

THE MILITARY ORDERS

MALCOLM BARBER

THE MILITARY ORDERS

Allocutio habita per Patrem Bernardum Demel ex Ordine Teutonico in missa de die 6. Septembris 1992 (London)

Fratres et sorores in Domino nostro Jesu Christo !

Saluto vos omnes in initio novae hebdomadae et praesertim missae, in qua commemoramus mortem et resurrectionem Salvatoris nostri.

Ante omnia debeo gratias agere Professori et nostro Praesidenti Riley-Smith et omnibus eius adiutoribus, quod possibilitatem habemus, profiteri fidem et spem nostram.

Nunc aliquid fit, quod – ni fallor – usque hodie numquam factum est: Nempe, quod membrum qualificatum ex Ordine Sancti Joannis Baptistae praestat servitium in sacra missa primo sacerdoti Ordinis Teutonici, qui potuit interesse scientificae conferentiae in regno Angliae.

Ista fides, quam postea in CREDO et in omnibus, quae ad sacra celebranda necessaria sunt, iterum profitebimur, est etiam fides membrorum in ordinibus sicdictis militaribus in medio aevo et plurium postea usque hodie. Multa nova in ista nostra finienda conferentia de hac re audivimus. Hoc iterum provocat nostram gratitudinem ad omnes, qui istam possibilitatem nobis advenientibus praestabant et praestant.

Sanctus Abbas Bernardus Claravallensis in opere suo famoso “De laude novae militiae” posuit theologicam et – sit venia verbo – ideologico-sociologicam foundationem pro ista coniunctione monachi et militis cum tribus votis consuetis. Admonuit etiam Templarios, fundatus in admonitione Epistolae Sancti Pauli ad Ephesios (in Capite sexto), uti pugnent contra diabolum et omne malum in seipsis et in eiis temporibus.

Scimus, quot effectus iste abbas habuit.

Iste ordo, quem Bernardus contra oppositionem temporalem et manentem in Ecclesia stabilire potuit, ab uno Concilio Oecumenico (1312), uti omnes bene scitis, suppressus est.

Fortasse nobis historia istius Ordinis et omnium aliorum ordinum equestrium, de quibus in civitate Londoniensi nunc melius instructi sumus, est et erit magistra vitae et impetus pro nobis, quomodo nos, mutatis temporibus et circumstantiis, pugnare debemus contra nostra peccata, delicta et omissiones.

Ergo, fratres et sorores, antequam audimus verba Dei in lectionibus et celebramus sacra mysteria fidei secundum omnia, quod Jesus voluit et instituit, imploremus gratiam Domini nostri, ut apti simus ad Eucharistiam recte celebrandam.

Confiteor ...

THE MILITARY ORDERS

Fighting for the Faith and Caring
for the Sick

edited by

Malcolm Barber

editorial committee

Peter Edbury, Anthony Luttrell,
Jonathan Riley-Smith



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 1994 by Ashgate Publishing

Published 2016 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

This edition copyright © 1994 by Malcolm Barber.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notice:

Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith
and Caring for the Sick.

I. Barber, Malcolm.

271.05

U.S. Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

The Military Orders: Fighting for the faith

and caring for the sick / edited by Malcolm Barber.

p. cm. Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Military religious orders—History—Congresses.

2. Hospitalers—History—Congresses. 3. Templars—
History—Congresses. 4. Teutonic Knights—History—
Congresses. I. Barber, Malcolm.

CR4701.M55 1994

271'.05—dc20

94-17896

CIP

Transferred to Digital Printing in 2011

ISBN 9780860784388 (hbk)

Contents

List of Illustrations	ix
Abbreviations	xi
List of Contributors	xiii
Editor's Preface	xix
Introduction	
<i>Jean Richard</i>	xxi
 Part I The Hospital of St John	
1 <i>Pro defensione Terre Sancte</i> : the Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex <i>Michael Gervers</i>	3
2 The Character of the Hospitaller Properties in Spain in the Middle Ages <i>H.J.A. Sire</i>	21
3 The Hospitallers and the Castilian–Leonese Monarchy: the Concession of Royal Rights, Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries <i>Carlos Barquero Goñi</i>	28
4 Catholic and Protestant Members in the German Grand Priory of the Order of St John: the Development of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg <i>Walter G. Rödel</i>	34
5 A Castle in Cyprus attributable to the Hospital? <i>Peter Megaw</i>	42
6 Two Forged Thirteenth-Century Alms-Raising Letters used by the Hospitallers in Franconia <i>Karl Borchardt</i>	52
7 How Many Miles to Babylon? The <i>Devise des Chemins de Babiloine</i> Redated <i>Robert Irwin</i>	57

8	The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291–1530 <i>Anthony Luttrell</i>	64
9	Documentary and Archaeological Evidence for Greek Settlement in the Countryside of Rhodes in the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries <i>Kara Hattersley-Smith</i>	82
10	The Fifteenth-Century Hospital of Rhodes: Tradition and Innovation <i>Fotini Karassava-Tsilingiri</i>	89
11	<i>Xenodochium</i> to Sacred Infirmary: the Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of St John, 1522–1631 <i>Ann Williams</i>	97
12	Corsairs Parading Crosses: the Hospitallers and Venice, 1530–1798 <i>Victor Mallia-Milanes</i>	103
13	'A Parish at Sea': Spiritual Concerns aboard the Order of St John's Galleys in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries <i>David Allen</i>	113
14	The Order of St John in England, 1827–1858 <i>Jonathan Riley-Smith</i>	121

Part II The Order of the Temple

15	Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade <i>Jonathan Phillips</i>	141
16	Templar Castles on the Road to the Jordan <i>Denys Pringle</i>	148
17	The Architecture of the Knights Templars in England <i>Pál Ritoók</i>	167
18	The Surrender of Gaston and the Rule of the Templars <i>Judi Upton-Ward</i>	179
19	The Templars in Cyprus <i>Peter Edbury</i>	189
20	Towards a Profile of the Templars in the Early Fourteenth Century <i>AIan Forey</i>	196
21	Testimony of Non-Templar Witnesses in Cyprus <i>Anne Gilmour-Bryson</i>	205
22	The Suppression of the Templars in Cyprus according to the Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas <i>Annetta Iliéva</i>	212

Part III The Teutonic Order

23	Eight Hundred Years of the Teutonic Order <i>Udo Arnold</i>	223
----	--	-----

24	Frederick II, the Hohenstaufen, and the Teutonic Order in the Kingdom of Sicily <i>James M. Powell</i>	236
25	Patronage of Elizabeth in the High Middle Ages in Hospitals of the Teutonic Order in the Bailiwick of Franconia <i>Klaus Guth</i>	245
26	The Teutonic Order confronts Mongols and Turks <i>Jürgen Sarnowsky</i>	253
27	The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania <i>Sven Ekdahl</i>	263
28	The Recruitment of Brethren for the Teutonic Order in Livonia, 1237–1562 <i>Klaus Militzer</i>	270
29	Hospitality and Chivalry in the Teutonic Order <i>Bernhard Demel</i>	278

Part IV The Spanish Orders

30	Possessions and Incomes of the Order of Calatrava in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries <i>Carlos de Ayala Martínez</i>	283
31	Agrarian Structure in the Calatravan Lordships of the Southern Meseta of Castile in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries <i>Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla</i>	288
32	Organization of Land in the Peninsular South-East: the Commandery of Segura de la Sierra of the Order of Santiago, 1246–1350 <i>José Vicente Matellanes Merchán</i>	296
33	Architecture and Power: the Seats of the Priories of the Order of Santiago <i>Aurora Ruiz Mateos, Jesús Espino Nuño and Olga Pérez Monzón</i>	302

Part V The Perceptions and Role of the Military Orders

34	The Confraternity of La Sauve-Majeure: a Foreshadowing of the Military Order? <i>Marcus Bull</i>	313
35	Medical Knowledge in the Crusading Armies: the Evidence of Albert of Aachen and Others <i>Susan Edgington</i>	320
36	Crusaders and Patrons: the Influence of the Crusades on the Patronage of the Order of St Lazarus in England <i>John Walker</i>	327

37	The Military Orders in Mainland Greece	
	<i>Peter Lock</i>	333
38	Knights and Lovers: the Military Orders in the Romantic Literature of the Thirteenth Century	
	<i>Helen Nicholson</i>	340
39	The Lawyers of the Military Orders	
	<i>James Brundage</i>	346
40	Philippe de Mézières and the Idea of Crusade	
	<i>Joan Williamson</i>	358
41	Victorian Perceptions of the Military Orders	
	<i>Elizabeth Siberry</i>	365
	Select Bibliography	373
	Index	376

List of Illustrations

1.1	Map of Hospitaller and Templar Essex (c.1137–1312)	4
2.1	Possessions of the Order of St John in Spain and Portugal (sixteenth century)	22
5.1	Partly restored plan of Saranda Kolones castle	43
5.2	Saranda Kolones: column sections in position	46
5.3	Saranda Kolones: south and south-west pillars linked by restored vaulting rib	46
5.4	Saranda Kolones: the bakehouse	46
5.5	Saranda Kolones: limestone wall-capital	47
5.6	Belvoir: basalt wall-capital (after Biller)	47
5.7	Saranda Kolones: large limestone corbel	47
5.8	Plan of Belvoir castle (after Biller)	49
9.1	Map of Rhodes	83
9.2	Church of Agioi ‘Theodoroi’: donor portrait and inscription of 1372	86
9.3	Kitala: remains of the fortress	86
10.1	Hospital of Rhodes: plan of the ground floor	90
10.2	Hospital of Rhodes: plan of the first floor	91
16.1	Map showing the road from Jerusalem to the Jordan in the twelfth century	149
16.2	The Ascent of Blood looking north-east with the Templar castle of the Red Cistern (Qal’at ad-Damm) on the horizon	154
16.3	Qal’at ad-Damm: vault 2 from the west, with the rock-cut ditch and entrance in the foreground	154
16.4	Qal’at ad-Damm: plan of the Templar castle	156
16.5	Qal’at ad-Damm: sections through the Templar castle	157
16.6	Qal’at ad-Damm: the rock-cut ditch at the north corner	158
16.7	Qal’at ad-Damm: tower 3, looking north-east from the top of vault 2, with the Judaeian Wilderness behind	158
16.8	Qal’at ad-Damm: the interior of vault 2, looking south-east	160
16.9	Qal’at ad-Damm: the interior of vault 2, looking north-west	160

16.10	Qal'at ad-Damm: tower 3 from the south-west	161
16.11	Bait Jubr at-Tahtani: crusader tower, looking east, with the oasis of Jericho behind	163
16.12	Bait Jubr at-Tahtani: crusader tower from the south-west	163
16.13	Bait Jubr at-Tahtani: plan and section of the crusader tower	164
16.14	Bait Jubr at-Tahtani: crusader tower, the entrance to the blocked stairway in the south wall	165
17.1	Plan of the Templar preceptory at South Witham	169
17.2	Plan of the Temple Church, London	175
17.3	West doorway, Temple Church, London. Engraving of 1807	175
17.4	Rothley, Leics. Thirteenth-century Templar chapel	177
17.5	Temple Bruer, Lincs. Engraving of 1726	177
18.1	Map showing the strategic positions of Gaston and neighbouring castles	180
18.2	Plan of the Castle of Gaston	182
18.3	The ascent to Gaston, from the east	184
18.4	Gallery hall, from the north	185
18.5	Hall and platform, from the south-east	185
33.1	The sacristy of Uclés (Cuenca)	304
33.2	Exterior of Uclés (Cuenca)	304
33.3	Interior of the church of San Marcos (León)	306
33.4	Detail of the façade of San Marcos (León)	306
33.5	Cloister walk of Calera de León (Badajoz)	307
33.6	Cloister of Calera de León (Badajoz)	307

List of Tables

20.1	Ages of Templars at time of interrogation	197
20.2	Templars' length of service at time of interrogation	198

Abbreviations

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana</i>
AHN OO.MM	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Ordenes Militares
AOL	<i>Archives de l'Orient latin</i>
ASV	Archivio di Stato, Venice
BA	<i>Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Alcantara</i> , ed. I.J. Ortega y Cotes, J. Fernández de Brizuela and P. de Ortega Zúñiga y Aranda (Madrid, 1759)
BASMOM	British Association of the Sovereign Military Order of Malta
BC	<i>Bullarium Ordinis Militiae de Calatrava</i> , ed I.J. Ortega y Cotes, J.F. Alvarez de Baquedano and P. de Ortego Zúñiga y Aranda (Madrid, 1761)
BL	British Library
CH	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitalers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310</i> , ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris 1894–1906)
CT	<i>Cartulaire général de l'Ordre du Temple 1119?–1150. Recueil des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'ordre du Temple</i> , ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1913)
Cont WT	<i>La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyre (1184–1197)</i> , ed. M.R. Morgan, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 14 (Paris, 1982)
Crusades	<i>A History of the Crusades</i> , gen. ed. K.M. Setton, 2nd edn, 6 vols (Madison, 1969–89)
DNB	<i>Dictionary of National Biography</i>
EFF	<i>Feet of Fines for Essex</i> , ed. R.E.C. Kirk (Colchester, 1899–1910)
Eracles	<i>L'Estoire de Eracles Empereur et la Conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer</i> , in <i>RHC Occid</i> , 1, 2, (Paris, 1859)
Ernoul-Bernard	<i>Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier</i> , ed. L. de Mas-Latrie (Paris, 1871)
GC	<i>Gestes des Chiprois</i> , ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887)

Malta, Cod.	Archives of the Order of St John, National Library of Malta, Valletta
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i>
<i>MIC</i>	<i>Monumenta iuris canonici</i>
MVO	Museum and Library of the Most Venerable Order of St John
NLM	National Library of Malta, Valletta
OSJ	Order of St John
<i>PC</i>	<i>The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England</i> , prima camera, Essex
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
PPTS	Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society
<i>Procès</i>	<i>Le Procès des Templiers</i> , ed. J. Michelet, 2 vols (Paris, 1841)
<i>PUTJ</i>	<i>Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter</i> , ed. R. Hiestand, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1972–84)
RCHM	Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report. Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RHC</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades</i>
<i>Occid</i>	<i>Historiens occidentaux</i>
<i>Or</i>	<i>Historiens orientaux</i>
<i>DArm</i>	<i>Documents arméniens</i>
<i>RHGF</i>	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France</i>
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Rerum Italicarum Scriptores</i>
<i>ROL</i>	<i>Revue de l'Orient latin</i>
<i>RRH</i>	<i>Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani and Additamentum</i> , ed. R. Röhrich (Innsbruck, 1893–1904)
RS	Rolls Series
<i>RSJ</i>	<i>The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St James, 1170–1493</i> , ed. E. Gallego Blanco (Leiden, 1971)
<i>RT</i>	<i>La Règle du Temple</i> , ed. H. de Curzon (Paris, 1886)
<i>SC</i>	<i>The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England</i> , secunda camera, Essex, ed. M. Gervers (Oxford, 1982).
<i>SDO</i>	<i>Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften</i> , ed. M. Perlbach (Halle, 1890)
<i>SRP</i>	<i>Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum</i> , ed. T. Hirsch <i>et al.</i> (Leipzig, 1861)
SWEH	Monograph on South Witham excavation to be published by English Heritage
TDE	Tennyson d'Eyncourt papers, Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln
WT	Guillaume de Tyre, <i>Chronique</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis 63, 63A (Turnhout, 1986)

List of Contributors

David Allen is Lecturer in Modern History at the University of Birmingham. He began his career as a student of Stuart history, but in recent years has published several articles about the history of the Order of St John in early modern Europe, in which he has been concerned to integrate the Order's history with the better known mainstream of European history.

Udo Arnold is Professor of History at the University of Bonn and President of the International Historical Commission for Research on the Teutonic Order. He has published extensively on the Teutonic Order and on north German and Baltic history. Among his recent books is a general survey of the Order's history, *Der Deutsche Orden. Von seinem Ursprung bis zur Gegenwart* (1992) (with Marian Tumler).

Malcolm Barber is Reader in Medieval History at the University of Reading. His publications include two books on the Templars and a general survey of medieval Europe between 1050 and 1320.

Carlos Barquero Goñi is currently working on his doctoral thesis at the Autonomous University of Madrid. His special field is the history of the Hospitallers in Castile and Leon between the twelfth and the fourteenth centuries.

Karl Borchardt is Assistant Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Würzburg. He has written books on medieval ecclesiastical institutions in Rothenburg ob der Tauber and on medieval inscriptions in Würzburg (both published in 1988). Together with Dr Anthony Luttrell he is preparing a study of the Hospitallers in Germany in the fourteenth century.

James Brundage is Ahmanson-Murphy Distinguished Professor of History at the University of Kansas. He is a leading authority on canon law in the Middle Ages on which he has published numerous books and articles. Among his best known books are *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (1969) and *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (1987). A selection of his articles was recently published under the title *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (1991).

Marcus Bull is Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Bristol. He is working on the prehistory of the indulgence and also on the cult of Saint Faith in the tenth and eleventh centuries. He has recently published a book based upon his doctoral thesis, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade in the Limousin and Gascony, c. 970–c. 1130* (1993).

Carlos de Ayala Martínez is Professor of Medieval History at the Autonomous University of Madrid. He is director of the research project into the development of the medieval military orders in the kingdoms of Castile and León.

Bernhard Demel is Director of the Zentralarchiv des Deutschen Ordens and Rector of the Order's church of St Elizabeth in Vienna. Since 1985 he has been Secretary of the Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens. He has researched extensively into the Teutonic Order and into the ecclesiastical and cultural history of Moravia and Silesia.

Peter Edbury is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Wales, Cardiff. He has published many articles on the crusades and the Latin East and edited the proceedings of the first conference of the Society for the Study of the Crusades (1985). His two most recent books are *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (1988) (with John Rowe) and *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades* (1991).

Susan Edgington is Senior Lecturer at Huntingdonshire Regional College. Her major project is a critical edition and English translation of the *Historia* of Albert of Aachen (forthcoming).

Sven Ekdahl is Lecturer in History at the University of Göteborg and Wissenschaftlich Angestellter at the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin. He has published *Die 'Banderia Prutenorum' des Jan Długosz* (1976) and *Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*. Vol. 1, *Einführung und Quellenlage* (1982) (vol. 2 is in progress), as well as many articles in German, Swedish, Polish and Lithuanian historical journals.

Jesús Espino Nuño is Research Assistant at the University of Madrid. His special field is the relation between art and the military orders in Spain, on which he has published a number of articles.

Alan Forey is Reader in History at the University of Durham. He has published many articles on the crusades and the military orders as well as a study of *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (1973), *The Military Orders. From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (1992) and most recently, *Military Orders and Crusades* (1994).

Michael Gervers is Professor of History at the University of Toronto. He is a leading authority on the Hospitallers in England. He has published critical editions of the Order's cartularies for Essex, as well as articles on the medieval textile industry and on medieval round and rock-cut churches.

Anne Gilmour-Bryson is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Melbourne. She has published several articles on the Templars and, in 1982, edited the records of the trial of the Templars in the Papal States and the Abruzzi. She has a particular interest in the application of computers in the editing of medieval texts and in the analysis of historical data, and has published a number of articles and two books on this subject.

Klaus Guth is Professor of Volkskunde (European Ethnology) und Historische Landeskunde at the Otto-Friedrich University, Bamberg. He has published monographs on subjects ranging from Guibert of Nogent to the history of confession in France, as well as over seventy articles. He is currently researching the social history of minority groups in Bavaria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Kara Hattersley-Smith is editor of Early Christian and Byzantine art for Macmillan's *The Dictionary of Art*. Her book, *Byzantine Public Architecture between the Fourth and the Eleventh Centuries with Special Reference to the Towns of Macedonia*, is soon to be published. She has had extensive archaeological and field work experience in former Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey and, most recently Rhodes, where she has been working on settlement patterns during the Hospitaller period.

Annetta Iliéva is Assistant Professor of History at the American University in Bulgaria. She has published many articles and a book, *Frankish Morea, 1205–1262* (1991), based on her doctoral thesis.

Robert Irwin was formerly Lecturer in Mediaeval History at the University of St Andrews and is now a freelance writer. He is the author of *A History of the Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate of Egypt and Syria* (1986) and several novels.

Fotini Karassava-Tsiligiri is a practising architect and restorer. She has worked for the Greek Ministry of Culture, Historic Buildings Section, at Patras and Athens, and is currently employed by the Commission for Ancient Monuments at Attica. Her main research interest is the fifteenth-century Hospitaller hospital at Rhodes and the architecture of their hospitals in general.

Peter Lock is Senior Lecturer in Medieval History at the University College of Ripon and York St John, York. He is the author of numerous articles on

Frankish Greece and has completed a study of the Franks in the Aegean region between 1204–1500 to be published in 1995.

Anthony Luttrell has held lectureships at Edinburgh and Malta and is a former Assistant Director of the British School at Rome. He is a leading authority on the occupation of Rhodes by the Order of St John (1306–1522) and has also published extensively on the Order's European possessions and on other Western settlements in Greece in the later Middle Ages. The most recent selection of his articles, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, was published in 1992.

Victor Mallia-Milanes is Head of the Department of History at the University of Malta. His special research interest is Venice, the Order of St John, and Malta in the early modern period, on which he has published extensively. His most recent work is *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798: Aspects of a Relationship* (1992), and he has just completed the editing of *Hospitaller Malta 1530–1798: Studies on Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (1993).

José Matellanes Merchán is working on his doctoral thesis on the Order of Santiago, 1170–1350, at the Autonomous University of Madrid and he is also a member of a team researching into the part played by the military orders in the implantation of feudalism in the western Iberian peninsular. He has written several articles on the history of the Order of Santiago.

A.H.S. (Peter) Megaw has been Director of Antiquities, Cyprus and Director of the British School of Archaeology, Athens. He has published many archaeological reports and monographs on the eastern Mediterranean in the medieval period.

Klaus Militzer is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Bochum. His publications on the military orders centre particularly upon the history of the Teutonic order in Germany, Prussia and Livonia, and include *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich* (1981).

Helen Nicholson is Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Wales College of Cardiff and the author of *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders 1128–1291* (1993), which is based upon her doctoral thesis, as well as several articles on the military orders.

Olga Pérez Monzón is Research Assistant on a group project to investigate art and the military orders directed by Professor Ruiz Mateos at the University of Madrid. She has published articles on various aspects of the artistic links of the Order of Santiago and the Order of St John, the latter of which is the subject of her doctoral thesis.

Jonathan Phillips is Lecturer in Medieval European History at Royal Holloway College, University of London. He has recently completed his doctoral thesis on relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187, which will shortly be published as a book.

James M. Powell is Professor of Medieval History at Syracuse University. Among his many books and articles are *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (1986) and *Albertanus of Brescia: The Pursuit of Happiness in the Early Thirteenth Century* (1992).

Denys Pringle is a Principal Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Scotland. He has published many reports, monographs and articles on the archaeology of Italy, North Africa, Scotland and the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Among his books is *The Red Tower (al-Burj al-Ahmar): Settlement in the Plain of Sharon at the Time of the Crusaders and Mamluks (A.D. 1099–1516)* (1986). He is currently working on a three-volume corpus of the churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, the first volume of which was published in 1993.

Jean Richard, former Professor of Medieval History at the University of Dijon, is a member of the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres). He is the author of numerous books and articles on the crusades, the Latin settlements in the east, the military orders, the Mongols, and the Duchy of Burgundy in the Middle Ages. His study of Louis IX has recently been published in English translation as *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France* (1992).

Jonathan Riley-Smith is Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Cambridge, and President of the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. He is the author of many books and articles on the military orders, the Western settlements in Palestine, and the crusades, including *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050–1310* (1967).

Pál Ritoók works for the National Board for the Protection of Historic Monuments in Budapest, and has published articles, catalogues and guides on Hungarian art and architecture. His recent work on the architecture of the Templars arose out of his award of a scholarship from the Soros Foundation, which enabled him to research in England.

Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla is Research Assistant at the Autonomous University of Madrid, where he is a member of the team investigating the military orders in the Middle Ages in the western Iberian Peninsular (1150–1350). He is preparing a doctoral thesis on the Order of Calatrava in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Walter Rödel is Professor of Early Modern History at the Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz. He has worked extensively on the Order of St John in the archives at Valletta, and is author of more than fifty publications on Hospitaller history, including *Das Grosspriorat Deutschland des Johanniter-Ordens im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Reformation* (1972).

Aurora Ruiz Mateos is Professor of the History of Art in the University of Madrid and director of research teams working on the architecture of the military orders in Iberia.

Jürgen Sarnowsky is Lecturer in History at the Free University of Berlin. He is an authority on scholastic thought in the later Middle Ages, as well as the history of the Teutonic Order and the Order of St John. His second book, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen (1382–1454)*, was published in 1993.

Elizabeth Siberry is a civil servant in the Cabinet Office, Whitehall. She has published several articles on the crusades and a book, *Criticism of Crusading, 1095–1274* (1985). She is currently working on a series of articles about images of the crusade in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

H.J.A. Sire is a free-lance historical writer and the author of *Gentlemen Philosophers - Catholic Higher Studies at Liège and Stonyhurst College 1774–1916* (1988) and *The Knights of Malta* (1994).

Judi Upton-Ward has just published a translation of the French Rule of the Templars (1992) and has almost completed an edition, with English translation, of the Catalan Rule of the Templars. She is working for her doctorate at the University of Birmingham.

John Walker is Part-time Lecturer, University College, Scarborough. His doctoral thesis was on the patronage of the Templars and the Order of St Lazarus in England. He is at present preparing *The Cartulary of the Hospital of St Giles, Holborn*, for the London Record Society.

Ann Williams is Senior Lecturer in Mediterranean History at the University of Exeter. She is a specialist in the hospital and charitable work of the Order of St John in the early modern period, and is about to publish *Servants of the Sick, The Convent of the Order of St John 1309–1631*.

Joan Williamson is Professor of French at Long Island University, New York. She has published articles on Old French texts, both epic and romance, and is completing an edition of *Le Livre de la vertu du sacrement de mariage* by Philippe de Mézières.

Editor's Preface

This volume contains papers from a conference held on 3–6 September 1992 at the Museum of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, under the auspices of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades. The perception of the organizers that there is a growing interest in, and enthusiasm for, the study of military orders was fully borne out. Scholars from twenty countries took part and, between them, presented forty-eight papers encompassing a vast geographical spread from Lithuania to Spain and from England to the Crusader States. It was particularly pleasing to welcome colleagues from eastern Europe now able to participate much more readily than in the past.

The conference covered every period *from the origins of the military orders* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries down to the present day, and a large proportion of the papers has been published here, following the overall conference format in which four main papers were given, supported by shorter communications. The event culminated in a visit to the two magnificent timber-framed barns at Cressing Temple in Essex, where the whole site of the Templar preceptory is being surveyed and excavated. It is hoped that this conference will be the first of a series, to be held at four-year intervals, and that the research presented here will stimulate further work on this multifaceted subject.

All successful conferences are the consequence of a team effort; this conference had at its core a highly effective organizing committee, chaired by Jonathan Riley-Smith and administered by Rosemary Bailey, together with Peter Edbury, Tim Everard, Helen Gribble, Anthony Luttrell and Pamela Willis. They were assisted by Julia Findlater, Julia Toffolo and Jill Geser. The staff of the Museum of St John – Amanda Devonshire, Francesca Alden and Carmel Fitzpatrick – worked many long hours to ensure its smooth day-to-day running. Adrian Gibson and Tim Robey of the Archaeology Section of Essex County Council provided authoritative guidance at the Cressing Temple site. In the production of the book my personal thanks go particularly to the editorial committee, to Judi Upton-Ward who typed the manuscript and translated four of the Spanish papers, to Pamela Willis, whose skill in researching

additional material has eased several editorial problems, to Ben Arnold for advice on German history and to John Smedley and Ruth Peters of Variorum. Finally, we are all extremely grateful to Michael Carey and the Honourable Henry Hankey, Trustees of The Seven Pillars of Wisdom Trust, whose generosity in providing a subvention has ensured that the book would be published.

Introduction

Jean Richard

‘Fighting for the faith and caring for the sick’: when considering this double vocation of the military religious orders historians usually pay more attention to the first aspect rather than to the second, even though today it is the latter which survives while the former has steadily diminished in importance. It was therefore appropriate that the conference held at St John’s Gate in September 1992 should remind us that the obligations imposed upon the orders involved a combination of both activities.

Fighting for the faith: this question was thoroughly scrutinized in the course of a colloquium which met in 1989 at Passo della Mendola, the proceedings of which have appeared under the title *‘Militia Christi’ e crociata*. The great debate which preoccupied the participants in this conference was how to reconcile the concept of the *miles Christi*, the monk who fights every day against the forces of evil in a conflict of a spiritual nature, with that of the warrior who repels the enemies of Christ by material arms. In particular, in examining the origins of the orders, emphasis was placed on the role of the fraternities of knights which were founded, especially in the Iberian peninsula, in order to defend the borders of Christendom. In this volume, this issue is discussed in relation to the confraternity of La Sauve-Majeure, previously thought to have been an association of this type, whose aim was to defend the abbey. Here however a new examination questions whether that interpretation should be retained.

The orders created in the Holy Land in the wake of the crusades share a common origin which was founded on the idea of caring for others. Even before 1099 the task of helping sick pilgrims was imposed upon the first Hospitallers; after this date it became even more important. The first function of the Templars was to protect such pilgrims from the dangers of the road. As for the Teutonic Knights, their order was born out of the campaign hospital created for the crusaders who were besieging Acre during the Third Crusade. It is therefore pertinent to consider the nature of the care given to the wounded and the sick. As early as the First Crusade and the years that followed, even before recourse was made to oriental doctors, the rational character of this medication is striking. A search for the causes of the illness, investigation of

wounds, and appropriate care, appear to have enabled cures to be found for those seriously wounded or close to death; substantial knowledge was therefore already being applied to the care of the sick.

However, the work of the conference was essentially concerned with the period after the origins of the orders, encompassing their history right up to our own times.

On the Templars the initial question to consider is the mission entrusted by King Baldwin II of Jerusalem to the first Master of the Order, Hugh of Payns, the aim of which was to solicit aid from the barons of the West in order to attempt the conquest of Damascus. This mission was decisive in establishing the Order of the Temple and assuring its expansion in Europe. The task given to the knights, to protect the pilgrim routes, led them to construct fortresses along the route to the Jordan, which are the subject of a study here. In addition, the prince of Antioch granted them the first of the strongholds around which the Order established great lordships endowed with sovereign rights. One of these was Baghras (Gaston) which, apart from the period when it was captured by Saladin and then occupied by the Armenians, was held by the Temple until the time of Sultan Baybars. In contrast with these fortresses were the simple manors which the knights established in their Western domains, notably in England; these operated as centres for the exploitation of their resources with the main aim of collecting revenues to supply the establishments created by the Order in the crusader states.

An interesting case is that of Cyprus where the Templars had been called by King Richard to take charge of the government of the island. Although they gave this up, the Order remained a power in the Lusignan kingdom, and indeed came into conflict with the Crown. Nevertheless, following the arrest of the Templars, the inquiry which took place on the island revealed the esteem in which the Order and its members were held by the Cypriot aristocracy, even those linked to the party of King Henry II which the leaders of the Order did not support. It has been shown how the Order sent its youngest knights to the Cypriot houses, doubtless with a view to engaging them in combat with the sultan. It was only much later that the image of the Templars was tarnished in Cypriot historiography.

The Hospitallers also established themselves in Cyprus; the techniques employed in building the castle of Paphos, in the early thirteenth century, suggest that they were responsible for its construction. But it is their other domains in the West which are better known and whose extent can be more fully appreciated thanks to the documentation of the fourteenth century, and this volume contains studies on England, Castile and Aragon. The nature of these possessions was very different, for the transfer of royal revenues to the knights was very important in Spain whereas it is apparent that, for the Hospital, the function of these domains was to help maintain the Convent and not to furnish a contribution to the conflict against the Saracens in the peninsula.

It is well known that Matthew Paris attributed the possession of 19,000 manors to the Hospitallers, a figure which is certainly a fantasy. It is, however, interesting to compare this with the letter – evidently forged in the same period – recommending the collectors of the Order to the faithful of Franconia, for this gives the figure of 4,000 manors corresponding with that of the 4,000 knights who had fought the infidels. Here, it seems, is evidence of a propaganda campaign which stressed the magnitude of the effort undertaken by the Order.

After the fall of Acre, the Hospital was closely associated with the preparation of a new crusade, with which Pope Clement V was personally identified. This connection is underlined by the new dating suggested for the *Devise des Chemins de Babiloine*, one of the documents produced by the Hospital for this expedition. However, when the knights were installed at Rhodes, they once more took up the hospitaller tradition of their Order, which they could no longer exercise either in their great hospital at Jerusalem nor in that at Acre; they therefore built a new hospital at Rhodes where they continued to fulfil their medical vocation to the benefit of pilgrims and travellers. When the Order was obliged to re-establish itself on Malta, the clientele of the Hospital's doctors was not the same: the *xenodochium* was replaced by an infirmary, identical to those which each convent maintained for the use of its monks. From then on the knights dedicated themselves to the policing of the seas – a role which aroused the indignation of those who traded with the Turkish world, notably the Venetians, who had to sustain the consequences of the activities of what they regarded as Hospitaller corsairs. The chaplain brothers of the Order also felt the effects of the change in the Order's functions: some became 'galley chaplains', assuming the role of almoners on board the ships where they provided the crews with some kind of sacramental life.

The military orders were so integrated in the structure of the Latin states of the East that, after the Fourth Crusade, the conquerors of the Latin Empire of Constantinople called them into Greece. Although the Teutonic Knights occupied a modest position (in Messenia), at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Templars enjoyed an active role in the region and the Hospitallers established themselves in Thessaly; Baldwin II even made an unsuccessful appeal to the knights of Santiago in an attempt to reinforce the defences of his empire. However, in the following century the Hospital – imbued with the mission to maintain a Frankish presence in Asia Minor, at Smyrna and, after 1407, at Bodrum – concerned itself directly with the defence of Frankish Greece. Although the grandiose plan conceived by the Grand Master Heredia ended in defeat, the Order remained committed to the conflict against the Turks in Greece. This continued to be linked to its presence in Rhodes – a presence which has been related to the existence of a class of Greek proprietors on the island.

With the onset of the Reformation the knights divided between the confessions. Those from the bailiwick of Brandenburg who had taken up the

Lutheran faith intended to remain members of the Order; it was agreed that they be permitted to continue to recognize the authority of the Grand Master, but not that of the bailiff of Brandenburg *in partibus*, who was a Catholic, appointed by the Master. After the taking of Malta by Bonaparte, the king of Prussia wished to make the Hospitallers a purely Prussian order: thus, in the mid-nineteenth century, it was once again theoretically united. The example of the Brandenburg compromise was invoked in the course of the curious transactions which occurred in England, also in the nineteenth century, with a view to reviving the English *Langue* at the heart of the Order. In the course of these dealings the idea of re-establishing the knights in Rhodes with the agreement of the Greek insurgents, was also proposed. But these negotiations, which were very delicate on the confessional issue, foundered due to the involvement of dubious individuals. In the event the English *Langue* was not restored, and the English Order of Saint John was eventually established as an order of the British Crown.

These projects should not be isolated from other contemporary perspectives. Other Englishmen, notably Sir Sidney Smith, whose victory at Saint-Jean d'Acre had stimulated a great personal interest in oriental questions (he also envisaged the restoration of the Christian presence in Ottoman Syria), had formed the idea of establishing a branch of the Order of the Temple in England after it had been revived in France. In fact the romantic epoch colourfully embellished the adventures of the knights of former times, particularly those who had vowed to fight for the faith (even though Sir Walter Scott gave the role of the villain to a Templar in *Ivanhoe*). The renewal of the chivalric ideal thus found expression in these proposals for the restoration of the military orders.

These proposals had already nourished other dreams. Authors of chivalric romances portrayed the Templars as the protectors of lovers – indeed, they were depicted as ideal lovers. However, it is particularly important to emphasize the figure of Philippe de Mézières who, more than half a century after the canvassing of the idea of a union of the Temple and the Hospital which Pierre Dubois had imagined as dependent upon the French Crown, had conceived the idea of a new and original type of order, the Order of the Passion, as the instrument of a future crusade. Such an order had nothing in common with the orders of chivalry which flourished in almost every European court, and owed little to the true military orders.

However, the knightly cause did find the opportunity to fulfil itself thanks to the third of the great orders, that of the Teutonic Knights. It is clear that this order, which grew out of 'the hospital of the Germans' at Acre was, like the hospital of Saint John before it, given a military role parallel to its hospitaller vocation. In no way did it consider its hospitaller function of secondary importance; significantly, in Franconia it was placed under the patronage of St Elizabeth, who exemplified a life consecrated to the service of the poor and the sick. Its military vocation was first employed in Frankish Syria, where

Frederick II had sufficiently appreciated the knights and their master, Hermann of Salza, to endow them in his kingdom of Sicily; next they faced the Cumans in the kingdom of Hungary, where King Andrew II established them in Burzenland; finally they went to Prussia and then on to Livonia, where they served to defend the 'new settlements of the faith' against the renewed pagan offensive. They were equally associated with the conflict against the Mongols and, later, against the Turks, but it is the Baltic lands which have been defined as the *Ordensland*, for it was their war against the Lithuanians and, to a lesser extent against the Russians, which gave the Teutonic Knights their specific character in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Europe.

This war against the pagans – whose adherence to Catholicism was ignored by the Order in the time of Gedimyn and especially Jagiełło, since it would have removed the legitimacy of this struggle – was not simply religious in character. The Teutonic Knights did not put conversion of the infidel at the top of their agenda; when they launched their expeditions into pagan territory, they tried to bring back captives who, reduced to slavery, provided them with human resources which could be put to valuable use on their own estates. This was little different from the knights of Malta who used captured Muslims in their galleys, nor from the Turks, who used Christian sailors as their oarsmen. It was not this, however, which brought the knights who came from all over the West to gain the spiritual privileges attached to fighting for the faith; they found themselves welcomed and feted by the grand master and his knights and associated with the *Reisen* which honoured the participants as gallant warriors. These temporary combatants thus came to complete the armies of a knighthood which was regularly reinforced with noble recruits from a variety of German-speaking territories. The Order thus realized an ideal of chivalry which transcended the national boundaries of that time.

The victory of the Poles and Lithuanians at Tannenberg put an end to this period of the Order's history. After that the Reformation crisis provoked fissures and posed problems analogous to those encountered by the Hospital, but aggravated by the secularization of the territories of the *Ordensland*. In certain countries, the knights strove to maintain the unity of the Order in the face of confessional divisions. Only in the seventeenth century, in the Low Countries, was there established an order of knights adhering to the Calvinist confession; in Austria and Bavaria, the Order maintained its Catholic form, but within the framework of the monarchies, the knights being henceforth in the service of the state. It therefore succeeded in perpetuating itself until after the Second World War by transforming itself into the new structure which typifies it today and which emphasises its charitable character.

The Order of Saint Lazarus, which also originated in Outremer, is only alluded to here in relation to its formation in England. It appears that those who allowed it to be established in the British Isles, particularly in the priory of Burton Lazars, had been crusaders who had learned of it in the East. Yet the benefactors

of the knights of Saint Lazarus were not, for the most part, participants in the Crusades, a circumstance testifies to the rapidity with which the Order took root.

Within this vast panorama of orders created in the Holy Land – and it can be seen how many varied aspects were evoked during this conference – it is important to incorporate some conception of the Spanish orders of which one – that of Mountjoy – was also started in Outremer, although it did not survive for very long. The Orders of Calatrava and of Santiago were modelled on those in the Holy Land which, as we have seen, also had dependencies in the peninsula. They are presented in this volume with particular reference to their domanial possessions. Nevertheless the problem of political power – or rather the problem of successive political powers – remains for, by incorporating Alcántara into it, the Leonese monarchy wished to make Calatrava an order especially attached to the monarchy. In Castile, the knights of Calatrava held a vast domain in the *Meseta*, and they developed its stock-rearing potential there. The knights of Santiago, who had been established in the mountainous zone spanning the frontiers of the Muslim kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia, built manors and castles there which do not reflect the influence of any specific architectural model.

Attention has therefore been focused above all on the activities of these orders in so far as they were dedicated to war and to the care of the sick, but the landed property from which they drew the revenues which, together with the products of offerings and the rights of fraternity, allowed them to support the brothers and the institutions vital to their goals, has not been neglected. It should be added that, like all landed proprietors and holders of rights and privileges, the knights engaged in innumerable legal disputes. They were therefore obliged to have recourse to lawyers and consequently to maintain, in their own ranks, brothers trained in the science of law – a category which had evidently not been anticipated in their constitutions.

It has not been easy to encompass so vast a collection of issues, and the organizers of the conference should be congratulated on succeeding in maintaining the unity at the heart of such very varied activities. The papers published here leave an impression which was gradually reinforced in the course of the conference – that of the vitality of an institution which originated in the very specific context of the crusade and the great pilgrimage, and which, over time, managed to adapt itself to many different forms. It may be that the disappearance of the Temple resulted from its continuing attachment to apparently old-fashioned structures and conceptions, but this has not been demonstrated. These orders were founded to succour the sick and the poor; they took responsibility for establishments which lacked manpower, and consequently took on a military form. They were able to provide an infrastructure capable of supporting themselves in Outremer or on the frontiers of Christian lands, with significant numbers of men, with fortifications and with hospitals. Contrary

to the classic image of colonies exploiting exotic countries in order to enrich the metropolis, it fell to the knights' countries of origin to supply a lifeline to the lands where they had established themselves. Although the Temple did not survive the fall of Outremer, the other orders overcame the problem by turning to new vocations.

Nor did the Reformation succeed in entirely breaking up the military orders; despite the divergence in the loyalties of their members, they appear to have been attached to the idea of the unity of the order, which is testimony to the cohesion of the aristocratic structure on which the recruitment of the orders was based. Whether Catholic or Protestant, their members continued to belong to the same world and to be wedded to the same chivalric values. Even when they were put into the service of national states – as, for example, officers in the Austrian army, in the navy of the king of France, or as ambulance personnel in the British army – they remained faithful to the knightly ideal and, whatever may have been the vicissitudes of the initiatives towards restoration in the nineteenth century, they are witness to this attachment to the same ideal. But, as well as this military ideal, the orders have continued to serve their other vocation, which is complementary to the first: to care for and assist those stricken with illness.

Bugna Thurcorum cum militibus et ciuibus Rhodiensium.



*Siege of Rhodes and Apparition, Caoursin.
The Museum and Library of the Order of St John, Clerkenwell.*

Part I

The Hospital of St John



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

*Pro defensione Terre Sancte: the Development and Exploitation of the Hospitallers' Landed Estate in Essex**

Michael Gervers

The Hospitallers probably reached England at about the same time as the Templars and the Cistercians, around 1128.¹ The Templars and Cistercians received an immediate and overwhelming response to their call for support. By 1140, the Cistercians had received 31 per cent of all the monastic foundations which would be granted to them in the twelfth century. Similarly, the Templars had been granted 26 per cent of their administrative sites. The Hospitallers, on the other hand, had received virtually nothing, and it was not until *c.* 1145 that they were granted the site of their English priory at Clerkenwell, near London. By the end of the next decade, however, the Order was in possession of 33 per cent of its twelfth-century administrative network throughout the country, and from *c.* 1180 to the end of the century, when the Templars and especially the Cistercians had reached the limit of their administrative expansion, it continued to receive active support.

The catalyst for Hospitaller growth appears not to have been the foundation at Clerkenwell, but rather the fall of Edessa at the end of December 1144 which led to the calling of the Second Crusade by Pope Eugenius III.² There is some indication that shortly thereafter, in 1146, St Bernard invited the Hospitallers

* I am grateful to Mr W. R. Powell, former County Editor of the Victoria County History for Essex, and Mrs Gillian Long of the DEEDS Project in Toronto for their helpful suggestions concerning earlier drafts of this paper. I should also like to acknowledge support received from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada during its preparation.

¹ *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), pp. xxxviii–ix; C. Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago/London, 1988), pp. 30–31; R.A. Donkin, *The Cistercians: Studies in the geography of medieval England and Wales* (Toronto, 1978), pp. 15, 28, 29, B.D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana, 1968), p. 27.

² Eugenius III, pope, letter XLVIII, *Epistolae et Privilegia* in *PL*, 180 (1902), cols 1064–6.

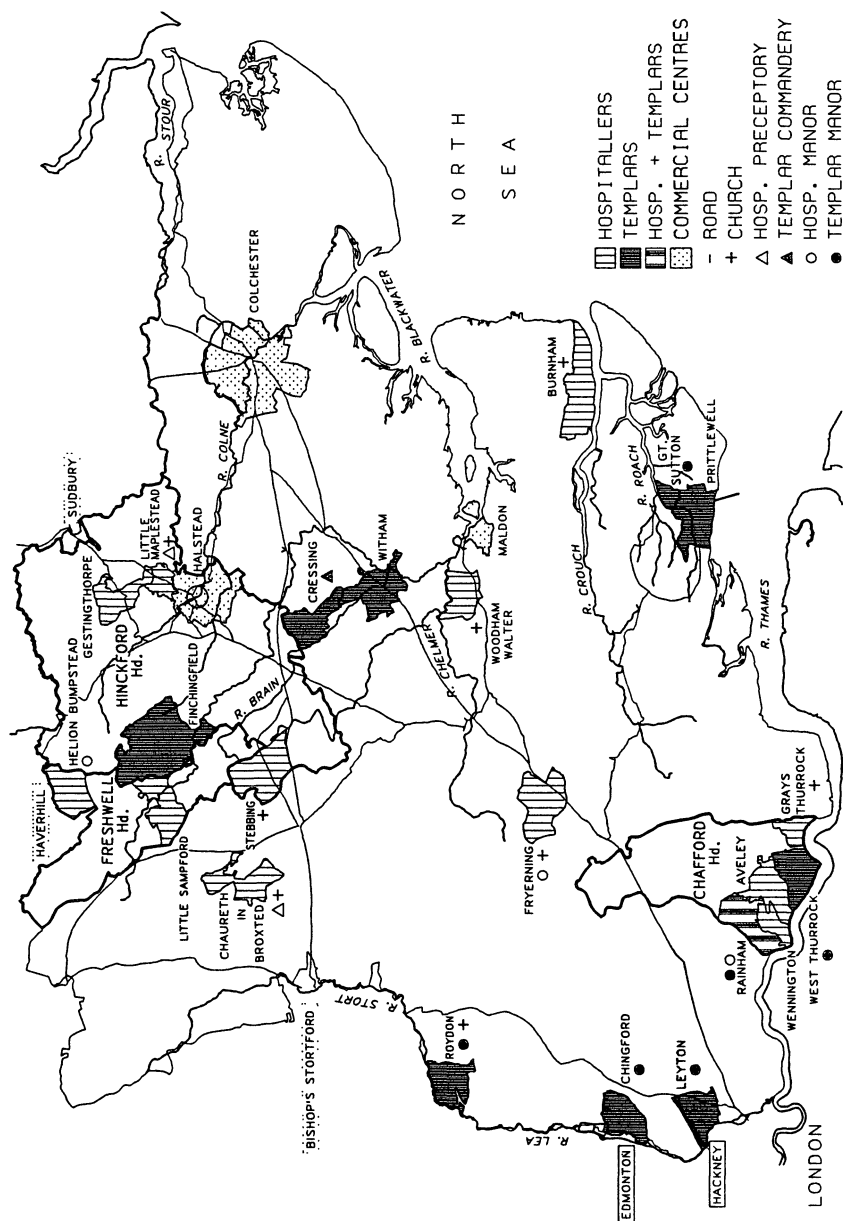


Figure 1.1 Map of Hospitaller and Templar Essex (c. 1137–1312)

to participate in the expedition.³ It has been proposed that the minimal material support received by the Hospitallers in England, compared to the initial rapid growth of the Templars, may be explained by the fact that the former did not constitute a military order prior to the Second Crusade (1147–49).⁴ The number and chronology of English conveyances suggest a marked preference on the part of lay donors to support military involvement in the defence of the Holy Land rather than care for the weak and wounded. The Hospitallers probably responded to this preference.⁵

A common responsibility of both Hospitallers and Templars was the defence of the Holy Land, an objective which was shared by western European society as a whole during the crusading period.⁶ It was obviously to the advantage of these military orders to exploit the emotional response engendered by the movement. This they accomplished in part by building copies of the rotunda, or Anastasis, of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem as their prioral, and sometimes their preceptory or commandery, churches. The fact that both orders constructed rotundas simultaneously – the Templars at the New Temple in London and the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell – cannot be coincidental. Nor was it coincidental that both were consecrated by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1185. At the time, Templars and Hospitallers alike vied to associate themselves in the public eye with the defence of the site of the Resurrection.⁷

Despite their common objective, one is more frequently struck by the differences than the similarities between the Templars and the Hospitallers. King Stephen and his Queen, Matilda, were major patrons of the Templars, granting them lands which would become the commanderies of Cressing-Witham (Essex), Eagle (Lincs.), and Temple Cowley (Oxford). They gave no

³ J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967), p. 58 and n. 7. A.J. Forey argues in favour of a military involvement by the Hospitallers in Syria by the mid-1130s ('The Militarisation of the Hospital of St John', *Studia Monastica*, 26 (1984), pp. 75–89 (see esp. pp. 80, 89).

⁴ M. Gervers, 'Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the Wake of the Second Crusade' in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 155–61.

⁵ See Forey, pp. 85–6.

⁶ When confirming the grant of Sompting (Sussex) church to the Templars c. 1150, Theobald of Bec, Archbishop of Canterbury, addressed his confirmation 'to the religious knights of the Temple, who are fighting the enemies of the faith in defence of the Eastern Church', BL, Cotton MS Nero E VI, fol 155r–v. On the defence of the Holy Land by the Hospitaller master Gilbert of Assailly in the 1160s, see Forey, p. 87. In 1182, Henry II bequeathed 20,000 marks to the Holy Land, 5,000 of which were to be held jointly by the Templars and Hospitallers for 'the common defence of the land of Jerusalem' (Tyerman, pp. 46, 54). The defence of the Holy Land was the object of Hospitaller prayers well into the fourteenth century (*The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England*, prima camera, Essex, ed. M. Gervers. Forthcoming in the British Academy's Records of Social and Economic History, new ser. (Oxford), document no. 16 (cited hereafter as PC, followed by document no.)).

⁷ M. Gervers, 'Rotundae Anglicanae', in *Actes du 22e Congrès international d'histoire de l'art*, Budapest, 1969, 1 (Budapest, 1972), pp. 359–76 (esp. pp. 363–71).

landed property to the Hospitallers, reinforcing our supposition that the Order did not, at that time, possess the military image always associated with the Templars.

The importance of royal patronage cannot be underestimated when comparing the origins and growth of the Hospitallers' estate in Essex to that of the Templars. According to the Templar Inquest of 1185, King Stephen had granted the Templars five hides in Cressing-Witham. Henry II conveyed to them a carucate⁸ in Finchingfield. By 1185, an additional ninety-seven acres of land, as well as several houses and mills in twelve additional parishes, had been acquired in the region.⁹ When royal extents were made of Cressing and Witham in 1309 it was reported that the accountable royal contribution in the two parishes amounted to 1,173 acres,¹⁰ or 58 per cent of the total 2,010 acres which had accrued to the Order by that date.

Cressing-Witham was the Templar commandery in Essex from the time Stephen and Matilda made their major grants between 1137 and 1148. The closest Hospitaller equivalent, at Little Maplestead, accounted in 1338 for only 810 acres of arable, fifteen acres of meadow, thirty acres of pasture, and underwood worth 8s.¹¹ The net value of Cressing-Witham in 1338 was cited as 140 marks; that of Little Maplestead, only 60 marks. The Hospitallers can hardly be said to have been the Templars, rivals on the financial front.

In the absence of royal support, the Hospitallers' Essex estate grew slowly. Probably as a result of their military participation in the Second Crusade, and the efforts to mount another expedition following immediately upon its failure,¹² the Order received increasing attention from lay patrons after mid-

⁸ The carucate is variously cited as being 80, 120 and even as much as 360 acres (J.L. Fisher, *A Medieval Farming Glossary, Latin and English* (London, 1968), p. 7; M.K. McIntosh, *Autonomy and Community: The Royal Manor of Havering, 1200–1500* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 90; K.C. Newton, *The Manor of Writtle* (London/Chichester, 1970), p. 43; W.R. Powell in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of Essex, 7* (Oxford, 1978), p. 17 (series hereafter cited as *VCH Essex*); *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures from Anglo-Saxon times to the nineteenth century*, ed. R.E. Zupko (Madison/Milwaukee/London, 1968), p. 177. The fact that fully eight virgates of Henry's gift are stipulated as being demesne, when the virgate is generally calculated at between 20–30 acres, argues for a large carucate here.

⁹ *Records of Templars*, pp. 1–12.

¹⁰ *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England*, secunda camera, Essex, ed. M. Gervers. British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, new ser., 6 (Oxford, 1982), document nos. 83, 85 (cited hereafter as *SC*, followed by document no.). The size of the acre was based on the perch of 17½ feet. See also *The Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338*, ed. L.B. Larking and J.M. Kemble, Camden Society Publications, 65 (London, 1857), p. 168; R.H. Britnell, 'The Making of Witham', *History Studies*, 1 (1968), 19.

¹¹ The actual arable cited amounts to 560 acres valued at 8d per acre. Lands at Boblow were farmed at 100s and at Abridge in Lambourne at 66s 8d per annum. At 8d per acre, these amounts translate into 150 and 100 acres respectively, giving a total acreage of 810. These round numbers may merely be approximations.

¹² B.M. Bolton, 'The Cistercians and the Aftermath of the Second Crusade' in *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians*, ed. M. Gervers (New York, 1992), pp. 131–40.

century. Most significant for the growth of the Essex estate was the conveyance by Alfred and Sibyl de Bendaville in 1151 of the church of Chaureth in the parish of Broxted, together with the land of Roger Pigot.¹³ Alfred died shortly thereafter, whereupon Sibyl also granted the Order a mill in Broxted in his memory.¹⁴

The location of Chaureth in north-western Essex where the Hospitallers already held some land and would acquire more, and the fact that Alfred died soon after granting the Order his church there, suggests that, by then, the brethren were actively working to find suitable patrons in areas perceived to be appropriate for estate development. Around 1155 they received one-and-a-half virgates in nearby Henham.¹⁵ At this initial stage, they supplemented grants in frankalmoin with purchases.¹⁶

It was not until the end of the century that the trend towards developing a centralized landed estate in north-central and north-west Essex would become definitive. The most significant of these for the future was a grant *c.* 1160, by Robert of Helion of a virgate, and various other lands comprising over forty-six acres, in Helion Bumpstead.¹⁷ A generation later, Rose of Helion conveyed an additional thirty acres and 3s. rent in the adjoining parish of Sturmer.¹⁸ Further grants were made by the Helion family and its tenants in the thirteenth century, with the result that the Order's manor of Boblow in Helion Bumpstead would become one of its most important holdings in the county. Boblow was rented at farm for £5 in 1338, which on the basis of land valued at 8d per acre points to a holding of 150 acres¹⁹ put together over no less than a century. It was, one must admit, a great deal of effort for a relatively modest estate.

In the thirty-five years following the de Bendaville grant of Chaureth church, the Hospitallers acquired all or part of six other churches in the county. The chronology and topography of acquisition reflects the Order's growing awareness of developments in the local economy. Their patrons included members of the highest ranks of the nobility. Thus, *c.* 1167, Walter, son of Robert son of Richard, scion of the Fitz Walter family,²⁰ granted the advowson and lordship

¹³ *PC*, 111.

¹⁴ *PC*, 114, 152.

¹⁵ *SC*, 334, 394.

¹⁶ See *SC*, 334, 340, 355, 372, 416. In the middle of the thirteenth century the prior of the Hospitallers rendered annually the considerable sum of 20 marks to the prior of Ruislip *pro decimis de chauree cum pertinenciis* (*Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, ed. M Chibnall. Camden 3rd ser., 73 (London, 1951), p. 81). During the reign of William I, the Abbey of Bec upon which Ruislip depended received two-thirds of the demesne tithes of Chaureth from Garnerus, the man of Richard of Clare (M. Morgan (Chibnall), *The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Oxford, 1946, repr. 1968), p. 147 and n. 12). I am indebted to Dr Chibnall for drawing my attention to these references.

¹⁷ *SC*, 414.

¹⁸ *SC*, 324.

¹⁹ Larking and Kemble, p. 87. See also footnote 11 above.

²⁰ I.J. Sanders, *English Baronies, A Study of Their Origin and Descent, 1086–1327* (Oxford, 1960, rpt. 1963), p. 129.

of the church of Woodham Walter,²¹ a parish situated on the River Chelmer. Almost simultaneously, Walter also transferred, from the Augustinian canons of Little Dunmow, the advowson and lordship of the church of Burnham situated at the mouth of the River Crouch.²² By 1220, however, the church was back in the hands of the canons and the Hospitallers' interest therein amounted to no more than a yearly pension of 40s.²³ The granting of these two churches nevertheless suggests that the brethren sought significant holdings in parishes situated on waterways used to transport goods to the North Sea and then up the Thames to London.

Around 1170 the church of Fryerning was donated to the Hospitallers by Gilbert of Munfitchet, lord of the Essex barony of Stansted Mountfitchet.²⁴ The parish was conveniently situated south-west of Chelmsford on the king's highway leading from London to Colchester and to Sudbury. Later, Gilbert supplemented his original conveyance by granting the Order half of Fryerning manor.²⁵ His son, Richard, appears to have granted them the other half before 1199.²⁶ In 1293/4, they held an additional carucate of arable of Philip Burnell. The extent of the manor was therefore considerable, valued in 1338 at 40 marks²⁷ and clearly a going economic concern.²⁸ Interestingly, no mention is made in the Report of 1338 of the church, perhaps because it belonged to the prior's demesne and was accounted for separately.

A decade after the Hospitallers received the church of Fryerning they were granted two others, this time by William de Ferrières, the third Earl of Derby.

²¹ *PC*, 37.

²² *PC*, 39.

²³ BL, Cotton Charter XXI, 15; BL, Harley MS 662, fols 8v–9; *The Cartulary of Little Dunmow Priory*, ed. R.E. Levy, unpublished MA diss., University of Virginia (Charlottesville, 1971), p. 41 n. 9). The *CH* (1, p. clxiii) erroneously cites this charter as a confirmation to the Hospitallers by the bishop of London, William de Ste-Mère-Eglise, of the church of Little Dunmow. In fact, it is a confirmation by the same to the Augustinian canons of Little Dunmow of the church of Burnham.

²⁴ *PC*, 183.

²⁵ *PC*, 184.

²⁶ *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati, 1199–1216*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London, 1837), p. 16 (cited hereafter as *Rot. ch.*); W. Dugdale ed., *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, etc., in England and Wales*, new edn, ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6, part 2 (London, 1830, rpt. 1846), p. 808. See also P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, 2 (London, 1768, rpt. 1978), p. 55.

²⁷ Larking and Kemble, p. 94. According to the Report, the manor consisted of a messuage with a garden, 500 acres of land, pasture for 300 sheep and 20 cows, 40 acres of meadow, rents of assize worth £10 and perquisites of court

²⁸ While the Hospitallers received no land in Essex from royalty, Fryerning was twice the recipient of royal privileges: the right to enclose and assart their wood there in 1230 (*PC*, 188) and, in 1290, a weekly Saturday market and an annual fair on 28–30 August (*PC*, 189; *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, 2 (London: Public Record Office (PRO), 1906), p. 340). The market and fair were to be held *apud manerium suum de Gyngge attestone*. Ingatestone and Fryerning, today one parish, were formerly separate (*The Place-Names of Essex*, ed. P.H. Reaney, English Place-Name Society, 12 (1935), pp. 253–4). Reference to the Hospitallers' manor in Ingatestone (*Gyngge attestone*) would seem to refer to that part of the town which actually lay in Fryerning (see Morant, 2, pp. 46–7).

Of these, the church at Grays Thurrock was important because the parish was located directly on the Thames within easy reach of London. The conveyance of the church did not include any manorial lands. The tithes must have been considerable and have represented a significant source of provisions for the priory at Clerkenwell.²⁹ Following a dispute which was settled in 1228, the lord of the manor, Richard of Graye, agreed that the prior should have the right 'to arrive with his own ships and boats ... and to lade there his corn, etc., arising from his church in Turroc'.³⁰ The prior claimed, in this case, that he was wont to have access to the Thames 'to carry his victuals and to conduct them to London'.³¹

In 1181–82, probably contemporaneously with his gift at Grays Thurrock, Earl William granted the brethren his church of Stebbing in Hinckford Hundred.³² The parish of Stebbing lies directly on Stane Street, the old Roman road and still a major transportation route running east–west between Colchester and Bishops Stortford (Herts). William's charter of conveyance is far more explicit in the case of Stebbing than it had been for Grays Thurrock; he specifies that the church is granted together with its advowson and those tithes which he owned.³³ In 1247, Pope Innocent IV granted the Order the right of appropriation of Stebbing, adding the stipulation that the church's annual value should not exceed 35 marks.³⁴ Here, as at Grays, the Order acquired no manorial property, although from at least the middle of the thirteenth century it held no less than fifty acres of land called War field of the fee of the monks of Hambeye for 16s annually. The field served to support the rector.³⁵

During the last quarter of the twelfth century the Hospitallers obviously had their eye on the prime agricultural land of Hinckford Hundred, in which Stebbing was located.³⁶ It was also the centre of 'an unusually marked

²⁹ The church was attributed an estimated value of 30 marks, or £20, in 1254 (R.C. Fowler, 'Fulk Bassett's Register and the Norwich Taxation', *Essex Archaeological Society, Transactions (EAST)*, new ser., 18 (1928), p. 18); £15 in 1333 (*PC*, 33); £10 in 1338 (Larking and Kemble, p. 94) and, in the sixteenth century, £7 6s 18d (*VCH Essex*, 8 (Oxford, 1983), p. 50 and n.98).

³⁰ *Feet of Fines for Essex*, ed. R.E.C. Kirk 1 (Colchester, 1899–1910), p. 84 n. 262 (cited hereafter as *EFF*); *VCH Essex*, 8, p. 45; J.H. Round, 'The Thurrocks', *EAST*, new ser., 20, (1933), p. 45.

³¹ *ad carcandum victualia sua et ducendum usque ad London (Curia Regis Rolls*, 13 (London: PRO, 1959), p. 121 n.520).

³² *PC*, 192.

³³ It was not until c. 1276 that the Hospitallers received the right to great tithes in Stebbing held of the Ferrières' fee by the abbey of Ste-Cathérine-du-Mont in Rouen (*PC*, 200), and in that year Prior Joseph of Chauncey purchased from the abbey of Bec-Hellouin, for two marks annually, the tithes which Bec held there of the lords of Ferrières (*PC*, 203). The presence of so many alien monasteries in Stebbing is remarkable. Worth £5 annually in 1291, the vicarage was funded from various tithes, including a third of the tithe of sheaves issuing *de feodis de Colunciis et Ferariis*, the Coulonces family being tenants of the Ferrières (*PC*, 199).

³⁴ *PC*, 197; see also *PC*, 196 and 199.

³⁵ *PC*, 204; *EFF*, 1, p.219, no. 1305.

³⁶ On the importance of Hinckford Hundred as an agricultural area, see L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death: Essex 1350–1525* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 44.

development of rural industry (especially textiles)',³⁷ along a corridor running between Sudbury and Halstead. Halstead lay in a favourable position on the western fringe of an economic area dominated by Colchester.³⁸

The Hospitallers may have had Halstead in mind when they took over Stebbing church. However, a far better opportunity arose when, in 1187, Juliana, daughter of Robert Doisnel, who was childless, and her husband William, son of Audelin, the king's steward, granted the church and her vill of Little Maplestead to the Order.³⁹ Little Maplestead lies on the northern border of Halstead parish, directly on the industrial corridor leading from there to Sudbury. Juliana may have been prompted to make this gift by her husband.

William might in turn have been encouraged to do so by the king himself. In 1185, Henry II had been approached in support of the failing situation in the Holy Land by Heraclius, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and Roger des Moulins, Grand Master of the Hospital. The king met them on 17 March at the Order's priory at Clerkenwell where, upon the advice of his barons, he agreed to provide support, but not leadership.⁴⁰ The granting of Little Maplestead may be interpreted as a tacit expression of that support. William, son of Audelin, for his part, made his grant *pro salute Henrici regis Anglie domini mei*, in London, on the eve of the anniversary of the king's visit to Clerkenwell two years before.⁴¹ It is difficult to imagine that the Hospitallers themselves did not play the role of catalyst in this transaction. Within less than forty years, Little Maplestead would become the Order's second preceptory in Essex. By the middle of the thirteenth century, if not before, it had replaced Chaureth in that administrative role.

The Hospitallers sought to build demesne estates in the same fashion as the Templars. This objective would explain their initial flurry of activity around Chaureth, purchasing what was not immediately forthcoming in alms and undoubtedly negotiating with Sibyl de Bendaville for the mill in Broxted which she gave them soon after the death of Alfred her husband.⁴² However, the mill is not heard of again; the eighty acres in Chrishall which represented the first conveyance to the Order in Essex and were certainly administered by Chaureth, were leased out c. 1180 for the goodly sum of one silver mark

³⁷ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁸ M. Gervers, 'The Textile Industry in Essex in the Late 12th and 13th Centuries: A Study based on Occupational Names in Charter Sources', *Essex Archaeology and History*, 3rd ser., 20 (1989), 34–73 (p. 44).

³⁹ SC, 91–4. See also J.H. Round, *The King's Serjeants and Officers of State* (London, 1911), pp. 92–3.

⁴⁰ E.J. King, *The Knights of St John in the British Empire* (London, 1934), p. 18; H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J.B. Gillingham (Oxford, 1972), p. 136.

⁴¹ SC, 91.

⁴² PC, 114, 152.

annually and 20s down;⁴³ there is no indication that the five-year lease of half a hide of land in Broxted, assumed by the Hospitallers in 1153, was ever renewed or that the land was otherwise made available to the Order.⁴⁴

In their drive to expand, the Hospitallers seem to have run quickly into three major problems. Firstly, their numbers were too small to administer scattered territorial acquisitions. Secondly, with relatively few twelfth-century exceptions, a good deal of the land obtained in Essex came to them in small parcels spread over at least 156 parishes.⁴⁵ It was difficult to exploit such a dispersed demesne; if demesne it was, for much of what they received was customary land. Thirdly, the Hospitallers, unlike the Templars, do not appear to have had enough capital to lease or purchase extensive nucleated manors and were thus obliged to make do with what they could obtain in frankalmoin or through the purchase of small holdings.

To make up for their lack of personnel the Hospitallers began during the 1220s to employ estate agents to obtain lands as the basis for manorial growth. An appropriate choice of estate agent was someone who knew the local land market, was well respected and had no heirs. Two of the Hospitallers' three known agents in Essex met these qualifications. The first was John, son of Peter of Little Sampford, originally a tenant of Richard of Clare.⁴⁶ In 1233, John, now a tenant of the Hospitallers, granted the brethren 100 acres⁴⁷ made up of modest parcels which other charters show he had been collecting since *c.* 1220.⁴⁸ During some thirteen years, John is recorded as having paid over £85 in entry fees alone for these properties. The sum seems large for someone who does not appear to have been a member of the nobility, unless, as we suspect, the funds were being provided by his new lords, the Hospitallers.

The second estate agent was Simon of Odewell, who took his name from a manor in the parish of Gestingthorpe on the northern boundary of Little Maplestead where the Hospitallers had been granted the church and the vill in 1187.⁴⁹ Of the seven churches granted to the Order in the county, only three were conveyed with land: Chaureth, which came with the land of Roger Pigot and soon became a preceptory; Fryerning, with the land of Henry son of Alfred, was supplemented some fifteen years later with half the manor; and Little Maplestead. The combined gift of a church and land prepared the ground for the foundation of a preceptory. Fryerning was probably excluded because it was too far from the Order's growing northern agricultural estates and was under the jurisdiction of Clerkenwell. Little Maplestead seems to have

⁴³ *SC*, 219.

⁴⁴ See *SC*, 361 and above p. 7.

⁴⁵ See the list in *SC*, pp. xlix–lii and 14 others in the *PC*.

⁴⁶ For more on John, see *SC*, pp. xl–xli.

⁴⁷ *SC*, 908.

⁴⁸ *SC*, nos 918–23, 927, 928, 933.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 10.

remained dormant for some thirty-five years,⁵⁰ but *c.* 1225 X 1230, a grant of land in Gestingthorpe was made 'to the brethren [of the Hospital] at Maplestead'.⁵¹ Once the preceptory had been founded, the Order turned to Simon of Odewell to help them build the estate. There are no grants by Simon to the Order in its great Cartulary of 1442, but his name is mentioned in 107 of the entries in that part of it reserved for Essex and known as the *secunda camera*.⁵² In eighty-two of these he is cited as the recipient of rents, services, property and rights thereto in Hinckford Hundred and in Sudbury across the River Stour in Suffolk. In 1242, shortly before his death *c.* 1245, Simon and his childless wife, Margaret, are recorded in the Feet of Fines for Essex as granting to the Hospitallers 350 acres of land and 5½ marks in rents in Hinckford Hundred and in Sudbury.⁵³ In exchange, the Order granted Simon and Margaret, for life, its manor at Coddensham, Suffolk, with land at Claydon, and one mark and two robes annually.⁵⁴ Simon had worked hard for the Order during at least the last decade of his life, providing it with the best it could have hoped for under the circumstances: that is, a much-fragmented estate spread over more than a dozen parishes in the neighbourhood of Little Maplestead.⁵⁵

Undoubtedly encouraged by the success of this type of cooperative venture, the Hospitallers directed their efforts along similar lines in the southern parishes of Aveley and Wennington. Both border on the northern bank of the Thames in Chafford Hundred, somewhat to the west of Grays Thurrock where the Order held the church. It was probably not so much the church at Grays which originally attracted the brethren to the region as the fact that, during the 1180s, Gilbert de Vere, shortly to become prior of the Order in England, granted them the manor of Rainham which bounded both Aveley and Wennington to the west.⁵⁶ A century later, on 20 May 1285, John son of Geoffrey Enveyse, lord since 1281 of the manor of Enveyse in Wennington, was granted a licence from Edward I to convey in mortmain to the Hospitallers three messuages and two-and-a-half carucates of land in Aveley and Wennington.⁵⁷ This transaction is significant, because it is the only known licence to transfer property in mortmain to the Order in Essex and one of the very few for England as a whole. The circumstances behind this exceptional

⁵⁰ Two small grants of land and rents in the parish were made to the Order between *c.* 1215 and *c.* 1225 (*SC*, 95, 155).

⁵¹ *SC*, 720.

⁵² BL, Cotton MS Nero E VI, fols 289–467, published as *SC*, cited in n. 10.

⁵³ *EFF*, I, pp. 142–3, no. 177.

⁵⁴ *SC*, 770; see also *SC*, 769, 771.

⁵⁵ The Report of 1338 accounts for 180 acres of arable from Odewell manor (Larking and Kemble, p. 87), but even this holding was scattered. In the sixteenth century, Odewell manor lay in the parishes of Gestingthorpe, Castle Hedingham and Great Maplestead (Morant, 2, p. 308).

⁵⁶ Dugdale, 6, part 2, p. 808; *Rot. ch.*, p. 16.

⁵⁷ *PC*, 78.

transfer are shrouded in the uncertainties of history, but an explanation may be inferred from a series of documents in which the one recurring name is that of William Enveyse.⁵⁸ William preceded John as lord of the manor.

Of the fifty-seven entries under the Rainham *titulus*⁵⁹ of the *prima camera* in which the Aveley/Wennington documents appear, William, and occasionally members of his immediate family, are mentioned thirty-three times, mostly as recipients. The charters date from c. 1240 to 1269⁶⁰ and include no conveyances by William to the Hospitallers. William had three daughters,⁶¹ but was widowed during the 1240s. It was probably at this point that he was approached by the Hospitallers to act for them as an estate agent, hence the series of documents starting c. 1240 in which he appears acquiring lands in the two parishes. Undoubtedly to the Order's chagrin, William remarried c. 1251,⁶² but there is no evidence of offspring and this second wife, Matilda, is not heard of after c. 1255.⁶³ By c. 1265, William was married again, this time to Joan, who either brought a daughter, Emma, from a previous marriage or produced her with William.⁶⁴ By 1281 William was dead.⁶⁵

That William, rather than John Enveyse, may be considered the original prospective donor of Enveyse lands in Aveley and Wennington is postulated from the similarities between him and the two estate agents described previously: John, son of Peter of Little Sampford, and Simon of Odewell. The absence of any gift by William to the Order suggests that he was engaged in consolidating the property to be transferred to it later in his life. The fact that the conveyance was not actually made by William can be attributed to two factors. Firstly, there were the consecutive marriages which might have complicated the eventual transfer. Secondly, and undoubtedly more significantly, there was the passage of the Statute of Mortmain in 1279.⁶⁶ As a result, grants could no longer be made to religious houses without royal permission. William died within a year of the statute's promulgation and the Order, which before 1279 would have settled the transfer directly with the conveyor in his infirmity, was left, undoubtedly in this case with some anxiety, to wait for royal favour. There is every probability that the Hospitallers worked actively behind the scenes to see that it was granted, for three messuages and two-and-a-half carucates of land represented for them a very substantial conveyance indeed.

Thus, in the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers used estate agents to augment their holdings in piecemeal fashion in

⁵⁸ *PC*, 46–98

⁵⁹ This is *titulus* XL on fols 185–200 of the *prima camera*, corresponding to *PC*, 44–100.

⁶⁰ *PC*, 48, 95.

⁶¹ *PC*, 74, 76, 77.

⁶² *PC*, 90; *SC*, 384.

⁶³ *PC*, 75.

⁶⁴ *PC*, 94, 95.

⁶⁵ *PC*, 62.

⁶⁶ For the effect of this statute on the growth of the Hospitallers' estate in Essex in general, see *SC*, pp. xlv–xlvii.

areas designated for manorial development, that is, in Freshwell and Hinckford Hundreds in north-central Essex and in Chafford Hundred on the Thames. In many ways, the twelfth century had been more rewarding, for it was then that the Hospitallers received most of their landed patrimony in nucleated grants. On the other hand, their original hopes of exploiting the landscape like the Templars were not to be fulfilled. In the end, they opted for growth in areas of high economic potential: northern Freshwell Hundred (Helion Bumpstead and the Sampfords) in reach of Haverhill market in Suffolk; Little Maplestead in the semi-rural industrial corridor between Sudbury and Halstead; and the riverine parishes of Chafford Hundred. The preceptory at Chaureth, which had been an administrative centre for at least seventy-five years, eventually proved to be too secluded and was abandoned in that capacity by the middle of the thirteenth century.⁶⁷

The absence of royal patronage and of sufficient capital to lease or buy large nucleated estates is, we have seen, what distinguished the landed growth of the Hospitallers from that of the Templars. The differences are emphasized in the development of the Templar estates in Essex. By 1185 the Templars had added 152 acres in small parcels, and the carucate in Finchingfield from Henry II, to the initial five hides granted to them at Cressing-Witham by Stephen and Matilda.⁶⁸ They went on to acquire six other estates of varying sizes, all of them in the southern half of the county. One of these was Roydon church and manor, located north of London on the River Stort. It was granted to them, probably in the early 1170s, by Walter, son of Robert son of Richard, who had granted the churches of Woodham Walter and Burnham to the Hospitallers.⁶⁹ Walter's son, Robert, supplemented his father's grant with an additional carucate of land shortly after Walter's death in 1198.⁷⁰ The extent of the manor is not known, but the rectory alone was valued at 20 marks in 1254,⁷¹ and leased for 45 marks in 1313.⁷²

South of Roydon on both sides of the River Lea, the continuation of the Stort, lay the Templar estate of Edmonton (Middx)-Chingford.⁷³ The Order acquired this holding at Easter 1270 from David of Strathbogie, eighth Earl of Atholl, and his wife Isabel, daughter of Richard of Dover, whose inheritance

⁶⁷ On the preceptory, see *SC*, pp. liii–lx.

⁶⁸ *Records of Templars*, pp. 1–12.

⁶⁹ *PC*, 17. The conveyance of Roydon church to the Templars has previously been attributed to Walter's son, Robert, c. 1198–1202 (*VCH Essex*, 8, pp. 234, 238), but the papal confirmation of a quarter century earlier clearly indicates that this cannot have been the case. Walter's grant of Roydon church would appear to coincide with his conveyances to the Hospitallers of Woodham Walter and Burnham (above pp. 7–8).

⁷⁰ *VCH Essex*, 8, pp. 234, 238.

⁷¹ *VCH Essex*, 8, p. 238.

⁷² *Calendar of Fine Rolls*, 2 (1307–19) (London: PRO, 1912), p. 180.

⁷³ The chief messuage consisted of 310 acres of arable, 57½ acres of meadow, 25 acres of pasture, 100 acres of wood and a watermill. The church of Chingford, which the Templars also held, had an annual value of 17 marks (*PC*, 15).

it was. The Templars were to pay 1d per year for the first eighteen years and £18 annually thereafter.⁷⁴ By 1309, Isabel's heirs are reported to have been receiving from the Order the considerable rental of £40 annually.⁷⁵

A third Templar holding on both sides of the same watercourse, this time only one parish north of the Thames, was at Hackney (Middx)-Ruckholt (in Leyton). The earliest evidence of the Templars there is in 1231 when they acquired the rights to six acres of land in Hackney for half a mark,⁷⁶ and in 1232 when they paid 16 marks for half a hide in the same parish.⁷⁷ In 1308, the estate was valued at just over 24 marks.⁷⁸

Like the Hospitallers, the Templars were attracted to the parishes of Chafford Hundred on the Thames. They received a tenement and a mill at Purfleet in West Thurrock from Thomas de Briançon before 1175.⁷⁹ Little more is known before 1309, when it is recorded that their manor at Purfleet had a total income of £13 15s 9d and a net value of £8 6s ½d.⁸⁰

The origins of the Templars' manors in nearby Rainham are not documented, but on the manor of Berwick an enumeration of tithes made under Hospitaller administration in 1315 indicates that they held a chapel,⁸¹ 42s in rents, 5s in pleas and perquisites of court, and 146½ acres of arable (including the reclaimed marsh). They also had unspecified amounts of land in fifteen other crofts and fields.⁸² No valuation of the property is given. It is likely that the Templars also held the manor of Moorhall in Rainham which, in 1333, consisted of 159 acres of arable and one-and-a-half acres of meadow.⁸³

The last estate which can be identified as having been built up by the Templars was at Sutton in Rochford Hundred. Sutton stands between the River Roach and the mouth of the Thames in south-eastern Essex. Produce from Templar lands there or in neighbouring parishes had easy access by water to London. The manor, which included 560 acres of land, was valued at over 62 marks in 1309.⁸⁴

⁷⁴ *EFF*, 1, p. 270, no. 1608.

⁷⁵ *PC*, 15.

⁷⁶ *PC*, 3.

⁷⁷ *PC*, 2.

⁷⁸ In 1307–8 the Order held 39½ acres of meadow, five acres of pasture, two watermills, rents, mowing services for 12 acres of meadow and perquisites of court (*PC*, 7).

⁷⁹ *PC*, 102.

⁸⁰ The manor included a messuage, a dovecote, a watermill and 66½ acres of land. Rents from free tenements spread over five parishes were worth £6 6s ½d, while perquisites of court with view of frankpledge were worth half a mark annually (*PC*, 106).

⁸¹ *PC*, 108.

⁸² *PC*, 107. This land was held by the Templars from the thirteenth century 'and perhaps earlier' according to *VCH Essex*, 7, p. 130 n. 2.

⁸³ *PC*, 101.

⁸⁴ *PC*, 30. The manor is described as containing a messuage, three gardens, a dovecote, 360 acres of profitable land, 130 acres of arable marshland, 15½ acres of mowing meadow, 50 acres of wood, a windmill, and pasture in the marsh for 440 ewes. There were rents of assize worth £6 7s 1d and other minor rents, perquisites of court worth 2s annually, a chapel, and the majority of the tithes from the demesne lands.

The origin of this manor seems to lie in a conveyance of 180 acres made by Richard of Cornard and Lucy his wife in 1227, for which the Templars paid one mark down and a modest annual rent of 12d.⁸⁵ Three years later, Richenda, wife of Robert Grapnell, sold the Templars the third part of a marsh which she claimed as dower for 40s.⁸⁶ They paid 20s for one-and-a-half acres of woodland in 1248,⁸⁷ and 50 marks to Constable Hugh of Epping in 1281 for two messuages and seventy-two acres of land.⁸⁸ They were still expanding the estate as late as 1305, when they were granted a royal licence to acquire eighty-eight acres in Great Sutton from Robert of Witham, clerk.⁸⁹ Although some property was transferred to the Templars in frankalmoin, much of it was clearly purchased.

There are a number of important points to be made from this brief consideration of the Templars' patrimony in Essex. In the first place, all of their estates were situated on major rivers permitting direct access to London. This generalization includes Cressing-Witham, with access via the Rivers Brain and Blackwater to the North Sea at Maldon which lay 10 km downstream.⁹⁰ Secondly, there is evidence, and in the cases of Edmonton-Chingford, Hackney-Ruckholt and Little Sutton ample proof, that the Templars acquired these estates largely through purchase rather than in frankalmoin. It would seem that, with the exception of Finchingfield, they exploited their own demesne. The barns at Cressing-Witham are the most obvious surviving evidence of this fact. Templar barns have not survived elsewhere, but it is known that the brethren had mills almost everywhere that they established themselves in order to grind their own corn. Their consistent approach to estate building, that is the acquisition, where necessary by purchase, of nucleated manors with access to water transportation and the London market, demonstrates their organizational skills, their strong financial backing and business acumen, and their commitment to efficient agrarian exploitation. This efficiency is confirmed by the exclusion of what to them was a landlocked holding in Finchingfield, a large carucate estimated at 240 acres of land granted to them by King Henry II.⁹¹ By 1185, the land was leased at farm for £11 annually.⁹²

The Hospitallers would have been only too delighted to receive grants like these, which the Templars considered second rate. The fact that the Hospi-

⁸⁵ *EFF*, 1, p. 78, no. 203.

⁸⁶ *EFF*, 1, p. 86, no. 276. The extent describes this land as one of three marshes, the total combined acreage of which was 130 acres (*PC*, 30).

⁸⁷ *EFF*, 1, p. 171, no. 961.

⁸⁸ *EFF*, 2, p. 29, no. 153A.

⁸⁹ *PC*, 29.

⁹⁰ In 1185, all Saturday carrying services were to Maldon, and c. 1258 to Maldon or Colchester or Chelmsford (Britnell, p. 19; *Records of Templars*, pp. 5, 6; PRO DL 43 14/1, mm. 1d).

⁹¹ *Records of Templars*, p. lxxxiii.

⁹² *Records of Templars*, p. 12. 240 acres leased at £11 annually works out at 11d per acre. The Report of 1338 accounts for 600 acres of arable in Cressing-Witham at 12d per acre. Other arable there was valued at 6d and 8d per acre (Larking and Kemble, p. 168).

tallers only occasionally acquired extensive estates leads to the question of how they exploited their otherwise small and fragmented property holdings. Could they, with their limited numbers, afford to manage these holdings by any other means than to lease them out? It would seem that sometimes they did, but their manors were obviously a less efficient source of income than were those of the Templars. For one thing the Hospitallers were unable to match the size and topographic unity of the Templar holdings. As a result, it would seem that, in northern Essex at least, the Hospitallers settled for supplying such local markets as Haverhill, Sudbury and Halstead, while the Templars directed much of their effort to supplying the London market. On the other hand, the Hospitallers, like the Templars in Finchingfield, readily leased out their holdings. In fact, the content of their charters suggests that most of the income they raised in Essex derived from rents.⁹³

Rents notwithstanding, there is ample indication that the Hospitallers did carry on husbandry on their larger estates. The prior is cited as tilling 'with his own plough-teams [*carucis*]' in Rainham in 1219,⁹⁴ and the brethren as turning with their own plough (*cum caruga sua*) at Helion Bumpstead c. 1270.⁹⁵ In both cases, such ploughing would have been performed by customary tenants. Also at Helion Bumpstead, in 1254, the Order conveyed a load of wheat in recognition of a quitclaim.⁹⁶ In 1263, the Order undertook to purchase for a year the fruits of forty-two acres of land in the same parish in anticipation of acquiring the property.⁹⁷ Only once is a grant in kind recorded as having been made to the brethren in northern Essex, which further suggests that they were provided for by the fruits of their own demesne there.⁹⁸ References to rights of access, carriage and passage, and to the granting of tracks and ways, provide additional indication of exploitation. These are particularly numerous for the manor of Odewell in Gestingthorpe which was administered from the adjacent preceptory at Little Maplestead. In the earliest of these, c. 1220 X 1230, Gilbert, son of Walter of Odewell, conveyed to the Order four acres with a way through his land *ad faciendum cariagium suum de predicta terra usque ad publicum vicum*.⁹⁹ The public way ran between Gestingthorpe and Little Maplestead and carriage to it from the field must imply the transport of agricultural products. Even as late as 1383, the prior's right to drive *per quecumque animalia de Mapeltrestede parva*

⁹³ *SC*, p. lxix.

⁹⁴ *EFF*, 1, p. 56, no. 57.

⁹⁵ *SC*, 139.

⁹⁶ *SC*, 451.

⁹⁷ *SC*, 488.

⁹⁸ *SC*, 144 (dated 1275), in which six quarters of grain are conveyed to the preceptor at Little Maplestead. Expenditures listed in the Report of 1338 for produce to support the household at the preceptory of Little Maplestead are probably only an accounting device to indicate the value of provender raised on an operational demesne (*SC*, pp. lxix–lxx).

⁹⁹ *SC*, 723.

versus Oddewelle is confirmed,¹⁰⁰ indicating that some degree of animal husbandry was carried on at Little Maplestead. In 1333 the Order leased the manor of Moor Hall in Rainham with its stock for five years.¹⁰¹ Other signs of demesne development lie in the acquisition of rights to raise hedges and ditches. These also concern the area around Little Maplestead and date principally to the period *c.* 1230 to *c.* 1255 when the brethren were increasing their landed estate in the vicinity of the new preceptory.¹⁰²

Reference has been made above to the possible existence of prioral properties, that is, holdings for which the prior rather than the General Chapter of the Order, was directly responsible. In this context we may cite Gilbert de Vere's grant of the manor of Rainham to the Hospitallers sometime in the 1180s, probably when he became a member of the Order. In view of the Order's contemporary interest in obtaining land in the riverine parishes of Chafford Hundred, there may even be a link between the gift and Gilbert's apparently meteoric rise to the priorship in 1195. No evidence concerning the details of that conveyance has survived, which is doubly unfortunate because the manor of Rainham may have been the Hospitallers' most important holding in the county and because there are indications that it was prioral property. If this were indeed the case, Gilbert would have been able, after joining the Order, to maintain a personal interest in the estate which he had donated. When he became prior, a precedent would have been set whereby subsequent priors retained a similar interest in the property. If Rainham manor were reserved for the prior from the time of Gilbert's grant, it is possible that the documents pertaining to it were kept separate from those concerning properties administered by a preceptory or by Clerkenwell itself, and that this prioral archive has been lost. It may be noted in support of this hypothesis that the properties accounted for under the Rainham heading in the Report of 1338 seem to refer to the assemblage in Aveley and Wennington attributed above to the estate agent William Enveyse, and not to the gift of Gilbert de Vere.¹⁰³

The Hospitallers' holdings in Rainham, including the thirteenth-century acquisitions in Aveley and Wennington, and in the parish of Fryerning where they also held the church, were their only important manorial estates in the southern half of the county before the absorption of Templar lands after 1312.¹⁰⁴ Other properties in that region were churches appropriated by Clerkenwell, to which the churches of Chaureth and Stebbing in the north were

¹⁰⁰ *SC*, 901.

¹⁰¹ The stock consisted of two cart-horses, three oxen, one bull and 20 cows, six stotts, five calves, two rams, two muttons and 133 ewes (*PC*, 101).

¹⁰² *SC*, pp. lxxiii–lxxiv.

¹⁰³ Larking and Kemble, p. 94. The amounts of land cited in the Report and in the Enveyse conveyance are generally similar. Furthermore, there is no separate reference to lands in Aveley or Wennington in the Report.

¹⁰⁴ Hospitaller holdings at Abridge in Lambourne (Ongar Hd.) were administered from Little Maplestead (Larking and Kemble, p. 87).

added. The demesne lands in the parish of Fryerning and in Chafford Hundred represented the Hospitallers' response to supplying Clerkenwell, and especially the prior's table, with provisions.

It is initially surprising that there is no evidence of cooperation or collaboration between the Hospitallers and Templars in Essex, nor even a reference to one order holding property which bounded on that of the other. The two seem to have maintained entirely separate existences, their common cause notwithstanding. On the other hand, they were clearly competitors for land, income and prestige wherever they went, hence they would have wanted to make manifest their differences. Patronage in the long run, therefore, was probably determined by personal preference for one order over the other. Future research may conclude that politics played a role as well. We know already that the Templars were more favoured by royalty than were the Hospitallers. Such differences in patronage were significant for not only did they lead to the superior wealth of the Templars, but also to the way in which each order would acquire and manage its properties. The dissimilarities of their economies becomes strikingly apparent in the fact that the Templars' Essex patrimony included at least thirteen mills¹⁰⁵ and only three churches,¹⁰⁶ while the Hospitallers held seven churches and only two or three mills.¹⁰⁷ The Templars were staunch manorialists; the Hospitallers were predominantly farmers of rents and tithes.

When the Templars were suppressed in 1312 and the Hospitallers became heir to their estates, the Hospitallers were confronted with the management of an economy which in many ways was foreign to them. Rather than attempt, in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, to amend their established methods of exploitation and become husbandmen, the Hospitallers did what they knew best with the Templar lands: for the most part, they rented them out.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ The Templars had two mills at Chingford (*PC*, 15), five at Cressing-Witham (*SC*, 83, 85), half a mill at Finchingfield (*Records of Templars*, p. 12), two at Hackney-Leyton (*PC*, 7), one at Rainham (*PC*, 107; Larking and Kemble, p. 94), one at Roydon (*PC*, 18), one at Little Sutton (*PC*, 30), and one at West Thurrock (*PC*, 105, 106; Larking and Kemble, p. 95).

¹⁰⁶ Chingford (*PC*, 15), Roydon (*PC*, 17, 33) and Cressing (*SC*, 1, 2).

¹⁰⁷ *PC*, 111; *SC*, 52, 388; *EFF*, 1, pp. 55–6, no. 57.

¹⁰⁸ Between 1315 and 1358 the Hospitallers were responsible for renting out property in Hackney, Middx (*PC*, 4 [1345], 5 [1349]), Chingford (*PC*, 13 and 14 [1325]), Little Sutton (Larking and Kemble, p. 170 [1338]; *PC*, 31 [1395]), at Berwick (*VCH Essex*, 7, p. 130 [fourteenth century]) and Moor Hall (*PC*, 101 [1333], 108 [1315]) in Rainham, and at Purfleet (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Edward III, 8 (London: PRO, 1905), p. 160 [1346]) and Bayhouse (*PC*, 104 [1358]) in West Thurrock. The church of Roydon had been appropriated to Clerkenwell by 1338 (Larking and Kemble, p. 95), and the rectory was leased at term in 1390 if not before (*PC*, 18 [1390]). This accounts for all the Templar estates in southern Essex. Cressing-Witham was the exception, still being managed as a manorial estate in 1338 (Larking and Kemble, pp. 168–9) and undoubtedly until the mid 1370s when efforts by the papacy to reform the Order encouraged the leasing of all Hospitaller lands at farm (J. Glénisson, 'L'enquête pontificale de 1373 sur les possessions des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 129, 1971, pp. 83–111 (esp. pp. 83–4)). Witham manor was clearly being leased out by the Hospitallers in 1397 (*SC*, 82).

Despite their differences, the Hospitallers held the Templars in high regard, especially after 1312. Their inheritance of former Templar properties added to their prestige, not so much because they became greater landlords but because it was an honour to follow in the footsteps of so noble a body. That they bore the Templar example as a standard is clearly exhibited in the organization of the Hospitaller archives. In the compilation of the great Cartulary of 1442, Templar documents, where they existed, were placed at the head of each topographic *titulus*, followed by the Hospitaller records.

In conclusion we may cite a case in the 1370s where the prior was accused by the Crown of illegally entering thirty acres of land and meadow in Chingford. The prior, who claimed that the property constituted his Order's rightful inheritance from the Templars, was supported by the jury. It was thereupon agreed that the Hospitallers should hold the land of the king by the same service as the Templars had previously, that is, by the sustenance of the blessed poor and by the celebration of masses for the defence of the Holy Land.¹⁰⁹ Spiritual defence was not what the military orders were known for, but the Hospitallers could comply while raising funds from the land in support of their continuing mission in the eastern Mediterranean.

¹⁰⁹ *PC*, 16.

References

- U. Arnold , ed., Yon Akkon bis Wien. Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Althochmeister P. Dr. Marian Tumler O.T (Marburg, 1978).
- U. Arnold , ed., Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter (Marburg, 1989).
- U. Arnold and M. Tumler , Der Deutsche Orden. Von seinem Ursprung bis zur Gegenwart (Bad Münstereifel, 1992).
- M. Barber , The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978).
- M. Barber , The New Knighthood. A History of the Order of the Temple (Cambridge, 1994).
- F. Benninghoven , Der Orden der Schwertbrder (Cologne, 1965).
- H. Boockmann , Der Deutsche Orden. Zwlf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte (Munich, 1989).
- F. Bramato , Storia dell'ordine dei Templari in Italia (Rome, 1991).
- E. Brockman , The Two Sieges of Rhodes: 1480-1522 (London, 1969).
- M.L. Bulst-Thiele , Sacrae Domus Militiae Templi Hierosolymitani Magistri: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templeordens 1118/91314 (Gttingen, 1974).
- M. Burleigh , Prussian Society and the German Order. An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1410/1466 (Cambridge, 1984).
- F. Cardini , Povert Cavalieri del Cristo. San Bernardo e la Fondazione dell'Ordine Templare (Rimini, 1992).
- I.B. Cowan , P.H.R. Mackay and A. Macquarrie , eds., The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1983).
- A. Demurger , Vie et mort de l'ordre du Temple, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1989).
- S. Ekdahl , Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen, 1, Einfhrung und Quellenlage (Berlin, 1982).
- M.-L. Favreau , Studien zur Frhgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens (Stuttgart, 1974).
- J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann , eds., Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas (Sigmaringen, 1980).
- A.J. Forey , The Templars in the Corona de Aragn (London, 1973).
- 374 A.J. Forey , The Military Orders. From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries (London, 1992).
- A.J. Forey , Military Orders and Crusades (London, 1994).
- K. Forstreuter , Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer (Bonn, 1967).
- M. Gervers , The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library (Cotton ms. Nero E VI) (Toronto, 1981).
- Z. Goldmann , Akko in the Time of the Crusades. The Convent of the Order of St John (Acre, 1987).
- E. Gruber , Deutschordensschwwestern im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Wiederbelebung, Ausbreitung und Ttigkeit 1837/1971 (Bonn, 1971).
- E. Grunsky , Doppelgeschossige Johanniterkirchen und verwandte Bauten (Dsseldorf, 1970).
- N. von Hoist , Der Deutsche Ritterorden und seine Bauten von Jerusalem bis Sevilla von Thorn bis Narva (Berlin, 1981).
- A. Hoppen , The Fortification of Malta by the Order of St John, 1530/1798 (Edinburgh, 1979).
- W. Hubatsch , Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaats im Heiligen Lande (Gttingen, 1966).
- W. Irgang , Freudenthal als Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens 1621/1725 (Bonn, 1971).
- H. Kluger , Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II (Marburg, 1987).
- E. Kollias , The City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master: From the Early Christian Period to the Conquest by the Turks (1522) (Athens, 1988).
- E. Kollias , The Knights of Modes: The Palace and the City (Athens, 1991).
- M. L. Lesesma Rubio , Templarios y Hospitalarios en elreino de Aragn (Zaragoza, 1982).
- A.M. Legras , Les commanderies des Templiers et des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jrsalem en Saintonge et en Aunis (Paris, 1983).
- D.W. Lomax , La orden de Santiago, 1170/1275 (Madrid, 1965).
- A. Luttrell , The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West: 1291/1440 (London, 1978).
- A. Luttrell , Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusade: 1291/1400 (London, 1982).
- A. Luttrell , The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World (London, 1992).
- V. Mallia-Milanes , Venice and Hospitaller Malta, 1530/1798: Aspects of a Relationship (Malta, 1992).

- V. Mallia-Milanes , ed., *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St John of Jerusalem* (Malta, 1993).
- J.L. Martn , *Orgines de la orden militar de Santiago (1170-1195)* (Barcelona, 1974).
- K. Militzer , *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich* (Marburg, 1981).
- G. Minnucci and F. Sardi , eds., *I Templari: Mito e Storia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi alla Magione Templare di Poggibonsi-Siena, 29-31 Maggio 1987* (Siena, 1989).
- 375 G. Miller , *Die Familien des Deutschen Ordens* (Marburg, 1980).
- H. Nicholson , *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (London, 1993).
- Z.N. Nowak , ed., *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der Christianisierung und Kolonisierung des Ostseegebiets* (Toru, 1983).
- Z.N. Nowak ed. , *Die Ritterorden zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Macht in Mittelalter* (Toru, 1990).
- J.F. O'Callaghan , *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London, 1975).
- Les ordres militaires, la vie rurale et le peuplement en Europe occidentale (XIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Auch, 1986).
- W. Paravicini , *Die Preussenreisen des europaschen Adels, 1* (Sigmaringen, 1989).
- P. Partner , *The Murdered Magicians. The Templars and their Myth* (Oxford, 1981).
- C. Probst , *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinalwesen in Preussen: Hospital, Farmacie und Arzt bis 1525* (Bad Godesberg, 1969).
- J. Riley-Smith , *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310* (London, 1967).
- W.G. Rdel , *Das Grosspriorat Deutschland des Johanniter- Ordens im bergang vom Mittelalter zur Reformation, 2nd ed.* (Cologne, 1972).
- M. Roncetti , P. Scarpellini and F. Tommasi , *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia. La chiesa di San Bevignate a Perugia* (Milan, 1987).
- R. Sinz de la Maza Lasoli , *La orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragn: La encomienda de Montalbn (1210-1327)* (Zaragoza, 1980).
- J. Sarnowsky , *Die Wirtschaftsfhrung des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen (1382-1454)* (Cologne, 1993).
- K. Scholz , *Beitrge zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens in der ersten Hlfte des 14. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchungen zur Herkunft livlandischer und preussischer Deutschordensbrder* (Mnster, 1971).
- H.J.A. Sire , *The Knights of Malta* (London and New Haven, 1994).
- H. Solano , *La Orden de Calatrava en el siglo XV. Los seors castellanos de la Orden al fin de la Edad Media* (Seville, 1978).
- F. Tubl , *Der Deutsche Orden im Zeitalter Napoleons* (Bonn, 1966).
- J.H. de Vey Mestdagh , *De Utrechtse Balije der Duitse Orde ruim 150 jaar geschiedenis v/d Orde in de Nederlanden* (Utrecht/Alden Beisen, 1988).
- B. Waldstein-Wartenberg , *Rechtsgeschichte des Malteserordens* (Vienna, 1969).
- B. Waldstein-Wartenberg , *Die Vassallen Christi: Kulturgeschichte des Johanniterordens im Mittelalter* (Vienna, 1988).
- A. Wienand , ed., *Der Johanniterorden/Der Malteserorden: Der ritterliche Orden des hl. Johannes vom Spital zu Jerusalem. Seine Geschichte, seine Aufgaben, 3rd edn* (Cologne, 1988).
- A. Wildermann , *Die Beurteilung des Templerprozesses bis zum 17. Jahrhundert* (Freiburg, 1971).
- D. Wojtecki , *Studien zur Personengeschichte des Deutschen Ordens im 13. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1971).