

ENTRE DEUS E O REI

O mundo das Ordens Militares

COORDENAÇÃO
ISABEL CRISTINA F. FERNANDES



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COLEÇÃO
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Esta obra coletiva, com vasta participação internacional, cumpre os desígnios principais do Gabinete de Estudos sobre a Ordem de Santiago, do Município de Palmela, proporcionando a divulgação de um conjunto de estudos sobre a história das Ordens Militares, reveladores dos profícuos debates de ideias, em torno desta temática, que regularmente têm lugar em Palmela.

Estrutura-se em sete capítulos: «Arquivos e Memória», «A Formação e a Prática da Guerra», «As Ordens Militares e o Serviço à Coroa», «Em Portugal como lá Fora: a Ordem do Templo em Tempos de Mudança (1274-1314)», «As Ordens Militares e o Mar», «Arte, Arquitectura e Arqueologia das Ordens Militares» e «Varia».

É dada particular atenção ao conhecimento de fundos arquivísticos, aos processos de construção da memória, à vertente militar, tanto no âmbito ibérico como do Oriente latino, à vida e à intervenção dos Templários nos seus derradeiros tempos, à centralidade do mar em várias das estratégias políticas destes institutos. O capítulo dedicado ao serviço à Coroa evidencia a estreita e crescente influência régia nos destinos das Ordens e a cultura material é tratada nas perspetivas artística, arquitetónica e arqueológica. As questões da espiritualidade militar e da vida religiosa, sem se autonomizarem em apartado próprio, são transversais a muitas das abordagens.

COM O ALTO PATROCÍNIO
DE SUA EXCELÊNCIA



O Presidente da República

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Município
Palmela

ENTRE DEUS E O REI O MUNDO DAS ORDENS MILITARES

Coordenação
Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes

ENTRE DIOS Y EL REY
El mundo de las Órdenes Militares

ENTRE DIEU ET LE ROI
Le monde des Ordres Militaires

BETWEEN GOD AND THE KING
The world of the Military Orders

VOL. I

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I. ARQUIVOS E MEMÓRIA

ARCHIVOS Y MEMORIA

ARCHIVES ET MEMOIRE

ARCHIVES AND MEMORY

MEMORY AND THE MILITARY ORDERS: AN OVERVIEW

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Memory forms a central part of institutional identity, underpinning what the members of an institution believe their function to be. Yet memory is not static – it is continually re-created to meet new challenges. In the context of the military-religious orders, predominant memory was not individual or based on a person’s own experiences but a collective record constructed by the group¹. ‘Memory’ is not the same as the science of history that historians practise. As defined by the French historian Pierre Nora, memory belongs to groups and individuals, is based in physical places, images and objects, is constantly evolving, remembering and forgetting, “vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation”. In contrast, history is the reconstruction of “what is no longer”, it represents the past and is an analytical, objective critical discourse².

“Memory studies” consider how the relationship between past and present is expressed, personally and publicly³. Based on the premises that “our experiences of the present largely depend on our knowledge of the past’ and ‘our images of the past commonly serve to legitimate a present social order” (the words of Paul Connerton, a British social anthropologist who has written extensively on the subject), this field of study explores how the common images of the past held by a social order are created and maintained: for example, by commemorative ceremonies and bodily practices, including rituals and

¹ CASSIDY-WELCH, Megan and LESTER, Anne E., “Memory and interpretation: new approaches to the study of the crusades”, in *Crusades and Memory: Journal of Medieval History*, 40.3 (2014), Abingdon, p. 225-236 at p. 228.

² NORA, Pierre, “Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire”, in *Representations*, 26, Special Issue: *Memory and Counter-Memory* (1989), Berkeley, p. 7–24, at p. 8–9.

³ Leading works in this field include: LE GOFF, Jacques, *Histoire et mémoire*, Paris: Gallimard, 1988; and NORA, “Between Memory and History...”, p. 7–24; NORA, Pierre (ed.), *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, 3 vols, Paris, Gallimard, 1984-92. Introductions to the bibliography include VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, Elizabeth, and Carol Stamatis PENDERGAST, “Introduction”, in VALDEZ DEL ALAMO, Elizabeth and PENDERGAST, Carol Stamatis (ed.), *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000, p. 1-15, citing in particular: CRANE, Susan A., “Writing the Individual back into Collective Memory”, *American Historical Review*, 102.5 (1997), Washington D.C., p. 1372–1385 and CONFINO, Alon, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method”, in *American Historical Review*, 102.5 (1997), Washington D.C., p. 1386–1403.

the creation of written records⁴. Conversely, ‘memory’ also involves forgetting, or at least selectively forgetting⁵. Scholars of the Middle Ages have considered how medieval people and institutions reconstructed and commemorated the past through the construction of monuments such as tombs, ritual and liturgy, with written records perhaps acting only as an aid to memory, not the complete record of events⁶. What was included and what was excluded from these memories dictated which vision of the past would shape the future⁷. Let us take one example to illustrate the point: memorialisation within the Military-Religious Orders’ chapels.

Memory in stone

The built environment constructed by the Military-Religious Orders gave preference to patrons over individual brothers. For the first two centuries deceased brothers did not receive personalised tombs as memorials: brothers’ tombs were engraved with only a cross, although some commanders had commemorative slabs with an engraving of the dead brother. For the Teutonic Order, the surviving tombs of grand masters and brothers at Marienburg/ Malbork are simple, plain slabs, marked with only a cross. Likewise, a plain stone grave marker with cross is preserved in the museum in the tower of the Hospitallers’ Scottish commandery at Torphichen. Not until 1400 did deceased brothers of the Hospital regularly receive tombs and inscriptions⁸.

⁴ CONNERTON, Paul, *How Societies Remember*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1989, (quotation at p. 3), p. 4–5, 7. See also CONNERTON, Paul, *How Modernity Forgets*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009; CONNERTON, Paul, *The Spirit of Mourning: History, Memory and the Body*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

⁵ CASSIDY-WELCH and LESTER, “Memory and interpretation...”, p. 226; citing GEARY, Patrick, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1994. See also CONNERTON, *How Modernity Forgets*.

⁶ The historiography of this subject is enormous. Works in English include: VALDEZ DEL ALAMO and PENDERGAST (ed.), *Memory and the Medieval Tomb*; CARRUTHERS, Mary J., *The Book of Memory: a study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, England and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1990; VAN HOUTS, Elisabeth M. C. (ed.), *Medieval Memories: men, women and the past in Europe, 700–1300*, Harlow, Longman, 2001; ALTHOFF, Gerd, FRIED, Johannes and GEARY, Patrick J. (ed.), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002; WILLIAMS, Howard, *Death and Memory in Early Medieval Britain*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006; *Crusades and Memory: Journal of Medieval History* special issue, 40.3 (2014), Abingdon. Scholars also study medieval memory techniques, e.g.: VALDEZ DEL ALAMO and PENDERGAST, “Introduction”; CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory*; COLEMAN, Janet, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992: but the subject of this chapter is what was remembered rather than the mental processes by which it was memorised.

⁷ Discussed in CASSIDY-WELCH and LESTER, “Memory and interpretation...”, at p. 226.

⁸ For discussion of the tombs of the members of the military religious orders see LUTTRELL, Anthony, “Iconography and Historiography: the Italian Hospitallers before 1530”, in *Sacra Militia*, 2 (2002), Genoa, p. 19–46, at p. 24–26; republished in his *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West*, Aldershot, Variorum, 2007, article 17.

Hospitaller tombs from the sixteenth century onwards were more ornate. A severely damaged effigy of Sir William Weston, last grand prior of the Hospital in England, is preserved in the crypt of St John's church at St John's Gate, Clerkenwell: this would have been a canopied marble monument before its destruction in 1788⁹. A fragment of finely carved stone built into a wall indicates that the tomb of Sir Walter Lindsay, commander of Torphichen (died 1532), was similarly ornate. The tombs of the Grand Masters of the Order of St John from the sixteenth century onwards in the crypt of St John's co-cathedral in Valletta are decorated with their family arms and effigies.

Although few Templar tombs survive, engraved tomb slabs with an image of the deceased survive for two masters of the Temple in Sicily: Gioberto (died 13 March 1287) and Simone di Quincy (died 7 June 1307), both now in the museum of Barletta¹⁰. Another survival is the engraved funerary slab of the Templar Gerard de Villers (d. 1273), at Villers-le-Temple in Flanders. Plain stone grave markers with an incised cross at the former Templar church at Garway in Herefordshire, England, are locally assumed to be Templar, although they could equally well commemorate Hospitallers. It has been suggested that the fine effigy of a knight in the former Hospitaller church at Any in south-west Ireland is of Roger Outlaw, grand prior of the Order in Ireland 1314-41 – but it is perhaps more likely to represent a patron of the Order¹¹.

Ornate tombs within the Military-Religious Orders' churches usually belonged to their patrons or associates: such as the fine military effigies in the Temple Church in London, or the tomb of the infante Don Felipe in the former Templar church of Santa María la Blanca at Villalcázar de Sirga in the province of Palencia, Castile¹². This visual and spatial predominance of patrons within the Orders' churches stressed the Orders' dependence on their patrons and encouraged the continuation of that relationship into the future. In contrast, individual brothers who had given up their own wills to serve the Order had no individual memorials.

⁹ TEMPLE, Philip (ed.), "St John's Church and St John's Square", in *Survey of London: Volume 46, South and East Clerkenwell*, London, London County Council, 2008, p. 115-141, online at: <<http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vol46/pp115-141#h3-0015>> [accessed 17 September 2015].

¹⁰ TOMMASI, Francesco, "Fonti epigrafiche dalla *domus Templi* di Barletta per la cronotassi degli ultimi maestri provinciali dell'ordine nel regno di Sicilia", in COLI, Enzo; MARCO, Maria de and TOMMASI, Francesco (ed.), *Militia Sacra: Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, Perugia, Società Editrice S. Bevinante, 1994, p. 167-202.

¹¹ VIRTUANI, Paolo, "The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Medieval Ireland (c. 1169-1378)", PhD thesis, University College Dublin, 2014, p. 194-5.

¹² LUTTRELL, "Iconography and Historiography...", p. 25; PARK, David, "Medieval Burials and Monuments", and LANKESTER, Philip J., "The Thirteenth-Century Military Effigies in the Temple Church", in GRIFFITH-JONES, Robin, and PARK, David (ed.), *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010, p. 67-134; JOSSERAND, Philippe, "Le temple et le culte marial au long du chemin de Saint-Jacques: la commanderie de Villalcázar de Sirga", in BOUCHERON, Patrick, and CHIFFOLEAU, Jacques (ed.), *Religion et Société urbaine au moyen âge. Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget par ses anciens élèves*, Paris, Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000, p. 313-331, at p. 320.

Memory and historical writing

The institutional memory of the Military-Religious Orders was also preserved in written records of various kinds. The Orders' archives formed a fundamental basis for memory, as they were created to preserve a record of past events and to reinforce memory, and could even become a means of creating memory. Yet archives are selective, retaining some records and discarding others, so that memory is shaped by the creator of the archive.

The international Military-Religious Orders were slow to produce what modern scholarship would regard as authoritative histories.¹³ The histories copied for the Templars and Hospitallers at Acre and illuminated by the so-called 'Hospitaller master' (who was not a Hospitaller, but an illuminator employed by them) were versions of the *Historia* of Archbishop William of Tyre, which was rather unfavourable towards the Orders¹⁴. However, in the twelfth century the Hospitallers produced a version of their past which identified their Order's holy place of origin and founders and fixed it firmly in Biblical history. The *Miracula* or 'legends', which take the Order's history back to before New Testament times and identify John the Baptist's parents as early custodians of the Hospital, survive in various versions in manuscripts in French, Anglo-Norman French and Latin¹⁵.

How did the Hospitallers employ these legends? We know from comments by contemporaries in the twelfth and early thirteenth century that the Hospitallers' fictionalised history was used by their alms-collectors in the West to encourage donations to the Order¹⁶. It would also have been of interest to pilgrims visiting the Hospital in Jerusalem. But members of the Order would also have known these legends. The Anglo-Norman version of the legends, preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript from the Hospitallers' house at Kilbarry in Ireland, forms an introduction to an Anglo-Norman summary of the Order's Rule and customs, and so was aimed at the members of the Order, providing them with an historical basis for their institution¹⁷. Colmán Ó Clabaigh, OBS, has considered how the text was used: 'Composed in rhyming couplets, it lent itself to memorization and enabled

¹³ JOSSERAND, Philippe, and OLIVIER, Mathieu (eds), *La Mémoire des origines dans les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Âge: Actes des journées d'études de Göttingen (25–26 juin 2009)/ Die Erinnerung an die eigenen Ursprünge in den geistlichen Ritterorden im Mittelalter, Beiträge der Göttinger Tagung (25.–26. Juni 2009)*, Münster, Lit Verlag, 2012; CALVET, Antoine, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000.

¹⁴ FOLDA, Jaroslav, *Crusader manuscript illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275-1291*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1976, p. 90-1.

¹⁵ CALVET, *Les Légendes de l'Hôpital...*, p. 7-8, 13-16. JOSSERAND and OLIVIER (ed.), *La Mémoire des origines...*

¹⁶ Discussed in NICHOLSON, Helen, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*, Leicester, Leicester University Press, 1993, p. 112-14.

¹⁷ For the contents of this history see SINCLAIR, K. V., (ed.), *The Hospitallers' Rule (Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolimitani)*, *Anglo-Norman Text Society* 42, London, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1984. Sinclair dated the original text to 1181-85 (p. xlviij).

non-Latinate knights to become familiar with their origins and their obligations¹⁸. Perhaps it also served to underline the Irish priory's legitimacy as a religious institution serving the whole of Christendom rather than a dependency of the English king, a particular matter for concern for the Order in Ireland¹⁹.

The legends were an account of the Order as a spiritual institution, focussed on spiritual rather than worldly 'truths'. However, members of the Order also made collections of what modern scholarship regards as historical material, which have been surveyed by Anthony Luttrell²⁰. Perhaps the most influential history of the Order was Guillaume Caoursin's Latin account of the siege of Rhodes in 1480, printed and intended for wide European readership; although other members of the Order also wrote accounts of the siege²¹. Theresa Vann has considered Caoursin's history as a carefully-constructed work of propaganda, observing that this account "contained themes that Caoursin and the Hospitaller chancery had been developing for years to interpret the Order's activities in the Levant for Christian Europe" and that "the Hospitallers purposefully disseminated the official history of the siege using the relatively new technology of printing"²². Caoursin "followed contemporary trends in humanist historical writing" but this did not mean that his work was objective; he wrote with a definite purpose²³. As later scholars (until the present day) have regarded his work as a reliable account, his depiction of the Hospitallers as God's warriors heroically defeating the Turks became the memory of the event.

¹⁸ Ó CLABAIGH, Colmán, OSB, "Prayer, politics and poetry: Cambridge Corpus Christi MS 405 and the Templars and Hospitallers at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford", in BROWNE, Martin, OSB and Ó CLABAIGH, Colmán OSB (ed.), *Soldiers of Christ: the Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2015, p. 206-17 at p. 215.

¹⁹ For the Hospitallers as agents of the king of England see, for example: NICHOLSON, Helen, "The Hospitallers' and Templars' involvement in Warfare on the Frontiers of the British Isles in the Late Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries", in *Ordines Militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica: Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, 17 (2012), Toruń, p. 105-19; *EADEM*, "Serving King and Crusade: The Military Orders in Royal Service in Ireland, 1220-1400", in BULL, Marcus and HOUSLEY, Norman (ed.), *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 1: *Western Approaches*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 233-52.

²⁰ LUTTRELL, Anthony, "The Hospitallers' historical activities, 1291-1400", in LUTTRELL, Anthony (ed.), *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West (1291-1440)*, London, Variorum, 1979, article n.º 17; LUTTRELL, Anthony, "The Hospitallers' historical activities, 1400-1530," in LUTTRELL, Anthony (ed.), *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291-1440*, London, Variorum, 1982, article n.º 2; LUTTRELL, Anthony, "The Hospitallers' historical activities, 1530-1630", in LUTTRELL (ed.), *Latin Greece...*, n.º 3.

²¹ CAOURSIN, Guillaume, "Gestorum Rhodie obsidionis commentarii", in VAIVRE, Jean-Bernard de, and VISSIERE, Laurent (ed.), *Tous les Deables d'Enfer: Relations du siège de Rhodes par les Ottomans en 1480*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2014, Guillaume Caoursin, p. 374-474; Brother Mary du Puis, p. 502-24; and in VANN, Theresa, and KAGAY, Donald (ed.), *Hospitaller Piety and Crusader Propaganda: Guillaume Caoursin's Description of the Ottoman Siege of Rhodes, 1480*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, Guillaume Caoursin, p. 84-146; Brother Mary/Ademar Dupuis, p. 216-82; for the account issued by Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson see *IBIDEM*, p. 152-74.

²² VANN, Theresa, "Preface", in VANN and KAGAY (ed.), *Hospitaller Piety...*, p. x.

²³ VANN, Theresa, "The genesis of the *Descriptio*", in VANN and KAGAY (ed.), *Hospitaller Piety...*, p. 43-73 at p. 63.

The Templars apparently did not create written histories of their Order. Hans Mayer suggested that the so-called *Itinerarium peregrinorum 1*, which recounts events in the kingdom of Jerusalem between 1187 and 1190, was written by an English Templar chaplain, but Hannes Möhring demonstrated that this was not the case²⁴. In the twelfth century the English Templars commissioned translations of the Old Testament Book of Judges and religious works into Anglo-Norman French, but did not commission original histories²⁵. A reference in the Templars' translation of the Old Testament Book of Judges to the Levites serving God in the Temple in Jerusalem, and a description in a contemporary account of the Battle of the Spring of the Cresson (1187) of the master of the Temple comparing the Templars to the Maccabees, suggest that the Order might have encouraged the brothers to find parallels between their vocation and God's warriors in the Old Testament, but this is not explicitly stated in the surviving records²⁶. Brothers interrogated during the proceedings against the Order in the early fourteenth century indicated that they had limited knowledge of their Order's historic origins but were aware that Saint Bernard of Clairvaux was involved in their Order's foundation²⁷.

Perhaps, in a society which valued memory over written records, the Order saw no need to create formal written histories²⁸. The Order commemorated its dead brothers in rituals, in regular prayers and a daily vespers for the dead²⁹. The Order also created written memorials of other kinds. The so-called 'Obituary of Reims' commemorates the deaths of past Grand Masters: Michael Peixoto has argued that the Templars used this document to create: 'a symbolic link between their own history, the manuscript's previous owners, and their new local patrons' and so to 'package their corporate identity into a fruitful form for building new networks of supporters': in short, 'maintaining the past, securing the future'³⁰.

²⁴ MAYER, Hans Eberhard, *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica, 18, Stuttgart, Anton Hiersemann, 1962, p. 1-44; MÖHRING, Hannes, "Eines Chronik aus der Zeit des dritten Kreuzzugs: das sogenannte Itinerarium peregrinorum I", *Innsbrucker Historische Studien*, 5 (1982), Innsbruck, 149-62.

²⁵ PERMAN, R. C. D., "Henri d'Arci: the Shorter Works", in FRANCIS, E. A. ed. *Studies in Medieval French presented to Alfred Ewert in honour of his seventieth birthday*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1961, p. 279-321; ALBON, le Marquis d' (ed.), *Le livre des Juges. Les cinq textes de la version française faite au XIIe siècle pour les chevaliers du Temple*, Lyons, Alexandre Rey, 1913.

²⁶ Discussed in NICHOLSON, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights...*, p. 113-15.

²⁷ DEMURGER, Alain, "Étourdis ou petits malins? Pourquoi les Templiers n'ont-ils pas eu de mythe d'origine?", in JOSSERAND and OLIVIER (ed.), *La Mémoire des origines...*, p. 73-82, esp. p. 75-77; NICHOLSON, Helen J. (ed.), *The Proceedings against the Templars in the British Isles*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2011, vol. 1, p. 43, 45, 62, 248, vol. 2, p. 44, 45, 59, 276 (MS A, f. 24v, 25v, 34r, 120r).

²⁸ CARRUTHERS, *The Book of Memory...*, p. 9-10.

²⁹ CURZON, Henri de (ed.), *La Règle du Temple*, Paris, Librairie Reynouard, 1886, p. 172-73, 202 (clauses 286, 355-6); AMATUCCIO, Giovanni (ed.), *Il Corpus normativo templare: Edizione dei testi romanzi con traduzione e commento in Italiano*, Galatina, Congedo, 2009, p. 152, l. 18-20, p. 184, l. 24-40 (VII.2, 58-59).

³⁰ PEIXOTO, Michael, "Maintaining the Past, Securing the Future in the Obituary of the Temple of Reims", in *Viator*, 45.3 (2014), Los Angeles, p. 211-35.

Individual Templar commanderies kept their charters and maintained cartularies, a form of institutional memory³¹.

Brothers of the Teutonic Order, on the other hand, were concerned to establish its historical origins and chronicle its deeds, perhaps to make clear to both brothers and patrons how and why the Order had expanded its activities outside the Holy Land. The ‘*Narratio de primordiis ordinis theutonici*’ was written around the middle of the thirteenth century – Udo Arnold has argued for a date after 1252. The ‘Livonian Rhymed Chronicle’ was composed in German in the late thirteenth century; in 1326 the priest Peter von Dusburg completed in Latin a history of the Order in Prussia, in the 1330s his work was translated into German by the priest-brother Nikolaus von Jeroschin³²; and further histories followed these³³. These works included references to miraculous intervention and demonstrated divine approval for the Order’s activities. They would have served to win the approval of the Order’s patrons, encourage recruitment and disarm detractors as well as justifying the Order’s involvement in the Baltic region and encouraging the brothers in their vocation³⁴.

Military history was not the only means of emphasising certain aspects of the Order while downplaying others. In 1434 the English Hospitaller brother John Stillingflete produced in Latin a book listing the patrons of the Hospitallers in England³⁵. He included the

³¹ Where these archives and charters survive, they have been used by scholars as a source for “the Templars’ strategies of representation and organization”: SCHENK, Jochen, review of PEIXOTO, Michael Joseph, “Organisation and Social Function of Templar Communities in France”, PhD dissertation, New York University, 2013, <<http://dissertationreviews.org/archives/11876>> [accessed 14 June 2016]; see also CARRAZ, Damien, *L’Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312)*, Lyon, Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2006, and SCHENK, Jochen, *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c.1120–1312*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012.

³² ARNOLD, Udo, “Die *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici* – der offizielle Blick des Deutschen Ordens auf seine Anfänge”, in JOSSERAND and OLIVIER (ed.), *La Mémoire des origines ...*, p. 95-20; PFEIFFER, F. (ed.), *Livländische Reimchronik*, Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 7B, Stuttgart, Franz Pfeiffer, 1844; DUSBURG, Peter von, *Chronik des Preussenlandes*, ed. Klaus SCHOLZ and Dieter WOJTECKI, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur Deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters, Freiherr von Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe Band 25*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984; JEROSCHIN, Nikolaus von, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, ed. Ernst STRELHKE, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum 1*, Leipzig, Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1861; and see VOLLMANN-PROFE, Gisela, “*Narratio de primordiis ordinis theutonici*”, in DUNPHY, Graeme (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, Leiden: Brill, 2010, vol. 2, p. 1136-7; NEECKE, Michael, “Ältere Livländische Reimchronik (Older Livonian Rhymed Chronicle)”, in *IBIDEM*, p. 33-34; NEECKE, Michael, “Nikolaus von Jeroschin”, in *IBIDEM*, p. 1150; NEECKE, Michael, “Peter of Dusburg”, in *IBIDEM*, p. 1202.

³³ See, for example, VOLLMANN-PROFE, Gisela, “Ältere Hochmeisterchronik”, in DUNPHY (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, p. 32-3; NEECKE, Michael, “Hermann von Warberge”, in *IBIDEM*, p. 780-781; VOLLMANN-PROFE, Gisela, “Johann von Posilge”, in *IBIDEM*, p. 922.

³⁴ MURRAY, Alan V., “The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle”, in MURRAY, Alan V. (ed.), *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150-1500*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001, p. 235-51; FISCHER, Mary, “Biblical Heroes and the Uses of Literature: the Teutonic Order in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth Centuries,” in *IBIDEM*, p. 261-75.

³⁵ STILLINGFLETE, John, “*Liber Johannis Stillingflete de nominibus fundatorum Hosp. S. Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia*”, in DODSWORTH, Roger, and DUGDALE, William (ed.), *Monastici Anglicani volumen secundum*, London,

Templars' property, noting that the Hospitallers were bound to favour the former patrons of the Templars in consideration for the devotion they had shown the Templars³⁶. By combining the records of Templars and Hospitallers, he created an impression that they were one consolidated order with a common history. He included the names of the masters of the Temple and Hospital, as well as the names of the priors of the Hospital in England³⁷. There was also such a list in the English Hospitallers' cartulary of 1442: the names of the masters of the Temple in England and the grand masters of the Temple are listed first, followed by the masters of the Hospital and then the priors of the Hospital in England; as if the Temple was the original order and the Hospitallers followed it³⁸. Thus the Templars' heroic history was assimilated into the Hospitallers' own past. There was no mention of the charges against the Templars or their dissolution, or the difficulties the Hospitallers had encountered in trying to obtain the former Templar properties.

Stillingflete's book appears to have had other purposes too. He included among the properties given to the Hospitallers of England the Scottish commandery of Torphichen, implying that Scotland was part of the kingdom of England (which it was not) and that its commander was subject to the grand prior of England – an old claim that in the 1430s was being effectively challenged by the magnificent church built at Torphichen by the commander of Scotland, Andrew Meldrum³⁹. Although Scotland and England were at peace when Stillingflete wrote, this challenge from the Scottish Hospitallers may have prompted him to reassert the English grand prior's claims.

Perhaps Stillingflete's list was also prompted by the need to take stock of the Hospitallers' landholdings at a time when dearth threatened at least part of England⁴⁰. It could

R. Scott, 1673, vol. 2, p. 541-53.

³⁶ STILLINGFLETE, "Liber...", p. 551.

³⁷ STILLINGFLETE, "Liber...", p. 541. London, College of Arms, L17, f. 141r-156v. My thanks to Robert Yorke and Matthew Jones, archivists at the College of Arms, for allowing me to examine the manuscript. A partial copy, which was damaged in the Cotton fire, survives at London, British Library, Cotton MS Tib. E. ix, f. 19r-23v: "Miscellaneous historical, genealogical and heraldic papers" transcribed in the early modern period, including "excerpta ex registris chartarum ... Hospitalis S. Joannis Jerusalem in Anglia" (SMITH, Thomas, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, Sheldonian Theatre, 1696), p. 32).

³⁸ London, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 466r-467v.

³⁹ For Andrew Meldrum and Torphichen see COWAN, Ian B.; MACKAY, P.H.R., and MACQUARRIE, Alan (ed.), *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland*, in *Scottish History Society fourth series* 19, Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1983, p. xlii, 164-65 (n.ºs 24, 25), 198; O'MALLEY, Gregory, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 259-60. Perhaps Meldrum's fine building works were inspired by King James I of Scotland's construction in the 1430s of new royal lodgings and a palace at Linlithgow: BROWN, M. H., "James I (1394-1437)", in MATTHEW, H. C. G., and HARRISON, Brian (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, edited by Lawrence GOLDMAN, May 2015: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14587>> [accessed 20 Aug 2015].

⁴⁰ DODDS, Ben, "Estimating arable output using Durham Priory tithe receipts, 1341-1450", in *Economic History Review*, 57 (2004), London, p. 243-85, at 271, 272-73, 275; ARVANIGIAN, M. E., "Free rents in the palatinate of Durham, and the crisis of the late 1430s", in *Archaeologia Aeliana: Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, series 5, 24 (1996), Newcastle-upon-Tyne, p. 99-108; POLLARD, A. J., "The north-eastern economy and the

also be that the potentially unstable political situation in England while King Henry VI of England was still a minor (1422-37⁴¹) had made him aware of how important was the support of the ‘founders’ or patrons of his Order to its security in the realm. Underlining this connection with the Orders’ founders was especially necessary in the 1430s, when connections between founders and their religious foundations were breaking down⁴².

From his base at the Hospitallers’ English headquarters at Clerkenwell, Stillingflete was able to make good use of the records from which the Hospitallers’ great cartulary of 1442 would be assembled; in fact he may also have been involved in compiling the English Hospitallers’ 1442 cartulary⁴³. He constructed his book to show that royalty and nobility and the landed classes in general had always, and widely, supported the Templars and Hospitallers. Although Stillingflete claimed simply to be compiling a list, in fact he was creating memory, perhaps intended for an external audience as well as his fellow Hospitallers.

Memory, liturgy and cult

The cults of saints also provide a means for creating and developing the memory of a religious institution; not only veneration of an order’s founders, but also a long history of association with certain saints. The rituals and liturgy developed around these cults enable memory to be regularly enacted and maintained by successive worshippers.

The Hospitallers certainly developed saintly cults which shaped the collective memory of the institution. Some of these cults focussed on former members of the Order. Jonathan Riley-Smith has argued that by 1300 there was a cult centred on Gerard, founder of the Hospital; although he was not mentioned in the Hospitallers’ liturgy⁴⁴. Cults of three female members or associate members of the Hospital were promoted in their home localities: Saint Ubaldesca of Pisa, Saint Toscana of Verona and Saint Flore of Beaulieu in central-southern France⁴⁵.

agrarian crisis of 1438-40”, in *Northern History*, 25 (1989), Leeds, p. 89-105.

⁴¹ GRIFFITHS, R. A., “Henry VI (1421-1471),” in MATTHEW, H. C. G., and HARRISON, Brian (ed.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, online edition, edited by Lawrence GOLDMAN, May 2015: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12953>> [accessed 7 October, 2015].

⁴² THOMPSON, B., “Monasteries and their patrons at foundation and dissolution”, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 4 (1994), Cambridge, p. 103-26; O’SULLIVAN, Dierdre, “The ‘Little Dissolution’ of the 1520s”, in *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 40/2 (2006), London, 227-58, at 247.

⁴³ O’MALLEY, Gregory, “John Stillingfleet”, in BÉRIOU, Nicole, and JOSSEMAND, Philippe (ed.) *Prier et Combattre: Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris, Fayard, 2009, p. 508.

⁴⁴ RILEY-SMITH, Jonathan, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c. 1070–1309*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 19-20, and p. 239 notes 43 and 44.

⁴⁵ RILEY-SMITH, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 230-31; L’HERMITE-LECLERCQ, Paulette, “Fleur de Beaulieu (d. 1347): Saint of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem”, in LUTTRELL, Anthony, and NICHOLSON, Helen J. (ed.), *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2006, p. 209-31, at p. 209, 211.

In the sixteenth century the Catholic reform movement known as the ‘Counter Reformation’, prompted the Hospitallers of Malta actively to promote and develop devotion to the saints whose relics they possessed, and devotion to local saints. They promoted the cults of their own former members who had previously been venerated only in their own locality, such as Ubaldesca, Toscana, Flore; and also Hugh of Genoa (d. 1233)⁴⁶. Yet some supposed members of the Order whose cults the Order developed in the sixteenth century and later have eluded modern scholars’ attempts to establish whether they existed, let alone whether they were members of the Hospital⁴⁷. In 1622 Giacomo Bosio published a collection of short hagiographies of the *beati/ae* and *sancti/ae* of the Order. Matthias Ebejer, a researcher at the University of Malta, has argued that this ‘may be seen as an attempt to demonstrate that these medieval saints of the Order were ... representative of the values and morals that Tridentism’ (the reform movement centred on the Council of Trent) ‘was advocating’. They included Saints Gerard Mecati and Nicasius, who had not been mentioned by any medieval writer from the Hospital, and Gerland the German, who (if he existed) may have been a Templar⁴⁸.

The Hospitallers also developed the cult of other saints whose relics they possessed, stressing that the Order had long been devoted to these saints: for example, the calendars of feast days and ceremonials produced by the Hospitallers in the eighteenth century include the feast of the 11,000 virgins, describe which relics are held and where and add that ‘formerly these were contained in a reliquary of crystal in the form of a chalice surrounded with silver, and brought from Rhodes’⁴⁹. Yet pilgrims to Rhodes did not mention this relic while the Order was based on Rhodes, and I have not yet found any evidence of veneration

⁴⁶ RILEY-SMITH, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 231. On these cults within the Order see also BUTTIGIEG, Emanuel, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580-c. 1700*, London, Continuum, 2011, p. 104; EBEJER, Matthias, “Hospitaller Paths to Sanctity: A Study on Piety and Religious Practices in the Order of St John 1580-1798”, MA thesis, University of Malta 2015, p. 65-70.

⁴⁷ Discussed in NICHOLSON, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights*, p. 119-20.

⁴⁸ EBEJER, “Hospitaller Paths to Sanctity...”, p. 65-70 (quotation at p. 65). 77; citing BOSIO, Giacomo, *Le Imagini de’ Beati e Santi della Sacra Religione & Illustrissima Militia di S. Gio. Gerosolimitano con un brevissimo Compendio della Vita e de’ Miracoli loro*, Rome, Guglielmo Facciotti, 1622; for Gerard Mecati, p. 68-96; Gerland, p. 97-89 for Nicasius, p. 90-98. Bosio also listed well-attested medieval saints: two known to the whole Order, the founder Gerard (p. 7-13) and Raymond du Puy (p. 14-25); and four local saints: Ubaldesca, p. 32-43; Toscana, p. 44-52; Hugh of Genoa (p. 53-67) and Flore of Beaulieu, p. 105-111; BUTTIGIEG, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity...*, p. 104.

⁴⁹ Valetta, Malta, the National Library of Malta, Archives of Malta (AOM), 1952: Book II, “Calendarium ac Caeremoniale Testorum”, p. ix, under October (chap. XXXI): “De festo Sanctarum Ursulae et Sociarum V. et MM”, with detail on p. 393-4. See also AOM, 1952, “Vetus Kalendarium Ecclesiae S. Joannis Rhodi: Ex venusto Breviario secundum usum Ordini S. Joannis Hierosolymitani prout iacet transcriptum” (old Calendar of the church of St John of Rhodes, transcribed as it stood from a lovely breviary which followed the usage of the Order of St John of Jerusalem), chap. XXXIV (p. 463-75), at p. 472: October 21: XI M Virginum ix Lect; and see also the entry for St Ursula and her companions in AOM, 1955, under “Kalendarium”, p. 450-2. I am very grateful to Dr Theresa Vann and the staff of the Hill Museum and Manuscript Library, St John’s University, Minnesota, for allowing me to use their archives during my research into these records.

of the 11,000 maidens at the Hospitallers' headquarters before their arrival on Malta. The Hospitallers' eighteenth-century ceremonials also stressed the Order's long veneration of a relic of the early Christian martyr Saint Euphemia, stating that the relics had been brought to Malta from Rhodes, and that her feast day had been celebrated in the Order *ab immemorabile tempore*, from time immemorial, since before 1499.⁵⁰ The Order had certainly venerated this relic since the fourteenth century, but the record did not mention that this relic was probably the one which had previously belonged to the Templars⁵¹.

In addition, the Order developed new holy legends to demonstrate a long history of devotion. In the first volume of his history of the Hospital of St John, published in 1594, Giacomo Bosio recounted the story of Our Lady of Liesse, in which in 1134 three Hospitaller brothers from Picardy were captured and became slaves of the sultan of Egypt. Through a miraculous statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the sultan's daughter Ismeria was converted to Christianity and escaped with the three brothers to France. Matthias Ebejer has demonstrated that this was a popular story among the Hospitallers of Malta in the late sixteenth century; but it does not appear in medieval accounts⁵². The Hospitallers had been devoted to the Blessed Virgin since their earliest days, but as they re-established their order anew on Malta they needed new legends which both reinforced their historic ties with the Levant and reaffirmed their old devotions.

Conclusion

In short, the Hospitallers of Malta developed their spiritual history to meet modern expectations and needs. The Hospitallers and the other Military-Religious Orders used material culture, written records, ritual and liturgy to shape their understanding of their

⁵⁰ AOM, 1952, p. 357-61 (at p. 357-8); AOM, 1955, "Kalendarium", p. 420-27. For earlier records see: HASECKER, Jyri, and SARNOWSKY, Jürgen (ed.), *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum: Die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93*, in *Nova Mediaevalia: Quellen und Studien zum europäischen Mittelalter*, Göttingen, V&R Unipress, 2007, p. 127.

⁵¹ BUSSEIIS, Frater Philippus de, "Liber peregrinationum, 1285-1291", in SANDOLI, S. de (ed.), *Itinera Hierosolymitana cruce signatorum (saec. XII-XIII)*, *Studium Biblicum Franciscum: collectio maior* 24, 4 vols, Jerusalem, Franciscan Print. Press, 1978-84, vol. 4, p. 246, chap. 56; MICHELET, Jules (ed.), *Procès des Templiers*, 2 vols, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1841-51, vol. 1, p. 143-4, 419; SCHOTTMÜLLER, Konrad (ed.), *Der Untergang des Temppler-Ordens mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, 2 vols, Berlin, Ernst Siegfried Mittler & Sohn, 1887, vol. 2, p. 136, 209, 210, 215; GILMOUR-BRYSON, Anne (ed.), *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition*, Leiden, Brill, 1998, p. 140, 141, 149; TOMMASI, Francesco, "I Templari e il culto delle reliquie", in MINNUCCI, Giovanni, and SARDI, Franca (ed.), *I Templari: mito e storia. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi alla magione Templare di Poggibonsi-Siena*, Singalunga-Siena: A.G. Viti-Riccucci, 1989, p. 191-210, at p. 206, 209; "De S. Euphemia Virg. & Mart. Chalcedone in Bithynia", in *Acta Sanctorum*, 45: September V, Paris and Rome, Victor Palmé, 1866, p. 252-86 (16 September) at p. 262.

⁵² EBEJER, "Hospitaller Paths to Sanctity...", p. 42-3, quoting BOSIO, Giacomo, *Historia della Sacra Religione et illustrissima militia di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, vol. 1, Rome, 1594, p. 332.

Orders' function, direct that function in the present and point towards future development. By choosing to promote the Hospitallers' links with the Templars' former patrons, even if those links were now moribund, John Stillingflete reminded his brothers that the continuing effectiveness of the Order in England relied upon its maintaining a broad network of support among the English nobility. By developing the cults of its past saints the Hospital on Malta demonstrated its adherence to the reformed Catholic Church of the future. Memory must serve the future as much as it reflects the past.