The Military Orders

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instruments of imperial government, and in the nineteenth century the Order of St John also came to be an agent of Imperial expansion. And what is it about the charisma of the Orders that led in the twentieth century to the emergence of many unrecognized imitations of St John of Jerusalem in the United States, but also elsewhere in the world?

As, with Anthony Luttrell and Alan Forey, one of the few survivors of the revival of academic interest in the Orders in the 1950s and 1960s, I cannot find words to express how gratifying it is to see their history in such a flourishing and healthy state.

1 Military orders at the frontier

Permeability and demarcation

Nikolas Jaspert

The aim of this chapter is to lay out some general thoughts on the subject of religious military orders and frontiers. Even though three geographical regions will be focussed on – the Baltic, the Levant and particularly the Iberian Peninsula – the objective is not so much to compare the knights' activities in these areas as to invert the perspective so as to use space – more exactly the notion of the frontier – as a heuristic tool.[1] In order to do so one must first determine the spectrum of meanings related to the term 'frontier'. On the basis of such a semantic analysis, I will then attempt to analyze which of these meanings coincide with conceptions of the religious military orders as developed by past and present historians. This exercise therefore necessarily implies historicizing research; it aims at putting historiographical strands within the field of medieval studies into relation with the frontier. On a more concrete level, I would like to determine to which extent inter-religious frontiers functioned as areas of exchange and communication and which role military orders fulfilled in this very specific field.

The juxtaposition of military orders and frontiers is not entirely new. One need only call to mind two important conferences and the resulting proceedings: the meeting hosted in Budapest and edited by József Laszlovszky and Zsolt Hunyadi in 2001[2] and a collection published the very same year by Carlos de Ayala Martínez, Pascal Buresi and Philippe Josserand under the title 'Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval'.[3] Lately, Philippe Josserand has also presented some valuable thoughts on the subject, and the concept of the frontier has also been applied competently to the military orders in the Early Modern Mediterranean.[4] But in spite of such studies, viewing the military orders from the vantage point of the frontier remains an exercise that helps assessing our field of research and its history anew.

An ambiguous term

The frontier and its equivalents in other European languages – *frontera, frontière, Grenze* and so forth. – are highly ambiguous terms that often obscure more than they clarify. Although the English speaker can distinguish between 'frontier' and 'border', other European languages cannot or do not with the necessary analytical clarity. Does the frontier refer to a clearly cut physical division, a dividing line in

the sense of a border, or rather to a larger area? Does it apply only to physical space or does it rather have a predominantly social and cultural dimension to it? Leaving the meta-language of modern research and going back in time to the object-language of the sources is not of much help in order to clarify these questions, because in the Middle Ages border zones were described by a number of terms – *limes*, *marca*, *meta*, *gades*, *terminus*, *finis*, *confinium*, *frontera*, *signum*, not to forget vernacular expressions like *graniza* or *tagr*.[5] In fact, even these contemporary expressions mirror different understandings. *Frontera* as derived from the Latin *frons* picks up the notion of the other yonder the frontier,[6] on the Iberian Peninsula particularly referring to the religious border between Islamic and Christian territories,[7] whereas *marca* generally describes an administrative area on this side of the border.[8] The Slavic term *granica* referred to a marked line and found its way into German in the thirteenth century, as documents by the Cistercians and, significantly, the Teutonic Order show.[9] The Arabic *tagr* and Latin *limes* imply a passageway between areas, and *terminus* takes a central vantage point in order to describe a realm's furthest point of extension.[10]

Not surprisingly, therefore, historians too have underlined different characteristics of the frontier.[11] The nineteenth century, the era of nationalism par excellence, showed a particular interest in state borders, their creation and defence. These were imagined as clearly drawn lines of demarcation. But there were also other voices, which were similarly influenced by political and contemporary issues. No doubt because of the process of German unification in the nineteenth century, the historical geographer Friedrich Ratzel defined the frontier as a period in time, as an *Entwicklungsstufe* (a stage of development),[12] whereas Jakob Grimm emphasized in 1843 that one should interpret the *Grenze* as a principle that both divides and unites neighbours.[13] Famously, the American historian Frederick Jackson Turner understood the frontier as America's defining feature, stressing its mobility, its cultural dimension and its societal impact on those that lived therein.[14]

Modern research has underlined the ambiguities of medieval frontiers as a short sketch of some current interpretations should suffice to illustrate. Earlier studies had postulated that borders as divisionary lines were a concept developed in modern times as opposed to the broader frontier zones of the Middle Ages. But the famous Iberian treaties of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which zones for future conquest were neatly delineated, or the marked and fortified Hungarian or Baltic borders, show that medieval frontiers could indeed be both zones and lines.[15] Paul Zumthor, Luciano Lagazzi and others have tried to grapple with the mental maps and the 'mesure du monde' of medieval people, a notion picked up in recent times by the adherents of the so-called 'spatial turn', who prefer to view space as socially constructed.[16] As a result of cautionary tales of a looming 'clash of civilizations' and a growing interest in religious antagonism in the wake of 9/11, inter-religious frontiers have lately been very much in the limelight of historical and less academic research. But even the many historians who do not agree with the threatening scenarios created by Samuel Huntington and the like,[17] even those who have undertaken 'xenological' studies into the construction of alterity, ultimately deal with the creation of identity through 'othering' and thus with culturally fashioned,

but socially nonetheless highly relevant societal demarcations.[18] 'Xenology' necessitates identity and difference, it too focuses the lines drawn between religions, if only to criticize such divisions. According to this understanding, the religious frontier – be it between Muslims and Christians, be it between Christians and Pagans – separated large, religiously and thus culturally defined territories from one another.

A less antagonistic perspective, one which can ultimately be traced back to Frederick Jackson Turner, emphasizes the particular character of societies living in frontier zones. Such 'frontier societies' supposedly differed substantially from those in the heartland of any respective realm. They developed particular institutions and cultural traits because of the proximity of and more often than not the contention with the other. This leads to an understanding of the frontier particularly popular in recent years: that of a zone of intensive exchange between cultures. This transcultural character of medieval frontiers, their 'contact dimension' so to speak, has become the predominant field of research in the past two decades.[19] Not only terrestrial but also maritime frontiers are being analyzed from this viewpoint.[20] As Nora Berend put it succinctly some years ago: 'Frontiers have two sides, and societies on both are part of the picture',[21] and Peter Linehan has reminded us that 'medieval Spain's frontier was probably permeable from the outset.'[22] Processes of cultural transfer and adaption are avidly sought after by colleagues and can indeed be identified.

The societal and historical backdrop to these varying modern notions of the frontier is all too apparent. The concept of transcultural exchange and permeability for example can easily be recognized as a counter narrative to the antagonistic interpretation of the 'clash of civilizations', as an attempt to identify modern notions of 'convivencia' and tolerance in the medieval period. In contrast, the renewed interest in frontiers is also – paradoxical as it might seem – the result of the breakdown or the obliteration of borders as a consequence of the processes of European unification, the collapse of the Warsaw Pact and globalization. Globalization and the overcoming of physical space caused by modern means of transport and communication on the other hand also lie behind the so-called 'spatial turn' that stresses the social and cultural construction of space as opposed to its physical dimension.[23] And finally, interest in alterity and the fashioning of the other is directly related to the experience of renewed immigration many European societies made at the turn of the century with the resulting necessity to integrate peoples of differing cultures, and even more so today in the wake of new mass migration.

To sum up the first part of this chapter: a comparative analysis of medieval terms and modern research allows us to distinguish at least six different understandings of the frontier concept. First of all the frontier as a physical, linear demarcation between states, then as the periphery of a realm, third as a boundary between religious or more generally cultural societal entities, furthermore as an area *sui generis* that brought forth frontier societies, fifth as a semantic tool geared at giving order to culturally or socially constructed spaces and finally as a zone of transfer between neighbours.

Turning from such general thoughts on medieval frontiers and historiography to the religious military orders, one needs to ask to which extent research focuses

of medievalists coincide with those of frontier studies as just laid out. We must determine if research into the medieval religious military orders has shifted in similar directions and centred on comparable themes as that of frontiers. Does the study of military orders at the frontier harbour analogous hermeneutic and heuristic potential? The main part of this chapter will be taken up by an attempt to answer these questions by analyzing in turn the six interpretations of medieval frontiers that have just been sketched.

Visions of military orders on the frontier

The most influential notion of nineteenth-century frontier research – that of the linear, defensive state border – can easily be discerned in many studies on the medieval religious military orders in the Latin East. According to this line of thought, traditionally popular in English research, the Crusader States were regularly assaulted by Muslim forces and therefore created a ring of castles that effectively defended their borders.[24] The same reasoning might be drawn upon to explain the construction of the so-called *Deutschordensburgen* or *Konventsburgen* in Prussia and lines of fortresses on the Iberian Peninsula. It is no coincidence that in popular thought, the Crac des Chevaliers, the Marienburg and other castles have become very much an emblem for the religious military orders. It is well known that the growth and waning of the Latin states in the Levant or the Iberian realms are indeed mirrored by the positioning and the size of orders' fortifications. Undoubtedly, medieval frontier societies did possess a clear notion of the borders between different political entities which could be – and were – secured by fortresses forming defensive networks. The military orders were often expressly entrusted with manning and maintaining this defence system, as Pope Innocent IV wrote in 1248 and the *definiciones* of Calatrava from 1325 clearly state, and the knights also depicted themselves as guardians of the frontier.[25] But it does not necessarily follow that medieval religious frontier areas such as the Principality of Antioch or the Kingdom of Jerusalem possessed clearly marked and delineated borders in the modern sense of the word, as Ronnie Ellenblum has recently shown, and the same holds true for Castile or Aragón.[26] More complex still are notions of maritime borders in the Mediterranean that military orders are said to have protected by their naval activities.[27] The interpretation of the knights as guardians and defenders of the border, this classical understanding of the relationship between military orders and frontier, ultimately has two modern backdrops: the interest of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the borders of the modern nation state and a very specific concept of the orders, namely that of a purely military institution.

In the last decades of the twentieth century this last perspective was effectively challenged by a second position that viewed the medieval military orders above all as a specific form of religious institute. The backdrop for this approach in the last quarter of the twentieth century has often been underlined by Jonathan Riley-Smith and others: the theology of liberation, the secularization of religious studies, the effects of the Second Vatican Council.[28] But at the turn of the century – and

similarly to frontier studies – political and societal changes have given this approach to the study of the military orders new impetus. Religious fundamentalism, particularly within Islam, but also in Christianity and Judaism, with the resulting growth of religiously motivated violence has heightened our interest not only in religious demarcations and borders, but also in those individuals who drew such lines between religions by both sacrificing their lives and taking those of others. Jihadism as a device of demarcation has heightened our interest in Christian martyrdom and religiously motivated violence in the Middle Ages, as recent collections of essays show.[29]

Stressing the religious dimension of the brethren's frontier activities can hark back to a long tradition created and upheld over many centuries by the very orders themselves. As is well known, the frontier was an important raison d'être for the Hospitallers on Rhodes and Malta[30] and for the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic, and how challenging the disappearance of this argument was, is well illustrated by the decline and fall of the Teutonic Order State.[31] This self-fashioning coincided with that of some countries where military orders were active, countries which declared their frontier status to be a foundational national feature. Well known cases are Poland and Hungary, the self-proclaimed 'shield of faith' (*propugnaculum fidei* or *antemurale fidei*); the Iberian Peninsula is another case in point, as Philippe Josserand's studies on the Spanish orders' historiography have shown.[32]

Viewing medieval military orders not so much as a military but as a specific religious institute of the medieval Catholic church conveys a particular spatial dimension to research that links up with a third understanding of the frontier, that of the frontier as the periphery of a given entity. Just as the frontier stood in a complex, often not sufficiently studied relation to the heartland of any given realm,[33] frontier areas themselves were divided into immediate borderlands and frontier hinterlands.[34] Similarly, the houses of religious orders situated on the border to the dār al-Islām not only differed from those in the hinterland, but were also connected to these by very specific ties. This has been demonstrated for the Cistercians in the case of Spain and eastern central Europe[35] and equally holds good for the military orders. Here too, much research remains to be conducted, for example by reconstructing the exact lines of communication between frontiers and heartlands, particularly in the case of the Teutonic Order and the Latin States in the Levant, whereas important studies have recently been published for the Iberian case, where the respective orders' houses on the frontier have been put into relation with the headquarters.[36]

In fact, Spain is the best example for showing how academic interest in the relation between political centres and their periphery can conflate with that of medieval military orders. Quite in accordance with Friedrich Ratzel's notion of the frontier as a temporary phase in state nation building, a series of studies have attempted to analyze the contribution Iberian brethren first made to the construction of the frontier that was then in turn subsequently integrated into the realm as a result of a consequent policy of the Castilian monarchs.[37] The role of the military orders on the British Isles has also been studied from this statist angle, for example by Helen Nicholson.[38] The Iberian case is again the best example for determining

the impact of military advance and political expansion, the shift from frontier to hinterland. This is particularly relevant to the military orders, as they received many territories and castles during phases of military advance at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century which subsequently lost their character as border zones respectively peripheral fortifications because of the progress of the so-called 'reconquest'.[39] Naturally, this had effects on the function of former frontline castles, and in some cases, the orders reacted to these changes by pondering a shift of their very headquarters to the new frontier, to Osuna in the case of Calatrava, to Morón in the case of Santiago.[40] Differentiating analytically between an order's central and its peripheral possessions also sharpens our awareness for the economic strains border fortifications put on the military orders, particularly in comparison to castles in the hinterland which were less in danger of being attacked and damaged.[41]

In the case of international orders such as the religious military orders, relations between the frontier and the heartland were not confined by the borders of any given realm. But this relation between centre and periphery is notoriously difficult to determine. The knights' *responsiones* are often mentioned in studies on the religious military orders, but seldom really studied in depth, not least because of scant source material on the subject.[42] Recruitment and mobility are now being analyzed,[43] but to date, only the Teutonic Order has been systematically studied to any comprehensive degree.[44] Even more difficult to reconstruct than these relations are the means and ways in which the frontier experience was transported back and processed in the hinterland. Hagiography, propaganda and myth building are only the most visible communicative channels and media in this respect,[45] whereas individual experiences remain largely invisible – this too a modern research subject heavily marked by current debates on post-traumatic stress disorder and other effects of war experiences.

So far, I have dealt with three interpretations of medieval frontiers: frontiers as state borders, as lines of religious demarcation and as peripheries of larger entities. The fourth understanding of the frontier, that of an area *sui generis* that created a society and brought forth institutions of its own, requires more attention, because it arguably harbours particular potential for modern research.

The military orders and frontier societies

Frederick Jackson Turner's notion of the frontier as a state of mind of those who inhabited it has been extremely momentous.[46] His notion of frontier societies that bring forth institutions precisely relating to their frontier condition has been picked up in many fields of research, also in medieval studies. It has been convincingly applied to the Crusader States in the Levant[47] and to Livonia,[48] but probably Spanish scholarship has been most productive in this field, which has in fact become something of a trademark for Iberian medievalism. It might suffice to mention the eight conferences on medieval frontier studies – the *estudios de frontera* – published between 1996 and 2011, quite apart from a considerable number of proceedings focusing the Iberian frontiers.[49]

The reasons for this interest are multiple: first, the documentary situation in Spain and Portugal is often exceptionally good, particularly for the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as one can draw on royal archival holdings as well as on archives of frontier settlements and on patrimonial archives of landholders in border zones. On the basis of these sources, Iberian medievalists have amassed a substantial corpus of documentation over the last years that throws new light on life in medieval border zones. This documentation, though specific to the Iberian case, is a treasure trove for general questions on frontier societies. The second reason for the interest of Spanish academic circles in this subject is particular to present day Spain, a country strongly marked by different peoples, nationalities and regional communities subsumed under the administrative concept of the *autonomías*. Some decades ago, Andalusia, a region without a language differing from the official state language Castilian (in contrast to Galicia, Catalonia or the Basque Country) recognized that its geographical proximity to and historical connectedness with the Islamicate world – in short: its frontier experience – could be seen as a singular trait that lay at the heart of Andalusian identity. This in turn favoured research into the specific case of the most prominent of all Iberian frontiers: the Andalusian.

Whatever the varying political, economic and societal factors behind academic research into medieval borders, the results have been quite astounding. But they are in no way homogeneous or generally accepted. Broadly speaking, one can distinguish two schools of thought. The first school, one could crudely term it the 'School of frontier strife', stresses the multiple effects that the proximity of a declared and militarily active enemy had upon frontier societies: the volatility and danger of the frontier favoured cattle-holding over other forms of agriculture; raid warfare and the constant threat of assaults and captivity not only created a climate of fear and vigilance, but also brought forth an extremely violent and harsh society. This image can also be applied to interreligious frontiers outside the Iberian Peninsula: the Christian-Pagan border between the Teutonic Order State and Lithuania is another case in point, as Werner Paravicini's studies and subsequent research into the so-called *Preußenreisen* have shown.[50] Contrary to contemporary images of chivalric prowess, frontier warfare in the Baltic was indeed a dirty, brutal and cowardly form of violence that inflicted considerable hardship upon the rural population on both sides of the frontier.

Similar traits can be discerned with respect to the Iberian scenario. The mounted raids – the *cabalgadas* or *entradas* (arab. *algāra*) – and random kidnapping by trans-border raiders – *almogáveres* – committed by both sides are mentioned again and again in the sources, particularly in the municipal documentation, including that of settlements belonging to religious military orders.[51] Morón de la Frontera for example was an important fortress and town of the Order of Alcántara, in fact so much so that for a time the knights seriously considered transferring their order's headquarters to this frontier settlement.[52] Morón's municipal acts provide vivid insight into the many attacks and counter-attacks committed in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, mainly with the aim of robbing cattle or kidnapping humans for ransom.[53] Usually, the agents of these raids – either as

perpetrators or defenders – were urban militias, but sometimes, the brethren of the military orders also took part in such activities, as in 1404, when the *Comendador Mayor* of the Order of Alcántara was able to impede the theft of an entire herd in a skirmish which ended with the death of 89 Muslim raiders.[54] Sources such as these are so vivid and the cases so numerous that the author of a recent study has termed the Granadan-Castilian border a *frontera caliente*,[55] and a number of recent studies focus on the frontier's military dimension.[56]

That being said, there is also an important counter narrative which can equally fall back on a substantial corpus of documentation in its support. This school, one might term it the 'School of frontier harmony' as opposed to the 'School of frontier strife', is conspicuously indebted to the *convivencia* paradigm introduced by the Spanish philologist Americo Castro, which – after having been viciously slandered particularly in Iberian academia – has in the meantime gained considerable ground among historians, particularly in the United States. Whereas some of its adherents take an extremely one-sided and all too idyllic view on interreligious cohabitation, others do not negate the existence of aggression and violence on the border.[57] But they underline the alternations between periods of peace and war;[58] more important to our subject, they also point out elements that contradict our notion of insurmountable opposition or even confined endemic violence between Muslims and Christians.

And indeed, the intercultural frontier brought forth a series of such institutions worthy of attention. For example, military contingents are known to have served as special fighting forces on the other side of the religious border. This is illustrated both by Christian militias serving Muslim sultans in Northern Africa and the Kingdom of Granada and by Muslim cavalry doing service at Christian courts. In the Iberian context one might mention the Moorish guard in Castile and the Muslim cavalry in Aragon, which have received competent treatment by Ana Echevarría and Hussein Fancy respectively.[59] These *jinétes* in Castile, *genets* in the Crown of Aragon,[60] were comparatively immune to courtly power play and possessed specific fighting skills. Sicily in the Norman and Staufen period is another well known example for the employment of Muslim militias by Christians, and as far as the Latin East is concerned we still cannot definitely answer with certainty which groups or fighters were encompassed by the tantalizing term *turcopoles*.[61]

Even more singular to the religious frontier were institutions precisely dedicated to countering the adverse effects of interreligious violence.[62] Such offices emerged on the Iberian frontier in the course of the fourteenth century and in fact formed a complex system of conflict containment. Muslim and Christian judges were commissioned to dispense justice jointly on contentious issues. Known as 'judges between Christians and Muslims' or 'judges of complaints' (*alcaldes entre los cristianos y moros – jueces de las querellas*), these officials formed joint Christian-Muslim commissions the aim of which was to facilitate solving disputes without resorting to reprisals. Other offices were created in order to ease the liberation of captives: the Castilian *alfaqueques* – a word derived from the Arabic *fakkāk*[63] – and the *exeas* in Aragón took on this job of mediation and negotiating.[64] Since the fourteenth century, rangers – *rastreros* or *fieles del rastro* – were charged with

locating such victims and collecting trustworthy information on both sides of the border as to what had actually occurred. Without a doubt, the implementation of such a complex system must also be seen as a reaction to endemic violence, kidnapping and theft, and doubts have been expressed as to the efficiency of institutionalized joint law courts.[65] But such offices and institutions are also a clear indication that frontier societies went to a certain degree of trouble in order to contain interreligious conflicts. Violence and negotiation marked the frontier simultaneously. In a very similar vein, frontier zones were at particular times and in certain areas put under a specific form of contracted peace agreements. Significantly termed *Cartes de germandat* – 'diplomas of brotherhood' – in Aragonese sources and 'contracts of neighbourhood' (*contratos de vecindad*) in Castile,[66] such documents were signed by Muslim and Christian dignitaries precisely with the aim of diminishing the number of encroachments along the frontier. Or as the Mamluk official al-Qalqashandi lyrically put in the beginning of the fifteenth century, these contracts were geared at 'quenching defiance and lowering the eyes of ambition'.[67]

Needless to say, the prolonged existence of religious minorities under both Christian and Muslim dominion is an element particularly stressed by the adherents of the 'School of frontier harmony'.[68] Here, however, caution is required, for in the Iberian case the Muslim population was in fact often expulsed precisely from frontier settlements in the course of the conquest, usually not as an immediate result of their defeat, but rather in a staged process. However, recent research has equally identified the persistence of groups of Muslim inhabitants of frontier areas who add to the substantial and well studied number of communities in the hinterland such as the Ebro valley and the kingdom of Valencia.[69] The same can be said for the Baltic area, where not only the persistence of the local population is well attested, but also their prolonged adherence to their ancient beliefs, putting serious doubts as to the effect of missionary activities on the part of the knights.[70]

Not to speak of the situation in the peripheral areas of the Latin States of the Levant. Here, on the border, even forms of joint landholding are attested, a further institute particular to frontier societies and regions. For the Latin East, such *condominia* (Arabic *munāṣafāt*) were studied by Michael Köhler over 20 years ago.[71] All in all, Köhler counted more than 30 cases of Muslim-Christian *condominia*. His book is also, in fact primarily, a thorough study of interreligious diplomacy, another phenomenon closely tied to the frontier which is receiving growing attention lately, particularly in French scholarship. As such recent works show, professional expertise in Muslim-Christian diplomacy during the late Middle Ages was often provided by frontier specialists who had acquired the cultural and sometimes linguistic knowledge necessary to conduct diplomacy successfully.[72]

Where do military orders stand in all this, one might ask? Were they only institutional remnants of antagonistic relations between peoples of different creed? We must look with a bit more detail into the fields just enumerated – that is the world of conflict containment, of subjected religious minorities, of joint landholding and of diplomacy – in order to determine to which extent the religious military orders were indeed an integral part of late medieval frontier societies. This too is

not an absolutely new question, for in the last two decades military religious orders have begun to be seen in some countries as institutions particularly important to and specific of the medieval frontier. As Michael Köhler, Peter Holt, Jochen Burgtorf, Ronnie Ellenblum and others have convincingly shown, the Hospitallers and Templars at least were an integral part of the *condominia* system.[73] A document from 1233 mentions the *terra partitionis* shared between the Hospitallers and the Sultan of Aleppo, and in the mid-thirteenth century the Templars had to be prevented by King Louis IX of France from creating a *condominium* with al-Malik al Nāṣir Yūsuf.[74] A particularly explicit document is the agreement reached between the Hospitallers under Hugh Revel and Sultan Baybars in 1267 concerning jointly administered land west of the Orontes.[75] Of course this contract was the result of a very concrete political and military situation, the expression of military weakness on the part of the Order of St John,[76] but for our question this is a secondary point. More relevant is the fact that such contracts are mentioned quite often in the course of the twelfth and thirteenth century, particularly in Arabic sources, and military orders played an important role therein. Though joint landholding is also attested on the Iberian Peninsula, military orders do not appear to have engaged in this particular form of *condominium*.[77] The Teutonic Order in turn went to great pains to clearly demarcate its borders with all of its neighbours except the Lithuanians – agreements which in turn were brought about with the help of commissions formed by both parties.[78] The relation with the Lithuanians in turn was marked by both frequent truces and by individual regulations which allowed certain groups to cross the border while hunting; but Pagan-Christian *condominia* were no part of the Teutonic Knights' frontier organization.[79]

Turning to religious minorities under the knights' rule, it is a matter of course that military orders employed non-Christian workers, not only as slaves.[80] The extent of free Muslim or Pagan populations naturally varied from region to region, and major areas were completely colonized by the Christian victors; but others maintained non-Christian communities as vassals over centuries. This is well attested for the Baltic area and in the Latin East, but it also applies to the Iberian frontier,[81] where historians are lucky enough to possess many telling documents such as the contracts signed by the Muslim inhabitants of Grisén or La Almunia de Doña Godina with the Knights Hospitallers;[82] where an entire corpus of documents has allowed for writing the history of the Muslim communities under Templar and Hospitaller rule in Ascó and Miravet;[83] where one can follow the fate of the Galip family of Saragossa, Muslim subjects of the local Templars, over several generations;[84] or where the dealings of the Muslim inhabitants in Avis, the very headquarters of the order, have recently been traced.[85] We also know that the Order of Santiago or that of Montesa received the royal taxes levied upon subjected Muslims (*mudéjares*) living in their territories.[86] It appears that the knights showed no particular interest in converting these vassals to Christianity.[87] In fact, in certain singular cases they even provided for joint Christian-Muslim places of worship: the Marian shrine of Saidnaya under Templar administration is the most striking example for such syncretistic practices under the knights' supervision.[88]

In certain, albeit very few cases, the military orders might have included Muslims into fighting forces. The Templar Master William of Beaujeu was – perhaps unjustly – accused of holding a personal Muslim guard,[89] and the order of Calatrava supposedly led Muslim vassals against the Bishop of Toledo in 1242.[90] The Teutonic Order is also known to have employed recently subdued Baltic peoples in Livonia.[91] This necessarily leads to the question, if knights of the religious military orders themselves acted as members of a religious – Christian – minority on the other side of the border or even fought in the service of Muslim rulers. This is difficult to imagine, and indeed it is not safely attested, although we do have the case of the Templer Bernat de Fuentes who headed the Christian militia at the Hafsid court in Tunis, however only as a result of his order's suppression and his brethren's persecution at the hands of his coreligionists.[92] All in all therefore, such references to cross-cultural combating are more anecdotic than trustworthy.

More numerous are references to the knights' diplomatic activities. Peace agreements such as that between King Amalric of Jerusalem and the Fatimid Kalif Al-'Āḍid in 1167 were reached by mediation of the Templar Geoffrey Fulcher who evidently had a certain degree of intercultural expertise;[93] other Templar and Hospitaller knights are repeatedly attested as envoys during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[94] and the mediating intervention of a Templar knight secured an agreement between King Louis IX of France and Mamluk officials in 1250.[95] On the Iberian scenario, both Castilian and Aragonese monarchs frequently fell back upon the brethren as ambassadors before Muslim rulers in the course of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and when the Catalonian merchants attempted to reach an agreement with the Mamluks in 1429, the settlement finally came about thanks to the mediation of a Hospitaller brother named *Ifra Antuniyu Fluriyan* in the Arabic document: nobody else than the later Master Antoni de Fluvià.[96]

In certain cases, orders also seem to have partaken in the system of conflict containment developed on the Iberian frontiers in the late Middle Ages. The master of Santiago, Vasco Rodriguez, is attested as *adelantado mayor* of the *adelantamiento de frontera* in 1331, a royal territorial unit for solving judicial disputes.[97] But these did not necessarily involve conflicts with Muslims. More telling is the case of Morón de la Frontera, where a 'judge for affairs between Christians and Muslims' was established by the town council, surely not without permission by its overlord, the knights of Alcántara.[98] In the Latin East too, Hospitaller delegates joined Muslim judges on the Orontes in cases of legal disputes concerning their condominium. But it is difficult to say if knights actively participated in such courts as judges.[99] Neither do the vernacular romances and ballads that convey vivid images of life on the Iberian frontier, the *romances de frontera*,[100] give particular prominence to the military orders or the knights, although one should not forget the *Romance del Maestre de Calatrava* which relates the many combats and duels an anonymous master fought with a series of Muslim paladins.[101]

In contrast, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some military orders actually engaged in the task of ransoming captives on the frontier. The Order of Santiago established a hospital in Toledo in 1180 which was dedicated to both caring for the needy and ransoming prisoners; the knights established five further

charitable houses in 1227 in the Kingdom of Castile alone.[102] The Order of Montjoy was joined with the Order of the Redeemer, another institution dedicated to the ransoming of captives from Islam and founded by Alfonso II of Aragon.[103] In the Latin East, only the Hospitallers appear to have partaken in redemptionist activities to any larger extent, whereas the Templars and Teutonic Knights were reluctant as to this form of charitable work, although they did agree to treaties that included the exchange of their brethren.[104]

Most important, the religious military orders acted on the frontier as diplomatic agents in their own right by signing armistices or treaties with Muslim or pagan powers. This is a matter of course for the Teutonic Order State, as Klaus Neitmann's pertinent study on the 'Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens' soundly demonstrates.[105] But it is also true for the Levant and to a lesser extent for the Iberian Peninsula. The Templars and Hospitallers received permission to sign armistices independently: in 1142 Raymond of Tripoli conveyed this right on the Hospitallers, and similar privileges were subsequently issued.[106] Consequently, the orders often acted as autonomous entities on the frontier, particularly when royal power was weak, as the treaty between Hugh Revel and Baybars shows.[107] Exceptional, but revealing, is the case of Don Rodrigo Manrique, who aspired to the mastership of the Order of Santiago in the 1430s and 1440s and had no scruples in signing military alliances with the Muslim Nasrides against his Christian coreligionists in order to reach this aim.[108]

To sum up the central part of this chapter: frontier areas between Latin and Muslim respectively Latin and Pagan held territories were strongly marked by both the challenges that religious antagonism posed upon them and by very concrete attempts to mitigate conflict and reach some form of cohabitation. The knights of the military orders took part in such attempts, but not in a prominent fashion, particularly as far as the development of concrete frontier institutions is concerned.

Transmission and transfer

The last two interpretations of pre-modern frontiers – the transfer processes and the wide field of mental and cultural boundaries – will be dealt with in a rather cursory manner. A notable feature of the frontier is precisely its degree of hybridity.[109] Archaeological and artistic evidence as well as written sources such as inventories show to which extent frontier societies mingled elements of their respective hinterlands. There is no need to deal with the vexed question as to what extent military religious orders adapted oriental elements in their fortifications or their armory. But a register of tax payments in the town of Morón, an important centre of the Order of Alcántara, names an amazing amount of oriental products that highlight the role of the frontier as an area of transfer: *almaizares de seda, coronas moriscas con orillas de seda, alhofijas moriscas con orillas coloradas, sábanas moriscas, alfardas de seda moriscas, . . . alfaremes moriscos.*[110] Capitular records and tax inventories provide insight into transcultural commerce and show that the knights in fact participated therein. Notably, several castles of the Order of Santiago along the Andalusian frontier have convincingly been identified as 'customs castles' (*castillos portazgueros*), because they effectively served as border crossings between al-Andalus and Castile, where the knights collected customs for goods transported from the dār al-Islām to Christian territories and vice versa.[111] Similarly, in the Latin East castles in the North of the Crusaders States such as Margat served as toll-stations, and Ibn Jubair relates that the fortress of Toron also fulfilled this function.[112]

But did the knights reflect on this at all, were they aware of the issue of hybridity and transfer or even of socially and culturally constructed spaces? Hardly – and not only because we are dealing with modern concepts. It is also because the knights of the religious military orders were not precisely contemplative. Despite all attempts to identify an extensive literary culture, with few exceptions the world of these men was not that of intellectual reflection.[113] Although in certain moments in time they might have acted in such a way, their actual raison d'être did not predestine them as cultural brokers. However, when pragmatic reasons commended it, they appear to have fulfilled such functions; *conveniencia*, not *convivencia* – convenience, not broadmindedness or even tolerance – lead the way.[114] The religious military orders fostered permeability at the frontier to a larger degree than one might expect. But they do not appear to have played an important role in processes of cultural transfer and hybridization. Demarcation and permeability were simultaneously two aspects of their activities.

Our current yearning for more peaceful forms of cohabitation between Muslim societies and those sometimes termed Christian, but more often named Western, undoubtedly guides the pen and leads the steps of those in search of medieval frontier harmony. But to my way of thinking, it is not only legitimate, but also necessary to apply such an approach to the history of the religious military orders. First, because of the longevity and the head start of competing historiographical traditions that focus on interreligious antagonism. And second, because new questions might bring to light new sources or let us reread well known documents in a different fashion. Much research is still necessary in order to provide enough documentary material that will permit a more nuanced view. The knights of the religious military orders were not guardians of faith alone, but they should not uncritically be termed cultural brokers either. Neither can there be any serious doubt that reality did not lie in the middle, for the military orders were indeed primarily military, religious and economic institutes marked by their hostile attitude to Muslims or Pagans. But highlighting both demarcation and permeability might help us realize that frontier realities and the activities of the military religious orders were far more complex than medievalists have often been prone to believe.

Notes

1 In this chapter I am applying thoughts to the religious military orders which were developed in N. Jaspert, 'Grenzen und Grenzräume im Mittelalter: Forschungen, Konzepte und Begriffe', in *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich. Der*

Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa, ed. K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Berlin, 2007), pp. 43–70. My thanks go to Wolf Zöller and Jochen Schenk for hints and corrections regarding this chapter.

2 *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (Budapest, 2001).

3 *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI–XIV)*, ed. C. de Ayala Martínez, P. Buresi and P. Josserand (Madrid, 2001).

4 P. Josserand, 'Frontière', in *Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009), pp. 372–75; P. Josserand, 'Frontières et ordres militaires dans le monde latin au Moyen Âge', in *Frontières oubliées, frontières retrouvées: marches et limites anciennes en France et en Europe*, ed. M. Catala, D. Le Page and J.-C. Meuret (Rennes, 2011), pp. 189–98; A. Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté: (1530–1670)* (Rome, 2006).

5 On terminology see: W. Schich, 'Die "Grenze" im östlichen Mitteleuropa im hohen Mittelalter', *Siedlungsforschung. Archäologie-Geschichte-Geographie*, 9 (1991), 135–45; J. Kramer, 'Bezeichnungen für "Grenze" in den europäischen Sprachen', *Diagonal*,2 (1993), 15–24; H. W. Nicklis, 'Von der "Grenitze" zur Grenze. Die Grenzidee des lateinischen Mittelalters', *Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte*, 128 (1992), 1–29; M. Pfister, 'Grenzbezeichnungen im Italoromanischen und Galloromanischen', in *Grenzen und Grenzregionen = Frontières et régions frontalières*, ed. W. Haubrichs and R. Schneider (Saarbrücken, 1993), pp. 37–48; R. Marti, 'Grenzbezeichnungen–grenzüberschreitend', in *Grenzen erkennen–Begrenzungen überwinden. Festschrift für Reinhard Schneider zur Vollendung seines 65. Lebensjahrs*, ed. W. Haubrichs, K.–U. Jäschke and M. Oberweis (Sigmaringen, 1999), pp. 19–33.

6 Kramer, 'Bezeichnungen für "Grenze" in den europäischen Sprachen', 19–20; J. P. Molénat, 'Les diverses notions de 'frontière' dans la region de Castilla-La Mancha au temps des Almoravides et des Almohades', in *Alarcos 1195 = al-Arak 592* (Cuenca, 1996), pp. 105–23; A. Bazzana, 'El concepto de frontera en el Mediterráneo occidental en la Edad Media', in *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (s. XIII – XVI)*, ed. P. Segura Artero, Colección Actas, 29 (Almería, 1997), pp. 25–46.

7 J. Gautier Dalché, 'Islam et chrétienté en Espagne au XIIe siècle: contribution à l'étude de la notion de frontière', *Hespéris*, 46 (1959), 183–217; P. Sénac, 'Islam et chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Âge: la naissance d'une frontière', *Studia Islamica*, 89 (1999), 91–108; A. Bazzana, P. Guichard and P. Sénac, 'La frontière dans l'Espagne médiévale', in *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au Moyen Age*, ed. J.-M. Poisson (Rome, 1992), pp. 35–59; M. I. Pérez de Tudela Velasco, 'El concepto de frontera en la historiografía medieval hispana', *Castellum*, 2 (1996), 131–40; P. Buresi, 'The Appearance ofthe Frontier Concept in the Iberian Peninsula: At the Crossroads of Local, National and Pontifical Strategies (11th–13th Centuries)', in *Frontiers and Borderlands*, ed. W. Falkowski and A. Janeczek (Warsaw, 2011), pp. 81–100.

8 R. Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Marca. Zu den Begriffen "Mark" und "Gemarkung" in den Leges Barbarorum', in *Stammesrecht und Volkssprache. Ausgewählte Aufsätze zu den Leges barbarorum*, ed. D. Hüpper (Weinheim, 1991), pp. 335–52. On the debate as to what extent the *marca* was populated: M. Zimmermann, 'Le rôle de la frontière dans la formation de la Catalogne (IX–XIIème siècle)', in *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval*, ed. A. M. Barrero, J. A. García de Cortázar, M. L. Mattoso, J. I. Ruiz de la Peña and M. Zimmermann (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 12–26; J. A. García de Cortazar, 'De una sociedad de frontera (el Valle del Duero en el siglo X) a una frontera entre sociedades (el Valle del Tajo en el siglo XII)', in *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval*, ed. A. M. Barrero, J. A. García de Cortázar, M. L. Mattoso, J. I. Ruiz de la Peña and M. Zimmermann (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 51–68, especially p. 54; L. McCrank, 'Medieval Tarragona: A Frontier Town in New Catalonia', in *El Món urbà a la Corona d'Aragó del 1137 als Decrets de Nova Planta*, ed. S. Claramunt (Barcelona, 2003), pp. 441–74, especially p. 451.

9 H. Karp, *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters: ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzsaum* (Cologne, 1972); H. Kolb, 'Zur Frühgeschichte des Wortes "Grenze"', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 226 (1989), 344–56; Schich, 'Die "Grenze" im östlichen Mitteleuropa im hohen Mittelalter'; Nicklis, 'Von der "Grenitze" zur Grenze'; G. P. Marchal, 'Grenzerfahrung und Raumvorstellungen: Zur Thematik des Kolloquiums', in *Grenzen und Raumvorstellungen: (11. – 20. Jh.) = Frontières et conception de l'espace*, ed. G. P. Marchal (Zürich, 1996), pp. 11–25, especially pp. 17–18. See the example of Masovia: G. Mysliwski, 'Boundaries and Men in Poland from the Twelfth to the Sixteenth Century: the Case of Masovia', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 217–37. Other cases of marking borders: L. Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra: determinazione dei confini e percezione dello spazio nell'alto Medioevo* (Bologna, 1991).

10 Cf. García de Cortazar, 'De una sociedad de frontera', p. 53 with further references; P. Chalmeta Gendrón, 'El concepto de tagr', in *La Marche supérieure d'al-Andalus et l'Occident chrétien*, ed. P. Sénac (Madrid, 1991), pp. 15–27; E. Manzano Moreno, 'La projecció de l'estat omeia al Tagr', in *L'Islam i Catalunya*, ed. M. P. Acién Almansa (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 65–9.

11 Recent studies with references to prior scholarship: *Grenzräume und Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa*, ed. K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Berlin, 2007); *Faktum und Konstrukt: politische Grenzziehungen im Mittelalter: Verdichtung – Symbolisierung–Reflexion*, ed. N. Bock (Münster, 2011); *Frontières oubliées, frontières retrouvées: marches et limites anciennes en France et en Europe*, ed. M. Catala, M. Catala, D. Le Page and J.-C. Meuret (Rennes, 2011); *Frontiers and Borderlands*, ed. W. Falkowski and A. Janeczek (Warsaw, 2011).

12 F. Ratzel, *Politische Geographie* (München, 1897).

13 J. Grimm, 'Deutsche Grenzalterthümer (1843)', in *Kleine Schriften*, ed. J. Grimm (Berlin, 1865), II, pp. 30–74, citation p. 31, on "Grenzen": 'nicht blosz als trennendes, sondern zugleich als einigendes princip behandelt werden, aus welchen neben der nothwendigen scheide ein band der nachbarschaft und gemeinschaft sich entfalte'.

14 F. J. Turner, 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893* (Washington, DC, 1894), pp. 199–227, later reprinted as chapter 1 of: F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921).

15 N. Berend, 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier', *The Medieval History Journal*, 2 (1999), 55–72, especially p. 69; P. Guichard, 'Avant Tordesillas: La délimitation des terres de reconquête dans l'Espagne des XIIe et XIIIe siècles', in *Le partage du monde: échanges et colonisation dans la méditerranée médiévale*, ed. M. Balard and A. Ducellier (Paris, 1998), pp. 453–60; N. Berend, 'Hungary, "the Gate of Christendom"', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 201–05.

16 P. Zumthor, *La mesure du monde: représentation de l'espace au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993); Lagazzi, *Segni sulla terra*; cf. Marchal, 'Grenzerfahrung und Raumvorstellungen', and H. Maurer, 'Naturwahrnehmung und Grenzbeschreibung im hohen Mittelalter. Beobachtungen an italienischen Quellen', in *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. K. Borchardt and E. Bünz (Stuttgart, 1998), I, pp. 239–53; C. Gozalbes Cravioto, 'Reflexiones sobre el concepto antiguo y medieval de frontera', in *III Estudios de frontera. Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera. En memoria de Don Juan de Mata Carriazo y Arroquia*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2000), pp. 361–74.

17 S. P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York, NY, 1996).

18 Ayala Martínez, Buresi and Josserand, *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval*; M. Apostolov, *The Christian-Muslim Frontier: A Zone of Contact, Conflict or Cooperation* (London, 2004); P. Buresi, *La frontière entre chrétienté et Islam dans la péninsule Ibérique: du Tage à la Sierra Morena (fin XIe-milieu XIIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2004); Falkowski and Janeczek, *Frontiers and Borderlands*.

19 *Challenging Boundaries: Global Flows, Territorial Identities*, ed. M. J. Shapiro (Minneapolis, MN, 1996); K. S. Guthke, *Die Erfindung der Welt: Globalität und Grenzen in der Kulturgeschichte der Literatur* (Tübingen, 2005). Cf. *Frontière et peuplement dans le monde méditerranéen au moyen âge*, ed. J. Poisson (Rome, 1992); L. Benevolo and B. Albrecht, *Grenzen. Typographie–Geschichte–Architektur* (Frankfurt, 1995); M. Bauer and T. Rahn, *Die Grenze: Begriff und Inszenierung* (Berlin, 1997); *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, ed. D. Power and N. Standen (Houndmills, 1999); *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. D. Abulafia and N. Berend (Aldershot, 2002); *States, Nations, and Borders: the Ethics of Making Boundaries*, ed. A. Buchanan and M. Moore (Cambridge, 2003); *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. F. Curta (Turnhout, 2005); *Grenzen weltweit: Zonen, Linien, Mauern im historischen Vergleich*, ed. J. Ö. Becker (Vienna, 2006).

20 Pérez de Tudela Velasco, El concepto de frontera en la historiografía medieval hispana; J. E. López de la Coca Castañer, 'Consideraciones sobre la frontera marítima', in *Actas del Congreso La Frontera Oriental Nazarí como Sujeto Histórico (S. XIII – XVI)* ed. P. Segura Artero (Almería, 1997), pp. 391–408; R. Salicrú i Lluch, 'La frontera marítima en el Mediterráneo bajomedieval', in *Convivencia, defensa y comunicación en la frontera. III Estudios de Frontera* (Jaén, 2000), pp. 681–709; C. Gonzalbes Cravioto, 'La frontera marítima del occidente malagueño en los documentos geográficos medievales cristianos', in *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera. IV Estudios de Frontera, congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. R. Molina (Jaén, 2002), pp. 247–66; María J. Latorre Rodríguez, 'El agua como frontera', in *Historia, tradiciones y leyendas en la frontera. IV Estudios de Frontera, congreso celebrado en Alcalá la Real en noviembre de 2001. Homenaje a Don Enrique Toral y Peñaranda* ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. R. Molina (Jaén, 2002), pp. 311–24.

21 Berend, 'Medievalists and the Notion of the Frontier', p. 64.

22 P. Linehan, 'At the Spanish Frontier', in *The Medieval World*, ed. P. Linehan and J. L. Nelson (London, 2001), pp. 37–59, especially pp. 38, 46, 54; Pfister, 'Grenzbezeichnungen im Italoromanischen und Galloromanischen'.

23 *Spatial Turn: das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, ed. J. Döring and T. Thielmann (Bielefeld, 2008); *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. B. Warf and S. Arias (London, 2009); *Raumkonzepte: disziplinäre Zugänge*, ed. I. Baumgärtner, P. Klumbies, F. Sick and M. Kohls (Göttingen, 2009); S. Rau, *Räume: Konzepte, Wahrnehmungen, Nutzungen* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013).

24 H. Kennedy, *Crusader Castles* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1–10; R. Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 3–39; A. Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders: A Survey of the Urban Centres, Rural Settlements and Castles of the Military Orders in the Latin East (c.1120–1291)* (London, 2008), pp. 12–14 provide overviews of earlier research. For the Iberian Peninsula see the journal *Castillos de España* and the proceedings of several pertinent series of conferences (*Congresos de Castellologia Iberíca*; *Congresos Internacionales sobre Fortificaciones*) as well as the *Estudios de Frontera* mentioned in note 49. For the Baltic: T. Torbus, *Die Konventsburgen im Deutschordensland Preußen* (München, 1998); T. Torbus, *Zamki krzyzackie* (Wrocław, 2010).

25 A. Quintana Prieto, *La documentación pontificia de Inocencio IV, 1243–1254* (Roma, 1987), p. 64, doc. 35: the knights were exempt from attending the Cistercian General Chapter *circa defensionem frontarie contra infideles Ispaniae occupati*; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Presencia y protagonismo en las Órdenes Militares castellano-leonesas en la frontera (s. XIII–XIV)', in *Hacedores de frontera: estudios sobre el contexto social de la frontera en la España medieval*, ed. M. A. Rodríguez de la Peña (Madrid, 2009), pp. 161–78, especially p. 161; J. O'Callaghan, 'The Earliest "Difiniciones" of the Order of Calatrava, 1304–1383', *Traditio*, 17 (1961), 255–84, especially p. 273 (doc. 27); P. Josserand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique: les ordres militaires dans le royaume de Castille (1252–1369)* (Madrid, 2004), pp. 69, 88–92, 140–63.

26 C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Fortalezas y creación de espacio político: la Orden de Santiago y el territorio conquense–siglos XII–XIII', *Meridies*, 2 (1995), 23–47; A. Ruibal Rodríguez, 'Funciones de las fortalezas en los territorios de las Órdenes Militares', in *II Estudios de frontera. Actividad y vida en la frontera. En memoria de Don Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 1998), pp. 709–18; F. García Fitz, 'Guerra y fortificaciones en la plena Edad Media peninsular: una reflexión en torno a la existencia y funcionalidad bélica de los "sistemas defensivos"', in *Funciones de la red castral fronteriza. Homenaje a Don Juan Torres Fontes*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2004), pp. 223–42; Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*, pp. 105–85; Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 103–5. Ellenblum's study in itself shows just how much such a deconstruction of the military orders' contribution to the creation of state borders is marked by contemporary political issues, in this case those of present day Israel.

27 *MO* 4, *passim*, and esp. J. Sarnowsky, 'The Military Orders and their Navies', in *MO* 4, pp. 41–56. See also *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (Farnham, 2013), and esp. M. Carr, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Alliances Against the Turks, 1306–1348', in *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-c.1798*, ed. E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (Farnham, 2013), pp. 167–76; T. Vann, 'Hospitallers and Piracy on Rhodes, 14th to 16th centuries', in *Seeraub im Mittelmeerraum. Piraterie, Korsarentum und maritime Gewalt von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit*, ed. N. Jaspert and S. Kolditz (Munich-Paderborn, 2013), pp. 251–61. See the critique by M. Greene, *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Chichester, 2002).

28 J. Riley-Smith, 'The Crusading Movement and Historians', in *Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), pp. 1–12; J. Riley-Smith, 'Islam and the Crusades in History and Imagination, 8 November 1898–11 September 2001', *Crusades*, 2 (2003), 151–67; J. Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (London, 2005), pp. 306–9.

29 S. Shepharu, 'To Die for God: Martyrs' Heaven in Hebrew and Latin Crusade Narration', *Speculum*, 77 (2002), 311–41; D. Talmon-Heller, 'Muslim Martyrdom and Quest for Martyrdom in the Crusading Period', *Al-Masaq*, 14 (2002), 31–9; *Märtyrer-Porträts: von Opfertod, Blutzeugen und heiligen Kriegern*, ed. S. Weigel (Paderborn, 2007); A. Neuwirth, 'Opfer, Gewalt und Erinnerung. Biblische und koranische Erinnerungsfiguren im vorderasiatischen Märtyrerdiskurs', in *Die Künste im Dialog der Kulturen: Europa und seine muslimischen Nachbarn*, ed. C. Wulf, J. Poulain and F. Triki (Berlin, 2007), pp. 37–62; *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, ed. G. Signori and J. Assmann (Leiden, 2012).

30 It should suffice to reference the oeuvre of Anthony Luttrell: *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert and H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 285–303 (Anthony Luttrell. Bibliography); cf. also: N. 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) and the works cited in note 27.

31 Brogini, *Malte, frontière de chrétienté*; K. Militzer, *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 143–83.

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73 Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*; P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden, 1995); J. Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', in *Jerusalem im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter. Konflikte und Konfliktbewältigung–Vorstellungen und Vergegenwärtigungen*, ed. D. Bauer, K. Herbers and N. Jaspert (Frankfurt a. M., 2001), pp. 165–200,especially p. 193; Ellenblum, *Crusader Castles and Modern Histories*.

74 Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, pp. 419–20.

75 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 32–41.

76 The truce was signed shortly after the massacre of the castle of Safed's Templar garrison by order of Baybars.

77 López de Coca Castañer, 'Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan frontier', pp. 149–50; Rodríguez Molina, 'Contratos de vecindad en la frontera de Granada', pp. 41–2, 55; Melo Carrasco, 'Un aspecto de la vida en la frontera castellano-granadina', p. 651.

78 K. Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen 1230–1449: Studien zur Diplomatie eines spätmittelalterlichen deutschen Territorialstaates* (Cologne, 1986), pp. 505–68, particularly pp. 508–15, 542–44, 551–9; a condominium was created in 1433 on the border to Lithuania, which was by then Christian, see ibid., p. 373. See also S. Gouguenheim, *Les chevaliers teutoniques* (Paris, 2007), pp. 457–63. In the Treaty of Bresc (31 December 1435 / 1 August 1436) regular 'Richttage' were stipulated to be held at the borders between the Teutonic Order State and Samogitia, Lithuania and Poland in order to solve border disputes with the help of deputies: R. Schneider, 'Institutionen zur Regelung von Grenzkonflikten im Mittelalter', in *Granice i pogranicza, język i historia: materiały międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej*, ed. S. Dubisz and A. Nagórko (Warsaw, 1994), pp. 113–32, especially pp. 125–7.

79 Neitmann, *Staatsverträge*, pp. 512–13; Gouguenheim, *Les chevaliers teutoniques*, p. 464; K. Neitmann, 'Jagdbriefe im diplomatischen Verkehr des Deutschen Ordens mit Polen-Litauen um 1400', *Preußenland*, 24 (1986), 25–33; A. Dubonis, 'Das Grenzgebiet zwischen Litauen und dem Deutschen Orden: soziale, wirtschaftliche, administrative, ethnische und kulturelle Kommunikation in den Jahren 1290–1422', in *Tannenberg–Grunwald–Žalgiris 1410. Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed. R. Petrauskas and G. Vercamer (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 53–69, especially pp. 58–59; R. Petrauskas, 'Litauen und der Deutsche Orden vom Feind zum Verbündeten', in *Tannenberg–Grunwald–Žalgiris 1410. Krieg und Frieden im späten Mittelalter*, ed.

R. Petrauskas and G. Vercamer (Wiesbaden, 2012), pp. 237–52. Similar rulings for cross-border hunting can be found in Spain: Rodríguez Molina, Contratos de vecindad en la frontera de Granada, pp. 48–9.

80 A. Yelo Templado, 'Los vasallos mudéjares de la Orden de Santiago en el Reino de Murcia (Siglos XIV–XV)', *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 11 (1981), 447–58; A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion of Muslims in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 1–22; M. L. Ledesma Rubio, 'Los vasallos mudéjares de la Orden del Hospital en Aragón', in *Actas del primer simposio histórico de la Orden de San Juan en España* (Toledo, 2003), pp. 161–4; On Muslim slaves see: A. Echevarria Arsuaga, 'Esclavos musulmanes en los hospitales de cautivos de la orden militar de Santiago (ss. XII-XIII)', *Al-Qantara*, 28 (2007), 463–86.

81 C. Almagro Vidal and L. R. Villegas Díaz, 'Sobre persistencia de población mudéjar en el Campo de Calatrava. Algunas noticias más', in *Islam y Cristiandad. Siglos XII-XVI: Homenaje a María Jesús Viguera Molins*, ed. F. Toro Ceballos and J.Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 2009), pp. 37–55; F. Ruiz Gómez, *Los orígenes de las órdenes militares y la repoblación de los territorios de La Mancha (1150–1250)* (Madrid, 2003), pp. 192–3; L. R. Villegas Díaz, 'Acerca de la permanencia de población musulmana en el Campo de Calatrava', in *Población y poblamiento. Homenaje al profeso González Jiménez*, ed. J. Rodríguez Molina and F. Toro Ceballos (Jaén, 2006), pp. 779–92; C. Barquero Goñi, 'Los mudéjares bajo el señorío de la Orden del Hospital en la España Medieval (siglos XII-XV)', in *Biografías mudéjares o La experiencia de ser minoría: biografías islámicas en la España cristiana*, ed. A. Echevarría Arsuaga (Madrid, 2008), pp. 183–202; C. Almagro Vidal, 'La Orden de Calatrava y la minoría mudéjar', in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros (VI encontro sobre ordens miltares)*, ed. C. Ferreira Fernandes, 2 vols (Palmela, 2012), II, pp. 617–30.

82 *Colección diplomática de La Almunia de Doña Godina: 1176–1395*, ed. A. Canellas López (Zaragoza, 1962), pp. 39–40, doc. 33; pp. 55–7, doc. 36; M. L. Ledesma Rubio, 'Colección diplomática de Grisén (siglos XII y XIII)', *Estudios de edad media de la Corona de Aragón*, 10 (1975), 704, doc. 6 und 744, doc. 49.

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86 E. Rodríguez Picavea Matilla, *Monjes guerreros en los reinos hispánicos: las órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media* (Madrid, 2008), p. 377.

87 B. Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches Toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984), pp. 146–52; Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Conversion'.

88 B. Hamilton, 'Our Lady of Saidnaya: An Orthodox Shrine Revered by Muslims and Knights Templar at the Time of the Crusades', in *The Holy Land, Holy Lands, and Christian History*, ed. R. N. Swanson (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 207–15; B. Z. Kedar, 'Convergences of Oriental Christian, Muslim, and Frankish Worshippers: The Case of Saydnaya', in *De Sion exibit lex et verbum domini de Hierusalem: Essays on Medieval Law, Liturgy, and Literature in Honour of Amnon Linder*, ed. Y. Hen (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 59–69; A. G. Remensnyder, *La Conquistadora: The Virgin Mary at War and Peace in the Old and New Worlds* (Oxford, 2014), pp. 157–63.

89 Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', p. 197.

90 Josserand, *Eglise et pouvoir dans la péninsule ibérique*, p. 262, who however underlines that this was in no way a general practice on the Iberian Peninsula. Similarly Ruibal Rodríguez, 'Funciones de las fortalezas', p. 714.

91 J. Kreem, 'Der Deutsche Orden in Livland: Die Heiden, Landvolk und Undeutsche in der livländischen Heeresverfassung', in *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture*, ed. H. Houben (Galatina, 2008), pp. 237–51, especially pp. 239–41; N. Jaspert, 'Zur Loyalität interkultureller Makler im Mittelmeerraum: Christliche Söldnerführer (alcayts) im Dienste muslimischer Sultane', in *Loyality in the Middle Ages. Ideal and Practices of a Cross-Social Value*, ed. J. Sonntag and C. Zermatten (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 235–74, esp. pp. 261–2.

92 A. Forey, *The Fall of the Templars in the Crown of Aragon* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 216.

93 Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', pp. 165, 191–2; J. Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitalers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), p. 441.

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96 M. Viladrich, 'Jaque al sultán en el "Damero maldito". Edidción y traducción de un tratado diplomático entre los mercaderes catalanes y el sultanato mamluco (1429)', in *L'Expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa edat mitjana*, ed. M. T. Ferrer i Mallol and D. Coulon (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 161–206; Jaspert, 'Zur Loyalität', pp. 261–2.

97 J. M. Ortuño Sánchez-Pedreño, *El adelantado de la Corona de Castilla* (Murcia, 1997), p. 39. See also Ayala Martínez, *Las Órdenes Militares hispánicas en la Edad Media*, pp. 155–6.

98 González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXVII.

99 In fact we know that in one instance, judges of the border had two *escuderos* of the master of Calatrava arrested because they had broken an armistice and kidnapped Muslims in Jaén – González Jiménez, 'La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada', p. 101.

100 MacKay, 'Los romances fronterizos como fuente histórica'; MacKay, 'The Ballad and the Frontier in Late Medieval Spain'; A. MacKay, 'Religion, Culture, and Ideology on the Late Medieval Castilian-Granadan Frontier', in *Medieval Frontier Societies*, ed. R. Bartlett and A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989), pp. 217–43; P. Correa Rodríguez, *Los romances fronterizos*, 2 vols (Granada, 1999).

101 Correa Rodríguez, *Los romances fronterizos*, II, pp. 381–403, 517, 597–635, based on the life of Rodrigo Téllez de Girón (with references to the tales of Abenzaidos and Albayaldos). Tellingly the 'Romance de la Muerte del Maestre de Santiago' – the Romance of the death of the Master Santiago – deals with Christian strife, not with interreligious conflict or conflict containment.

102 A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives from Islam', *Studia monastica*, 33 (1991), 259–79, especially 268–9; J. M. Calderón Ortega and F. J. Díaz Gonzalez, *Vae Victis: cautivos y prisioneros en la Edad Media hispánica* (Alcalá de Henares, 2012), pp. 230–1.

103 J. Delaville Le Roulx, 'L'Ordre de Montjoie', *ROL*, 1 (1893), 42–57; A. Forey, 'The Order of Mountjoy', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 250–266; Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming', 269–70; N. Jaspert, 'Transmediterrane Wechselwirkungen im 12. Jahrhundert. Der Ritterorden von Montjoie und der Templerorden', in *Die Ritterorden als Träger der Herrschaft: Territorien, Grundbesitz und Kirche*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2007), pp. 257–78.

104 Forey, 'The Military Orders and the Ransoming', pp. 273–4; Y. Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cultures (Leiden, 2002), pp. 200–11; P. Goridis, *Gefangen im Heiligen Land. Verarbeitung und Bewältigung christlicher Gefangenschaft zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge* (Ostfildern, 2015), who is more cautious concerning the Hospitallers' ransoming activities.

105 Neitmann, *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen*; Dubonis, 'Das Grenzgebiet zwischen Litauen und dem Deutschen Orden', pp. 59–61 notes short-term truces with the Lithuanians in Samogitia; on intensive diplomatic contacts with Lithuania: R. Petrauskas, 'Der Frieden im Zeitalter des Krieges. Formen friedlicher

Kommunikation zwischen dem deutschen Orden und dem Großfürstentum Litauen zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Annaberger Annalen*, 12 (2004), 28–42.

106 *CH*, I, doc. 144 (= *RRH*, doc. 212); Burgtorf, 'Die Ritterorden als Instanzen zur Friedenssicherung?', pp. 182–5; Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge*, p. 351.

107 Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy*, pp. 32–41. See further treaties with the Hospitallers 1271 and the Templars 1282 (ibid., pp. 48–57 and 66–8). C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 317–19; J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), pp. 463–6.

108 Rodríguez Molina, *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*, pp. 288–292.

109 On the concept see: *Hybride Kulturen im mittelalterlichen Europa: Vorträge und Workshops einer internationalen Frühlingsschule = Hybrid cultures in medieval Europe*, ed. M. Borgolte and B. Schneidmüller (Berlin, 2010).

110 González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXXV.

111 Rodríguez Molina, *La vida de moros y cristianos en la frontera*, p. 243. In general see González Jiménez, 'La frontera entre Andalucía y Granada', pp. 108–10; González Jiménez, 'Actas capitulares de Morón de la Frontera', LXXIV on the tax for goods brought from and to Granada, the *diezmo de lo morisco*.

112 Boas, *Archaeology of the Military Orders*, pp. 104–5; Ibn-Dschubair, *Tagebuch eines Mekkapilgers*, trans. R.Günther (Lenningen 2004), p. 221.

113 K. Elm, 'Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters. Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme', in *"Militia Christi" e crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana Internazionale di studio, Mendola, 28 agosto - 1 settembre 1989* (Milan, 1992), pp. 477–518, especially pp. 512–18; A. Forey, 'Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *MO* 2, pp. 185–206; A. Mentzel-Reuters, *Arma spiritualia: Bibliotheken, Bücher und Bildung im Deutschen Orden* (Wiesbaden, 2003); A. Forey, 'Literacy among the Aragonese Templars in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2009), pp. 203–12; A. Forey, 'Culture écrite', in *Prier et combattre: dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Bériou and P. Josserand (Paris, 2009), pp. 284–7; *Die Rolle der Schriftlichkeit in den geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters: innere Organisation, Sozialstruktur, Politik*, ed. R. Czaja and J. Sarnowsky (Toruń, 2009).

114 B. A. Catlos, 'Contexto y conveniencia en la corona de Aragón: propuesta de un modelo de interacción entre gupos etno-religiosos minoritarios y mayoritarios', *Revista d'historia medieval*, 12 (2001/2002), 259–69; On the concept of cultural brokerage see: *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, ed. M. v. d. Höh, N. Jaspert and J. R. Oesterle (Paderborn, 2013).

2 Frontier conflict, military cost and culture

The master of Santiago and the Islamic border in mid-fourteenth-century Spain

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As far back as the Middle Ages, many iconographical and literary images clearly linked the military orders with the frontier – that frontier which it was usual to talk about in the singular, namely the border then dividing the Latin world from the territories of infidels. The brethren at the frontier were regarded as labouring untiringly for the defence and expansion of the Christian faith. The classical historiography of the military orders toyed with this idea in many ways, and the view of the brethren's superiority that became accepted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is still repeated without question in most popularizing works. Of course, this reading of the medieval history of the military orders is not entirely wrong, but the relationship that the brethren maintained with the frontier proves to be much more complex. In his contribution to this volume Nikolas Jaspert points this out very clearly. Since the last third of the twentieth century, scholarship on the involvement of the brethren on the frontier has benefited from the same historiographical renewal that has allowed the study of the military orders to emerge as a field of research in its own right within present-day medieval historical studies, although this development is not without its dangers.[1] However, progress has not been as great as one might expect, and old clichés still persist. In spite of great advances, most of them in English scholarship, the military history of the brethren is not the area of medieval research which has progressed most.[2] In a short but stimulating book Damien Carraz has noted that 'la relation de l'ordre du Temple au fait guerrier n'a, me semble-t-il, pas encore été vraiment appréhendée dans sa globalité et sa spécificité'.[3] For the other military orders the situation is even worse and, as the same French historian has pointed out, we are in need of 'une histoire totale du domaine de la guerre' for all orders, which encompasses a complete social and cultural approach.[4]

In this chapter, my intention is not to present a comprehensive study of war and the military orders, nor do I intend to consider the significance the medieval