethren, sustaining an

3Seward, p. 330. Few statistics survive, but one wonders how many of the middle and upper nobility may have been able to make similar claims of membership. Ironically, de Grasse is the family name of the duBar, including the notorious Monreal of Chapter Four.
image of the Hospitallers as cloister knights is difficult indeed. It is perhaps, this very activity that sustained the Order over the years.
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Appendix I
The Creation of Brethren in the *Libri bullarum*

For Archives 316 and 319 below, all citations refer to the old pagination. For references in Archive 317, the old pagination precedes the new pagination after a backslash.

§1. (316, f10v) Die xxi decembris (1346) datis fuit licencia preceptori Hebiani et eius locumtenenti faciendi fraterm servientem Michaellem pendaris loco fratris Guillaum Calatraeva et assignadi sibi stagiam in dicta bauilia in forme

§2. (316, fol 14) Die octava Januarii data fuit licencia preceptori Sancti Felicis de valle Gorgie recipiendi Petrum de Bellovisum in fratrem presbytorum domus nostre....

§3. (316, fol 11v) Die xii januarii ad parentes nobilem viri Gaultelmi Pellebarba domini de yvernia preceptum suis et mandatum priori Sancti Egidii ut unum ex filiis dicti Gaultelmi ad ipsius requisitionem recipiat in donatum et assignet sibi stagiam in altera bauiliarum dicti prioratus in forme...

§4. (316, fol 53) Die xx martii data fuit licencia fratri johanni fernandez de heredia castellano emposte et Priori Sancti Egidii et castelle et legonis faciendo iii fratres milites in prioratu sancti egidii ut in forma usquem stagis assignandi in bauilias dicta prioratus

§5. (316, fol 54) die septima novembris commissum fuit mandatum priori Tholose ut Ougerium de Malo Leone recipiat in forma in fratrem militem in primo passagio et fuit eadem concessa licencia veniendi ad conventum cum equis et armis in dicto passagio a suo superiore licencia requisita

§6. (316, fol 74) Item die predicta (25 Jan) immediate commissum fuit et mandatum fratribus immediate proscriptis et eorum cuilibet ut petrum forestarii donatum in fratrem recipiat servientem et sibi auctoritate domini assignet stagiam in domo Castri Gardie in qua presencialem stagiam habet

§7. (316, fol 107) die viii octobris Petrus de Ublam et franciscus de †Lusuige † Milites ac petrus de Lucriero et Johannis Thesarii domicelli fuerunt recepti in forma in confreres...

§8. (316, fol 158v) die xx marcii data fuit licencia Fratri Johanni Fernandi de heredia castellan emposte et prioris sancti egidii et castille et legonis faciendo quatuor fratres milites in Casttellan emposte eis assignandi stagis in dicta Castis ut in forma

§9. (316, fol 200) Frater Rogerius etcetera prior Anglie vel eius locumtenenti Salutem et sinceram Cum Adam de Verbelles ferventir desiderent omnipotenti deo et gloriose virgini marie matri eius ac beatissimo johanni baptiste patrono nostro sub regulari habitu Domus nostre perpetuo familiaris nosquem eius pro desiderio volentes condescendere in hac parte recipiendi ipsum in domus nostre fratem solemniter ut est

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moris si aptus sit sanus et integer membris suis eo prius per vos vel alium milicie cingulo decorato si ex utrusquem parente nobilium legitime fuit procreatus Cui in altera baulliarum dicti prioratus stagiam assignetis in qua sibi provideri in suis necessesariis fatuitis secundum bonos usus et laudabiles consuetudines domus nostre nobis...

§10. (316, 228v ) Fr Rogerius et vcetera religioso et cetera fr...[Dietrich Heppenbach] domus eiusdem nunc vel futurum preceptorie de Friburgo Brisgaudie quovis titulo presidenti salutem et cetera. Cum Bercholdus dominus tde Cinguert serventur desideret omnipotenti deo et beate marie virgini matri eius ac sancto johanni bartiste patrono nostro et xristi pauperibus sub regulari domus nostre habitum perpetua familiaris nosquem eius pius desideris in hac parte deflexi vobis comitimus et expresse mandamus sub virtute sancte obedientie firmenter iunientes Quatis dictam bertoldum si aptus sit sanus quem t integer membris suis ad eius requisitionem rebuipads in fratem servientem domus nostre solepniter ut est moris et ei assignetis stagiam in dicta preceptoria in qua sibi in suis necessariis provideatur secundum bonos usus et laudabiles consuetudines domus nostre data rodi die quinta decima mensis augusti anno lviii.

§11. (316,fol 235 )Item die vii dicti mensis dominus marinus pisani filius quondam domini nicole pisani fuit receptus in confratrem in forma sed promisit dare Blandonam unum cere unius florini valoris...

§12. (316, fol 242)Frater rogerius etcetera Religioso etcetera Fr Philiberto Rappe domus eiusdem locumententi prioris in prioratu lombardie salutem et sinceram Ad depricationes instantiam viri magnifici et potentis domini..Marquisi de Monte Ferrato nostri et nostre religionis amici cui in possibilibus grata affectione placemus volumus et vobis tenore presencium expresse mandamus quant unum ex filiis domini Alberti de sancto georgie militis si aptus sit sanus et integer membris suis cum equis et arma sufficientes et navigium in quo ad Rodum ad dei servicium veniat habueret sive in passagio domus nostre vel alio recipiatis in domus nostre fratrem ut est moris solepniter eo prius per nos vel alium milicie cingulo decorato si ex utroquem parente nobilium fuerit legitime procreatus Que sancto domus nostre fratre ut profertur veniendi ad conventum nostrem Rodi ut promittetur a suo superiore prius licencia requisita presenti serie licenciam elargimur data Rodi die nona mensis Junii anno lviii

§13. (317, 4/15 ) dei prima mensis septembris data est licencia fuit Marquisio de Goson Priori Navareum ac preceptor de silva et Sancti Maxencii recipiendi Ancesium fe Gosono domicellum donatis in fratrem militem et assignandi stagiam in dicta preceptoriam de Silva ac in forma

§14. (317, 5v/16v) Eadem die (15 septembris 1347) data est licenciam fuit petro jordanii preceptor pedenascii [ad] eius instantiam faciendi et recipiendi unum fratrem militem et unum fratrem serviens et unum donatum et assignendi in dicta sua preceptoriam stagiam etcetera informa

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§15. (318, 36) Die ottavo aprilis data fuit licencia dicte fratri Guillermo faciendo fratres tres, unum militem et duos servientes Necnon donatos duos in sua preceptoria

§16. (318, 171/183) die xxiiii augusti [1347] commissum fuit et mandatum fratri Johannis de Ripparia Priori Urbis et Pisarum ut Nicholaum filium Jacomini dastolli ad eius requisitionem recipiat in fratrem servientem sibiquem stagiam in alteran in bauiiarum dictorum prioratum assignet dicti in forma...

§17. (319, fol 56) Die iiiii junii (1365) data fuit licencia fratri Guidoni de Ferra preceptor de Burges faciendi duos donatos immobiles Et assignandi eius stagiam in dicta preceptoris ut in forma

§18. (321, fol 66v) Anno die et mensis quibus suprascripta (1381 October 10) dicto frater petrus data fuit licenciam recipiendi unum virum de [ ] suo in fratrem domus nostre eo iniquito militie singulo natum thoro legitimo et ipsum [ ]assinandi stagia in baullia †lotphungis † et etiam per maior graciam veniendi ad conventum Rodi cum equis et armis ut moris est....
Appendix II
Fourteenth-Century Grants of the Hospital in the Libri bullarum and Other Sources

Appendix II. A: Land leases at Rhodes from the Libri bullarum, loose land grants from pre-1346 documents, and grant formulae inserted in documents external to the Order. Some of these have naturally already been transcribed, and the sources are noted within.

Appendix II.B: Grants appearing in the Libri bullarum, c. 1346-1444.

The point of the appendices is to establish what degree of formulary regularity, and perhaps with it standardized chancery procedures, existed in Hospitaller documents between 1310 and the first years of extant documents in the Libri bullarum. Many of the exempla appearing in the Cartulaire and in the papal registers offer difficulties in comparative procedures, since their appearance in external records was generally the result of an extraordinary procedure, such as granting properties to sorores or secular men, which required papal approbation. Nonetheless, some pre-Rhodian documents hint at procedures and formulae which presage the Libri bullarum in ways.

Appendix II.A.

§ 1. This grant of land occurred on the island of Rhodes, and is representative of what formulae were used in transactions occurring between the Order and non-Hospitallers. It appeared originally in Luttrell "Feudal tenure and latin colonization at Rhodes" (originally in English Historical Review, 1970, then in Luttrell, 1978, III, appearing as documents II and III in his appendices).

Royal Malta Archives, Valletta; Archives of the Order of St. John, codex 16, no. 28 (original parchment with holes for seal; ink very faded and seal missing.)

Noverint universi et singuli Quod Nos hater Elionus de Villanova. dei Gratia sacre domus hospitalis sancti johannis jerosolimitani magister humilis et pauperum christi custos Et Nos conventus domus eiusdem Attendentes quod nos et domus nostra habemus terras aliquas In insula nostra Rodi que per domum nostram habiliter excoli non possunt que si sub certo censu annuo in emphiteosim perpetuam donarentur esset accomodurn nobis et nostre domui supradicte, eaportuer voluntex quantum decenter possumus conditionem domus nostre facere meliorem dominico de leone et manoli cosma habitatoribus Rodi modiatas terre octuaginta quarurn virginti quinque sunt culte Relique veto hereme et inculte sitas in dicta Insula nostra Rodi in contrata seu territorio capitis sancti martij confrontatas a levante cum ser Petro de Jacob et ascendit, et confinat cum
bartholomeo de Petra Rossa et ascendit montaneam aquil. pendentibus et vadit
usque ad locum vocatum vathiurianon et descendit versus ponentem flumen
flumen usque in locum ubi sunt canes et descendit usque ad mare Item in contrata
predicta in loco dicto yclimaquedes et yacladopi modiitas terre triginta quaram.
quindecim sunt culte alic quindecim hereme et inculte confrontatas incipiendo a
dicto flumine et vadit versus meridiem per montaneas aquis pendentibus ubi
positus est lapis signo crucis signatus et Revolvitur versus transmontanam et venit
descendendo usque ad montaneam in qua fuerit scubie sive gayte et ferit ad
lentiescos et descendit per creastam montanee et vadit subitus aerara angarie
servorum del Salaco et subitus fontern et Remanen dicta aera et fons extra dictos
confines et deinde vadit Recte ad quandam carrobleriur et ferit recte usque ad
flumen et deinde vadit versus transmontanans usque ad mare et vadit usque
ecclesiam sancti martijnj et deinde vadit ad mare et ferit ubi incepimus dictos
confines Eorumque heredibis et succesoribus in emphiteosim perpetuam
autoritatem presentium concedimus et donamus sub canone seu annuo censu
centum viginti asperorum per eos et eorum heredebis et succeedores nobis et nostre
domui in festo sancte marie mensis septembris anno quolibet solvendorum dantes
et concedentes harum serie vosis et vestris heredibus et successoribus licentiam
autoritatem et potestatem faciendo inanetis de dictis terris quicquid vobis et eis
placuerit perpetuo faciendum dicto canone sive censu, asperorum centum viginti
ac laudimio iure, prelationis et maiori dominio nobis et nostre domui semper salvis
et specialiter reservatis mandantes insuper presentium tenore universis et singulis
fratibus domus nostre ferimus et futuris quamcumque auctoritate dignitate vel
officio fulgentibus ne contra pre. sentis nostre littere continentiam et tenorem
aliquatenus venire presumat quinymo, illam studeant inviolabiliter observare In
cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra communjs plumbea presentibus est appensa
data Rodi sub signo nostri magistri die Sexto Septembris Anno Incarnationis
domini M.ccc. tricesimo octavo.

§2. Cartulaire generale, #4801 (7 July 1308)
In this grant, Master Fulk of Villaret grants the Hospitaller house of Curemonte
to Jourdain of Villaret, the Prioress of Feudis, a hospitaller dependancy. The
formula resembles in places the formula associated with the Libri bullarum,
particularly the grant clause itself; other sections are not quite as similar.
Noverint universi, presentes litteras inspecturi, quod nos fratre Fulco de Vilareto,
Dei gratias sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani magister
humilis et pauperum Christi custos, attendentes monasterium nostrum de Feudis,
Caturensis dyocesis, adeo redditus et proventus tenues et exiles habere quod
sustentationem in Christo nobis dilecte sororis Jordane de Vilareto, priorisssae, ac
dominarum eiusdem monasterii, constructionemque operum in eo faciendorum
necesssario sufficere commode nequeunt, volentesque quod priorissa predictii
monasterii sui et dominarum aliarum neccessitatibus opportunis valeat providere
domum nostram de Curamento, subjectam prioratui nostro Avermie, cum omnibus
membris, grangii, iuribus, pertinentiis ac dependentis suis, eidem priorisse, de
voluntate, consilio et expresso assensu fratrum nobis assistencium, ex autoritate
[sic] et potestate nobis per conventum nostrum transmarinum atributis extantibus
inde patentibus litteris, nostra et ipsius conventus bulla plumbea signatis, habendam, tenendam, regendam et possidendam pacifice tenore presentium tradimus, committimus et concedimus, donem permutatio de dicta domo de Caromontano cum ecclesia de cassilhaco, de qua permutatione dudum tractatus aliqui habitu sunt, ad quod ipsam priorissam vaccare attente volumus, consummata fuerit et beneficerit in eadem, ita tamen quod ipsa priorissa priorem nostrum Arvemie et ejus locumentem cum per domum ipsam causa visitationis transierint honorifice recipere, honeste tractare, eis et familie sue cum equitaturiis suis deceter in neccessariis providere, responsionem solitam, tallias et alia consueta annis singulis integre et absque diminutione solvere et redurre, statum domus ejusdem ad capitula prioratus predicti Arvemie significare, domum ipsam reficere, reparare, emendare, meliorare et augmentare in quibus comode poterit, sequi cursum domorum aliarum consuetum in omnibus, dicto priori et ejus locum tenenti ut superioribus suis subesse in justiciis ceterisque domus nostre consuetudinibus et usibus, ac eis parere reverenter in cunctis honestis et licitis pro ipsa domo teneatur, hoc tamen excepto quod eodem priori, aut ejus locumtenenti, non liceat per septenae quadrageneve ipse priorisse domum ipsam subtrahere vel auferre, aut in eadem frateres, soreores, donatos vel alien familiam sup[er]ponere, sive inde extrahere ultra consuetum numerum preter ejusdem priorisse gratuitam voluntatem absque mandato nostro et licencia speciali, sive eam in predictis impedere, turbare, inquietare, vel aliter molestare. Quocirca tenore presencium preciendo districte mandamus fratri... domum ipsam nunc tenenti, ut infra octo dies post presentationem presencium, domum ipsam cum omnibus membris, gangriis, iuribus et pertinentiis suis, eadem priorisse vel ejus certo mandato tradat liberaliter et asignet integre, contradictu, repugnaculo et obstaculo quibuscumque sublatis. In cujus rei testimonium, bulla nostrae plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datam Pictavis, die septima julii, anno domini millesimo trecentisimo octavo.

§3. Ibid., 4749 (5 November 1308)

Noverint universi, presentes litteras inspecturi, quod nos frater Fulco de Villarello, Dei gratia sancte domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jeresolimitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos, de administratione provida et circumspecta providentia in Christo nobis dilecti fratris Raymundi Bernardi de Fumello, domini nostri pape cubicularii, dignam in Domino gerentes fiduciam, eidem frati Raymundo Bernadi tanquam benemerto, de fratrum nobis assistentium voluntate, consilio et expresso consensu, et auctoritate etiam et potestate nobis per conventum nostrum transmarinum attributis, estantibus inde patentibus litteris, nostra et ipsius conventus bulla plumbea signatis, bajuliam nostram S. Maxentii, cum omnibus membris, gangriis, juribus et pertinentiis et appenditiis ad cam quoquomodo spectantibus, habendam, tenendam, regendam et pacifice possidendam commisimus et tradidimus quamdui vixerit et bene fecerit in eadem, ita tamen quod idem frater Raymundus Bernadi .. priorem nostrum S. Egidii locumque suum tenentem, cum per bajuliam ipsam transierint, honorifice recipere, honeste tractare, ei familie sue cum equitaturiis suis in necessariis deceter providere, responsionem solitam, tallias et alia consueta annis singulis integre absque

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diminutione solvere et reddere, ad capitula prioratus S. Egidii venire, bajuliam predictam reficere, reparare, emendare, meliorare et augmentare pro viribus, sequi cursum domorum aliarum consuetum, in omnibus dicto priori et ejus locum tenenti subesse in justiciis ceterisque domus nostre usibus et consuetudinibus, ac eis parere in cunctis honestis et licitis teneatur, hoc tamen excepto quod eidem priori aut locum suum tenenti non liceat per justitiam septente quadrageneve, vel dicto frati Raymundo Bernadi bajuliam ipsam subtrahere sive auferre, seu in eadem frates, sorores, donatos vel aliam familiariam superponere, aut inde extrahere ultra consuetum numerum preter ipsius fratis Raymundi voluntatem gratis et absque mandato nostro et speciali licentia, sive eum in ipsa bajulia impedire, tubare, inquietare vel aliter molestare. In cujus rei testimonium, bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datum Pictavis, die ultima augusti, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo septimo.

§4. Ibid., 4905
Originally from a document dated 17 August 1310, this record is actually an eighteenth century copy of a now lost document.

[Clemens, etc.], dilecto filio Saxoni, nato dilecti filii Raynaldi de Setia militis et magistri hostiarii nostri, clerici Terracinensis diocesis, [salutem, etc]. Tua et tuorum devotio exigit ut, personam tuam speciali benivolentia prosequentes, votis tis in hiis que digne possomus favoribiliter annuamus. Exhibita siquidem nobis ex parte tua petitio continebat quod dilectus filius frater Fulco, magister Hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani, considerans gratia et accepta servitia que dilectus filius Raynaldus de Setia, miles et magister hostiariis nostor, pater tuus, sibi impediet hactenus et impendere poterit in futurum, domos S. Cosme de Aquino et S. Leonardi di Setia, Terracinensis dioceses, ad Hospitale ipsum spectantes, cum appenditiis, juribus et pertinentis eorumdem, tibi, ex potestate et auctoritate sibi per conventum suum transmarinum tradita, ad vitam tuam contulit et concessit, prout in patentibus litteris inde confectis, ipsius magistri Hospitalis plumbea bulla munitis, plenius continetur. Nos itaque ejusdem Raynaldi, a nobis hujusmodi gratiam suppliciter implorantis, ac tuis suppllicationibus inclinati, collationem et concessionem hujusmodi ratas et gratas habentes, illas auctoritate apostolica ex certa scientia confirmamus, et presentis scripti patrociniio communimus, ac supplemus omnem defectum, si quis forsitan exitit in eisdem, de apostolice plenitudine potestatis. Tenorem litterarum ipsarum de verbo ad verbum presentibus inseri facientes, qui talis est: “Noverint universi, etc. (V. plus haut le texte, n 4871)” Nulli ergo, etc. Si quis, etc. Dat. in prioratu de Grausello prope Malausanam, Vasionensis diocesis, decimo sexto kalendas septembris, [pontificatus nostri] anno v.
§5. Clement V, #6504 (25 January 1311)
Fr Begurio granted the baillies of the Name of God and of St. Christine, with all of the member houses attached to them, for life:

Dilecto filio fratri Beguerio de Sehalhes ordinis hospitlis s. Iohannis Ierorosolimitan. Inter alia que nostris desideriis...Noverint univerisi presentes litteras inspecturi, quod nos Frater Fulco de VHerto Dei gratia sancte domus hospitalis s. Iohannis Ierosolimitan. Magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos merita proboitatis et providentie, quibus in Christo nobis dilectus frater Beguerius de Sealhasnic probatur, recensentes sperantesque in Domino, quod sub nostre religionis habitu, sub quo mundanis neglectis illecebris elegit Deo famulari, fructum producet maturitati et comoditi, eidem fratri Beguerio tamquam benemerito comunicato consilio voluntate et expresso consensu fratrum nobis assistencium [two baillies and sixteen member houses listed] cum universis et singulis aliis iuribus, pertinentiis, et appenditis ad eas quomodo spectantibus, quecunque sint et ubicunque et quocunque censeatur nomine, damus, concedimus, tradimus, committimus et conferimus tenore presencia habendas, tenendas, regendas, administrandas et possidendas pacifice quamdiu vixerit......in eisdem fratres, sorores, donatos vel aliam familiam superponmere seu inde extrahere ultra consuetum numerum preter ipsius fratis Beguerii voluntatem gratuam absque mandato nostro et speciali licentia seu eum in ipsis baulliis impedere, turbare, inquietare vel aliter molestare. Quocirca per presentes districute precipiendo mandamus omnis et singulis fratri, sororis, donatis vassallis, hominitibus et subditis nostris quibuscumque in dictis baulliis quam in capite quam in membris constititus, quatenus visis presentibus eundem fratrem Beguerium benigne admittant, sibi tanquam suo preceptori et superiori in cuntis spiritualem et temporalitatem tangentibus devote et humiliter prestitutri reverendam et obedientiam ac auxiliarii et astitui sibi pro posse in hiis, que curam, regimen et administrationem baulliarum respiciant predictam. Et quia forsan dominus noster summus pontifex adhuc eundem fratrem Beguerium circa se et in servitio suo habere voluerit et retinere, volumus ad maioris gratie cumulo dantes et concedentes ei per presentes plenam et liberam potestatem, licentiam et auctoritatem, quod ipse in dictis baulliis alicui probo et discrete nostro fratri possitcommittere vices suas. Preterea damus per presentes in mandatis dicelitis nobis in Christo fratri, qui dictas hoc anno rexerunt et regunt baullias, quod eidem Fratri Beguerio vel mandato suo omne contradicitione postposita reddant et restituant integre et plenarie omnes et singulos fructus et redditus, qui usque huc provenverunt ex ipsis baulliis, grangii, membris et pertinentiis suis proventuros exinde habere et recipere pacifice, promittentes taliter super hiis se habituri, quod puniri vel redargui nequeant de inhobedientia sua contemptu. In quorum om nium testimonium et certitudinem bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa. Dat. Pictavis, die XII augusti, anno domini millesimo trecentisimo octavo... Dat. Avinion., VIII kal. Februarii, anno sexto.
§6. Clement V, # 5677(27 September 1310)
Grant of the house of St. Romano to Domicellum Arnaldo Hoalhando for life.

Noverint universi presentes litteras inspecturi, quod nos Frater Fulco de Villaretodei gratia sancte domus Hospitalis s. Johannis lerosolimitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos, attendentes sincere dilationis puritatem, quam nobilis et potens vir, dominus Amaneves de Lebreto miles, eiusdem loci dominus ac genus suum erga religionem nostram gerere et gessisse probantur, ipsam largitionibus et gratis prosequendo favoribiliter; ob ipsius domini Amanevi, cuius vota in quibus comode posumus, tenemur liberaliter admittere, considerationem, domum nostram de s. Romano prope castrum Gelozium, Agennen. diocesis, cum omnibus suis iuribus, pertinentiis et appenditiis, de consilio, voluntate et expresso assensu fratrem nobis assistentium, ex auctoritate et potestate nobis per conventum nostram Transmarinum attribuitis, extantibus inde patentibus litteris nostris et ipsius conventi bulla plumbea signatis, habendam, tenendam, regendam et pacifice possidendam per presentes tradimus damus, concedimus et conferimus Arnaldo de Noalhano, domicello, dicti domini Amanevi nepoti, quod sub xixeri, speante, quod sub ipsius Arnaldi regimine, accidente ad hoc prefati domini Amanevi suffragio, domus predicta plurimus proficiet incrementis. Scienendum est tamen, quod idem Arnaldus debet et tenetur ex pacto priorem nostrum s. Egidii et eius locum tenentem, cum per domum ipsam, causa visitationis transierint, honorifice recipere, honeste tractare, eis et familie sue et equitaturis in necessariis decenter providere; responsionem solitam, tallias et alia consueta, annis singulis, integre et absque diminutione solvere et reddere prefato priori vel mandato suo, statum domus domini eisdem capitulio Frontonii vel alibi in Tholosan. celebrando annuatim, per nuntium proprium significare; unum fratrem sacerdotem nostri ordinis et unum clericum in dicta domo tenere, eis providere decenter in vite necessariis, fratres nuntios et cursores nostros euntes et redeuntes recipere, eis ministrare necessaria, sequi cursum domorum aliarum consuetum, in omnibus domum ipsam et eius iura ac rationes manutenere, defendere et amparare pro viribus ac eam reficere reparare, meliorare, emendare, et in quibus poterit, augmentare. Dicto vero Arnaldo de Noalhano ab hac luce migrante, sepedicta domus s. Romani cum universis et singulis iuribus suis, pertinentiis et appenditiis ac cum omnibus emendamentis, melioramentis in ea per ipsum faciendis ad nos et domum nostram, libere, contradicitione, obstaculo, et impedimento quibuslibet cessantibus et omnino quiescentibus, revertatur. Quocirca precipiend mandamus in Christo nobis carissimo priori s. Egidii et eius locumtenenti, quatenus domum predictam s. Romani cum omnibus suis iuribus et pertinentiis assignent integre postposito contradicitore quocunque eidem Arnaldo vel procuratori suo, in proximo futuro capitulo, per eorum alterum post presentationem celebrando. In quorum omnium testimonium et certitudinem, bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est apposita. Dat. Pictavii, die vicesima iunii, anno Domini MCCCVIII. Nulli etc. nostre confirmationis et suppletionis etc. Dat. in prioratu de Grausello prope Malausanam, Vasionen. diocesis V kal. octobris, anno quinto.
§7. NLM, Archive 16, # 26 This bull dates to 1337, and conveys the domum of Nemaus and the granges of Generaco and Luco, recently vacated by the death of Raymond Jordan, to Peter Planteri, the Conventual Prior of the Order, nominally as a pension for his old age, when he no longer able to sustain himself. The greeting bears resemblance to many of those present in post-1345 bullae. The central part of later grants, allowing the brother to possess, hold, rule, govern, and improve the properties is present in this grant. That particular usage - *habendam, tenendam, regendam, gubernandam, augmentandam et meliorandam* appears as well in grants made to individuals outside the Order as early as 1308; see above, II.A.4. None of these documents contain the legal clauses which appear in post-1345 grants with regularity and rigidity of form.

Frater Elyonus de Villanova dei gratia sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johanni jerosolimitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos et nos conventus domus eiusdem generale celeb rantes religioso in Christo nobis carissimo Fratri petri planterii domus eiusdem priori dicti conventus et preceptori de sancto mauricio salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem digne quidem promere[ ]

Vestre merita probitatis et alia dona virtutum quibus personam vestram altissimissimus divino munere insignit et accepta vestra obsequia a longis citra [ ]

bus prestita in partibus cismarinis cum preconio digno lux ad dei a nostre religionis servicium et honorem ut vobis honoris et gracie rependa[ ] tur Igitur attendentes quid ex vestra bauilia supradicta iuxta vestri status decensionem senium vestrum t antiquitatem sustentare comode non potestis vobis id[ ]
viete vestra et sustentacione vestri status domum Nemas et grangias de Generaco et de luco vacantes per obitum Religiosi in Christo nobis carissim[ ]s Raymundi Jordani cum omnibus earum membris iuribus et pertinenciis universis et singulis ad dictas domum et grangias spectantibus et pertinentibus universis et singulis et praebitis quibus personam vestram[ ]

anque digno et benemerto et ampliori gracia digniori auctoritate nostra et presentis nostri capituli generalis concedimus et donamus et provedimus [ ] et grangiam de luco predictam cum omnibus suis membris et pertinenciis quia ab olim fuit membro sancti mauricii supradictam [ ]imis ad eandem et domum Nemausi et Grangiam de generaco cum bauilias earum membris iuribus et pertinenciis1 anecmus incorporamu [ ]mus bauilias sancti mauricii memoratas auctoritate et solemnitate nostri presentis capituli generalis [lacuna] ram et comandatorem in d[ ] ulia sancti mauricii domo nemausi et grangis de generaco et de Luco upradictas cum omnibus earum viribus et pertinenciis harum serie ord[ ] mandantes sub virtute sante obedientie firmiter et distrique universis et singulis fratibus sororibus donatishominibus et vassallis in dictis domus et grangis constitutis presentibus et futuris ut vobis tanquem eorum preceptori superiori et maiori reverenter[?]

1The codex is severely damaged from bauilias ...pertinenciis, and on the lines below it, apparently associated with the folding of the document or the removal of the magisterial bulla.
pareant obediant et mandant in omnibus iuribus eos aut ipsorum alterum
ducxeritis requirendos Necnon priori nostro Santi Egidii aut eius locumtenenti [ ]
vel procuratores vestros in poss[ ] inducat pacificam dictarum domus Nemausii et
grangiaum de generaco et de luco cum ipsarum iuribus membris et pertinencis et
conservet induc[ ] contradictione quacumquam In cuius rei testimonium bulla
nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa data Rodi sub signo nostri dicti
magistri [ ] nostro prescripto capitulo generali die quintodecimo mensis occobris
anno incarnacionis domini millo ccc trecensimo septimo iii.

Appendix II.B Grants appearing in the Libri bullarum.
The first numbers represent the Archival designation within the National Library
of Malta, Archives of the Order of St. John. Foliation of documents represented
enormous difficulties, as original roman numeral foliations often remain visible,
even though Arabic numeration, inserted by modern scholars, often appear as
well. In some cases below, I offer two folia numbers, the first being the original
roman page number, the second being the modern arabic numeration. Unless
stated otherwise, by use of the abbreviation “n.p.” (New pagination), the folio
citations correspond to the old, roman numeration, which generally appeared in
the upper right corner of each recto. In some instances, two numbers appear in
parentheses; the first represents the old pagination, the second denote the new
folios.

§1. (316, 23v) Fr Rogerius et cetera et nos conventus et cetera generale capitulum
celebrantes Religioso et cetera Fratri Aymerico De Rippa domus eiusdem
preceptorii de Rusticanis salutem et sinceram. Propter vestre probitatis merita et
administrationem accomodam quem in commissas vobis regiminibus in vestre
ordine sicut fidedigno testimonio accepirimus huistis ilia nobis libenter annuimus
quem conservationem vestre status concernere dignoscuntur Igitur preceptori
predictam de Rusticanus prioratus nostri St Egidii cum omnibus et singulis suis
membris iuribus et pertinencis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinencibns
quoquomodo et cum quibus eam tenetis et presencialiter posseditis habendam
tenendam regendantam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus
et temporibus tam in capite quem in membris sub annua responsione et aliis
oneribus impositis et imponendis secundum comumem cursum aliarum baiuliarum
prioratus nostri sancti egidii suprindicis capitulo provinciali dicti prioratus annis
singulis exolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi nos de dicta baiulia et illa ad manus
suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori receptori responsionem dicti prioratus hac serie
plenam concedimus potestatem huiusmodi facta vobis gracia in aliquo non
obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis st johannis baptiste et ab eodem feste in
antea ad annos decem continuos et completos [ ] delibero consilio
aucotritatem presencium in nostri capituli generalis de nostro certa sciencia et
speciali gracia vobis confirmamus benefaciendo in eadem...Comitentes etcetera..
Quocirca etc. necnon etc. inhibentes etc. incuius etc data rodi durante nostro
prescripto capitulo generali die vicesima secunda mensis febroari anno lvii.

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§2. (316, 25v) Fr Roger des Pinibus et cetera Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo Fr Hugoni Carbonerii domus eiusdem preceptori de rayronis Salutem et cetera. Propter vestre morita probitatis et administrationem accomodam quam in commissis vobis regeminibus sicut testimonio fidedigno accepimus factenus habuistis illa vobis libenter annua que conservationem vestri status concernere dignoscuntur. Igitur baiuliam sive domum de rayronis supradictam prioratus nostri St Egidi cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinenciis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinencibus hic spectare et pertinere debentibus quoquo modo et cum quibus eam tenetis et presencialiter possidetur habendam tenendum regendam gubemandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quem in membris sub annua repsonione et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis secundum cursum aliarum baiuliarum prioratus preteriti in capitulo provincialem prioratus eiusdem annis singulis infallibiliter exolvendis. Et nisi feceritis destruendi vos de dicta bauilia et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionum prioratus predicti hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem gracia huiusdi vobis facta iin aliquo non obstante hinc ad instantes festum nativitatis St Johannis baptiste et ab eodem feste in antea ad annos decern continuos et completos de consilio et assensu fratrum et preterum conventus nostri Rodi nobis assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa scientia et speciali gracia vobis confirmamus benefaciendo in eadem. Comitentes et cetera. Quocirca et cetera. Necnon et cetera. In cuius et cetera. Data Rodi die sexta mensis febrarii anno lviii.

§3. (316, 53) Fr Rogerius etcetera Religioso etceterea Fr Arnudo Bernardo Ebrardi domus eiusdem preceptori de Burdegal de St †Anico †De Monte Rubeo et de Landa Salutem et cetera. Propter vestra merita probitatis et administrationem accomodam quem in commissis vobis regeminibus in nostro ordine sicut testimonio fidedigno precepinus factenus huiustis illa vobis annimus Libenter que conservationem vestri status concernere dignoscuntur. Igitur dictas domos seu baiulias de monte rubeo et de landa prioratus nostri Tholose cum omnibus et singulis earum et cuisiibet earum membris iuribus. Et pertinenciis universis ad eas et earum altera spectantibus et pertinencibus quoquo modo et cum quibus eas tenetis et principaliter possidetis habendas tenendas regendas gubemandas augmentandas et meliorandas in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capitis quam innmembris sub annuis responsionibus et aliiis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliiter secundum communem cursum aliarum baiuliarum prioratus nostri Tholose supradicti in capitulo provinciali prioratus eiusdem annis singulis infallibiliter exolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi nos dictis preceptoris et earum altera et illas seu illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptoris responsionum dicti prioratus hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem gracia huiusdi vobis facta in aliquo non obstante hinc ad instants festum nativitatis St Johannis Baptiste et ab eodem festo in antead ad annos decern continuos et completos de voluntate et consilio et assensu fratrum et preterum Conventus nostri Rodi nobis assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa

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scientia et speciali gracia nobis confirmamus benefaciendo in eiusdem
Committenet et cetera Quocirca et cetera Necnon et cetera Inhibentes et cetera In
cuius et cetera. Data Rodi die sexta mensis junii anno lixii

§4. (316, 55v) Fr Rogerius de Pinibus et cetera Religioso in xristo nobis carissimmo
Fr Raymundo de Valle male domus eiusdem preceptori de lagavino salutem et
cetera. Vestrorum gracia comendabilium meritorum de quibus fidedignum
testimonum accepius comedatum et alius in administracionem vobis commissa
comprobamini fructuosus vos volentes fore prosequi gratioso non obstante quod
promisam baui lament de lagavino obtenaitis et habeatis ad presens domunseu
baui et de petra pectorada prioratus vostri Tolose morte Fratris Bernardi
†Cosinc† Vacantem ut propter parte vestra non exhibita supplicanto continut et
cum omnibus et singulis suis membrii viribus et pertinencibus ad illam
spectantibus et pertinentibus ac spectare et pertinere debentibus quoquomodo cum
quibus illammentuit et abuit quondam Frater Bernardi supradictus habendam
tenendam regendam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus
et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membrii sub anua responsionem et alius
oneribus positis et imponendis secunum comunei cursum aliarum baiuaria
prioratus Nostri Tolose supradicti in capitolo provinciali eiusdem prioratus anis
singulis infalibiliter exolvendis. Et nisi feceritis destituenti vos de dicta baiulie et
illam ad mandamus suas ponendi iuxta statum priori et receptori responsionum
dicti prioratus hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem hinc ad instans festum
nativitatis St baptiste et ab eodem feste in anot ad annos [blank] continuos
Secuturos de voluntate consilio et assensu fratrum preterem conventus nostri Rodi
nobis assistenciam in hac parte de nostra certa scientia et speciali gratia vobis
tanquam digno et bene merito cnferimus concedimus et donamus benefaciendi
eadem Vos que preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta baiuliarum de petra
pecorada †vimus† tenore presencium et etiam comitentes vobis fiducialiter et
cetera Necnon et cetera etiam religioso in xristo nobis carissimo Fratris..domus
 eiusdem priori Tolose seu eius locutenetam sub dicta virtute sancto obediencie
precipiendo mandamus ut vos vel procurem vestrem in possessionem pacificam
dicte baiulie cum eius membrii iuribus et pertinenciis inducat et conseruet in
dicam contradicione remota amoto ab inde quolibet de tenore sequis sic [ ] nos
exnuc decernimus amovendum Inhibenetes Vobis discritius et cetera In cuius et
ceteraData Rodi die vicesima quinta mensis Jenarii anno lixii

§5. (316, 73-73v) Frater Rogerius et cetera Fr Petro de Culanto domus eiusdem
Salutem et cetera Religionis decor morum honestas et alia virtutum dona
multimoda quibus vos alminenupmatis Gratia insignit ad impertiendum vobis
favoris nostri gratiam rationabiliter nos moventes ac sperantes quem in commisso
vobis regemine effectus administrationis utilis dante domino vos comendet Baulias
sive domus de Mortayrolio cum buxeria Raspi Fonti Laventorii et Sancto Amancio
ac de maysonis prioratus nostri Alvernies per mortem quondam Fratris Helia de
castro Lucio vacantes presentialiter et ad nostram dispositionem propterea
devolutas cum omnibus et singulis earum et cuiquem earum membrii et iuribus et
pertinenciis universis ad eas et quodlibet earundem spectantibus et pertinencibus

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ac spectare et pertinere debentibus quoquomodo habendam tenendas regendas
gubernandas augmentandas et meliorandas in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in
capitibus quam in membris sub annis responsionibus et alii oneribus impositis et
imponendis rationabiliter secundum comenum cursum aliarum baiuliarum
prioratus nostri Alvernie supradicti in capitulo provinciali dicti prioratus annuis
singulis exsolveendi. Et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dictis baiuliis seu domibus
Et illas ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptoris responsionum
dicti prioratus hac serie concedimus potestatem huiusmodi facta vobis gracia in
aliquo non obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis St Johannis Baptite ab
eodem festum in antea ad annos quinque continuo sequuros de et cum consilio
voluntate et assensu fratrum et preterum Conventus nostri Rodi nobis
assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa scientia et
speciali gratia vobis conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eiusdem
et qualibet earundem Retentione earum tamen ad manum Thesaui per unum
unum iuxta statuti continentia eadem Thesauro reservata. Commitentes vobis
fiducialiter circa circam regimen et administrationem accomodam dictarum
baiuliarum sive domorum ac honorum et iurium Ipsarum sive domiculorum et
recuperationem tam in agendo quam deffendendo hac serie vices nostras.
Quocirca univeratis et singulis fratribus sororibus et donatis sub virtute Sancte
obediencie ac hominibus et vassalis et quibus vis aliiis nobis supradictis in dictis
baiuliiis sive domibus constitutis presentibus et futuris suo sacramento fidelitatis et
homagii quo nobis et nostre domui sunt ascriti Scripimus et mandamus ut vobis
tanquem eorum superiori preceptori et majori reverencie pareant obediant et
intendant suumquem vobis tprobeant Consilium auxilium et favorem in omnibus
concernintibus dictarum baiuliarum sive domorum utilitatem quoties opus fuerit et
eos duxeritis requindos Necnon univeratis et singulis fratribus domus nostre
quamcumque auctoritate dignitate vel officio fulgentibus presentibus et futuris ne
contra nostram presentem concessionem et gratiam aliquatenus venire prosumant
[ ] illam iuxta eius mentem et seriem studeant inviolabiliter observare Ac
religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri.. Domus eiusdem Priori Alvernie aut
eiusdem prioratus regimini nunc vel in futuris quovis titulo presidenti ut vos vel
procuratorem vestram in possesionem corporalem pacificam et quietam inducat
baiuliarum sive domorum predicarum omni contradictione remota et conservet
indictum amotis ab inde quibuslibet detentoribus seu quilibet detentore quos seu
quam nos amovemus per presentes et decemminus firmitur Amovendum Inhibentes
vos discritius sub dicta virtute sante obediencie ne pretextu concessioni et gratie
nostre huissi aliquia debonis rebus aut iuribus dictarum baiuliarum sive domorum
vediantis obligetis detis impinoretis tdiscritis alienatis permutetis seu in
emphyteusis perpetuam concedatis vel quocumque alio colore quesiro extra
nostram religionem transferisset sine nostra speciali licenciam et et mandato. Et si
quod absit Contra inhibitionem nostram huissi aliquid vel aliquia operari vel facere
vos contingat illud et illa exnunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc vassamus
anullamus ac decernimusirritum et inane nullius que existere penitus efficacie vel
valoris In cuius et cetera Data Rodi die octava mensis octobris anni lviii
§6. (316, 102) Frater rogerius etcetera et nos conventum et cetera fratri Ade de
Charmentre domus eiusdem preceptori domus dicte vulgariter de sancoy salutem
et cetera propter probitatis vestre merita et administrationem accomodam quam in
commissis vobis regeminius sicut testimonio fidedigno accepi actenus
habui istis illa vobis libenter annuimus Que conservationem vestri status concernem
dignoscuntur Igitur bauilia sive domum de sancoy supradictam prioratus nostri
francie cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinenciis universis a
dicta spectantibus et pertinentibus ac spectare et pertinere debentibus
quoquomodo et cum quibus eam tenetis et presencialiter possidetis habendam
tenendum regendam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus
et temporalibus tam in capitibus quam in membris sub annua responsione et alii
onibus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum cursum aliarum
bauliariam prioratus predictam in capitulo provinciale eiusdem prioratus annis
singulis infallibiliter exolvendis. Et nisiis feceritis destituendi vos de dicta bauilia et
illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum prioro et receptori responsionum
prioratus predicte hac serie plenam concedimus ppostestatem gracia suisdi vobis
facta in aliquo non obstante in vicem deliberato consilio ad vitam vestram
auctoritas presencium de nostre certa scientia et speciali gracia vobis
confirmamus beneficiando in eadem Comitentis etcetera Quocircra etcetera
necon universalis etcetera Inhibentes etcetera In cuius rey et cetera Data Rodi die
decima mensis februari Anno lviii

§7. (316, 106-106v)Fr Rogerius etc Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri
Raymundo de Natolio domus eiusdem hospitalario et preceptori de barone et de
fontibus sous mondidier et de sumerosio salutem et sinceram in domini caritatem
Religionis decor morum honestas et alia virtutum dona quibus vos carismatis
gracia decoravit ad multiplicandum in vobis favore nostri graciam rationabiliter
nos moventes ac sperantes quem in commissio vobis regimine effectus
administrationis provide nos utilem faciente domino exhibebit sicut in huiusquem
vestre commississ solititudin profuit fructuosum quem predictas bauilias de vaoron
et de fontibus sous montdidier et de sumerosio in prioratus francie et aquitaine
presencialie obtinere nostamini non obstante Baiulia de Avalterra prioratus vestri
francie per promotionem de proximo faciendum de religioso in xristo nobis
carissimo Frater Johan duysone ad Prioratum nostram Aquitanie ad nostram
dispositionem de volendam Et Bauliam de Aymont promisse nostri ffrancie
prioratus morte religiosi in xristo nobis carissimi quondam fr Guiliuarn de malleo
Prioris eiusdem prioratus francia ad provisionem et donationem nostram
pertinentem cum omnibus et singulis earum membris iuribus et pertinenciis as eas
et earum quamlibet spectantibus et pertinentibus ac spectare et pertinere
debentibus quoquomodo est et prout predictam bauliam de Avalterra quondam
frater Johan de saumie domus eiusdem tenueit et habuit et promissam bauliam de
Aymont dictus quondam prior francie tenueit et possidet habendas tenendas
regendas gubernandas augmentandas et meliorandas in spiritualibus et
temporalibus tam in capitibus quam in membris sub annuis responsionibus et aliis
onibus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum
aliarum baiularum prioratus nostri francie in capitulo provinciali eiusdem

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prioratus annis singulis infallibiliter exolvendis. Et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dictis baiulis de Avaltera et de Aymont et illas ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionum dicti priorati francie hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem gracia huiusdi vobis facta non obstante ad annos decem incipiendis in festo nativitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste anni domini millium trecentensimi quinquagesimi noni proximo futuro et extunc integre secuturos de voluntate consilie et assensu fratum et preterum Conventus nostri Rodi nobis assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa sciencia et speciali gracia vobis tanquem digno et benemerito conferimus concedimus et donamus benefacendo in eiusdem retentus de certa sdentia et spedaliter reservatis religioso in xristo nostro carissimo Fr Johan Duysone domus eiusdem cui de prioratu Aquitaine de Proximo ut permititur disponimus providere fructibus et redditibus predicit Baiulie de Avalterra primi anni anorum quo fructus et redditus dicta prioratus Aquitanie religiosus in xristo nobis carissimus Fr Johannis de Natolio cuide priauerat francie in brevi providere intendimus habere et recipiet quia anno eodem fructus redditus et proventus prioratus francie supraddicti Thesaurus noster quem nostris necessitatibus et indigentiis tollerendis recipiet et habebit vosque preceptorem et comendatorem in dictis baiulis constiutionis tenore presencium et etiam ordinamus Comitentes et cetera Quocirca etcetera Ac religioso etcetera Inhibentes etcetera In cuius etcetera Data Rodi die vicesima quarta mensis Januarii anno lviii

§8. (316, 219v) Fr Rogerius cet cetera Fr Nicolao de Hehenriet domus eiusdem salutem etc religionis decor morum honestas et alia virtutum dona multomoda quibus vos carismatis gracia decoravit ad impertiendum vobis favoris nostri graciac rationabiliter nos moventes ac sperantes quem in commisso vobis regimen administramus provide vos utilem faciente domino exibebit de baiulis de cruchein et de Detichingen per alias nostras literas vobis noviter facta gracia non obstante baiuliam de Boxberg prioratus nostri alamanie per mortem quondam fratris bertholdi de heneberg vacantem presencialiter et propter ad disposicionem nostram de voluntatem cum omnibus et singulis suis mebris iuribus et pertinenciis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus quoquamodo et cum quibus dictus quondam frater bertholdus dictam iuxta eam tenuit et possedit habendam tenendam regendam gubernandum augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua responsionem et aliis oneribus in positis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum comunem cursum et aliarum baiuliarum prioratus nostri alamanie supradicti in capitulo provinciali prioratus eiusdem annis singulis infallibiliter exolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dicta baiulia et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionum dicti prioratus hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem gracion huiusmodi vobis forma aliquatenus non obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste et ab eodem festo in antea ad annos decem continus et completos de consilio et assensu fratum et precerum conventus nostri rodi nobis assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa sciencia et speciali gracia vobis confirmamus concedimus et donamus benefacendo in eadem vosquem

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preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta constituimus bauilia tenore presencium et eciam ordinamus Comitentes etcetera... Mandantes et cetera... Ac religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratre (Nicolaao) domus eiusdem priori dicti prioratus Alamanie seu eiusdem prioratus regimi quovistitulo nostro Vel imposerum presidenti ut vos vel procuratores vestrem in corporalem possessionem pacificam et quietam dicte baiulie in ducat omni conraditione remota et conservet indutum a moto ab inde quolibet illicito decentore siquis sit quem nos amovemus per presentes et decernimus amovendum. Necnon universis et singuulis fratribus domus nostre quacunque auctoritate dignitate vel officio fulgentibus presentibus et futuris ne contra presentem nostram donationem concessionem et gratiam aliquatenus venite presumant quinimo illam iuxta eius montem et seriem studeant inviolabiliter observare. Inhibentes et cetera In cuius etcetera... Data Rodi die prima mensis augusti anno lviii

§9. (316, 224) Fr Rogerius et cetera fr Kenche de Hugvinez domus eiusdem comendatori in Tyncia Salutem et sinceram. Propter Probitatis vestre merita et administrationem accomodam quam in commissis vobis regiminibus in nostro ordine sicut testimonio fidedigno accepimus habuistis ilia vobis libenter anuimus que conservacionem vestri Status concernere dignoscuntur igitur bauillam supradictam de Tyncia prioratus nostri Boemie cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinencis universis ad eam spectantibus quoquomodo et cum quibus eam tenetis et presencialiter possidetis habendam tenendam regendam gubernandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quem in membris sub anua responsione et aliiis oneribus in positis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum comenum cursum aliarum bauiliarum prioratus nostri Boemie supradicti in capitulo provinciali dictis prioratus annis singulis exolvendis vos de dicta baiulia et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutu priori receptori responsionum dicti prioratus annis singulis exolvendis de nisi feceris destituendi [annis -eststituendi scratched out] hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem huiusmodi facta vobis gratiam in aliquo non obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis sancti Johanni baptiste et ab eodem festo in antea ad annos decem continuos et completos de voluntate consilio fratrum et precerum conventus nostri Rodi assistencium in hac parte auctoritate presencium de nostra certa sciencia et specialis gracia vobis concedimus beneficiando in eadem comitentes etc quosirqua etc necnon etc inhibentes etc in cuius etc data rodi die quinta decima mensis augusti annurom lviii

§10. (317, 6/17) Fr Deodatus etc religioso in xristo nobis carrissimo Fr Raymondo de Rellanya domus eisdem salutem et sinceram Propter probititis vestre merita et alia dona virtutum quibis estis domino munere insignitis libenter personam nostram prosequem Favore specialis gracie et honoris Igitur bauilliaum nostram de Ruha prioratus nostri Sancti Egidii circa Rodanum vacantem presencialiter per obitum religiosi in Xristo nobis carrissimi fratri Alfannti Brage cum omnibus et singulis suis membris grangiis iuribus et pertinencis universis et singulis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus quoquomodo habendam tenendam regendam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus tet
temporalibus tam in capite quem in membris sub annua responsione et alii
oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum cursum aliarum
bauiliarum prioratus nostri Sancti Egidii supradicti necnon et quarto responsionis
solvendo per vos annis tribus iuxta ordinationem fratrem in assemblya quem
religiosos in xristo nobis carissimos frates petrum Planterii conventus nostri Rodi
Isnardum de Albarno capua prioris et Ubalde de Campinha thesaurarum domus
noster pridem apud Avinionem celebrata et tanto plus quarto galeas qua nunc
tenemus contra turchos tenebimus ut tenemus Secundum continenciam statuti ac
etiam declaramus quem vos et alii preceptores dicti prioratus non tenemini solvere
nec debetis nisi quartum duorum milium florenorum iuxta priorus dicti prioratus
camerarum et dictorum preceptorum facultatem prorata cuilibet
contingente de certa nostra scientia et special gracia vobis tanquam dignos
benemeritos ad annos decem a data presencium in antea munerandos continuos
completos conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem vos quem
preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta bauilia de Ruba constitimus et etiam
ordinamus Comitentes vobis fiducialiter circa Dicte bauilia etcetera

\[ (1347) \]

§11. Frater deodat de Goson etc et nos convent etc religioso etc fratri
Sicardo de Tureyno domus eiusdem preceptor de Trinqueria salutem etc

Propter probitatis vestre merita et administratione accomodam quam in commisso nobis in
nostro ordine sicut testimonio fidedigno accepimus habuistis ilia vobis libenter
annuis que conservationem vestra Status concernere dignoscuntur Igitur bauliam
vestram de Trinqueria supradicam cum domo de Margis sive grangia prioratus
nuestri st egidii cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinenciis
universis et et sui ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus quoquomodo quam eam
Predecessor † vestri † habuerunt et tuerunt habendam tenendam regendam
gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam
in caiptem quem in membris sub annua responsionem et alii oneribus impositis et
imponendis rationabiliter secundum cursum aliarum bauiliarum prioratus santi
egidii memorati Necnon et quarto responsionis solvendo per vos annis tribus iuxta
ordinationem fratrem in assemblya per religiosos in xristo nobis carissimi fratres
petru planterii conventus nostri Rodi Isnard de Albarno Capua Prioris ac Uvalde de
Campinha thesaurarum domus nostre pridem apud avinionem celebrata et tanto
plus quarto galeas quas nunc tenemus contra turchos tenebimus et tenemus
secundum continenciam statuti ac etiam declaramus quem prior dicti prioratus vos
et alii preceptoris prioratus ipsius non tenemini solveret debetis nisi quartum octo
milium florem secundum dicti prioris camerarum et preceptorum dicti prioratus
preceptorium facultatem data Rodi die x mensis januarii anno xlvii
§12. (313, fol 15v)
Frater deodatus etc et nos conventus domus eiusdem religioso in christo nobis carissimo fratri Guillelmo de asparicio domus eiusdem salutem etc. Propter probitatis vestra merita et alia dona virtutum quibus commendabiliari propter volentes Ac sperantes qui in commissis nobis in nostro ordinem effectus administrationis utilis dante domino vos comendes Igitur preceptoris sancti petri de mari et nARBone prioratus nostri sancti egidii per mortem fratri rostanii de serveria vaccantem presencialiter cum omnibus et singulis suis membris grangii iuribus et pertinens universis ad eam habuit tenuit et possedit habendam tenendum regendam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quem in membris sub annua responsionem et aliis oneribus nostri positis ad instans festum nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste proxime venientis et a dicto festo in antea ad annos decem extunc immediate sequituros invicem deliberato consilio de nostra certa sciencia et special gracia vobis tanquem digno et benemerito auctoritate presencium conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem vosquem et comitentes etc quocirca etc neconon etc ac religioso etc Inhibentes etc in cuius rei etc data rodi die vicesima quinta mensis octobris anno primo.

§13. (318, fol 127v)
Frater deodatus etc et nos conventus domus eiusdem religioso in christo nobis carissimo fratri Johanni femandi domus eiusdem preceptori de Ansimilio salutem etc. Propter vestre merita probitatis ac administrationem acomodam quam in nobis comissis in nostri ordine provide habuistis et habebitis dante domino successive illa nobis libenter annuymus quem conservationem vestram status obtinere dignoscuntur Igitur baiulia de Olerus prioratus nostri portugalie per mortem fratri dominici domus eiusdem vaccantem presencialiter ad nostram dispositionem devoluntam sicut pro parte vestra continuit supplicatio facta nobis si sic ita/ cum omnibus et singulis suis membris grangii iuribus et pertinenciis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus quoquoqmodo si et prout eam habuit tenuit et possedit quondam fratri dominicus memoratus habendam tenendam regenedm gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quem in membris sub annua responsionem et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliiter secundum cursum aliarum baiuliarum prioratus nostri predicti auctoritatem preseneium in vicem deliberato consilio nobis tanquem dignote benemerito de nostra certa sciencia et special gracia hinc ad instans festum nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste proximo venienti et a dicto festo in antea ad annos quinque extunc immediate secuturos computandos et immediate sequentes conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem vosquem preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta baiilia de ollerus constituimus ac eciam harum serie ordinamus comitentes vobis etc quocirca etc neconon etc ac religioso etc inhabitentes etc et si quod absit etc in cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus etc appensa data rodi die octava augusti anno 1 primo.
§14. (318, fol 198 )
Frater deodatus de gosono etc religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri John de Sancto Stephano domus eiusdem salutem etc sinceram in domino caritatem propter probitatis vestre merita et administrationem accommodam quem in nobis comissis in nostro ordine provide habituistis illa vobis libenter annuimus que conservationem vestre status obtinere dignoscuntur Igitur baulias sive domos Curelham et placie prioratus nostri messine per mortam quondam fratris francisci de castella domus eiusdem vacantes presencialiter cum omnibus earum et cuuislibem Ipsarum membris iuribus et pertinentiis universis et singulis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentis quoquomodo habendas tenendas regendas gubernandas et meliorandas in spiritualibus et temporalibus Tam in capitibus quem in membris prout e tenebat et possidebat quondam frater francisci memoratus sub annua responsione et alis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum cursum aliarum bauiliarum sive domos prioratus nostri supradicti auctoritatem presencie de nostra certa sciencia et special graecis vobis tamquem digne et benemerito ad annos quinquem a die dicte †prioratuum † in antea continuo computantes de voluntate consilli et assensu fratrem et precerum conventus nostri Rodi nobis assistencium in hac parte conferimus concedimus et donamus benefacendo in eiusdem vosquam preceptorem et comendatorem etc commitentes vobis etc quo circi etc necnon universis et singulis etc per religioso etc inhibentes vobis etc et si quod etc In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa data rodi die vicessa quinta mensis novembris anno incarnatione nostri milliesimo ccc quinquesimo primo...

§15. (319, 5v-6, n.p.) Fr raymundus Berengarii et cetera et nos conventus etcetera diclecto nobis in xristo Johan Raynerii domus nostre donato Salutem in domino Propter commendabile susceptum testimonium de tua discretiva Virtute et regimine fructuoso tibi ad gratiam rediti liberales domum de la cavaleria membro bauilie montilii ademarii cum omnibus et singulis suis membris pertinentiis et iuribus ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus ac spectare et pertinere debeatibus quoquomodo habendam / te re gu aug [scribe's abbreviation] et meliorandum in spiritualibus temporalibus ita in capite quem in membris sub annua responsione ′aliis oneribus impositis imponendis rationabiliter secundum′ scratched out by scribe] decem flores auri per te religioso in xristo nobis carissimo frater .. Domus eiusdem dicte baiulie montilli ademarii preceptori presentii et sucessore futuris per te annis singulis infallibiliter exolvenda/ in vicem deliberato consilio tibi auctoritatem presencium de certa nostra sciencia et special gracia ad vitam tuam conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem/ Quocirca religioso in xristo nobis carissimo Fratri .. Domus predicte baiulie moptnilii ademarii preceprostri sub virtute sancte obedientia distriecto mandantis precipimus ut te vel procuratem tuum in possessione pacificam et quietam dicte domus de la cavaleria ac omni et singulorum membrorum iurium et pertinentiorum ipsius inducat et conservet inductum contradictionem remota tibi quem illius fructibus iuribus et reditibus faciat integre responsionem volumus tamen et presencium ferie ordinamus/ quem cum ite ab hac vitaingrare contingat

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domus prefata de la cavaleria reducantur et redeat contradictione remota ad
baiulia supradictam montili tanquem ad eius caput et mandantes sub virtute
sancte obediencie firmiter a districte universis et singulis fratibus domus nostre
presentibus et futuris cuiscumque status gradus vel condicionis existant / ne contra
quem dictam nostram gracion aloquaternus venire presumant quinquino efficatitur
illam servent Inhibentes etcetera ET si quod ab sit et ecetera In cuius rey
testimonium bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa [no date or
place]

§16. (319, 6v, n.p.)Frater Raymundus et cetera et nos conventus domus eiusdem
Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fr Petro Boysson domus eiusdem cappellano et
familiari nostri dicti Magistri / ac preceptori hebiani Salutem et cetera Propter
probitatis vestre merita et administrationem accommodam quam in commissis nobis
regemnibus in nostro ordine sicut testimonio fidedigno accepiimus hactenus
habuisitis illa nobis libenter annuismaticque que conservationem vestra concernere
dignoscutur Igitur preceptoria m seu baiuliam predictam Nebiani prioratus nostri
de st Egidii cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinencis universis
ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus ac spectare et pertinere debentibus
quoquomodo et cum quibis eam tenetis et presencialiter possidetis [here the
scribal hand changes noticeably to a form of gothic, clean, dark, and straight]
habendam tenendam regendam gubernandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et
temporalibus tam in capite quem in membri sub annua responsione et alii
oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum
aliarum baiuliarum prioratus nostri supradicti in capitolo provincialis eiusdem
prioratus annis singulis exolvendis Et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dicta baiulia
et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionum
dicti prioratus tenore presencium plenam concedimus potestate huiusmodi facta
nobis gracia in aliquo [hand changes back to initial scribe] non obstante / ad
vitam vestram in vicem deliberato consilio de auctoritate quem presencium vobis
confirmamus de certa nostra scientia et special gracia ac de novo conservimus
concedimus et donavimus beneficiando in eadem vos quam preceptorem et
comendatarem in dictam Constituimus baiulia tenore presencium et etiam
ordinamus. Comitentes etcetera Quocirca etcetera Necno etcetera Inhibentes
etcetera Et si quod ab sit etcetera In cuius rey ete cetera data rodi xvii mensis
marci anno lxv

§17. (319, 35-35v, n.p.)Fr raymundus berengarii etecetera et nos conventus
domus eiusdem salutem et sinceram in domino caritate Ad illos libenter gratiosum
nostram favorem extendimus quos illo bene meritos reputamus ut referti ei gracia
et et exhilarati ex honore suscepto promovendam religionis nostre comodi libentuis
Invigilet et ad virtutum studia servetius mmentur grata igitur fidedigno relatione
precepto quem [ ] largitor domine vos morum compositione vite [ ]dicia et
naturali discretina virtute detavit sperantes quem in commiso regimine favente
domino vos fructus uberes allaturu Preceptoria m seu baiulia de Morlaitis
prioratus nostri Tholose vacantem presencialiter per mortem religiosi in xristo
nobis carissimi fratris .. domus eiusdem ultimi preceptoris illius et ad
dispositionem nostram propterea rationabiliter devolutam cum omnibus et
singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinencias et pertinencibus ac spectare et
pertinere debentibus [abbreviated by scribe as 'sp et p de'] quoquomodo
habendam te re gu aug et me [normally tenendum regendam guberndam
augmentandam et meliorandam] in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite
quem in membris sub annua responsione et alii oneribus impositis et imponendis
rationabiliter secundum communem currsum aliarum baiularum prioratus nostri
supradicti in capitulo provinciali eiusdem prioratus annis singulis exolvendi
Et nisi feceritis destinuendi vos de dicta baiulia et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta
statutum prius seu vel dicti prioratus regimini presidenti et receptoribus
responsionum prioratus eiusdem hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem
husmodi factura vobis gratia in aliquo non obstante hinc ad instans festum
nativitatis sancti Johannis baptiste et ab eodem festo in antea ad annos decem
continuus et completos in vice Deliberatio consilio de nostra certa scientia special
gracia vobis conferimus concedimus et donamus benefaciendo in eadem nosquem
preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta constituimus baiulia ac etiam ordinamus
Comitentes etcetera Quocirca etcetera Necnon etcetera In
 cuius rey etcetera Data rodi die quintadedma mensis augusti anno quinto

§18. (319, 55, n.p.) Fr rogerius de Pinibus dei grade sacre domus hospitalis et
eccetra Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fri an selmo de mota domus eiusdem
salute et sinceram in domino caritate. Ad illos liberent gratiosum nostram
favorlem extendimus quos illo benemeritos reputamus ut reflecti ex gracia et
exhilerati ex honore suscepo ad promovenda religionis nostre comoda libentius in
vigilent et ad virtutum studia sreventius animentitur Grata Igitur consideratione
prospecto quem gratium largitor duo Persona vestra morum compositione vite
mundicia Et naturali discretiva virtute detavit sperantes in commisso regimine
favente domino vos fructus uberes allaturum Igitur resignata prius per vos in
nostris in ambus vestra spontanta voluntate baiulia de Iussiaco preceptoria seu
baiuliam ville franche supercarum prioratus nostri Alverinie vacantem
presencialiter In convento nostro Rodi per obitum condam fratri Uguonis de
Curamonta et ad nostram dispositionem propterea de volunta cum membris suis
de lespinacio et de valeiteto et cum omnibus et singulis aliis eius membris
pertinencis et iuribus universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus ac s et per d
[scribal abbreviation] quoquomodo et cum quibus dudum condam fratri
astorgio de panhaco fuit collata et cum quibus ipse condam frater astorgius tenebat
et habebat tempore mortis sue habendam t r guberndam a m in s et t
[normally, 'in spiritualibus et temporibus'] tam in capite quem in membris sub
annua responsione et alii oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter
secundum communem currsum aliarum baiularum prioratus nostri supradicti in
capitulo provinciali prioratus ipsius annis singulis exolvendi Et nisis feceritis
distituendi vos de dicta baiulia et illa ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori
seu alii Dicti prioratus regimini presidenti et receptoribus responsionum prioratus
eiusdem hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem husmodi factura nobis gratia in
aliquo non obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis sancti johanis baptiste et ab
eodem festo in antea ad annos decem continuos et completos de voluntate consilio
et assensu ftrtem et preterum conventus nostri Rodi nobis acistencium in hac parte
de nostre certa scientia et special gracia nobis conferimus concedimus et donamus
benefaciendo in eadem vosquem preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta bauilia
constituiusm hac serie et eciam ordinamus Comitentes et cetera Quociencia
etcetera Necnon et cetera Inhibentes et cetera In cuius rey et cetera data Rodi die
VICESIMA MENSIS MAII ANNO QUINTO

§19. (319, 56, n.p.) Fr Raymundus Berengarii et cetera Et nos conventus et cetera
Religioso in xristo nobis carissimo fratri Astorgio didiana domus eiusdem priori
alvernie salutem et sinceram Ob clariter Probitatis vestre merita assensum
favorabiliem exibentes vestre petitione continenti quem cum bauilia Valdei de
fontanetis permutavitis cum fratre poncio de pineto per bauilia sua de deveseco
permutationem hiusmodi gratia m et placidam dignatem habere Et vobis
predictam baiulia de Devesseco de nostra certa scientia confirmant permutationem
predictam placidam habentes Igitur baiuliam prelibatam de devesseo prioratus
prelibati cum omnibus et singulis suis membris iuribus et pertinenciis universis ad
eam spectantibus et pertinientibus ac spectare et pertinere debentibus
quoquo modo et cum quibus eam tenetis et presencialiter possidetis habendam
tenendam regendam gubernandam augmentandum et meliorandam in spiritualibus
et temporalibus tam in cappite quem in membris sub annua responsione et aliis
honeribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum
aliarum bauiliarum prioratus nostri supradicti in capitulo provincialibus prioratus
eiusdem annis singulis existendis Hinc ad instans festum nativitatis sancti
johannis baptist et ab eadem festo in antea ad annos decem continuos et completos
in vicem deliberato consiliouctoritate presencium vobis confirmamus de certa
nostra scientia et gracia special ac de novo conferimus et donamus benefaciendo in
eadem Committentes et ecetera Quocircia et cetera Necnon etcetera Inhibentes
etcetera In cuius rey testimonium et cetera [NO DATE]

§20. (319, 75, n.p.) Fr Raymundus Berengarii et cetera et nos conventus domus
eiusdem religioso in xristo nobis carissimo Fr Petro de Ramburcellis domus eiusde
Hospitalario ac preceptori de aute vene de Troyes et de bono loco ac de sancto
amancio salutem et sinceram in domino caritate Propter probitatis vestre merita
et administratione accomodam quam in commissis vobis regiminius in nostro
ordine sicut testimonio fidedigno accepimus huiis ilia nobis libenter
annuum que conservationem vestri status concernera dignoscuntur Igitur
preceptarias seu bauilia predictas de hautevene de Troyes et de Bonoloco
prioratus nostri francie ac de sancto amancio prioratus nostri campanie cum
omnibus et singulis earum et cuiquem earum membris pertinenciis et iuribus ad
eas et earum qualibet spectantibus et pertinencibus ac spectare et pertinere
debentibus quoquo modo habendas tenendas re gu [scribal abbreviation]
augmentandas et meliorandas in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quem
in membris sub anniis responsionibus et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis
rationabiliter secundum communem cursum aliarum bauiliarum ['prioratus nostri'
scratched out] prioraturnum Nostrorum supraddictorum in capitulo provincialibus
dictorum prioratum annis singulis exsolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dictis preceptis et illas ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum prioribus et receptoribus responsionem dictorum prioratum hac serie plenam concedimus potestatem huismodi facta vobis gratia in aliis non obstante ad vitam vestrarum in vice de liberato consilio vobis auctoritate presencium de nostra certa scientia et special gracia confirmamus ac de novo conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eiusmodem et qualibet earundem Comitenmes etcetera Quocircum etcetera Necnon etecetera Inhibentes etcetera Et si quod ab sit etcetera In cuius rey etcetera Data rodi die prima mensis octobris anno quinto

§21. (319, 172v, n.p.) Fr Raymund etcetera et nos conventus et cetera Fratri Gautero de Beril preceptori de hoggeshalde cum ecclesiis ibidem Salutem et sincerem Propter probitatis vestre merita et cetera [scribal abbreviation] Igitur preceptoria seu bauilia predictam de hoggeshalde cum ecclesiis ibidem prioratum nostri Anglie cum omnibus et singulis suis iuribus iuribus [sic] et pertinencis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinencibus ac spectare et pertinere debentibus quoquoqmodo et cum quibus eam tenetis et preservationalter possidetis habendam tenendam regendam gubernandam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua responsione et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum aliarum bauiliarum prioratus nostri Anglie supradiecta in capitulo provinciali eiusdem prioratus annis singulis exsolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dicta bauilia et ila ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionem dicti prioratus tenore presencium plenam concedimus potestatem huismodi facta vobis gratia in aliquo non obstante hinc ad instans festum nativitatis johannis baptismi et ab eodem festo in antea ad annos decem continuos et completos [extensive scratch out beneath “hinc...completos”] In vice de liberato consilio auctoritate presencium de nostra certa scientia et special gracia confirmamus ac de novo conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem vosquem preceptoriam nostram montispesulam cum suis pertinenciis universis habendam tenendam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua responsione et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum aliarum preceptorium nostri prioratus sancti egidii quadrigenti florensis Ultra Predicta annuatim in capitulo provinciali prioratus [ ] infalibiliter quem vos exsolvendis et reperacionis in dicta preceptoria et membris suis faciens De nostra certa scientia et sum nobis assistencium consilio hinc usque ad decem

§22. (320, fol 35v, n.p.) Frater Robertus de Juilliaco etc religioso in xristo nobis carrissimi fratri Johannis fernandi de eredia domus eiusdem emposte castellano ac priori catalonie salutem et sinceram in domino caritate propter probitatis vestra merita quibus apud nos multiplicitur [ ]end, Eandam seu preceptoriam nostram montispesulam cum suis pertinenciis universis habendam tenendam regendam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua responsione et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum aliarum preceptorium nostri prioratus sancti egidii quadrigenti florensis Ultra Predicta annuatim in capitulo provinciali prioratus [ ] infalibilitatem quem vos exsolvendis et reperacionis in dicta preceptoria et membris suis faciens De nostra certa scientia et sum nobis assistencium consilio hinc usque ad decem

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annos continuos tet completos concedimus et donamus commitentes fiducialiter circa [] regimine administrationem dicte [] et preceptorem Et membrorum [] eius defensionem et recuperationem tam agendo quam defendendo harum serie v[ ] mas quocirca universis et singulis fratibus sororibus et donatos sub virtute sancte obedientie ac omnibus et vassalis et quibus suis aliis vobis subditis in dicta preceptoria constitutur Presentibus et futuris sub scramento fidelitater homagium quo nobis et nostre domus sunt astriti precipimus et mandamus ut vobis tamquam eorum preceptori [] Et maiori reverentur pareant obediens intendantvobis que sum? Probelant consilium auxilium favorem in omnibus tconcernet utilitater dicte preceptorie quotiens opus fuit/sunt et eos duxeritis requiendos necnon universis et singulis fratibus domus nostre quacumquem auctoritate dignitate vel officio f[]g] p[ jibus et s[] nostre conve nostram p[]m concessionem aliquatenuis venire presumant quinimio illam iuxta omnis cont[] et tenore studeant inviolabiliter observave Inhibentes vobis sub virtute sancte obedientie supradicte ne pretextu concessionis cong[] nostre p[]is aliquo de ven[] rebus et iuribus memorat eandum? Nostre v []datis detis obligetis timpignoretist Distra Quantis alienatis promitetteus seu in emphteosim perpetua concedatis vel quacumquem alio colore quesito exntunc nostram religionem tconferat Sive nostra licenciam speciali mandato et si quem absit contra inhibitionem nostram p[]m aliquem vel aliqua operari vel facere vos contingat illud et illa ex nunc prout extunc et extunc prout exnunc quasumnum annullamus ac decernimus [] ita et ane nullus quem existere p[]tus efficac et valorem In cius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa datum avinion xxvi die mensis septembris anno incarnatione domino millo trecesimo septuagesimo iii

§23. (320, fol 46v )
Frater Robertus de Julliaco etc Religioso in xristo nobis carissimi fratri Alvaro Gunisalvi domus eiusdem priori Portugalie prioratus salutem et sincerm in domino caritatem etc Vestre probitatis laudabilia merita quibus apud nos multipli commendarium? Sperantes quem in commisso vobis regimine effectus administrationem Italie subsequantur prioratum predictam cum omnibus et singulis suis membri et pertinenciis universis quam vos tenendi regendi gubernandi meliorandi in spiritualibus et temporalibus in capite quem in membris [] suis universis administrandi modo et fore quo tenetis nostri concessis predecessoris nostrorum tactenust Delantis vobis usquem decem annorum tenore presencium confirmamus in cius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa datum avinion die vii octobris anno ut supra [1365]

§24. (320, fol 69 )
Frater Robertus etc religiosi fratri danieli ex marchio [ ] de carreto domus eiusdem preceptor cipri salutem etc ad illos etc Preceptoriam seu baiuliam nostram sancti Johannis de capite anni] de janua vacantem et ad dev[] nostram per mortem fratris Con[] de Vuguilla presencial devoluntam cum omnibus etc habendum etc tam in capite quem in membris annua responsionem et alii omnibus impositis et imponendis rationabiler secundum ocm aliarum baiularum nostri lombardie

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prioratus per vos annis singulis in capitulo provinciali prioratus ipsius infallibiliter exolvendis aliis secundum con [ ] [scribal abbreviation] seriem statuti super deficien in responsionum solvuntur suarum editi in generali capitolo in apud avinion mensi marchi anno sexago sexto celebrato de promissa baiulia per religionis in xristo Carisimi fratri Domus eiusdem priorum dicti lombardi prioratus cum ispa consilio quatuor fratrem preceptorium prioratus in dictam suarum baiuliarum responsiones bene solu[ ] fratri alci decem nostri domus prioratus predicti sufficienti utili et ydoneo ad requirem baiulia aut[ ] expresse precepimus provideri gratia [ ] vobis facta in aliquo non constante de fratrem precerum nobis assistencium consilio rass[v] vobis tamquam digno et benemerito tenore presencium conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiando in eadem vos quem preceptoris et commendatoris in dicta baiulia constitut[ ] harum serie et ordinamus quamdiu vixeritis in h[ ] Commitentes vobis etc quocirca etc necnon etc quinimio etc ac religioso in xristo nobis carissimis fratri dicti lombardi prioratus priori seu eius locumtenentem seu allius Regimini nostri in p[ ] quovis titulo provide Ut vos vobis †procuratet† vestrin in poss[ ] ac [ ] Comendantorem rev[ ] etc amota etc inhibentes etc quod si etc in cuius etc datis veucutoventi die ix decembris anno predicto

§25. (321, 5v) Frater Johannes etc religiosis etc Fratri Mauricio Fallo salutem etc fructuos vestris meritis comendabilis vobis ad gratiam Reddi liberales preceptoriam seu bauiiam de Luc prioratus nostri Aquitani per religiosum etc Fratrem Johanem Gravier domus eiusdem sua spontanii Voluntatis in manibus nostri dicti magistri renunciatam et per nos ipsa resignationi receptam vacanii quem ob hoc et ad nostram dispositionis propterea rationabiliter devolutam cum omnibus etc [scribal abbreviation] habendam etc [ scribal abbreviation] sub annua responsione etc [scribal abbreviation] aliis etc [scribal abbreviation] In vicem etc [scribal abbreviation - the et nisi clause has been left out] hinc ad instans festum natis sancti Johannis baptisitae propter venturum et ab eodem festo in anea ad annos x continuos et completos tenorem presencium conferimus etc [scribal abbreviation] vosquem preceptorem et commandamentor etc Comitentes vobis fiducialiter circa curam regimini administrationem etc [scribal abbreviation] Quocirca universis et singulis fratirbus sororibus et donatos etc [scribal abbreviation ] Necnon universis etc [scribal abbreviation] Ac fatti...domus eiusdem dicti prioratus priori seu ipsius prioratus regimini profidem ut vos vel procurem vestrin etc [ scribal abbreviation] Inhibentes vobis districtuis etc [scribal abbreviation ] Et si quod ab sit etc [scribal abbreviation] In cuius rey etc [ scribal abbreviation] datum Rodi die xviii martii anno lxxxii

§26. (321, fol 43v-45) Fr Johanes et cetera et nos conventus etcetera religioso etcetera fri johani symonis domus eiusdem etcetera vestris exigentibus meritis vobis ad gratiam rediti liberaliter preceptoriam seu bauiiam sancte anne prioratus nostris Alvernie per obitum fratris petri aymeriti de anno incarnationis domini millo trecentimo lxxviii inchoato a festo nativitatis sancti johannis baptiste anni
predicti et firmito in consecuto Festo predicti nativitatis sancti johannis anno lxxx
†servum† Cursum et hactenus observatum in nostri ordinem in huiusmodi
baulliarum provisionibus et donationibus vacare et administrationem
dispositionem propter devolutam pro et de anno predictis
cum omnibus et singulis et cetera [scribal abbreviation] habendam tenendum et
cetera [scribal abbreviation] sub annua responsionem et cetera aliis servum
continentiam et cetera [scribal abbreviation] de promissa bauilia per religiosos et
cetera [scribal abbreviation] in vice et cetera [scribal abbreviation] hinc ad
instans festum nativitatis sancti johannis baptiste proximo venturis et ab eodem
festum in ante ad annos decem continuos et completos tenere presentium
conferimus concedimus et donamus et cetera [scribal abbreviation] vosquem
preceptoris et cetera Quocirca etcetera Necnon etcetera Ac fri..domus
eiusdem dicti prioratus priori seu eius locumtenentem et cetera Inhybenttes vosbis
etecetera In cuius etcetera datum rodi die xv mensis februarii anno lxxxi

§27. (321, 67v) Frater Johannes etc Et nos conventus etc religiosio etc fratri
Aymerii de Auxellanio domus eiusdem salutem etc dum ad ydoneitatis et
sufficienitio vestre notam et alia virtuosa vestra merita obsequuem Per vos prestata
deo et nostre religiosi zelo fidei contra eius emulos sepius velut Intrepidus xristi
miles exponendo persona considerationem reflectimus †Ronem† Duce concedimus
operari cum vos dono specials gracie nonoramus hinc est quem preceptoriam seu
bauiliam de Romania prioratus nostri Campanie per obitum Fratris Johannis de
Sichono eiusdem ultimi preceptoris presentialiter vacantem Et ad nostram
dispositionem rationabiliter devolutam Cum omnibus etc et cum quibus etc
habendam etc sub annua responsionem etc Aliis servum continentiam etc Invicem
eetc hinc ad instans etc et ab eodem etc ad annos decem continuos et completos
consecundum etc beneficiando in eadem vosquem preceptorem etc Comitentes
eetc Quocirca etc Necnon etc Ac religioso etc Fratri ..domus eiusdem prioratus
priori seu eius locumtenentem aut quovis alio titulo prius prioratis Regimini
profidem ut vos etc Inhybenttes vosb etc In cuius rey etc datum Rodi die xv mensis
februarii anno lxxxi

For continued exempla of the formulae, see the following:

321: fol 92-92v; 93-93v;94v;111;111v;122v;
123v;124v;136;136v;137;137v;160 (long form with a new reservation stated in
legal clauses);170; 170v; 171;171v; 173v;190(*);190v; 191v;200v;205.

§28. (353, fol 4v) Frater Philibertus de Naillaco etc et nos conventus Rodi etc
Religioso in Christo nobis carrissimo fratri Philiberto de aqua preceptor de
maloleone de blison de limer decem domus salutem etc. Exhigunt vestra merita
commendabilia et administracio fructuosa per vos habita in commissis vosb
regiminibus condicionem vestram incrementis contumis adataeri itaquem non
obstans quem dictas bauilias noscam obtinere preceptoriam seu baiuliam de
lespine en bellin prioratus nostri acquitanie per mortem dictem domus fratris alani

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de boisardi vacantem presencialiter et ad nostram collacionem propterea de
voluntam cum omnibus et singulis suis membris pertinenciis et juribus ad ea
spectantibus et pertinencibus ac spectare et pertinem /ere de bentibus
quoquomodo et cum quibus illam dictus fratris alanus tenuit habuit et possedit
habendam etc Invicem deliberato consilio de nostra cereta sciencia et special gracia
ad annos decem continuos et completos salvo jure communis thesauri racione
vacantis per una annata insimul cum dictis baiuliis vobis auctoritate presencium
conferimus et concedimus et donamus benefaciendo in eadem vosquem etc et
siquod etc In cuius etc Data rodi die tricesima mensis januarii anno incarnationis
domini millesimo quatracentissimo tercio

§29. (356, 106v)Fratris Johanne de Lasticam /etc et nos conventus etc religioso in
Christo nobis carissimo Fratri Bartolomeo de Camgianis domus nostre sancti
sepulcri de florencia prioratus nostri pisarum preceptori Necnon et veneralis
amirati nostri Conventus Rhodi locumtenentem salutem in domino sempiternitam
propter probitatis vestra merita et ad aministracione accomodam quam in
commissis nobis regiminibus in nostro ordinem sicut fidedigno testimonio
accepistis illa nobis habentis tannuamust que conservationem vestri fratri status
con[[]] dignoscentur hinc est quem preceptori sive baiilliam predictam sancti
sephelri cum omnibus et singulis suis mebris et juribus et pertinencis universis ad
eam spectantibus et pertinencibus ac spectare et pertinere de bentibus quoquomodo
cum quibus illam habelis et presencialiter possidetis habendam tenendam
regendam gubernadam augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et
temporalibus tam in capacie quem in membris sub annua responsione sive loco
responsionis solucionem quinti vel etiam usquem ad quem †primum† et alii
oneribus impositis et imponendis racionabiliter secundum cursum aliarum
bailiarum prioratus predicti per vos annis singulis infallibiliter exsolvendis alii
secundum continenciam et semem statuturorum super deficientibus in solutione
que nostri vobis prefati in nostro generale capitolo Rhodi celebrato de mensis
novembris anni mxxx xl conditorum ordinaturum et semem statuti super
deficientibus in solutione responsum †edit in generali capitolo apud
avinionem de mensis marci anno sexagesimo septo celebrato de promissa bayillia
per religioso in xristo nobis †sanctissimost †fratres domus eusdem etc Invicem
deliberato consilio de nostra ceruta science et special gracia ad annos decem
continuos et completos vobis auctoritate presencium confirmamus et †ad†
uberiorem vestrem cauthelani de novo conferimus et concedimus et donamus
benefaciendo in eadem vosquem preceptorem et comendatorem in dicta
constituintum baiilla hac serie †vi† et eciam ordinamus commitentes vobis
fiducialiter etc quoq circa universis et singulis fratribus etc necnon universis et
singulis fratribus etc quinymino etc inhibentes vobis etc in cuius rei testimonium
bulla nostra communis plumbea presentibus est appensa datis Rhodi nostro
conventum die vigesima nona mensis octobri anno ab incarnacione xristo jhesum
domo nostro M CCCXLIII

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Appendix III
Grants Associated with Commanderies of Grace, c. 1310 - 1444

The first of these illustrate what Riley-Smith describes as Commanderies of Grace. Van Winter’s *exemplum*, described in her index as a *commenda de gratia*, follows a list of grants which illustrate what I believe to be commanderies of grace, by a more limited definition than Van Winter’s.

§1. See Appendix II.A.2.

§2. NLM, Archive 316, fol 219. This grant appeared in Johanna Maria van Winter’s *Sources Concerning the Hospitalers of St John in the Netherlands, 14th - 18th Centuries* (Brill, 1998). She referred to its contents as a *commenda de gratia*, or rather a commander or commendation conferred by the special grace of the Master, rather than offered for the particular merits of the recipient.

AOM 316 = libri bullarum 1346-1358, fol 219r. Frater Rogerius [de Pinibus] etc. religioso etc. fratri Cunrado de Brunsperg domus eiusdem preceptori seu bailivo Tragetensi salutem etc. Propter probitatis vestre merita et administrationem accomodam quam in comissis vobis regiminibus in nostro, ordine sicut testimoniofidedigno accepimus habuistis, illa vobis libenter annuimus que conservationern vestri status concernere dignoscuntur. Igitur preceptoriam seu baiuliam Trajetensem seu in Traiecto prioratus nostri Alamanie cum omnibus et singulis suis membris, iuribus et pertineniis universis ad eam spectantibus et pertinentibus quoquomodo et cum quibus eam tcnetis et presencialiter possidetis, habendam, tenendam, regendam, gubernandam, augmentandam et meliorandam in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua responsione et aliis oneribus impositis et imponendis rationabiliter secundum communem cursum aliarum baiuliarum prioratus nostri Alamanie supradicti in capitulo provinciali dicti prioratusannis singulis exolvendis et nisi feceritis destituendi vos de dicta baiulia et illam ad manus suas ponendi iuxta statutum priori et receptori responsionum dicti prioratus, hac seric plenam concedimus potestatem huiusmodi facta vobis gratia in aliquo non obstante, hinc adinstans festum nativitatis sanctijohannis Baptiste et ab eodem festo, inantea ad annos decem continuos et completos de nostrorum procercum consilio auctoritate presencium de nostra certa sciencia et speciali gratia vobis confirmamus beneficiendo in eadem, comitentes etc. Quocirca etc. Inhibentes etc.In cuius etc.Data Rodi die prima mensis Agusti anno LVIII,
Appendix IV
Transcription of a Letter by Innocent VI

B.E.F.A.R. never finished the correspondence of Innocent, and likely never will; forty-five years have elapsed since the initial publication of his letters. Many secondary sources rely heavily upon the BEFAR series, and this letter fell chronologically out of the series' final publications; the original likely still exists in the Vatican archives. It appears at the very end of NLM Archive 316.

Innocendus Episcopus servus servorum dei venerabili fratri Urso archiepiscopo Cretem unionis contra turchos capitaneo generali per nos deputato ac ampite sedis legato salutem et amplicam benedictionem. Dudum ad audenciam felicus recordationis Clementis papa vi predecessoris nostri infesta molestaquem relatione predicto quem civitatis Smirnarum de manibus infidelium Turchorum non cum modica Christiani sanguinis evesione exepta propter neglectam custodiam ac de Effectum necessariorum gravibus periculis subiacebat adeo quem nisi de oportuno provideretur remedio subici subi eorum de infidelium tiranice potestati nedum verisimiliter set probabiliter timebatur in ordinatione que inter Romanam ecclesiam ac carissimum in Christo filium nostram Hugonem regem Cipram Illustriisse et dilectos filios .. magistram hospitalarium santi johannis ac nobilem virum .. ducem venetiarum pro tuitione fidelium ac repressione ?conatum† Infidelium predictionis actenus facta inter ecclesiam ac regem magistrum et ducem predictas actum inter cetera expressa exitit et conventum ut pro custodia civitatis smirnarum predicem Romanum ecclesia tria milia et rex alia tria milia magister vero alia tria milia dux utem prefatus alia tria milia florenum auri annis singulis certis loco et terminus Solveque tenentur cum autem pro solutione et exhibeionem sumarum florenum huismodi dictas regem magistrum et ducem ut promititur contingencium ipsi pro sedem apostolicam sepius fuerit exortati nos nichilominus qui parati sumus summam dictam ecclesiam propterea contingentem facere temporibus debitis exhiberii meditacione provide intuentes quod in fidelibus prefatis ex occupatione civitatis predicte si quod absit ex neglecta eius custodia continget favor magnus accresceret et pro consequens in depressionem fidelium et nostro modicum redundaret quoquem laboriosum difficileque nimis existeret pro singulis solucionibus huismodi prefatos regem magistram et ducem diversos ei mitendo nuncius requirere seu etiam exhortari fraternitate tue de cuius circumspexitione ne dum in prefate civitatis custodia sed in aliis gerimus in domino fiducia spiritualem pro ampicamscripta comimitus et mandamus quant ad prefata ipsius civitatis custodia diligenter attendens prefatas regem magistrem et ducem et eorum quemlibet totiens quotiens oportunum fuit moveas ex parte quem nostram inducas et etiam exorteris ut in prefatis florenorum summis ipsos †quetemlibent† Ut promititur contingentibus sic tempus solucionum pro tempore ingruentium †tanticient† Ut speramus quod nullum propterea certa huismodi custodia possit niminere periculum et ob defectum illorum fideles ipsi distri Aliquot non incurrant Datis apud villanovam avinionem die ii kalends julii pontificatus nostri anno sexto.

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Vita

Mark Dupuy was born on 26 December 1969, and grew up in New Orleans, Louisiana. He graduated from Jesuit High School, New Orleans, in 1987, and from Loyola University in 1991. He took his doctoral degree in Spring of the year 2000, and hopes to continue teaching and researching. He is currently working as an Instructor at Loyola University, New Orleans, and now that he has finished his dissertation, has just two words for the redfish population of Grand Isle: Caveat Piscus!
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate: Mark Dupuy
Major Field: History
Title of Dissertation: Ships, Souls, and the Administration of the Knights of St. John in the Fourteenth Century

Approved:

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EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

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Date of Examination:
March 9, 2000