
MILITARY ORDERS AND URBAN HISTORY —AN INTRODUCTORY SURVEY¹

Nikolas Jaspert

Without a doubt, one of the most fascinating texts on the beginning of the Military Orders is Bernard of Clairvaux's *Liber de Laude Novae Militiae*, written in the 1130s, not long after the Templar confraternity started to become institutionalised as a religious order². This apologetic work might serve as a starting point in order to determine which role the town and urban societies played for the first Military Orders. Prima vista the result might seem rather disappointing. In the first part of his praise of the Templars, Bernard concentrated on the moral virtues of a regular religious life dedicated to the physical defence of fellow Christians, without explicitly dealing with the urban setting in which this occurred. The second part of the text however conveys a different impression. It is dedicated to an elaborate description of the Holy Places in the newly conquered Crusader Kingdom, particularly of Jerusalem and its adjacent sites. The City of David is thus intimately tied to the new religious foundation which in turn becomes part of the town's history.

15

URBAN ORIGINS

This is no coincidence, for from their very beginnings, the Templars were distinctively urban in character. First associated to the Chapter of the Holy Sepulchre

1. This article was completed thanks to a generous fellowship by the Martin Buber Society of Fellows (Hebrew University Jerusalem). Many thanks to Wolf Zöller (Bochum) for his helpful remarks.

2. Bernardus CLARAEVALLENSIS, *Éloge de la nouvelle chevalerie*, Paris, 1990 (Sources chrétiennes, 367).

situated in the very heart of Jerusalem, they established their headquarters not far away on the Temple Mount³. The decidedly urban origins of the Templar community were also underlined by the order's name and its members' denomination as *pauperes commilitones Christi templique Salomonici Hierosolimitanis*.

This striking denomination is worth underlining. Many medieval religious orders such as the Franciscans, Dominicans or Hermits of Saint Augustine derived their name from famous founder figures, be they historical or fictitious⁴. Others indeed took their name from their place of origin, but notably, this was hardly ever a town but rather a single monastery which was the starting point of institutional growth. The Templars' explicit reference to Jerusalem is indeed striking. The other Military Orders created in the Crusader States show the same trait: the Order of St John was equally urban from the start, and it too expressed this relation very clearly in its denomination. This also holds true for the Teutonic Order, which was not only established in the town of Acre, but more importantly situated its centre nominally in Jerusalem by giving itself the name *Ordo fratrum hospitalis Sanctae Mariae Domus Teutonicorum Ierosolimitanorum*. And even the Order of Saint Lazarus was referred to as the *Ordo sancti Lazari Hierosolimitani*⁵.

Admittedly, not all Military Orders claimed urban origins in this way. The Iberian Military Orders for example were usually founded at military outposts of the Christian-Muslim frontier and therefore derived their names from strongholds or frontier settlements; the same applies to the short lived Order of Dobrin in the Baltic. Neither Calatrava nor Alcántara, neither Alfambra nor Montesa can be termed towns in the stricter sense of the word. But it is well worth underlining that the three great Military Orders of the Crusader States were decidedly urban in origin and endeavoured to accentuate this relationship, and as the cases of Évora, Ávila and Cáceres show, some Iberian Orders also derived their name from larger settlements.

3. Malcolm BARBER, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 1-37; Anthony LUTTRELL, "The Earliest Templars", in Michel BALARD (ed.), *Autour de la Première Croisade. Actes du Colloque de la Société for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, Clermont-Ferrand, 22-25 juin 1995*, Paris, 1996, p. 193-203.

4. Kaspar ELM, "Elias, Paulus von Theben und Augustinus als Ordensgründer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und der Geschichtsdeutung des Eremiten- und Bettelordens des 13. Jahrhunderts", in Hans PATZE (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsbewusstsein im späten Mittelalter*, Sigmaringen, 1987, p. 371-399; *idem*, "Die Bedeutung historischer Legitimation für Entstehung und Funktion des mittelalterlichen Ordenswesens", in Peter WUNDERLI (ed.), *Herkunft und Ursprung. Historische und mythische Formen der Legitimation*, Düsseldorf, 1994, p. 71-90; Giancarlo ANDENNA, Mirko BREITENSTEIN and Gert MELVILLE (eds.), *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter*, Münster, 2005 (Vita regularis, 26).

5. On the urban character of the ecclesiastic network in the Crusader States see: Bernard F. HAMILTON, "A Medieval Urban Church: The Case of the Crusader States", in Derek BAKER (ed.), *The Church in Town and Countryside*, London, 1979 (Studies in Church History, 16), p. 159-170.

URBAN DICHOTOMIES

This is by no means a matter of course, for the town was not necessarily an appreciated environment in Christian thought. From its very beginnings, Christianity maintained an ambiguous relationship to urban centres⁶. On the one hand, the Christian movement itself was largely urban, on the other early Christian thinkers associated Rome with Babylon and took a decidedly critical stand regarding the moral dangers that urban life entailed. This dichotomy between acceptance and rejection of the town in Christian thought forms a marked line that persisted well into the High Middle Ages. It stood alongside a persistent tradition of *Laudes urbium*—the praise of individual towns—established in Antiquity but which only returned to the forefront of medieval culture in the Later Middle Ages.

A similar dichotomy marks the relation of early Christianity to Jerusalem, the factual or spiritual home of the great Military Orders of the Crusader States⁷. On the one hand, the Holy City was the place of Christ's life, death and resurrection; on the other it was there that he had been tormented and killed. Consequently Jerusalem acquired the double attribution of a holy and a rejected town. Also, beginning with the New Testament, Jerusalem was lifted from the historical to the symbolic sphere: the town was thus understood both as the origin of the

6. Carl Joachim CLASSEN, *Die Stadt: im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, Hildesheim, 1980; Otto BORST, *Babel oder Jerusalem? 6 Kapitel Stadtgeschichte*, Stuttgart, 1984; Hartmut KUGLER, *Die Vorstellung der Stadt in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters*, München, 1986; Michael THEOBALD and Werner SIMON (eds.), *Zwischen Babylon und Jerusalem: Beiträge zu einer Theologie der Stadt*, Hildesheim 1988 (Schriften der Katholischen Akademie in Berlin, 2); Hans-Joachim SCHMIDT, "Societas christiana in civitate: Städtekritik und Städtelob im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert", *Historische Zeitschrift*, t. 257, 1993, p. 297-354; Francesca BOCCHI and Rosa SMURRA (eds.), *Imago urbis: l'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia*, Rome, 2003; Eva Maria RÄPPEL, *The Metaphor of the City in the Apocalypse of John*, New York, 2004; Valeria TINKLER-VILLANI (ed.), *Babylon or New Jerusalem? Perceptions of the City in Literature*, Amsterdam, 2005 (DQR studies in literature, 32); F. BOCCHI, "L'immagine della città dal tardoantico all'età comunale", in Gian Paolo BRIZZI and Giuseppe OLM (eds.), *Dai cantieri della storia: liber amicorum per Paolo Prodi*, Bologna, 2007, p. 469-484; Theresia Heimerl, "Zwischen Babylon und Jerusalem. Die Stadt als locus theologicus im Mittelalter", in Jörg OBERSTE and Edith FEISTNER (eds.), *Repräsentationen der mittelalterlichen Stadt*, Regensburg, 2008 (Forum Mittelalter, 4), p. 13-24; John William ROGERSON and John J. VINCENT, *The City in Biblical Perspective*, Oakville, 2009.

7. Marcel POORHUIS (ed.), *The Centrality of Jerusalem. Historical Perspectives*, Kampen, 1996; Yehōsua PRAWER, "Jerusalem in the Christian Perspective of the early Middle Ages", in Y. PRAWER (ed.), *The History of Jerusalem. I: The early Muslim Period, 638-1099*, Jerusalem, 1996, p. 249-282; John FRANCE, "Le rôle de Jérusalem dans la piété du XI^e siècle", in M. BALARD and Alain DUCÉLLIER (eds.), *Le partage du monde. Échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, Paris, 1998, p. 151-162; Ora LIMOR, "The Place of the End of Days: Eschatological Geography in Jerusalem", in Bianca KÜHNEL (ed.), *The Real and Ideal Jerusalem in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art. Studies in Honor of Bezalel Narkiss on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday*, Jerusalem, 1998, p. 13-22; Lee I. LEVINE (ed.), *Jerusalem. Its sanctity and centrality to Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, New York, 1999; Robert N. SWANSON (ed.), *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, Woodbridge, 2000 (Studies in Church History, 36), particularly: Brenda Bolton, "'Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop'. Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Pope Innocent III", p. 154-180; and Colin MORRIS, "Memorials of the Holy Places and Blessings from the East: Devotion to Jerusalem before the Crusades", p. 90-109; Walter BRANDMÜLLER (ed.), *L'idea di Gerusalemme nella spiritualità cristiana del Medioevo. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Gerusalemme, 31 agosto-6 settembre 1999*, Città del Vaticano, 2003; C. MORRIS, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: from the beginning to 1600*, Oxford, 2005, p. 1-90.

new religion and as the manifestation of God's coming realm. These differing and contradictory ideas of Jerusalem existed side-by-side in medieval thought. There is no need to indulge on works in praise of Jerusalem or on the Jerusalem-allegoresis developed by Fathers of the Church such as Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Cyrill of Jerusalem, Jerome, Augustine and particularly Cassian, who allocated differing interpretations to Jerusalem⁸. Their works, but also liturgical celebrations kept different images of Jerusalem alive in medieval thought—the celestial Jerusalem of the Apocalypse, the terrestrial Jerusalem of Christ's passion as well as the town of the Second Coming. And pilgrimages undertaken to Palestine in the High Middle Ages added very concrete impressions to this wide array of images that fostered devotion to the Holy City at the eve of the Crusades⁹.

The turn from the 11th to the 12th century saw significant changes as far as devotion to Jerusalem is concerned. In order to understand and truly grasp this change, one must compare the situation in the 11th with that of the 12th century. A close reading of narrative sources and treatises as undertaken by Sylvia Schein in her study on Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West is one way to bring such a comparison about¹⁰. Another is by comparatively analysing contemporary charter material such as the wills of Jerusalem pilgrims¹¹. Such a comparison reveals significant results. In the 11th century, pilgrims who embarked to the Holy Land generally claimed that their goal was the Holy Sepulchre, the town of Jerusalem is markedly absent in their thought. At the end of the century however—and notably some years before the beginning of the First Crusade—a change occurred, as Jerusalem slowly began to move to the forefront once again¹². Probably, the reasons for this development are contemporary Christocentrism and the marked turn towards

8. LORENZO PERRONE, "Mystery of Judaea' (Jerome, Ep. 46): the Holy City of Jerusalem between History and Symbol in early Christian Thought", in L. I. LEVINE (ed.), *Jerusalem [...]*, *ibid.* (n. 7), p. 221-239; and Mieczyslaw Celestyn PACZKOWSKI, "The Centrality of Jerusalem in the Reflections of the Fathers of the Church", in Alviero NICCACCICI (ed.), *Jerusalem. House of Prayer for all Peoples in the three Monotheistic Religions*, Jerusalem, 2001 (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum: Analecta, 52), p. 115-134, particularly p. 129-132.

9. JOHN WILKINSON, *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, Warminster, 1977; HERBERT DONNER, *Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land. Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4.-7. Jahrhundert)*, Stuttgart, 1979; BERNHARD KÖTTING, *Peregrinatio religiosa. Wallfahrten in der Antike und das Pilgerwesen in der Alten Kirche*, Münster, 1980; EDWARD D. HUNT, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312-460*, Oxford, 1982; HERIBERT BUSSE and GEORG KRETSCHMAR, *Jerusalem Heiligtumstraditionen in altkirchlicher und frühislamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden, 1987 (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästinaverbands, 8); ARYEH GRABOÏS, *Le pèlerin occidental en Terre sainte au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1998; BROURIA BITTON-ASHKELONY, *Encountering the Sacred: the Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley, 2005 (The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 38).

10. SYLVIA SCHEIN, *Gateway to the Heavenly City. Crusader Jerusalem and the Catholic West (1099-1187)*, Aldershot, 2005.

11. J. FRANCE, "The Destruction of Jerusalem and the First Crusade", *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, t. 47, 1996, p. 1-17; JONATHAN RILEY-SMITH, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 26-39; MARTIN BIDDLE, *Das Grab Christi. Neutestamentliche Quellen, historische und archäologische Forschungen, überraschende Erkenntnisse*, Giessen, 1998 (Biblische Archäologie und Zeitgeschichte, 5), p. 97; C. MORRIS, *The Sepulchre [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 7), p. 134-179.

12. This shift is analysed extensively in: NIKOLAS JASPERT, "Das Heilige Grab, das Heilige Kreuz, Jerusalem und das Heilige Land. Wirkung, Wandel und Vermittler hochmittelalterlicher Attraktoren", in THOMAS PRATSCH (ed.),

an apostolic life that characterise this period. The tendency becomes more accentuated after the conquest of Palestine in the course of the First Crusade. The Holy Sepulchre undoubtedly remained an important focal point of Christian devotion, but the town of Jerusalem now acquired a position of its own, as the wording of the wills, but also the upsurge in pilgrim guides and other works such as the *Liber de Laude Novae Militiae* illustrate.

Political, military and economic events and changes of the 12th century accentuated general developments. The establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, minor crusades of the 12th century, the heightened mobility between Latin Europe and Outremer, the colonisation movement towards the Levant, mercantile activities between the commercial centres on the Northern side of the Mediterranean and the Crusader States—all these intensified forms of communication between East and West created a new, much more concrete and factual image of Jerusalem in mediaeval Europe¹³. This is the context in which the earliest Military Orders associated themselves to the Town of David; their creation and denomination fall in neatly with the new image of the Holy City and the accentuation of its urban character in the High Middle Ages.

URBAN EXPANSION

But the 12th century, the century of the Military Orders, brought about many more changes than those just outlined. Leaving the field of spirituality and the “*imaginaire*” and turning to that of economic and social history, one need only call to mind that this period is particularly marked by urban expansion, either through the construction of suburbs—*burgi*, *suburbia*, etc.—or via the foundation of new towns¹⁴. This change naturally had its effects on monastic life and formed the backdrop for the creation of the Military Orders.

Konfliktbewältigung vor 1000 Jahren: Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche in Jerusalem im Jahre 1009, Berlin, 2011 Millennium-Studien, 32.

13. B. F. HAMILTON, “The Impact of Crusader Jerusalem on Western Christendom”, *The Catholic Historical Review*, t. 80, 1994, p. 695-713; Alessandro ROVETTA, “L’immagine di Gerusalemme negli itinerari di pellegrini e crociati e nelle reproduzioni topografiche tra XII e XIV secolo”, in Maria S. CALÒ MARIANI (ed.), *Il cammino di Gerusalemme*, Bari, 1999 (Rotte mediterranee della cultura, 2), p. 607-618; Jaroslav FOLDA, “Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre through the Eyes of Crusader Pilgrims”, in B. KÜHNEL (ed.), *The real and ideal Jerusalem [...]*, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 158-164; Jean Richard, “La relation de pèlerinage à Jérusalem, instrument de dévotion”, in W. BRANDMÜLLER (ed.), *L’idea di Gerusalemme [...]*, op. cit. (n. 7), p. 20-28; A. GRABOÏS, *Le pèlerin occidental [...]*, op. cit. (n. 9); André BONNERY, “Les plus anciennes descriptions du Saint-Sépulchre, témoins du pèlerinage à Jérusalem”, in *Les pèlerinages à travers l’art et la société à l’époque préromane et romane. Actes des 32^e Journées romanes de Cuxa, 8-15 juillet 1999*, Codalet, 2000 (Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa, 31), p. 143-148; S. SCHEIN, *Gateway [...]*, op. cit. (n. 10), p. 79-83; Alexandre WINKLER, *Le tropisme de Jérusalem dans la prose et la poésie (XII-XIV siècles): essai sur la littérature des croisades*, Paris, 2006, p. 165-187.

14. John SCHOFIELD and Alan G. VINCE, *Medieval Towns*, London, 1994; Noël COULET and Olivier GUYOTJEANNIN (eds.), *La ville au Moyen Âge*, 2 vols., Paris, 1998; Armand BAERISWYL, *Stadt, Vorstadt und Stadterweiterung im Mittelalter. Archäologische und historische Studien zum Wachstum der drei Zähringerstädte Burgdorf*,

Traditionally, church history has distinguished two ecclesiastical institutions believed to be particularly relevant to the urban setting: parish churches and mendicant convents. Jacques Le Goff's famous "programme-questionnaire pour une enquête" of 1968 greatly contributed to a highly questioned image, according to which medieval towns were particularly marked by mendicant convents¹⁵. Research has since underlined that already prior to the coming of the friars, the 12th century urban take-off attracted novel forms of regular life to the growing urban centres. The canons for example often founded houses within urban settlements and contributed to the forming of their urban environment well before the 13th century¹⁶. Changes in religious thought had their impact in this field, as the reform of canonical life that initiated in the middle of the 11th century illustrates. This movement took a twofold shape: it was either notably eremitical in character, best exemplified by the beginnings of the Order of Prémontré¹⁷; or Canons Regular constructed their houses in towns or close to them, taking on obligations in the

Bern und Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, 2003 (Schweizer Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Archäologie des Mittelalters, 30); Michael WOLFE, *Walled Towns and the Shaping of France: from the Medieval to the Early Modern Era*, New York, 2009; Ferdinand OPLL and Christoph SONNLECHNER (eds.), *Europäische Städte im Mittelalter*, Innsbruck, 2010 (Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte, 14).

15. Jacques LE GOFF, "Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l'implantation des ordres mendiants. Programme-questionnaire pour une enquête", *Annales ESC*, t. 23, 1968, p.335-352; and *idem*, "Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale", *Annales ESC*, t. 25, 1970, p.924-946. See also: Enrico GUIDONI, "Città e ordini mendicanti. Il ruolo dei conventi nella crescita e nella progettazione urbane del XIII e XIV secolo", *Quaderni Medievali*, t. 4, 1976, p.69-107; K. ELM (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1981 (Ordensstudien, 2). On the reception of this paradigm see: Cécile CABY, "Les implantations urbaines des ordres religieux dans l'Italie médiévale. Bilan et propositions de recherche", *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 1999, p. 151-179, particularly p. 153-160; André VAUCHEZ, "Les ordres mendiants et la ville dans l'Italie communale (XIII^e-XV^e siècles). Quelques réflexions vingt-cinq ans après", in Sophie CASSAGNES-BROUQUET, Amaury CHAUOU and Daniel PICHOT (eds.), *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, Rennes, 2003, p. 191-199. The contributions by D. Carraz and Ludovic Viallet in this volume are an in-depth comparison between mendicants and military orders and a *status questionis* on the relationship between mendicants and towns, respectively.

16. Jean-Charles PICARD (ed.), *Les chanoines dans la ville: recherches sur la topographie des quartiers canoniaux en France*, Paris, 1994, particularly p. 15-33; exemplary: Hélène NOIZET, *La fabrique de la ville: espaces et sociétés à Tours (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Paris, 2007, p. 405-413. Prior to this: F. BOCCHI, "Monasteri, canoniche e strutture urbane in Italia", in *Istituzioni monastiche e istituzioni canonicali in Occidente (1123-1215). Atti della settima Settimana di Studio, Mendola, 28 agosto-3 settembre 1977*, Milano, 1980, p. 265-316; Gabriella GARZELLA, "La proprietà frazionata nella gestione immobiliare di un ente monastico pisano (secoli XII-XIII)", in Olivier FARON and Étienne HUBERT (eds.), *Le sol et l'immeuble: les formes dissociées de propriété immobilière dans les villes de France et d'Italie (XII^e-XIX^e siècle)*, Rome, 1995 (Collection de l'ÉFR, 206), p. 169-184, who has also dealt with the military orders in an urban setting; Maria Luisa CECCARELLI LEMUT and G. GARZELLA, "Ordini militari in una città di mare: Ospitalieri e templari nella Pisa medievale", in Franco CARDINI, Isabella GAGLIARDI and Giuseppe LIGATO (eds.), *Cavalieri e città. Atti del III Convegno internazionale di studi, Volterra, 19-21 giugno 2008*, Opedaletto (Pisa), 2009, p. 53-68.

17. *Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della 2^a settimana internazionale di studio, Mendola, 30 agosto-6 settembre 1962*, Milano, 1965; Jean BECQUET, "Chanoines réguliers et érémitisme clérical", *Revue d'Histoire de la Spiritualité*, t. 48, 1972, p. 361-370; Ludo MILIS, "Ermîtes et chanoines réguliers au XII^e siècle, transition ou trahison?", *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, t. 22, 1979, p. 39-80; G. MELVILLE, "Von der Regula regularum zur Stephansregel. Der normative Sonderweg der Grandmontenser bei der Auffächerung der vita religiosa im 12. Jahrhundert", in Hagen KELLER and Franz NEISKE (eds.), *Vom Kloster zum Klosterverband. Das Werkzeug der Schriftlichkeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums des Projekts L2 im SFB 231 (22.-23. Februar 1996)*, München, 1997 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 74), p. 342-363.

cure of souls and anticipating similar functions on the part of the mendicants¹⁸. André Chédeville therefore pointedly termed the Canons Regular “Proto-Mendicants” with respect to their activities in towns in Brittany¹⁹. The return to the *Vita apostolica* of the First Christian Community which the Canons Regular advocated implied an active life within society. Therefore, long before the emergence of the mendicant orders, the canons targeted the expanding towns.

The same holds true for other religious institutions traditionally dissociated from the urban sphere. Studies by Cécile Caby for example have underlined, that even eremitical forms of religious life such as the Congregation of Camaldoli in Italy sometimes sought the proximity of the town in a process known as *inurbanamento*²⁰. The urban side to Cistercian history, too, has rightly been brought to light by recent studies. Admittedly, Cistercian monasteries usually were physically separated from urban settlements, but they nevertheless were related to them. More importantly, the Cistercians acquired townhouses which served as relay points and communication centres between monastery and town. The German *Stadthöfe* and their respective counterparts in other countries have been well studied and their multiple functions have been brought to light²¹. To sum up: recent research has

18. Franz Josef SCHMALE, “Kanonie, Seelsorge, Eigenkirche”, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, t. 78, 1959, p. 38-68; Karl BOSL, *Regularkanoniker “Augustinerchorherren” und Seelsorge in Kirche und Gesellschaft des europäischen 12. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1979—criticized rightly by Stefan WEINFURTER, “Bemerkungen und Corrigenda zu Karl Bosls ‘Regularkanoniker und Seelsorge’”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, t. 82/83, 1981, p. 381-395; Caroline W. BYNUM, *Docere verbo et exemplo. An aspect of twelfth-century spirituality*, Washington, 1979; Joseph AVRIL, “Recherches sur la politique paroissiale des établissements monastiques et canoniaux (XI^e-XIII^e siècle)”, *Revue Mabillon*, t. 59, 1980, p. 453-517; N. Jaspert, *Stift und Stadt. Das Heiliggrabpriorat von Santa Anna und das Regularkanonikerstift Santa Eulàlia del Camp im mittelalterlichen Barcelona, 1145-1423*, Berlin, 1996; Cosimo DAMIANO FONSECA, “‘Constat... monasterium esse tam canonicorum quam et monachorum’. Le influenze monastiche sulle strutture istituzionali delle canoniche e delle congregazioni canonicali”, in H. KELLER and F. NEISKE (eds.), *Vom Kloster [...]*, *ibid.* (n. 17), p. 239-251; Josep MORAN, “La prédication ancienne en Catalogne. L’activité canoniale”, in *La Prédication en Pays d’Oc (XII^e-début XV^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 1997 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 32), p. 17-35; Mathieu ARNOUX, “Les origines et le développement du mouvement canonial en Normandie”, in M. ARNOUX (ed.), *Des clercs au service de la réforme. Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la Province de Rouen*, Turnhout, 2000, p. 11-171, particularly p. 96-105; Heike Johanna MIERAU, *Vita communis und Pfarerseelsorge. Studien zu den Diözesen Salzburg und Passau im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, Köln, 1997, p. 271-285 and 337-422; C. D. FONSECA, “La pastorale dai monaci ai canonici regolari”, in *La pastorale della Chiesa in occidente dall’età ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV. Atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio, Mendola, 27-31 agosto 2001*, Milano, 2004, p. 3-26; Giorgio PICASSO, “Vita comune del clero e azione pastorale. Sulle origini di un canone intransigente”, in G. ANDENNA and Hubert HOUBEN (eds.), *Mediterraneo, Mezzogiorno, Europa. Studi in onore di Cosimo Damiano Fonseca*, 2 vols., Bari, 2004, p. 829-837. The dilemma between eremitical and urban life is well laid out by Yannick VÉYRENCHÉ, “Une abbaye chef d’ordre face à deux cités: les chanoines réguliers de Saint-Ruf à Avignon et Valence”, in *Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2009 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 44), p. 79-106.

19. André CHÉDEVILLE, “Les chanoines augustins en Bretagne au XII^e siècle: des proto-mendicants?”, in S. CASAGNES-BROUQUET, A. CHAUOU and D. PICHOT (eds.), *Religion et mentalités [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 133-144.

20. C. CABY, *De l’érémitisme rural au monachisme urbain: les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Rome, 1999, p. 205-391; C. CABY, “Les implantations urbaines [...]”, *op. cit.* (n. 15).

21. Rinaldo COMBA, “I cistercensi fra città e campagna nei secoli XII e XIII”, *Studi storici*, t. 26, 1985, p. 237-262; Wolfgang BENDER, *Zisterzienser und Städte. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen den Zisterzienserklöstern und den großen urbanen Zentren des mittleren Moselraumes (12.-14. Jahrhundert)*, Trier, 1992; Jürgen SYDOW, “Zur ‘Stadtpolitik’ der mittelalterlichen Zisterzienser. Beobachtungen und Bemerkungen”, *Studien und Mitteilun-*

succeeded in broadening our perception of “Moines et religieux dans la ville” by demonstrating the multiple ties between religious of different hues and the urban setting²².

It is within this wider framework of urban religious institutions that the houses of the Military Orders must be set. An attachment to an urban environment was particularly important for institutions such as the Order of St John and the Teutonic Order—that is for those institutions that combined military service and charitable work. The need for hospitals was greatest in an urban setting, as the well-known cases of Jerusalem and Acre show, where the Military Orders’ houses formed pivotal centres within the local network of charitable institutions²³; but in other areas too, the brethren’s care for the needy drew them into—or close to—the towns.

In most cases, the Military Orders formed part of a group of ecclesiastical institutions situated within a single town or in the immediate surroundings, enjoying the rights and privileges of their respective order, but without holding feudal lordship. As such, they contributed to and profited from urban expansion in much the same way other urban institutions of their time did. However, the Military Orders’ contribution to urban development still remains underexposed, in spite of several important studies on Southern France²⁴. Admittedly, recent archaeological work conducted in Germany and Switzerland by Armand Baeriswyl has

gen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweig, t. 106, 1995, p. 121-131; Paolo Grillo, “Il ‘desertum’ e la città: cistercensi, certosini e società urbana nell’Italia nord-occidentale dei secoli XII-XIV”, in R. COMBA (ed.), *Certosini e cistercensi in Italia (secoli XII-XV)*, Cuneo, 2000 (Storia e storiografia, 26), p. 363-412; Doris BUCHWALD, “Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienserklöster Eldena, Neuenkamp und Hiddensee in Stralsund, Greifswald, Goldberg und Plau. Ihre Funktionen und Bedeutung”, in Claudia KIMMINUS-SCHNEIDER (ed.), *Klöster und monastische Kultur in Hansestädten*, Rahden-Westf., 2003, p. 121-138; Werner RÖSENER, “Die Stadthöfe der Zisterzienser im Spannungsfeld der Stadt-Land-Beziehungen des Hochmittelalters”, in Claudia DOBRINSKI (ed.), *Kloster und Wirtschaftswelt im Mittelalter*, München, 2007, p. 85-99; Constance HOFFMANN BERMAN, “Monastic Hospices in Southern France and Colleges in Montpellier, Toulouse, Paris, and Oxford. The Cistercian Urban Presence”, *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique*, t. 102, 2007, p. 747-780; Alexis GRÉLOIS, “La présence cistercienne dans les villes du Midi: un investissement limité?”, in *Moines et religieux [...]*, op. cit. (n. 18), p. 167-188.

22. *Moines et religieux [...]*, *ibid.*; and particularly the excellent introductory overview: Nicole BÉRIOU, “De l’histoire des ordres à l’histoire urbaine. Moines et religieux dans la ville (XII^e-XV^e siècle)”, p. 13-30.

23. Bernard DICHTER, *The Orders and Churches of Crusader Acre*, Acre, 1979; Benjamin Z. KEDAR, “A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital”, in Helen J. NICHOLSON (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. 2, *Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershot, 1998, p. 3-26; Denys PRINGLE, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus*, vol. 3, *The City of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 2007, p. 192-207, 215-217 (Jerusalem) and *ibid.*, vol. 4, *The Cities of Acre and Tyre*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 82-116, 121-123, 131-136, 161-164 (Acre); *idem*, “The Layout of the Jerusalem Hospital in the twelfth Century: further Thoughts and Suggestions”, in Judi UPTON-WARD (ed.), *The Military Orders*, vol. 4, *On Land and by Sea*, Aldershot, 2008, p. 91-110. Cf. the article by D. PRINGLE in this volume.

24. Dominic SELWOOD, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitaliers in Central-Southern Occitania c. 1100-c. 1300*, Woodbridge, 1999; and the critical assessment by Damien CARRAZ, “Templiers et hospitaliers en France méridionale (XII^e-XIII^e siècles). À propos d’un ouvrage récent”, *Provence Historique*, t. 50, 2000, p. 207-237; D. CARRAZ, *L’ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*, Lyon, 2005; *idem*, “Military Orders and the Town (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Centuries). Urban Commanderies Case in the Rhône River Low Valley », *Chronica. Annual of the Institute of History of the University of Szeged*, vol. 6, 2006, p. 82-99.

shown the importance of the Military Orders for suburban development in the so-called *Gründungsstädte* in South-Western regions of the German Empire²⁵; but these contributions are still exceptional. The papers presented at this volume will therefore fill a notable gap in research on the Military Orders.

Both older and younger forms of religious life had an impact on urbanisation, that is: the concrete forms in which plots of land within the town walls or in the centre's immediate proximity were put to use. Younger forms of religious life such as the mendicant movement were either prevented from directly owning landed estates due to their particular *forma vitae* or they experienced problems attempting to do so, therefore usually settling within areas with clearly allocated seigneurial rights²⁶. Older forms of religious life on the contrary had often been given plots of land as *allodia* from an early stage, and therefore not only possessed, but truly owned their land. This not only applies to many Benedictine monasteries and older houses of Canons, but also to twelfth-century institutions such as the many houses of Canons Regular and convents of the Military Orders. As urban landholders, the knights also contributed to real estate development—for example by leasing plots of land with the obligation to erect houses²⁷. Emphyteutic grants *ad construendum domos* or *ad faciendum domos* were not uncommon in the Mediterranean area during the 12th and 13th century, where the extant charter evidence is more abundant than in other regions. Laure Verdon's work on town planning and urbanisation in Perpignan, Damien Carraz's work on the Provence or Laureà Pagarolas' study on Tortosa have illustrated how this process could take place²⁸,

25. A. BAERISWYL, "Die Deutschordenskommende in Könitz bei Bern. Mit einigen Überlegungen zu Form und Funktion von Konventsanlagen im Deutschen Reich", in Thomas BILLER and Georg Ulrich GROSSMANN (eds.), *Burgen kirchlicher Bauherren*, München, 2001 (Forschungen zu Burgen und Schlössern, 6), p. 193-203; *idem*, *Stadt, Vorstadt und Stadterweiterung [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 14).

26. But also see the particularities of mendicant urban possessions: Jean-Pierre LEGUAY, "Urbanisme et ordres mendiants: l'exemple de la Savoie et de Genève (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle)", in S. CASSAGNES-BROUQUET, A. CHAUOU and D. PICHOT (eds.), *Religion et mentalités [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 167-182; C. CABY, "Il costo dell'inurbamento: monaci e frati a confronto", in *L'economia dei conventi dei Frati Minori e Predicatori fino alla metà del Trecento. Atti del XXXI Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 9-11 ottobre 2003*, Spoleto, 2004, p. 295-337.

27. Cf. recent overviews: J. C. PICARD, *Les chanoines [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 16); J.-P. LEGUAY, "Une présence monastique urbaine: le rôle des prieurés dans la formation et dans le paysage des petites villes du Moyen Âge (France et grands fiefs)", in Pierre GUICHARD, Marie-Thérèse LORCIN and Jean-Michel POISSON (eds.), *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques. Études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut*, Lyon, 1993, t. 2, p. 525-536; É. HUBERT, "Urbanisation, propriété et emphytéose au Moyen Âge", in O. FARON and É. HUBERT (ed.), *Le sol et l'immeuble [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 16), p. 1-8; and the case study: *idem*, "Gestion immobilière, propriété dissociée et seigneuries foncières à Rome aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles", in *ibid.*, p. 185-205; furthermore *idem*, "Propriété ecclésiastique et croissance urbaine: à propos de l'Italie centro-septentrionale, XII^e-début du XIV^e siècle", in Giovanni CHERUBINI (ed.), *Gli spazi economici della Chiesa nell'Occidente mediterraneo (secoli XII-metà XIV)*, Pistoia, 1999, p. 125-155. Cf. Frank THEISEN, *Studien zur Emphyteuse in ausgewählten italienischen Regionen des 12. Jahrhunderts: Verrechtlichung des Alltags?*, Frankfurt am Main, 2003; Marcelino BEROIZ LASCANO and Íñigo MUGUETA MORENA, "Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el Occidente Europeo (ss. XI-XV). Aproximación bibliográfica", in *Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el Occidente Europeo (siglos XI-XV). XXXII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella, 17-21 julio de 2006*, Pamplona, 2007, p. 737-769.

28. Laure VERDON, "La seigneurie templière à Perpignan au XIII^e siècle", in Noël COULET and O. GUYOTJEAN-NIN (eds.), *La ville [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), t. 2, p. 221-228; *eadem*, "Le quartier de Saint-Mathieu de Perpignan: un

and the articles in this volume by Rodrigue Tréton and Sandrine Claude on Perpignan and Manosque respectively further extend our knowledge²⁹. Plots of land were allocated to lay individuals who erected buildings there. Sometimes, they then partitioned off a portion of their respective lot which was sublet and further developed³⁰. Commanderies of the Military Orders thus could become focal points of urban development and formed quarters oriented towards the convents, with all the social implications this conveyed. In many cases, one can observe a gradual inclusion of the suburban properties within the town due to processes of expansion: houses initially constructed *extra muros* developed their immediate surroundings and were then included into the urban setting when the town walls were expanded. These intricate processes of *lotissement* still require comparative research.

A case apart is Acre, where the Military Orders' quarters formed marked areas dominated by the respective convents. The Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights for example owned substantial properties to the North and the East of the town respectively which they developed into quarters of their own³¹. No urban centre of the middle ages showed a similarly striking presence of so many military religious orders as Acre. Which social and military implications this could entail became all too apparent during the famous War of Saint Sabas in the 1250s and 60s, a conflict that initially confronted the major Italian maritime powers, but which also called the Military Orders into the fray, with massive repercussions for the town and its inhabitants³².

exemple de la croissance d'une ville au XIII^e siècle", in Louis ASSIER-ANDRIEU (dir.), *La ciutat i els poders. Actes du Colloque du Huitième Centenaire de la Charte de Perpignan, 23-25 octobre 1997*, Perpignan, 2000, p. 99-107 (centred on the social composition of the quarter); Laureà PAGAROLAS, *La comanda del Temple de Tortosa, primer període (1148-1213)*, Tortosa, 1984; A. LUTTRELL, "Emphyteutic grants in Rhodes town, 1347-1348", in Manuel Juan PELÁEZ ALBENDEA (ed.), *Papers in European Legal History = Trabajos de derecho histórico europeo*, Barcelona, 1992, p. 1409-1416; D. CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 255-283; *idem*, "Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain en France méridionale (XII-XIII^e siècle)", in *Moines et religieux [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 127-166, particularly p. 135, 138-141.

29. See also the Milanese case presented by Elena Bellomo in this volume, with reference to: Giuliana ALBINI, "La domus Sancte Crucis dei Gerosolimitani e la società milanese tra XII e XIII secolo", in Josepha COSTA RESTAGNO (ed.), *Riviera di Levante tra Emilia e Toscana: un crocevia per l'Ordine di San Giovanni*, Genova, 2001, p. 291-333.

30. In general on this procedure: Volker VOGEL, "Zum Parzellengefüge in der Stadt um 1200", in Heiko STEUER (ed.), *Zur Lebensweise in der Stadt um 1200: Ergebnisse der Mittelalter-Archäologie*, Köln, 1986 (Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters. Beiheft 4), p. 257-262; O. FARON and É. HUBERT (ed.), *Le sol et l'immeuble [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 16); N. JASPERT, *Stift und Stadt [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 285-295; Finn-Einar ELIASSEN and Geir Atle ERSLAND, *Power, Profit and Urban Land: Landownership in Medieval and early Modern northern European Towns*, Aldershot, 1996; A. BAERISWYL, *Stadt, Vorstadt [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 14), p. 18-22, 245-266; Matthias Untermann and Alfred FALK (eds.), *Die vermessene Stadt: mittelalterliche Stadtplanung zwischen Mythos und Befund*, Paderborn, 2004; Jaume RIBALTA HARO, *Dret urbanistic medieval de la mediterrània*, Barcelona, 2005 (Institut d'estudis Catalans, 66); Bruno FRITZSCHE and Hans-Jörg GILOMEN (eds.), *Städteplanung - Planungsstädte*, Zürich, 2006.

31. D. PRINGLE, *The Churches [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 23), t. 4, p. 82-116 and p. 166-172.

32. Georg CARO, *Genua und die Mächte am Mittelmeer 1257-1311: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des XIII. Jahrhunderts*, Halle a. S., 1895, t. 1, p. 28-43, 69-76.

URBAN LORDSHIP

This broad and necessarily superficial outline might suffice to mark the way Military Orders joined other ecclesiastical institutions as agents for urban growth. In other cases, the order was not one among many ecclesiastical institutions, but rather the town's feudal lord. Here, entire settlements could come into being thanks to the brethren: Military Orders in Spain, Portugal, and particularly in the Baltic founded towns *ex nihilo*, or the knights acquired lordship over existing centres via privileges³³. In these cases, the Military Orders acted as sovereigns very much in the same way as lay monarchs and noblemen, but also major ecclesiastic landholders did in the High Middle Ages. Sidon under Templar rule, Manosque under the Hospitallers, Mergentheim under the Teutonic Order, Alcácer do Sal under the Order of Santiago or Morón de la Frontera under the Order of Alcántara are just some towns that were under the brethren's lordship in the Middle Ages³⁴. Evidently, this case was the rule in those territories which were under the brethren's sovereignty, for example in the Teutonic Order States. A related case is the town of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule, as Anthony Luttrell, Jürgen Sarnowsky and Nicolas Vatin have shown in their magisterial studies³⁵. The municipal statutes known as the *Capitula Rhodi* laid down in the mid-14th century convey a glimpse of the way

33. Udo ARNOLD (ed.), *Stadt und Orden: das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich*, Marburg, 1993 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 4), particularly: Tomasz JASINSKI, "Die Rolle des Deutschen Ordens bei der Städtegründung in Preußen im 13. Jahrhundert", p. 91-111; and Zenon Hubert NOWAK, "Neustadtgründungen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen: Entstehung, Verhältnisse zu den Altstädten, Ende der Eigenständigkeit", p. 129-142. Javier Alvarado PLANAS (ed.), *Espacios y fueros en Castilla-La Mancha (siglos XI-XV): una perspectiva metodológica*, Madrid, 1995; Roman CZAJA, *Miasta pruskie a Zakon Krzyżacki: studia nad stosunkami między miastem a władzą terytorialną w późnym średniowieczu*, Toruń, 1999; Juhan KREEM, *The Town and its Lord. Reval and the Teutonic Order (in the fifteenth Century)*, Tallinn, 2002; Carlos de AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las Órdenes Militares hispánicas en la Edad Media, siglos XII-XV*, Madrid, 2003, p. 615-697; R. CZAJA, "Der Deutsche Orden als Stadtherr im Reich, in Preußen und Livland", in R. CZAJA and Jürgen SARNOWSKY (eds.), *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, Toruń, 2007 (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, 14), p. 127-140; Enrique RODRÍGUEZ PICAÑA MATILLA, *Los Monjes Guerreros en los reinos hispánicos. Los órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media*, Madrid, 2008, particularly p. 345-355. See the contribution by Sylvain Gouguenheim in this volume.

34. John Life LA MONTE, "The Lords of Sidon in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Byzantion*, t. 17, 1944-1945, p. 183-211, particularly p. 208-209; D. PRINGLE, *The Churches [...]*, op. cit. (n. 23), t. 2, p. 317-329; Félix REYNAUD, *La commanderie de l'hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem de Rhodes et de Malte à Manosque (XII^e siècle-1789)*, Gap, 1981; Manuel PÉREZ GALLEGÓ, "El señorío de la Orden de Alcántara en el Morón medieval", *Hespérides*, t. 6, 1998, p. 119-134; Mathias PIANA, "Die Kreuzfahrerstadt Sidon (Sagette, Saida)", in M. PIANA (ed.), *Burgen und Städte der Kreuzerzeit*, Petersberg, 2008 (Studien zur internationalen Architektur- und Kunstgeschichte, 65), p. 367-383; Bernhard KLEBES, *Der Deutsche Orden in der Region Mergentheim im Mittelalter: Kommende, Stadt- und Territorialherrschaft (1219/20-ca.1525)*, Marburg, 2002 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 58).

35. Nicolas VATIN, *L'ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*, Louvain, 1994; J. SARNOWSKY, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts. Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421-1522)*, Münster, 2001 (Vita regularis, 14); *idem*, "Pragmaticae Rhodiae. Die Landgesetzgebung der Johanniter auf Rhodos", *Sacra militia*, t. 2, 2001, p. 5-24; A. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes, 1306-1356*, Rhodes, 2003.

the order regulated urban life in the city of Rhodes, and the *Pragmaticae Rhodi* present the fully developed regulations that ruled urban life at the eve of Rhodes' fall. In certain other cases, the Military Orders were not the sole lords, but ruled as co-lords over a town together with other powers. The Templars shared rule over Tortosa in Catalonia with the noble family of the Montcada, the Teutonic Order ruled Riga jointly with the local archbishop, etc³⁶. Needless to say, such joint rule could lead to conflicts, a point I will return to.

Even in the cases where the Military Orders enjoyed lordship over a town, they generally conferred more or less wide autonomy onto municipal institutions, as towns prospered within the orders' seigneurial estates thanks to privileges issued by the knights. The famous *Kulmer Handfeste* is only the best known document issued in favour of a nascent urban centre by a military order: the privilege issued in December 1232 or 1233 and renewed in 1251 not only established the juridical framework for the newly founded town of Kulm, but also acquired paradigmatic status for other towns in the Teutonic Order State³⁷. It regulated property rights, juridical proceedings as well as the rights of the order within the towns. Similar agreements were reached in the other major towns under the orders rule such as Elbing, Toruń and Königsberg. Further east still, in Reval, the Teutonic Order also conferred a relatively wide degree of autonomy by confirming and extending privileges already bestowed by the Danish kings³⁸. On the Iberian Peninsula, we can encounter a similar situation, as the famous *cartas de población*, *cartas de franquicia* and *fueros* in Castile and Aragón illustrate³⁹. Here too, privileges conveyed by the

36. L. PAGAROLAS, *La comanda del Temple [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 28); *idem*, "La fi del domini de l'Orde del Temple a Tortosa. La permuta de 1294", *Anuario de estudios medievales*, t. 28, 1998, p. 269-292; N. JASPERT, "Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: The Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia", in J. SARNOWSKY (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, Aldershot, 1999, p. 19-45; L. PAGAROLAS SABATÉ, *Els templers de les terres de l'Ebre (Tortosa): de Jaume I fins a l'abolició de l'Orde (1213-1312)*, 2 vols., Taragona, 1999; Manfred HELLMANN, "Der Deutsche Orden und die Stadt Riga", in U. ARNOLD (ed.), *Stadt und Orden [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 1-33; Thomas BRÜCK, "Riga in der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts: Das Verhältnis der Stadt zum Orden, zum Erzbischof und zur Hanse", in Norbert ANGERMANN (ed.), *Städtisches Leben im Baltikum zur Zeit der Hanse. Zwölf Beiträge zum 12. Baltischen Seminar*, Lüneburg, 2003, p. 43-92.

37. Guido KISCH, *Die Kulmer Handfeste. Text, rechtshistorische und textkritische Untersuchungen nebst Studien zur Kulmer Handfeste, dem Elbinger Privilegium von 1246 und einem Beitrag zur Geschichte des Begriffes "ius teutonicum"*, "Deutsches Recht" im Deutschordegebiet, Sigmaringen, 1978; R. CZAJA, "Die Formung der Städte-landschaft im Kulmerland im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert", in Doris BULACH (ed.), *Zentrum und Peripherie in der Germania Slavica: Beiträge zu Ehren von Winfried Schich*, Stuttgart, 2008, p. 247-264; *idem*, "Die Kulmer Handfeste, das kulmische Recht und die Stadt Kulm. Ein Beitrag zur Gestaltung der Städtelandschaft im Ordensland Preußen", in R. CZAJA (ed.), *Städtelandschaften im Ostseeraum im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Toruń, 2009, p. 73-85.

38. J. KREEM, *The Town [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 38-42.

39. José M. LACARRA (ed.), *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro*, 2 vols., Zaragoza, 1982; Manuel GONZÁLEZ JIMÉNEZ, "Privilegios de los Maestres de Alcántara a Morón de la Frontera", *Archivo hispalense*, t. 70, 1987, p. 3-46; María Luisa LEDESMA RUBIO (ed.), *Cartas de población del reino de Aragón en los siglos medievales*, Zaragoza, 1991; Carlos BARQUERO GOÑI, "Aportación al estudio de la repoblación santiaguista en La Mancha: cartas de población de Villacañas de Algodor y de Villaverde (año 1248), y capítulos de población de Argamasilla de Alba (años 1545 y 1563)", in *Repoblación y Reconquista. Actas del III Curso de Cultura Medieval*, Aguilar de Campóo, 1995, p. 169-178; Francisco RUIZ GÓMEZ, *Los orígenes de las órdenes militares y la repoblación*

military religious orders led to the creation of communal institutions and town councils, a very particular case for the relation between Military Orders and urban history that might also have been relevant to the Crusader States, even though the scarcity of extant sources prevents us from elaborating this point. Thus, though the role of the military orders for the creation of urban centres cannot compare with that of certain major Benedictine monasteries, it is undoubtedly more important than that of younger orders such as mendicants and was indeed considerable in certain border areas of the Latin Christendom.

URBAN CONFLICTS

The varying forms of lordship over towns or the brethren's presence within these centres naturally lead to forms of both cooperation and conflict. These can be studied on the individual level of personal ties and social groups or networks, but also on an institutional level, that is on that of the relation between the orders and other urban institutions such as town councils and ecclesiastical houses. For example, an as yet unwritten "Urban History of the Military Orders" would call for studying the varying relations between the different ecclesiastical institutions within medieval towns. During the orders' initial phase, conflict frequently arose with the parish churches over the cure of souls and other controversial issues, particularly over burial rights. Rudolf Hiestand has delineated how the Military Orders acquired papal privileges in the course of the 12th century that conferred a series of parish rights to the brethren, despite staunch resistance on the part of the bishops, and local studies have shown how long the burial tithes and other forms of income remained a controversial issue that periodically marred the relations between the orders and other ecclesiastical institutions⁴⁰.

This is well known. But a diachronic study of intra-ecclesiastical urban relations necessarily needs to focus on the changing relations between the ecclesiastical

de los territorios de La Mancha (1150-1250), Madrid, 2003; Pascual MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, "La doble frontera. Hispanos, francos y musulmanes en los fueros y cartas de población de los siglos XII y XIII", in Klaus HERBERS and N. JASPERT (eds.), *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropas*, Berlin, 2007 (Europa im Mittelalter, Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, 9), p. 145-172; E. RODRÍGUEZ PICAVEA MATILLA, *Los Monjes Guerreros [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 345-355.

40. Rudolf HIESTAND (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, Göttingen, 1972 (Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius, 1); *idem*, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter*, Göttingen, 1983 (Vorarbeiten zum Oriens pontificius, 2); Jean Richard, "Le paiement des dîmes dans les États des croisés", *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, t. 150, 1992, p. 71-92; M. BARBER, *The New Knighthood [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 3), p. 6-63; R. HIESTAND, "Templer- und Johanniterbistümer und -bischofe im Heiligen Land", in Z. H. NOWAK (ed.), *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, Toruń, 1997 (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, 9), p. 143-161; Ludwig VONES, "Contra episcopalem auctoritatem multa praesumunt". Die Entwicklung des Verhältnisses des Templer- und des Johanniterordens zur Bischofsgewalt in den Ländern der Krone Aragón bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts", in *ibid.*, p. 163-192; E. RODRÍGUEZ PICAVEA MATILLA, *Los Monjes Guerreros [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 437-441; D. CARRAZ, "Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 146-147.

institutions over time. Toward the beginning of the 14th century for example, the urban houses of the Military Orders were no longer a novel feature, on the contrary: together with other established forms of religious life such as urban Benedictine monasteries, houses of Regular Canons and parish churches they formed a group united by common social and economic interests. As such, they sometimes saw the need to associate against new competitors such as the mendicant orders⁴¹. To put an Iberian example: in Barcelona, the beginning of the 14th century saw embittered legal fighting between the town council and leading families on the one side and urban convents on the other over specific modalities of the urban rental system for emphyteutic grants, fighting that led to the expulsion of clerics and ecclesiastical measures against the town⁴². The specificities might not be of interest here⁴³. What is important in our context however is the fact that the divide did not run neatly between the lay urban population on the one side and the ecclesiastical institutions on the other. Rather, the ecclesiastics opposed to the municipal council formed a group that comprised the parish clergy, Benedictine monasteries, houses of Canons Regular and the convents of the Hospitallers and Templars—institutions which at the turn of the 14th century could be considered well established and even traditional. Younger forms of religious life on the contrary such as the mendicants took the side of the town council, to which they were united both by common interests and parental ties⁴⁴. General studies such as Cécile Cabý's work on "Il costo dell'Inurbamento. Monaci e frati a confronto" have illustrated the challenges that the mendicants' arrival in the town posed to older religious institutions—such as the Military Orders—that held large allodial estates within the urban setting⁴⁵. More research needs to be conducted in this field: to date, we tend to concentrate on the first one or two centuries of the orders' presence in the respective towns. But their modified position within the changing ecclesiastical landscape of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries deserves more attention.

The same holds true for the relations between the Military Orders and lay urban institutions. Generally, in their beginning the houses of the Military Orders seem to have been fostered by the urban elites. Their arrival marked a substantial widening of the "religious market", offering novel forms of personal commitment,

41. Yves DOSSAT, "Opposition des anciens ordres à l'installation des mendiants", in *Les Mendiants en pays d'Occident au XIII^e siècle*, Toulouse, 1973 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 8), p. 263-306, particularly p. 272-273 (mendiants et réguliers), and p. 285-287.

42. N. JASPERT, *Stift und Stadt [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 18), p. 196-211.

43. Francesc CARRERAS CANDI, *Notes sobre los orígenes de la enfitéusis en lo territori de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1910.

44. D. CARRAZ, "Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 144. See also on a more general level: Norbert HECKER, *Bettelorden und Bürgertum: Konflikt und Kooperation in deutschen Städten des Spätmittelalters*, Bochum, 1981, p. 98-110, 166-176; Dieter BERG (ed.), *Bettelorden und Stadt: Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Werl, 1992 (Saxonia Franciscana, 1), p. 107-179.

45. C. CABY, "Il costo [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 26).

association and reward⁴⁶. But over time, conflicts did arise. We will leave aside cases of social revolt against single tyrannical commanders, cases like the one that occurred in 1476 in a Castilian village called Fuente Obejuna, where the villagers banded together and killed the local commander of the Order of Calatrava who had been mistreating them, a case immortalised by Lope de Vega in the beginning of the 17th century in the play of the same name: *Fuenteovejuna*⁴⁷. Rather, we will concentrate on institutional conflicts between municipal councils and the orders, for which the Iberian Peninsula and the Baltic offer some particularly striking cases. Several case studies from Portugal and Castile have shown that such conflicts between councils and Military Orders were in no way limited to the Medieval Crown of Aragon⁴⁸. More prominent still was the situation in some Baltic towns. There, conflicts could come about due to dual lordships as in the case of Riga, where the populace and the archbishop repeatedly joined forces against the Teutonic Order, attacking and even destroying the brethren's castle⁴⁹. However, in most cases in which the orders held lordship, friction mainly arose not between three parties as in the case of Riga, but between two parties alone—that is the council and the brethren. The Teutonic Order State provides an excellent example as to how an initially profitable relation could deteriorate over time, as the councils acquired growing independence up to the point of allying with other powers against their lords⁵⁰. Initially, the far-reaching privileges conferred by the Teutonic Order were attractive to new settlers and guaranteed a certain degree of social tranquillity. But as time went by, the economic interests of the citizens tended to clash more and more often with the political and economic interests of the brethren. The merchants naturally saw regional powers

46. J. KREEM and Pierre MONNET, "Privilèges municipaux", in N. BÉRIOU and Philippe JOSSEMAND (eds.), *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, Paris, 2009, p. 741-743.

47. Emilio CABRERA MUÑOZ, *Fuenteovejuna. La violencia antiseñorial en el siglo XV*, Barcelona, 1991; Joseph PÉREZ, "Fuenteovejuna, la légende et l'histoire", in Jean-Paul DUVIOLS and Annie MOLINIÉ-BERTRAND (eds.), *La violence en Espagne et en Amérique (XV-XIX^e siècles). Actes du colloque "Les raisons du plus fort"*, Paris, 1998, p. 143-153; E. CABRERA MUÑOZ, "La revuelta de Fuenteovejuna de 1476: literatura e historia", in Santiago MUÑOZ MACHADO (ed.), *Los grandes procesos de la historia de España*, Barcelona, 2002, p. 61-91.

48. Luis Rafael VILLEGAS DÍAZ, "Algunos datos acerca de las luchas entre la Orden de Calatrava y el Concejo de Villa Real en la primera mitad del Siglo XIV", in *VII Centenario del Infante Don Fernando de la Cerda*, Ciudad Real, 1975, p. 179-190; José María SÁNCHEZ BENITO, "Nuevas observaciones sobre los conflictos entre Ciudad Real y la Orden de Calatrava: el papel de la Hermandad Vieja en los siglos XIV y XV", *Revista del Centro Asociado de la UNED de Cuenca*, t. 4, 1990-1991, p. 57-73; José MARQUES, "A Ordem de Santiago e o Concelho de Setúbal em 1341", *Revista de história (Porto)*, t. 13, 1995, p. 11-33; J. KREEM and Pierre MONNET, "Pouvoir municipal", in N. BÉRIOU and Ph. JOSSEMAND (eds.), *Prier et combattre [...], op. cit.* (n. 46), p. 734-735; Thomas KRÄMER, "The Role of Military Orders in German and French Towns: A Functional Comparison", in Isabel C. F. FERNANDES (ed.), *Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares (Palmela, 10 a 14 de março de 2010)*, Palmela, in press.

49. M. HELLMANN, "Der Deutsche Orden [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 36); T. Brück, "Riga [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 36).

50. R. CZAJA, "Die städtische Geistlichkeit in den Auseinandersetzungen der preußischen Städte mit dem Deutschen Orden im 15. Jahrhundert", in Ansgar KÖB and Peter RIEDEL (eds.), *Emotion, Gewalt und Widerstand: Spannungsfelder zwischen geistlichem und weltlichem Leben in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Paderborn, 2007 (MittelalterStudien des Instituts zur Interdisziplinären Erforschung des Mittelalters und seines Nachwirkens, 9), p. 129-138 and the references in n. 33.

such as the Hanseatic League or the Scandinavian monarchies as political and economic interlocutors, while the Teutonic Order strove at maintaining its position as an economic power of its own right⁵¹. The most famous case in point is the divorce between urban councils in Prussia and the Teutonic Order in the course of the 15th century. Constant military engagement against the Lithuanians and Poles laid heavy financial burdens on the Prussian towns, and a series of defeats did little to convince the citizens that their money was being well spent. The climax of growing friction was reached by the middle of the 15th century, when the Prussian towns established the *Preussischer Bund* against their former lords that largely contributed to the downfall of the Teutonic Order State⁵². Conflicts resulting from urban lordship such as those in the *Deutschordensstaat* admittedly were not the norm. The case of the *Preussischer Bund* however does show how necessary it is to investigate the changing relation between Military Orders and urban society over time.

URBAN TIES

Such diachronic research should not only underline the decrease of support such as illustrated in the case above, but also study the reasons for the houses' prolonged and generally harmonious presence within the urban setting despite all societal and spiritual changes. For example, how could it come about that the Utrecht Bailiwick of the Teutonic Order not only lingered on right into the reformation period, but was also allowed to remain catholic long after other ecclesiastical institutions had adopted or been obliged to adopt the new confession? A recently concluded thesis has answered this question, but the history of the Military Orders urban social setting during the Late Middle Ages is still largely unwritten⁵³. Such a feat can only be accomplished by an in-depth examination of the multiple social ties between religious houses and social groups⁵⁴. Prosopographical research is the base for future studies. The members of the respective orders' urban houses need

51. R. CZAJA, "Preußische Hansestädte und der Deutsche Orden. Ein Beitrag zu den Beziehungen zwischen Stadt- und Landesherrschaft im späten Mittelalter", *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, t. 118, 2000, p. 57-76.

52. Edith LÜDICKE, "Der Rechtskampf des Deutschen Ordens gegen den Bund der preußischen Stände, 1440-53", *Altpreußische Forschungen*, t. 12, 1935, p. 1-43, 173-217; Marian BISKUP, "Der preußische Bund, 1440-1545. Genesis, Struktur, Tätigkeit und Bedeutung in der Geschichte Preußens und Polens", in Konrad FRITZE, Eckhard MÜLLER-MERTENS and Johannes SCHILDHAUER (eds.), *Bürgertum, Handelskapital, Städtebünde*, Weimar, 1975 (Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Sozialgeschichte, 3), p. 210-232; Sylvain GOUQUENHEIM, *Les Chevaliers teutoniques*, Paris, 2007, p. 544-558.

53. Daniela GRÖGOR-SCHIEMANN, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht während der Reformationszeit—die Landkommende Utrecht zwischen Rebellion und Staatsbildung*, PhD, University of Bochum, 2009 (supervised by Klaus Militzer). Also see: Johannes A. MOL, "Trying to Survive. The Military Orders in Utrecht, 1580-1620", in J. A. MOL, Klaus MILITZER and H. J. NICHOLSON (dir.), *The Military Orders and the Reformation: Choices, State Building, and the Weight of Tradition*, Hilversum, 2006, p. 181-208.

54. C. CABY, "Les implantations urbaines [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 15), p. 166-170; D. CARRAZ, "Les ordres militaires et le fait urbain [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 28), p. 141-147.

to be identified both biographically and socially, in order to uncover deeper interests and connections beneath and behind the acts of individuals. Single knights' possible dealings with urban society prior to their entry into the order need to be identified, and so do their family networks. Only on this basis can the relationship between benefactors and economic partners on the one hand and the brethren on the other be fully understood. Recent studies like those by Elena Bellomo, Damien Carraz or Luís Filipe Oliveira have shown how rewarding the reconstruction of personal networks between the orders houses and their surroundings can be⁵⁵. Naturally, such research is not easy to accomplish in settlements where the orders' houses were run with very little personnel, sometimes by one representative alone; but a fair number of towns not only housed larger convents, but also comprised several convents of different Military Orders.

The orders' priests in particular and their position within both social and ecclesiastical structures remain widely unknown. We are not that badly off when it comes to the Teutonic Order, where some priests could acquire important positions within the secular church⁵⁶. But for most Military Orders, interest has been concentrated very much on their respective lay element, particularly on the knights. It would however be very worthwhile to determine from which social strata the priests were recruited and which career options the orders offered them as clerics. Here again, prosopographical work would be important in order to trace patterns of horizontal and vertical mobility. Of course, such work is equally important for the countryside as for the town, but due to the higher percentage of written records produced within the urban setting and still extant in town archives, prosopographical research is more easily conducted there than in rural areas.

The same holds true for *donates*, *confratres* and other semi-religious men and women attached to the commanderies in the West. In the meantime, we know how important this element was as a hinge between the orders houses on the one hand and the societies they were placed in on the other⁵⁷. *Confratres* and *consorores*

55. Elena BELLOMO, *The Templar Order in north-west Italy (1142-c. 1330)*, Leiden, 2008; D. CARRAZ, *L'ordre du Temple [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 24); Luís Filipe OLIVEIRA, *A coroa, os mestres e os comendadores. As ordens militares de Avis e de Santiago (1330-1449)*, Faro, 2009. Prosopographical research of a different type lies at the heart of a further excellent and recent study: Jochen BURGTORF, *The Central Convent of Hospitalers and Templars. History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)*, Leiden, 2008.

56. Ewal VOLGGER, "Die Priester im Deutschen Orden", in Heinz NOFLATSCHER (ed.), *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol: die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge*, Bozen, 1991 (Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, 43), p. 43-83; Mario GLAUERT, "Vorbemerkungen zu einer Prosopographie der Priesterbrüder des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen", in Bernhart JÄHNIG (ed.), *Kirchengeschichtliche Probleme des Preussenlandes aus Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, Marburg, 2001, p. 103-130; Mario GLAUERT, "Kirchen, Klöster und Spitäler zwischen Marienwerder und Rosenberg im Mittelalter: Ein Beitrag zur Sakraltopographie und Prosopographie des Niederklerus im Deutschordensland Preußen", *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußen*, t. 20/21, 2006-2008, p. 9-111; Rombert J. STAPEL, "'Onder dese riddersen zijn oec papen': De priesterbroeders in de balije Utrecht van de Duits Orde", *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis*, t. 11, 2008, p. 205-248.

57. D. SELWOOD, *Knights of the Cloister [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 24), p. 115-142; Jörg OBERSTE, "Donaten zwischen Kloster und Welt. Das Donatenwesen der religiösen Ritterorden in Südfrankreich und die Entwicklung der städtischen Frömmigkeitspraxis im 13. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, t. 29, 2002, p. 1-37; Jochen

established contacts between the convents and local elites, created networks of economic and political support, and helped transmit the respective order's features, including its spirituality, to wider strata of society. Although they did not take the three vows and were thus not personally tied to the obligations of the *paupertas Christi*, they still visibly belonged to the order—not least by token of the habit they wore. The heyday of the Military Orders' semi-religious appears to have been the 12th century, but one also encounters them well into the 14th century. Well researched in Southern France and Aragon, such lay brothers and sisters were nevertheless a general phenomenon within the Latin West. For example, Mariarosaria Salerno's and Kristian Toomaspoeg's recent edition of the Hospitaller "enquest" of 1373 for Southern Italy provides new and fascinating data that underscores this point⁵⁸. Any social history of medieval Military Orders is incomplete without taking the institutions' dense semi-religious networks into account.

The dire and difficult task of reconstructing such networks is also indispensable in order to complete our picture of the role women played for the Military Orders' urban houses. In Spain, the pioneering work by María Echániz Sans on the Order of Santiago has not been followed up as one might have expected, whereas in Portugal research in this field has recently been prospering⁵⁹. It is well known that women were relevant to the orders in a number of ways, as Helen Nicholson summarized not too long ago—as benefactors, as founders of houses, as economic partners, as wives or other relatives of the brethren, as fully fledged religious, as semi-religious, and even as saints⁶⁰. But their specific role in an urban setting still

G. SCHENK, "Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple", *Journal of Medieval History*, t. 34, 2008, p. 79-103; D. CARRAZ, "L'affiliation des laïcs aux commanderies templières et hospitalières de la basse vallée du Rhône (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)", in A. LUTTRELL and Francesco TOMMASI (eds.), *Religiones Militares. Contributi alla storia degli Ordini religioso-militari nel medioevo*, Città del Castello, 2008 (Biblioteca di Sacra Militia, 2), p. 171-190. For a general overview of the phenomenon see: K. ELM, "Vita regularis sine regula. Bedeutung, Rechtsstellung und Selbstverständnis des mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Semireligiosentums", in František ŠMAHEL (ed.), *Häresie und vorzeitige Reformation im Spätmittelalter*, München, 1998 (Historisches Kolleg. Kolloquien, 39), p. 239-273.

58. Mariarosaria SALERNO and Kristian TOOMASPOEG (eds.), *L'inchiesta pontificia del 1373 sugli Ospedalieri di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme nel Mezzogiorno d'Italia*, Bari, 2008.

59. María ECHÁNIZ SANS, *La mujeres de la orden militar de Santiago en la edad media*, Salamanca, 1992; C. DE AYALA MARTÍNEZ, *Las Órdenes Militares [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 176-185; E. RODRÍGUEZ PICAUEVA MATILLA, *Los Monjes Guerreros [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 33), p. 313-318. For Portugal see: Luís Filipe Oliveira, "Uma barregã régia, um mercador de Lisboa e as freiras de Santos", in Luís KRUS, L. F. DE OLIVEIRA and João Luís INGLÉS FONTES (eds.), *Lisboa Medieval. Os rostos da cidade*, Lisboa, 2007, p. 182-196; *idem*, "O mosteiro de Santos, as freiras de Santiago e o culto dos mártires", in *Olhares sobre a história. Estudos oferecidos a Iria Gonçalves*, Lisboa, 2009, p. 429-436; Joel Silva FERREIRA MATA, *A comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago. A comenda de santos em finais do século XV e no século XVI: um estudo religioso, económico e social*, Porto, 2007 (Militarium ordinum analecta, 9).

60. Alan J. FOREY, "Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Studia Monastica*, t. 29, 1987, p. 63-92; H. J. NICHOLSON, "The Military Orders and their Relations with Women", in Zsolt HUNYADI and József LASZLOVSKY (eds.), *The Crusades and the Military Orders. Expanding the Frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity*, Budapest, 2001, p. 407-414; *idem*, "Women in Templar and Hospitaller Commanderies", in Léon PRESSOUYRE and A. LUTTRELL (eds.), *La commanderie. Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, Paris, 2002, p. 125-134; D. CARRAZ, "Présences et dévotions féminines autour des commanderies du Bas-Rhône (XII^e-XIII^e siècle)", in *Les ordres religieux militaires dans le Midi (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*, Toulouse, 2006

remains to be uncovered and studied on a comparative level. The case of Dorothea of Montau, an ascetic and mystic who spent the last years of her life as a recluse at the cathedral of Marienwerder in close proximity to Johannes von Marienwerder, her spiritual guide and a priest of the Teutonic order, only serves to illustrate an extreme form of female spirituality attached both to a military order and to its urban environment in the Late Middle Ages⁶¹.

The spectrum was wide indeed. One of the further issues to be dealt with for this later period is the role that the brethren played for the self-image and self-concept of medieval towns. Did brethren reflect on the ideals and objectives of urban communities, did they participate in an intellectual discourse widely marked in the 12th century by neo-platonist and in the later middle ages by mendicant scholars⁶²? It appears that the orders' members—whose limited intellectual interests have convincingly been underlined⁶³—showed no great interest for such debates; but they might have been more active within public space, for example during urban processions and other forms of civic religion. Marina Gazzini's work on the role of the Hospitallers in medieval Parma may be cited as an exemplar for analysing such forms of expressing one's belonging to a larger, urban community—a field of research which still remains largely untouched⁶⁴.

Investigation into this hazy sphere between the secular world and the convents has profited from the revival of interest in the diversity of medieval religious life, of which the military religious orders were only one form among many. A comparative approach to monastic history in general has been particularly fruitful in Italy

(Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 41), p. 71-99; A. LUTTRELL and H. J. NICHOLSON (eds.), *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, Aldershot, 2006.

61. Anneliese TRILLER, "Die Hl. Dorothea von Montau in ihrem Verhältnis zum Deutschen Orden und die Deutschordensmitglieder im Kanonisationsprozeß Dorotheas 1404-1406", in Klaus ARNOLD (ed.), *Akkon bis Wien: Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister Marian Tumler*, Marburg, 1978, p. 76-83; Petra HÖRNER, *Dorothea von Montau: Überlieferung-Interpretation*, Wien, 1993; Almut SUEBAUM (ed.), *Dorothea von Montau and Johannes of Marienwerder: Constructions of Sanctity*, Leeds, 2010 (Oxford German studies, 39). For a general overview: Anneke B. MULDER-BAKKER, *Lives of the Anchoreesses: the Rise of the Urban Recluse in Medieval Europe*, Philadelphia, 2005.

62. Cf. the contribution by Ludovic Viallet in this volume and Keith D. LILLEY, *City and Cosmos: the Medieval World in Urban Form*, London, 2009.

63. A. J. FOREY, "Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries", in H. J. NICHOLSON (ed.), *The Military Orders [...]*, op. cit. (n. 23), p. 185-206; Arno Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden*, Wiesbaden, 2003 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen, 47); R. CZAJA and J. SARNOWSKY (eds.), *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, Toruń, 2009 (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica, 15).

64. Marina GAZZINI, "L'insediamento gerosolimitano a Parma nel basso Medioevo: attività ospedaliera e gestione del culto civico", in J. COSTA RESTAGNO (ed.), *Riviera di Levante [...]*, op. cit. (n. 20), p. 421-446, particularly p. 433-437. The field is vast and of lately has received much attention: A. VAUCHEZ (ed.), *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne*, Rome 1995 (Collection de l'ÉFR, 213); Andrea Löther, *Prozessionen in spätmittelalterlichen Städten: politische Partizipation, obrigkeitliche Inszenierung, städtische Einheit*, Köln, 1999; *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations. Actes du 37^e Congrès de la SHMESP*, Paris, 2007; Gilles BERTRAND and Ilaria TADDEI (eds.), *Le destin des rituels: faire corps dans l'espace urbain, Italie-France-Allemagne*, Rome, 2008 (Collection de l'ÉFR, 404).

and in Germany, where *Vergleichende Ordensgeschichte* became well established towards the end of the 20th century. Giles Constable, Kaspar Elm and others have successfully attempted to situate the members of Military Orders within the wider framework of regular life in the Middle Ages⁶⁵. Thanks to such comparative research, one can not only assess the great importance of the lay element within the Military Orders, but also understand why this was the case. Most members of the Military Orders were technically speaking laymen and themselves lead a form of religious life which was closer to the *via tertia* of the semireligious than to more orthodox modes of the medieval *vita religiosa*. It is no coincidence that charitable work—the element of the *vita activa* most closely associated with lay confraternities—acquired and maintained such an important position within many Military Orders. Furthermore, the brethren in their beginnings formed part of the poverty movement that lay at the heart of several novel forms of religious life in the 12th and 13th centuries⁶⁶. Such forms of communal religious life that—ideally—shunned personal possessions in turn depended on a social and economic context able to sustain them: the medieval town. In this way, the Military Orders' particular *vita religiosa* induced them to seek the proximity of urban centres. A similar correlation can be observed between the towns and the functions fulfilled by the orders' commanderies overseas. The Military Orders were arguably one of the earliest regular institutions to create far-flung networks that transcended kingdoms and empires alike⁶⁷. Among other functions, the commanderies also served as relay points where goods and financial resources were collected in order to be sent to the Crusader States⁶⁸. It is therefore hardly surprising that the brethren upheld

65. K. ELM, "Vergleichende Ordensforschung. Ein 'Forschungsprojektschwerpunkt' am Friedrich-Meinecke-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin", in *Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung* 1979, Stuttgart, 1980, p. 47-49; *idem*, "Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme", in *"Militia Christi" e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII*, Milano, 1992, p. 477-518; *idem*, *Umbilicus mundi. Beiträge zur Geschichte Jerusalems, der Kreuzzüge, des Kapitels vom Hlg. Grab in Jerusalem und der Ritterorden*, Sint-Kruis, 1998—see the list of publications in Franz J. FELTEN and N. JASPERT (eds.), *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Kaspar Elm zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berlin 1999 (Berliner historische Studien, 31), p. 961-978; Giles CONSTABLE, *The Reformation of the twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1996; *idem*, *Crusaders and Crusading in the twelfth Century*, Farnham, 2008. Cf. also G. MELVILLE, "Nuove tendenze della storiografia monastica di area tedesca. Le ricerche di Dresda sulla strutture istituzionali degli ordini religiosi medievali", in C. ANDENNA (ed.), *Dove va la storiografia monastica in Europa? Temi e metodi di ricerca per lo studio della vita monastica e regolare in età medievale alle soglie del terzo millennio*, Milano, 2001, p. 35-52.

66. Franco Andrea DAL PINO, "Scelte di povertà all'origine dei nuovi ordini religiosi dei secoli XII-XIV", in *La conversione alla povertà nell'Italia dei secoli XII-XIV*, Spoleto, 1991, p. 53-125; K. ELM, "Die Spiritualität [...]", *op. cit.* (n. 65); F. TOMMASI, "Pauperes communitones Christi. Aspetti i problemi delle origini gerosolimitane", in *"Militia Christi" [...]*, *ibid.* (n. 65), p. 465-475.

67. K. ELM, "Gli ordini militari. Un ceto di vita religiosa tra universalismo e particolarismo", in Enzo COLI, Maria DEL MARCO and F. TOMMASI (eds.), *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, Perugia, 1994, p. 9-29; G. MELVILLE, "Zur Semantik von 'ordo' im Religiosentum der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Lucius II., seine Bulle vom 19. Mai 1144 und der 'Orden' der Prämonstratenser", in Irene CRUSIUS and Helmut FLACHENECKER (eds.), *Studien zum Prämonstratenserorden*, Göttingen, 2003, p. 201-224.

68. M. BARBER, "Supplying the Crusader States: the Role of the Templars", in Benjamin Z. KEDAR (ed.), *The Horns of Hattin. Proceedings of the 2nd Conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*,

houses in the very same centres that functioned as focal points of Mediterranean commerce and trade, thus profiting from existing trans-regional networks. One need not go to the length of applying complex network theories to the system of *responsiones* in order to discern the tangible advantages urban houses provided for the brethren's concrete needs⁶⁹.

CAUTIONARY REMARKS

The sketch presented here might suffice as an introduction to subjects that will be dealt with more profoundly in this volume. Without a doubt, this publication will help highlight an aspect in the history of the Military Orders that hitherto has not been sufficiently studied; for traditionally, the Military Orders have often been seen as institutions more tied to the rural than to the urban world. In fact, and this might be seen as a cautionary note at the end of this article, this impression is quite correct. The Military Orders were predominantly active in rural zones, their economy was based on the existence of commanderies within wider territories, on the possession of large landed estates outside urban settlements. On a purely comparative level, the Military Orders were indeed more rural than urban. In fact, one of the most important objectives the study of the Military Orders in medieval towns will need to tackle is the relation between the brethren's rural and their urban possessions, between rural and urban rationalities and interests, or between rural and urban family networks. The path laid out by recent studies on the Cistercians showing the intricate relation between rural monasteries and their urban houses can well be put to use for studies on the military religious orders.

That being said, the brethren may indeed have acted as “*proto-mendicants*” in certain cases, and their urban history has undoubtedly been underestimated in comparison to their activities in the countryside. In much the same way, the mendicant orders too have been reduced to an urban environment in an all too simplistic fashion, for in reality mendicant brethren on their part not only acted within the town, but also expanded into the countryside with help of rural relay houses⁷⁰.

Jerusalem, 1992, p.314-326; Karl BORCHARDT, “Urban Commanderies in Germany”, in A. LUTTRELL and L. PRESSOUYRE (eds.), *La commanderie [...]*, *op. cit.* (n. 60), p.297-305.

69. On the application of network-theories to historical research see: Roman LOIMEIER (dir.), *Die islamische Welt als Netzwerk: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des Netzwerkansatzes im islamischen Kontext*, Würzburg, 2000; Jorge DÍAZ IBÁÑEZ and José Manuel NIETO SORIA, “Élites y clientelas eclesiásticas en los siglos XIII al XV: una propuesta metodológica a partir del caso castellano”, in Filipe THEMUDO BARATA (ed.), *Élites e redes clientelares na idade média: problemas metodológicos*, Lisboa, 2001, p.109-139; Mike BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter: Handel, Kaufleute, Netzwerke*, Köln, 2009, p.40-43; Christian STEGBAUER, *Netzwerkanalyse und Netzwerktheorie: ein neues Paradigma in den Sozialwissenschaften*, Wiesbaden, 2010 (Netzwerkforschung, 1).

70. Andreas RÜTHER, “La participation des ordres mendiants au soutien spirituel dans les campagnes d’Alsace”, in Jean-Pierre MASSAUT and Marie-Elisabeth HENNEAU (eds.), *La christianisation des campagnes*, Bruxelles, 1996, p.127-138; A. RÜTHER, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land: die Straßburger Mendikantenkonvente und das Elsaß im*

This volume will serve to provide a more nuanced view of the Military Orders' urban activities, a view that considers local and regional differences and therefore differentiates more finely than a coarse introductory survey is able to. Such overviews can only outline trends, they tend to level things in an inappropriate way, for local situations vary from town to town⁷¹. As this paper has repeatedly underlined, one of our main challenges will be to analyse the history of the Military Orders' urban houses during the Late Middle Ages. A second objective for the future is no less important: the study of local and regional differences as a base for a "History of the Religious Military Orders in the Medieval Town".

Spätmittelalter, Berlin, 1997; Ralf SPRANDEL, "Stadt-Land-Beziehungen im Spätmittelalter und in der Frühneuzeit", in W. RÖSENER (ed.), *Adelige und bürgerliche Erinnerungskulturen des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*, Göttingen, 2000, p. 9-20; Thomas NITZ, "Dominikaner auf dem Land: das Termineverzeichnis des Erfurter Predigerklosters", *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Thüringische Geschichte*, t. 57, 2003, p. 251-276.

71. Jens RÖHRKASTEN, "Regionalism and Locality as Factors in the Study of Religious Orders", in G. MELVILLE (ed.), *Aspekte zum Vergleich von Krisen und Reformen in mittelalterlichen Klöstern und Orden*, Berlin, 2007 (*Vita regularis*, 34), p. 243-268.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

AVANT-PROPOS

- 1 Damien Carraz 9

PREMIÈRE PARTIE **Rapports introductifs**

- 2 Nikolas Jaspert
Military Orders and Urban History—An Introductory Survey 15
- 3 Damien Carraz
Expériences religieuses en contexte urbain. De l'ordo monasticus aux religiones novæ : le jalon du monachisme militaire 37
- 4 Ludovic Viallet
Les ordres mendiants dans la ville médiévale (v. 1230-v. 1350) : réflexions introductives 57

311

DEUXIÈME PARTIE **Les ordres militaires et la ville : état de la question**

- 5 Denys Pringle
The Military Orders in the Cities of the Holy Land 79
- 6 Valérie Bessey
L'implantation du Temple et de l'Hôpital dans les villes du nord du royaume de France (1100-1350) 97
- 7 Helen J. Nicholson
The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles 113
- 8 Sylvain Gouguenheim
L'ordre Teutonique et les villes de Prusse (1230 - milieu du XV^e siècle) 127
- 9 Zsolt Hunyadi
Extra et intra muros : Military-religious Orders and Medieval Hungarian Towns (c. 1150-c. 1350) 139
- 10 Elena Bellomo
The Temple, the Hospital and the Towns of North and Central Italy 159

11	Kristjan Toomaspoeg <i>Les ordres militaires dans les villes du Mezzogiorno</i>	171
----	--	-----

TROISIÈME PARTIE Les ordres militaires dans la ville : études de cas

12	Nicolas Buchheit <i>Strasbourg et les Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem au XIV^e siècle : histoire d'une intégration urbaine</i>	189
13	Laurent Macé <i>In salvetate domini comitis. Les ordres religieux-militaires dans la cité de Toulouse (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)</i>	205
14	Rodrigue Tréton <i>L'ordre du Temple dans une capitale méditerranéenne : Perpignan</i>	223
15	Juan Fuguet Sans et Carme Plaza Arque <i>L'ordre du Temple dans la Couronne d'Aragon : aspects topographiques et archéologiques. Les cas de Tortosa et Barcelone</i>	239
16	Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes <i>Le château dans la ville : le cas du Portugal</i>	257
17	Sandrine Claude <i>Impact et limites de la seigneurie de l'Hôpital sur l'évolution et les dispositions du paysage urbain à Manosque (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)</i>	273

TABLE RONDE CONCLUSIVE

18	Nicole Bériou, Alain Demurger, Jean-Luc Fray, Daniel Le Blévec	291
----	--	-----

INDEX DES MATIÈRES	301
--------------------	-----

TABLE DES ILLUSTRATIONS	307
-------------------------	-----

TABLE DES MATIÈRES	311
--------------------	-----