



# GLI ORDINI DI TERRASANTA

QUESTIONI APERTE  
NUOVE ACQUISIZIONI  
(SECOLI XII-XVI)

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Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi  
Perugia, 14-15 novembre 2019

a cura di  
Arnaud Baudin  
Sonia Merli  
Mirko Santanicchia



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Gli Ordini di Terrasanta  
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(secoli XII-XVI)

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Con il sostegno di



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## Jerusalem and Cyprus: The Kingdoms of the Crusaders and the Military Orders

*Peter Edbury*

Relations between the Military Orders and the kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus were never static. The twelfth-century kings needed the Orders, but the fact that meant the presence of a substantial number of armed men over whom they had no control might at times have been thought a threat. In the thirteenth century the collapse of royal authority was not something the Orders had deliberately sought, but with the fragmentation of power came autonomy for lordships based on Margat, Crac des Chevaliers, Athlit etc. In Cyprus royal authority successfully maintained itself. The Orders there were well-endowed, and, after 1291, they had significant numbers of armed men, but no independent enclaves. Tension with the crown only ended with the suppression of the Templars and the Hospitaller acquisition of Rhodes.

## The Canons of the Holy Sepulchre between East and West. New Findings and the Present State of Research

*Wolf Zöllner*

Contrary to what scholarship might suggest, the remarkable contribution of the so-called Crusader States to the history of monasticism far exceeded the domain of the military religious orders of the Templars, Hospitallers or Teutonic Knights. Arguably, the most widespread form of medieval *vita religiosa* in the Latin territories of Outremer was that of the regular canons, who, at least in theory, led a professed Christian life in poverty and communion according to the Augustinian rule(s) for clerics. From among eight such communities 'indigenous' to the Latin East, the canons of the Holy Sepulchre clearly stand out. The present article tries to provide a synthesis of the current state of research on Crusader Jerusalem's cathedral chapter and the religious order that developed out of it. In an effort to combine developments in both East and West, particular emphasis is placed on the institutional framework and administrative instruments implemented by the canons for the maintenance of their transmediterranean church regime.

*Elena Bellomo*

This paper aims at investigating the perception of the First Crusade in some Italian cities between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries providing original insights into the complex relationship between Italy and the crusading movement. Moreover, the long period covered by this investigation allows for an exhaustive evaluation of the evolution of the memory of the First Crusade from the birth of the communes to the *Signorie*. The analysis of the actual part taken by crusaders from several Italian towns such as Bologna, Milan, Florence and Genoa and the written memory, insignia and local traditions which recorded these crusaders' deeds clearly shows that a complex process shaped personal and collective, family and town memories. In this respect the Crusade proved to be the ideal foundation for international political propaganda as well as for more local and limited purposes. Later on, it became the perfect context to provide legends, objects of devotion, and symbols with prestigious origins. At this point, despite losing its real historical character, the Crusade still exerted a formidable attraction remaining a concept deeply rooted in both Italian and European civilisation.

The Teutonic Order in Italy and in the Mediterranean area

*Kristjan Toomaspoeg*

The history of the Teutonic Order in the Italian Peninsula and in Sicily remained little known until the last decade of the 20th century, despite the fact that it is documented by many archival, architectural and artistic testimonies. Subsequently, thanks above all to the activities of the Interdepartmental Research Center on the Teutonic Order in the Mediterranean founded by Hubert Houben at the University of Lecce, the state of research has been radically changed and that of the Teutonic Knights is undoubtedly the better studied and known among the military orders present in Italy in the past. This essay offers some considerations on the history of the Teutonic Order, inserted in the political, religious and economic context of the Peninsula, also offering an updated literature on this precise theme. Some basic topics are examined, such as the relations of the Order with the imperial court and the papal curia, the origins and career of its brethren in Italy, the group of familiars and *confratres* who ensured the continuity of the presence of the Teutonic Knights, or their ties with the Jewish communities. Finally, some considerations will be made on the importance of the Peninsula and the Mediterranean area for the history of the Teutonic Order and on the persistence of the memory of the presence of the Teutonic Knights in various Italian regions.

*Giulia Rossi Vairo*

The bull *Ad ea ex quibus* of 14 March 1319 officially launched the institution of the Order of Christ, heir to the material and spiritual heritage of the Order of the Temple in the kingdom of Portugal. Issued by Pope John XXII at the petition of King Dinis, the bull was the last act in the new Order's lengthy gestation process of intense diplomatic negotiations amid the tensions and clashes both inside and outside the kingdom that had been precipitated by the bull *Vox in excelso* (22 March 1312) in which Pope Clement V, at the urging of King Philip IV of France, had extinguished Order of the Temple.

The Hospitallers in Rhodes. Crusades Heritage and Institutional Relaunch

*Maria Bonet Donato*

The Order of the Hospital of St. John underwent transcendent changes after establishing its headquarters on Rhodes, as we analyse in these pages, taking as a main point of reference the Spanish western priories. The arrival in the Dodecanese inaugurated a new stage for the order, characterized by a relaunch of the institution with outstanding governmental and fiscal developments, as well as by renewed crusading activities. These transformations were accompanied by certain views on the identity of the order, which to some extent was seen as a new order, dedicated to defending Western Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean, and as heir to the Templar legacy and under pontifical protection. The Hospitallers disseminated these arguments and others such as the unity of the order, the linkage of the priories to the Convent of Rhodes and the iconic image of the Master of Rhodes as a main authority and rector. These issues fostered the members of western commanderies' sense of belonging of to the Convent. This ideology helped to strengthen ties between the western priories and the Rhodian seen within the framework of a modern government organization, which resembled the proto-state formations of those times. Thanks to this, economic and human Western contributions ensured the maintenance of this Christian enclave, that also served some commercial and political interests in a complex military and political scenario.

After Rhodes: Towards the Full Maturity of the Order of St. John in Malta

*Paolo Caucci von Saucken*

Following the loss over Rhodes, the Order of Saint John of Jerusalem experienced one of the most troubled periods in its history. Without a territory, nor a specific mission,

and being forced to move from one place to another, the Order falls in a terrible political and institutional crisis that calls its very existence into question. A phase will follow in which the Order will enact all its diplomatic skills to attempt to reconstruct its mission, in a complex framework. The dispute saw contrasts between the Papacy and the Empire, conflict of interests of the European nations, and the threat of the Ottoman Empire. The situation resolves itself in 1530 with the concession on behalf of Charles V of the island of Malta, where the Order successfully recuperated its prerogatives and true purpose. In Malta, The Order will have a strong development that will allow for it to play a more crucial role, not only in the political and military scenario of the Mediterranean, but also in the arts, science, economy, and the social system of the island.

#### Crusader Art and Military Orders. Historic Reality and Myth in the Outremer and Apulia

*Valentino Pace*

Thirteenth-century icons from Sinai, wall paintings from Christian churches in Lebanon or Syria, and in Apulia show a good number of “holy horsemen”, who display heraldic shields. St. George, St. Sergius, St. Theodor, and St. Bacchus appeared to the faithful as if they had been victorious Crusaders. Although Templars, Hospitallers, or the Knights of the Teutonic Order may not have necessarily been their patrons, the coat of arms displayed over the shields underscore their status as defenders of the Christian Faith. A similar devotional climate marks the religiosity of different territories along the coasts of the Mediterranean and its islands, such as Cyprus. As for Apulia, a couple of interesting cases may be mentioned. In the first, St. Hyppolytus (a Roman martyr of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century) in three instances is surprisingly represented as a knight; in the second, 47 shields of the Teutonic and Templar Orders are displayed on the ceiling of the well-known “cripta del crocifisso” in Ugento, where the walls are decorated with a good number of icons. Most important is the representation of a fresco, dated 1329, where St. George (?) is shown holding a shield with a red cross over a white ground. Even if this shield could indeed be taken as the one of the Order of the Knights Templar, their banishment by the Church in 1312 makes us clearly understand that here, and possibly even before, the shield with the “Cross” held by a Saint had not necessarily been understood as a specific reference to one of the Orders of the Knights, but simply to their role as Knights of Christ.

#### The Canons of the Holy Sepulchre and their Settlement in Brindisi: An Architectural Relic from the Holy Land

*Gaetano Curzi*

The church of San Giovanni al Sepolcro in Brindisi is documented since 1128 when it belonged to the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher of Jerusalem. This study analyzes its architectural structure, which is inspired by the rotunda of the Anastasis, and the rich sculptural decoration of the portals, assuming that the construction and decoration of the building took place in the early decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. The northern portal, rich in classical citations and *spoliae*, reveals in fact a deep link with the portal of the basilica of San Nicola in Bari, so much so that it can be attributed to the same workshop, while the western one is more original and shows heterogeneous influences but probably performed in the same years. Finally, the analysis of the building and its location in the urban context confirms the multiplicity of references to the most important sanctuary in Jerusalem.

#### New Palaeographic Evidence from the Illuminated Missal of Acre (Perugia, Archivio Capitolare, Ms. 6), Historiographic Touchstone of Thirteenth-Century Crusader Art

*Lila Yawn*

In 1957 Hugo Buchthal identified an illuminated missal in the Capitular Archive of Perugia as the “hinge” of a formerly unrecognized corpus of manuscripts written and decorated at Acre in the 1200s. Buchthal’s hypothesis, which would soon come to dominate historiography on the arts of Acre during its century as the Crusader capital, rested on an item in the missal’s calendar: the feast of the *Dedicatio ecclesiae Acconensis* listed for July 12<sup>th</sup>, the date of the Frankish reconquest of Acre in 1191. Pictorial affinities between the missal and the lavish Arsenal Bible, which Buchthal believed to have been commissioned by King Louis IX during his sojourn in the Holy Land (1250-1254), led the art historian to date both codices to the third quarter of the thirteenth century – a proposal later disputed by Cristina Dondi, who posited that the missal must instead have been made before the canonizations of Francis (1228) and Dominic (1234), since their feasts were originally missing in the calendar and were added presumably soon afterward. A new palaeographic study confirms, instead, that, while the Perugia missal and Arsenal Bible did share at least one scribe, the feasts of Sts. Francis and Dominic were penned in the missal’s calendar not in the immediate aftermath of their canonizations but rather in a general ‘Perugianization’ of the manuscript decades later, after it had gone to Perugia with the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre following the fall of Acre in 1291.

The Chapter and the Order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Italy after the Fall of Acre: Their Artistic Commissions

*Mirko Santanicchia*

This paper examines the figurative production connected with the Order of Canons of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, one of the more prestigious institutions of Christianity between 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, with priories also in every part of Europe. It is focused on the face after the fall of Acri (1291), when the order since 1293-1294 established its Motherhouse in Italy choosing Perugia and the site of S. Luca, despite having significant sites in Puglia. This first period, and the fase along 14<sup>th</sup> and the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century, are studied through new documents and hypothesis, and above all unpublished or little known frescoes: in the church of S. Manno (the oldest, dated back to the beginning of 14<sup>th</sup> century), S. Croce, and S. Luca of Perugia, all sites of the order. In S. Croce a little cycle of frescoes is presented as having been commissioned by the Archprior Bartolomeo di Ciutio degli Oddi (member of a noble family of Perugia). He renovated the site of S. Croce (event celebrated in an epigraph dated 1363), and commissioned these frescoes, for the space around the gate of the church, as also confirmed by the picture of San Bartolomeo in a preminent position. Here the cycle is attributed to Allegretto Nuzi, a painter from Fabriano, who completed his education in Siena and Florence in the 1340s. He had other relevant commissions in Perugia and can be considered one of the protagonists of art in the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Central Italy. Another painting of the middle of 15<sup>th</sup> century offers a very rare opportunity to see a portrait of the Prior of S. Croce, in the black habit of the Canons of the Holy Sepulcher, a few decades before the suppression of the Order.

The Portal of Santa María de Bell-lloc: The Queralt-Timor Family, the Devotion to the Virgin and the Trail of the Knights Templar in the Crown of Aragon

*Carles Sánchez Márquez*

During the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Catalonia became the space of a crusade against Islam, sponsored by Count Barcelona Ramón Berenguer IV, in which he had the support of the Pope and the Knights Templar. The presence of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon had a deep impact in the artistic field: the Order introduced new architectural solutions as a result of contact with the Eastern Mediterranean, as well as unusual images in the visual arts, through which they extolled their fervent devotion to the Virgin. The main goal of this article is to solve some questions related to the iconography and the agency of the portal of Santa María de Bell-lloc.

The Settlements of the Teutonic Order in Puglia in the Siponto Area: Results of the Restorations and Excavation Campaigns

*Antonello D'Ardes*

The report looks into the traces of the presence of the Teutonic Order in the Siponto area, focusing, in the introduction, on the delicate phase of transfer of assets, in the mid-thirteenth century, from the ancient city of Siponto, almost at sunset, to the nearby site of San Leonardo. The analysis of the few certain sources and of a first excavation campaign, limited to a corner of the ancient city, just before its end, cannot clarify the many aspects still obscure but at least manages to outline a context; the one in which the decision was taken to abandon an urban reality, still vital and pulsating, to build, in its neighboring countryside, a new reality closer to the expansion strategies of the Order. The architectural works carried out in San Leonardo in the great refoundation site in 1327, complete with insignia and symbols, together with the evocative forms of overseas military settlements, respond more, than to real strategic needs of defense of the site, to a design of proselytism implemented by the Order to try to reverse the ongoing process of marginalization of Mediterranean settlements. The archaeological stratigraphy affected both the convent area and the church. But it is the latter, in particular, that returned some traces of that rethinking program of the most delicate area of the liturgical space, configuring a sort of new "Teutonic" transept.

Benededeo di Niccolò (alias Maestro del trittico di Imola) and Baldassarre d'Este: Two 15<sup>th</sup> Century Painters in the Service of the Knights of St. John between Ferrara and Reggio Emilia

*Paolo Cova*

The essay investigates the relationship between the Este family and some hospitallers commanders who in the XV century commissioned important artworks in Ferrara and Reggio Emilia. The first case is that of Avanzo de' Ridolfi, preceptor in Ferrara in Lionello and Borso's time, he renewed the decoration of the Santissima Trinità. The study of documents and the artistic analysis have support the identification between Benededeo di Niccolò, a ferrarese painter, with the Master of the Imola triptych: in the past some frescoes, already in the mansion, were already attributed to this artist. The second case is that of Girolamo degli Ardizzoni, a prestigious hospitaller of Reggio Emilia, linked with Borso and Ercole d'Este. The association with the ducal family is perhaps further confirmed by the prestigious choice of commissioning the decoration of a chapel in the church of his commendery to the ducal painter Baldassarre d'Este, illegitimate son of Niccolò III. The essay analyzes the large fresco fragments survived in Santo Stefano and formulates new hypotheses on the iconography and their dating.

### Why did King Philip the Fair of France attack the Order of the Temple? A New Covenant

*Julien Théry*

The affair of the Templars has most often been considered in ways whose logic derive from the indictment of the Order by the King of France. Thus historians have mainly focused on the elements in the history of the Templars that could account for their arrest and trial. However, the reasons for the trial, which have always remained obscure, are better understood if attention is focused not on the Order, as is always the case in historiography, but rather on its accusers, on their actions and on their justifications as they are explicitly stated or can be analysed in the documents. The present article offers a synthesis of a new interpretation. Three causes emerge, all of which were indispensable but none of which would have been sufficient, without the other two, to determine the Capetian's attack on the Templars. First, the paroxysmal crisis in relations between the French royalty and the Roman Church that began a few years before the Temple affair, whose culmination and final stage the affair represented. Second, the political strategy and personal interests of Philip the Fair's main adviser on ecclesiastical matters, Guillaume de Nogaret. Finally, the political and mystical significance of accusations of heresy against an Order that was believed to have been founded on the very site of Solomon's Temple and that had been surrounded by an eschatological aura since its origins

### The Excommunication of Guillaume de Nogaret, *Letamur in te*, and the Destruction of the Templars

*Elizabeth A.R. Brown*

In this article I continue my exploration of the character, faith, and beliefs of Guillaume de Nogaret († 1313), who served Philip the Fair (1268-1314, r. 1285-1314), king of France. One of the king's leading ministers, Nogaret played a major role in Philip the Fair's attacks on Pope Boniface VIII and the Templars, which were closely linked. Here I focus on Nogaret's attempt to gain absolution from the excommunication he suffered after encountering Boniface at Anagni in September 1303. Special attention is paid to the bull *Letamur in te* and failed negotiations at Poitiers in the summer of 1307, when the bull was drafted in hopes of resolving the conflict between Philip the Fair and Pope Clement V over Philip's pursuit of Boniface and his memory, the king's desire for nullification of decrees and sentences linked with Boniface and Anagni, and Nogaret's quest for absolution for himself and his confederates. The article reviews the provisions of *Letamur in te*, and the changes that were made in the original draft, probably by the pope himself in consultation with three cardinals including Cardinal Berenger Fredol, a canonist who was an expert on

excommunication and absolution. These changes, and particularly the harsh penance imposed on Nogaret, led to the rejection of the bull and the compromise it contained, and, the article proposes, affected the decision of Philip the Fair and Nogaret in September 1307 to order the arrest of the Templars on 14 October, and also led to Nogaret's elevation to the office of keeper of the seals of France on 22 September.

### From the Arrest of the Templars in France to the Inquisition in the Papal States and the Abruzzi (1309-1310)

*Sonia Merli*

This study commences by exploring the reactions of Clement V to Philip the Fair's decree ordering the seizure on suspicion of grave heresy of all members of the Templar Order in France, a decree issued on 14 September 1307, the feast of the Exaltation of the True Cross. Particularly important were the two inquisitorial commissions that Clement finally established on 12 August 1308 in the bull *Faciens misericordiam*. The first was charged with investigating the Order itself, the second with judging individual members of the Order. The remainder of the article explores the itinerant inquest, focused on the Order and the local *magnus preceptor*, which was conducted in the so-called *Terre della Chiesa*, the Church's lands, and in the Abruzzi between the fall of 1309 and the end of July 1310, by papally appointed commissioners whose proceedings were recorded in detail in a parchment roll preserved in the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano. The protagonists were, on the one hand, Pandolfo Savelli, nephew of Honorius IV, former papal chaplain and papal notary, who headed the commission, and, on the other, despite his absence, the *magnus preceptor* of the Templars in *Lombardia*, Giacomo da Montecucco, who was with Clement in Poitiers when Philip the Fair had the Templars seized on 13 October 1307, and who on 13 February 1308 fled from Poitiers, betraying the trust of Clement V and jeopardizing the strategies that Clement V had instituted to resolve the issue of the Templars' innocence or guilt.

### The Trial of the Templars in Britain and Ireland

*Helen J. Nicholson*

The Templars in Britain and Ireland were not arrested until early 1308, three months and more after the Templars in France. The government of the English king in England and Ireland had no real interest in proceeding against the Templars, although some clergy supported the trial. Although hardly any Templars confessed to any of the serious charges, the Order was dissolved in 1311, before the Council of Vienne had made any decisions on the Templars' fate. The government's main interest was in taking over the Templars' properties and ensuring that the Templars' revenues were sent to the royal treasury. Although the English king claimed that he

handed the Templars' property to the Hospitallers, following papal instructions, in fact he retained many properties, demonstrating that in these islands the Templars' affair was controlled by the king, rather than the Church.

The Testimony of Non-Templar Clergy in the Trial of the Templars on Cyprus: Comparisons and Contrasts with the Testimony Given in the British Isles

*Nicholas Coureas*

In this paper I shall discuss the testimonies of non-Templar clergy in the trials of the Templars taking place on Cyprus and in the British Isles, located at the opposite ends of Europe. These testimonies touched on the rule and reception of members, sacraments, veneration of the cross, the Eucharist, communion, confession and the divine offices, charity, hospitality, the Templars' ability to absolve sins, property, indecent acts, idolatry and relations with Saracens. Overall, the testimony of the non-Templar clergy in Britain was hearsay and unfavourable, while that of the non-Templar clergy on Cyprus was direct and either favourable or neutral.

Facing the Storm: Jacques de Molay, Grand Master of the Order of the Temple, Target of Capetian Power (1307-1314)

*Philippe Josserand*

The Templar affair is still fascinating. Among other aspects, the attitude of the last Grand Master, Jacques de Molay, is at stake; since Michelet, he has been considered as a mere pawn, and has even been held responsible for precipitating the fall of his order. Arrested on October 13, 1307, the dignitary was forced under torture to recognize the denial of Christ and reduced to a long captivity, but he never gave up defending the Temple. Until the end, even though he was held by the Capetian power, he attempted to get out of the trap, first relying on the Pope, but to no avail, before switching to an other fight, namely leaving the field of justice for that of memory. Thus, in spite of his little room to manoeuvre, he succeeded to make the most of it, and posterity somehow avenged him by remembering him as a martyr.

Inquisition, Eresy, Torture: Rules, Practices and Doctrines of the Medieval Criminal Procedure

*Ferdinando Treggiari*

The author tackles the matter of the legal foundations of three salient aspects of late medieval criminal procedure: the procedure *per inquisitionem*, which was based on the judge's initiative; the repression of heresy, the gravity of which was elevated

by the Church to a *crimen laesae maiestatis*; finally, the practice of torture, which was common to both secular and anti-heretical procedure. As for the latter, the author provides an in-depth analysis by commenting the points of view of the jurists Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313/14-1357/58) and Baldus de Ubaldis (1327-1400) by analysing, respectively, the commentaries on the *corpus iuris civilis* and two *consilia*. Special attention is given to the second *consilium* where Baldus provides a report of the torture inflicted in 1387 to the Queen of Aragon. By doing this, the author shows how there was a gap between the judicial practice, including a fairly common application of torture, and the 'guarantism' involved by the doctrine.

Family Affairs: The Value of the Templar Trial Proceedings as a Prosopographical Source

*Jochen Schenk*

Covering familiar ground by discussing family relationships between Templar brothers (knights, sergeants and priests) as evidenced in the surviving proceedings of the Templar trial mainly from modern-day France, Italy, the British Isles and Cyprus, the paper draws special attention to the development of an extensive non-noble Templar family network in Auvergne and an interwoven aristocratic network of Templar families in northern Italy. Expanding from these examples it asks whether it is permissible to speak of a nepotistic culture as having prevailed in, and shaped, the Order of the Temple during the final decades of its existence, and to what extent the preponderance of inter-related non-noble Templar brothers especially in the French trial records may be seen as evidence of a systemic shift in the recruitment habits of the Order, which the paper concludes it does not.

A Case in Images. The Seals of the Actors in the Trial of the Templars

*Arnaud Baudin*

The seal is a source infinitely rich, at the crossroads of most disciplines in the field of history (history of law, history of art, emblematic, heraldry, vexillology, sociology, anthroponymy, history of clothing and military equipment, etc.). Composed of a captioned image, it proclaims the identity of its owner, validates almost all medieval documentary production and, in so doing, conveys the emblematic image by which the owner of the seal wishes to be recognized within his geographical, institutional and social network. In the context of the trial conducted against the Order of the Temple in the early years of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the seal offers the historian an iconographic snapshot of the protagonists, strictly contemporary with the events, and makes it possible to highlight some of the aspects of current research, which has been particularly dynamic over the last twenty years or so in most European countries.

