



From East to West.
The Knights Templar from the origins to the end of the 12th century

**International conference of the Ninth Centenary of the Knights Templar
(1120-2020)**

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In January 1120, in Nablus, barons and prelates of the Holy Land assembled around King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and the patriarch of the city conquered twenty years earlier by the Latins gave substance to the brotherhood of knights recently organized around Hugh de Payns. In the months that followed, the order of the Temple officially came into being with the adoption of a form of life of Augustinian inspiration, replaced by a specific rule at the Council of Troyes in January 1129. Recognized by the Latin Church thanks to the support of Bernard de Clairvaux, the new foundation then started an active recruitment phase in the West aimed at gathering the military and financial support necessary for the armed struggle and Latin protection mission that had been assigned to it.

Initially, the story of the origins of the Knights Templar was based on oral traditions later recorded by William of Tyre, Ernoul or Jacques de Vitry. Although the progressive structuring of the "proto-templars" has been partly highlighted by recent research, on the occasion of the ninth centenary of the Council of Nablus this conference wishes to focus afresh on the birth of the Temple. To this end, four lines of research have been given priority: writings about the memory of the origins of the Temple between the 12th and 21st centuries through chronical, historiographical and Masonic traditions; the personalities who bore or accompanied the birth of the order (Hugh de Payns and his first companions, the royalty of Jerusalem, princely recruits and the barons of the Holy Land); the Church's position in the face of the emergence of this new military and religious organization, particularly in the light of the ideals of reform and the debates that accompanied the evolution of the 'Augustinian consortium'; and finally, the reception of the Knights Templar, through the Bernardine approach and the perception of the brothers in the East by local figures, mainly Christians and Muslims.

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Abstracts of papers

Jean MESQUI - *The fortifications of the Order of the Temple in the 12th century: a state of knowledge*

Very soon after its origins, the Order of the Temple took charge of the garrisoning of fortresses won from the infidel enemy, and from then on refitted these fortresses to adapt them to its use. During this first century, they were mainly found in the countries of conquest, in the Near East, in Spain and in Portugal. The aim of this paper is to assemble, on the basis of the most recent studies, the state of knowledge on these buildings in these diverse territories, and to draw some conclusions on their common features in terms of their architectural programme, in terms of both defence and their functionalities related to the religious and monastic life of the knights.

Pierre-Vincent CLAVERIE - *Representations of the origins of the order of the Temple in the chronicle of William of Tyre*

William of Tyre is the greatest historian of the Latin East through the chronicle he wrote in the years 1170-1180. Although his work is unfinished, the seventh chapter of Book 12 is subtitled *How the Order of the Temple Militia was instituted*. Its association with the year 1118 has long led to the belief that this was the date of the Temple's birth. Researchers now consider that it was concomitant with the Council of Nablus of 1120, which is the reason for the present conference. It seems relevant to study successively the conditions of creation of the proto-Templars, the nine years of maturation of the Temple brotherhood, as well as the successes and failures of the Order since 1129. None of these themes can be addressed without presenting the personality of William of Tyre, who had a tense relationship with the Grand Master Eudes de Saint-Amand in the 1170s. We will also consult the French version of William of Tyre's chronicle, known as the *Estoire d'Eracles*. It exaggerates the rivalries between the Order of the Temple and the secular Church at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the same spirit, we will evaluate the influence of William of Tyre's account on the *Historia orientalis* of Jacques de Vitry. Original reflections will emerge from the collation of the two texts, which have a long written tradition. In addition, the essay by the German historian Friedrich Lundgreen on the relationship between William of Tyre and the Order of the Temple will be of great benefit.

Thierry LEROY - *The memory of Hugues de Payns from the 12th to the 21st century*

If the arrest of the Knights Templar and the abolition of their Order four and a half years later shocked public opinion for a long time, it also brought them extraordinary fame. The very death of the last Grand Master at the stake fixed the image of Jacques de Molay, whose fame has not waned since the 19th century. The same cannot be said for the memory of Hugues de Payns. For if the Temple did not experience *damnatio memoriae*, as Philippe Josserand has written, the memory of its first master quickly dissipated, leaving only a diaphanous, imperceptible shadow. For centuries nothing more was known about this obscure knight who founded the first military order.

However, since the 19th century, works of fiction, an oil painting, a statue, a stained glass window and a medal bear witness to the frail but persistent imprint that Hugues de Payns left on the collective memory. Since the 17th century, certain families have claimed to be descended from the lineage of Hugues de Payns, not hesitating to commission genealogists, sometimes unscrupulous, to substantiate their claims. In the century of Michelet and Victor Hugo, amateur historians defending their local or national homelands claimed the paternity of the first master for their region or country. They declared him to be a native of Forez, Spain or Italy, merely peddling unfounded traditions.

Finally, it must be said that the memory of Hugues de Payns, although obscured by the centuries, has never completely disappeared. And despite the paucity of sources, through tracking down the smallest clues it has been possible over the last thirty-five years to collect fragments of biography, thus contributing to the reconstruction of his environment, his networks and his path in an attempt to understand his aspirations. Little by little, the silhouette of the first master materializes, to emerge from the mists of oblivion and take his place among the great figures of History.

Pierre MOLLIER - *"The Templars are among us": the story of a legend*

If we stick to the classic methods of historical approach, there is no reason to think that the Order of the Temple survived in any way after its suppression at the beginning of the 14th century by the combined efforts of the King of France and the Pope. Similarly, nothing in real history foreshadowed the fabulous destiny of the Knights Templar a few centuries after their disappearance. The myth of the secret survival of the Knights Templar was born in Freemasonry in the 1740s and, over the course of three centuries, spread far beyond the world of the Lodges. This is a curious example where Masonic legend is the direct source of a figure that has become a classic of the Western imagination. Under what circumstances did this singular legend appear and what sources can we find for it?

Philippe JOSSERAND - *The origins of the Order of the Temple: history, writing and historiography*

Much has been written about the origins of the Order of the Temple, and continues to be written. Despite the importance of the work done, no historiographical approach to the subject has ever been attempted. Only Francesco Tommasi - a pioneer, as is often the case - sketched it out in an article that is still essential, published at the beginning of the 1990s, and I hope that such a path, by offering a better place in time for the scholarly discourse on the beginnings of the Temple, will help us to understand them more fully. There is nothing new about the evidence. I have not unearthed any new sources on the Knights Templar before the institutionalisation of their community, but by taking up those that exist and by focusing on the way in which they were treated and thought about, I would like, in an archaeological logic of unveiling, to come as close as possible to these brothers whose adventure began nine hundred years ago. By starting from us and going right up to them, perhaps we will be able to rid them of certain preconceived ideas that cling to them and thus - a little more - get to know them better.

Simonetta CERRINI - *Hugues de Payns and the proto-Templars*

Quidam miles Hugo de Payns qui ordinem Templariorum incepit: so says Alexander the Minorite in his *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, placing the founder of the Temple in the middle of the Sacred History of the last times. And the illuminator of the Cambridge manuscript does not fail to write the name *Hugo* next to a knight wearing the red cross on his white jacket.

This is therefore an opportunity to evaluate the situation of this incipit of the Order of the Temple signed by Hugues and the future Knights Templar. I have no real news, but I would like to try to sketch an up-to-date portrait of these *nobiles viri de equestri ordine, Deo devoti, religiosi et timentes Deum*, as William of Tyre called them, that can gather the most recent research as well as the perspectives that are opening up. To give just a few examples, it is mainly thanks to the studies of Thierry Leroy that we now know much more about the biography of the founder of the Temple, the knight Hugues II de Montigny-Payns. And thanks to Dominique Poirel, we can close the long debates on the attribution of the famous letter - the sermon *Christi militibus*, a true manifesto of the Templar spirit: the author, the *magister Hugo Peccator*, is not the first master of the Temple, as I myself have long maintained, but rather the theologian Hugues de Saint-Victor. This will force us to see the relationship between the Templars and the Victorians in the 12th century in a very different light.

François GILET - *The Tower of Destroit and the beginnings of the Order of the Temple*

Before the Council of Troyes, the Order of the Temple was still only a project in which the proto-Templars were pious laymen affiliated to the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, then to the Hospitallers of St John of Jerusalem, experimenting with a new collective commitment within Christianity.

Documentary sources are quite numerous and concordant in describing their first mission: to protect an obligatory passage, very narrow and favourable to ambushes, *Petra Incisa*, located between Mount Carmel and the coast. It was much frequented by pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. Protected by a defensive tower, the Tower of Destroit, of which the foundation block remains, 20 to 30 proto-templars evacuated on their mounts travellers attacked by the enemy, which is symbolised by one of their seals.

Were they present in Jerusalem at the same time? It is unlikely at first. Because of their small numbers and the distance of 120 km as the crow flies from the Holy City, their stays there must have been rare. They occupied their tower until 1220. To ensure their autonomy, they developed agriculture and livestock in the surrounding plain, transforming the site of Destroit into a *casal*.

When they were more numerous, around 1119-1120, they split into two groups. One group guarded the tower and the other went to Jerusalem to fulfil the wishes of the king and the patriarch by settling on the Temple Mount. It was not until about ten years later that the Council of Troyes gave religious status to these pious laymen, thus encouraging their expansion.

From 1218 onwards, the Templars built the great fortress of Château-Pèlerin, their emblematic site in the Holy Land, on the peninsula near to the site.

Arnaud BAUDIN – *Hugh of Champagne and the East: from the Crusade to the Order of the Temple*

In 1125, Count Hugh of Champagne abdicated in favour of his nephew Thibaut IV of Blois and joined the "knighthood" imagined some ten years earlier by one of his vassals. The decision of this great feudatory undoubtedly sounded like a thunderclap in the West as it did in the East, where it was not customary for a prince of this rank to renounce power, especially to join what was still an embryonic organisation with no official existence in the eyes of the Latin Church.

Our knowledge of that event is based on a small corpus of literary testimonies and narrative texts, some strictly contemporary (correspondence of Yves de Chartres and Bernard de Clairvaux), others largely later (*Vita Ludovici Grossi regis* by Suger, chronicle of Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, anonymous *Chronicle of Laon*). The latter are taken literally by the historiography of the 19th and 20th centuries to explain the reasons for Hugh's ultramarine commitment, but they perpetuate the *mala fama* that has weighed on the lineage of Blois-Champagne since the early departure of Count Stephen-Henri of Blois from the crusader army before Antioch in 1098. Despite the lack of new sources, this paper aims to engage in a critical re-examination of these texts in an attempt to understand this episode of social decline, on the one hand in the light of the origins of the Order of the Temple and, on the other hand, in the light of the history of the house of Blois-Champagne throughout the 12th century.

Bruno LEMESLE - *Foulques V, from West to East: the Count of Anjou's networks*

This paper will provide an opportunity to evaluate the situation of Count Fulk V of Anjou's networks and his interest in the Order of the Temple and the Holy Land. This interest became apparent as early as 1120-1122 during a journey which gave him the opportunity to be associated with the Temple and to establish relations with the aristocracy. As for the networks that Fulk wove in the West, they have been the subject of studies that it is important to review in the light of the sources. These show that he was able to make allies of the greatest: King Louis VI of France and King Henry I of England, as well as several great lords outside the county of Anjou. From this point of view, his commitments were characterised by versatility and guided by a clear sense of opportunity. This assessment also applies to his relations with the barons of the lands of Anjou, whose support he was able to obtain in his military ventures even though many of them had previously rebelled against his authority. However, despite Orderic Vitalis's claims, he does not appear to have led a significant number of barons to the Holy Land by his example, at least at first. The information provided by the sources suggests that his Angevin entourage was made up of people of lesser stature.

Marie-Adélaïde NIELEN - *The baronage of the Holy Land through its seals*

The recent publication by Hans-Eberhard Mayer has provided a new perspective on the seals of the barons of the Holy Land. In the light of this exhaustive census, as well as other sources such as *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, the present paper will attempt to propose elements of understanding relating to the place of the barons of the Holy Land as holders of a secular and seigniorial power. Most of the barons of the Holy Land came from lineages that had arrived from the West during the crusades and invented specific ways of representing their power, inspired by Western customs, but also by practices in force in Byzantium. Beyond the coded images of seal impressions, the barons of the Holy Land were able to develop specific

behaviours (concerning alliances, the devolution of fiefs, the social codes of a transplanted elite), showing great adaptability in the face of a constantly changing political world and extreme military events. The development of a particular lineage consciousness then became the characteristic mark of these lordly elites, notably through modes of representation that sometimes became a model in the West, by a fair return.

Florian BESSON - *The Knights Templar and the misfortune of the kingdom. When the Order of the Temple was - perhaps - close to dissolution*

History is never as linear as it seems with the comfortable distance of time. The Order of the Temple, haloed by its black and golden legend, is no exception to the rule, and its beginnings are probably much less certain than one might think. In 1172, the violent conflict that opposed it to the King Amaury of Jerusalem could have led to its dissolution. Let us quickly recall the situation: in the context of negotiations that were both extremely complex and very strategic between the kingdom of Jerusalem and the principality of the Ismailis of Lebanon, the Knights Templar assassinated an emissary of the famous 'Assassins', fearing that a possible alliance would result in the loss of the enormous tribute paid to them by the Ismailis. Reported by William of Tyre (chapter 30, XX), the event provoked the fury of King Amaury. According to the chronicler, the king even wanted to convene a great council of princes and kings to discuss this problem on a global scale, and only his illness prevented him from doing so. If Amaury had not died early in 1174, would he have anticipated the actions of Philip the Fair? Could the Order of the Temple have disappeared in the mid-1170s, a victim of the *ira regis* of an ambitious and energetic ruler?

This is not an exercise in counterfactual history, but rather an attempt to take the confrontation between the king and the Templars seriously. Amaury's reaction says a great deal about the ambivalent place that the Knights Templar occupied in the political, legal and symbolic framework of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and about the threat that their very existence and actions could pose to the construction of a strong royal authority.

Florent CYGLER – *With regard to the Temple: the notion of order and its mutations in the 12th century*

It was in the twelfth century that religious orders were born, in the wake of the Cistercians, in the legal and modern sense in which we understand it today, namely groupings of establishments or communities of religious "institutionally federated", "organised in a corporative/associative manner" and "presenting themselves as a transpersonal unit" (G. Melville).

In saying "order", we are copying the Latin term *ordo*, which is as eminently polysemous as it is in our language(s). Used in the Middle Ages in connection with or by regulars, its semantic field is certainly reduced, but remains very general: *ordo* means "way of life [of religious]" and is then synonymous with "discipline" (*disciplina*) or "rule" (*regula*). Supplementing it with an adjective or a noun complement made it possible to specify it further.

In the twelfth century, the term supplemented by an epithet was semantically enriched: it no longer qualified only a given way of life or observance, but also a religious order. However, its traditional meaning did not fade in the face of the new one. On the other hand, the term became particularised, becoming, in addition to differential, also exclusive and thus a marker of institutional identity. However, it is still rarely used in the legal language of the Church. From the pontificate of Innocent II (1130-1143) onwards, the "clause of regularity"

(J. Dubois) was developed, which, while it did use the word *ordo*, did so in the traditional general sense by assimilating it to a given rule and preferred *institutio* when it was a matter of specifying. The more traditional and generic terms *religio* as a synonym for *institutio* and *congregatio* were also more readily used. *Ordo* was not detached from and then substituted for *religio* until the thirteenth century, when the religious order had become the main form of organisation of the *vita religiosa*.

A similar (slow) evolution, attesting to the late iteration of *ordo*, can be found in the Templar Bulls. However, regardless of the frequency of use and the (legal) documentation considered, these terms were neither the only ones used, nor were they predominant, especially in the 12th century: there are also and above all *militia/milites*, to which the name of the Temple's chivalric house (*domus*) is frequently attached, which could also be used to describe all of the brothers. While *militia/milites* were completely new and reflected the originality of the alliance between religious life and military activity, the precise addition of the name of a regular establishment was not. As for the metonymic use of the name of the motherhouse, it can also evoke the older form of "groupings of establishments or communities of religious", where the latter were subordinate to the *caput* that was the motherhouse, of which they were merely extensions, subsidiaries or properties (*membra*), and were directed in a centralised and monarchical manner by its superior.

In many respects, the "Order of the Temple" resembled the latter type of "groupings" more than the Cistercian religious orders, even though it adopted some of their main structural and distinctive elements very early on. In any case, as the rule given to it in Troyes in 1129 already states, it was indeed a *genus novum religionis* (§ 49) and, moreover, it was innovative, even precursory, in terms of organisation.

Alexis GRELOIS - *Bishops and the ecclesiastical reform of the 11th-12th centuries: around the Council of Troyes*

Studies on the reform at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries have long focused either on the Gregorian popes and their legates, or on the monastic and canonical orders and their major figures such as Odilon de Cluny, Richard de Saint-Vanne or Bernard de Clairvaux. In this panorama, the role of the bishops is neglected, with the exception of a few studies dealing, for example, with the actions of the prelates of Reims, Arras or Auxerre. However, these approaches are generally regional in scope, even if some studies on the councils held during this period offer some insights into the policy of the episcopate in terms of ecclesiastical reform.

The Council of Troyes of 1129 is revealing from this point of view. It took place in a context in which the episcopate and the regular chiefs of various obediences met very frequently in a large Parisian basin, under the presidency of the legate Matthew of Albano. While the role of Bernard de Clairvaux in the recognition of the Order of the Temple is not to be questioned, it is appropriate to emphasise the formation of a network of prelates who played a crucial role in the support given by France to Innocent II, first and foremost a figure who is almost unknown today, the bishop of Chartres, Geoffroy de Lèves, who significantly occupies the first rank of bishops in the founding act of the Temple.

Sonia MERLI - *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the 11th-12th centuries*

Supported by the willingness to endure hardships, difficulties and dangers in the name of a spiritual and existential regeneration, Christian pilgrims have always looked at *limina apostolorum* and the Holy City of Jerusalem as privileged devotional destinations. Evidence of this is provided by the famous *Itinerarium Burdigalense* (333-334) or the *Peregrinatio ad loca sacra of the pilgrim Egeria* (383-384), which, however, also show that for a long time the pilgrimage was an elite phenomenon, whose protagonists were mostly kings, aristocrats, monks and members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

From the 11th century onwards, however, a growing number of pilgrims of all conditions chose to undertake the *Iter hierosolymitanum* in order to visit the places of the life and passion of Christ, monumentalised emblems of a geography of the sacred deeply rooted in the collective imagination of Christianity, but not always easy to access, since Palestine was at the time disputed between the Fatimids of Egypt and the Seljuk Turks, who had recently converted to Islam. The victorious outcome of the First crusade (1096-1099) brought Jerusalem and the Holy Land back under Christian control and it was at this particular juncture that the Order of the Temple, the first of the military orders to be officially recognised, chose to express its vocation by guaranteeing protection and support to those pilgrims determined to face the *passagium ultramarinum* in view of achieving eternal salvation.

Wolf ZÖLLER - *The Other Augustinian Consortium : Reformed Clerical Life in Crusader Jerusalem and Beyond*

When considering the early history of the military religious orders, scholars have commonly focussed on what has come to be known as the 'Augustinian consortium' centered around the clerical communities of the Holy Sepulchre and to a lesser extent the *Templum Domini*, both of which exerted considerable influence on the institutional development of the Templars (and Hospitallers). While the ties to the regular canons of the local cathedral and the former Dome of the Rock were indeed particularly strong, it has often been forgotten just how profoundly the ecclesiastical landscape the military orders originated in had been dominated by the reformed *vita canonica*. In fact, the *mos canonicorum regularium* and the *canonica institutio ac regularium doctorum sancte civitatis consuetudo* which figure so prominently both in William of Tyre's foundation story and in the Latin rule of the Templars extended far beyond the precincts of the Holy Sepulchre and the Temple Mount. The Church of St. Mary and the Holy Spirit on Mt. Sion and the Church of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives were likewise served by chapters of regular canons, as were the cathedral churches of Bethlehem, Nazareth, Hebron and Sebaste.

Against this background, the present paper aims to provide a short overview over the whole scope of reformed clerical life in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during the first decades of the twelfth century. This approach serves to uncover a different 'Augustinian consortium' in which many of the smaller clerical communities shared the same difficult emancipation from the cathedral chapter of the Holy Sepulchre as did the Templars and Hospitallers.

Jochen SCHENK - *Processes of institutionnalisation in the Order of the Temple*

A common mistake made even by historians is to use the term 'institution' in the sense of 'corporation' to indicate the organised nature of a particular social construct like, for example, a religious order. The 'institutionalisation' of said construct thus all too easily becomes synonymous with its 'organisation', with sole emphasis usually put on key normative texts and the development of internal structures and administrative hierarchies. As Gert Melville reminded us in 1992, although a causal relationship between 'institution' and 'organisation' undoubtedly exists, the former describes the normative behaviour patterns which merely underpin, and therefore can be separated from, the latter. Conscious of Melville's reminder, the present paper focuses on the threefold question of what these behaviour patterns might have been in the case of the Order of the Temple, how they imprinted themselves on the Order's organisation, and whether and to what extent they prevailed to the point of truly becoming 'institutions' within the Order, thus characterising its 'institutionalisation'.

Karl BORCHARDT – *L'expansion de l'ordre du Temple en terre allemande au XII^e siècle*

Almost all known Templar houses, estates and other possessions in the Empire north of the Alps date from the thirteenth century. Exceptions existed primarily in western parts of the Empire because of their close relations with Champagne and France. Such exceptions included Metz in Lorraine, founded in 1133 in the presence of Bernard of Clairvaux, and Alphen in Brabant, founded probably c.1150 by the lords of Breda in collaboration with the Premonstratensians of Tongerlo. In 1168 donations in Bavaria were sold by the Templar Master of Italy. The house at Süpplingenburg near Brunswick may be a foundation of Duke Henry the Lion in the 1170s; this is not sure but a defensible hypothesis on account of Henry's journey to Jerusalem in 1172/73 and his rivalry with Margrave Albert the Bear, the founder of the Hospitaller house at Werben. The paper also discusses the collection of alms and in connection with this possible Templar houses at episcopal sees such as Augsburg or Bamberg, German participation in twelfth-century crusades, problems of German speaking Templars in their order (if there were some), the impact of the two papal schisms of 1130 and 1159, and last but not least the controversial date of Curzon § 87 that mentions seven regional *comandours* in the West, among them one for Hungary but not for Germany, Bohemia, Austria, Moravia or Poland (c.1165 according to Burgdorf, 1190s according to Vogel).

Luís Filipe OLIVEIRA – *The expansion of the Order of the Temple in Portugal in the 12th century*

There is perhaps no other European country in which the Order of the Temple has such a strong national character as in Portugal. This is an ancient fact, dating back at least to the time when the Temple became the New Order of Christ, when the memory of the Knights Templars' past was associated with the foundation of the kingdom and was linked to the history of the kingdom and its kings. As modern and contemporary historiography has accentuated this view, reducing the history of the Temple to the space of the kingdom and its cooperation with the Crown, few contemporary scholars have freed themselves from these perspectives. Many downplay the international character of the Order, or the presence of foreign nuns in the kingdom, when they do not mention a particular relationship between the Temple and Portugal. This is the case of a recent article, which insists on the presence of the

Templars in Braga in the early twenties of the twelfth century, albeit with the help of poorly dated diplomas.

This paper goes against these perspectives. It seeks to reconstruct the expansion of the Temple in Portugal, from 19 March 1128, the date of the first known donation, without forgetting the relationship of the Order with the Holy Land and with the other Western kingdoms.

Marie-Anna CHEVALIER – *Non-Latin Christian perspectives on the Knights Templar in the Eastern Mediterranean*

Because of the extent and diversity of their settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean, the religious-military orders interacted at various levels with the local populations, which were often made up of Christians of different confessions. Thus, in the Christian Levant, where the orders occupied a place of choice, both territorially and politically and militarily, they administered, in their commanderies, Armenians, Syriacs (mainly Jacobites), Maronites, Greeks and probably also Melkites. In addition to this lordly relationship with their subjects, the orders also maintained relations with the Eastern Christian secular and religious authorities in the Near East, as well as with their more modest neighbours. These contacts sometimes gave rise to testimonies, varied in length and degree of precision, on the presence of religious-military orders in the Mediterranean East. More indirectly, epistolary exchanges between the military orders and the pope, acts of donation and their confirmations, complaints, requests for arbitration and judgements provide additional information on the way in which these institutions were appreciated by non-Latin Christian communities at the local level.

The confrontation of these different elements will allow us to give an overview of the range of relations established by the friars of the orders installed in all the states of the Christian Levant with Christians, laity and clerics, of all social origins, who were not always in the Roman obedience. We will look at what these may have implied in the way the Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonics were perceived within these communities.

Annie NOBLESSE-ROCHER – *Bernard de Clairvaux and the Order of the Temple*

Our paper is in two parts. The first is devoted to the historiography of Bernard de Clairvaux and his relations with the Order of the Temple, from the works of Patrice Cousin and Guy de Valous (*Mélanges saint Bernard*, Dijon, 1953), which favour the hypothesis of close links between the Cistercian abbot and the Temple, to those of Alain Demurger, and those of Jean Flori, which minimise Bernard de Clairvaux's relationship with the Order. The second part focuses on the study of this key document, the *De laude militiae novae*, based on the principle, as shown by Jean Flori in his thesis on Lancelot, that a literary monument maintains complex relations with the historical substratum that it relates. We will examine this document from a literary and theological perspective, raising the possibility that part of the *De laude* was written first for former knights who had become Cistercian monks, offering them a virtual pilgrimage to the Holy Land, following the example of Bonaventure's *Arbor vitae* a century later.

Helen NICHOLSON – *The reception of the ordo novus of the Temple*

The best-known response to the new order of the Temple was Bernard of Clairvaux's *Liber ad milites Templi de laude novae militiae*. Some contemporary clerical commentators took up his themes, describing the Templars as a new knighthood who were both monks and knights. For others the Templars were the only true knighthood, fulfilling God's purpose for warriors. Donation charters indicate that both clergy and laity in Latin Europe welcomed the new Order with generous support, and some prominent figures such as Count Fulk V of Anjou and Count Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona joined the Order as temporary members or associates. Yet *Hugo Peccator's* letter to the Templars hints at criticism of the Templars' vocation: '*quasi professio uestra ... uel illicita sit uel perniosa, id est uel peccatum uel maioris professionis impedimentum*', and indicates that critics were undermining the Templars' morale. At least two decades later, Abbot Isaac of Étoile expressed misgivings about reports '*cujusdam novae militiae*' which used force to convert unbelievers to Christianity; although conversion was not the Templars' vocation, the reference to *nova militia* suggests that he meant the Templars. For Isaac and others novelty was grounds for suspicion rather than approval, but the Templars' supporters could argue that *nisi fuissent ipsi, diu est quod Franci Ierusalem et Palestinam perdidissent*: the new order was essential to defend the holy places of Christendom.

Vincent MARCHAISSEAU, Cédric MOULIS et Cédric ROMS – *Between foundation and construction: attempts at chronologies for some commanderies in the North-East quarter of France*

The Knights Templar establishments were numerous in the County of Champagne and Brie, the region of origin of the founder of the Order Hugues de Payns. Including the dioceses of Reims and Châlons, as well as the Burgundian margins, there were 21 commanderies and two secondary houses in this area at the end of the 12th century. The establishment of the Order of the Temple in Lorraine (dioceses of Metz, Toul, Verdun) appears relatively sparse compared to other regions. Nevertheless, the proximity of Champagne allows us to envisage a relatively early and rapid establishment. At the end of the 12th century, only three establishments are clearly attested: Metz (57), Xugney (88), Libdeau (54). But in 1240, the Temple already had 25 houses in Lorraine. Few remains of these economic centres have been preserved, especially if we consider only the buildings erected in the 12th century. These are often the chapel. Based on a few commanderies still preserving remains of the 12th or early 13th century in elevation - Coulommiers (77), Bures (21), Aualleur (10), Xugney, Libdeau, Norroy (88) - or known through archaeological data - Payns (10) -, it appears that there is a gap of several decades between the dates of foundation and the preserved Templar buildings. How can this discrepancy be interpreted? Can we draw parallels with the development of other religious orders?

Vardit SHOTTEN-HALLEL – *The archaeological site of 'Atlit*

'Atlit Castle has attracted the attention of the British officers from the very first days of British Rule over Palestine. Various suggestions were put forward to transform the castle ruins into a museum. In 1920, the British Government negotiated a scheme to prevent expansion of the local village located within the castle's ruins, to make way for the

development of the site as a memorial to Lord Allenby and his armies. Some ten years after that, Cedric Norman Johns was sent to the site for his first task as a field archaeologist. His mission, shortly after his appointment to the department under Ernest T. Richmond, included 'Atlit Castle and environs, and was carried out from 1930 to 1934. Archival material which has recently come to light, gives more details on the works than were printed in the Guide to 'Atlit published by the Department of Antiquities. The documents set the starting point and inform the current IAA mission to 'Atlit in the framework of 'Atlit Castle Project (ACP).