

## **Military Orders** (Helen Nicholson)

Alan V. Murray, ed. *The Crusades*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006, pp. 825–829.

The military order was a form of religious order first established in the first quarter of the twelfth century with the function of defending Christians, as well as observing the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. The first military order was the Order of the Temple, formally established in the kingdom of Jerusalem in January 1120, while the Order of the Hospital (or Order of St. John of Jerusalem) began in the eleventh century as a hospice for pilgrims in Jerusalem and later on developed military responsibilities, perhaps as early as the mid-1120s. The Templars and Hospitallers became supranational religious orders, whose operations on the frontiers of Christendom were supported by donations of land, money, and privileges from across Latin Christendom. Some military orders were far more localized in their landholdings and vocation: for instance, the Order of Monreal del Campo was founded by King Alfonso I of Aragon in 1122 at Belchite, to defend the southern frontier of his kingdom against the Moors. Several military orders were established during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to fight the Moors in the Iberian Peninsula, while in northeastern Europe, in the early thirteenth century, missionary bishops set up military orders to defend converts to Christianity in Livonia and Prussia against their pagan neighbors, and in southern France and Italy, military orders were founded to fight heretics.

### Origins

William of Tyre and the history attributed to Ernoul both depict the foundation of the first military order as the initiative of a group of knights, in collaboration with the king of Jerusalem or the patriarch of Jerusalem. It is possible that this first military order was originally formed as a knightly confraternity, that is, as a group of warriors who banded together with some specific purpose, typically religious in type, such as enforcing the Peace of God, defending a monastery, or going on crusade. Such bands could be formed on the initiative of a bishop or abbot, but also of the knights themselves. They had regulations regarding the duties and responsibilities of members, and (for example) the distribution of booty. There were military confraternities in the Iberian Peninsula before the Templars and Hospitallers were established there, and some of the Spanish military orders, such as the Order of Monreal and the Order of Santa María de España, began as confraternities. The distinction between a military confraternity and a regular military order was not always well defined: some of those who played a part in regular military orders were not fully professed members, while some military orders did not expect their members to take all of the three monastic vows when they professed. The members of the Knighthood of Jesus Christ, established by a Dominican friar at Parma in 1233 to fight heretics, did not take the vow of chastity; the Order of Santiago admitted married knights and their wives to full membership, and these did not have to vow chastity. Despite the missing vow, these institutions had papal approval as religious orders. The military order, then, can be regarded in a sense as a knightly confraternity that was regularized and brought formally into the organization and under the authority of the Latin Church.

It has been objected that as Christianity is a pacifist religion, the concept of the military order—a religious organization that fights—must have been taken from outside Christianity. The most obvious source for the concept, it has been suggested, was the Muslim *ribā*. This Arabic word has different meanings, but in this case it meant a fortified building on the frontier on Islam in which the faithful served for a period as volunteer fighters against Islam's enemies. Specialists on the history of the military orders and the crusades have not accepted this theory. They argue that the concept was already present within Latin Christian society in the early twelfth century. The concept of holy war, prominent in the Old Testament, had been part of Christian thinking from the early days of Christianity. The recent First Crusade (1096–1099), initiated by the pope and preached by the clergy, had allowed lay people to fight and shed blood in God's name in defense of, and to recover, Christian territory in return for a spiritual reward. Contemporary lay literature, such as the *Chanson de Roland*, emphasized the role of the Christian warrior and glorified the warrior who died fighting for God. In any case, it is not clear that there were any *ribās* in the Holy Land after the First Crusade from which the crusaders could have adapted the concept. There were *ribās* in the Iberian Peninsula, but the concept of the military order originally appeared in the Holy Land, not the Iberian Peninsula. If we must seek outside influence to explain the beginnings of the military order, a more likely influence was the example of military saints of the Orthodox churches, such as George, Demetrius, and Mercurius.

### Organization and Structure

All military orders shared certain characteristics. Each followed a religious rule, approved by the authorities of the Latin Church, which allowed the combination of military activity with religious

activities such as prayer and attending church services. Members were admitted in a formal religious ceremony. They wore a religious habit, but did not follow a fully enclosed lifestyle. Lay members predominated over priests in the early years, while the orders were still active in military affairs.

The military orders were part of a religious trend of the late eleventh and early twelfth century toward wider participation in the religious life and more emphasis on action as against contemplation. The Cistercian Order, founded at the end of the eleventh century, allowed laity from nonnoble families to enter their order to perform manual tasks; orders of canons, founded in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, could play an active role in society as priests working in the community, unlike traditional monks who lived enclosed lives in their monasteries. In the same way, the military orders did not follow a fully enclosed lifestyle, followed an active vocation, and were composed largely of laity: non-noble warriors as well as craftsmen and servants, all known as “sergeants” or “serving brothers.” The knights, who were of higher status within the orders, were fewer in number. The military orders also recruited priests to provide for the spiritual needs of the lay members. All the military orders had associate members who did not take full vows but who were attached to the order—for example, making an annual donation—and whom the order supported in some way. The orders also admitted women in various degrees, as sisters or as associates.

The great supranational orders were granted extensive ecclesiastical privileges from the papacy, such as exemptions from the jurisdiction of diocesan bishops and from tithes. In practice these privileges led to considerable friction at the local level. Secular rulers made extensive use of the military orders' members in matters not directly connected with their vocation such as diplomacy and finance, and although the military orders were in theory exempt from royal jurisdiction, in practice they were dependent upon and closely tied to the rulers of the regions where they held property. The military orders were never noted for their learning, although individual members might achieve distinction, and the orders did patronize artists and writers. All, like the traditional monastic orders, were involved in economic and commercial activities to support their vocation.

The typical structure of a military order was pyramidal. The order was governed by a master, who was elected by the members of the order and advised by a small group of senior officials. General chapter meetings were called at certain intervals; lesser officials were summoned to attend, and matters concerning the whole order were discussed and decided. At the local level, houses were called commanderies (if governed by a lay member of the order) or priories (if governed by a priest). The supranational orders, with property in the Holy Land and in the West, appointed officials (priors or commanders) to administer their property in each geographical region. A certain proportion of the revenues from each region had to be sent by the regional official to headquarters each year: this was called a responson. This organization, with a central religious house on which other houses were dependent and regular general chapters, was similar to other new religious orders of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, while the regional organization of the military orders was similar to the organization of the later orders of friars.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the membership of the military orders was drawn largely from the lesser knightly families and families of just below knightly status. For such families, joining a military order—which did not limit membership to noble families—was a method of rising in social status. During the course of the later Middle Ages, as knighthood became more prestigious, the military orders became noble orders. By the sixteenth century, the knightly members of both the supranational and the Spanish military orders were drawn from the highest nobility, and a higher proportion of members were priests, while the relative number of nonknightly, sergeant members had fallen. The Spanish military orders became dominated by the ruling families of the Iberian Peninsula, and in the sixteenth century they became effectively honorary noble institutions.

### Function

The heyday of the military order was the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the concept was put to use by many ecclesiastical and secular rulers in need of a standing army for a religious purpose. However, not all military orders were founded as such. Two of the supranational military orders, the Order of the Hospital and the Teutonic Order, as well as smaller orders, such as the English Order of St. Thomas of Acre, began as hospitals or hospices, caring for poor, sick pilgrims to the Holy Land. Military protection for Christians as they traveled was a natural corollary of hospital care for the same Christians. The Order of St. Lazarus began as a hospice for sufferers from leprosy. As well as maintaining hospices, the military orders were involved in ransoming prisoners from the Muslims, although only the Spanish orders of Santiago and Mountjoy (Sp. *Montegaudio*) made this a major part of their activities. However, conversion of non-Christians was not a primary function of military orders, although some donors envisaged the income from their gifts of land being used for that

purpose. There were some exceptions: from the sixteenth century the Portuguese Order of Christ was involved in the spread of Christianity in the New World.

In theory, the military orders were fighting defensive wars—a form of warfare acceptable to Christian thinking. In practice, warfare on the frontiers of Christendom, whether in the Holy Land, the Iberian Peninsula, or in the Baltic region, typically took the form of raids against the enemy's land and fortresses, which were as aggressive as they were defensive. The orders also garrisoned and built fortresses. They gave military advice to Christian commanders, and they played a significant military role in crusades. The orders' warfare was initially on land, although the supranational orders from early in their existence employed ships to carry resources, personnel, and pilgrims to the Holy Land. In the 1270s, the Order of Santa María de España was founded by King Alfonso X of Castile to fight the Moors of Africa at sea, in an attempt to reduce their raids upon his coasts. In the fourteenth century, the Order of the Hospital, based on the island of Rhodes from 1309, developed naval operations against the Turks. The order itself owned only a handful of war galleys, but it extended its operations through the *corso*, a form of licensed piracy against Muslim shipping. Naval warfare against Muslim pirates continued to be an important role of military orders until the late eighteenth century.

Military orders brought discipline and organization to Latin Christian warfare. Their fighting members were already professional warriors before admission. The statutes of the Order of the Temple (and other military orders based on it) and the statutes of the Order of the Hospital after 1204 set out (for example) the military organization and command structure of the orders, the required weapons and equipment, and procedures for drawing up troops and for making a cavalry charge. A brother who charged too early or who fell out of line was disciplined. Within a secular army, the various groups under different commanders could be in competition with each other and more concerned about winning booty and honor than in obeying the commander in chief. The military orders provided a commander in chief with a military unit that was ready to muster and would obey orders, rather than seeking booty and glory, and that had extensive experience in the field. However, the military orders' forces were always relatively small in relation to the overall size of crusader and secular armies.

#### Problems

The smaller military orders, whose property was largely restricted to one kingdom or region, suffered from over-domination by secular rulers, who tended to regard them as a branch of their own administration, and from a lack of resources in personnel, money, and supplies. These problems led to the smaller orders amalgamating with larger ones: in the 1230s the Orders of the Sword Brethren (in Livonia) and of Dobrin (in Prussia) amalgamated with the Teutonic Order, while in Spain, in the early thirteenth century, the Order of Mountjoy was effectively divided between the Order of the Temple and the Order of Calatrava. The Order of Calatrava itself was assimilated to the Cistercian Order, although it maintained a distinct identity. Even the great supranational orders could not always maintain military activity outside the major area of their operations: the Temple and the Hospital reduced their military operations in the Iberian Peninsula in the second half of the twelfth and the second half of the thirteenth century because their resources were needed in the Holy Land. By contrast, some of the smaller orders did gain land and responsibilities outside their area of operations: the Order of Calatrava briefly held land in Pomerania, while the Order of Mountjoy held land in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

As the function of the orders was to defend Christendom, they initially resisted involvement in wars between Christians, which diverted resources from their proper vocation. However, as secular rulers were protectors of the orders and their leading patrons, it was difficult for the orders in the localities to resist determined pressure from secular rulers who wanted to use their military or financial resources for “national” ends. French Hospitallers were, apparently, involved in the French crusade against Aragon in 1285, and prominent Hospitallers were present in the French army at the battle of Crécy in 1346 during the wars against the English.

The supranational orders faced potential problems of language difference and also cultural disagreement or misunderstanding between the brothers of the order. Though this problem could be minimized by ensuring that brothers in the West only operated within their own linguistic area,

at the order's central convent clashes were unavoidable. As a result, from the late thirteenth century the brothers of the Order of the Hospital's central convent were divided more or less formally into seven *langues* (literally, “tongues”), that is, linguistic groupings. During the course of the fourteenth century these *langues* became increasingly formalized; each had its own *auberge* (inn or residence) as a central meeting hall and administrative center, and the seven conventual bailiffs, the chief officials of the order, were each drawn from one of the seven *langues*. International disputes in the secular world

could lead to conflict between the different nations within a military order, and sometimes the brothers of the different *langues* on Rhodes came to blows. By the mid-fifteenth century, however, this problem only significantly affected the Order of the Hospital, as the Order of the Temple had been dissolved in 1312, while the Teutonic Order's field of operations had shrunk to the Holy Roman Empire, Prussia, and Livonia.

#### Later History

Despite the conflicts inherent in the concept of supranational religious orders exempt from local authority operating in an increasingly secularized and nationalized Europe, the concept of the military orders continued to be popular with patrons and rulers throughout the later Middle Ages. Even after the loss of the states of Outremer in Syria and Palestine in 1291, crusade planners expected the military orders to play an active role in future crusades. After the dissolution of the Order of the Temple in 1312, Pope Clement V gave its property to the Order of the Hospital to carry on the order's original purpose; even if the order had been defamed beyond saving, its vocation remained important to Christendom. From the early fourteenth century, the Order of the Hospital carried on naval operations against Muslim powers and their allies from its base on the island of Rhodes in the eastern Mediterranean, and gave hospitality to pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. In northeastern Europe, the Teutonic Order continued its war against the pagan Lithuanians; arguably it was the military pressure applied by the order that led to the alliance between Poland and Lithuania and the official conversion of Lithuania to Christianity in 1386. Even after the Hospital had lost its base on Rhodes, at the beginning of 1523, Emperor Charles V was anxious to make use of the brothers' military and naval skills elsewhere. The concept remained largely unquestioned, even when the orders failed to carry out their vocation successfully.

Although the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century ended the military role of the Spanish military orders on land, and the Teutonic Order's military function in Prussia and Livonia ended in the sixteenth century, the military orders continued to play a valuable if reduced military role for the benefit of Latin Christendom until the eighteenth century. From its base on the island of Malta from 1530, the Order of the Hospital, with the new Order of St. Stephen after 1562, tried to prevent the raids of Barbary pirates on Christian shipping and population centers, although its naval activities sometimes disrupted Christian trade (especially Venetian) and by the late eighteenth century its continued war with the Ottoman Empire was at odds with the Holy Roman Empire's diplomatic relations with major European powers. The Teutonic Order, meanwhile, took part in campaigns against the Turks in Eastern Europe in the seventeenth century, and when opportunities for active military service in the Holy Roman Empire were lacking, brothers were sent to Malta to obtain the military experience necessary for promotion. However, by the eighteenth century, the Teutonic Order's military operations were mainly against the Christian enemies of the empire. By the late eighteenth century, the military orders' vocation of holy war seemed outdated and barbarous to Enlightenment thinkers.

Though military orders have survived until modern times, no military orders now fight; the Order of the Hospital's military function ended with the loss of Malta to Napoleon in 1798. The Teutonic Order continued its involvement in military activity until the First World War, and thereafter was reformed as a charitable order, without a knightly branch. Both orders still carry on hospitaller and charitable activities. The military orders in the Iberian Peninsula were abolished and refounded during the nineteenth century: the Portuguese orders are now state orders of merit, while the Spanish are charitable orders.

#### Order of the Temple (Malcolm Barber)

Alan V. Murray, ed. *The Crusades*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006, pp. 1149–1157.

The Order of the Temple was a military religious order founded around 1119 in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. It was dissolved by Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1312. The order took its name from its headquarters in the al-Aqā mosque at the southern end of the Temple platform in the city of Jerusalem, which the crusaders believed to be the site of the Temple of Solomon (Lat. *Templum Salomonis*).

In January 1129 at the Council of Troyes, the order received a Latin Rule; subsequently, further sections were added in French in the 1160s, in the early 1180s, and between 1257 and 1267. In 1139 Pope Innocent II issued the bull *Omne datum optimum*, which took the order directly under papal protection and granted it a range of basic privileges. Members could be knights or sergeants, to which

the bull added a smaller group of priests. Knights wore white mantles with a red cross, and sergeants a black tunic with a red cross and a black or brown mantle, a distinction mainly based on previous social status. In addition, seculars could become associates for set periods without joining the order for life.

#### Origins

The origins of the order remain obscure, since they were not recorded by contemporaries. However, during the first generation of Frankish settlement in Outremer after the First Crusade (1096–1099), there was little aid for pilgrims visiting the holy places. This circumstance seems to have inspired Hugh of Payns (from Champagne) and Godfrey of Saint-Omer (from Flanders), together with a small group of other knights resident in the Holy Land, to devote themselves to the protection of pilgrims. This duty was formalized by taking vows before the patriarch of Jerusalem and was probably recognized by the Latin Church in the East at the Council of Nablus in 1120. The knights may have sought to complement the care facilities offered by the Order of the Hospital, and they may have once occupied the Hospitallers' site in the Muristan in Jerusalem. This would have placed them close to the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, with whom they appear to have been associated. Both King Baldwin II of Jerusalem and Warmund of Picquigny, the Latin patriarch, encouraged their efforts, and they received benefices on the Temple platform. They seem to have taken up residence in the "Temple of Solomon" in the mid-1120s, when it was vacated by the king, who moved across the city to the citadel.

In 1127 Hugh of Payns and some of his companions traveled to the West as part of the drive by Baldwin II to stimulate interest in the crusader states, and, specifically, to complete the negotiations that would lead to the marriage of Fulk V, count of Anjou, to Melisende, the king's eldest daughter. This journey enabled Hugh both to present his case for papal recognition at Troyes and to recruit new members and crusaders for the East. A letter to the brethren remaining in the Holy Land written by a certain "Hugo Peccator" ("Hugh the Sinner," possibly Hugh of Payns himself) at this time suggests that some of them were losing confidence in their mission, but this seems to have been forgotten in the rapid expansion that followed the granting of the Rule in 1129. Nevertheless, the problems discussed in the letter do serve to emphasize the novelty of the concept of a military religious order, and to a degree the letter reflects doubts about the legitimacy of such an order in the wider ecclesiastical community. These doubts were countered in part by the willingness of Bernard of Clairvaux to support the order, first by making a substantial contribution to the shaping of the Rule, and second by responding to Hugh's request to write a treatise in support of the order. The treatise, *De laude novae militiae*, praised the Templars as both monks and knights, for, quite uniquely, they performed both functions.

#### Functions

Although the original founders had been primarily motivated by the charitable desire to protect pilgrims on the road from Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) to Jerusalem, as the order gained popularity it was able to accumulate sufficient resources in the West to finance a greatly enlarged role in Outremer. This role included garrisoning castles, supplying troops for Frankish armies, and providing military and logistical support for visiting crusaders. By the late 1130s, the Templars had been given responsibility for the defense of the castle of Baghras in the Amanus Mountains north of Antioch (mod. Antakya, Turkey). In the kingdom of Jerusalem, they may have taken over the castle of Toron des Chevaliers, on the road between Ramla and Jerusalem, in the early 1140s; certainly they held Gaza in the south by 1149–1150. By the 1160s, together with an increasingly militarized order of the Hospital, they had become an integral part of the defense of Outremer, providing a disciplined force of around 600 knights and 2,000 sergeants.

From time to time, the Templars used turcoples or hired mercenaries to supplement their forces. At different periods they held at least fifty castles and fortified places, ranging from modest enclosures intended to provide temporary refuge for pilgrims on the routes between Jaffa and Jerusalem, and between Jerusalem and the river Jordan, to spectacular castles conceived and built on a scale seldom contemplated in the West. Vitally important in the twelfth century was their supply depot at La Fève, where roads converged from Tiberias, Jerusalem, Acre, and Bethsan. This may have had its beginnings in the 1140s; a generation later it had been established as a formidable enclosure protected by a huge ditch. By this time, it was important for the Templars to maintain such a base in the center of the kingdom because the Frankish territories, carved out by opportunism and necessity in the early stages of the conquest, were increasingly developing definable frontier zones, and the defense of these passed more and more into the hands of the military orders. Thus the castle at Jacob's Ford, situated at an important crossing point on the river Jordan, north of the Sea of Galilee (Lake Tiberias), which survived less than a year in 1178–1179, was closely linked to the Templar sphere of influence around Saphet in northern Galilee.

In addition to their responsibilities in the north and south, the Templars were granted extensive rights in the county of Tripoli, including a substantial part of the city of Tortosa (mod. Tartūs, Syria) on the coast and the castle of Chastel Blanc (Safita) inland, enabling them to maintain east-west communication in a state that was particularly vulnerable to attack because of its small size. In the thirteenth century, the order's wealth, together with the declining power of the kings and the secular aristocracy, made it even more important. Its role was symbolized by two castles: the great sea-castle of Château Pèlerin (Athlit), built between 1217 and 1221 next to the road between Haifa and Caesarea, which was intended to replace the order's much smaller fort at nearby Destroit; and Saphet (mod. Zefat, Israel), largely reconstructed between 1240 and 1243, an inland castle situated on a volcanic outcrop 800 meters (c. 2,600 ft.) above Galilee and overlooking the route between Acre and Damascus. The Templars also became heavily involved in the Reconquista in Iberia; among the grants made to them were a number of important castles in Aragon and Portugal. The expertise gained from their various activities was utilized by Western rulers, especially the popes and the kings of France and England, who employed the Templars in their administrations as well as using them as bankers, envoys, and guarantors of treaties.

#### Structure and International Organization

As a unique organization, the order had no obvious monastic model to imitate, so initially its structure was ill-defined. However, the sections of the Rule added in the 1160s show that by this time a hierarchy had been established: the master of the order acted in concert with a chapter of high officials, usually made up of those resident in the East; in the West, provincial commanders governed specific regions. By the late twelfth century, there was a "master on this side of the sea" in overall charge of the Western lands; around 1250 this post was retitled "visitor" and divided in two, a recognition of the basic difference between France, England, and Germany, on the one hand, and Iberia, on the other.

Financing the order's heavy responsibilities was never easy, but it was possible because of the growth of Western resources. According to the Rule, in the 1160s there were already provinces of Francia, England, Poitou, Aragon, Portugal, Apulia, and Hungary. The Western structure continued to develop, and new provinces were established in the thirteenth century. The most important of these were in Cyprus and in Aquitaine, Normandy, and the Auvergne. The emergence of a grand preceptor of Italy, with powers over provincial commanders in Lombardy, Tuscany, the Papal States, and Sardinia, reflected the need to enlarge the organization in the peninsula. Within these provinces, local preceptories were established, often clustered in groups around the main house of the region. Some performed specialist functions, such as horse-breeding; others were set up in uncolonized territories that the order aimed to develop. In Paris and London, large houses were founded by the mid-twelfth century; both of these became financial as well as administrative centers. From the time of King Philip II of France, the treasurer of the Temple in Paris had become a central figure in Capetian demesne administration, acting both as a royal auditor and financial adviser and as head of what became the Templar bank. All the main houses and many of the other preceptories had their own churches, which often acted as centers of cults based on relics acquired by the order in the East.

Throughout the order's history, Francia (the region north of the Loire) and Languedoc always produced the greatest share of Templar resources, a proportion of which was sent to the East through payments called *responsions*. However, in the second half of the thirteenth century, following the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by Charles I of Anjou, the younger brother of Louis IX of France, Italian preceptories grew in relative importance, especially those situated on the southern Adriatic coast, where exports of food, equipment, and horses through the ports helped to prop up the ailing lands in Outremer. Some of these supplies were carried on the order's own ships, although the number of ships they possessed is not known.

In Iberia, the Templars were even more directly concerned with the conflict with Islam. In 1130 Raymond Berengar III, count of Barcelona, granted them his frontier castle of Grañena, although they were evidently not expected to garrison and equip it with their own personnel at this time. In 1143 Raymond Berengar IV ceded them five major castles, including Monzon and Chalamera, as well as the further castle of Corbins, not yet in his possession, and a fifth of lands captured from the Saracens in the future. The wording of the charter shows a clear intention to encourage the order to commit more men and resources to the region. Six years before, he had agreed with the master, Robert of Craon, that the order should send ten knights to Aragon, presumably to act as a nucleus of a new Templar province. This request is reminiscent of the methods of expansion used by contemporary monastic orders, such as the Cistercians. As the frontier moved south, the Templars received more castles, notably Miravet on the Ebro River. However, although Alfonso I of Aragon had shown intense interest in the idea of a military order as early as the 1120s, the first known castle granted to the order was in

Portugal at Soure on the river Mondego, given by Queen Teresa in 1128. In 1147, following the capture of Lisbon, the Templars received Cera on the river Tomar, which later developed into their main house in Portugal.

The order never established houses in eastern Europe on an equivalent scale to the West, but the inclusion of Hungary in the list of provinces of the 1160s shows that its rulers were well aware of contemporary developments. Hungary lay across the land routes used by crusaders to the East, and the Croatian extension of the kingdom incorporated Dalmatian ports with Eastern connections. From 1219 there are regular references to the master of Hungary and Slavonia. To the north, in the fragmented kingdom of Poland, recorded donations are mainly from the thirteenth century, when the aim seems to have been to use the Templars (like other monastic orders) as colonizers, especially on the borders with Germany in Silesia, Pomerania, and Greater Poland, where their estates acted as a buffer against German expansionism. In Germany itself, the first donations date from the time of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), but the order never developed on any scale from this initial foothold, partly because of its uneasy relations with the Staufens rulers, who favored first the Hospitallers and then, in the thirteenth century, the Teutonic Knights. Generally the Templars of Central Europe were not intended as fighting forces; on the one occasion when they were involved in a major battle, at Liegnitz against the Mongols in 1241, their contribution was mainly in the form of peasant dependents, for there were only six knights present.

#### The Order in the Thirteenth Century

Although the disasters that struck Outremer at Hattin in 1187 and subsequently did not enhance the Templars' reputation, they nevertheless continued to perform their military and financial functions as far as was possible in the changed circumstances. By the 1230s, however, the flow of donations characteristic of the formative years of successful monastic orders began to falter, and by 1250 the order was no longer as fashionable as it had been a century before. The problems arising from this decline differed according to region. On the one hand, in Aragon thirteenth-century expansion left the order stranded, with most of its strongholds now a considerable distance behind the frontier; there were only three preceptories in Valencia. In Outremer, on the other hand, the rise of the Mamluks in the 1260s rapidly escalated into a crisis for the Franks. Fighting to preserve a shrinking landed base, dogged by the internal rivalries of the Franks (to which the Templars made a significant contribution), and committed to apparently endless defense spending, the order was caught in a situation from which ultimately there was no escape.

When the Franks were driven out of Palestine in 1291, the military orders inevitably came under scrutiny, since their presence had failed to prevent the loss of Outremer despite their heavy consumption of resources. Plans for reform, which had been circulating since the Second Council of Lyons in 1274, were now energetically promoted; the most common idea was the creation of an order uniting the Templars and the Hospitallers, perhaps under a new master appointed from outside their ranks. In practice, nothing came of these ideas, and during the 1290s the Templars continued to organize attacks on the Syrian and Egyptian coasts, even briefly establishing themselves on the island of Ruad (mod. Arwād, Syria), off their old base at Tortosa. Their garrison there was wiped out in 1302 and thereafter their closest bases to the Holy Land were on Cyprus.

#### The Trial of the Templars (1307–1312)

This new situation certainly made the military orders vulnerable, at least in the eyes of those who believed that they could not be effective without fundamental changes in structure and outlook, but not even the most radical reformers predicted the events of October and November 1307. On 13 October, the Templars in France were suddenly arrested by the officials of King Philip IV, nominally acting on the orders of William of Paris, papal inquisitor in France. Accused of denying Christ, worshipping idols, and promoting institutionalized sodomy, the great majority confessed to one or more of the charges within six weeks of the arrests. The master, James of Molay, repeated his own confession before a public assembly of university theologians and leading ecclesiastics. Pope Clement V, who had not been forewarned, tried to prize control from the French Crown by taking over the proceedings; on 22 November 1307, he issued the bull *Pastoralis preeminentiae*, ordering a general arrest of the Templars in the name of the papacy. This began a series of trials in England, Spain, Germany, Italy, and Cyprus in addition to those already instituted in France and territories

within the French sphere of influence, such as the kingdom of Navarre.

Encouraged by the papal intervention, the leaders of the order withdrew their confessions at Christmas 1307, and the following February Clement V suspended the proceedings. In an effort to force Clement to change his mind, the French Crown attempted to marshal academic and popular opinion by posing

a series of questions to the masters of theology at Paris. It circulated anti-Templar and antipapal propaganda and called a general assembly of the French Estates for May 1308. This appeal to wider opinion met with mixed success, but the pope was finally obliged to meet the king at Poitiers in June, where he was virtually imprisoned by French troops. Following powerful speeches by two government ministers, William of Plaisians and Gilles Aycelein, archbishop of Narbonne, a face-saving formula was eventually found. A group of seventy-two carefully selected Templars was brought before the pope and the cardinals, where they repeated their previous confessions. Then, in the bull *Faciens misericordiam* (12 August 1308), Clement instituted two inquiries: a papal commission to investigate the order as a whole, and a series of episcopal hearings into the guilt or innocence of individual Templars within the bishops' own dioceses. In a second bull, *Regnans in coelis*, issued on the same date, the pope announced that a general council would meet at Vienne in October 1310, where the agenda would cover the three themes of the Templars, church reform, and plans for a new crusade.

In practice, the inquiries that followed took much longer than the pope had anticipated. This was partly because the Templars mounted an unexpectedly determined and coherent defense before the papal commission in the spring of 1310. But in addition, the pace of the episcopal inquiries was uneven; not all of them were accomplished with the dispatch of the Clermont hearings under Bishop Aubert Aycelein, completed in only five days in June 1309. The papal commission met in Paris between November 1309 and June 1311 in a series of three sessions. It was made up of eight members, chaired by Gilles Aycelein, although in fact one of the nominees did not sit. Apart from Gilles Aycelein, who was a long-standing servant of the king, three were French prelates, and one of the others was drawn from a background likely to ensure that he was pro-French. However, once in session, the commission proved to be far more impartial than this arrangement suggests, and slowly the Templars, now assembled in Paris in far greater numbers than before, began to find their voice. By April 1310, nearly 600 of them had pledged themselves to the defense of the order, although the master, James of Molay, contributed little, continuing to insist that he would present his case before the pope once the opportunity arose.

The defense was led by two lawyer-priests: Peter of Bologna, a former procurator of the order at the papal court, and Reginald of Provins, preceptor of Orléans. They castigated the proceedings as illegal and arbitrary, declared that the Templars had only confessed because of torture and threats of force, and claimed that the king and the pope had been deliberately misled by malicious and venal informers. So effective was this defense that the French government was driven to halt it by outside intervention. In May 1310, Philip of Marigny, archbishop of Sens, and brother of the king's finance minister, Enguerrand, condemned Templars from his province as relapsed heretics; they were handed over to the secular authorities and burnt to death. At the same time, the two leading defenders were prevented from making any further appearances before the commission, which was now fed a succession of witnesses apparently so terrified by the news of the executions that they could be guaranteed to confess. However, only a minority of these are listed among the defenders of the previous April, so it is by no means certain that the defense would have collapsed had not the French government been able to exploit its position as jailer.

The Council of Vienne began a year later, in October 1311. Opinions had been sought from leading members of the church on the matters to be discussed, and reports on the Templars had been gathered from the various inquiries. The fathers, however, were not convinced by the evidence and voted to allow the Templars to present their case, a decision apparently taken literally by seven Templars who suddenly appeared at the council, claiming to represent a further 1,500 brethren still at large in the region. But the French Crown had no intention of allowing such an outcome. After secret discussions with Philip's representatives in February 1312, reinforced by the appearance of the king and his entourage the following month, the pope agreed to dissolve the order and grant its property to the Hospitallers. Although the bull *Vox in excelso* (2 March 1312) did not condemn the order, it did declare that it was impossible for it to continue and that its property should still be deployed in aid of the Holy Land in accordance with the wishes of the original donors. Another bull, *Ad providam* (2 May 1312), established that the Templars themselves should be considered on an individual basis, with the imposition of appropriate penances for the guilty. Monastic vows remained valid, and provision for unconvicted Templars was to be made, either in the form of pensions, as was frequently done in Aragon and Roussillon, or by acceptance into existing religious orders, such as the Cistercians, as in England.

#### Dissolution of the Order (1312–1318)

The dissolution of the order brought its own problems. The French Crown continued to press the Hospitallers for reparations, both for expenses incurred and debts claimed; the Hospitallers were obliged to pay 200,000 *livres tournois* (pounds of the standard of Tours) in 1313 and another 60,000

soon after. Closure was not achieved until 1318, when the order paid out a further sum of 50,000 livres tournois. In England, grants of former Templar property to royal supporters were not easily regained; some were still outstanding in 1338 when the Hospitallers surveyed their lands in England. In Aragon and Portugal, where there had been little belief in the guilt of the Templars, neither King James II nor King Dinis would accept the creation of a potentially over-mighty order, which the Hospitaller absorption of the Templar lands might bring, and lengthy and complicated negotiations with the papacy followed. Clement V remained stubborn, but under John XXII compromises were reached.

In 1316 the Aragonese were allowed to use the Templar property to establish the Order of Montesa in Valencia, although the Hospitallers were to have the lands in the other territories of the Aragonese Crown. In Portugal no action had been taken against the Templars, and in 1319 the king was granted the right to create the new Order of Christ. In Cyprus the Templars had supported the coup of Amaury of Lusignan, lord of Tyre, against his brother King Henry II in 1306; when the king returned in 1310, it was not likely he would make much effort to help the Templars, even though the trial proceedings on the island had produced nothing to suggest that the knights had any cognizance of the accusations made by the French government. This did mean, however, that the transfer of lands was effected more easily than elsewhere, partly because of good relations between the king and the Hospitallers. Few individual Templars were still alive by the 1350s, although before that time some drew attention to themselves through criminal activities, including piracy, rape, and robbery, while others occasionally turned up in Muslim lands, either in service or in captivity. Most, however, seem to have been able to live on their pensions, which, in regions controlled by the Aragonese Crown, were often quite generous. Others of high social status were protected by their families, especially in Aragon and Germany.

#### Conclusions

The dissolution of the Templars (an act unprecedented in papal history in the early fourteenth century) after nearly two centuries of fame and power, and achieved after what was seen as a humble and pious beginning, has encouraged deterministic interpretations of its history, for it seems to offer a classic example of the Boethian Wheel of Fortune. However, despite conflict with other institutions, a decline in the level of donations, and some vocal criticism from parties who were themselves often far from disinterested, the order continued to perform important functions. This was acknowledged by Edward II of England and James II of Aragon, both of whom, at least initially, were reluctant participants in the trial. Although the fall of Acre in 1291 had been a tremendous blow, the order was still able to recruit, and there are signs that it was beginning to adapt to the new military setting of naval warfare, which, as the Hospitallers later demonstrated, was becoming the most effective means of crusading combat.

The explanation of the fate of the Templars must therefore be sought less in the nature and state of the order itself than in the motives of the enigmatic ruler of France, Philip the Fair. No consensus has ever been reached about his reasons for initiating the attack against the order. Neither is there agreement about whether it was the king or his advisers who really controlled and determined policy. The prospect of financial gain (even if only in the short term) to a monarchy under immense pressure from unresolved conflicts with England and Flanders, yet without a reliable system of regular taxation to pay for them, must have played a major part, as many contemporaries living outside France did not hesitate to point out. Moreover, Templar property in France does appear to have been more extensive than that of the Hospitallers, even if that was not necessarily true elsewhere.

The king's own religious sensibilities, combined with a strong sense of monarchical obligation, probably deriving from his perception of the reign of his revered grandfather, may have convinced him that the Templars were guilty of heretical crimes and that, once known, toleration would bring down divine wrath upon his people. Before him lay the example of the Jews from whom, in Capetian propaganda, God had withdrawn his favor, replacing them with the French as his chosen people. In these circumstances, the king may have seen the confiscation of Templar wealth as his Christian duty. Nevertheless, in succeeding centuries some were unable to accept the order's demise, and legends about the continued secret existence of linear successors still persist. The manner of the order's end has created a unique historical afterlife of such tenacity that for many, "Templarism" is more real than the known history of the order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

#### **Order of the Hospital** (Theresa M. Vann)

Alan V. Murray, ed. *The Crusades*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006, pp. 594–605.

The Order of the Hospital (also known as the Order of St. John, and later as the Knights of Rhodes and the Knights of Malta), was an international military religious order that originated in the city of Jerusalem before the First Crusade (1096–1099). Originally established as an order whose function was to provide hospital service, it gradually assumed military responsibilities and became involved in the defense and internal politics of the Frankish states of Outremer. At the same time, the order received European properties that were organized into *langues* (literally, "tongues") that paid annual dues, called responsions, to the central convent.

The order moved its central convent and hospital to Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) when Saladin captured Jerusalem in 1187. After the fall of Acre in 1291, the order briefly moved to Cyprus. By 1310 it had captured the island of Rhodes (mod. Rodos, Greece) from the Byzantines, and it became a naval power in the eastern Mediterranean, maintaining a fleet of galleys and garrisoning castles. On Rhodes the Hospitallers faced several major sieges, including two by the Mamluks in 1440 and 1444 and two by the Ottomans in 1480 and 1522. The Hospitallers surrendered Rhodes to the Ottomans in 1522. In 1530 Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain, gave the order the island of Malta. The Hospitallers ruled Malta until 1798, when Grand Master Ferdinand von Hompesch surrendered the island to Napoleon Bonaparte. Subsequently the order briefly found refuge in Russia and in Italy. Today, the order is still sovereign and devoted to hospitaller activities, administering medical charities worldwide from its headquarters in Rome. It no longer has a military character.

#### Origins and Militarization

The Order of the Hospital began as a pilgrim's hospice, established in the city of Jerusalem by merchants from the Italian city of Amalfi. The hospice was operated by a lay confraternity under the auspices of the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary of the Latins. The Hospitallers of St. John began receiving grants of lands and properties in Europe and Outremer after the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 and were recognized as a separate order by Pope Paschal II in 1113. The first master, Gerard, died in 1120 and was succeeded by Raymond of Le Puy (1120–1158/1160), a French knight who had come to Jerusalem with the First Crusade (1096–1099). Raymond's leadership shaped the order, and it was under his mastership that the Hospitallers began to assume military duties in addition to the care of pilgrims and the sick in their Jerusalem hospital. References to the Hospitallers as a primarily charitable institution appear in papal documents until the late twelfth century. However, it appears that the entry of Raymond and other former knights into the order, the need to police pilgrimage routes, and a new definition of the Christian knight as a lover of justice and defender of the weak, influenced by Bernard of Clairvaux's *De laude novae militiae ad milites Templi* (1128), caused the Hospitallers to gradually assume military responsibilities.

By the end of the twelfth century, the Hospitallers, along with the Templars, provided military forces for the Christian states of Outremer and garrisoned frontier castles. They were granted their first castle, Bethgibelin (mod. Bet Guvrin, Israel), in 1136 by Fulk of Anjou, king of Jerusalem. In 1142/1144 Count Raymond II of Tripoli gave them the Krak des Chevaliers (mod. isn al-Akrād or Qal'at al-isn, Syria). This castle and the castle of Margat (mod. Marqab, Syria, acquired in 1186) became major administrative centers with extensive domains that provided income for the order.

The early charters do not indicate whether Hospitallers initially garrisoned the castles themselves, and there is no definite reference to military personnel as members of the order before the middle of the twelfth century. Hospitallers did, however, serve in the armies of Outremer. Raymond of Le Puy fought in the army of Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1128, and according to the chronicler William of Tyre, Hospitallers served at the siege of Ascalon (mod. Tel Ashqelon, Israel) in 1153. In Aragon, Hospitallers were present at Tortosa in 1148 and received the castle of Amposta in 1149. The order may have reexamined its military role following the resignation of the master Gilbert of Assailly (1163–1169/1170), who had encouraged King Amalric of Jerusalem in his unsuccessful invasion of Egypt and left the order in debt.

It is probable that the order initially followed the Rule of St. Benedict until the promulgation of its first rule, attributed to Raymond of Le Puy and strongly influenced by the Rule of St. Augustine. Subsequent masters augmented the rule with statutes approved by meetings of the chapter general of the order. By the 1170s these statutes had institutionalized the Hospitallers' military duties. The 1206 statutes of Margat first describe the offices of knights and sergeants-at-arms, and by the 1270s knights held all the high offices in the order. The 1206 statutes also reveal the international structure of the order and were influential in shaping its development. At the end of the thirteenth century, William of St. Stephen compiled the customs of the order (called *esgarts* and *usances*), which were based upon decisions made at meetings of the chapter general. The statutes of the order were not compiled and organized until Guillaume Caoursin, the vice-chancellor, published the *Stabilimentum* in 1494.

### The Hospitallers in Outremer (to 1291)

Under Roger of Les Moulins (1177–1187), the Hospitallers became more involved in the politics of the Frankish states of Outremer, particularly the succession of Guy of Lusignan and his wife Sibyl to the throne of Jerusalem in 1186. Roger, a supporter of the faction led by Count Raymond III of Tripoli, vied with Gerard of Ridefort, the master of the Temple, who supported the Lusignans. Roger was killed in May 1187, at the battle of the spring of Cresson, leaving the Hospitallers leaderless at the battle of Hattin (4 July 1187). There the order suffered considerable losses, and in the aftermath of the battle lost its castles of Bethgibelin and Belvoir (mod. Kokhav ha-Yarden, Israel), although Saladin did not attempt to besiege Margat and Krak des Chevaliers.

After Hattin, the Hospitallers and Templars became more important as military and political advisors to the Frankish rulers, and their Western resources became essential for the survival of European rule in Outremer. The Hospitallers received money and provisions from their Western priories in addition to income from their properties in Outremer and from their participation in the coastal sugar trade. They contributed substantially to the campaigns of the Third Crusade (1189–1192), serving as senior advisors to King Richard I of England.

The two major military religious orders also assumed some administrative responsibility in the kingdom of Jerusalem, which for much of the thirteenth century was ruled by a series of regents for an absentee monarchy. As Mamlūk power increased in the later part of the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers played an important role in making treaties with Egypt. Masters such as Hugh Revel actively acquired properties around the Krak des Chevaliers and adopted an aggressive policy against the Mamlūks. However, the Mamlūks took Krak des Chevaliers in 1271 and Margat in 1285. The Hospitallers left Outremer after the fall of Acre in May 1291, when the master, John of Villiers, was severely wounded during the city's defense and was evacuated to Cyprus with the remains of the convent.

### The Hospitallers on Rhodes (1310–1522) and Malta (1530–1798)

After the fall of Acre, there was some discussion in western Europe about combining or dissolving the Hospitallers and the Templars. The two biggest military religious orders had been criticized for their sometimes rancorous participation in the politics of Outremer and their apparent hesitancy to pursue the immediate recovery of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers' establishment of their central convent and infirmary on Rhodes coincided with the dissolution of the Order of the Temple and the confiscation of its properties. Although there is no evidence that the Hospitallers planned for this eventuality, they avoided a fate similar to that of the Templars by removing their convent from any possible interference from European rulers.

From 1306 to 1310 the Hospitallers conquered the island of Rhodes (located off the southwestern coast of Anatolia) from the Byzantines. They subsequently acquired other islands and territories in the Dodecanese, notably Kos, Simi, Kastellorizo, and Bodrum. On Rhodes, although still subject to the authority of the pope, the order became a sovereign state and naval power involved in the politics of the eastern Mediterranean. The order entered into treaties with and collected tribute from Muslim potentates.

Individual popes, such as Innocent VI, pressured the order to move to the Anatolian mainland and fight against the Turks, under the threat of losing its lands to a new military religious order. These plans did not come to fruition, however, and Rhodes served as the base for several crusading expeditions in the fourteenth century. The Hospitallers participated in Pope Clement VI's crusade to capture Smyrna (mod. İzmir, Turkey) in 1343–1349, and then contributed 3,000 florins a year to its defense until it was lost in 1402. In 1365 Rhodes was the staging place for the crusade of King Peter I of Cyprus against Alexandria in Egypt. The sack of Alexandria in October 1365 alarmed the master of the Hospital, Raymond Berengar, who feared that the Mamlūk sultan would retaliate by blockading Rhodes and Cyprus; this concern demonstrates the extent of Hospitaller reliance upon the mainland of the Near East for food and other supplies.

The Great Schism between rival popes in Rome and Avignon (1378–1417), combined with the order's financial difficulties, prevented any military campaigns against the Turks, although the Hospitallers leased Morea in Greece from the Byzantines between 1376/1381 and 1404 and began construction of the castle of Bodrum on the mainland of southwestern Anatolia in 1404. The increasing Mamlūk and Ottoman activity in the eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth century caused the Hospitallers to update their fortifications. The Mamlūks attacked Rhodes and Kos in 1440, and Rhodes again in 1444. The Ottomans attacked the Morea in 1446, completing its conquest in 1460; in 1453 they captured Constantinople (mod. İstanbul, Turkey) and thus extinguished the Byzantine Empire. The Hospitallers

assisted the Venetians when Sultan Mehmed II, the conqueror of Constantinople, besieged Venetian Negroponte (Euboia) in 1470, although the Venetians lost the island. Mehmed's fleet unsuccessfully besieged Rhodes itself in 1480. Mehmed died the following year; when his son Bayezid II became sultan his other son, Cem (Djem), fled to the Hospitallers on Rhodes for sanctuary. Bayezid paid the Hospitallers an annual income to keep Cem hostage. After Cem's death, hostilities resumed between the Hospitallers and the Ottomans. Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de l'Isle Adam surrendered Rhodes to the forces of Sultan Süleyman II in 1522.

Süleyman permitted the Hospitallers to withdraw from Rhodes with many of their possessions and archives. The order debated where to relocate the central convent; the French knights, who were in the majority, preferred France, which the Spanish knights opposed. Emperor Charles V offered the Hospitallers the island of Malta, together with the islands of Gozo and Comino, and Tripoli (mod. Tarābulus, Libya) in North Africa. The order considered his offer for some time before accepting it in 1530, noting Malta's relative poverty, its fine harbor, and its importance for the defense of Sicily. Tripoli proved to be indefensible and was abandoned in 1551.

On Malta, the Hospitallers decided not to establish the convent in the city of Mdina, and settled initially in the village of Birgu on the Grand Harbour. There they defended the island against the forces of Süleyman II in the Great Siege of Malta, lasting from May to September 1565. This was the last great battle between Christians and the Ottomans in the Mediterranean until Lepanto in 1571. Even after Lepanto ended the threat of Ottoman fleets to western Europe, Hospitaller ships continued patrols against North African corsairs until 1798.

After the Great Siege, the grand master, Jean de la Valette, decided to build a city on the Sciberras peninsula jutting into the Grand Harbour. This city, named Valletta, was the first planned city in Europe. Behind its massive walls, the streets followed a grid plan; each house was required to have a cistern to enable the household to sit out a siege. The order also built a hospital (the Sacra Infermia), the conventual church, a palace for the grand master, and, in the late eighteenth century, the library. This structure, today the National Library of Malta, still contains the main archives of the order.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the order's identification with the Ancien Régime, plus the loss of its properties resulting from the French Revolution, weakened its moral authority and financial resources. The last grand master on Malta, Ferdinand von Hompesch, surrendered the island to Napoleon Bonaparte and his fleet in 1798.

### Structure and International Organization

As an exempt order of the church, the Hospitallers were under the direct jurisdiction of the pope. The head of the order was the master, who governed with the central convent through meetings of the chapter general. The extent of the master's executive powers is unclear for the early period, although it appears he shared authority with the convent. The chapter general, which did not meet annually, acted as a court to decide disputes among members, issued licenses for travel, and discussed the military preparedness of the convent. Generally, the meetings took place at the location of the main hospital, although some were held in Rome, most notably in 1462. Attendance at the meetings of the chapter general consisted of the master, the senior members of the order, the order's top officials, and two representatives from each province (Fr. *langue*). The master became known as the grand master in the fifteenth century, was given the status of a cardinal in the sixteenth century, and claimed princely rank by the eighteenth century. The chief officials of the order served as advisors to the master and formed part of his council at the central convent. The offices were those of the conventual prior, grand preceptor, hospitaller, marshal, admiral, turcopolier (originally the officer in charge of the Turcoples, or light cavalry), draper, and treasurer. By the fourteenth century each of these offices was assigned to a specific *langue*, except for that of the conventual prior, who supervised the conventual chaplains.

The Hospitallers were a lay order whose members took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to the master. Serving brethren formed the majority of the members in the twelfth through fourteenth centuries and did most of the work in the hospital. Fighting men of free, but not necessarily knightly, birth served as brother sergeants. Conventual chaplains tended to the spiritual needs of members of the order. The knight brethren fought on behalf of the order, and by the mid-thirteenth century had attained higher status than the conventual chaplains. The office of the master was reserved to knights by 1262, and by 1270 knights held all the high offices of the order. By the sixteenth century, prospective knights had to produce proofs of noble birth for several generations (the number varying according to *langue*) before admittance to the order. Around this time the order created two ranks of knights: the knights of justice, who were of noble birth, and the knights of grace, nonnobles who

performed service for the order. The knights of grace remained of lower status and could not hold high office in the order.

It is possible that in the twelfth century female members served in the hospital, although they were not mentioned in the Hospitaller rule. At the end of the twelfth century, cloistered female convents dependent on the order emerged. Of these, the most important was the convent of Sigena, founded in Aragon in 1187. The cloistered female Hospitallers neither fought nor served in the hospitals, although they contributed responsions to the main convent. There were also associate members (called donates): men and women who took vows of obedience and promised to join the order in the future. Confraters and consors gave an annual donation to the order and were promised care in their old age and a Christian burial in return.

The Hospitallers acquired property throughout those parts of Europe that belonged to the Latin Church. Initially, the first grants were in southern France and Iberia. In the aftermath of the Second Crusade (1147–1149), the order began to receive more donations elsewhere, particularly in the British Isles, France, Germany, and Italy. Eventually it also acquired property in Hungary, Bohemia-Moravia, Poland, and Scandinavia. The basic unit of Hospitaller property was the commandery, usually an estate with a small religious house attached. Serving brethren and novice knights lived in the commandery, with a chaplain. By the fourteenth century, a knight who had served some time in the central convent and made at least three trips in the order's galleys could be granted a commandery within his own province. He then administered the commandery and received a portion of its income.

Commanderies were grouped by region into priories, each headed by a prior. The oldest priory was the Priory of Saint-Gilles, founded circa 1115; the Priory of Aragon (later the Castellany of Amposta) was founded in 1149. By the late thirteenth century, the priories were grouped into *langues*, "tongues," according to nationality. Initially there were seven *langues*: Saint-Gilles (or Provence), Auvergne, France, the Castellany of Amposta (Aragon), Italy, England (which included Ireland, Scotland, and Wales), and Germany (which included central and eastern Europe). These priories were enlarged when the Hospitallers acquired former Templar lands in France, Aragon, England, Scotland, and Brandenburg after the Templars' dissolution in 1312. In 1462 the order created the *langue* of Castile-Portugal.

Each *langue* was headed by the conventual bailiff (pillier) who held one of the chief offices of the order and served as an advisor to the master. The office of grand preceptor, who functioned as the second-in-command, was traditionally held by the bailiff of Provence. The bailiff of France was the hospitaller, responsible for the infirmary. The bailiff of Auvergne was the marshal, the chief military officer of the order. The bailiff of Italy was the admiral, commanding the fleet of the order. The bailiff of England was the turcopoler, commanding the mounted native mercenary troops. This office was later assumed by the grand master when the English priory was dissolved in 1540. The bailiff of Aragon was the draper, an office that initially issued clothing, fabric, and alms, and later provisioned the order's military forces. The bailiff of Germany was the treasurer, but when Germany was demoted to a province, the treasury was subordinated to the grand preceptor. When the new *langue* of Castile-Portugal was created in 1461, the office of chancellor was elevated to the council and became the bailiwick of the *langue* of Castile-León. In addition to assuming responsibility for each of the chief offices of the order, each *langue* maintained and defended a portion of the town defenses of Rhodes and, later, Valletta.

The archival records from the Rhodian era reveal more information about the role of the *langues* in the organization of the order. Although the central convent had income from local revenues, first from the Hospitallers' estates in Outremer, and then from coastal trade and the estates on Cyprus, the Western priories paid yearly responsions that subsidized the hospital, the necessities of the convent, and its defense. In times of emergency, the *langues* provided men, money, and materials for military campaigns. The *langues* also formed the basis for conventual life and administration. Knights were admitted to the order through their native *langue*, and, when in residence in Rhodes or Malta, lived in their *langue's* own *auberge* (residence). The system by which bailiffs of the *langues* served as the chief officials of the order broke down during the Great Schism; between 1378 and 1409 local obedience in some *langues* to the Roman pope reduced the payment of responsions to the central convent, which obeyed the Avignon pope. During the fifteenth century, the order faced a severe financial crisis, and Pope Paul II had to call a meeting of the chapter general in Rome in 1462 to reform the statutes and to collect the responsions. The power of the grand master to collect responsions increased, thus improving the revenues of the main convent.

## Medical Activities

The order maintained a hospital at the site of the central convent, allocating one-third of its yearly income from its European priories for its needs. The first hospital, in Jerusalem, was located in the Muristan, near the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Recent archaeological excavations have revealed the true size and layout of the hospital complex in Acre. The infirmary buildings in Rhodes and Malta survive intact. The physical remains suggest that the hospitals of the order were large and able to accommodate many patients. Hospitaller concerns with hygiene and isolation of infectious diseases were influenced by the desire to provide luxuries for the sick, as well as by Greek and Muslim medical practices. The rule of the order referred to the patients as "our lords the sick," illustrating the order's precepts that the sick represented Christ, and that the Hospitallers served Christ by caring for them. In this spirit of hospitality, the statutes of the order dictated that patients should receive white bread and comfortable beds in addition to their spiritual care. The Hospitallers had separate wards for male and female patients, provided obstetric care, and made provisions for child and infant care within the hospitals. The order employed qualified physicians and surgeons to diagnose and care for the patients' ailments. Serving brethren worked in the hospital, and chaplains attended to the patients' spiritual health. In acknowledgment of their hospitaller duties, the chief officers of the convent, including the master, performed regular service in the infirmary on Rhodes and on Malta.

## Hospitallers and the Arts

The Hospitallers in Outremer were not noted patrons of the arts, although frescoes in their church at Abu Ghosh survive. On Rhodes, Master Juan Fernández de Heredia was a noted humanist, with strong connections to the Avignon papacy and the king of Aragon. It was on Malta that the Hospitallers left a lasting artistic legacy, with the construction of the city of Valletta, and the patronage of the painters Caravaggio and Matteo Preti. The order's most noted contributions were to the field of military architecture, particularly with the castles of Belvoir, Lindos, and Bodrum, the citadel of Rhodes, and the fortifications of Valletta.

## Teutonic Order (Jürgen Sarnowsky)

Alan V. Murray, ed. *The Crusades*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006, pp. 1158–1166.

The Teutonic Order (Ger. *Deutscher Orden*), also known as the Teutonic Knights, was one of the three great international military religious orders, alongside the orders of the Temple and the Hospital of St. John. It possessed houses and administrative structures in the Mediterranean countries, but it was mainly based in the Holy Roman Empire, from which most of its members were recruited.

## The Origins of the German Hospital at Acre

The origins of the order date back to the foundation of a field hospital by German crusaders at the siege of Acre (mod. 'Akko, Israel) around the year 1190 during the Third Crusade (1189–1192). When the siege ended in July 1191, the hospital was transferred into the city, where it found a site close to the Gate of St. Nicholas. In September 1190 Sibrand, the master of the German hospital, was granted the hospital of the Armenians in Acre by Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem.

Though this donation was never realized, the document recording it is the first relating to the order's early history. Today there is a consensus that there was no personal or material connection with an older German hospital in Jerusalem that was incorporated by the Hospitallers in 1143. Yet one remaining problem concerning the hospital's early history is presented by an account of its foundation given in a text known as the *Narratio de primordiis ordinis Theutonici*. Here two men named Konrad and Burchard are claimed as its founders and first masters: the account states that they had come to Jerusalem in the company of Duke Frederick V of Swabia, the younger son of Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa, and that they took over a temporary hospital from citizens of Bremen and Lübeck. However, these two (described as chaplain and chamberlain of the duke) were probably inserted into the story to stress the close relationship between the early order and the Staufan emperors, which lasted until the middle of the thirteenth century. Sibrand is most likely to have been the real founder of the hospital.

Sibrand's successors Gerhard (1192), Heinrich (1193/1194), and perhaps Ulrich (1195) were probably priests, since Heinrich is referred to as a prior. Already during the time of Sibrand, a fraternity had been formed at the hospital, which was recognized and taken under papal protection by Clement III in February 1191. This fraternity received another papal privilege in December 1196 from Celestine III, who freed the brethren from the payment of the tithe from newly cultivated lands and gave them the

rights to elect their own master and to bury people who were not members of the community. King Guy and his successor Henry of Champagne donated lands in Acre, Tyre (mod. Sofir, Lebanon), and Jaffa (mod. Tel Aviv-Yafo, Israel) along with additional rights in the kingdom of Jerusalem.

#### The Formation of the Military Order

A new development was probably initiated by the Holy Roman Emperor Henry VI, who was planning a crusade when he died in Sicily in 1197. A first German contingent had already reached the Holy Land by this time, and when its leaders discussed the situation, together with the higher clergy of the Frankish states, in March 1198, they decided to ask the pope to allow the brethren to engage in warfare against the pagans. This request was granted by Innocent III in February 1199, who gave to the fraternity the Rule of the Hospitallers for their charitable tasks and the Rule of the Templars for their military activities. This was probably only a provisional regulation, since the brethren soon (at least after 1209) started to formulate their own customs (Lat. *consuetudines*). In 1244 Pope Innocent IV gave them permission to adapt some of their regulations in the light of the current problems of the order. This led to a final revision of the statutes, divided into a rule, laws, and customs, to which only some laws of the later grand masters were added. After 1199, the order consisted of knight brethren and priests, but there were also half-brethren (Ger. *Halbbrüder* or *Graumäntler*) of nonnoble origin who took full vows, (half-)sisters, and friends of the order (Lat. *familiares*). The order took over the white mantle of the Templars but with a black cross, while half-brethren were dressed in grey.

The order was basically oligarchic. It was led by a master, who from the time of Hermann von Salza was termed “grand master,” literally “high master” (Ger. *Hochmeister*), probably to distinguish him from the “land masters” (Ger. *Landmeister*) of Prussia and Livonia. The master depended on the council of the most senior brethren and on the yearly chapters general (the assemblies of brethren in the East). Later, the chapters general met only rarely and were formed by the representatives of the order's bailiwicks (Ger. *Balleien*) and houses.

Soon other officials were introduced. The earliest known high dignitaries (Ger. *Grossgebietiger*) were in 1208 the grand commander (Lat. *praeceptor*, Ger. *Grosskomtur*), the marshal (Lat. *marscalcus*, Ger. *Marschall*), and the hospitaller (Lat. *custos infirmorum*, Ger. *Spittler*). The grand commander was the lieutenant of the master, responsible for provisioning and finance; the marshal had mainly military tasks, while the hospitaller was the director of the order's main hospital. In 1228 a draper (Ger. *Trappier*) is mentioned for the first time; after 1240 there was a treasurer (Ger. *Tressler*), while the castellan of the order's castle at Montfort near Acre, constructed in the 1220s, became equally important.

These offices were modeled on to the statutes of the Hospitallers. Unlike the earlier case of the Hospitallers, the militarization of the fraternity at the German hospital in Acre obviously met no resistance, though its first European donations were only concerned with hospitals. In May 1197 Emperor Henry VI donated the hospital of St. Thomas in Barletta, and donations of hospitals in Halle, Bolzano, and Friesach followed between 1200 and 1203. By 1209 the order had also acquired property in Tripoli, Antioch, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Greece, although not all donations were realized. Houses were founded in Italy, Germany, Spain, and France, which were subordinated to local commanders. A bailiwick as an administrative unit of several houses under a land commander (Ger. *Landkomtur*) is first mentioned for Sicily in 1212, and a German land commander in 1218. Other bailiwicks were soon instituted in Cilicia, Romania (i.e., Greece), Apulia, and Austria, then in Lombardy and Spain. When in 1236 the German land commander became the superior of another regional land commander, this was the beginning of the office of the German master (Ger. *Deutschmeister*), which, together with the later institutions of land masters of Prussia and Livonia, formed the highest level of the regional administration of the order.

Little is known of the first masters Heinrich (or Hermann) Walpot, Otto von Kerpen, and Heinrich Bart, but the fourth master, Hermann von Salza (1209/1210–1239), was very successful. He became one of the counselors of Emperor Frederick II, and at the same time managed to develop a close relationship with popes Honorius III and Gregory IX. Honorius III granted no less than 113 privileges to the Teutonic Knights, who in 1221 also received all the rights of the other military orders, thus finally becoming an international order of the church. Hermann was involved in Frederick's crusade of 1228–1229, and he also successfully mediated the Treaty of San Germano (1230) between Frederick and Gregory IX.

#### The Order's Policies in the Thirteenth Century and Its Acquisitions in Hungary, the Holy Land, and the Baltic Region

As well as with the Holy Land, Hermann's policies were concerned with eastern central Europe, first with southeastern Hungary (until 1225), and then with Prussia. In 1211, King Andrew II of Hungary, who was married to a German princess, gave the Teutonic Knights the region of Burzenland (mod. Tara Birsei, Romania) close to the territories of the heathen Cumans (Lat. *terra Borza nomine ultra silvas versus Cumanos*) in order to organize the defense of the area, to find (German) settlers, and to bring about the Christianization of the Cumans. A first contingent of the order arrived in 1212, but soon serious problems arose, since the queen was murdered in 1213 and the section of the Hungarian nobility that opposed the order's engagement gained in influence. Thus the Teutonic Knights were driven out in 1218 and (after a short reinstatement in 1222) once again, this time finally, in 1225. Perhaps the order had attracted German settlers from the areas newly populated by the king's predecessors, and probably it went too far in its efforts to gain political and ecclesiastical autonomy.

In the Holy Land, Hermann strengthened his position by his successful participation in the Fifth Crusade (1217–1221). Using a donation of 6,000 marks of silver by Duke Leopold VI of Austria, in 1220 he acquired the possessions of Otto and Beatrix of Henneberg (the heirs of Joscelin III of Courtenay): the so-called Seigneurie de Joscelin, mainly the barony of Toron with the castles of Banyas and Châteauneuf. This acquisition enabled him to start building the order's main castle, Montfort, situated east of Acre, though Toron itself was never conquered from the Muslims. More property was acquired from the lords of Caesarea and Beirut after 1244. Lands purchased east of Beirut (1257/1261) were soon lost, but the order managed to establish its own small territory around Montfort until the Mamlüks devastated its surroundings in 1266 and finally took the castle in 1271. The Teutonic Knights became nearly as important for the weakened states of Outremer as the Templars and Hospitallers.

When Emperor Frederick II came to the Holy Land in 1228, having been excommunicated by Gregory IX, he was supported only by the Teutonic Knights. They were also involved in the military conflicts over the regency for the nominal king of Jerusalem, Frederick's son Conrad IV. In the 1250s, the order, having large properties in Cilicia (Lesser Armenia), favored an alliance with the Mongols, like the crusade leader King Louis IX of France, while the Templars and Hospitallers opted for a military response. Together with the other military orders, the Teutonic Knights remained in Acre probably until 1291, though in 1290 Grand Master Burchard von Schwanden, who had gathered about 40 knight brethren and 400 crusaders to defend the Christian territories, resigned and left the order.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the order was weakened by internal quarrels. After the deaths of Hermann von Salza (1239) and Konrad von Thüringen (1240), the brethren elected Gerhard von Malberg, who distanced himself from the emperor, was invested by Innocent IV with a ring, and took an oath of fidelity to the pope. When he came to the Holy Land, he was criticized for his financial policies and finally forced to resign early in 1244. During the intensified conflict between papacy and empire, the order was no longer able to maintain its neutral position, and different factions formed. Gerhard's successor, Heinrich von Hohenlohe, had to travel to Rome to explain the order's position, while Frederick II confiscated the order's property in the kingdom of Sicily, only to return it on his deathbed (1250).

Meanwhile the order had established itself in the eastern Baltic region, in Prussia and Livonia. From 1230 onward following a call by Duke Conrad of Mazovia and helped by crusader contingents, the order succeeded in conquering the Kulmerland (the territory of mod. Chełmno, Poland) and the area east of the river Vistula from Thorn (mod. Toruń, Poland) in the south as far as the Baltic coast in the north. Castles were built and towns were founded with the help of German settlers mainly from northern Germany and Silesia. When in Livonia the Sword Brethren, a military order founded by the bishop of Riga, suffered a heavy defeat by the Lithuanians at Saule, in 1237 the surviving Sword Brethren were incorporated into the Teutonic Order following an order by Pope Gregory IX. In contrast to Prussia, where the order succeeded in establishing an “order state” (Ger. *Ordensland*), government in Livonia was shared with other powers: the bishop (later archbishop) of Riga, the bishops of ösel-Wiek, Curonia, and Dorpat (mod. Tartu, Estonia), the town of Riga, and even the (secular) knights of the territories of Harria and Vironia in North Estonia, which the order bought from the Danish king Valdemar IV in 1346. But the order now became responsible for Livonia's defense, also in the conflicts with the Russian principalities of Pskov and Novgorod. After the order's defeat at the battle of Lake Peipus by the prince of Novgorod, in April 1242 the Prussians rose against the Christian mission.

Thus from 1242 to 1249 the order had to face a serious rebellion by the native Prussians (helped by the duke of Pomerelia), which only ended after mediation by a papal legate. Then, in the short interval



before the outbreak of a second rebellion in 1260, there emerged the first signs of tensions between the order's headquarters in Palestine and its distant branches. About 1251, the Grand Commander Eberhard von Sayn was sent to Prussia and Livonia as land master to reorganize the order's structures there. He stressed that the order's headquarters were in the Holy Land and that the brethren were not allowed to promulgate new regulations without the consent of master and chapter. The land masters had to submit written reports every year and to come to the central convent every three years. In the Holy Land, an important faction within the order sought to ensure that the master remained in the East. Thus in the time of Master Anno von Sangerhausen (1256–1273), statutes were passed according to which the master had to ask for permission of the chapter to return to the West.

Even after Montfort was lost in 1271, large sums of money were spent in extending the order's properties around Acre. At the same time, the Prussian branch had to defend its lordship against the rebellious native Prussians, and it was only in 1283 that all heathen territories in Prussia were brought under the order's control. Since men and money were needed in both Prussia and Palestine, opposing factions soon quarreled about the order's future policies. After the resignation of Burchard von Schwanden, who adhered to the Palestine faction, in 1291 Konrad von Feuchtwangen, a member of the Baltic faction, was elected. When Acre was lost to the Mamlūks, the order's headquarters were moved to Venice. This new site was of course an important starting point for crusading activities, but it was also closer to the Baltic region than was, for example, Cyprus, and Konrad clearly cared little about the situation in the Holy Land. This changed again with the next master, Gottfried von Hohenlohe (1297–1303), but the Palestine faction lost ground when it became clear that there would be no new crusade to the Holy Land in the near future. Finally, in 1309 Grand Master Siegfried von Feuchtwangen transferred the order's headquarters to Marienburg (mod. Malbork, Poland) in Prussia.

#### The Grand Masters in Prussia and the Order's Role in Late Medieval Christianity

Siegfried von Feuchtwangen's successor, Karl von Trier (elected 1311), also faced serious internal resistance; he was deposed in Prussia in 1317, reinstated at a chapter general in Erfurt 1318, and thereafter resided in his home town of Trier, where he died in 1324. Yet the decision of 1309 had a lasting impact. Far away from strong secular authorities such as the king of France, who had brought down the Templars, the Teutonic Order succeeded in building up its own territory in the Baltic region, based on a German settlement that had already started in around 1230 and that became more intensive after 1283, but also on a loyal native Prussian nobility that helped to organize the order's lordship over the original inhabitants.

It was in the time of Grand Master Werner von Orseln (1324–1330) that the later medieval structures took shape. The grand masters were supported financially by some of the Prussian commanderies and advocacies (Ger. *Vogteien*), while the high dignitaries were based in other commanderies: the marshal in Königsberg (mod. Kaliningrad, Russia), the hospitaller in Elbing (mod. Elbląg, Poland), and the draper in Christburg (mod. Dzierżgón, Poland), while the grand commander and treasurer remained in Marienburg.

After the final conquest of Prussia in 1283, the order turned against the still heathen Lithuanians, with the help of crusading contingents from all over Christian Europe. It was only the Polish-Lithuanian union of 1386 and the baptism of the Lithuanian ruler Jogaila (Pol. *Jagiello*) that called the order's policies into question and led to a series of conflicts, all of which were lost by the order. The first major defeat was that of Tannenberg (Grunwald) in July 1410, in which Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen and about 300 knight brethren died. The immense indemnities that had to be paid to Poland and Lithuania caused internal conflicts, and the *Ordensland* was widely devastated, as it was in the following wars. Finally, after the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466), in which the Prussian estates (towns and knights) subjected themselves to Polish authority, the order lost two-thirds of its Prussian territories.

From the fourteenth century onward, the order concentrated its activities on the eastern Baltic area, but it also remained an international military order with houses in different parts of the Mediterranean regions. It received large donations in Castile from the 1220s (in La Mota near Valladolid, in Seville, Córdoba, and in the vicinity of Toledo), having somehow participated in the final phase of the Reconquista (the reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims) after the campaign of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

Until the beginning of the fifteenth century, the order's commanderies were mostly governed by German knight brethren, but in 1453 La Mota had a Spanish commander, Juan de la Mota. The order's Spanish properties were lost during the Thirteen Years' War, when it tried to sell rights and possessions outside La Mota. The situation was similar in southern Italy, where the order's first

donations by Emperor Henry VI (Barletta and La Magione in Palermo) were expanded up to the beginning of the fourteenth century; in 1260 Pope Alexander IV donated the Church of St. Leonard in Siponto (Apulia). Due to the financial problems of the proctor general at the Roman Curia—who was for some time after 1466 administrator of Apulia—and the behavior of the last land commanders, the bailiwicks in Apulia and Sicily were lost in 1483 and 1492, respectively.

In Frankish Greece, the order had received some lands in the west and south of the Peloponnese since 1209, though its center was in Mostenitsa in the north. But its position there was too weak to organize any effective resistance against the Turkish advance, and between 1397 and 1402 the order had to pay tribute to the Turks. In 1411 it tried to sell the bailiwick of Romania to Venice, but no agreement was reached. When the Byzantines of Mistra conquered the northwest of the Peloponnese between 1422 and 1432, Mostenitsa and other possessions were lost. Only its house in the Venetian possession of Modon in the south remained in the order's hands, until the city was taken by the Turks in 1500.

Throughout the fifteenth century, different efforts were made to renew the order's crusading activities. When Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen for a time won over Grand Duke Vytautas (Ger. *Witold*) of Lithuania and received Samogitia in the Treaty of Sallinwerder in October 1398, he also agreed to join a Lithuanian campaign against the Mongols of the Golden Horde. The army, which received a crusading bull from Pope Boniface IX, consisted of Lithuanians, Poles, rebellious Mongols, and about 300 men from Prussia, some knight brethren, and the commander of Ragnit, Marquard von Salzbach. When the army was heavily defeated near the Vorskla, a tributary of the Dnepr, in spring 1399, the alliance broke down, and the whole affair came to nothing.

After its defeat at Tannenberg, the order faced repeated criticism that it was not following its original aims and would not act against the Mongols and Turks. When Sigismund of Luxembourg, king of Hungary, asked for the order's help against the Turks, Grand Master Paul von Rusdorf agreed in 1429 to send out a contingent of six brethren led by Nicolaus von Redwitz, probably accompanied by Prussian craftsmen and soldiers. Sigismund gave them lands around Severin on the Danube where they were supposed to organize the defense of the border region near the area where the order had tried to establish itself 200 years earlier. Though in May 1430 the proctor general at the papal court was informed that the order had done well in Hungary, by 1432 the situation had deteriorated. The brethren were prevented by the Hungarian nobility from fortifying their castles, and they received no help when attacked by the Turks in the summer of 1432. Some of the order's castles were lost, and many of its men must have died. Under very poor conditions, the brethren managed to hold out in three castles until 1434, but then the grand master decided to withdraw his halfhearted support.

After 1466 the order was involved in two Polish campaigns against the Turks. When in 1485 the Ottomans devastated Wallachia, the order's contingent was too small to offer any substantial help and was sent back, but in 1497 Grand Master Hans von Tiefen came with some of the order's officials, about 1,500 mounted men and their attendants, in all probably about 4,000 men. When they reached Lemberg (mod. Lviv, Ukraine), the grand master fell seriously ill, and he died on 25 August. The order's dignitaries brought his body back to Prussia, but many of his men subsequently died in the heavy defeat suffered at the hands of the Turks.

While the position of the grand master and the central officials in Prussia was weakened by the defeats at the hands of Poland and Lithuania, the German and Livonian branches of the order gained substantial degrees of independence. Thus the German master Eberhard von Saunheim opposed the peace treaty with Poland in 1435, while the Livonian brethren succeeded in securing a far-reaching autonomy from the early 1430s: at first, the grand master could choose the master of Livonia from two candidates presented to him by the Livonian brethren, but after 1466 he only had the option to confirm the future Livonian masters. These conducted their own foreign policy toward the principality of Muscovy, and in 1501 and 1502, respectively, Wolter von Plettenberg achieved two impressive victories against large Muscovite contingents at the Seritsa and Lake Smolina, which substantially contributed to the continued existence until 1561 of the Livonian "confederation" of the bishoprics, the order, the town of Riga, and the knighthood of Harria and Vironia. Meanwhile, the German masters became princes of the Holy Roman Empire in their own right in 1494 and concentrated on building up their own territory in the region of the Neckar.

After the death of Hans von Tiefen in 1497, the order decided to change its policies. With Friedrich von Sachsen (1498–1510) and Albrecht von Brandenburg-Bayreuth (1511–1525), two princes of the Holy Roman Empire were elected as grand masters, in an effort to reform the order and to intensify support from Germany. Neither was very successful, though the Prussian conflict became more and more international. When Albrecht lost another war against Poland in 1519–1521 (the so-called *Reiterkrieg*), he returned to the empire, where he made contact with the leaders of the Protestant Reformation.

Martin Luther suggested the secularization of the order and its territories, and thus after some negotiations Albrecht received Prussia as a fief dependent on the kingdom of Poland in April 1525.

#### The Order's Survival into the Modern Period

Yet this was not the end of the order's history. The Livonian branch was secularized in 1561 under military pressure from Muscovy during events similar to those in Prussia, the last Livonian Master Gotthard Kettler becoming duke of Courland. The German branch survived attacks during the Peasants' War of 1525 and was reformed by the German master Walter von Cronberg, who became administrator of the grand mastership in December 1527. He and his successors tried in vain to recover the order's Prussian and Livonian territories.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the order became closely associated with the Habsburg dynasty. When at the diet of Regensburg in 1576 Emperor Maximilian II proposed that the order should take over and defend one of the castles on the borders of Hungary (with support from the empire), Grand Master Heinrich von Bobenhausen (1572–1585/1590) opposed the plan, still hoping to regain Prussia. The situation changed when one of the Habsburg princes, Maximilian, was received into the order and soon (1585) became coadjutor (i.e., lieutenant) of the aging grand master. After Bobenhausen resigned in 1590 and Maximilian became grand master (until 1618), he also took over the administration of Styria for the young archduke Ferdinand II. In this situation, the chapter general at Mergentheim decided to support the defense of Styria against the Turks with men and money (about thirty knights with seventy servants). The grand master continued with campaigns in Hungary and Croatia from 1595 to 1597, though he was not very successful. One of the knights of the order present in Maximilian's campaigns was the later grand master Johann Eustach von Westernach (1625–1627), who in 1627 again proposed to the chapter general that the order should reconquer Prussia or take over one of the castles in Hungary. Neither scheme came to fruition, probably because of the consequences of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Germany, but at least the coadjutor for Grand Master Johann Kaspar von Ampringen and later Grand Master Ludwig Anton von Pfalz-Neuburg fought in the defense of Vienna in 1683 and in the campaigns against the Turks until 1687.

When Napoleon seized the order's properties and its territory around Mergentheim in 1809–1810, Grand Master Anton Victor of Austria (1804–1835) was thrown back on the Austrian houses of the order. Thus the Teutonic Order under its grand and German master (Ger. *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*) became an order of the Austrian Empire. Finally, in 1923, the knightly branch of the Teutonic Knights was dissolved. Today the order consists of priests and sisters who are mainly engaged in charitable activities.