

Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe

Edited by **Jürgen Sarnowsky**



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JÜRGEN SARNOWSKY

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Editor's Preface

The idea of investigating the problems implicit in the regional and local settings of the mendicant and military orders was conceived during a visit to London in 1996, where I met my friend Jens Röhrkasten from the University of Birmingham. We decided to organize two sessions for the 1997 International Medieval Conference in Leeds, one on mendicants and one on military orders. Most of the papers collected in this volume originally were presented at that conference: those of Bernhard Neidiger, Andreas Rüther, Anthony Luttrell, Karl Borchardt, Jens Röhrkasten, and myself in the sessions mentioned above; those of Klaus Militzer, Libor Jan, and Johannes Mol in a session on the Teutonic Knights organized by Klaus Militzer, and that of Helen Nicholson in another session. Due to organizational problems there were two additional papers for the session on military orders which are also printed here, those of Nikolas Jaspert and Dieter Heckmann; and I asked Anneli Randla for her paper in order to have one more article on mendicants and at least one contribution on art history. I wish to thank all of the contributors as well as the organizers of the sessions for agreeing to publish their respective papers in this collection; their contributions made it possible to examine a wide range of problems.

Concerning the production of the book my personal thanks go to Jens Röhrkasten, who also helped me with the translation of Bernhard Neidiger's paper, and especially to Edith Pawlik, who translated Libor Jan's contribution and helped to revise the introduction, my own paper, and the conclusion. I also wish to thank John Smedley, Ruth Peters and Caroline Cornish of Ashgate Publishing for their support and helpful suggestions.

Jürgen Sarnowsky



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Abbreviations

APJC	<i>Actes de les primeres jornades sobre els ordes religioso-militars als països catalans, segles XII-XIX. Montblanc, 8-10 de novembre de 1985</i> (Tarragona, 1994).
ARDOU	Archief van de Ridderlijke Duitsche Orde Balije van Utrecht, Utrecht.
CCR	Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.
CDB	<i>Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Regni Bohemiae</i> , vols 4-5, eds J. Šebánek, S. Dušková (Prague, 1962-1993).
CGOH	<i>Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894-1906).
CPR	Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office.
FUB	<i>Fürstenbergisches Urkundenbuch. Sammlung der Quellen zur Geschichte des Hauses Fürstenberg und seiner Lande in Schwaben</i> , ed. S. Riezler et al., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1877-1891).
GL	Guildhall Library, London.
MC	<i>Militia Christi e Crociata nei secoli XI-XIII. Atti della undecima Settimana internazionale di studio Mendola, 28 agosto-1 settembre 1989. Miscellanea del Centro di Studi medioevali 23</i> (Milano, 1992).
MO	<i>Military Orders, The. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick</i> , ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994).
MS	<i>Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta</i> , eds E. Coli, M. De Marco, F. Tommasi (Perugia, 1994).
NLM	National Library of Malta, Valletta [Libr. = Library Manuscripts] / Archives of the Order of St. John [Arch. = Archives].
OMVR	<i>Les Ordres militaires, la vie rurale et le peuplement en Europe occidentale, xiie-xviii siècles. VIe journées internationales d'histoire, 21-23 Septembre 1984, Centre culturel de l'Abbaye de Flaran</i> (Auch, 1986).
PRO	Public Record Office, London.
QStGDO	Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens.

RB	<i>Regesta sive rerum Boicarum autographa usque ad annum 1300</i> , eds K. H. Ritter von Lang, M. Freiherr von Freyberg, T. Rudhart, 13 vols (Munich, 1822-1854).
RBM	<i>Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae</i> , ed. J. Emler et al., 7 vols (Prague, 1882-1963).
RCAHMS	Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.
RM	<i>Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht im Mittelalter</i> , ed. Z. H. Nowak. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica V (Toruń, 1990).
RR	<i>Ritterorden und Region – Politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter</i> , ed. Z. H. Nowak. Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII (Toruń, 1995).
SO	<i>Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich</i> , ed. U. Arnold. QStGDO 44 (Marburg, 1993).
StAW	Staatsarchiv Würzburg.
SWB	<i>Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft</i> , ed. K. Elm. Berliner Historische Studien 3, Ordensstudien 2 (Berlin, 1981).

Regional Problems in the History of the Mendicant and Military Orders

Jürgen Sarnowsky

In the first age of church reform leading up to the Investiture Contest – roughly the tenth to the twelfth centuries – the old, established monastic institutions underwent a process of reformation and reorganization aimed at renewing the Benedictine ideal and establishing new methods to control observance of the rule in individual monasteries, as may be seen in the foundation and spread of the Cluniac community in the tenth century as well as in that of the Cistercian Order in the twelfth.¹ In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, new forms of orders developed whose aims and goals required more complex internal organization, namely the military and the mendicant orders.

The military orders were founded in the course of the crusades to improve the security of pilgrims in the Holy Land as in the case, for example, of the Templars, who are thought to have been knights in the service, or at least the entourage, of the Patriarch of Jerusalem before they formed a separate community in about 1119.² Their distinguishing characteristic was their synthesis of the monastic vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity with a commitment to the

¹ For a general introduction see e.g. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism. Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (2nd edn, London-New York, 1989); J. Wollasch, *Cluny – Licht der Welt. Aufstieg und Niedergang der klösterlichen Gemeinschaft* (Zürich, 1996); B. Pennington (ed.), *The Last of the Fathers. The Cistercian Fathers of the Twelfth-Century* (Still River, 1983). I wish to thank Edith Pawlik, Hamburg, for correcting the first English version of this paper. The faults that remain are mine.

² See M. Barber, *The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-18; F. Tommasi, 'Pauperes commilitones Christi. Aspetti i problemi delle origini gerosolimitane', *MC*, pp. 465-75.

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defence of Christianity against the infidel. Other orders were originally founded in conjunction with hospitals, and the brethren of these orders, including the Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights, undertook not only the defence of Christians and their property in the Holy Land but also the care of sick, poor, or elderly pilgrims.³ In contrast, the mendicant orders developed in response to the twelfth-century criticism of the wealth and moral decline of ecclesiastical institutions which had led to discontent and the spread of heresy, particularly in southern France and northern Italy, where the Dominicans and the Franciscans originated. The mendicant ideal was a life of poverty and the imitation of Christ and the Apostles; preaching, missionary work, and the cure of souls were their main objectives. From their inception, and in contrast to other orders, the mendicants focused their work on towns and intended to support themselves through begging and the collection of alms. A special study-system designed to provide younger brethren with the skills and knowledge necessary to fulfil their tasks was soon developed and became an essential element of the orders' identity.⁴

In the mendicant and military orders, brethren from all over Christian Europe were working together to reach their orders' aims and goals, and everyone could be sent anywhere in accordance with their superior's orders. While the older monastic orders, in accordance with the ideal of *stabilitas loci*,⁵ normally required their members to remain at the monastery which they had originally entered, the brethren of the military orders and the mendicant friars

³ For the military orders cf. e.g. A. J. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992); *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. Barber (Aldershot, 1994) [MO]; *Militia Sacra. Gli ordini militari tra Europa e Terrasanta*, eds E. Coli, M. De Marco, F. Tommasi (Perugia, 1994) [MS]; *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, eds J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann. Vorträge und Forschungen XXVI (Sigmaringen, 1980).

⁴ For the mendicants cf. e.g. J. B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass, 1977); A. Vauchez, *Mouvements Franciscains et société française XIIe-XXe siècles* (Paris, 1984); M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty. The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order 1210-1323* (London, 1961); W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order. Origins and Growth to 1500*, 2 vols (Staten Island, NY, 1966-1973); O. Stegink, 'Fraternità e possesso in comune. L'ispirazione presso i Mendicanti', *Carmelus* 15 (1968) 5-35; K. Elm (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*. Berliner Historische Studien 3. Ordensstudien 2 (Berlin, 1981); D. Berg, *Armut und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Studienwesens der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert*. Geschichte und Gesellschaft 15 (Düsseldorf, 1977).

⁵ A. Rütger, 'Stabilitas loci', *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7 (Munich, 1995), col. 2162-63.

thus moved frequently from one place to another. For the military orders, who had to secure the supply of men and materials for the struggle against the infidel when and wherever necessary, this was primarily a question of logistics,⁶ whereas for the mendicants, with a hierarchy of educational institutions ranging from local centres to 'general studies' most often associated with the universities,⁷ it took the form of rotation among the various houses according to the needs of the community and the abilities of the brethren in question.

The co-ordination of the orders' aims thus required highly developed internal structures with strong central elements. While the military orders had their headquarters first in the Holy Land (and Spain) and later on Cyprus, Rhodes, and in Prussia, the mendicants placed themselves in or near the sphere of action of their founders or at the Roman curia. Unlike the organizational structures of older monastic institutions with their essentially monarchic character – the Cistercians, who formed an association of monasteries under the authority of the abbots of Cîteaux and the four oldest daughter houses are a good example of the type – those of the military and mendicant orders contained both oligarchic and representative elements. Although these orders were led by a master, grand master, master-general, prior-general, or general minister, there were other brethren in office who influenced the orders' policies as well, and all of these were overseen by the chapters general. These met regularly and – at least partially – consisted not only of officials, but of 'simple brethren' from the orders' houses and provinces as well. These houses formed the lowest administrative level and served as the orders' bases of operations, and were themselves divided into provinces governed by provincial officials and provincial chapters which also exhibited representative elements, while central institutions at least partially, and sometimes regularly, controlled the admission of brethren, promotion to office, and the policies of the orders as a whole.⁸

⁶ See e.g. the chapter on the Templars' 'network' in Barber, pp. 229-79.

⁷ Berg, esp. pp. 142-44; see also e.g. M. O'Carroll, 'The Educational Organization of the Dominicans in England and Wales, 1221-1348', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 50 (1980) 23-62; W. J. Courtenay, 'Franciscan studia in Southern Germany in the Fourteenth Century', *Gesellschaftsgeschichte. Festschrift für Karl Bosl*, ed. F. Seibt (Munich, 1988), pp. 81-90; J. Kłoczowski, 'Studium generalne dominikanów w Krakowie w XV wieku', *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 27 (1979) 239-43.

⁸ In addition to the literature cited in n. 3 and 4 cf. e.g. L. Moulin, 'Les formes du gouvernement local et provincial dans les ordres religieux', *Revue internationale des sciences administratives* 21 (1955) 31-57; P. Dinzelbacher, J. L. Hogg (eds), *Kulturgeschichte der christlichen Orden* (Stuttgart, 1997); G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order (1226-1360)* (Manchester, 1925); P. Mortier, *Histoire des maitres*

The complex internal structures of the mendicant and the military orders made them more 'international' than the older orders, a tendency which was further reinforced by the fact that the orders were in most cases under papal protection (and control) and thus exempted from episcopal jurisdiction. While such exemption was first granted to the Cluniac community, its implications in the case of the more powerful military and mendicant orders was much further-reaching. In theory and – though not always effectively – in practice, these orders acted as military and spiritual arms of the papacy, the only one of the two universal powers of the Middle Ages which succeeded in maintaining its position until the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁹

généraux de l'ordre des Frères Prêcheurs, 8 vols (Paris, 1903-1920); K. Eßer, 'Die endgültige Regel der Minderbrüder im Lichte der neueren Forschung', *Franziskanisches Leben. Gesammelte Dokumente*, eds K. Eßer, E. Grau. Bücher franziskanischer Geistigkeit 13 (Werl, 1968), pp. 31-96; R. B. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government. Elias to Bonaventura*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 7 (Cambridge, 1959); H. Dedieu, 'Les ministres provinciaux d'Aquitaine des origines à la division de l'Ordre', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 76 (1983) 129-214; F. F. Lopes, 'Franciscanos de Portugal antes de formarem Provincia independente. Ministros provinciais a que obedeziam', *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 45 (1985) 349-450; B. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte des Malteserordens* (Vienna, Munich, 1969) [with some problems]; J. Sarnowsky 'Der Konvent auf Rhodos und die Zungen (*lingue*) im Johanniterorden (1421-1476)', *RR*, pp. 43-65; *idem*, 'The Oligarchy at Work, The Chapters General of the Hospitallers in the XVth Century (1421-1522)', *Autour de la Première Croisade*, ed. M. Balard. Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris, 1996), pp. 267-76; F. Mithaler, *Die Großgebietiger des Deutschen Ordens bis 1440* (Königsberg-Berlin, 1940); K. Militzer, *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich*. QStGDO 16 (2nd edn, Bonn, 1981); P. G. Thielen, *Die Verwaltung des Ordensstaates Preußen vornehmlich im 15. Jahrhundert*. Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart 11 (Cologne, Graz, 1965).

⁹ For the relationship between popes and orders see e.g. M. d'Alatri, *L'inquisizione francescana nell'Italia centrale nel secolo XIII* (Rome, 1954); C. Schmitt, *Un pape réformateur et un défenseur de l'unité de l'Eglise. Benoît XII et l'ordre des Frères Mineurs (1334-1342)* (Quaracchi, 1959); L. Garcia-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado, cruzadas y órdenes militares XI-XII s.* (Madrid, 1995); R. Iorio, *L'Inchiesta di Papa Gregorio XI sugli Ospedalieri della Diocesi di Trani* (Taranto, 1996); A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers and the Papacy, 1305-1314', *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte*, eds K. Borchardt, E. Bünz, vol. 2 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 595-622; U. Arnold, 'Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Papst im 13. Jahrhundert', *RM*, pp. 57-70; K. Neitmann, 'Papst und Kaiser in den Staatsverträgen des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen, 1230-1466', *Archiv für Diplomatie* 33 (1988) 293-321; C. Schuchard, 'Rom und die päpstliche Kurie in den Berichten des Deutschordens-Generalprokurators Jodocus Hogenstein (1448-1468)', *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 72 (1992) 54-122. For the inquisition which was in many cases in the hands of the Dominicans cf. B. Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (London, 1981); P. Segl (ed.), *Die Anfänge der Inquisition im Mittelalter*. Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien 7 (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 1993).

The supranational character of the mendicant and the military orders contrasted with their local, regional, and 'national' foundations. Since they were dependent on the supply of members and donations and on the goodwill and privileges of the ruling classes at the local, regional, and 'national' levels, different channels of influence were opened up. In the early stages of their development, the orders needed the support of local rulers, the nobility, and the townspeople to establish themselves in the various regions of Europe and to create a basis for their operations. Once they had accumulated larger possessions or gained a position of influence, the orders invited interference from local and regional powers, bishops, towns, the nobility, and kings, all of whom sought to strengthen their rule or their standing by gaining control over ecclesiastical institutions and their properties, often by hinting that their ancestors had given large donations. Emperors and popes also tried to use the orders' power to their own advantage in their mutual struggles. While it was not unusual for members of a mendicant or military order to be in the service of kings, nobles, or towns because of their military or intellectual skills, they had to act carefully in order to avoid conflicts of loyalty. The orders' dependence upon local rulers, other ecclesiastical institutions, and social and ethnic groups became especially marked in border regions, where often even the orders' properties were shaped according to local structures and spheres of influence.

But the 'international' character of the mendicant and military orders also led to internal difficulties. Problems arose between members of varying origins living together in the orders' houses and among different regional or 'national' groups within the orders, and it is likely that these increased with the growing 'nationalism' of the later medieval period. Divisions of property which came about accidentally when an order's province boundaries were drawn might necessitate special arrangements. In this respect, external factors played an important role, as well: local traditions, 'national' identities and conflicts, and economic factors, particularly those resulting from the economic difficulties of the later Middle Ages, were influential in moulding the orders' internal structures and in carving out their provinces, and in some cases even contributed to their dissolution. And while custom and to some degree regulations provided norms for the design of the orders' buildings and equipment, regional and 'national' differences resulted in the development of varying styles in the art and architecture commissioned by the orders.

In a recent article, Kaspar Elm described the military orders as a form of 'religious life between universalism and particularism'.¹⁰ The same holds true for the mendicants. It is perhaps due to the complexity of the problems involved that no comparative and systematic approach to this subject yet exists. Nonetheless, historians have explored many aspects of the problem in recent years. Particularly of note here is the Polish-German volume on 'military orders and region', published in 1995,¹¹ which examines the relationships between the areas of recruiting and operation, between orders and towns, and orders and the regional nobility, and which describes the regional organization of the military orders. And in his brief study on 'Europe and region – conflicting forces in the development of the Teutonic Knights', Udo Arnold advances the hypothesis of a mid fourteenth-century shift in the order's structures: while the rule and extension of the order's houses retained their European character, regional factors played an ever greater role in daily life.¹²

Though generalization is difficult, it is clear that European regionalism was an important factor in the history of all military and mendicant orders. The history of individual houses and provinces and the related aspects of the orders as a whole have been well researched. Numerous articles and monographs have been devoted to the history of the military orders on the Iberian Peninsula,¹³ in

¹⁰ K. Elm, 'Gli ordini militari. Un ceto di vita religiosa fra universalismo e particolarismo', *MS*, pp. 9-28.

¹¹ *Ritterorden und Region – Politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak. *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII* (Toruń, 1995) [RR].

¹² 'Die Norm der Regel, die Verbreitung der Niederlassungen zeigten nach wie vor die europäische Weite, die tägliche Existenz aber engte das Ordensleben auf die Region ein. Die widerstrebenden Kräfte Europa und Region gewannen ab der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts eine andere Ausformung, die Schwerpunkte verschoben sich gegeneinander, doch blieben beide auch weiterhin existent', U. Arnold, 'Europa und die Region – widerstrebende Kräfte in der Entwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter', *RR*, pp. 161-72, here p. 169.

¹³ See M. de Ayala Martínez, C. Barquero Gofí, J. V. Matellanes Merchán et al., 'Las Ordenes Militares en la Edad Media peninsular. Historiografía 1976-1992, I: Reinos de Castilla y León', *Medievalismo* 2 (1992) 119-69; M. de Ayala Martínez, F. Andrés Robres, J. V. Matellanes Merchán et al., 'Las Ordenes Militares en la Edad Media peninsular. Historiografía 1976-1992, II: Corona de Aragón, Navarra y Portugal', *Medievalismo* 3 (1993) 87-144. Cf. also e.g. E. Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, 'Frontera, soberanía territorial y órdenes militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media', *Hispania* 52 (1992) 789-809; J.-L. Martín, 'Ordenes Militares en la Península Ibérica', *MC*, pp. 551-72.

the Spanish kingdoms and regions of León and Castile,¹⁴ Aragon and Catalonia,¹⁵ and even Navarre.¹⁶ Similar regional studies can be found for the

¹⁴ See e.g. C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Orígenes de la Orden del Hospital en Castilla y León (1113-1157)', *Hispania sacra* 43 (1991) 775-98; *idem*, 'Possessions and Incomes of the Order of Calatrava in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *MO*, pp. 283-87; C. Barquero Gofí, 'The Hospitallers and the Castilian-Leonese Monarchy: the Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries', *MO*, pp. 28-33; J. M. Escobar Camacho, 'Las Órdenes Militares en el reino de Córdoba durante el siglo XIII', *Andalucía entre Oriente y Occidente (1236-1492). Actas del V Coloquio de Historia medieval de Andalucía, celebrado en el Salón de Actos de la Exma. Diputación Provincial de Córdoba durante los días 27 al 30 de noviembre de 1986*, ed. E. Cabrera (Córdoba, 1988), pp. 113-21; C. Estepa Díez, 'La disolución de la orden del temple en Castilla y León', *Cuadernos de Historia* 6 (1975) 121-86; J. M. Molero García, 'Participación de la Orden del Hospital en el avance de la frontera castellana (1144-1224)', *Alarcos 1195. Congreso internacional del VIII centenario de la batalla de Alarcos* (Cuenca, 1996), pp. 331-51. For the mendicants cf. e.g. J. Fernández Conde, 'La orden franciscana en Asturias: orígenes y primera época', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 82 (1989) 306-59; M. de Mar Grana Cid, 'Franciscanos y dominicanos en la Galicia medieval: aspectos de una posesión de privilegio', *Archivo Ibero-Americano* 53 (1993) 230-70; J. García Oro, 'Páginas mindionenses de espiritualidad jacobea y franciscana. Los primitivos "freires" de la Tercera Orden Regular en Galicia', *Estudios Mindonienses* 1 (1985) 159-84; J. M. Miura Andrades, 'Conventos y organización social del espacio. Fundadores y fundaciones dominicas en la Andalucía medieval', *Historia Urbana* 2 (1993) 83-111.

¹⁵ See e.g. P. Bertran i Roigé, 'L' Ordre de l' Hospital a Catalunya: els inicis', *L' Avenc* 179 (1994) 22-27; M. Bonet Donato, *La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1994); A. J. Forey, 'Sources for the History of the Templars in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia', *Archives* 21 (1994) 16-24; *idem*, 'Els Templers de la Corona d'Aragó i la reconquesta', *L'Avenc* 161 (1992) 24-27; *idem*, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973); C. Laliena Corbera, 'Les ordres militaires et le repeuplement dans le sud de l'Aragon (XIIIe siècle)', *OMVR*, pp. 225-32; A. Luttrell, 'The Economy of the Fourteenth-Century Aragonese Hospital', *Estudis Castellonencs* 6 (1994-1995) 759-66; *idem*, 'The Structure of the Aragonese Hospital: 1349-1352', *APJC*, pp. 315-28; J. Miret i Sans, *Les cases de templers i hospitalers en Catalunya. Aplech de noves i documents historichs* (Barcelona, 1910-1913); J. M. Sans i Travé, *Els Templers a Catalunya. De la rosa a la creu. Els ordres militars* 4 (Lleida, 1996); P. Schickl, 'Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Templerordens in Katalonien und Aragón', *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens. Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* 28 (1975) 91-229. For the mendicants cf. e.g. T. Echarte, 'Huesca. Convento de predicadores (1254-1835)', *Argensola* 27 (1984) 315-32; J. R. Webster, 'La Barcelona franciscana', *Estudi d'història medieval* 6 (1990) 1-10.

¹⁶ See e.g. S. García Larragueta, *El gran priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén, siglos XII-XIII*, 2 vols (Pamplona, 1957); *idem*, 'Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén en Navarra (siglo XIV)', *Las Órdenes militares en el Mediterráneo occidental s. XII-XVIII. Coloquio celebrado los días 4, 5 y 6 de mayo de 1983* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 103-38.

military and mendicant orders in the British Isles,¹⁷ in the regions of France¹⁸ and Italy,¹⁹ in the different parts of the empire²⁰ and of east central and

¹⁷ For the mendicants see e.g. W. A. Hinnebusch, *The Early English Friars Preachers*. *Dissertationes Historicae*, 14 (Rome, 1951); J. R. H. Moorman, *The Franciscans in England* (London, 1974); *idem*, 'Some Franciscans in England', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 83 (1990) 405-20; A. G. Little, 'Introduction of the Observant Friars into England', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 11 (1923) 455-71; E. Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation* (Oxford, 1913); A. F. C. Bourdillon, *The Order of Minorenes in England* (Manchester, 1926); H. F. Chettle, 'The Friars of the Holy Cross in England', *History* 34 (1949) 204-20; D. D. C. P. Mould, *The Irish Dominicans: The Friars Preachers in the History of Catholic Ireland* (Dublin, 1957); P. Conlan, *Franciscan Ireland* (Gigginstown, 1988); R. N. Hadcock, 'The Order of the Holy Cross in Ireland', *Medieval Studies Presented to Aubrey Gwynn S. J.*, eds J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1961), pp. 44-53; W. M. Bryce, *The Scottish Grey Friars*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, London, 1909); A. Ross, *Dogs of the Lord: The Story of the Dominican Order in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981); for the military orders cf. J. E. Burton, 'The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the twelfth century: a reassessment', *Northern History* 27 (1991) 26-40; E. King, *The Knights of St. John in the British Realm*, 3rd edn by H. Luke (London, 1967); C. Tipton, 'The English and Scottish Hospitallers during the Great Schism', *Catholic Historical Review* 52 (1966), 240-45; J. P. C. Field, 'Sir Robert Malory, Prior of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England (1432-1439/40)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 28 (1977) 249-64; W. Rees, *A History of the Order of St John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border, including an Account of the Templars* (Cardiff, 1947).

¹⁸ For the mendicants see e.g. M. Parisse, 'L'implantation des ordres mendiants en Lorraine', *Annales de l'Est* 37 (1985) 132-38; M. Fontette, 'Les Dominicaines en France au XIIIe siècle', *Les religieuses en France au XIIIe siècle*, ed. M. Parisse (Nancy, 1985), pp. 97-106; C. Schmitt, 'Les Franciscains en Alsace du XIIIe au XVIIe siècle', *Archives de l'Église d'Alsace* 44 (1985) 25-61; J.-L. Biget, 'Autour de Bernard Délicieux: franciscanisme et société en Languedoc entre 1295 et 1330', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 70 (1984) 75-93; H. Martin, 'Les prédicateurs franciscains dans les provinces septentrionales de la France au XVe siècle', *I Frati Minori tra '400 e '500. Atti de XII convegno internazionale, Assisi, 18-20 ottobre 1984*, ed. R. Rusconi (Assisi, 1986), pp. 229-56; M. Richards, 'The conflict between observant and conventual reformed Franciscans in fifteenth-century France and Flanders', *Franciscan Studies* 50 (1992) 263-81; for the military orders cf. R. Fossier, 'Les Hospitaliers et les Templiers au nord de la Seine et en Bourgogne (XIIe-XIVe siècles)', *OMVR*, pp. 13-36; C. Higounet, 'Hospitaliers et Templiers: peuplement et exploitation rurale dans le sud-ouest de la France au Moyen Âge', *OMVR*, pp. 61-78; D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister. Templars and Hospitallers in central-southern Occitania c. 1100 - c. 1300* (Ph.Diss., Oxford, 1997); P. Vial, 'Les Templiers en Velay aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles', *Actes du 98e congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Reims 1970. Section de philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610*, vol. 2: *Champagne et pays de la Meuse* (Paris, 1975), pp. 63-83; J. Raybaud, *Histoire des Grands Prieurs et du Prieur de Saint-Gilles*, vol. 1 (Nîmes, 1904); J. Brassens, 'Toulouse sous les Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean. De la Commanderie de Saint-Jean (1121) au Grand Prieuré de Toulouse 1315-1790', *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain militaire de Malte* 32 (1974) 87-95.

¹⁹ For the mendicants see e.g. M. Sensi, 'Gli ordini mendicanti a Spoleto', *Atti del 9o congresso internazionale di studi sull alto medioevo*, vol. 1 (Spoleto, 1981), pp. 429-

85; N. Terpstra, 'Confraternities and mendicant orders. The dynamics of lay and clerical brotherhood in Renaissance Bologna', *Catholic Historical Review* 82 (1996) 1-22; G. Cioffari, *Storia dei Domenicani in Puglia, 1221-1350* (Bari, 1986); A. d'Amato, *I Domenicani a Bologna*, vol. 1: 1218-1600 (Bologna, 1988); V. Ferrua, 'I frate predicatori a Torino. Dall'insediamento a tutto il secolo XIV', *Bullettino storico-bibliografico subalpino* 90 (1992) 111-65; B. Paton, *Preaching Friars and the Civic Ethos: Siena 1380-1480*. Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies 7 (London, 1992); F. Sorelli, 'Predicatori a Venezia (fine secolo XIV - metà secolo XV)', *Le Venezie Francescane* 6 (1989) 131-58; L. Pellegrini, *Insediamenti francescani nell'Italia del Duecento* (Rome, 1984); M. de Angelis, 'I conventi francescani della custodia viterbese fondati nei secoli XIII-XIV', *Laurentianum* 34 (1993), 227-43; M. d'Alatri, 'A proposito dei più antichi insediamenti francescani in Sicilia', *Schede medievali* 12-13 (1987) 25-35; M. P. Albersoni, *Francescanesimo a Milano nel duecento*. Fonti e ricerche 1 (Milano, 1991); A. Marini, 'Le fondazioni francescane femminili nel Lazio nel Duecento', *Collectanea Franciscana* 63 (1993) 71-96; K. Walsh, 'The Augustinian observance in Siena in the age of S. Caterina and S. Bernardino', *Atti del Simposio internazionale Cateriniano-Bernardiniano, 17-20 Aprile 1980*, eds D. Maffei, P. Nardi (Siena, 1982) pp. 939-50; for the military orders cf. L. d'Arienza, 'Gli Ordini Militari in Sardegna nel Basso Medioevo', *APJC*; F. Bramato, 'L'ordine dei Templari in Italia. Dalle origini al pontificato di Innocenzo III (1135-1216)', *Nicolaus* 12 (1988) 183-221; D. Capolongo, 'Alife: un nuovo Insediamento templare in Terra di Lavoro', *Atti del XV Congresso di Ricerche Templari* (Latina, 1997); A. Gilmour-Bryson, *The Trial of the Templars in the Papal State and the Abruzzi* (Città del Vaticano, 1982); M. Gattini, *I Priorati, i Baliaggi e le Commende del Sovrano Militare Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme nelle Province Meridionali d'Italia prima della Caduta di Malta* (Naples, 1928); A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Priory of Venice in 1331', *MS*, pp. 101-43; A. Miceli di Serradileo, 'L'Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme in Calabria dal XII al XV secolo', *Studi Meridionali* 10 (1977).

²⁰ For the mendicants see e.g. B. Neidiger, 'Die Bettelorden im spätmittelalterlichen Rheinland', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 57 (1993) 50-74; T. Berger, *Die Bettelorden in der Erzdiözese Mainz und in den Diözesen Worms und Speyer im 13. Jahrhundert. Ausbreitung, Förderung und Funktion*. Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhochdeutschen Kirchengeschichte (Mainz, 1995); I. Ulpts, *Die Bettelorden in Mecklenburg: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Franziskaner, Klarissen, Dominikaner und Augustiner-Eremiten im Mittelalter* (Werl, 1995); H.-J. Schmidt, 'Die Bettelorden und ihre Niederlassungen in der Mark Brandenburg', *Beiträge zur Entstehung Entwicklung der Mark Brandenburg im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Schich. Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin 84 (Berlin 1993), pp. 203-25; *idem*, *Bettelorden in Trier. Wirksamkeit und Umfeld im hohen und späten Mittelalter*. Trierer Historische Forschungen 10 (Trier, 1986); A. H. Evertse, 'De stad Utrecht en de Franciscanen en de Dominicanen in de vijftiende eeuw', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1986) 9-32; E. Börner, *Dritter Orden und Bruderschaften der Franziskaner in Kurbayern*. Franziskanische Forschungen 33 (Werl, 1988); E. Englisch, 'Zur Geschichte der franziskanischen Ordensfamilie in Österreich von den Anfängen bis zum Einsetzen der Observanz', *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Krems, 1982), pp. 289-306; *Helvetia Sacra*. Part V, vol. 1: *Die Franziskaner, die Klarissen und die regulierten Franziskaner-Terziarinnen in der Schweiz*, eds K. Arnold, G. Boner et al. (Bern, 1978); *Franziskanisches Leben im Mittelalter. Studien zur Geschichte der rheinischen und sächsischen Ordensprovinz*, ed. D. Berg. Saxonia Franciscana 3 (Werl, 1994); R. Nickel, 'Minoriten und Franziskaner in Westfalen vom 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert. Darstel-

south-eastern Europe.²¹ The tendency towards a regional perspective is reinforced by the fact that available sources for the history of the orders themselves

lung und Bibliographie', *Franziskanische Studien* 69 (1987) 232-360, 70 (1988) 3-43, and 71 (1989) 235-325; D. J. Baetens, 'Minderbroeders in de zuiderlijke Nederlanden', *Franciscana* 44 (1989) 3-62; H. Ewe, 'Die Franziskaner in der mittelalterlichen Ostseestadt Stralsund', *Recht und Alltag im Hanseraum. Festschrift für Gerhard Theuerkauf*, eds S. Urbanski, C. Lamschus, J. Ellermeyer (Lüneburg, 1993), 145-62; J. Kadlec, 'Die Klöster der Eremiten des hl. Augustinus in Böhmen und Mähren', *Analecta Augustiniana* 56 (1993) 161-218; P. Pfothenhauer, 'Die Kreuzherren mit dem rothen Stern in Schlesien', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens* 14 (1878) 52-78; K. Elm, 'Entstehung und Reform des belgisch-niederländischen Kreuzherrenordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 82 (1971) 292-313; for the military orders see e.g. M. Nuytens, 'De Tempeliers in Vlaanderen', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, n. s. 28 (1974) 47-57; A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Province of Alamania to 1428', *RR*, pp. 21-41; W. G. Rödel, *Das Großpriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (2nd edn, Cologne, 1972); R. L. Dauber, *Der Johanniter-Malteser Orden in Österreich und Mitteleuropa*, vol. 1 (Vienna, 1996); B. Demel, 'Zur Geschichte der Johanniter und des Deutschen Ordens in Kärnten', *Symposium zur Geschichte von Millstatt und Kärnten (19.-20. Juni 1992)*, ed. F. Nikolasch (Millstatt, 1993), pp. 76-99; U. Arnold, 'Die Ballei und das Land: Mittelalter', *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol. Die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge*, ed. H. Noflatscher. QStGDO 43. (Bozen, 1991), pp. 125-70; D. Heckmann, 'Wirtschaftliche Auswirkungen des Armagnakenkrieges von 1444 bis 1445 auf die Deutschordensballeien Lothringen und Elsaß-Burgund', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 140 (1992) 101-25; H. Limburg, *Die Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens und die Ballei Koblenz*. QStGDO 8 (Bad Godesberg, 1969); B. Klück, *De landcommanderij van de Duitse Orde te Utrecht* (Utrecht, 1995); J. A. Mol, *De Friese huizen van de Duitse Orde. Nes, Schoten en Steenkerk en hun plaats in het middeleeuwse Friese kloosterlandschap* (Leeuwarden 1991); U. Braasch-Schwersmann, 'Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg und seine Niederlassungen in hessischen Städten im Mittelalter', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte* 42 (1992) 49-85; D. J. Weiss, *Die Geschichte der Deutschordens-Ballei Franken im Mittelalter* (Neustadt a.d. Aisch 1991); B. Sommerlad, *Der Deutsche Orden in Thüringen* (Halle, 1931); J. Voigt, 'Geschichte der Ballei des Deutschen Ordens in Böhmen aus urkundlichen Quellen', *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse* 12 (Vienna, 1861), pp. 87-146 (also separate: Vienna, 1863).

²¹ For the mendicants see e.g. J. Kłoczowski, 'Dominicans of the Polish Province in the Middle Ages', *The Christian Community in Medieval Poland. Anthologies*, ed. J. Kłoczowski. Polish Historical Library 2 (Warszawa, 1981), pp. 73-113; *Franciszkanie w polsce sredniowiecznej*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, vol. 1: *Franciszkanie na ziemiach polskich* (Kraków, 1983); W. Irgang, 'Beiträge zur Silesia Franciscana im 13. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 47-48 (1989-1990) 218-47; J. Tandecki, 'Założenie i początki klasztoru franciszkanów toruńskich w XIII-XIV w.', *Zapiski Historyczne* 54 (1989) 7-21; G. Mody, 'Franziskaner und Dominikaner in Debrecen bis zur Reformationszeit', *Debreceni Déri Múzeum Erkönye* (1992-1993; appeared 1994) 101-10; V. Kapitanovic, 'Die Rolle der Franziskaner von Visovac in der kroatischen Geschichte', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 77 (1984) 421-34; J. Dzambo, *Die Franziskaner im mittelalterlichen Bosnien*. Franziskanische Forschungen 35 (Werl, 1991); for the military orders cf. K. Borchardt, 'Military Orders in East Central Europe:

often reflect situations specific to a particular region or province. Thus, for example, chapter acts of the Dominicans in Germany and collections of documents from the French province of the order have been edited,²² as have documents from the inquests of the Templars in England and of the Hospitallers in France.²³ And the same holds true for documents generated by or concerning the Teutonic Knights in the empire and in Prussia.²⁴

The first hundred years', *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard. Byzantina Sorbonensia 14 (Paris, 1996), pp. 247-54; *idem*, 'The Hospitallers in Pomerania: between the Pories of Bohemia and Alamania', *The Military Orders*, vol.2: *Warfare and Welfare*, ed. H. Nicholson (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 295-306; A. Czacharowski, 'Die politische Rolle der Johanniter im pommerschen Grenzgebiet im Mittelalter', *RM*, pp. 143-52; H. Boockmann, 'Der Deutsche Orden in der Geschichte des spätmittelalterlichen Osteuropa', *Deutscher Orden, 1190-1990*, ed. U. Arnold. Tagungsberichte der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung 11 (Lüneburg, 1997), pp. 11-32; L. Dobronić, 'The Military Orders in Croatia', *The Meeting of Two Worlds. Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Goss (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 431-38.

²² 'Akten der Provinzkapitel der Dominikanerprovinz Teutonia aus den Jahren 1398, 1400, 1401 und 1402', ed. B. M. Reichert, *Römische Quartalschrift* 11 (1897) 287-331; 'Aus den Akten des Rottweiler Provinzkapitels der Dominikaner vom Jahr 1396', ed. B. Altaner, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 48 (1929) 1-15; 'Kapitelsakten der Dominikanerprovinz Teutonia (c. 1349, 1407)', ed. T. Kaeppli, *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 22 (1952) 186-95; A. Dondaine (ed.), 'Documents pour servir à l'histoire de la Provence France', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 22 (1952) 381-439. Cf. also e.g. E. Ypma, 'Les statuts pour le couvent des Augustins de Paris promulgués au XVe siècle', *Augustiniana* 33 (1983) 283-329; G. Casagrande (ed.), *Chiese e conventi degli ordini mendicanti in Umbria nei secoli XII-XIV. Inventario delle fonti archivistiche e catalogo delle informazioni documentari*. Archivi dell'Umbria. Inventari e ricerche 14 (Perugia, 1989); C. Longo, 'I Domenicani a Cipro. Documenti (1451-1587)', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 59 (1989) 149-211.

²³ *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185*, ed. B. A. Lees. British Academy, Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales 9 (London, 1935); *L'Enquête Pontificale de 1373 sur l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, ed. J. Glénisson, vol. 1: *L'Enquête dans le Prieuré de France*, ed. A.-M. Legras (Paris, 1987); cf. also B. Beaucauge, *Visites générales des Commanderies de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du Grand Prieur de Saint-Gilles: 1338* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982). For the Hospitallers in the British Isles cf. M. Gervers (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England*, 2 parts, Oxford 1982-1996; *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, eds K. B. Larking, J. M. Kemble. Camden Society first series 65 (London, 1857); *Registrum de Kilmainham: Register of Chapter Acts of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland, 1326-1339 under the Grand Prior, Sir Roger Outlawe, with additions for the times of his successors ...*, ed. C. McNeill (Dublin, 1932).

²⁴ See the list of printed sources in J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382-1454)* (Cologne, 1993), pp. 862-64; cf. also M. Biskup, I.

The sources, the more general works, and the many articles and monographs aside, various other problems resulting from the regionalism of Christian Europe have been examined, including the orders' relationships with kings and emperors²⁵ and with the leading dynasties and nobility of various European

Janosz-Biskupowa (eds), *Protokolle der Kapitel und Gespräche des Deutschen Ordens im Reich (1499-1525)*. QStGDO 41 (Marburg 1991); J. J. de Geer tot Oudegein, *Excerpten uit de oude rekeningen der Ridderlijke Deutsche Orde, balye van Utrecht, vóór de kerkhervorming* (Utrecht, 1895); *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordensballei Thüringen*, vol. 1, ed. K. H. Lampe. Thüringische Geschichtsquellen N. F. 7 (Jena, 1936).

²⁵ For the mendicants see e.g. A. G. Little, 'A Royal Inquiry into Property Held by the Mendicant Friars in England in 1349 and 1350', *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, eds J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith, E. F. Jacob (Manchester, 1933), pp. 179-88; D. Berg, 'Staufische Herrschaftsideologie und Mendikantenspiritualität. Studien zum Verhältnis Kaiser Friedrichs II. zu den Bettelorden', *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 26 (1972) 26-51, 185-209; F. Machilek, 'Die Přemýsliden, Piasten und Arpaden und der Klarissenorden im 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert', *Westmitteleuropa, Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag*. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum 70 (Munich, 1992), pp. 293-306; for the military orders see e.g. E. Albert i Corp, 'Els templers i la política de la Corona d'Aragó', *APJC*, pp. 219-26; M. González Jiménez, 'Relaciones de las Órdenes Militares castellanas con la Corona', *Historia – Institutiones – Documentos* 18 (1991) 209-22; A. J. Forey, 'The Will of Alfonso I of Aragón and Navarre', *Durham University Journal* 73 (1980) 59-65; C. de Ayala Martínez, 'Alfonso X y la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén', *Estudios de historia medieval: Homenaje a Luis Suárez*, ed. Vicente Alvarez Palenzuela et al. Historia y Sociedad 18 (Valladolid, 1991) pp. 29-50; A. Pladevall i Font, *Guillem de Montrodon. Mestre del Temple i tutor de Jaume I* (Lleida, 1993); M. D.-C. Morales Muniz, 'Documentacion acerca de la administración de la Orden de Santiago por el principe-rey Alfonso de Castilla (1465-1468)', *Hidalguía* 36 (1988) 839-68; H. Nicholson, 'The Military Orders and the Kings of England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *From Clermont to Jerusalem: the Crusades and Crusader Societies, 1095-1500*, ed. A. V. Murray (Turnhout, 1998); H. Cleve, 'Kaiser Friedrich II. und die Ritterorden', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 49 (1993) 39-73; H. Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*. QStGDO 37 (Marburg, 1987); M. Dygo, 'The German Empire and the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order in the Light of the Golden Bull of Rimini', *Acta Poloniae Historica* 61 (1990) 33-61; D. Wojtecki, 'Der Deutsche Orden unter Friedrich II.', *Probleme um Friedrich II.*, ed. J. Fleckenstein. Vorträge und Forschungen XVI (Sigmaringen, 1974), pp. 187-224; J. M. Powell, 'Frederick II, the Hohenstaufen, and the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of Sicily', *MO*, pp. 236-44; U. Arnold, 'Preußen, Böhmen und das Reich – Karl IV. und der Deutsche Orden', *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, ed. F. Seibt (Munich, 1978), pp. 167-73; M. Hellmann, 'Karl IV. und der Deutsche Orden in den Jahren 1346-1360', *Folia diplomatica* 1 (1971) 103-12; H. Vetter, *Die Beziehungen Wenzels zum Deutschen Orden von 1381 bis 1411* (Ph.Diss., Halle, 1912); Z. H. Nowak, 'Die imperialen Vorstellungen Siegmunds von Luxemburg und der Deutsche Orden', *RM*, pp. 87-98; M. Biskup, 'Der Deutsche Orden im Reich, in Preußen und Livland im Banne habsburgischer Politik in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts', *RM*, pp. 101-25; M. Hellmann, 'König Manfred von Sizilien und der Deutsche Orden', *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden*, ed. K. Wieser. QStGDO 1 (Bad Godesberg, 1967), pp. 65-72; I. Hla-

regions.²⁶ The importance of bishops²⁷ and towns has also been a subject of study. While it was primarily the mendicants who were most closely connected with town life,²⁸ the military orders also came to exert some influence on the

vácek, 'Zur Rolle der geistlichen und ritterlichen Orden am Hofe der böhmischen Luxemburger', *RM*, pp. 153-60; L. Jan, 'Die Würdenträger der geistlichen Ritterorden an dem Hof der letzten Přemysliden', *Böhmisch-österreichische Beziehungen im 13. Jahrhundert: Österreich (einschließlich Steiermark, Kärnten und Krain) im slawischen Großreichsprojekt Ottokars II. Přemysl, König von Böhmen*, eds M. Bláhová, I. Hlaváček (Prague, 1998), pp. 285-300.

²⁶ For the military orders see e.g. A. Demurger, 'L'aristocrazia laica e gli ordini militari in Francia nel Duecento: l'esempio della Bassa Borgogna', *MS*, pp. 55-84; E. Magnou, 'Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XIIe siècle', *Annales du Midi* 73 (1961) 378-97; K. Militzer, 'Die Aufnahme von Ritterbrüdern in den Deutschen Orden. Ausbildungsstand und Aufnahmevoraussetzungen', *Das Kriegswesen der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak. Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica VI (Toruń 1991), pp. 7-18; *idem*, 'Die Einbindung des Deutschen Ordens in die süddeutsche Adelswelt', *RR*, pp. 141-60; J. A. Mol, 'Nederlandse ridderbroeders van de Duitse Orde in Lijfand: herkomst, afkomst en carrières', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 111 (1996) 1-29; for the monastic orders in general see e.g. D. Stievermann, *Landesherrschaft und Klosterwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Württemberg* (Sigmaringen, 1989); E. Koch, *Die kloosterpoort als sluitpost? Adellijke vrouwen langs Maas en Rijn tussen huwelijk en convent, 1200-1600*. Maaslandse monografieën 54 (Leeuwarden, Mechelen, 1994); E. Walter, 'Franziskanische Armutsbewegung in Schlesien. War die Herzogin Anna († 1265), die Schwiegertochter der hl. Hedwig, eine Terziarin des Franziskanerordens?', *Archiv für schlesische Kirchengeschichte* 40 (1982) 207-21.

²⁷ See e.g. A. Murray, 'Archbishop and Mendicants in Thirteenth-Century Pisa', *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft*, ed. K. Elm. Berliner Historische Studien 3, Ordensstudien 2 (Berlin, 1981), pp. 19-75; *Bürger, Bettelmönche und Bischöfe in Halberstadt. Studien zur Geschichte der Stadt, der Mendikanten und des Bistums vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, ed. D. Berg. Saxonia Franciscana 9 (Werl, 1997); M. Sehi, *Die Bettelorden in der Seelsorgegeschichte der Stadt und des Bistums Würzburg bis zum Konzil von Trient*. Forschungen zur fränkischen Kirchen- und Theologiegeschichte 8 (Würzburg, 1981); A. Virgili i Colet, 'Les relations entre la Catedral de Tortosa i els Ordes Religioso-Militars durant el segle XII, segons el "Cartulari de la Catedral de Tortosa"', *APJC*, pp. 67-79; F. Castillon Cortada, 'Discusiones entre los obispos de Lérida y los templarios de Monzón', *Ilerda* 36 (1975) 41-96; R. Farrero Isus, *Disputas entre los templarios y la mitra ilerdense en la diócesis de Lérida durante los siglos XII y XIII* (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universitat de Barcelona 1982); L. 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', *Ritterorden und Kirche im Mittelalter*, ed. Z. H. Nowak. Ordines Militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica IX (Toruń, 1997), pp. 163-92.

²⁸ Cf. *SWB*; D. Berg (ed.), *Bettelorden und Stadt. Bettelorden und städtisches Leben im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*. Saxonia Franciscana 1 (Werl, 1992); J. Raspi Serra (ed.), *Gli ordini mendicanti e la città* (Milano, 1990); *Les Ordres Mendiants et la Ville en Italie centrale (v. 1220 - v. 1350)*. Melanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen

development of the medieval town.²⁹ As insight into the structures and daily life of the orders is also possible through knowledge of their art and architecture, these aspects have been taken into consideration in a number of studies,³⁰

Age-Temps Modernes 89 (1977); D. Postles, 'The Austin canons in English towns, c. 1100-1350', *Historical Research* 66 (1993) 1-20; P. Müller, *Bettelorden und Stadtgemeinde in Hildesheim im Mittelalter* (Hannover, 1994); B. Neidiger, 'Stadtregiment und Klosterreform in Basel', *Reformbemühungen und Observanzbestrebungen im spätmittelalterlichen Ordenswesen*, ed. K. Elm. *Berliner Historische Studien* 14, Ordensstudien 6 (Berlin, 1989), pp. 539-67; *idem*, *Mendikanten zwischen Ordensideal und städtischer Realität. Untersuchungen zum wirtschaftlichen Verhalten der Bettelorden in Basel*. *Berliner Historische Studien* 5, Ordensstudien 3 (Berlin, 1981); B. E. J. Stüdeli, *Minoritenniederlassungen und mittelalterliche Stadt. Beiträge zur Bedeutung von Minoriten- und Mendikantenanlagen im öffentlichen Leben der mittelalterlichen Stadtgemeinde, insbesondere der deutschen Schweiz*. *Franziskanische Forschungen* 21 (Werl, 1969); H. Hageneder, 'Die Minoriten in den österreichischen Städten', *Stadt und Kirche*, ed. F.-H. Heye. *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte* 13 (Linz, 1995), pp. 57-68; J. Röhrkasten, 'Mendicants in the Metropolis: the Londoners and the Development of the London Friaries', *Thirteenth Century England* VI, ed. M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 61-75; *idem*, 'The Londoners and the London Mendicants in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996) 466-77. For the relationship between town and surrounding region see e.g. L. Pellegrini, 'Territorio e città nell'organizzazione insediativa degli ordini mendicanti in Campania', *Rassegna storica salernitana* 5 (1986) 9-41; W. Simons, *Stad en apostolaat. De vestiging van de bedelorden in het graafschap Vlaanderen c. 1225-1350* (Brussels, 1987); A. Rütther, *Bettelorden in Stadt und Land: die Straßburger Mendikantenkonvente und das Elsaß im Spätmittelalter* (Berlin, 1997).

²⁹ See e.g. *Stadt und Orden. Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preußen und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. U. Arnold. QSTGDO 44 (Marburg, 1993) [SO]; U. Arnold, 'Der Deutsche Orden und Venedig', *MS*, pp. 145-65; Braasch-Schwermann; Brassens; A. Luttrell, 'Emphyteutic Grants in Rhodes Town: 1347-1348', *Papers in European Legal History: Trabajos de Derecho Histórico en Homenaje a Ferran Valls i Taberner*, ed. M. Peláez, vol. 5 (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 1409-16.

³⁰ For the mendicants see e.g. W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders* (London, 1972); R. A. Sundt, 'Mediocris domos et humiles habeant fratres nostri: Dominican Legislation on Architecture and Architectural Decoration in the 13th Century', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (1987) 394-407; G. Binding, 'Die mittelalterliche Ordensbaukunst der Franziskaner im deutschen Sprachraum', *Franziskanische Studien* 67 (1985) 287-316; A. G. Little (ed.), *Franciscan History and Legend in English Medieval Art*. *British Society of Franciscan Studies* 19 (Manchester, 1937); R. Piper, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Westfalen: Baukunst im Spannungsfeld zwischen Landespolitik, Stadt und Orden im 13. und frühen 14. Jahrhundert*. *Franziskanische Forschungen* 39 (Werl, 1993); J. Raspi Serra, 'Influenze arabe nella cultura architettonica degli ordini in Italia', *The Meeting of Two Worlds. Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades*, ed. V. P. Goss (Kalamazoo, 1986), pp. 277-84; for the military orders see e.g. P. Ritoók, 'The Architecture of the Knights Templar in England', *MO*, pp. 167-78; J. Fuguet i Sans, *L'arquitectura dels Templers a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1995); H.-J. Mrusek, 'Zur Baugeschichte der Johanniterburg Kühndorf in der ehemaligen Grafschaft Henneberg', *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Witten-*

and last but not least the 'internationality' of some of the orders' houses has also received some attention.³¹

This survey of research on the military and mendicant orders is far from comprehensive, and, accordingly, it will not be possible to investigate all of the problems caused by the different aspects of European regionalism in a single book. The following contributions are therefore intended only to examine some examples of the developments which have been outlined here. The essays in the first section are devoted to border regions where elements of local and regional influence are particularly evident; those in the second section of the book will examine different levels of influence, starting with that of popes and emperors and continuing down to that of nobles, bishops, and towns. Finally, the essays in the last section will explore the internal consequences of local and regional influences: the 'international' character of some of the orders' houses, changes in internal structure, and the architecture employed by the orders.

berg 12 (1963) 663-92; B. Aarts, 'Bouw en verbouw van het kasteel van de Duitse Orde', *Commanderij Gemert. Beeldend Verleden*, ed. T. Thelen (Gemert, 1990) 43-64; M. Arsyński, 'Der Deutsche Orden als Bauherr und Kunstmäzen', *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*, ed. Z. H. Nowak. Ordines militares, Colloquia Tornunensia Historica III (Toruń, 1985), pp. 145-67; J. Domastowski, 'Die gotische Malerei im Dienste des Deutschen Ordens', *ibid.*, pp. 169-93. For other aspects of culture see e.g. P. Camao, 'Francescanesimo e cultura in Sicilia', *Quaderni medievali* 14 (1982), 169-96; *Zur geistigen Welt der Franziskaner im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert. Die Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters in Freiburg / Schweiz*, ed. R. Imbach (Fribourg, 1995); E. Onorati, 'Die franziskanische Bewegung in Italien (1200-1500)', *800 Jahre Franz von Assisi. Franziskanische Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters* (Krems, 1982), pp. 232-69.

³¹ See e.g. J. R. H. Moorman, 'The Foreign Element among the English Franciscans', *English Historical Review* 62 (1947) 289-303; Sarnowsky, 'Konvent'.



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I

Religious Orders in Border Regions



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Bonds and Tensions on the Frontier: the Templars in Twelfth-Century Western Catalonia

Nikolas Jaspert

The emergence of new religious orders sparked wide-ranging changes in the areas where they were established – economic, social, religious, cultural, ecclesiastical, sometimes political, even technological or artistic changes. Young foundations had to struggle to find their place in pre-existing ecclesiastical contexts, both among the ruling groups and their feudal overlords. They also broke into established economic structures, often with significant consequences. Whilst this is true for religious orders in general, the type of institution under examination here, the international military orders, also had to define their position in other respects. First, they played an active role in the military field; second, they were institutionally subordinate to the needs and interests of their mother-houses in a way unequalled by most other religious institutions, which made it particularly difficult to incorporate them into political and ecclesiastical structures. The impact of the military orders on medieval society was consequently especially broad.

But does this finding also hold true for the fringes of Christendom, for border and frontier areas?¹ Here, civil and ecclesiastical structures were often poorly

¹ H. J. Karp, *Grenzen in Ostmitteleuropa während des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Grenzlinie aus dem Grenzsaum* (Cologne, Vienna, 1972); D. Hay, 'England, Scotland and Europe: The Problem of the Frontier', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser. 25 (1975) 77-93; P. J. Duffy, 'The Nature of the Medieval Frontier in Ireland', *Studia Hibernica* 22-23 (1982-1983) 21-38; C. Halperin, 'The Ideology of Silence: Prejudice and Pragmatism on the Medieval Religious Frontier', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (1984) 442-66; L. McCrank, 'Cistercians as Frontiersmen', *Estudios en homenaje a don Claudio Sánchez Albornoz*

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developed, and antagonism between newcomers and those already established was less likely. One could expect that on the frontier – with its frequent military conflicts and its ample means for expansion – the bonds that tied the medieval military orders to other institutions and powers were less rigid, tensions amongst Christians less frequent. One such border region where the *Ordines militares* in general and the Order of the Temple in particular took action was the Iberian Peninsula,² the only part of Europe where the Templars exercised functions similar to those in the Levant.

West of the Pyrenees, particularly in Aragon and Catalonia, the knights not only possessed extensive landed property, a series of preceptories and important fortresses, but also held lordship over towns and participated actively in campaigns against the Muslims of al-Andalus. They were essential to the Hispanic frontiers. As areas of contact and confrontation alike, these *zonas fronterizas* were not only defined by their function of political and military borders, but also by their character as areas of settlement and of social, cultural, and economic interaction.³ In all these fields, the military orders, and more specifically

en sus 90 años. Cuadernos de Historia de España, Anexos, 3 vols (Buenos Aires, 1983), II, pp. 313-60; R. Schneider, 'Grenzen und Grenzsicherung im Mittelalter. Zu ihrer begrifflichen, rechtlichen und politischen Problematik', *Probleme von Grenzregionen: das Beispiel SAAR-LOR-LUX-Raum. Beiträge zum Forschungsschwerpunkt der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität des Saarlandes* (Saarbrücken, 1987), pp. 9-27; M. T. Ferrer i Mallol, *La frontera amb l'Islam en el segle XIV: cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià*. Anuario de Estudios Medievales, anexo 18 (Barcelona, 1988); *Medieval Frontier Societies*, eds R. Bartlett, A. MacKay (Oxford, 1989); A. MacKay, 'Sociedades fronterizas', *Almería entre culturas, siglos XII-XVI* (Almería, 1990), pp. 3-12; J. M. Piskorski, 'Die deutsche Ostsiedlung des Mittelalters in der Entwicklung des östlichen Mitteleuropa. Zum Stand der Forschung aus polnischer Sicht', *Jahrbuch für die Geschichte Mittel- und Ostdeutschlands* 40 (1991) 26-84; P. Tyszka, 'O metodzie badan nad średniowiecznymi granicami lokalnymi', *Kwartalnik historii kultury materialnej* 43 (1995) 423-30.

² An overview of the extensive research on the medieval Hispanic frontiers can be found in: J. A. Fernández Ortal, 'Anexo bibliográfico', *Las sociedades de frontera en la España medieval. Ilo seminario de Historia Medieval* (Zaragoza, 1993), pp. 125-87; cf. P. Sénac, 'La frontière d'Al-Andalus au haut Moyen Age', *Le Moyen Age* 100 (1994) 249-54; M. Martínez Martínez, 'Organización y evolución de una sociedad de frontera. El reino de Murcia (ss. XIII-XV)', *Medievalismo* 5 (1995) 31-88; J.-P. Molénat, 'Les divers notions de "frontière" dans la region de Castilla-La Mancha aux temps des Almoravides at Almohades', *Alarcos 1195. Congreso internacional del VIII centenario de la batalla de Alarcos* (Cuenca, 1996), pp. 105-23; C. Stalls, *Possessing the Land. Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler, 1104-1134*. The Medieval Mediterranean 7 (Leiden, New York, Cologne, 1995).

³ A. MacKay, *Spain in the Middle Ages. From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500* (London, 1983), pp. 15-57; R. I. Burns, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Frontier Societies*, pp. 307-31; E. Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla, 'Frontera,