

THE MILITARY ORDERS



Volume 6.1

Culture and
Conflict in the
Mediterranean
World

edited by
Jochen Schenk
and
Mike Carr

The Military Orders

Forty papers link the study of the military orders' cultural life and output with their involvement in political and social conflicts during the medieval and early modern period. Divided into two volumes, focusing on the Eastern Mediterranean and Europe respectively, the collection brings together the most up-to-date research by experts from fifteen countries on a kaleidoscope of relevant themes and issues, thus offering a broad-ranging and at the same time very detailed study of the subject.

Jochen Schenk (PhD Cantab) was Lecturer of Medieval History at the University of Glasgow. His recent publications include *Templar Families. Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c.1120–1312*. He is also the author of a number of articles dealing, mainly, with the Order of the Temple's social structure, the Templars' religious life, and the military orders' contribution to state building in the Latin East. He is currently working on a cultural history of the crusader states.

Mike Carr (PhD London) is a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow at the University of Edinburgh. His first monograph, *Merchant Crusaders in the Aegean, 1291–1352*, was published by Boydell and Brewer in 2015. He has published articles on his main interests, which include relations between Latins, Greeks and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean, the crusades, trade, maritime history and the papacy. He is also the co-editor of the volume *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453*, with Nikolaos Chrissis (Ashgate, 2014).



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Volume 6.1: culture and conflict
in the Mediterranean World

Edited by
Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr

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Editors' preface

The present volume contains papers from the sixth conference on the military orders, which was held on 5–8 September 2013 at the Museum of the Order of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, under the auspices of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders and the Latin East. We welcomed scholars from at least twenty-five countries who between them presented over eighty papers. It has been possible to publish only a selection of the papers here; however, we should like to take this opportunity to thank everyone who took part in the conference for helping make the event such a success.

For the first time the proceedings are being published in two volumes. Although each volume stands on its own and can be obtained and consulted independently, the volumes are best appreciated as an ensemble, for they are intended to provide the reader with the broadest overview of the most current research in the field of military order studies relating to their military lives and culture. It should be noted here that the term 'culture' is understood by the conference organisers and the editors as denoting the visible and tangible products of human endeavour as well as the forms and means of ritualistic and symbolic communication and representation which are at the heart of what has been labelled the 'new cultural history'. Whereas each volume focusses on a very broad geographical region (Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean respectively), their internal structure is chronological rather than thematic or geographic. That this should be the most satisfying order presenting itself is, of course, testimony to the vast variety of topics, approaches and geographical regions presented within each volume. This should come as no surprise: the study of the military orders has always been an international and truly interdisciplinary endeavour!

As editors we should like to express our gratitude to the editorial committee, Tony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson for their support and sage advice throughout, as well as to Jonathan Riley-Smith for writing the introductions to these volumes. Thanks are also due to John Smedley and his colleagues at Ashgate Publishing, Michael Bourne at Routledge, and Autumn Spalding at Apex CoVantage for their help and patience. The conference turned out to be an immense success because of the many months of careful planning by its dedicated organizing committee led by Michael Heslop, namely Alan Borg, Christina Grembowicz, Tony Luttrell, Helen J. Nicholson, Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith, Keith Schnaar and Pamela Willis. It is to them that we extend our gratitude for helping lay the foundation for these two volumes.

Very special words of thanks are due to our sponsors and those who have contributed to the conference: Cardiff Centre for the Study of the Crusades, Cardiff University, the Grand Priory of England, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the St John Historical Society, Royal Holloway, the University of London, Cambridge University Press, Ashgate Publishing, the Institute of Historical Research, Brepols Publishers NV and to the Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust for its subvention towards the publication of the proceedings. We are also grateful to three anonymous donors for enabling the conference committee to give seven bursaries to students, and to the Priory of England of the Order of St John and the Museum of the Order of St John for the use of St John's Gate and the Priory Church. Finally, we would like to thank the volunteers and staff at St John's Gate, in particular the members of the St John Historical Society and the St John Fellowship, the Reverend Gay Ellis (Little Maplestead), Paula Dellamura (Temple Cressing) and Stephane Bitty (Rosebery Hall).

Jochen Schenk (Glasgow) & Mike Carr (Edinburgh)

Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i>
AHN OO.MM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ordenes Militares
AIM	Archive of the Roman Inquisition in Malta
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo
<i>AOL</i>	<i>Archives de l'Orient Latin</i>
AOM	Archive of the Order of Malta
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASVen	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BL	British Library
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , 316 vols (Turnhout, 1945–)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jerusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906)
<i>Cont WT</i>	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)</i> , ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14 (Paris, 1982)
<i>CT</i>	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913)
<i>Eracles</i>	<i>L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer</i> , in RHC Occ, 1.2 (Paris, 1859)
<i>HC</i>	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, 1968–89)
Malta, Cod.	Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i>
<i>MO 1</i>	<i>The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994)
<i>MO 2</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 2: Welfare and Warfare</i> , ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998)
<i>MO 3</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 3: History and Heritage</i> , ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes (Aldershot, 2008)

<i>MO 4</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 4: On Land and By Sea</i> , ed. Judi Upton-Ward (Aldershot, 2008)
<i>MO 5</i>	<i>The Military Orders, vol. 5: Politics and Power</i> , ed. Peter W. Edbury (Aldershot, 2012)
<i>MOA</i>	<i>Militarium Ordinum Analecta</i>
<i>Montjoie</i>	<i>Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honor of Hans Eberhard Mayer</i> , ed. B. Z. Kedar, J. Riley-Smith and R. Hiestand (London, 1997)
<i>NLM</i>	National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>P&C</i>	<i>Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge</i> , ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
<i>PPTS</i>	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
<i>PUTJ</i>	<i>Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter</i> , ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Gottingen, 1972–84)
<i>QuStDO</i>	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Arm</i>	<i>Documents arméniens</i>
<i>Occ</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient Latin</i>
<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum (Ad)</i> , ed. R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
<i>RS</i>	Rolls Series
<i>RSJ</i>	<i>The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493</i> , ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
<i>RT</i>	<i>La Règle du Temple</i> , ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
<i>SDO</i>	<i>Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften</i> , ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1980)
<i>SRP</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , ed. T. Hirsch et al. (Leipzig, 1861)
<i>WT</i>	<i>Guillaume de Tyr, Chronique</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

Notes on contributors

Stephen Bennett holds an MA in Crusader Studies from Queen Mary and Royal Holloway, University of London, and is currently researching a PhD on the Third Crusade at Queen Mary. He was made Diplomado de Estado Mayor by the Spanish Command and Staff College in 2004 and in 2005 received a MA in International Liaison and Communication from the University of Westminster for his dissertation on perception management in the works of Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz. His recent publications include ‘The report of Friar John of Plano Carpini: Analysis of an intelligence gathering mission conducted on behalf of the Papacy in the mid Thirteenth Century’ (*University of Limerick History Society Journal*, vol. 12, 2011, pp. 1–14) and ‘The Battle of Evesham: Edward Longshanks first victory on the battlefield’ (*Medieval Warfare*, vol. II.5, 2012, pp. 42–46).

Betty Binysh is a PhD candidate working under Professor Helen J. Nicholson at Cardiff University on medieval Christian-Muslim relations in the Latin East. Her research focuses on the extent and nature of peaceful relations under the working title ‘Living in Peace in the Holy Land 1095 to 1291 AD’.

Pierre Bonneaud studied medieval history at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He researches the military orders in the Crown of Aragon and the Hospitallers of Rhodes in the late Middle Ages. His publications include *Le prieuré de Catalogne, le couvent de Rhodes et la couronne d’Aragon* (2004), *Els Hospitalers catalans a la fi de l’Edat Mitjana. L’Orde de l’Hospital a Catalunya i a la Mediterrània, 1396–1472* (2008) and several articles.

Anne Brogini is Maître de Conférence Habilitée à Diriger des Recherches of the University of Nice. She specialises in Early Modern Mediterranean history, the relationships between Christians and Muslims and the Order of Malta. She has published a number of books, including *Malte, frontière de chrétienté, 1530–1670* (Rome, 2006); *Des marges aux frontières. Les puissances et les îles en Méditerranée occidentale* (Paris, 2010); *1565, Malte dans la tourmente. Le ‘Grand Siègle’ de l’île par les Turcs* (Paris, 2011); *La Méditerranée au prisme des rivages. Menaces, protections, aménagements en Méditerranée occidentale, XVI^e–XXI^e siècles* (Paris, 2015); *Les Hospitaliers et la mer, XIV^e–XVIII^e siècles* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2015).

Emanuel Buttigieg is a Senior Lecturer in early modern history at the University of Malta. His first book was *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580-c.1700* (London and New York, 2011). He has also co-edited, with Simon Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders c.1291-c.1798* (Farnham, 2013).

Nicholas Coureas of the Cyprus Research Centre, Nicosia, Cyprus works on Lusignan Cyprus. His publications include *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1195–1312* (Ashgate, 1997), *The Latin Church in Cyprus 1313–1378* (Nicosia, 2010) and *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History* (Ashgate, 2012), co-edited with M.J.K. Walsh and P. W. Edbury.

Gil Fishhof teaches medieval art history at the department of art, Tel Aviv University. He specializes in French Romanesque sculpture and architecture, the architecture of the Order of Cluny, and in Crusader art of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. His publications appeared in *Mediaevistik*, *Viator*, *Arte Medievale* and *Annales de Bourgogne*, among others.

Michael Heslop graduated in Medieval History from Cambridge University. He holds an Honorary Research Associateship in Byzantine Studies at Royal Holloway and serves on the Executive Committee of the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies. His publications include various articles on Byzantine and Hospitaller defence systems in the Dodecanese. He was also co-editor of *Byzantium and Venice, 1204–1453: Collected Studies* by Julian Chrysostomides.

Kevin James Lewis is a doctoral student in History at the University of Oxford, working on a thesis entitled ‘A study of the internal aspects of the county of Tripoli during the twelfth century’, supervised by Dr Christopher Tyerman. Previously, he studied at the University of Cardiff under Professors Helen Nicholson, Peter Edbury and Denys Pringle. He is interested in Christian-Muslim relations in the Middle Ages and Geographical History.

Anthony Luttrell studied at the Universities of Oxford and Madrid, the British School at Rome and the Scuola Normale Superiore at Pisa; taught at Swarthmore College and at Edinburgh, Malta and Padua Universities; and served as Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. He has published extensively on medieval Malta and, especially, on the Hospitallers at Rhodes.

Emma Maglio is a graduate of the Faculty of Architecture of Bari, where she received a PhD on the urban history and architecture of the town of Rhodes during the Hospitaller and Ottoman periods. Her post-doctoral studies at Aix-Marseille University and her current Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship at the Foundation for Research and Technologies of Hellas focus on architectural transfers in Venetian and Ottoman Crete.

Victor Mallia-Milanes is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of Malta. He has written extensively on Venice, the Order of St John and Malta in early modern times, including *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530–1789: Aspects of a Relationship* (1992) and *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1789: Studies on Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (1993).

Gregory O'Malley studied at London and Cambridge, and held a research fellowship at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, from 2000–2003. He is the author of *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (Oxford, 2005), and has written several articles on the English *langue* of the Order of St John and on English contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

James Petre is Chairman of the Richard III & Yorkist History Trust and a Director of the Society of West Highland & Island Historical Research. His *Crusader Castles of Cyprus* was published by the Cyprus Research Centre in 2012.

Karol Polejowski holds a PhD from the University of Gdansk (Poland) and his thesis concerning the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of France (XIIIth – first half of the XIVth century) was published in 2003. Currently his research interests are still connected with the history of the military orders and his second field of research is the history and crusading activity of the French families, especially in the XII–XIIIth centuries. He is now a lecturer of the History of the Mediterranean at Ateneum – University in Gdansk (Poland). His monograph entitled *Matrimonium et Crux. The Brienne family and the Crusades (XII–XIII centuries)* was published in 2014.

Sebastián Salvadó is a postdoctoral research fellow in the Department of Historical Studies of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim. He is currently working on a monograph examining the liturgies of sainted kings in the High Middle Ages. His dissertation (Stanford University, 2011) on the Frankish liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre is being edited for publication in *Spicilegium Friburgense*.

Vardit Shotten-Hallel is a research student at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, the European Forum. Her dissertation focuses on medieval building technologies and architecture in churches of the Latin East, under the supervision of Professor Benjamin Z. Kedar. She works at the Israel Antiquities Authority in Acre, studied architecture at the University of Cambridge and archaeology at the University of Haifa.

Thomas W. Smith is Assistant Professor in Medieval History at Trinity College, Dublin. Between 2013 and 2015 he conducted postdoctoral research at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, funded by a Leverhulme Trust Study Abroad Studentship. Previously he was Scouloudi Junior Research Fellow at the Institute of Historical Research between 2012 and 2013. Thomas holds a PhD from Royal Holloway, University of London and a BA and MA from the University of Kent.

Anna Takoumi is a graduate of the Department of History and Archaeology of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, holder of a Master's Degree in Byzantine Archaeology and currently a PhD Candidate in Byzantine Archaeology at the same University. She has taken part in digitalization programs

and in excavations carried out by members of the University of Athens. Her research interests are focused on Byzantine archaeology and art, and the art of the Crusaders.

Theresa Vella, art historian, worked for several years in the heritage sector of Malta as curator and author, as well as visiting lecturer at the International Institute of Baroque Studies, University of Malta. In 2012, she graduated PhD (Bristol) with a thesis on ‘The Paintings of the Order of St John in Malta: Hospitaller Art Collections and Patronage’.

William Zammit holds a PhD in Library and Information Studies and Information Studies from the University of Malta, where he is currently a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Library Information and Archive Science. He has published extensively on culture in early modern Malta.

Introduction

Jonathan Riley-Smith

The proceedings of the conferences on the Military Orders at St John's Gate, London, held regularly since 1992, have provided periodical insights into the continuing development of a subject that covers nine centuries and involves many parts of the world. For someone like myself, who began research in 1960, it is astonishing how popular it has become.

It is noticeable, for example, how many young historians have contributed papers to these volumes. The time is past when the history of the Military Orders was seen as a somewhat esoteric, out-of-the-way discipline. I have drawn attention elsewhere to the difficulty we used to have in persuading historians of the Church and the religious orders to take the Military Orders seriously, in spite of their wealth, their political significance and the importance the Church attached to them. There is still some way to go. The author of a recent book on the contribution of Albanians to the sixteenth-century struggles with the Ottomans in the Mediterranean region, who appears to be well read in many fields, still treats the Order of Malta as a purely military organization. Dr Brogini's plenary lecture in this volume demonstrates how wrong he is, while at the same time providing a nuanced picture of the attempts of the Order to accommodate itself to the Catholic reformation and the reactions of its members to this development.

An outstanding feature of recent years has been the flowering of interest in France. After a long interval the subject is being restored in the country which, with Germany, did most to create it as an academic discipline in the nineteenth century. At an early stage of planning the conference committee decided to mark this by inviting three of the most outstanding young French historians to deliver plenary lectures.

This volume, which covers studies of life in, and the activities of, the central convents in Palestine and Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta, illustrates some of the most striking developments. Papers cover the Rules of the Orders and their foundation charters, their relations with Islam, warfare, statecraft and internal politics, finance, their treatment of slaves, propaganda, spirituality and culture. One should be careful with statistics, because the published papers comprise only a proportion of those delivered at the conference, but it is noticeable that papers on architecture, art and urban planning comprise 28 per cent of the total, and those on the Hospitalers of St John on Malta comprise another 28 per cent. In fact, over half the papers

published in the two volumes relate to periods after 1300. These figures seem to reflect what one hears anecdotally: that interests are moving more and more into the cultural and devotional fields and into the later periods of the Orders' histories. The second of these developments is not new, of course. In the 1950s much interest was being shown in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, exemplified by the work of Lionel Butler and Anthony Luttrell, but then, as now, the lack of easily available published texts was holding scholarship back. There is still a pressing need for all the Hospitaller documents from the Rhodian period to be published, perhaps as an extension of Delaville Le Roulx's *Cartulaire*, which covered only the period to 1310. And thereafter the massive archives on Malta ought to be opened up, although the fact that they have been microfilmed is a major step forward.

1 The Hospital's privilege of 1113

Texts and contexts

Anthony Luttrell

Pope Paschal II's privilege of 1113 marked a fundamental point of progress in the development of the Jerusalem hospice, confirming and maintaining the lasting assistential and hospitaller aspects of its character and culture. Although the bibliography for the proto-history and origins of the Order of Saint John is enormous and frequently unsatisfactory, this chapter offers only the briefest observations and references, even though the extent of the use, and frequently the misuse, of the 1113 document is astonishingly widespread. The major texts, the 1113 original, its confirmation of 1119 which was issued at Saint-Gilles in Languedoc, and another papal confirmation of 1135 issued at Pisa, are definitively edited by Rudolf Hiestand;¹ his article of 1980 remains the standard introduction to the subject.² More recent works include those of Jonathan Riley-Smith³ and others.⁴ The original parchment of 1113 is now in Malta. A variant original with differing cardinal witnesses, which survives in a fourteenth-century copy, possibly resulted from a confirmation issued by Pope Calixtus II in January 1123.⁵

The Hospitaller Order eventually emerged from the initial establishment, apparently made shortly before 1071, of a hospice which was founded in Jerusalem by merchants from Amalfi and was attached to the Benedictine monastery of Sancta Maria Latina; Amalfitan merchants in Egypt seem to have secured the necessary permission from the caliph. The Amalfitans were not commercially active in Jerusalem itself nor did they have a *fondaco* there,⁶ but they did support pilgrims at Salerno and in Antioch, and they sent subsidies to the Benedictine hospices in Jerusalem. They may have hoped to profit from the pilgrim traffic.⁷ By 1082 at the latest Sancta Maria Latina also had a separate hospice for women.

The male hospice had a 'modest *oratorium*', an interior altar or chapel, dedicated to Saint John the Almoner, a seventh-century Patriarch of Alexandria. Pantaleone, who was the son of Mauro di Pantaleone, the Amalfitan founder of the first Jerusalem hospice, had a Latin translation made of the Greek *vita* of John the Almoner, who clearly made a very suitable patron for the hospice.⁸ This *vita*, which also existed in Arabic versions, reported the Almoner's exemplary concern for assistance to the sick, to the poor and to women; for the foundation of