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WHAT WAS THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LAY SUPPORT FOR THE SUCCESS OF  
THE MILITARY ORDERS DURING THE CRUSADES?

ALEXANDER JAMES COATES

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of Masters by Research.

The University of Huddersfield

January 2018

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## Abstract

This dissertation explores the importance that the laity played in relation to the Templars and Hospitallers. Until recently this aspect of the military orders has largely been ignored. Instead preference has been given to large scale studies on the wider history of the military orders both in the East and West. Yet this has changed in recent years with a few monographs dedicated to the exploration of the laity, and this dissertation seeks to build on these studies. The chapters that follow engage in different themes that reflect origins, forms and motives of both the military orders and laity. Looking at the context of how and why the military orders were formed, provides crucial background information as to how the Templars and Hospitallers became established and why they were so highly regarded by the laity. Alongside this, upon their formation they adopted many traditions of their monastic counterparts, including a close relationship to the laity. This relationship could take many forms and different lay people, men and women from across the social spectrum, held different motivations for their associations. This dissertation contends that the laity were crucial to the success and survival of the Templars and Hospitallers.

## Introduction

The military orders were established in the wake of the First Crusade (1095-1099) to safeguard visitors to the Holy Land, but their role was soon extended to protect Christian territory and interests. While the military orders drew some criticism from certain secular and religious circles, the overall image was admirable and this goes a large way in explaining why they were so successful.<sup>1</sup> For instance Pope Honourius III (1216-1227) writing about the Templars and Hospitallers in 1218 stated that they:

... have up until now had a special status among other Christians throughout the world, and are still the defenders of the orthodox faith ... by making donations to them, Christ's faithful followers endeavour to escape from eternal damnation by preparing a mansion for them in the heavenly palace.<sup>2</sup>

Reflective of this popularity was the enormous levels of support that they received from lay people who valued their efforts in safeguarding Christian holdings in the Holy Land, and those who travelled there on pilgrimage. While the crusades have received a lot of scholarly interest, the military orders have not. Until the recent two decades. The focus has grown to incorporate the nature and important contributions that the military orders made to the crusades. Yet despite this growth of interest, the importance of the laity for the orders has not received the same attention. Hence the focus of this dissertation, which investigates lay support of the Templars and Hospitallers. These two orders were chosen because, as Thomas Asbridge argues, 'the Templars and Hospitallers stood at the heart of crusading history'.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the Templars and the Hospitallers were the only two international orders having influence and residences both in the East and West, as well as drawing members and lay support from across Europe. They provided the model which all other military orders imitated.

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<sup>1</sup> For the culmination of such criticisms see accusations made against the Templars in 1307, see for example: Barber, M. (1978). *The Trial of the Templars*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press & Burgdorf, J., Crawford, P.F., & Nicholson, H.J. (Eds.) (2010). *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)*. London: Routledge.

<sup>2</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.213.

<sup>3</sup> Asbridge, T. (2010). *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*. London: Simon & Schuster, p.169.



## Historical Setting

The First Crusade was the first in a series of violent religiously motivated clashes which were initially against Muslims and sought to establish Christian control over Jerusalem and the Holy Land. From the success of this expedition, the victorious Christians settled in the East establishing Christian states (Antioch, Edessa, Jerusalem and Tripoli) which they could rule in the name of their faith and preserve the Holy Land for pilgrimages from the West.<sup>4</sup> These states were to provide a Christian foothold in the East until they were defeated and expelled by Muslims in 1291, as well as spurring the creation of the military orders. Those who were taking part in pilgrimages through the Holy Land needed safeguarding from bandits, alongside this there was a dire need for soldiers as the majority of the victorious crusaders went back West post 1099.<sup>5</sup> Therefore the military orders were needed to fill this military void. Overtime the military orders adopted other roles in the East: such as defensive and political. The importance of the military orders is echoed by Dominic Selwood, who describes them as 'the backbone of the Crusader states'.<sup>6</sup> Although even the loss of these states in 1291, did not spell the end for the Templars or the Hospitallers, as the former lasted until 1312 and the latter are still going today.

The first military order was the Knights Templar founded in 1118. It is clear from the remarks of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) that it was a new type of vocation as he stated: 'a new kind of militia is recently reported to have arisen on earth ... and one unknown to the world'.<sup>7</sup> The Hospitallers have their roots before the First Crusade, but did not become militarised until after the Templars foundation. The origins and formations of both orders will be examined in chapter 1, but broadly speaking the crusaders and the military orders were able to appear by the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries because of a change in religious and social thinking which started in the eighth century and culminated in the eleventh century. By this time religious orders had established the principle of gathering donations

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<sup>4</sup> Barber, M. (2012). *The Crusader States*. London: Yale University Press, pp.15-18.

<sup>5</sup> Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, pp.6-7.

<sup>6</sup> Selwood, D. (1999). *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.1.

<sup>7</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.1.

from patrons and donors. So the military orders were able to imitate this system and eventually establish vast networks across Europe.

As the military orders grew and acquired networks of manpower and money in the West, they expanded their presence to where other crusades were being fought. Their sole use was no longer to protect the Holy Land, rather, as Alan Forey states, 'The function of military orders was to engage in armed conflicts which were undertaken to defend and secure the interests of Western Christendom and of the church.'<sup>8</sup> For instance, crusading in Iberia received papal backing during the twelfth century (c.1120) and from this the Templars and Hospitallers had a presence in the region.<sup>9</sup> However from the mid-twelfth century, the leaders of the kingdoms in Iberia wanted more localised orders whose main concerns were to be the situation in Iberia.<sup>10</sup> Orders such as Calatrava (1158), Mountjoy (1173) and Évora (1165).<sup>11</sup> A similar development occurred at the same time in the Baltic with the arrival of the crusaders and the Templars and Hospitallers along with the establishment of localised orders in order to conquer pagans.<sup>12</sup> Localised orders included the Teutonic Order (founded in 1190 but had an impact and role in the Holy Land), Swordbrethren (1202) and Dobrin (1228).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the Templars and Hospitallers had a presence over much of Europe, were involved in many different conquests, and received backing from all over Europe. But, as Nicholas Morton states, the Templars and Hospitallers 'were primarily devoted to the defence of Jerusalem'.<sup>14</sup>

### **State of Current Research**

Many books have been written covering aspects of the crusades, including portraying the crusades from the viewpoint of Muslims, or examining the roles women played.<sup>15</sup> However until the

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<sup>8</sup> Forey, A.J. (1993). *Military Orders and Secular Warfare in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. *Viator*. 24, p.79.

<sup>9</sup> Morton, N. (2013). *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*. Edinburgh: Pearson, p.37.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.73.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p.89.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p.38.

<sup>15</sup> Maalouf, A. (1984). *The Crusades Through Arab Eyes*. London: Saqi; Christie, N. (2014). *Muslims and Crusaders: Christianity's Wars in the Middle East, 1095-1382, from the Islamic Sources*. London: Routledge; Hodgson, N.R. (2007). *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*.

1990s the military orders were one aspect of the crusades that had been largely overlooked, with the exception of the works by Jonathan Riley-Smith and Desmond Seward written during the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>16</sup> William Urban reasons that this exclusion was because ‘the study of the military orders was considered something less scholarly than the closely connected history of the Crusades’.<sup>17</sup> But József Laszlovszky notes that ‘a publication boom [has] marked the last years of crusader studies and research on military orders.’<sup>18</sup> This expanding field of study has received numerous important contributions from, to name a few: Forey, Helen Nicholson, Malcolm Barber and the continuing works of Riley-Smith.<sup>19</sup> Each author has produced numerous articles, books and translations that build up a detailed history of the military orders. Many of these studies present a compact overview of the military orders rather than focusing in detail on specific aspects. For example, the laity and their importance towards sustaining the military orders’ efforts in the Holy Land is largely overlooked or confined to a brief mention.

That is not to say that works on the military orders entirely fail to mention the laity. For instance Forey states that the ‘majority of the members of military orders were laymen’ and Barber states that the Templars saw themselves as ‘a community of pious laymen’.<sup>20</sup> This lays out a key research

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Woodbridge: The Boydell Press; Bom, M.M. (2012). *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*. New York: Springer Nature.

<sup>16</sup> Riley-Smith, J. (1967). *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*. London: Macmillan; Seward, D. (1972). *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders*. London: Paladin.

<sup>17</sup> Urban, W. (1992). ALAN FOREY. “The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries” (Book Review). *The American Historical Review*. 97(5), p.1502.

<sup>18</sup> Laszlovszky, J. (2001). Crusades and Military Orders: State of Research. In Z. Hunyadi & J. Laszlovszky (Eds.) *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*. Budapest: Central European University Press, p.xvii.

<sup>19</sup> For Forey see: Forey, A.J. (1985). The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 36 (2), 175-195; Forey, A.J. (1986). Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries. *Viator*. 17 (1), 139-171; Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. For Nicholson see: Nicholson, H.J. (1997). Women on the Third Crusade. *Journal of Medieval History*. 23(4), 335-349; Nicholson, H. (2001). *The Knights Hospitaller*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press; Nicholson, H.J. (2016). Women’s Involvement in the Crusades. In A.J. Boas (Ed.) *The Crusader World* (pp.54-67).

New York: Routledge. For Barber see: Barber, M. (1994). *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Barber, M. (2000). The Charitable and Medical Activities of the Hospitallers and Templars. In G. R. Evans (Ed.) *A History of Pastoral Care* (pp.148-168). London: Cassell; Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press. For Riley-Smith see: Riley-Smith. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*; Riley-Smith, J. (2010). *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.

<sup>20</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, p.2; Barber. *The New Knighthood*, p.105.

question, as if laymen accounted for such a large proportion of members then what was their impact? Similarly, Forey and Nicholson highlight the forms of lay association that the military orders had. For example, each author portrays the status of '*conversi* ... [and] *donatus*'.<sup>21</sup> Also books by Forey, Barber and Nicholson have a chapter dedicated to the recruitment, donations and resources that the military orders could call upon, thus all showing forms of lay support.<sup>22</sup> Yet the only detailed study of this issue comes from the works of Jochen Schenk, and of Myra Bom, who provides an analysis of female laity in relation to the military orders.<sup>23</sup>

Selwood argued in 1999 that 'the activities of the brethren in European commanderies outside the theatre of war have not formed the basis of any intensive, contextual studies.'<sup>24</sup> Thus Nicholson notes that Schenk provides 'the first academic study to examine the Templars' relations with their French lay patrons in such detail'.<sup>25</sup> Schenk lays the groundwork for showing the importance of lay support for the military orders, for example by analysing what the Templars received in donations it is easy to see how the military orders thrived.<sup>26</sup> This dissertation builds on the work of Schenk by considering the significance of lay support to both the Templars and Hospitallers. A more in depth historiography will be provided before each chapter in relation to specific issues.

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<sup>21</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, p.144; Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.85.

<sup>22</sup> See chapter 4 of: Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*; See chapter 7 of: Barber. *The New Knighthood*; See chapters 4 and 5 of: Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*.

<sup>23</sup> For Schenk see: Schenk, J. (2008). Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 34 (1), 79-103; Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For Bom see: Bom. *Women and the Military Orders of the Crusades*.

<sup>24</sup> Selwood. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*, p.1.

<sup>25</sup> Nicholson, H. (2013). Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307 by Jochen Schenk. *Medieval Review*, np. Retrieved from: <https://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/17782/23900> – Consulted 30th November 2017.

<sup>26</sup> Schenk. Forms of lay association with the Order of the Temple, p.85.

## Primary Material Used

The main use of primary material will be the profession charters, which recorded a lay person's profession with a military order.<sup>27</sup> They reflect what type of association the laity chose, details what the individual donated in order to fulfil their profession and also what they hoped to gain from making such a profession. We are reliant on evidence from charters of profession and/or donation as well as looking at letters, chronicles, speeches and writings of people at the time in order to understand their motives.<sup>28</sup> Yet it is worth noting that professions were formulaic, which makes it difficult to discern individual motive precisely. Some evidence may seem to give clear indications of the reasons for lay association, but as Nicholson argues, 'their motivations for doing so cannot be completely reconstructed.'<sup>29</sup> The issue of individual choice and circumstances means that we can never know exactly what considerations were in people's minds. But we can trace some patterns, which will be examined particularly in chapter five.

Throughout the following work there will also be Biblical references taken from the *Vulgate* Bible.<sup>30</sup> This was the Bible available, and read, to the laity during the crusades. So it provides an insight into shaping religious ideas and perceptions that the laity held. Alongside this, use will be made of contemporary texts such as Bernard of Clairvaux's *In Praise of the New Knighthood* written in the 1130s.<sup>31</sup> This is an important text that is often incorporated by other historians when looking at the military orders, particularly the Templars. It is a text which does a twofold job of defending the core military and religious aspects of the Templars whilst also outlining their profession. This is particularly useful as we know so little about the precise circumstances surrounding the foundation of the Templars.

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<sup>27</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press & Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3rd December 2016.

<sup>28</sup> For letters see: Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2010). *Letters From the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Surrey: Ashgate.

<sup>29</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.86.

<sup>30</sup> For use in this work the English translations have been used, although by following the links in the footnotes to the website the original Latin passages are available. See: <http://vulgate.org/>

<sup>31</sup> For a copy of Bernard's *In Praise of the New Knighthood* see: Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp.215-227 or see "Military Orders: In Praise of the New Knighthood (*Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militae*)."*The ORB: On-Line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://the-orb.arlima.net/encyclp/religion/monastic/bernard.html> – Consulted 9<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

## Overview of Thesis

The following dissertation is split into five chapters, each one focusing on a different component that builds up a picture as to how important lay support was to the military orders. Chapters one and two will largely be scene setting and show how the military orders came about. Chapter one focuses upon how Christian attitudes to warfare changed from the eighth to eleventh centuries, drawing on early Christian texts, to the majority eventually accepting warfare in the name of Christianity. Also, there will be consideration as to how the Templars and Hospitallers originated. Chapter two will then look at changes in Christianity/monasticism and how these helped to create the environment necessary for large international religious orders and the impact that they had on the laity. Key to both chapters will be the Gregorian reforms which originated in the mid eleventh century and had the dual result of establishing knights fighting for Christ, and produced numerous religious orders between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

Chapters three, four and five will then move on to examine the laity in relation to the military orders. Chapter three will examine the different types of lay association that was on offer to the laity and an attempt will be made to distinguish the different types of lay association – *confratres/consorores* and *donati/donatae* – which has so often been confused by primary sources and scholars. Chapter four will be concerned with women, outlining how women were regarded in relation to the crusades and traditional religious/military orders and what shaped these attitudes towards women and the roles they played. Then there will be a focus on if these ideas held true in relation to the Templars and Hospitallers. Finally chapter five will look at reasons as to what drove people to support the military orders.

## Chapter 1 – Circumstances of the Establishment of the Military Orders

### Introduction

The military orders originated after the First Crusade and played a vital role in the Levant in subsequent years.<sup>32</sup> As outlined earlier, following the First Crusade a number of Christian states were established in the Holy Land, chief among them the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>33</sup> The history of the Templars and Hospitallers was intertwined with the fates of these states – in terms of origins and development. Therefore it is vital to look at the origins of the military orders in order to establish what enabled the concept and practice of permanently combining a religious and military role, as this dual function was their cornerstone. Especially as this combination of military and religious activity is seemingly incompatible in Christianity, evident in the Bible which states ‘Thou shalt not kill’.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Morton observes that ‘The compatibility of Christianity with lethal violence has always been a subject of intense debate’ and Forey outlines, ‘in the early Middle Ages the gulf between the military and the religious life was seen to be wide’.<sup>35</sup> Yet by the early twelfth century there had already been one crusade and the Templars, and later the Hospitallers, had been founded combining both a military and a religious life. Paul Crawford states that:

It has long been clear that crusading, as an idea, did not appear *ex nihilo* in the fall of November 1095. Rather it drew on a large body of ideas and trends which had been accumulating over centuries, but especially in the half century or so before Urban’s speech at Clermont.<sup>36</sup>

Investigating the beginnings of crusading helps further our understanding of Christian attitudes to warfare. These ideas were heavily influenced by the works of earlier scholars, notably St Augustine of Hippo (354-430). He formed the basis of a theory of Just War which was key in establishing justifications both for crusading and for the function of the military orders. The historiographical landscape of the origins of holy war is largely uncontentious. Scholars credit the reform popes with the ideas that enabled

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<sup>32</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.169.

<sup>33</sup> See page 8 of this thesis.

<sup>34</sup> Exodus 20:13. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/exodus\\_20.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/exodus_20.htm) – Consulted on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>35</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.5; Forey. *The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century*, p.182.

<sup>36</sup> Crawford, P.F. (2016). Gregory VII and the Idea of a Military-Religious Order. In S. B. Edgington & H.J. Nicholson (Eds.) *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*. London: Routledge, p.171.

Pope Urban II (1088-1099) to call the First Crusade. Key to the reform movement was Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085), who transformed ideas surrounding religion and warfare. Other scholars also note the impact of circumstances in Europe influencing papal attitudes towards the validity of holy warfare.

### Early European Context

Establishing Christianity in Europe was a violent process. Characteristic of early European society was a strong sense of small communities that were not yet formed under one nationality or state.<sup>37</sup> This changed with the military exploits of Charlemagne (747-814), who conquered large amounts of Western Europe bringing these communities together into what now can be seen as European countries, and in the process established Christianity by force as the religion of his Empire.<sup>38</sup> Charlemagne, as argued by Robert Evans, 'used Christianity to justify military action', as he saw himself defending his religion and converting heathens.<sup>39</sup> Charlemagne's military exploits coincided with attacks on Europe by non-Christians, notably from, to name a few, the Vikings and Muslims.<sup>40</sup> These non-Christians attacking Christians gave the violence an aura of religious/holy warfare, as evident in the *Annals of St. Vaast* written in France during the late ninth century. Within the works are numerous references to Christian people being brutally attacked by Vikings, such as when it states, 'they killed Christian people and took them captive and destroyed churches'.<sup>41</sup> Although it must be noted that violence was also prominent between Christians. Therefore, by the eleventh century violence and religion was ingrained into the psyche of Christians in Europe.<sup>42</sup> As is evidenced by Fulk Nerra, the warmongering Count of Anjou from 987, who after years of warfare, in his own words, had 'caused a great deal of bloodshed in various battles' which made him 'terrified by the fear of Hell'.<sup>43</sup> This led Asbridge to argue that 'his experiences and mindset were reflective of the forces that shaped the Middle

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<sup>37</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.7.

<sup>38</sup> Evans, R.A.H. (2017). Christian Hermeneutics and Narratives of War in the Carolingian Empire. *Transformations*. 34 (2), pp.150-151.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.151.

<sup>40</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.3.

<sup>41</sup> "Viking Raids in France and the Siege of Paris (882-886)" *The Annals of St. Vaast. De Re Militari* (2013). Retrieved From: <http://deremilitari.org/2013/07/viking-raids-in-france-and-the-siege-of-paris-882-886/> – Consulted 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

<sup>42</sup> Phillips, J. (2010). *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades*. London: Vintage, p.xxiii.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in Asbridge, T. (2010). *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*. London: Simon & Schuster, p.4.



Ages and gave birth to the crusades.<sup>44</sup> Fearing for one's soul was not unique to Nerra, as is reflected by an anonymous chronicler in the early part of the eleventh century, who stated: 'Those rules which governed the world were replaced by chaos. They knew then that the [End of Days] had arrived.'<sup>45</sup> With Charlemagne forming a link between violence in the name of Christianity, this inspired later ecclesiasts to develop a coherent theory of compatibility for conducting violence in the name of God.<sup>46</sup>

Coinciding with this violence was the emergence of chivalry – the subject of chivalry is often overlooked by scholars.<sup>47</sup> Understanding what constituted chivalry proves difficult, as Richard Kaeuper argues, 'We must avoid the notion of a rigid and singular code or detailed list of inalterable practices, set forth once and always and everywhere agreed upon and enacted.'<sup>48</sup> Broadly speaking, key to chivalry was: honour, prowess, valour, endurance and piety.<sup>49</sup> The latter of which proved to be the most prominent. This was because the motivation for chivalry by knights was to have a more religious orientated profession.<sup>50</sup> Initially, Carolingian era knights strived to achieve a religious life by creating the ideas behind chivalry with the religious input and help of clerics.<sup>51</sup> The need to live by chivalric ideas was crucial due to the heavy religious/spiritual theme of the times, eighth century onwards, and they were sure to follow chivalric rules because they were written by knights, with the help from religious figures.<sup>52</sup> To aid the fear of damnation, when the concept of chivalry was forming, the creators of chivalric ideas were adapting strands of theology to give the knightly vocation a religious edge.<sup>53</sup> Chivalry was devised as a way of reforming the violent nature of knights.<sup>54</sup> Thus creating an ideal image

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<sup>44</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.5.

<sup>45</sup> Cited in Asbridge, T. (2010). *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*. London: Simon & Schuster, p.5.

<sup>46</sup> Evans. *Christian Hermeneutics and Narratives of War in the Carolingian Empire*, p.151.

<sup>47</sup> Kaeuper, R.W. (2016). *Medieval Chivalry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.7.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.33-45.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.265. Also see: MacGregor, J.B. (2004). Negotiating Knightly Piety: The Cult of the Warrior-Saints in the West, ca. 1070 - ca. 1200. *Church History*. 73 (2), p.317.

<sup>51</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.22.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p.296-306.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p.10. Also see: Strickland, M.J. (2001). *Killing or Clemency? Ransom, Chivalry and Changing Attitudes to Defeated Opponents in Britain and Northern France, 7-12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Retrieved from: <http://deremilitari.org/2014/07/killing-or-clemency-ransom-chivalry-and-changing-attitudes-to-defeated-opponents-in-britain-and-northern-france-7-12th-centuries/> – Consulted 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

of knighthood and Bernard of Clairvaux was subsequently, as will be outlined in greater detail later on, to use this ideal to praise and justify the Templars.

The toll of violence in these early centuries can be shown to have had an effect on the Church. As Christopher Tyerman argues, 'the church accommodated war ... [and] churchmen of the tenth and eleventh centuries sought to control and direct it in law and in practice.'<sup>55</sup> This is reflected in the Peace (975) and Truce of God (1027) movements, the aim of which were to try and control violence. The first move was made in 975 at the Council of Le Puy, and was reinforced in subsequent councils.<sup>56</sup> In order to control the violence, clergy had the power to excommunicate which had an impact as people in this time were living in fear for their spiritual wellbeing.<sup>57</sup> Ideas of controlling violence were developed in 1027, at the Council of Toulouges, with the Truce of God movement which sought to prohibit warfare on specific days (Thursday to Sunday).<sup>58</sup> This was taken further at the Council of Norbonne (1054) which stated, 'no Christian should kill another Christian, for whoever kills a Christian undoubtedly sheds the blood of Christ'.<sup>59</sup> While these movements brought about a degree of peace in Europe, what was needed was to find a channel in which warriors could express violence that avoided killing Christians.<sup>60</sup> Developing from these movements was the distinction between good and bad knights, with the good knights being those that followed the directions of the Church.<sup>61</sup> This was to prove a distinguishing feature at the time of the crusades and military orders.

### **Development of the Idea of Crusade and Holy War**

The concept of holy war drew inspiration from various ideas which had been developing over centuries alongside those born out of more immediate circumstances. Influence of the past was

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<sup>55</sup> Tyerman, C. (2006). *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. London: Penguin Books, p.42.

<sup>56</sup> Cowdrey, H.E.J. (1970). The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century. *Past and Present*. 46, p.43.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., p.47.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., p.44. For prohibited days see p.52.

<sup>59</sup> Cited in Cowdrey, H.E.J. (1970). The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century. *Past and Present*. 46, p.53.

<sup>60</sup> Cowdrey. The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century, p.53.

<sup>61</sup> Grabois, A. (1992). *Militia and Malitia: The Bernadine Vision of Chivalry*. Retrieved From: <http://deremilitari.org/2014/05/militia-and-malitia-the-bernardine-vision-of-chivalry/> – Consulted 15<sup>th</sup> November 2017.

important as Giles Constable argues that 'The idea of fighting for God went back to antiquity and the Bible'.<sup>62</sup> As evident in Jeremiah 48:10 which states, 'cursed be he that withholdeth his sword from blood'.<sup>63</sup> Augustine of Hippo was a vital early influence on the creation of the concept of holy war, specifically of Just War. With the Biblical commandment forbidding murder, this would prove problematic in times of war (due to the killing).<sup>64</sup> Yet Augustine provided a solution. Talking about the acceptability of war he stated, 'they who have waged war in obedience to the divine command, or in conformity with His [Gods] laws ... have by no means violated the commandment'.<sup>65</sup> Guidelines of a Just War can be broken down into four components by examining Augustine's book: *City of God* (426AD). Firstly there is the requirement of a justifiable beginning to a war. As Augustine states, 'For even when we wage a just war, our adversaries must be sinning'.<sup>66</sup> Secondly, warfare should not be the result of personal ambition and instead should only be pursued for defensive reasons. As Augustine states in relation to the Ancient Romans who to him had 'a plausible defence for undertaking and carrying on such disastrous wars' because they had the 'necessity of protecting life and liberty'.<sup>67</sup> Thirdly the war must be initiated by the 'wise man', as Augustine states, 'the wise man will wage just wars ... for if they were not just he would not wage them, and would therefore be delivered from all wars'.<sup>68</sup> Lastly, participants of war must be driven by the correct motivation which is to achieve peace. As Augustine states, 'it is obvious that peace is the end sought for by war. For every man seeks peace by waging war'.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, Augustine provided the criteria for an acceptable form of warfare that would be compatible with Christianity.

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<sup>62</sup> Constable, G. (1998). The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society. *Viator*. 29 (1), p.378.

<sup>63</sup> Jeremiah 48:10. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/jeremiah\\_48.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/jeremiah_48.htm) – Consulted on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>64</sup> For Biblical commandment see earlier reference to Exodus 20:13.

<sup>65</sup> *The City of God (Book I)*. *New Advent*. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120101.htm> – Consulted 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>66</sup> *The City of God (Book XIX)*. *New Advent*. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120119.htm> – Consulted 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>67</sup> *The City of God (Book III)*. *New Advent*. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120103.htm> – Consulted 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>68</sup> *The City of God (Book XIX)*. *New Advent*. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/120119.htm> – Consulted 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, Book XIX.

Ideas of controlling violence and Just War were seized upon during the papacy of Gregory VII, who developed them in the period known as the Gregorian reform movement (c.1050-c.1085).<sup>70</sup> Which was initiated with the desire from certain churchmen for papal and clerical reforms, with the overall aim being to stop secular figures interfering in church affairs, and make the papacy the authoritative figurehead of Christianity.<sup>71</sup> In Western Europe some of the laity were appointing people to vacancies who were paying for the role – simony – which was something the promoters of reform wanted to eradicate.<sup>72</sup> Ultimately, this attempt at challenging secular influence over the clergy meant that the papacy believed, as Asbridge argues, they would ‘need ... a military arm with which to reinforce its agenda and manifest its will.’<sup>73</sup> This was because these reforms had negative reactions from secular sponsors of religious counsel, some of which resorted to violence.<sup>74</sup> Which is what happened during the Investiture Controversy (described below). Crucially this period was about forging a bond between warfare in the name of Christianity.

In 1074 Gregory tried to launch a crusade, aimed at the rescue of Byzantium from Muslims.<sup>75</sup> In a letter sent out across Europe, he stated:

... we are striving in all possible ways and making preparations to render aid to the Christian empire [the Greek] as quickly as possible. Therefore we beseech you ... for the sake of Christ, you undertake the difficult task of bearing aid to your brethren.<sup>76</sup>

Another letter sent to William I of Burgundy requested him ‘to make ready a force of [his] knighthood to uphold the liberty of the Roman church’.<sup>77</sup> Whilst not explicitly referencing war, Gregory implies it with

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<sup>70</sup> For a closer examination of Gregorian reform movement and the impact that it had on monasticism and the religious landscape see, pages 40-47 of this thesis.

<sup>71</sup> Tyerman. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p.6.

<sup>72</sup> Berman, C.H. (2005). Reform and Growth in the Clerical Hierarchy. In C. H. Berman (Ed.) *Medieval Religion: New Approaches*. New York: Routledge, p.96.

<sup>73</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.16.

<sup>74</sup> Tyerman. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p.6.

<sup>75</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.16.

<sup>76</sup> “Gregory VII: Call for a "Crusade", 1074”. *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/g7-cde1078.asp> – Consulted on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>77</sup> Cited in Crawford, P.F. (2016). Gregory VII and the Idea of a Military-Religious Order. In S. B. Edgington & H.J. Nicholson (Eds.) *Deeds Done Beyond the Sea: Essays on William of Tyre, Cyprus and the Military Orders Presented to Peter Edbury*. London: Routledge, p.173.

the request to assemble a military force. Additionally a letter addressed to Count William IV of Poitou by Gregory, stated:

On behalf of blessed Peter we ask, urge, and invite that some of you may come to us who are willing to defend the Christian faith ... [B]e very strong to fight for that praise and glory ... [and] you can gain an eternal reward.<sup>78</sup>

Gregory's desire for the use of force did not go unnoticed. A scholar of the time, Wenrich of Trier, noted that Gregory was encouraging 'that the property of St Peter must be defended by force; and whosoever dies in this defence you promise freedom from all his sins'.<sup>79</sup> This spiritual reward would prove to be a crucial dimension of the eventual crusading ethos. Yet Gregory's crusade never gained traction, which is partly explained by looking at the Investiture Controversy. This started with a dispute between the Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106) and Gregory as to who could invest new bishops – across Europe it was usually the reigning monarch – yet because of the reform movement, it was thought that this rite should belong to the pope.<sup>80</sup> Tensions between the two parties grew until in 1084 Henry attacked Italy and deposed Gregory and put in place a new pope.<sup>81</sup> Despite Gregory's failed crusade launch, this cannot be seen as a rejection of the idea of crusading, instead, as Asbridge states, Gregory went 'too far, too fast'.<sup>82</sup> Yet the importance of Gregory VII should not be underestimated. Firstly because the Gregorian reform movement helped shape and change Christian mentality towards warfare and knighthood, as Gregory helped associate religion with warfare.<sup>83</sup> Secondly Gregory created the blueprints upon which one of his later successors, Pope Urban II, would draw.<sup>84</sup> Gregory also established and arranged the theory of holy war that Urban ultimately focused into the First Crusade.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p.174.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., p.175.

<sup>80</sup> Tyerman. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p.7.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.10.

<sup>83</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.84 & Kaeuper, R.W. (2009). *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.53-57.

<sup>84</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.10.

<sup>85</sup> Chevedden, P.E. (2016). Pope Urban II and the Ideology of the Crusades. In A.J. Boas (Ed.) *The Crusader World*. London: Routledge, p.19 & Tyerman. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p.57.

One motivation for Urban's crusade was similar to Gregory's – a request for help from Eastern Europe. One account of Urban II's speech, by Fulcher of Chartres (c.1059-c.1127), records that Urban said:

They [Muslims] have killed and captured many [Christians], and have destroyed the churches and devastated the [Greek] empire ... I, or rather the Lord, beseech you as Christ's heralds to publish this everywhere and to persuade all people of whatever rank, foot-soldiers and knights, poor and rich, to carry aid promptly to those Christians and to destroy that vile race from the lands of our friends.<sup>86</sup>

Urban's popularisation of the crusades, and the volume of people they attracted, was significant in that, as Forey argues, 'the wide gulf which had earlier separated the religious from the military way of life no longer existed.'<sup>87</sup> This created an opportunity for the military orders to fuse the two vocations together permanently. Additionally from Fulcher's account, it indicates that Urban wanted to rekindle the message from the Peace of God.<sup>88</sup> This is evident when Urban states, 'Let those who have been fighting against their brothers and relatives now fight in a proper way against the barbarians.'<sup>89</sup> This was the outlet which the earlier Peace and Truce movements wanted to channel violence away from: Christians. The First Crusade legitimised holy war for Christians and this had the effect of removing long held views of violence, without which would not have enabled the possibility of the military orders.<sup>90</sup> This legitimisation now made two spheres of warfare, the sinful secular wars and religious crusading warfare which was seen as the best kind of war.<sup>91</sup>

### **Ideas Allowing the Formation of Military Orders**

The formulation of ideas behind the military orders happened under Gregory VII, but for widespread acceptance they still needed the First Crusade to completely change the Christian

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<sup>86</sup> "Urban II (1088-1099): Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five versions of the Speech". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1997). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.html> – Consulted 9<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>87</sup> Forey. *The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century*, p.187.

<sup>88</sup> Cowdrey. *The Peace and Truce of God in the Eleventh Century*, p.57.

<sup>89</sup> "Medieval Sourcebook: Urban II (1088-1099): Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five versions of the Speech". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1997). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2-5vers.html> – Consulted 10<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>90</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.11.

<sup>91</sup> Kaeuper. *Holy Warriors*, p.71 & p.79.

mentality.<sup>92</sup> From this point onwards attitudes towards the acceptance of warfare with Christianity had changed. For instance a mid-twelfth century priest, Raoul, stated that 'He is not cruel who slays the cruel. He who puts wicked men to death is a servant of the Lord because they are wicked and there is ground for killing them.'<sup>93</sup> The biggest change in attitudes towards warfare was the changing of the term *milites Christi* (soldiers of Christ), which once was associated solely with monks, now it became applicable to soldiers, but only those who fought for the defence of the Christian faith.<sup>94</sup> Examining the term *milites Christi*, Gregory VII makes an important contribution once again in advancing the term to eventually have a dual meaning; covering both warriors and religious.<sup>95</sup> These attitudes differed remarkably from those before the First Crusade. For instance Smaragdus, a ninth century abbot, stated:

There are secular soldiers (*milites seculi*) and there are soldiers of Christ (*milites Christi*); but secular soldiers bear feeble and perilous arms, while those of the soldiers of Christ are most powerful and excellent; the former fight against their enemies in such a way that they lead both themselves and those they kill to everlasting punishment; the latter fight against evil so that after death they may gain the reward of eternal life; the former fight in such a way that they descend to Hell, the latter fight so that they may achieve glory; the former fight in such a way that after death they may serve with devils in Hell, the latter so that they may possess the kingdom of heaven in eternity with the angels.<sup>96</sup>

Similarly the monk Aelfric (c.955-c.1010) described his vocation as 'God's champions in the spiritual battle, who fight with prayers not swords; it is they who are the soldiers of Christ'.<sup>97</sup> The application of the term *milites Christi* to warriors would have been inconceivable before the First Crusade. Yet in the 1130s St Bernard of Clairvaux wrote *In Praise of the New Knighthood* which he references the Templars

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<sup>92</sup> Crawford. Gregory VII and the Idea of a Military-Religious Order, pp.179-180.

<sup>93</sup> Cited in Tyerman, C. (2006). *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. London: Penguin Books, p.27.

<sup>94</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.16.

<sup>95</sup> Crawford. Gregory VII and the Idea of a Military-Religious Order, p.173.

<sup>96</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.10.

<sup>97</sup> Cited in Tyerman, C. (2006). *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*. London: Penguin Books, p.40.

as 'the Knights of Christ'.<sup>98</sup> Receiving backing from Bernard was crucial as by this time he was a prominent figure within Christianity.<sup>99</sup>

Bernard's text was crucial in defining the nature of the military orders and conveyed what the Templars, which he called 'Christ's *militia*', were doing in the Holy Land and how they differed from their secular counterparts, the 'secular *malitia* [sic]'.<sup>100</sup> This difference in terminology represents a clever play on words, as the term '*malitia*' has its roots in the Latin word for evil – malice. The intention of fighting was what distinguished the '*militia*' from the '*malitia*'. The *militia* conducted, according to Bernard, 'a double fight against flesh and blood, as well as ... evil in the skies'.<sup>101</sup> This is in reference to the military and religious enemies that the orders fought. But this conduct is fine because Bernard gave assurances that a Templar 'kills in [spiritual] safety'.<sup>102</sup> This is because they were fighting in the name of the Lord. The importance of fighting with good intention relates heavily to the Just War theory. No longer were the crusading knights and military orders fighting for secular means, instead they were fighting for a higher purpose and as Forey states, 'joining the true *militia* had ... become widely accepted as a new way of achieving salvation'.<sup>103</sup> This was reflected by Guibert of Nogent (1055-1124) who stated that 'In our time God has instituted holy warfare so that the knightly order ... might find a new way of deserving salvation'.<sup>104</sup> Bernard even reassured the Templars that:

Each time you go into battle, you who fight a worldly enemy, there is the fear that when you kill your enemy physically, you kill yourself spiritually ... [however] if the combatants cause was good, the outcome of the fight cannot be bad.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.216.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., p.215.

<sup>100</sup> "Military Orders: In Praise of the New Knighthood (*Liber ad milites Templi: De laude novae militiae*)." *The ORB: On-Line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://the-orb.arlima.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/bernard.html> – Consulted 9<sup>th</sup> June 2017; Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.218.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p.216.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., p.219.

<sup>103</sup> Forey. *The Emergence of the Military Order in the Twelfth Century*, p.187.

<sup>104</sup> Cited in Constable, G. (1998). *The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society*. *Viator*. 29 (1), p.380.

<sup>105</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp.217-218.



By the time of the emergence of the Templars the attitudes of some Christians had undergone a dramatic change and although not all accepted warfare as an acceptable Christian activity, a large proportion acknowledged the compatibility.

Despite the emergence and growth of chivalrous ideas some felt that secular knights were still acting sinfully and were wrongly motivated, i.e. not religiously, and gave chivalry a bad name. The major critic of these knights was Bernard of Clairvaux, who compared these secular knights to the highest form of knighthood, the Templars, in his work *In Praise of the New Knighthood*. One reason for Bernard taking this approach was likely because the Templars were being criticised in their infancy. We do not have direct evidence of this, but the tone of the text suggests that Bernard is trying to justify the Templars' vocation and role, and drawing on the ideals of chivalric knighthood gives Bernard good grounds for arguing that the Templars were superior. For instance, Bernard stated that the Templars' 'thoughts are on the battle and victory, not display and glory.'<sup>106</sup> Similarly, by the mid eleventh century wealth played a motivating factor in the pursuit of warfare.<sup>107</sup> Something which Bernard also picks up on when he stated that the Templars differed from the secular knights because 'When war is announced they arm themselves within with faith and without with iron, not gold, so that they strike fear into the enemy by their arms and do not provoke his greed by their gold.'<sup>108</sup> Bernard also questioned why secular knights fought: 'knights ... what is this madness ... to fight at such great cost and effort, with no rewards other than those of death or crime?'<sup>109</sup> By 1050 knights were beginning to demonstrate through visual means that they were chivalrous.<sup>110</sup> One such way was through heraldry and the decoration of armour and weaponry.<sup>111</sup> However Bernard mocked the knights for this and taunted, 'Are these military insignia or are these women's baubles?'<sup>112</sup> Despite these criticisms, secular knights had a deep religious side and religion was key to the ideological framework of both secular knights and the military orders.

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., p.223.

<sup>107</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.165 & p.191.

<sup>108</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.223.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p.218.

<sup>110</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.95.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p.103.

<sup>112</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.218.

## The Military Orders

### 1. *What was a Military Order?*

A military order was essentially a hybrid of monks and knights, combining both a military and religious aspect. Becoming a member of a military order entailed much of the same rituals and regulations as joining a monastery, as members were taken out of the world in many respects, although not to the same extent as monks because, by definition, their role necessitated them being in the world fighting the enemies of Christianity. In searching through the historiography for a definition, there is disagreement over whether the emphasis should be on their militaristic or religious side. The orthodox definition is offered by Seward who calls them 'monks of war'.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, Cindy Wood calls them 'fighting monks' and Barber names them 'warrior-monks'.<sup>114</sup> The differing revisionist definition, as argued by Morton, contends that 'The brother knights of the military orders were not simply fighting monks as is often claimed.'<sup>115</sup> Instead Morton defines a military order as 'a religious order which performed a military function' and Forey defines a military order as 'an institution whose members combined a military with a religious way of life'.<sup>116</sup> Riley-Smith offers a more nuanced definition by describing military orders as 'orders of the Roman Catholic Church, the brothers ... of which are professed religious, subject to the usual obligations of, and constraints in, canon law, except one: some of them had the right and duty to bear arms.'<sup>117</sup> What is clear is that military orders were more than mere monks of war, as Morton points out: 'theirs was a new kind of religious observance drawing upon a range of influences in its formation.'<sup>118</sup>

Medieval definitions of the military orders are less mixed than those of modern scholars. The majority of medieval commentators primarily referred to the military orders as military entities. This is not to say that many contemporaries did not appreciate the religious dimension of their identity. For

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<sup>113</sup> Seward. *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders*, p.19.

<sup>114</sup> Wood, C. (2016). *Studying Late Medieval History: A Thematic Approach*. New York: Routledge, p.161; Barber, R. (2005). *The Reign of Chivalry*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.143.

<sup>115</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.6.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.; Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.1.

<sup>117</sup> Riley-Smith, J. (2007). Towards a History of Military-Religious Orders. In K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert, & H. J. Nicholson (Eds.) *The Hospitallers, The Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*. Cornwall: Ashgate, p.269.

<sup>118</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.6.

instance Bernard of Clairvaux stated of the Templars, 'Truly the knight is without fear and totally without worries when he has clothed his body with the breastplate of iron and his mind with the breastplate of the faith'.<sup>119</sup> Here Bernard is clearly referencing the knights' physical armour alongside their spiritual armour. Alternatively Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) writing to the Templar Master around 1150 stated, 'I have always harboured a particular and unique feeling and reverence for your person and for the holy knighthood of the sacred military protection that God has bestowed on you, over and above all religious orders'.<sup>120</sup> Here, Peter is referencing the Templars as a religious order, whilst acknowledging their military value. When looking at donation charters of the laity to the military orders they reflect the view that the military orders were viewed primarily as a military service, whilst only a few mention the religious aspect. A donation in 1133 by Azalais was to the 'Holy Knighthood of Jerusalem'.<sup>121</sup> From the wording of this donation she covers both the religious and military aspect of the Templars. Whereas when Pons of Meynes made his donation in 1146 he did so without mentioning the Templars religious nature, he dedicated his donation 'to the knighthood of the Temple of Solomon'.<sup>122</sup>

## 2. *Establishment of the Templars*

The Templars have received the most attention from modern scholars which is partly due to their popularity amongst the wider audience and international standing. The only surviving account of their foundation is provided by William Archbishop of Tyre (c.1130-1186) in his chronicle *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, despite him not being born during their foundation.<sup>123</sup> William was a prominent figure in the Levant, particularly in Jerusalem, and is a significant source of information for modern scholars due to his historical works on the crusades and the military orders.<sup>124</sup> As such this solitary account has meant that there is now an agreement on the circumstances and timings of the

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<sup>119</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.217.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p.227.

<sup>121</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3rd December 2016.

<sup>122</sup> Cited in Selwood, D. (1999). *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.135.

<sup>123</sup> Nicholson, H. (2010). The Changing Face of the Templars: Current Trends in Historiography. *History Compass*, 8(7), p.654.

<sup>124</sup> Asbridge. *The Crusades: The War for the Holy Land*, p.195 & Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.xvi.

establishment of the Templars.<sup>125</sup> This is because William's account is the only source scholars can draw on. William describes the origins of the Templars:

In this same year [1118], certain pious and God-fearing nobles of knightly rank, devoted to the Lord, professed the wish to live perpetually in poverty, chastity, and obedience. In the hands of the patriarch [of Jerusalem] they vowed themselves to the service of God as regular canons.<sup>126</sup>

Although a great deal of scholarship has focused on the Templars Nicholson argues that there is one issue still puzzling scholars. She states that:

... scholars have not yet agreed where the concept came from: was the order was [sic] primarily inspired by the ideals of the Church reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries? Or was it the knights' own idea, inspired by the piety of knightly class[?].<sup>127</sup>

While Gregory and the importance of his reforms have been outlined above, William provides information that gives strength to the latter part of Nicholson's argument. William goes on to state the reason for their beginnings:

The main duty of this order-that which was enjoined upon them by the patriarch and the other bishops for the remission of sins was [sic], "that, as far as their strength permitted, they should keep the roads and highways safe from the menace of robbers and highwaymen, with especial regard for the protection of pilgrims."<sup>128</sup>

Upon performing this task members were rewarded with remission of their sins, an idea drawn from the success of the First Crusade. As Urban II stated that those who died on crusade 'shall have immediate remission of sins'.<sup>129</sup> Those knights who founded the Templars were knights who had gone on crusade and wished to become permanent crusaders. Despite their initial foundation in the Holy Land, by 1118, William describes that formal recognition came later on at the Council of Troyes (1129). William states

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<sup>125</sup> Nicholson. *The Changing Face of the Templars: Current Trends in Historiography*, p.654.

<sup>126</sup> William Archbishop of Tyre. (1943) *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. New York: Columbia University Press, p.1064.

<sup>127</sup> Nicholson. *The Changing Face of the Templars: Current Trends in Historiography*, p.654.

<sup>128</sup> William Archbishop of Tyre. (1943) *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. New York: Columbia University Press, p.1065.

<sup>129</sup> "Urban II (1088-1099): Speech at Council of Clermont, 1095, Five versions of the Speech". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1997). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/urban2-5vers.asp> – Consulted on 8<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

that 'At this council, by order of Pope Honorius ... a rule was drawn up for this order'.<sup>130</sup> Official recognition by the papacy made sure the Temple was a legitimate order.<sup>131</sup> Receiving this recognition gave the Templars the power to act on behalf of papal, and Godly, authority – appealing to prospective donors.

Modern sources emphasise that such a service for pilgrims was needed, and contemporary accounts from the Holy Land indicate why.<sup>132</sup> For instance Saewulf, who travelled to the Holy Land a few years after the First Crusade, stated that:

We travelled from Joppa to the city of Jerusalem, two days' journey, by a mountainous route which is very difficult and dangerous, as the Saracens are always seeking to ambush the Christians: they lie concealed in the caverns of the mountains and the caves of the rocks, on the lookout night and day for anyone they can easily attack, either pilgrims travelling in small bands or exhausted stragglers separated from their companions.<sup>133</sup>

What is clear is the perceived threat of attack from Muslim forces. Which was intensified due to the lack of armed forces as many crusaders went back to their homelands after the success of the First Crusade.<sup>134</sup> Leaving the Christians vulnerable.

### 3. *Establishment of the Hospitallers*

The Hospitallers had very similar origins to those of the Templars. According to William of Tyre they started because of trade and commerce and a desire to help pilgrims. He states that:

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<sup>130</sup> William Archbishop of Tyre. (1943) *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. New York: Columbia University Press, p.1066.

<sup>131</sup> Stavish, M. (2007). *Freemasonry: Rituals, Symbols & History of the Secret Society*. Minnesota: Llewellyn Publications, p.171.

<sup>132</sup> For instance see: Tyerman. *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, p.169 & Barber. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, p.6.

<sup>133</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.6. Also see Account by Daniel (Russian Abbot) – Cited in Barber, M. (1994). *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.6.

<sup>134</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.7.

Among those from the West who ventured at that time [Here William does not explicitly specify what time period he is referring] to go to the holy places for the purpose of trade, were certain men from Italy who were known as Amalfitani ... Faithful to the traditions of their fathers and the Christian profession, these merchants were in the habit of visiting the holy places whenever opportunity offered.<sup>135</sup>

Because of the frequency of their travels, William states that 'They had no house of their own at Jerusalem' in order to solve this problem they petitioned the Egyptian caliph for a piece of land.<sup>136</sup> Once this was granted:

... they built a monastery in honor [sic] of the holy and glorious mother of God ... [however] Since there was no place within the portals of the monastery where such pilgrims might be honourably received, the same pious men who had founded the monastery made a suitable provision for these people.<sup>137</sup>

It was because of this monastery built by the Amalfitani that resulted in the Hospitallers. As William outlines:

Since there was no one to offer shelter to the wretched pilgrims of our faith, thus afflicted and needy to the last degree, the holy men who dwelt in the monastery of the Latins in pity took from their own means and, within the space allotted to them, built a hospital for the relief of such pilgrims.<sup>138</sup>

While William's account lacks accurate dates, later scholars suggest a specific date range. For instance Nicholson dates the Hospitallers' origin in Jerusalem to the 1070s.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> William Archbishop of Tyre. (1943) *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.1717-1719.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.1719-1720.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1721.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p.1723.

<sup>139</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.2.

The Hospitallers hospital role makes them distinct from their Templar counterparts. This was because the Hospitallers were not established to undertake a combatant role.<sup>140</sup> Their sole primary function was to provide hospital care which is reflected in clause 16 of their rule which states that:

... when the sick man shall come there, let him be received thus, let him partake of the Holy Sacrament, first having confessed his sins to the priest, and afterwards let him be carried to bed ... as if he were a Lord.<sup>141</sup>

Problematic for scholars is dating exactly when the Hospitallers gained a military function.<sup>142</sup> For instance, Forey identifies a date range of 'between the 1120s and about 1160.'<sup>143</sup> Whereas Riley-Smith identifies that 'the military wing is to be found as early as 1126' and Nicholson dates their military role to the 'early 1140s'.<sup>144</sup> This lack of confidence in dating the Hospitallers' military function is because of the imprecision of the primary sources and related interpretive issues.<sup>145</sup> In any case, there was not one single moment of foundation for the Hospitallers unlike the Templars but rather a gradual evolution.

Why the Hospitallers undertook a military role is not exactly clear. As Riley-Smith argues:

The lack of evidence has led historians to a variety of what are little more than guesses on the reasons for the introduction of a military element into the Hospital. It has been suggested that the change was influenced by the founding of the Templars and motivated by jealousy of a powerful rival. It has been maintained that experiences in Spain and along the pilgrim routes in Palestine forced the Hospitallers to play a more warlike role. It has been argued that the step was reluctantly taken because of the real necessities in Latin Syria.<sup>146</sup>

Similarly Jonathan Phillips argues, 'Some have suggested that it was in response to the rise of the Templars, others interpret a military element as a natural extension of the Hospitallers' care for the poor

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<sup>140</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.19.

<sup>141</sup> "The Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem". *Blessed Gérard and his "everlasting brotherhood": The Order of St. John of Jerusalem*. (2015). Retrieved from <http://smom-za.org/rule.htm> – Consulted 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2017.

<sup>142</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.19.

<sup>143</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.18.

<sup>144</sup> Riley-Smith. *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, p.16; Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.13.

<sup>145</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.19.

<sup>146</sup> Riley-Smith. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*, p.54.

and pilgrims.<sup>147</sup> Barber and James Wasserman argue that the Templars would have had an impact on the military undertaking of the Hospitallers.<sup>148</sup> Alternatively, Forey states that 'it has been doubted whether the Templars were in any condition to arouse jealousy in the 1130s'.<sup>149</sup> He supports this by stating that 'it is known that in its early years the Temple gained little support and that some of its members had doubts about their vocation.'<sup>150</sup> Whilst we cannot be certain why the Hospitallers undertook a military role, the influence of the Templars combined with the necessity of armed forces in the East seem the most likely factors.

#### 4. *Recruits*

The military orders offered opportunities for a range of people to achieve some form of spiritual reward by action or association. Some were willing and able to become a fully professed member, while others from all social backgrounds could donate. This is important as the military orders did not just want to appear as elite orders. However, it is not always easy to establish the social backgrounds of many of their recruits.<sup>151</sup> This is because in many profession charters, such information was not always recorded. So unless the recruit was from a well-known or established family, then it is hard to pinpoint from which social class they were drawn. Although, Forey notes that 'the orders attracted comparatively few recruits from the ranks of the upper nobility ... [their main] recruitment [was] from the lesser nobility'.<sup>152</sup> Social position was more crucial for the Templars than the Hospitallers.<sup>153</sup> This is reflected in the fact that they recruited their future masters of the Templars from men of a high social status by first accepting them as members and then quickly moved them up the ranks to eventual master.<sup>154</sup> The logic behind this was that as men of a higher social status, they were likely to already have experience of leadership roles, however they may have been unexperienced in combat or leadership capabilities. Riley-Smith notes that 'the Templars tended to attract individuals of a slightly higher social status than

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<sup>147</sup> Phillips, J. (2002). *The Crusades: 1095-1197*. London: Longman, p.59.

<sup>148</sup> Barber. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, p.8 & Wasserman, J. (2001). *The Templars and the Assassins: The Militia of Heaven*. Vermont: Inner Traditions, p.157.

<sup>149</sup> Forey, A.J. (1984). The Militarisation of the Hospital of St. John. *Studia Monastica*. 26, pp.85-86.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p.86.

<sup>151</sup> Forey. Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries, p.143.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> Riley-Smith. *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, p.58.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*



did the Hospitallers.<sup>155</sup> But when examining the masters of the Hospitallers it is difficult to establish from what social stock they emanated.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, it could be that the Hospitallers attracted recruits of high status but the lack of evidence makes this hard to establish. As Nicholson notes, 'In the fourteenth century ... [the Hospitallers] appeared as an Order of nobility'.<sup>157</sup> For efficient running of the order, they had to recruit the laity as well as professed clergy.<sup>158</sup> The clergy was what provided part of the religious aspect to life in a military order by performing their religious duties within their order.<sup>159</sup>

### **Papal Privileges**

Papal privileges given to the military orders were an important step in establishing the military orders both in Christendom and the Holy Land. They ingrained the idea of the military order into the people of Christendom and made them accepted by the general population, particularly the laity, of which the orders were reliant upon for donations and support. The papal privileges for both orders were similar in what they offered, however they were given at different times. The Templars were first to receive their privileges in the papal bulls: *Omne datum optimum* (Every Perfect Gift) in 1139, *Milites Templi* (Soldiers of the Temple) in 1144 and *Militia Dei* (Soldiers of God) in 1145. Barber argues that these privileges 'underwrote the new order so unequivocally that henceforth doubts about the validity of the concept no longer found a place in the mainstream of thought in the western Church'.<sup>160</sup> Similarly, the Hospitallers received: *Pie postulation voluntatis* (The Most Pious Request) in 1113, *Quam amabilis Deo* (How Pleasing to God) in 1131 and *Christiana fidei religio* (The Christian Church Believes) in 1154. These represented an important milestone in the order's history because as Nicholson argues, 'by 1154 [the Hospitallers' privileges] had effectively freed it from the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem and of archbishops and bishops throughout Christendom'.<sup>161</sup> All privileges given to the military orders were crucial to the orders' survival.

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., p.59.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p.58.

<sup>157</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.82.

<sup>158</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders*, p.139.

<sup>159</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.81.

<sup>160</sup> Barber. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, p.56.

<sup>161</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.6.

## Conclusion

The establishment of the military orders was a unique fusion of a military and religious life. Which would have been inconceivable without the foundations that Pope Gregory VII laid in transforming the perception of the warrior and meaning of the term *milites Christi*, and the launching of the vocation of the crusader in the First Crusade by Pope Urban II. This sanctioned violence in the name of Christianity drew on inspiration that predated the eleventh century, and was legitimised by drawing on St Augustine's Just War theory. After the success of the First Crusade the Templars and Hospitallers were the first major military orders to become established, and secured through papal privileges, drawing their recruits/associates from a wide pool that varied in social status. Alongside the Templars and Hospitallers deriving their military aspects from their crusading counterparts, the orders drew their religious practices from existing religious orders which had also undergone dramatic change because of the Gregorian reform movement, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2 – History of Monasticism

### Introduction

The historical development of monasticism plays an important role in explaining the continual process of reform and renewal of the monastic life during the early and high Middle Ages. Examining the evolution of monasticism we can look at the changing nature and importance of the laity in relation to different eremitic and cenobitic groups. This chapter will not provide a narrative on the developments of all monastic orders, but rather look at how monasticism was affected and developed due to different factors and events. By starting off in the third century, which was dominated by groups and individuals focused on local communities, and ending up in the thirteenth century, which was dominated by large international communities, we can understand how this environment enabled the establishment of the military orders. Benedictine monasticism had a profound effect on Western European monasticism, and its grounding and spread can be credited to the Carolingian Empire. Later emerging from this was Cluny, the first independent and international religious order. Cluny then in turn inspired the Gregorian reform movement (c.1050-c.1085) which sought to increase papal power and in the process created a reform atmosphere which enabled numerous religious orders to emerge.

### Early Monasticism

Religious men of early Christianity drew inspiration from the Gospels. Particularly Matthew 4:1 which states: 'Then Jesus was led by the spirit into the desert', then later on in Matthew 19:21 Jesus answers a question about salvation with the response, 'If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me.'<sup>162</sup> This is what Hugh Lawrence argues 'launched many ascetics on their spiritual career'.<sup>163</sup> By the third century, seeking a more spiritual life would lead a group of Christians to venture into the Egyptian desert, to withdraw from the concerns of the world and out of the control of the Church hierarchy to live a self-

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<sup>162</sup> The Gospel According to Matthew 4:1. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from: [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew\\_4.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew_4.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017; The Gospel According to Matthew 19:21. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from: [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew\\_19.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew_19.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>163</sup> Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, p.2.

controlled religious life.<sup>164</sup> These people were lay men and women, instead of professed clerics.<sup>165</sup> By doing this they would be imitating Matthew 4:1 and Jesus' journey into the desert, gaining the name Desert Fathers, of which the most influential was St Anthony (c.251-356). The primary drive for this form of life was to move further towards God, and to achieve this they had to withdraw from the world where they could live more religiously.<sup>166</sup> Even from an early stage the laity were expressing an interest in living a religious life. Religious life here does not mean religious in a generic sense, but religious in the sense of following a specific vocation and pattern of life, which increasingly came to be institutionalised as time went on.

The first monastic communities emerged in the East after the hermits in the early fourth century, and sought the same mission as them, to engage the evils of the world, however they lived and practiced their religion as part of a community under the guidance of a rule and a leader.<sup>167</sup> The new cenobitic life was seen by some as a more pious pursuit. For example St Basil (330-379) criticised the eremitic life as he stated that 'the solitary life removed from all others has only one aim, that of serving the ends of the individual concerned'.<sup>168</sup> It was this individualistic tone that the cenobitic life wanted to eradicate, as St Basil also went on to say 'If you live alone, whose feet will you wash?'<sup>169</sup> By living as a religious community they could help each other to reap spiritual reward. These communities had lives that began to be defined by prayer and as such they eventually, because of the Christian commandment of 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself', began to offer prayers for those still living in the world.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Melville, G. (2016). *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*. (J. D. Mixson, Trans.) Minnesota: Liturgical Press. (Original work published 2012 – Consulted as Unpaginated EBook). Retrieved from:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=4573283>

<sup>165</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.1.

<sup>166</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Cited in Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, p.9.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid.

<sup>170</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.9 & Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life* & For commandment see: The Gospel According to Matthew 22:39. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew\\_22.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew_22.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

Two of the initial founders of different monastic communities were Pachomius (c.295-346), an Egyptian monk, and St Basil, a Christian bishop. While the former imitated the hermits of their distancing from the central Church the latter sought a closer relationship to it.<sup>171</sup> From this Gert Melville argues that 'Two formerly distinct spheres of influence now came into relationship with one another'.<sup>172</sup> Despite this, these two religious groups were reconciled in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon which gave bishops control of existing and future monasteries in their area.<sup>173</sup> From an early stage the life of a monk was recognised as devoutly spiritual and religious. For example an influential Eastern Church doctor, John Chrysostom (c.349-407), stated in the fourth century that:

Their work is the same as that of Adam, when in the beginning, before the Fall, clothed in majesty, he communed intimately with God in that most blessed land that he lived in. How could our monks be worse off than Adam before the Fall, since he was entrusted with the building of Paradise? He knew no worldly troubles. Nor do they know them. He came before God with a pure conscience. They do the same. Indeed, they approach God with even more trust, before they are blessed with greater grace by the Holy Spirit.<sup>174</sup>

Over the coming centuries in Western Europe, the cenobitic life would prove to be remarkably more favoured than the eremitical life. That is until the twelfth century.

### **Rule of St Benedict and the Carolingian Empire**

The rule of St Benedict provided monasticism in Europe with what would be a blueprint for new monastic foundations for most of the Medieval Age.<sup>175</sup> Although it originated around the sixth century, it still provided the bedrock of religious rules in later centuries.<sup>176</sup> Pope Gregory I (590-604) got the rule recognised in the West by his book: *Dialogues*. Benedict (c.480-550) himself was the head of a

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<sup>171</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Cited in Melville, G. (2016). *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*. (J. D. Mixson, Trans.) Minnesota: Liturgical Press. (Original work published 2012 – Consulted as Unpaginated EBook). Retrieved from:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=4573283>

<sup>175</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.17.

<sup>176</sup> Clark, J.G. (2011). *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.1. For a copy of the Rule see: "The Rule of Benedict - Regula Benedicti (RB)". *The Order of St Benedict*. (2001). Retrieved from <http://www.osb.org/rb/text/toc.html> – Consulted 25th July 2017.

monastery from Italy and much of what is known about him comes from *Dialogues*, due to its widespread circulation.<sup>177</sup> The singular mention of the rule comes in chapter thirty-six, which states:

He wrote a rule for his monks, both excellent for discretion and also eloquent for its style. If any be curious to know further of his life and conversation, he may understand all his manner of life and discipline in the institution of that rule for the holy man could not otherwise teach, than he himself had lived.<sup>178</sup>

The writings of Gregory came at a significant time for Europe, as Melville argues that ‘This phase of “discovery” of Benedict’s Rule, which lasted well into the eighth century, fell within a multifaceted and lively epoch of Latin monasticism. It was an age shaped by the brisk pace of new foundations’.<sup>179</sup> These ‘foundations’, or monastic communities, were appearing over Europe and needed a rule and St Benedict’s offered a good option.<sup>180</sup> However, the rule of St Benedict was not designed for religious orders so in the coming centuries it would provide only the outline for a rule.<sup>181</sup>

The Carolingian Empire provided the first widespread uptake of Benedict’s rule. James Clark argues that ‘Benedictine monasticism in early medieval Europe ... was a movement created by a deliberate and directed process of reform.’<sup>182</sup> This took place under the Carolingian Empire, which had territory that covered large parts of Western Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries, and at the heart of the Empire was a desire to place Christianity at the front of the conquered subjects psyche.<sup>183</sup> The spreading of the rule of St Benedict can be seen from the directives of Charlemagne and his successor, and the ultimate aim was to gain authority over domestic church institutions.<sup>184</sup> Aside from this personal aim, there was an additional one as outlined by Melville who states that ‘in view of the challenge of holding the empire together, the Carolingians had a political interest in having the most uniform rule

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<sup>177</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, pp.17-18.

<sup>178</sup> “Book Two of the *Dialogues*: Life of Saint Benedict - Chapter Thirty-Six: How Benedict Wrote a Rule for his Monks.” *The Order of St Benedict*. (2001). Retrieved from [http://www.osb.org/gen/greg/dia-38.html#P208\\_90533](http://www.osb.org/gen/greg/dia-38.html#P208_90533) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>179</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>180</sup> Ibid.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Clark. *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, p.30.

<sup>183</sup> Evans. *Christian Hermeneutics and Narratives of War in the Carolingian Empire*, pp.150-151.

<sup>184</sup> Clark. *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, p.35.

possible for their monasteries.<sup>185</sup> By having their monasteries under one rule they believed that there would be something in common holding the Empire together.

Europe was under threat from the eighth century onwards by numerous enemies which had calamitous results for monasticism in Western Europe.<sup>186</sup> The invasions resulted in damage to monasteries and abbeys, theft of property and terrifying monks.<sup>187</sup> All this undid the work that the Carolingian Empire had achieved in building up monasticism. As Lawrence argues, 'Before the end of the [ninth] century, regular monastic observance had almost disappeared'.<sup>188</sup> Therefore, there was a need for rebuilding the practice. Despite the Empire and monasteries being destroyed by invasions, there was a continual religious fertility in parts of the Empire for at least a century afterwards and this can be seen in the development of Cluny and the willingness to undertake the rule of St Benedict.<sup>189</sup>

### **The First Religious Order and the Gregorian Reforms**

The first major religious monastic order in the West was Cluny, which represents a major milestone in monastic history and Lawrence argues that 'Cluny stands in the tenth century for the restoration of Benedictine monastic life'.<sup>190</sup> Cluny was not the solitary monastery aiming to restore monasticism, but it proved to be the most prominent.<sup>191</sup> Described by one contemporary, Rudolf Glaber, thus: 'Know that of all monasteries in the Latin world Cluny's power to free souls from the power of demons is the strongest.'<sup>192</sup> The origins of Cluny is due to Duke William I of Aquitaine (893-918) in 910. The founding charter stated:

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<sup>185</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>186</sup> Ibid. Also see page 15 of this thesis.

<sup>187</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.73.

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., p.74.

<sup>189</sup> Clark. *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages*, p.40.

<sup>190</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.76.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid., pp.76-77.

<sup>192</sup> Cited in Melville, G. (2016). *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*. (J. D. Mixson, Trans.) Minnesota: Liturgical Press. (Original work published 2012 – Consulted as Unpaginated EBook). Retrieved from:

<https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/hud/detail.action?docID=4573283>

... desiring to provide for my own [spiritual] safety while I am still able, have considered it advisable - nay, most necessary, that from the temporal goods which have been conferred upon me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul ... and making the act not a temporary but a lasting one, I should support at my own expense a congregation of monks.<sup>193</sup>

The contents of this charter offers an insight into the mind of the founder. It demonstrates the laity's need for the reassurance that they would receive salvation, something which would continue to draw support for the coming centuries and provide a major motivation for association and donations to the military orders. In the later years of Cluny, it became a successful monastic order because of the eagerness of other lay donors which helped spread Cluny's monasteries.<sup>194</sup> Coinciding with the desire for personal salvation during the course of the tenth century was a drive of a section of church officials which aimed to restore monasticism to meet the demands of the laity.<sup>195</sup> Thus, there was a readily responsive audience for the Church to preach to alongside willing donors and founders of monasteries.

The process of Cluny becoming a religious order, from the roots of the single abbey that William had founded, happened in stages over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries and transformed monasticism. Firstly it acquired a network of abbeys across Western Europe that followed the Cluniac religious way of life and secondly it acquired a set of papal privileges which ultimately placed it as an independent organisation under the sole control of their abbot who answered to the pope.<sup>196</sup> It was one of these papal bulls, issued in 1024, which broke a tradition of the past as instead of the chain of monastery's being under the control of their secular patron it placed their institution under the control of the papacy.<sup>197</sup> This was the aim of William in the founding of Cluny as he wrote in the charter that 'those same monks there congregated shall be subject neither to our yoke, nor to that of our relatives, nor to

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<sup>193</sup> "Foundation Charter of Cluny, 910". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/chart-cluny.asp> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>194</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.85.

<sup>195</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>196</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.81.

<sup>197</sup> McWilliams, P.E. (2000). Cluniacs. In W. M. Johnson (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Monasticism - Volume 1 A-L*. London: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, p.312 & Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.81.



the sway of the royal might, nor to that of any earthly power.<sup>198</sup> This freedom from outside influence for the monasteries was something which was to become mainstream by the time of the establishment of the military orders.

The active role that the papacy had in establishing Cluny as a religious order gave the pope an increased confidence that was needed to lead the Gregorian reform movement.<sup>199</sup> As Lawrence argues, 'Cluny, by its idealism, its assertion of spiritual autonomy, and its constant appeal to papal protection, had helped create the necessary spiritual climate in which the reform movement could flourish'.<sup>200</sup> The papal reforms, later dubbed the Gregorian reforms, started in 1049 under the papacy of Leo IX (1049-1054) who was one of a group of clergy who wanted to stop the 'secularisation of ecclesiastical office'.<sup>201</sup> The Gregorian reform movement had many aims, with one being an increase in the power and position of the pope in the religious and secular world. This is reflected in the *Dictatus Papae* (Dictates of the Pope), a twenty-seven point document produced during the reform movement which clearly sets out the supremacy of the papacy. For example, the document contains the points, talking about the pope, that: 'he alone can depose or reinstate bishops'; 'that it may be permitted to him to depose emperors' and 'a sentence passed by him may be retracted by no one'.<sup>202</sup> It was from this reform movement that sparked a rapidly growing number of religious orders, and military orders, each following a monastic rule with the majority based on that of St Benedict that were to flourish in the next two centuries. The justification for such numerous monastic orders was to be found in John 14:2 which states that 'In my Father's house there are many mansions'.<sup>203</sup>

This emboldened nature and status that Cluny now held in the mid-eleventh century would prove to be its downfall. As Melville argues:

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<sup>198</sup> "Foundation Charter of Cluny, 910". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/chart-cluny.asp> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>199</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.82.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> "Gregory VII: Dictatus Papae 1090". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/g7-dictpap.asp> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>203</sup> The Gospel According to John 14:2. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from: [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/john\\_14.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/john_14.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

Cluny understood itself as *ecclesia*, as a monastic church that encompassed all of Christendom and that aimed to make all the world “bright and new” ... And within a Roman church that had now begun slowly to transform itself into an institution claiming to be the only mediator of salvation, there could be no other “light of the world” with claims to its own apostolic validity.<sup>204</sup>

With the aim of the Gregorian reforms seeking to increase papal power over the secular and religious world, there could be no religious competition that could rival their message. So, by the middle of the eleventh century the power and status of the papacy was increasing while the status of Cluny was decreasing, due to a combination of papal restraint and the competition of new forms of religious life that emerged from the reform movement.

### **Centuries of Reform**

Whilst the Gregorian reforms were directed and initiated by individuals, it was spurred on by changes in Western Europe that were beyond anyone’s control. This had the effect of changing the monastic landscape in dramatic ways, producing orders that went far beyond the basic eremitic and cenobitic monasticism of the fourth and fifth centuries. The first major factor that effected monasticism was a social change amongst the population which was spurred on by vast economic opportunities that started in the eleventh century and lasted until the thirteenth century which resulted in a population boom and urbanisation.<sup>205</sup> Ludovicus Milis argues that there was ‘a shift in the social status of the abbey founders ... [as] All through the eleventh and following centuries lower-ranking noble people ... spent money settling monks or nuns.’<sup>206</sup> This new class that could sponsor monasteries was because of the growing economic opportunities and this meant that more people could take steps to regard their spiritual welfare and settle new monastic houses, and Milis argues that ‘Benedictinism was select and entry therein difficult.’<sup>207</sup> Therefore, new alternatives had to be found. But this was good for monastic orders as they no longer had to rely on monarchs, or upper nobility for establishment of houses or donations.

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<sup>204</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>205</sup> Lawrence, C.H. (2013). *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*. London: I.B. Tauris, p.1.

<sup>206</sup> Milis, L.J.R. (1992). *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.64.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, p.65.

The second major factor to influence monastic reform was the rise in educational and literacy standards of the laity. By the 1150s literacy no longer belonged to the clergy, because of the economic rise at the turn of the century, well off trades men made sure their children were educated.<sup>208</sup> This change has led Lawrence to argue that 'the rise of an articulate town-dwelling laity in search of an inner spiritual life, and critical of the intellectual and moral shortcomings of the clergy, called in question the assumptions of monastic spirituality.'<sup>209</sup> This criticism of the clergy was fuelled by the Gregorian reform interest in works from the past. New translated ancient works from Greece and the Arab world resulted in theories that challenged the teachings of the Church.<sup>210</sup> Therefore traditional forms of monasticism could be criticised by a laity that could read, understand, and interpret ancient religious texts for themselves without the guidance of an official church representative. Lawrence argues that:

In the later decades of the twelfth century, new and radical forms of lay piety began to appear, which drew their inspiration from first-hand study of the New Testament. Literate lay people, whose minds were unencumbered by the tradition of allegorical exegesis, drew from the Bible fresh and more radical interpretations of the apostolic life.<sup>211</sup>

With the change and reform that monasticism underwent, credit can be given to the laity as well as to church officials.

### **Founding of New Orders**

By the end of the eleventh century, there was growing discontent with the current forms of monasticism on offer in Western Europe. Looking at Bernard of Clairvaux's (an early Cistercian) accusation aimed at Cluny, it shows that it was believed they had transformed a monastic life into a more profitable, monetary enterprise. He stated that:

... in the sight of the brethren reading in the cloister, what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing? What is that deformed beauty and that beautiful deformity? Those unclean monkeys? Those

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<sup>208</sup> Lawrence. *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*, p.9.

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.10-11.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

monstrous centaurs? Those huntsmen sounding their horns? Here are several bodies under a single head; there a quadruped with the head of a serpent; there a fish with the head of a quadruped ... on all sides one sees such a rich and amazing variety of forms that it is more pleasing to read the marbles than the manuscripts.<sup>212</sup>

This criticism aimed at the established monastic orders of the tenth and eleventh centuries reflects a shift in attitudes. As the grandeur expressed by the current monasteries were seen to be too extravagant, and thus begun a search for a more basic religious life.<sup>213</sup> The criticism aimed at Cluny by St Bernard was not an attack on the practice of monasticism, as Bernard himself was a member of a monastic community, but rather how Cluny undertook this vocation. Responding to these criticisms, Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) and Abbot Rupert of Deutz (1075-1130) defended Cluny. Peter said, 'We appeal to the life of the Primitive Church ... for what is the monastic life except what was then called the apostolic life?'<sup>214</sup> Whilst Rupert stated, 'If you will consult the evidences of the Scriptures, you will find that they all seem to say plainly that the Church had its beginning in the monastic life.'<sup>215</sup> In defending the 'monastic life' they both drew comparisons that were based in the past. This dissatisfaction with the current forms of monasticism coincided with the Gregorian reform strategy of trying to restore papal power by looking to the past in the hope of restoring the Primitive Church.<sup>216</sup> As Lawrence argues, 'The remote past had come alive again, and seemed to offer an inexhaustible fund of lessons for those who knew how to interpret it.'<sup>217</sup> This new literature combined with attitudes at the time about current monasticism meant that something had to change. As Melville argues:

... inherited forms of coenobitic [sic] life soon found themselves more and more in crisis. A revolution was imminent, one that would soon overshadow everything that to that point had been advanced in the name of reform. It was no longer a matter of merely improving what had been long established but of a completely new start ...<sup>218</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Cited in: Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, p.89.

<sup>213</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.146.

<sup>214</sup> Cited in: Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, p.125.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.125.

<sup>217</sup> Ibid.

<sup>218</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

This revolutionary tone was to be realised in the emergence of brand new forms of monastic life, culminating in numerous religious orders that each drew on history to influence their way of religious life.<sup>219</sup> Broadly speaking these new movements and orders of the twelfth century can be seen to have been influenced by either one or a combination of the following aspects of the past. Firstly, there were those which took inspiration from the hermitical style lived by the Desert Fathers, secondly, there were those inspired by the Apostles and wanted to live a life imitating them, lastly, there were those which wanted to live a basic life as outlined in the rule of St Benedict.<sup>220</sup>

### 1. *Canons Regular*

Of the first groups which sought inspiration from the Desert Fathers, two examples are the Carthusians (1084) and the Canons Regular (1039), the latter of which had a lasting impact on eremitical monasticism. The Canons Regular were an order consisting of clergy that reflected the life of the Apostles that emerged in the mid eleventh century.<sup>221</sup> They impacted on monasticism because they followed a brand new rule, albeit one that was rooted in the past and showed them how to live a life of an apostle.<sup>222</sup> This rule, of St Augustine, was a set of several rules produced by Augustine of Hippo in the fourth to fifth centuries and by the time of the Canons Regular they were compiled into a single document.<sup>223</sup> Lawrence argues that 'The Augustinian Rule influenced all subsequent thinking about the monastic life.'<sup>224</sup> The rule of St Augustine differed from that of St Benedict, because the former had a bigger focus on helping others.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.126.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.126-127.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p.137.

<sup>222</sup> *Ibid.*, p.138.

<sup>223</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>224</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.138.

<sup>225</sup> For a copy of the Rule see: "The Rule of St. Augustine". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/ruleaug.html> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017. For an example of the Rule focusing on helping others see chapter five – 'The Care of Community Goods and Treatment of the Sick.' For a difference on emphasis of the Augustinian and Benedictine Rules see page 73 of this thesis.

## 2. *The Cistercians*

The Cistercians (1098) mark the biggest transformation of cenobitic monasticism. This was because they wanted to repeal the reforms that had been made to monasticism over the years, in particular the expulsion of the frivolity and additions to the rule of St Benedict and instead go back to the word for word interpretation of the rule.<sup>226</sup> The basis for the Cistercians' success, of which other orders wanted to copy, was because of their constitution – the *Carta caritatis* (Charity Charter). They were the first order to possess such a document.<sup>227</sup> The constitution covers the strict following of the rule of St Benedict. It states that:

We wish henceforward and command them to observe the rule of St. Benedict in everything as it is observed in the New Monastery, and to understand it in no other sense than that which our pious forefathers of Citeaux have given to it and maintained ...<sup>228</sup>

The success and organisation of the order would prove to influence and provide a blueprint for other orders established at the time. This was because, as Melville outlines, 'The Cistercian model stood ready as a way to counterbalance any loss of leadership and to secure a lasting stability by way of statutes, authorities, and organizations – especially the general chapter'.<sup>229</sup> The Cistercians were unique in that associated monasteries were of equal status to the central monastery, Citeaux, and every monastery was regulated by visitations and governed by meetings of the general chapter where members of each abbey attended.<sup>230</sup> The Cistercian organisation was different in that it sought to alleviate the differences that each monastery had in the Cistercian network, this was made achievable by the lack of hierarchy with associated abbeys. The preface of *Carta caritatis* states that:

... in the intention of obviating rupture of mutual concord explained and ordered and transmitted to those to come after, the bond and manner, or rather the charity whereby their monks divided

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<sup>226</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.147.

<sup>227</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>228</sup> "The Cistercians: *Charta Caritatis*." *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://www.osb.org/cist/charta.html#Chap.2> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>229</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>230</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.157.

in the body in abbeys in different parts of the world, should be indissolubly banded together in spirit.<sup>231</sup>

It would be the Cistercians who would set an example about how useful the laity could be in performing the manual tasks to keep the monastery running, leaving the monks free to perform their spiritual obligations.<sup>232</sup> It was from this design that the Templars would take many of their own organisational features, and the military orders as a whole would use the laity. At the time of the emergence of the Templars, it coincided with the rise of one of the Cistercians' most charismatic figures of the twelfth century in Bernard of Clairvaux.<sup>233</sup> Who was to play a crucial role in shaping the Templars' rule.<sup>234</sup>

### 3. Mendicant Orders

Monasticism was to be taken a step further in the first half of the thirteenth century with the mendicant orders. The most dominant of these were the Dominicans (1216) and the Franciscans (1209), both drew inspiration from the Gospels.<sup>235</sup> The increase in literacy helped inspire the mendicant orders because they were able to read and interpret the Gospels for themselves and saw that to live a life of poverty and preach to the non-believers was an imitation of Jesus' life on earth.<sup>236</sup> The urbanisation that had been undertaken helped the spread of mendicant orders because in larger cities there was a larger degree of freedom and an allowance of critical thinking which was pushed on by the economic boom.<sup>237</sup> Lawrence argues that 'The orders of mendicant friars ... represented a new and

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<sup>231</sup> "The Cistercians: *Charta Caritatis*." *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <http://www.osb.org/cist/charta.html#Chap.2> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>232</sup> Burton, J. & Kerr, J. (2011). *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.5.

<sup>233</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.153.

<sup>234</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*, p.159.

<sup>236</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.195. For Gospel Inspiration see: The Gospel According to Matthew 19:21. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew\\_19.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/matthew_19.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017; The Gospel According to Luke 9:3. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/luke\\_9.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/luke_9.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017; The Gospel According to Luke 9:23. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/luke\\_9.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/gospel/luke_9.htm) – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

<sup>237</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.194.

revolutionary version of the religious life.<sup>238</sup> Core to their beliefs were: their income being received through begging, their refusal to hold wealth and rather than being in the cloister their preference was to interact with the public and preach the Gospel.<sup>239</sup> It are these characteristics which sets them apart from earlier orders. Furthermore, the mendicant orders were set apart from other religious orders because they operated in the world, rather than withdrawing into monasteries, which also has a direct parallel to the military orders.<sup>240</sup> There was no longer a need for a centralised house of an order where expansion of that said order could develop and eventually spread outwards as now the Dominicans and Franciscans were started by singular people without the need for lay benefactors.<sup>241</sup>

## Conclusion

The history of monasticism between the fourth and thirteenth centuries underwent dramatic change. Starting off as humble eremitic and cenobitic localised movements they were eventually to become large, international institutions. Whilst the rule of St Benedict influenced many of the emerging orders of the tenth to thirteenth centuries, the compilation of the rule of St Augustine challenged its domination and took its place in orders which sought to preach and live the Gospel. All this change by the turn of the twelfth century, spurred on by the Gregorian reform movement and changes in social and educational levels, meant that an environment emerged which was more open to spiritual experimentation. Pushed to its limits, this is from what the military orders emerged. The military orders were able to draw from existing religious practices, and one such characteristic was the offering of lay association which could take many forms which will be the focus of the following chapter.

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<sup>238</sup> Lawrence. *The Friars: The Impact of the Mendicant Orders on Medieval Society*, p.1.

<sup>239</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.192.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.



## Chapter 3 – Forms of Lay Association

### Introduction

The laity were vital to the military orders. As Forey points out, 'To function effectively, the military orders had to attract ... lay ... recruits ... [which] were required primarily for carrying out the orders' military and charitable functions and for administering property'.<sup>242</sup> Yet the impact of Templar and Hospitaller lay associates is an undervalued and under-researched area. The requirement of a deeper understanding of the lay associates and their importance lies with their presence in the military orders' Western residences. These were broken down to 'commanderies' for the Templars and 'provinces' for the Hospitallers, and by 1150 the associates and fully professed brothers and sisters were managing them.<sup>243</sup> This constituted a large responsibility for lay associates as the military orders' Western communities supplied their brothers in the East with the components necessary to keep up the crusade effort.<sup>244</sup>

There is historiographical agreement that different forms of lay association are not clearly identifiable. This stems from the fact that, as Bom argues, 'contemporary sources are not always clear in distinguishing among types of lay associates or between lay associates and fully professed members, calling all members brothers or sisters without specification of their commitment.'<sup>245</sup> Resulting from this is confusion amongst scholars and Schenk notes that:

The problem that has puzzled scholars the most is the distinction between (*con*)*fratres* and *donati* ... which some have regarded as simply synonymous but which others have maintained constituted two very distinct forms of lay association, the first being gradually replaced by the other.<sup>246</sup>

Riley-Smith, one of the first leading scholars on the military orders, is representative of the first viewpoint outlined by Schenk. Riley-Smith states that 'It is not always easy to distinguish them [*confratres* and

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<sup>242</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, p.139.

<sup>243</sup> Riley-Smith. *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, p.4.

<sup>244</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.147.

<sup>245</sup> Bom. *Women and the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.39.

<sup>246</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, pp.23-24.

*donati*], and at a later date they were merged almost into one form of association'.<sup>247</sup> Whereas Selwood, representing the second position outlined by Schenk, argues that the *donati* were a distinct category of the *confratres* (he specifically talks about men), set apart by their nobility.<sup>248</sup> Whilst scholars continue to discuss whether *confratres/consorores* and *donati/donatae* are completely different categories of lay association or the same, for the purposes of this dissertation they are held to constitute two distinct forms.

### Forms of Lay Association

Offering the laity forms of association in return for spiritual reward was existing practice in traditional religious orders.<sup>249</sup> Lay association of a monastic or military order allowed people to associate with it rather than becoming a fully committed member and giving up one's life in the secular world. Those looking to become a lay associate of the Templars or Hospitallers initially had a choice of becoming a *confratre* or a *consoror*, these are gender specific terms for male and female respectively, or developments in the late twelfth early thirteenth centuries led to a completely different option of becoming a *donati* or a *donatae*, again these are gender specific terms for male and female respectively. These two forms of lay association required different commitments and donations and gave different rewards, as the former (*confratre/consoror*) made annual donations in return for religious gain whilst the latter (*donati/donatae*) gave a one off donation but had the intention to eventually make a full profession.<sup>250</sup> Although when approaching the associate status of *confratre/consoror* in the primary sources, we must be careful. This is because, as Schenk outlines, 'The terminology that was used to describe lay associates and fully professed members of the Order[s] was ambiguous, with the terms *frater* and *confrater* being regularly used with reference to members of both groups.'<sup>251</sup> Therefore, confusing members and associates. There was an additional option available from the Templars on offer to secular knights, *miles ad terminum*. Whereby, in theory, knights could temporarily associate

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<sup>247</sup> Riley-Smith. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*, p.243.

<sup>248</sup> Selwood. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*, p.119.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, p.116.

<sup>250</sup> Bom. *Women and the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.39.

<sup>251</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p. 81.

themselves with the Templars, and fight on their behalf. Each person had their own personal reasons for choosing their associate status.<sup>252</sup>

### **Confratres/consorores**

Becoming a *confratre/consoror* was the easiest way of associating with a military order. Stemming from the fact that one could associate with an order provided, according to Schenk, 'that the candidate was of free birth and had material assets at his or her disposal.'<sup>253</sup> Material goods were required due to the need of a donation to the order, which implies that prospective associates had to be of some social standing in order to possess material possessions.<sup>254</sup> But association was open to people of a lower standing, which is reflected in donations of money, oneself or labour.

The use of *confratre/consoror* as a form of lay association by the military orders was used almost immediately, and throughout, their histories.<sup>255</sup> Specifically labelling the types of lay association that the Templars and Hospitallers could have does not seem to have been a priority by the founders of the orders. For instance, there is no mention of lay association in either military orders rule and upon granting them the ability to accept lay associates there was no attempt to differentiate the forms that it could take. Granting of lay association was in their papal bulls. The papal bull *Christianae fidei religio* (1154) explicitly allowed the Hospitallers to accept laymen for it stated, 'we are also required to give you the power to take the free laity in your society to the restrictions of the poor without anyone's objection.'<sup>256</sup> The Templars received similar conformation with the papal bull *Milites Templi* (1144) which stated that:

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<sup>252</sup> See chapter 5 on Reasons for Lay Association, pages 82-94 of this thesis.

<sup>253</sup> Schenk. Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple, p. 81.

<sup>254</sup> For a comparison between Medieval wages and how much items costed see page 88 of this thesis.

<sup>255</sup> For the Templars: Schenk. Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple, p.81. For the Hospitallers: Riley-Smith. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*, p.242.

<sup>256</sup> "The second director of the Hospital Community: Raymond du Puy". *Blessed Gérard and his "everlasting brotherhood": The Order of St. John of Jerusalem*. (2016). Retrieved from [http://blessed-gerard.org/bgt\\_1\\_4.htm](http://blessed-gerard.org/bgt_1_4.htm) – Consulted 11<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

... whoever helps them [Templars] out from his own resources, accumulated through God, and becomes a member of this most holy brotherhood, granting it benefices annually ... we will grant him an indulgence of the seventh part of any penance imposed on him.<sup>257</sup>

But the bulls fail to explicitly state the specifics of donations or what form lay association could take, so it appears that lay associates initially became *confratres/consorores*. Lacking clarity, donations differed in quality and quantity as well as differing spiritual rewards associates would get as a result.<sup>258</sup> For instance there were *confratres/consorores* that contributed yearly and received the brother's prayers, whereas others donated everything they owned and co-habited alongside the brothers of the military order.<sup>259</sup> The disproportionate size of donations and rewards proved controversial and, as Nicholson outlines, 'There were often complaints that such associates [those not cohabitating] were claiming the legal privileges of the Order without actually being members'.<sup>260</sup>

Impacting on *confratre/consoror* as a form of lay association was the Third and Fourth Lateran Council. It was not always compulsory upon association to live within the confines of the local community, as someone could choose to still live at their own residence. Thus there were suspicions that people were only associating with military orders to gain spiritual rewards without being fully committed to a life of repentance. Such concerns were to be met with the two canons, one from both the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils. These Councils, argues Schenk, 'must have caused many existing and most prospective *confratres* to consider or re-consider the spiritual value of their commitment to the Temple.'<sup>261</sup> It must be noted that both canons only talk exclusively about male associates. Canon 9 of the Third Lateran Council stated:

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<sup>257</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.65.

<sup>258</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, pp.81-82.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>260</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.85.

<sup>261</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, p.56.

Concerning the *confratres* we herewith decree that if they have not rendered themselves completely to the brothers, but remain the owners of their own possessions, they must not, for that reason, be in any way exempt from the judicial sentences of bishops.<sup>262</sup>

This canon provides an excellent insight into the attitudes and understanding of *confratres* as it shows that there were two types of *confratres*, those with belongings in the secular world and those without who had submerged themselves completely into the military order, however both were grouped under the same name.<sup>263</sup>

Building on this, canon 57 of the Fourth Lateran Council tried to segregate and reward those *confratres* who had given up the secular world in favour of a life living in a military order. The canon stated:

*Confratres* we understand, on the one hand, to be they who, while living in the world, have offered themselves to an order by means of abandoning their secular habit; on the other hand we also understand them to be they who have vifgaged their possessions to an order to live off the usufruct as long as they remain in this world.<sup>264</sup>

The implications of these canons had a profound effect on those wishing to become a *confratre/consoror*. Now there were two categories within this type of association and only those who surrendered their belongings and dwelled within the community could receive substantial spiritual benefits whereas, those wanting to just make a large donation, whilst still living in the secular world, and receive the same benefits, were to be refused entry into a confraternity.<sup>265</sup> Thus it is because of these doubts surrounding the standing of the *confratre/consoror* that certain historians have argued that *confratres/consoroeres* were replaced by *donati/donatae*.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.56.

<sup>263</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, p.57.

<sup>264</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.57.

<sup>265</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, pp.57-58.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

The ceremony for associating with either the Temple or the Hospital was largely the same, as shown by the evidence for the admission of Peter Alazardi who entered into a confraternity in France in 1237. The charter is as follows:

I Peter Alazardi, guided by the spirit of God, wishing to participate in the benefits of the house of the Temple of Solomon, give, render, and offer myself as a *confrater* in spirit to Lord God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, to the house of the knighthood of Pézenas, and to you, lord brother Peter Ferrier, preceptor of this house, and your successors. I promise that in good faith and to the best of my abilities I will always be faithful and useful to you fully and wholly.

And we, brother Peter Ferrier, witnessing and recognising your, Peter Alazardi's, good-will and aspiration, with the counsel of our brothers and guided by the love of God and piety, accept you, the said Peter Alazardi, as *confrater*. And we give and concede to you spiritual partnership and complicity in all goods which either have been or will be made to the house of the knighthood of the Temple or to any of its dependencies, on this side or on the other side of the sea.

And I, the aforementioned Peter Alazardi, choose my burial in the cemetery of Our Lady of Pézenas. And, for the love of God and guided by piety and mercy, and for the redemption of my soul and the souls of my wife and my kin, I give to you, lord brother Peter Ferrier, and to all brothers of the house of Pézenas, 100 sous in money from Melgueil and one piece of land, which I hold from you and of which the lordship is yours, and the *tasque* [a levy imposed on the harvest] that you have there. The two deniers and the land mentioned above I want you to have at the end of my days, not before. And I, Peter Alazardi, promise never to act against these arrangements; and thus I swear in person on these holy Gospels.<sup>267</sup>

This charter represents a formulaic way of setting out one's profession and, as will be demonstrated later on, they all follow a similar pattern. There are no insights into the individual's motivation as to why

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<sup>267</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2008). Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 34(1), p.87.

specifically they were moved to join or associate with the orders. Instead we have to extrapolate similar patterns of religious motives across the charters.

### ***Donati/donatae***

Lay associate status of *donati/donatae* was slightly different to that of *confratre/consoror*, as Bom argues that they differed because '*donats* ... had the serious intent of joining the order as fully professed brothers or sisters at a later date.'<sup>268</sup> It is this genuine intention of wanting to eventually join the order that made the *donati/donatae* a new distinct category. Additionally *donati/donatae* associates of an order are sometimes distinguishable in the primary sources because in their profession charter they explicitly offered themselves 'body and soul', whereas other candidates omitted this from their association.<sup>269</sup> Whilst Bom identifies this singular difference, Riley-Smith identifies three areas in which the *donati/donatae* differed from the *confratres/consorores*. He states that donats 'were of noble birth, had the definite intention of entering the Order and were received at a slightly different ceremony.'<sup>270</sup> Unlike the term *confratres/consorores*, the use of *donati/donatae* does not appear to have been used from an early stage.<sup>271</sup> Rather it seems to have been developed over time, perhaps influenced by the Third and Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>272</sup> With the Third Lateran Council effecting the appeal of a *confratre/consoror*, the military orders sought a new terminology to differentiate the types of associates.

Yet just because the terminology was new, that is not to say that lay associates which fit the description of the *donati/donatae* joined as *confratres/consorores* before the Lateran Councils.<sup>273</sup> The following profession charters fit the description of a *donati/donatae* profession, that is offering their bodies and souls, yet they did so before the possible effects of the Lateran Councils. For instance a charter from c.1145 stated, 'I, lord Otardo, bequeath ... my body and my soul' and again a charter in

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<sup>268</sup> Bom. *Women and the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.66.

<sup>269</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.90.

<sup>270</sup> Riley-Smith. *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, 1050-1310*, pp.244-245.

<sup>271</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.90.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.93-94.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, p.91. As stated on page 50 of this thesis, little attempt was made to specify types of lay association.

1169 stated 'I, Raymond of Albas ... [give] my soul, my body and all my honour'.<sup>274</sup> Yet because of the lack of clear associate definitions, all lay associates initially associated with a military order in the form of a *confratre/consoror*.<sup>275</sup> As again in 1151 Bernard Sesmon, in his profession charter, clearly stated the eventual donation of himself to the Templars. It reads:

... if I will change my life, I will render myself to the blessed knighthood or I will, with the counsel of the brothers of this knighthood, provide for the cure of my soul. And if it should occur that I die while still being occupied with mundane affairs, they will receive me as a brother and carry my body to a place that they consider suitable for my burial; and they will make me a participant in their alms and benefices.<sup>276</sup>

Again a man of unknown status, called Giles, sought association to the Templar community in Douzens. The following is a charter of his commitment to the Templars in 1169 which clearly demonstrates his commitment to the Templars:

... for the love of God and the soul of my mother, and for the remission of my sins and the souls of my kin ... give myself, meaning my body and soul, in death and in life, freely and without pressure, ... I give myself and my entire honor [sic] to the holy knighthood of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.<sup>277</sup>

Associating as *donati/donatae* had the aim of developing a close emotional and religious connection to the orders.<sup>278</sup> The *confratres/consoroeres* were loosely attached to the military order, yet a *donati/donatae* was more closely aligned and as such they were required to obey the orders' master as well as following their rule and regulations.<sup>279</sup> Furthermore the *donati/donatae* could choose to either stay in their residence or reside within their local commandery, and only make their full profession before they died.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.163; Ibid., p.164.

<sup>275</sup> Schenk. Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple, p.92.

<sup>276</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2008). Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 34(1), p.92.

<sup>277</sup> Ibid., p.93.

<sup>278</sup> Schenk. Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple, p.92.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid., p.90.

<sup>280</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.85.



After the Third Lateran Council definitions of lay association were beginning to be defined. As a result the *donati* may have been one such product as canon lawyers were beginning to draw up guidelines for the religious to categorise their associates.<sup>281</sup> By the late thirteenth century it was a commonly used phrase. For instance in 1277, Stephen Anquer professed that 'by divine inspiration, wishing to be a donat in spirit of the venerable knighthood of the Temple at Pézenas ... I give and offer myself to Lord God'.<sup>282</sup> That is not to say that once the term *donati/donatae* was established it supplanted the *confratre/consoror* association, rather they complemented each other.<sup>283</sup> This is clear in the case of the husband and wife association Grimald and Aiglina, who in their profession in 1234 stated, 'both of us, at the same time, have been received ... as *confratres* and donats of the house of the knighthood of the Temple'.<sup>284</sup> Additionally in 1264 William Belletus stated that 'wishing to participate in the benefits of the house of the knighthood of the Temple of Pézenas, [I] give, surrender and offer myself in spirit as donat and *confrater* to the said house of the Temple'.<sup>285</sup> Thus clearly demonstrating that both terms were in use and shows that the *donati/donatae* did not replace the *confratres/consorores*.

The creation of the category of *donati/donatae* may well have been influenced by the ceasing of the novitiate. Which was a trial period for possible recruits where the military orders could test the candidate and see if they would be a satisfactory fit for their life.<sup>286</sup> Whilst also providing the candidate an insight into the order. This was because it allowed the recruit a period of time where they could see if they could adapt to the life, particularly the religious demands, that the military orders demanded.<sup>287</sup> Historians are in agreement that the ceasing of the novitiate was because of their military commitment in the Holy Land. For instance, Forey outlines that 'Most of the military orders at times suffered heavy

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<sup>281</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, p.62.

<sup>282</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2008). Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 34(1), p.94.

<sup>283</sup> For Templars See: Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, pp.59-60.

<sup>284</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2008). Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple. *Journal of Medieval History*. 34(1), p.94.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Forey (1986). Novitiate and Instruction in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. *Speculum*. 61(1) p.17.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid., p.7.

defeats, and the need to restore numbers as quickly as possible appears in some instances to have been an influence in bringing about the decline or disappearance of the novitiate.<sup>288</sup>

The military engagements of the military orders resulted in heavy losses on the battlefield, and a need emerged to replace fallen members quickly. For instance the battle of Hattin (1187) had serious consequences for the forces of the military orders, as well as consequences for the Holy Land, which ultimately resulted in the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin. During this battle, as Phillips argues, 'The Franks drew together almost the entire military strength of the kingdom of Jerusalem: the Military Orders put forward about 600 knights while only skeleton garrisons remained in the towns and castles.'<sup>289</sup> Because the Christians lost this fight, these six hundred warriors contributed by the military orders were killed and executed which created problems as these warriors made up much of the military orders' fighting force based in the East. A trader, present in the Holy Land at the time of Hattin, sent a letter to the pope stating that 'the knights of the Temple were hemmed in and slaughtered.'<sup>290</sup> An account in the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* (Pilgrim Journey), provides an outline of the fate of the military orders. It states that Saladin 'ordered that all the Templars be beheaded, except the Master of the Knighthood. He decided to have them utterly exterminated because he knew that they surpassed all others in battle.'<sup>291</sup> From this we can judge that the military orders by the Third Crusade (1189-1192) had established themselves in the Levant, and had a reputation as a formidable military force. Although they both talk about the butchering of the Templars, we can apply the same reputation for the Hospitallers as we know that they played a military role.<sup>292</sup> This is because the trader, described earlier, mentioned that 'The knights of the Temple and Hospital were immediately separated from the others and decapitated before Saladin'.<sup>293</sup> This was not the only battle where the military orders suffered heavy casualties. About thirty

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<sup>288</sup> Ibid., p.9.

<sup>289</sup> Phillips. *Holy Warriors: A Modern History of the Crusades*, p.126.

<sup>290</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2010). *Letters From the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Surrey: Ashgate, p. 82.

<sup>291</sup> Nicholson, H. (2001). *The Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricard*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.34.

<sup>292</sup> See pages 28-31 of this thesis.

<sup>293</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2010). *Letters From the East: Crusaders, Pilgrims and Settlers in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. Surrey: Ashgate, p. 83.

years after the Templars were formed the Templar seneschal sent a letter (c.1149) to their master informing him that 'Many of those who were in our army are dead'.<sup>294</sup>

For this reason it is likely that the period of adjustment was removed to replenish fallen brothers.<sup>295</sup> Removing this period of adjustment for prospective members must have put people off wanting to commit themselves to a military order without knowing if they were suited to the life of the military orders. Therefore, creating the lay associate form of the *donati/donatae*, could have been done to replace the novitiate. As Schenk states:

For the Templars the introduction of the donat as a particular status within the Order had the advantage that they were able to attract the interest, benevolence and support of people who were interested in Templar life but ... were reluctant to join or who were merely interested in the religious aspects of Templar life.<sup>296</sup>

Replacing the novitiate with the *donati/donatae* could allow possible associates to have a relationship with the military orders which would allow them a period of time whereby they could get accustomed to the life of a military order.

### ***Miles ad terminum***

*Miles ad terminum* was one other form of lay association, but this was open for knights. The first to undertake such an association was Fulk of Anjou (1092-1143) who, according to an English chronicler, 'stayed there [in the Holy Land] for a time [in 1120] as an associate of the knights of the Temple'.<sup>297</sup> Yet although this form was temporary, Selwood argues that 'The *miles ad terminum* was [still classed as] a knight of the Order. He did not rank as a full knight brother, not having taken the

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<sup>294</sup> Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>295</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.85.

<sup>296</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.100.

<sup>297</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.55.

seven vows of a Templar, but he was a knight brother.<sup>298</sup> This form of association was covered in the Templar rule, which stated:

We order all knights wishing to serve Jesus Christ in purity of heart in the same house for a fixed period to buy in good faith suitable horses, arms and whatever else is necessary for such a daily occupation. Afterwards we have thought useful and good that the horses should be valued by each side, in order to be fair.

The price arrived at should then be committed to writing so as not to be forgotten, and with brotherly love should be provided whatever is necessary for the knight, his horses and his squire, including horse shoes, from the house according to its resources.<sup>299</sup>

What can be established is that the knight had to provide all his equipment and personnel. Yet the daily upkeep for the knight, his squire and horses were to be provided for by the local house with which they associated themselves. Although this form of association was theoretically temporary, Schenk questions this by arguing:

Many of the knights who dedicated their lives to the Temple for a limited period of time must have done so with a long-term commitment to the Order in mind ... [as] it was not unusual for men who had initially been employed by the Templars to join the Order eventually.<sup>300</sup>

In the following chapters, *miles ad terminum* will not feature prominently because as Forey argues, 'By the middle years of the twelfth century ... temporary service may have been of declining significance'.<sup>301</sup>

## Conclusion

Someone looking to associate with a military order there were three options. Initially, one could opt for the simple lay associate status of *confratre/consoror*. This required little commitment from the candidate and could reap spiritual rewards with a simple donation. However, this form of association

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<sup>298</sup> Selwood. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*, p.120.

<sup>299</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.43.

<sup>300</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.101.

<sup>301</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.55.

was shaken with the judgements passed by the Third and Fourth Lateran Council. These decisions began a categorisation and hierarchical structure imposed for the military orders on *confratres/consorores*. It was around this time that the form of association of *donati/donatae* was beginning to be used, and they differed because they had a serious intent of eventually becoming a full member. Although this form of association may not have been new, the results of the Lateran Councils now had a terminology for the differing commitments offered by the associates. Lastly, there was the option of *miles ad terminum*. This was an option open for knights wishing to temporarily become members of the Templars and gain spiritual rewards. *Consoror* and *donatae* was used throughout, alongside the male term, because these were two forms of lay association that were on offer to women. Women could prove to be valuable assets for the military orders to acquire, as will be shown in the next chapter. Regardless of gender the main factor for the success of the military orders was the laity.

## Chapter 4 – Women and the Military Orders

### Introduction

The examination of lay support that women offered towards the military orders is a drastically under-researched area. This is surprising as women, in particular their donations and familial influence, were a vital resource in keeping the military orders active in the Holy Land. Donating to these orders provided women, argues Nicholson, with a 'means of supporting the Catholic Christian cause'.<sup>302</sup> The social position of women in medieval society helps explain this desire to donate. Medieval attitudes towards gender defined clearly gender specific roles. Women could not get involved in defending the Holy Land directly, as fighting was a male vocation, especially towards the end of the twelfth century, as it became a more professional undertaking and the presence of women on the journey to the Levant was restricted. Initially the early crusades had included large numbers of women, but this had been deemed problematic for various reasons.<sup>303</sup> Examining how women were viewed more broadly in this period helps explain female involvement in crusading and in other religious movements of the time. While the rules of the Hospitallers and Templars suggest that the military orders were entirely unreceptive towards women, they could become lay associates of the orders.

The historiography of the crusades has over the past two decades been focusing, in part, on gender and how women's roles fitted into this largely male dominated venture. This examination has highlighted that until the Third Crusade women participated with the crusades, albeit not with the fighting. The perceived masculinity of the crusades has been fuelled by the scholarship that has focused on the male adventures undertaken during the crusades whilst neglecting or rejecting the importance of women. Nicholson is correct in asserting that 'Modern readers could be forgiven for assuming that women could have no role in the crusades', however recent works especially those by Natasha Hodgson, has shed new light onto the opportunities that were open to women.<sup>304</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Nicholson. *Women's Involvement in the Crusades*, p. 63.

<sup>303</sup> Hodgson. *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, pp.3-4.

<sup>304</sup> Nicholson. *Women's Involvement in the Crusades*, p. 54; Hodgson, N. (2001). The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the *Gesta Francorum* and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade. In S. B. Edgington & S. Lambert (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades* (pp. 163-176). Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Whilst women have now been acknowledged as an important part of crusading history, the debate has shifted from female involvement, or not, to focus on what exactly it was that women did in aid of the crusade effort.<sup>305</sup> Part of this debate is over whether women were just, as Christoph Maier puts it, 'washerwomen, cooks or prostitutes' or whether there was such a thing as 'fighting female crusaders'.<sup>306</sup> Sparsner still is scholarship on women's relationships to the military orders. Whilst women could become lay associates of both the Hospitallers and Templars, women could not join the Templars, but they could join the Hospitallers. Bom has written a monograph focused on women in the military orders, but it only contains a chapter of about ten pages on lay female association with the Hospitallers, and the author notes herself that there is still an inadequate level of attention to this issue.<sup>307</sup> Additionally, the Templars and their female associates have also received little attention; the main study of female lay association, with the Templars, written by Schenk, contains only six pages.<sup>308</sup> While the main focus of this chapter is the importance that female lay associates held, there will be an examination of women and the military orders more generally, as Bom argues that 'contemporary sources are not always clear in distinguishing among types of lay associates or between lay associates and fully professed members, calling all members brothers or sisters without specification of their commitment.'<sup>309</sup> So there is the possibility of some cross over between lay associates and sisters, and it is worthwhile outlining the relationship between women and the crusades more generally.

### **Medieval Women and their Engagement with the Crusades**

Gender was a key form of categorization in the medieval period.<sup>310</sup> In order to understand the position of women in relation to the military orders it is necessary to understand the social standing of women and their perception by men at the time, as the vast majority of writing about women was created

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<sup>305</sup> Nicholson. *Women on the Third Crusade*, p.336.

<sup>306</sup> Maier, C.T. (2004). *The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey*. *Journal of Medieval History*. 30(1), p.68; *Ibid.*, p.69.

<sup>307</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.65-75.

<sup>308</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, pp.177-182.

<sup>309</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.39.

<sup>310</sup> Lambert, S. (2001). *Crusading or Spinning*. In S. B. Edgington & S. Lambert (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.1.

by male clerics.<sup>311</sup> At the heart of medieval thought stood the ideal of a difference between the two genders, and that females were the weakest sex.<sup>312</sup> This perceived difference created a social gender hierarchy, because of the belief of men's superiority over women they were at the top of this hierarchy.<sup>313</sup> This ideal was inspired by works from the ancient Greeks and Romans.<sup>314</sup> These ancient civilisations gave the medieval world their view on masculinity and femininity, which was driven by biological differences between the sexes.<sup>315</sup> Inspired by ancient thought, the medieval world believed that men, because of their genitalia, were more prone to 'rational thought and action', whereas women's perceived constant sexual desire made them weak and led men astray.<sup>316</sup> These classical ideas then came to be blended with religious ones as a temptress image of women is portrayed in the Bible. During a conversation between Adam and God, God said to Adam, 'thou hast eaten of the tree whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?' to which Adam replied, 'The woman [Eve], whom thou gavest me to be my companion, gave me the tree, and I did eat.'<sup>317</sup> This portrays Adam breaking an order given to him by God, under the influence of Eve, and this then justified the gender hierarchy as women could not be allowed positions of authority – Eves actions proved this. For instance Isidore of Seville (560-636), an early prominent Christian scholar, stated that 'Women are under the power of men because they are frequently spiritually fickle. Therefore, they should be governed by the power of men.'<sup>318</sup> Although these differences between men and women are not found in the Bible. Galatians states that 'there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.'<sup>319</sup> In theory men and women were spiritually equal but in practice this was not the case.

Contemporary scholars and crusade chronicles allows an insight into perceptions of gender and roles. The problem with this is that female experiences were recorded by men which means that

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<sup>311</sup> Hodgson. *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*, p.3.

<sup>312</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.7.

<sup>313</sup> Murray, J. (1996). Hiding Behind the Universal Man. In V. L. Bullough & J. A. Brundage (Eds.) *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*. London: Garland Publishing, Inc, pp.126-127.

<sup>314</sup> Salisbury, J.E. (1996). Gendered Sexuality. In V. L. Bullough & J. A. Brundage (Eds.) *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*. London: Garland Publishing, Inc, p.82.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, p.85.

<sup>316</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.85-87.

<sup>317</sup> Genesis 3:11-12. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/genesis\\_3.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/genesis_3.htm) – Consulted on 11<sup>th</sup> June 2017.

<sup>318</sup> Cited in Salisbury, J.E. (1996). Gendered Sexuality. In V. L. Bullough & J. A. Brundage (Eds.) *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*. London: Garland Publishing, Inc, p.85.

<sup>319</sup> The Epistle of Paul to the Galatians 3:28. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/nt/epistle/galatians\\_3.htm](http://vulgate.org/nt/epistle/galatians_3.htm) – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.



women were gendered into certain roles and as possessing certain characteristics.<sup>320</sup> As Michael Evans points out:

Women are usually described by crusade chroniclers in stereotypical female roles, notably those of washerwoman or prostitute; when they take on the supposedly 'male' role of warrior, they are presented as 'honorary men' fighting 'manfully' in spite of the disadvantage of their sex.<sup>321</sup>

This is due to the gender hierarchy and the necessity of identifying exceptional women as masculine, otherwise they could challenge the notion of female inferiority. Representing women acting as men was William of Tyre who, writing about the First Crusade, stated that 'Even women, regardless of sex and natural weakness, dared to assume arms and fought manfully, far beyond their strength.'<sup>322</sup> The medieval period, including the way history was written, was very masculine often at the oversight of female contributions.

The call for the First Crusade was originally designed as an exclusively male venture, particularly knights. As evident by Pope Urban II who, according to Robert the Monk (1047-1122), stated that:

Whoever, therefore, shall determine upon this holy pilgrimage, and shall make his vow to God to that effect, and shall offer himself to him for sacrifice, as a living victim, holy and acceptable to God, shall wear the sign of the cross of the Lord on his forehead or on his breast.<sup>323</sup>

This speech reflects the attitude of the crusade as a male venture, as it does not contain any female pronouns. But this is not surprising as medieval women, as a social norm, were not expected to undertake such a military venture. However, it should be noted that women frequently went on

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<sup>320</sup> The main scholar on this research is: Hodgson. *The Role of Kerbogha's Mother in the Gesta Francorum and Selected Chronicles of the First Crusade*, p.164. See also Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.176.

<sup>321</sup> Evans, M.R. (2001). 'Unfit to Bear Arms': The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade. In S. B. Edgington & S. Lambert (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.45.

<sup>322</sup> William Archbishop of Tyre. (1943) *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp.337-338.

<sup>323</sup> "Urban II: Speech at Clermont 1095 (Robert the Monk version)". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/urban2a.html> – Consulted 11th June 2017.

pilgrimages to holy places during the early medieval period.<sup>324</sup> Urban's intention was to combine pilgrimage with a military campaign, thus turning it into a male only undertaking (in theory). This is reflected by Fulcher of Chartres who describes the scenes of soldiers departing for the Holy Land during the First Crusade, he states that:

Then husband told wife the time when he expected to return, assuring her that if by God's grace he survived he would come back home to her. He commended her to the Lord, kissed her lingeringly, and promised her as she wept that he would return. She though, fearing that she would never see him again, could not stand but swooned to the ground, mourning her loved one whom she was losing in this life as if he were already dead.<sup>325</sup>

Two themes can be drawn from this: firstly it shows that men went off to fight in the crusades while women stayed behind. Secondly it portrays the men showing off their bravery by going on crusade while the women were uncontrollably expressing their emotions. These two distinct differences of the genders are important as without this depiction of the uncontrollable emotions of women, contrasted against the heroic nature of men, the male experience would be undermined.<sup>326</sup> Arthenus, a man of noble decent, stated in 1188 that 'This is man's work we are undertaking, the advice of women is not required.'<sup>327</sup> This stance of the crusades as a manly venture is reflective of attitudes of the early architects of the crusades, notably the papacy, with women having no input as it was thought they could hinder the crusade effort.<sup>328</sup> This perceived hindrance was coupled with the temptress idea of women. Crusaders had to remain abstinent whilst on crusade as refusal to do so could have a damaging effect on the crusade, and by having women present they could lead the men astray from their holy path resulting in a negative impact on the crusade.<sup>329</sup>

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<sup>324</sup> Lambert. *Crusading or Spinning*, p.5.

<sup>325</sup> Tyerman, C. (2012). *Chronicles of the First Crusade, 1096-1099*. London: Penguin, p.97.

<sup>326</sup> Lambert. *Crusading or Spinning*, p.2.

<sup>327</sup> Cited in Hodgson, N.R. (2007). *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.1.

<sup>328</sup> Rousseau, C.M. (2001). Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221). In S. B. Edgington & S. Lambert (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.31.

<sup>329</sup> Nicholson. *Women's Involvement in the Crusades*, p. 54.

Despite the advertisements of the First Crusade for men, this did not stop women participating and travelling with the crusaders. The *Gesta Francorum* (Exploits of the Franks), a chronicle of the First Crusade, tells of a female presence amongst crusaders. It states that 'The women in our camp were a great help to us ... for they brought up water for the fighting men to drink, and gallantly encouraged those who were fighting and defending them.'<sup>330</sup> The presence of women did not dramatically reduce until the late twelfth century as evident in the Third Crusade chronicle the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*:

A great many men sent each other wool and distaff, hinting that if anyone failed to join this military undertaking they were only fit for women's work. Brides urged their husbands and mothers incited their sons to go, their only sorrow being that they were not able to set out with them because of the weakness of their sex.<sup>331</sup>

The impression gained from this is twofold. Firstly it shows that those men who did not go on crusade or were reluctant were not undertaking man's work, thus trying to effeminise and shame them into action. Secondly it implies that women could not go on crusade because they were perceived to be weak, but they should try to persuade their male counterparts to go. By the late twelfth century in order to stop women participating in the crusades, there was an attempt to expand the crusade movement in the West to stop women travelling with the crusaders whilst feeling that they were contributing.<sup>332</sup> That is not to say that there were no women present on the crusades post twelfth century, as some women could travel with crusading expeditions and play, according to Keren Caspi-Reisfeld, 'a variety of roles'.<sup>333</sup>

### **Religious Women and Religious Orders**

Much like for male religious the life for female religious changed dramatically between the fourth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>334</sup> Before the eleventh century there were female monastic communities in the

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<sup>330</sup> Tyerman, C. (2012). *Chronicles of the First Crusade, 1096-1099*. London: Penguin, p.127.

<sup>331</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2012). *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.48.

<sup>332</sup> Rousseau. Home Front and Battlefield: The Gendering of Papal Crusading Policy (1095-1221), pp.31-32.

<sup>333</sup> Caspi-Reisfeld, K. (2001). Women Warriors during the Crusades, 1095-1254. In S. B. Edgington & S. Lambert (Eds.) *Gendering the Crusades*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.94.

<sup>334</sup> For the history of male monasticism see chapter 2, pages 34-47, of this thesis.

West which were localised communities, following a range of rules.<sup>335</sup> But it was not until the eleventh century that female monasticism became prominent in the West, when some began to be incorporated and established by the newly emerged international religious orders. Despite Cluny's origins in 910, it was not until 1055 that its first sister house was formed.<sup>336</sup> This was due to the then Abbot who was inspired by the message of Noah and his Ark to spiritually help both men and women.<sup>337</sup> It is hardly surprising that men were the main obstacles to accepting women into the male dominated religious orders. As women were presented in the Bible as temptresses, this proved a problem to religious men who had taken not only vows of chastity but also to look after the weak (of which women were classed in comparison to men).<sup>338</sup> It was not just Cluny which shared this reluctance. The Cistercians also initially refused the acceptance of women, but they did have an acquaintance with some female monasteries in their early years, and things did not change until the 1200s when female monasteries were allowed to officially join the order.<sup>339</sup> Upon this acceptance of women James de Vitry (c.1160-1240), a prominent member of the Church, stated that the numbers of women who 'professed the religion of the Cistercian Order multiplied like the stars of heaven and ... convents were founded and built, virgins, widows, and married women who had gained their husbands' consent, rushed to fill the cloisters.'<sup>340</sup> Whether this was true or not it emphasises that women had a genuine interest in becoming religious and as John Nichols argues:

Even though a great number of monasteries were founded for women during the Middle Ages, there were still more women who aspired to be nuns than physical space allowed. As a consequence, only a select few were permitted to join the ranks of religious women.<sup>341</sup>

This is reflected again by James of Vitry who stated that there were 'virgins ... who cannot find monasteries that will accept them'.<sup>342</sup> The problem for women in trying to find monasteries was that they

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<sup>335</sup> Johnson, S.F. (2014). *Monastic Women and Religious Orders in Late Medieval Bologna*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.11.

<sup>336</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>337</sup> Ibid.

<sup>338</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.7.

<sup>339</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>340</sup> Cited in Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, pp.184-185.

<sup>341</sup> Nichols, J.A. (1984). Introduction. In J. A. Nichols & L. T. Shank (Eds.) *Medieval Religious Women: Volume 1 Distant Echoes*. Michigan: Cistercian Publications Inc. pp.1-2.

<sup>342</sup> Cited in Walter, S. (2001). *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.x.

were primarily for the upper nobility.<sup>343</sup> St Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), defended this position of exclusivity when she stated, 'what man would concentrate his whole flock in a single stable? There should be discrimination ... for God differentiates between people both on earth and in heaven.'<sup>344</sup>

For those women who had problems finding acceptance into a religious life by the thirteenth century there was an alternative option open for them. A form of life later given the name Beguines, were lay women who gave up wealth to live in poverty, imitating the life of Christ and the apostles. The Beguines relied on the mendicant orders for spiritual counsel.<sup>345</sup> This was because the Beguines remained lay religious. James of Vitry provides an outline of how these religious women came about, stating:

... many holy maidens (*sanctae virgines*) had gathered in different places ... they scorned the temptations of the flesh, despised the riches of the world for the love of the heavenly bridegroom in poverty and humility, earning a sparse meal with their own hands. Although their families were wealthy, they preferred to endure hardship and poverty, leaving behind their family and their father's home rather than to abound in riches or to remain in danger amidst worldly pomp.<sup>346</sup>

Whilst the Beguines were not popular amongst all in religious circles, one Cistercian monk – Caesarius of Heisterbach (1180-1240) – had no doubt of the commitment and spiritual value attached to the Beguines, stating that they:

... still surpass many of the cloister in the love of God. They live the eremitical life among the crowds, spiritual among the worldly and virginal among those who seek pleasure. As their battle is greater, so is their grace, and a greater crown will await them.<sup>347</sup>

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<sup>343</sup> Lawrence. *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, p.176.

<sup>344</sup> Cited in Lawrence, C.H. (1984). *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*. London: Longman, pp.176-177.

<sup>345</sup> Melville. *The World of Medieval Monasticism: Its History and Forms of Life*.

<sup>346</sup> Cited in Walter, S. (2001). *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries, 1200-1565*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.35.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid.

It is perhaps surprising that he places greater spiritual reward on the Beguines, than on women who chose to live a life in a monastery. But this is due to the fact he perceived that they undertook greater spiritual warfare. The importance of this demonstrates the willingness of women (and female laity) to express their religious nature.

Reflecting the desire of women to take up a religious life, Anne Lester argues that by the thirteenth century there was a recognition 'that religious women ... had to be regulated within existing religious orders and reformed within the church.'<sup>348</sup> This was due to the frequent accusations of heresy and subsequent wariness that was directed towards religious women of the period.<sup>349</sup> The suspicions of heresy stemmed from the belief that females were 'susceptible to evil.'<sup>350</sup> Linking back to the notions of female inferiority. These heresy accusations combined with the vast numbers of religious orders made the necessity for monastic reforms a more prominent issue, and it was hoped that incorporating women into a formal religious setting meant that heresy could be curbed and the religious teaching of women could be controlled. This need for reform was to be realised by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) and the Fourth Lateran Council, particularly canon 13 which states:

Lest too great a variety of religious orders leads to grave confusion in God's church, we strictly forbid henceforth to found a new religious order. Whoever wants to become a religious should enter one of the already approved orders. Likewise, whoever wishes to found a new religious house should take the rule and institutes from already approved religious orders.<sup>351</sup>

This is indicative of what Innocent wanted to achieve as he desired to bring everyone under an approved religious rule that was to be administered and taught from an approved religious order. Whilst not dealing specifically with women or female religious, it does theoretically outline the process for a female wishing to become religious as it states: 'whoever wants to become a religious', this is not gender specific. This growth of female religious interest coincided with the development of numerous military

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<sup>348</sup> Lester, A.E. (2011). *Creating Cistercian Nuns: The Women's Religious Movement and its Reform in Thirteenth-Century Champagne*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, p.81.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid., p.80.

<sup>350</sup> Nicholson. *Women on the Third Crusade*, p.340.

<sup>351</sup> "Fourth Lateran Council (1215)". *EWTN - Global Catholic Network*. (NA). Retrieved from <http://www.ewtn.com/library/councils/latran4.htm> – Consulted 25<sup>th</sup> July 2017.

orders. While we might assume that military orders would not want anything to do with women, given women could not fight, the opposite is true. Many orders, despite their reservations, accepted women.<sup>352</sup>

### **Women and the Military Orders (Sisters)**

Many women had a desire to live a religious life, partly fuelled by the renewed religious fervour of the tenth century onwards and the military orders provided another avenue. When initially examining the Hospitallers and the Templars it seems surprising that they had any involvement with women as their rules clearly set out their suspicions of women. For instance, the Templar rule stated:

It is dangerous to add more sisters to the order because the ancient enemy has expelled many men from the straight path of Paradise on account of their consorting with women.

Therefore, dearest brothers, in order that the flower of chastity should always be evident amongst you, it shall not be permissible henceforth to continue this custom.<sup>353</sup>

The text sums up attitudes that were present during the medieval period towards women. What is particularly powerful is describing women as the 'ancient enemy' of men, thus linking back to the story of Adam and Eve. But the rule implies that they had female members at the time of writing, with its reference to 'more sisters'. Despite this clause, the Templars continued to interact with female donors. The suspicions that the Templars held in relation to women is also reflected in the fact that, according to Evelyn Lord, they had 'no sister houses' unlike the Hospitallers.<sup>354</sup> Although this is something disputed by Bom who, using evidence from European military order houses, identifies the Templars as having at least one by the thirteenth century and is reflected in figure 1.

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<sup>352</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.1.

<sup>353</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.49.

<sup>354</sup> Lord, E. (2004). *The Knights Templar in Britain*. London: Pearson, p.162.

**Figure 1: Sister houses for certain military orders<sup>355</sup>**

<i>Houses for Sisters</i>	<i>Temple</i>	<i>Calatrava</i>	<i>Teutonic</i>	<i>Lazarus</i>	<i>Santiago</i>	<i>Hospital</i>
12th century	0	0	0	0	1	4
13th century	1	2	1	1	5	10

*Note:* The numbers reflect the minimum of houses for women in military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The Hospitaller rule is more accepting of women, as it does not forbid the admittance of women but it does warn of their danger, it states:

... when they [the brothers] shall be in a church or in a house or in any other place where there are women, let them keep guard over their modesty, and let no women wash their heads or their feet, or make their beds. May Our Lord, who dwells among his saints, keep guard over them in this matter.<sup>356</sup>

The broader acceptance of women is reflected in the houses that they had for the sisters of the order. The difference in attitudes towards women can also be explained when looking at the difference in roles that the Templars and Hospitallers had. For instance the Templar function was primarily of a military nature. Given that women could not serve in this capacity there was (theoretically) no place for them in the order. By comparison the Hospitallers had a perfect role for women in hospital care, as demonstrated by the rule of the Teutonic Knights (c.1190) which stated that 'there are some services for the sick in the hospitals ... which are better performed by women than by men'.<sup>357</sup>

As a general rule when looking at the military orders as a whole Bom argues that those 'based on the Augustinian rule were more open to having female associates than those based on the Benedictine rule'.<sup>358</sup> As can be seen, from figure 1, those based on the Augustinian rule, i.e. Santiago

<sup>355</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.41.

<sup>356</sup> "The Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem". *Blessed Gérard and his "everlasting brotherhood": The Order of St. John of Jerusalem*. Retrieved from <http://smom-za.org/rule.htm> – Consulted 22<sup>nd</sup> July 2017.

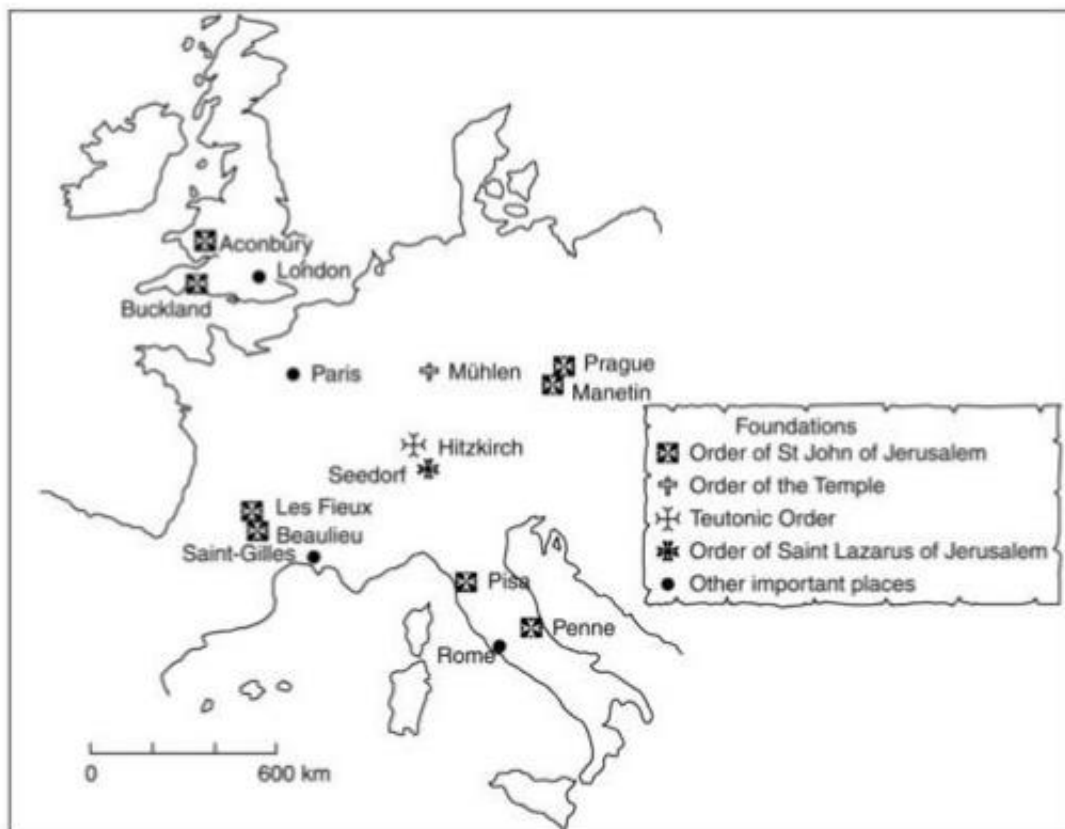
<sup>357</sup> "The Rule and Statutes of the Teutonic Knights". *The ORB: On-Line Reference Book for Medieval Studies*. (NA). Retrieved from [http://the-orb.arlima.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/tk\\_rule.html](http://the-orb.arlima.net/encyclop/religion/monastic/tk_rule.html) – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>358</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.3.



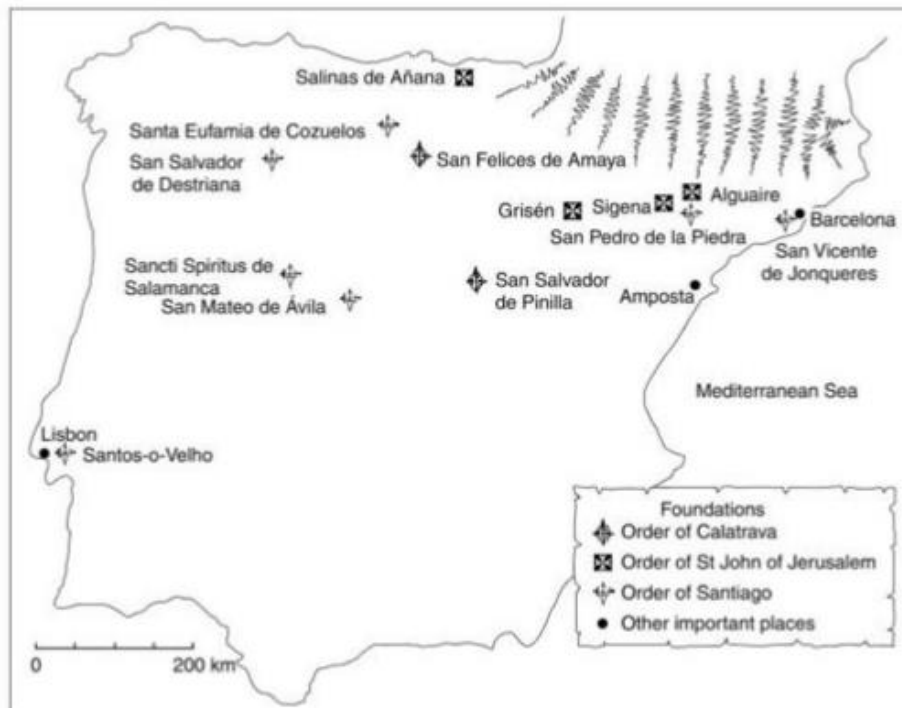
and Hospitallers, combined, had a minimum of fifteen sister houses by the thirteenth century. This is further demonstrated by figures 2 and 3. Figure 2 shows that in Europe by the thirteenth century the Hospitallers had the majority of female houses that belonged to military orders. Similarly, figure 3 shows that the orders of Santiago and Hospitallers had the majority of female houses belonging to military orders in Iberia. Whereas those based on the Benedictine rule, i.e. Temple, Calatrava, Teutonic and Lazarus, only had a combined total of five sister houses by the thirteenth century.

**Figure 2: Demonstrating Female Military Orders Houses in Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century<sup>359</sup>**



<sup>359</sup> Ibid., p.xviii.

Figure 3: Demonstrating Female Houses in Iberia in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century<sup>360</sup>



The Augustinian and Benedictine rules, can partly explain this different stance they had towards women. For example, the first chapter of the Augustinian rule stated that ‘Before all else, dear brothers, love God and then your neighbour, because these are the chief commandments given to us.’<sup>361</sup> This is reflective of their attitude in their desire to help others, whether male or female, in order to advance themselves spiritually.<sup>362</sup> Yet the Benedictine rule is remarkably different. The prologue of the rule states, ‘To you, therefore, my words are now addressed, whoever you may be, who are renouncing your own will to do battle under the Lord Christ, the true King, and are taking up the strong, bright weapons of obedience.’<sup>363</sup> The focus of this rule was more about improving oneself spiritually by focusing on and improving your own life.<sup>364</sup> Therefore, this can go a little way in explaining why the Hospitallers, and those others based on the Augustinian rule, were more receptive about the admittance of women, whilst the Templars were a lot more hesitant. As Forey argues, ‘Despite the fears expressed

<sup>360</sup> Ibid.

<sup>361</sup> “The Rule of St Augustine”. *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (1996). Retrieved from <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/ruleaug.html> – Consulted on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>362</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.17.

<sup>363</sup> “The Rule of Benedict: Prologue”. *The Order of Saint Benedict*. (2001). Retrieved from <http://www.osb.org/rb/text/rbejms1.html#pro> – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>364</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.16.

in the rules of some military orders, contact with women was not in fact kept to an absolute minimum', and the military orders had a beneficial relationship with many sisters and female lay associates.<sup>365</sup>

Alongside founding sister houses, military orders sometimes received them as donations. As demonstrated by the case of Margaret de Lacy who donated her house of sisters, at Aconbury, to the Hospitallers in the early thirteenth century, although this was not to be a straightforward donation.<sup>366</sup> Margaret had familial and marital connections to influential lords in Wales and Ireland.<sup>367</sup> While independent communities such as Margaret's traditionally associated to a religious order, it is unknown why Margaret chose to associate the monastery to the Hospitallers as her own family did not have a history of going on crusade.<sup>368</sup> However Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) describes Margaret's motivations in the following text:

Led by her [Margaret's] own simplicity and induced by the urgings of the brothers of the Hospital of Jerusalem, without having consulted the diocesan bishop, without even the knowledge of Walter de Lacy her husband, she put this [female religious] house under the authority of the said brothers, believing that it was permissible for women's foundations to be formed under their observance. When she had brought certain women into that house, the same brothers received their profession and gave them their badge and habit.<sup>369</sup>

While this may have been done of her own initiative it is equally possible that she was, as Gregory indicates, persuaded by the Hospitallers. Furthermore it is equally possible that she was pressurised by her husband, as he had close ties with the Hospitallers.<sup>370</sup>

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<sup>365</sup> Forey, A. (1987). Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries. *Studia Monastica*. 29, p.92.

<sup>366</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (1999). Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. 40(4), p.630. For controversy see page 80 of this thesis.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid., p.631.

<sup>368</sup> Ibid., pp.633-634.

<sup>369</sup> Cited in Nicholson, H.J. (2006). Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of Saint John at Aconbury, Herefordshire. In A. Luttrell & H. J. Nicholson (Eds.) *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.161.

<sup>370</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2006). Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of Saint John at Aconbury, Herefordshire. In A. Luttrell & H. J. Nicholson (Eds.) *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.161.

Attitudes towards female accommodation were mixed for orders that accepted women. For example Bom identifies that 'communities of hospitaller [sic] orders were often mixed-sex ... [whereas other orders] fell somewhere in the middle: they allowed women but preferred them to be segregated'.<sup>371</sup> The Hospitallers needed to be mixed in order to provide hospital care, yet this did not stop suspicions of female members. For example in a sermon given by James of Vitry he stated that:

For you will find many prostitutes and wicked women in hospices who lie in wait for the incautious and maliciously repay their hosts like a mouse in the satchel, a serpent in the bosom, and a fire in the lap, a thorn in the foot, a nail in the eye. In fact, it is safer to sleep among demons who can be put to flight with the sign of the cross than near this worst kind of women, who ambushes drunkards.<sup>372</sup>

As Forey argues, 'the needs and pressures to which the orders were subject ensured that ties of various kinds were established and maintained.'<sup>373</sup> It was one such of these ties that proved to be invaluable to the military orders, that of female lay association.

### **Female Lay Association**

What the military orders' rules fail to mention is the acceptance of female lay associates. As with male association, women could associate as either a *consoror* or *donatae*, but as has been examined in chapter 3 the terminology is not always easy to understand.<sup>374</sup> Therefore, looking for female associates can prove problematic when examining membership of the military orders, as it was not until the mid-1140s that definitions of female membership began to take shape.<sup>375</sup> But although this should have made some way to clear distinctions, Bom states that 'After the regulations of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils ... confraternity was more regulated than before, but the records still show a disregard for rigid distinctions among the nomenclature of lay association.'<sup>376</sup> So this reflects the problem in tracing female lay associates, as some sisters may have been lay associates but it was not accurately recorded

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<sup>371</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.8.

<sup>372</sup> Bird, J., Peters, E. & Powell, J.M. (2013). *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, p.147.

<sup>373</sup> Forey. *Women and the Military Orders in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, p.92.

<sup>374</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.5.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, p.26.

as such in the charters. As can be seen from figure 4 many of the Hospitaller commanderies had some association with women, either through lay associates or fully professed sisters.

**Figure 4: Examples of Female Lay Associates and Sisters for Hospitallers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century<sup>377</sup>**

<i>Region</i>	<i>Evidence of Female Lay associates?</i>	<i>Evidence of Sisters?</i>	<i>Evidence of Hospital?</i>
<b>ENGLAND</b>			
Carbrooke		YES	YES
Clanfield		YES	YES
Gosford		YES	
Hogshaw		YES	
Shingay		YES	
Hampton		YES	
<b>FRANCE</b>			
Avignon	YES		
Beaulieu		YES	YES
Gap	YES		
Orgeuil		YES, Commendatrix	
Saint-Gilles	YES	YES	
Toulouse	YES	YES	YES
Trinquetaille	YES	YES	
<b>ITALY</b>			
Genoa	YES	YES	YES
Milan	YES		
Verona	YES	YES	YES
<b>SPAIN</b>			
Almunia		YES, Commendatrix	
Amposta	YES		
Añon		YES, Commendatrix	
Barcelona	YES		
Bargota		YES	Possibly
Boxerols	YES	YES	YES
Cervera	YES	YES, Commendatrix	Possibly
Grisen	YES	YES, Commendatrix	
Leach		YES, Commendatrix	
Lleida	YES		
Sagües	YES		
S. Jaume		YES	
S. Salvador d'Isot	YES	YES	
S. Valentí	YES		YES
Siscar	YES	YES	
Zaragoza	YES		
<b>LATIN EAST</b>			
Antioch		YES	
Acre	YES	YES	YES
Jerusalem	YES	YES	YES

*Note:* This table does not include houses specifically for women.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., p.113.

The *donatae* status was the most popular choice for women. Bom identifies that 'Women (or couples) identified themselves as *consorores* or *confratres* in only a small number of documents that speak of lay association of women with the [Hospitallers]'.<sup>378</sup> Furthermore, the majority of women that associated with a military order were half of a married couple.<sup>379</sup> For example, in Spain in 1176 a charter of association states that 'I Domingo of Batzio and my wife Maria have decided willingly and gladly to give and grant you as lodgings those of our houses we own in Pertusa ... to you ... Master of the Knights'.<sup>380</sup> While it does not specify which form of lay association that they took, it can be deduced that because of the simple donation, and it was before definitions of lay association, they were just *confratres/consorores*. This nature of their association is therefore straightforward, yet a charter from 1234 stated that 'both of us [husband and wife], at the same time, have been received ... as *confratres* and donats of ... the knighthood of the Temple'.<sup>381</sup> This document represents the confusion that surrounds lay association as this couple were collectively taken in as both types of lay associates. Furthermore, another document from 1144 stated that 'I, Gerald of Tornafort, and my wife Agnes ... give to the ... Temple ... half the codamine of St Alban ... and one strip of land which is in the same area'.<sup>382</sup> All these charters show women associated with a military order with their husband. But that is not to say that all women joined with their husbands. For example, in 1133 a charter stated that 'I, the woman Açaladaiss give my body and soul to the ... Temple of Solomon ... to live without any property of my own'.<sup>383</sup> Again while not stating which form of association Açaladaiss wanted it can be interpreted that by her giving herself 'body and soul' it fits the description of a *donatae*, yet because of the date being 1133 this predated the origin of the term so she was just a *consoror*.<sup>384</sup> Similarly another (undated) charter stated that 'I, Guilla wife of Arbert Ricaud, give to God and the Hospital of Jerusalem ... two and a sixth *sueidos* of Valencia money a year'.<sup>385</sup> This shows that women could join or associate

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid., p.68.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., p.72.

<sup>380</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.166.

<sup>381</sup> Cited in Bom, M.M. (2012). *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p.26.

<sup>382</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016.

<sup>383</sup> Ibid.

<sup>384</sup> This can be deduced because of the reasons outlined on pages 54-58 of this thesis.

<sup>385</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016.

independently from their husbands and thus be a valuable asset to have as associates. But just because women associated as part of couples, this does not mean that they had no influence on their spouse.

### **Importance of Marriage**

One of the main reasons as to why female lay associates proved invaluable to the military orders was tied up in marriage. Before examining this, it is worthwhile exploring why married couples wanted to associate with a military order. Because of marriage, couples could not join traditional religious orders and thus receive spiritual benefits that this entailed but with the military orders they could associate themselves with an order and not be restricted because of marital ties.<sup>386</sup> This is the primary motivation that drove women (and their spouses) to associate with a military order, as many female affiliations was the product of association between husband and wife.<sup>387</sup> Although medieval gender ideology might lead us to assume that the decision always lay with the man. Marriage still provided women with a more prominent role in medieval society and elevated female importance to the military orders. Schenk argues that:

Often marginalised in their families of origin, women became the centre of new family units once they had married. Their values, traditions and opinions had a profound impact on the education and development of their children, for whom they usually constituted the primary, and sometimes only, person of reference.<sup>388</sup>

This elevation of women into the heart of the family unit made them an important associate to gain, especially if these women were of nobility and could pass their familial preference for a military order to their offspring. Traditions belonging to a particular family in relation to crusading is explored by Nicholas Paul's work, although dealing with crusades his findings are applicable to the laity and military orders.<sup>389</sup> Paul argues that 'the support of the medieval nobility for crusade expeditions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was shaped fundamentally by knowledge and attitudes that were preserved, transformed, and

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<sup>386</sup> Bom. *Women in the Military Orders of the Crusades*, p.72.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

<sup>388</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, p.180.

<sup>389</sup> Paul, N.L. (2012). *To Follow in their Footsteps: The Crusades and Family Memory in the High Middle Ages*. London: Cornell University Press.

transmitted in the social or collective memories of the families themselves.<sup>390</sup> Key to the preservation and upkeep of 'family traditions' were the females of a family.<sup>391</sup> By passing on this information, it could prove fruitful when the children came of age and looked to donate sums of money or land in exchange for spiritual reward. In looking to receive spiritual reward, they would have been aware of their predecessors and their obligations to certain military orders.

Even though the medieval period was dominated by men, Constance Bouchard has argued that women were not side-lined and proved to be important in certain families. She argued that:

... in the primarily patriarchal eleventh and twelfth centuries, when office and power were almost always inherited in the male line, women still played an important role in deciding where a family would make its pious gifts. Their influence seems to have been wielded behind the scenes, but it was no less effective.<sup>392</sup>

This is something which Schenk concurs with, he states that 'donations were regularly subjected to the approval and counsel of wives, widows and mothers, whose opinions would have influenced the decision as to what and how much husbands, sons and daughters were able to give away.'<sup>393</sup> Therefore both arguments demonstrate how important women could be to the military orders. By providing advice to their male counterparts over donations and patronage, women could sway their decision over preference to one order over another. Linked to marriage was the value of dowries and the possibility of the military orders acquiring them. These dowries included land and assets which could prove to be too much to handle for individuals, and as a result they could be used for dealings with military orders.<sup>394</sup> The donation of a dowry was what Ermessendis of Rovira donated in 1144, her charter reads that she gave her:

... entire dowry, which my honourable husband Berenguer, who now, God be thanked, is a brother and knight of the same blessed knighthood, had once given to me [to] Lord God and

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<sup>390</sup> Ibid., p.6.

<sup>391</sup> Ibid., p.64.

<sup>392</sup> Bouchard, C.B. (1987). *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980-1198*. New York: Cornell University Press, p.142.

<sup>393</sup> Schenk. *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*, p.179.

<sup>394</sup> Ibid., p.177.



the knighthood of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem and to the brothers, present and future, who fight there for the highest king.<sup>395</sup>

Of course these possessions would prove a valuable asset for the military orders to acquire. Apart from marriage there were other reasons that made females want to associate with a military order. Many of the reasons why individual women, that were either single or widowed, wanted to associate themselves to a military order were very similar to men, and as such they will be discussed collectively later on.<sup>396</sup>

We need to consider how the gender hierarchy was implemented in social practice as the authority of the husband over the wife may not have been as strong as we might assume. For example when Margaret de Lacy donated her monastery to the Hospitallers, she apparently did so from her own initiative as Gregory IX stated that Margaret gave her donation 'without even the knowledge of [her husband] Walter de Lacy'.<sup>397</sup> While on the face of it Margaret may seem to be challenging gender norms, when you look at the context in which the document was written it suggests a different story. By 1233 the relationship between Margaret and the Hospitallers had broken down and she wanted the monastery back from the order.<sup>398</sup> Under medieval practice the woman had to gain her husband's approval before such a donation, thus the idea that Margaret did it without her husband's knowledge may merely have been a tactic to prove the transaction invalid and thus recover the monastery.<sup>399</sup> But even so, it would still suggest something of Margaret's agency in having changed her mind about wanting to be associated with the order, regardless of the precise nature of her husband's involvement.

## Conclusion

Given the medieval attitude of women being inferior to and needing control by men, and the perceived evil that women represented, it is quite surprising that women were accepted both as lay

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<sup>395</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.33-34.

<sup>396</sup> See chapter 5 of this thesis.

<sup>397</sup> Cited in Nicholson, H.J. (2006). Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of Saint John at Aconbury, Herefordshire. In A. Luttrell & H. J. Nicholson (Eds.) *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.161.

<sup>398</sup> Nicholson. Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire, p.636.

<sup>399</sup> Ibid., pp.636-637.

associates of the military orders and as sisters. This is despite the Templar rule forbidding the acceptance of sisters and the Hospitaller rule warning the brothers of women. Thus it is important to remember that there were striking differences between theories about women and their actual activities and agency. As has been shown women provided their male counterparts (whether that was siblings or husbands) with what could prove to be valuable advice to the military orders, but only if this advice resulted in a donation or sale being given to them. Especially noble women proved to be a valuable associate to have, as those lands and possessions that they acquired through marriage could be given to a military order. Thus, women proved to be a valuable associate for the military orders and they may not have been as subservient to men as has been suggested for the time. While marriage has been discussed as an important motivation for lay association, there are three other distinct categories lay associates' motives could take, regardless of gender, which will be explored in the following chapter.

## Chapter 5 – Reasons for Lay Association

### Introduction

The military orders offered many opportunities for the laity to associate themselves and, in return, the laity played a vital part in enabling their growth and sustainability. Another area for exploration is the motivating factors which moved association with a specific military order. Motivations of the laity can be broken down into three distinct categories: religious, military and social. It is important to note that the motivations for association were likely to have been a combination of factors in individual cases. Forey argues that ‘Although the motives of many recruits were probably mixed, spiritual concerns should not be minimized.’<sup>400</sup> Religious motivation is unsurprising as the military orders emerged in a time of heightened spirituality and the military orders could offer burial, redemption and a means of following the Gospel.<sup>401</sup> Secondly there was a link forged between the military orders and the Holy Land, offering the laity the chance to offer their financial support to these *milites Christi* and to the wider crusading movement which they represented. Also there were depictions of warfare and violence in the Old Testament which gave credibility, when combined with Augustine’s Just War, to violence in the name of Christ. Moreover, the link between the Holy Land and the military orders meant set-backs in the Levant could have an effect on numbers of associates and their motives.<sup>402</sup> Finally there was a perception that the military orders could offer members a better standard of living, combined with a belief that if a member died in combat for their order then they had the potential to become a martyr and bring themselves and the order honour. As the orders were held generally in high regard, with their links to martyrs and fighting for Christ, if someone with a low status joined then they could share in this glory. As Morton states, ‘many joined the orders because they admired their [military orders] qualities of piety, adventure and chivalry for which they were renowned.’<sup>403</sup> By linking oneself with an order of prestige, it could raise one’s social status. There now follows an exploration of the main motivations in turn.

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<sup>400</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, p.167.

<sup>401</sup> For heightened spiritual times see chapter 1, particularly pages 15-17, and chapter 2, particularly 38-47, of this thesis.

<sup>402</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, p.161.

<sup>403</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.96.

## Spiritual, Burial and Religious Motives

Spiritual reward was the primary concern for associates and the military orders provided competition with the traditional religious orders for the patronage from the laity. The military orders appealed to the laity because they undertook the Christian mission of caring for the sick, protecting the poor and pilgrims and defending the faith in the Levant which were all seen to be in accordance with the desire of the Lord.<sup>404</sup> Therefore in the eyes of the laity the military orders were following a path inspired by God, even imitating Christ. As stated in chapter one, the adaptation of theological disagreement amongst clerics to suit knighthood was prevalent in chivalry, and one such theological area was soteriology.<sup>405</sup> The issue of Christ ensuring mankind's salvation drew on two ideas, and chivalric ideology made sure they appealed to both, firstly there were depictions of Christ as a soldier sent to conduct a fight against the Devil and secondly Christ voluntarily sacrificed himself for mankind's salvation.<sup>406</sup> Linking chivalry, and therefore knighthood, to the mission of Christ was a clever way of showing that knights, and by extension the military orders, were copying Christ. As Kaeuper notes, 'Chivalric ideology adopted close parallels between Christ and knighthood and developed them to a remarkable degree ... Not only is Christ pictured as a warrior, the knights are represented as his valiant imitators.'<sup>407</sup> Therefore, the military orders' knights who were in a permanent engagement of the highest form of warfare would have been a tempting prospect for attracting donations.

The importance of seeking religious reward is evident due to the fact that upon association or profession one would have to give up part or all of their possessions as a tribute to the order, and would not receive any assets in return.<sup>408</sup> One successful way of attracting donors and support was through medieval narrative – romance and *chansons de geste* – which related the exploits of rulers and knights, both real and imagined. Nicholson states that literature 'reflected the overall attitude held by the writers, patrons and audiences [towards the orders]' and the military orders were generally portrayed in a

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<sup>404</sup> Ibid., p.21.

<sup>405</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.297. For a brief mention of the adaptation of theology see page 16 of this thesis.

<sup>406</sup> Ibid, pp.297-298.

<sup>407</sup> Kaeuper. *Holy Warriors*, p.120.

<sup>408</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, p.166.

positive light.<sup>409</sup> Narratives during this time also conveyed what roles the military orders conducted, thus portraying their efforts to potential donors.<sup>410</sup> As Nicholson outlines that 'These patrons and audiences were primarily the knightly nobility, the same class who supported the Military Orders with donations'.<sup>411</sup> So they would have been well aware of what the Templars and Hospitallers were doing, given the popularity of the narratives.<sup>412</sup> There was a general acceptance of the religious value that the military orders could offer. As Constable argues, 'To join a military order ... was generally recognized as equivalent but inferior to entering a monastery, whose members were also *milites* fighting for the Lord.'<sup>413</sup> This equality of stature was not represented in the *Moniage Guillaume* (c.1175). This *chanson de geste* reflects what medieval knights thought of their practice compared to that of monks, it states that:

The order of knighthood is much more worthwhile: they fight against Turks and pagans, and allow themselves to be martyred for love of God. They are often baptised in their own blood, in order to conquer the Kingdom of Right. Monks only want to drink and eat, read and sing and sleep and snore. They are cooped up like hens, fattening up, daydreaming in their psalters.<sup>414</sup>

This viewpoint is not surprising as such literature was written for an aristocratic/knightly audience.<sup>415</sup> So it is not remarkable that it is portraying their vocation in a higher regard than that of the monks. By this point, views and attitudes towards warfare had undergone a dramatic change.<sup>416</sup> It was no longer seen as necessarily sinful and by now knights shared the same terminology as monks, *milites Christi*.

Primary sources provide evidence of support from a range of laity, although it is not always easy to know what status a person held in society we can gain an insight into the status of an individual based on the size of the bestowment. Selwood states, 'It has been suggested that the Military Orders

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<sup>409</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2004). *Love, War, and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights in Medieval Epic and Romance 1150-1500*. Boston: Brill Academic Publishers Inc., p.2.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid., p.234. For a detailed portrayal of roles in literature see chapters 2 and 3.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid.

<sup>412</sup> Ibid., p.187.

<sup>413</sup> Constable. *The Place of the Crusader in Medieval Society*, pp.401-402.

<sup>414</sup> "Documents relating to the Military Orders: How William became a monk". *Internet Medieval Sourcebook*. (2013). Retrieved from <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/12Chowilliambecameamonk.asp> – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>415</sup> Nicholson. *Love, War, and the Grail*, p.234.

<sup>416</sup> See chapter 1 of this thesis.

[only] appealed to the minor nobility'.<sup>417</sup> However this is not the case as the military orders acquired donations from all social levels. King Alfonso I of Aragon (1104-1134) is one such example of making a substantial donation in his will of 1131. Alfonso had no child, thus no heir to take over his kingdom and he broke new ground by deciding to leave his kingdom to 'the Hospitallers, Templars and canons of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' in his will, despite him having a brother.<sup>418</sup> His will stated that:

... fearing divine judgement, for the salvation of my soul and of those of my mother and father, and of all my kin ... after my death I leave as heir and successor to me the Sepulchre of the Lord ... and the Hospital of the poor ... and the Temple of the Lord ... To these three I bequeath my whole kingdom, ... [and] the sovereignty and the rights I have over all the population of my land, clergy and laity, bishops, abbots, canons, monks, magnates, knights, burgesses, peasants, merchants ...<sup>419</sup>

Alfonso had spent much of his kingship eagerly fighting Muslims in Iberia during the Reconquista and received papal authorisation for his activities in 1118.<sup>420</sup> Many of those who participated in the Reconquista thought of themselves as imitating the crusaders in the Levant.<sup>421</sup> The Templars and Hospitallers gained a foothold throughout Iberia in the early twelfth century and came to encapsulate the aim of Alfonso, that of fighting the Muslims and the retaking of Christian lands, so by him leaving his kingdom to them they could carry on his work upon his death as he saw himself and the military orders as having a similar ethos.<sup>422</sup> However upon Alfonso's death the orders did not receive what was intended in the will and Alfonso's brother inherited the kingdom.<sup>423</sup> Despite this it shows that there was at least the intent there from a king to present the military orders with an immense gift, even though in all likelihood it seems that he would have known that his will would not be possible to carry out. Similarly, in 1222 Count Henry of Rodez, a self-confessed 'brother' of the Hospitallers, gave in his will to both the

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<sup>417</sup> Selwood. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*, p.101.

<sup>418</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, pp.36-37.

<sup>419</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.161.

<sup>420</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.37.

<sup>421</sup> Ibid.

<sup>422</sup> Ibid.

<sup>423</sup> Ibid.

Templars and Hospitallers donations of land, buildings and fighting equipment 'for [the] love of God and for the redemption of the sins of myself and my predecessors and successors'.<sup>424</sup>

The aim for spiritual reward was not just for oneself, it could also be extended to others, as Count Henry shows, and is further demonstrated across a range of primary material. What is also striking is the vast differences of amounts and possessions that were donated to achieve these spiritual rewards, which reflects the social range of those donating. For instance sometime between 1100 and 1310 William Malet gave 'to God and the Hospital of Jerusalem for the souls of my parents and mine and all my generation, a tithe which I hold'.<sup>425</sup> Between 1100-1120 Peter Abo gave 'to God and ... the Hospital at Jerusalem ... all the honour which I have and everything which I will be able to acquire; this is for my soul and the souls of my parents'.<sup>426</sup> In 1182 Baldois de Lugan gave 'all my rights in the town of Lugan. I do this [for] the sake of my soul, my father's and my mother's and all of my lineage' and Jocelin in 1134 donated: 'in order to obtain my salvation and the health of my parents' souls, I grant and concede [sic] to the Hospital of St John ... the hospital sited in the Casal of Turbassel'.<sup>427</sup> These sources illustrate that these donors were receiving the same spiritual benefits, yet they all contributed something different.

Alongside redemption, many associates and donors sought eventual burial within one of the military orders' cemeteries. Often these two needs are intertwined within the primary sources. The draw of burial was particularly attractive for those going on crusade or pilgrimage. This was because people did not have to be buried where their local military order was situated, they could make arrangements for burial in foreign lands.<sup>428</sup> The Templars and Hospitallers were given burial rights with the papal bulls *Omne datum optimum* (1139) and *Christianae fidei religio* (1154), respectively. The former granted the

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<sup>424</sup> Bird, J., Peters, E. & Powell, J.M. (2013). *Crusade and Christendom: Annotated Documents in Translation from Innocent III to the Fall of Acre, 1187-1291*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp.442-444.

<sup>425</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016.

<sup>426</sup> Ibid.

<sup>427</sup> Ibid; Ibid.

<sup>428</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.84.

Templars 'permission to build oratories ... where any of you of that household may be buried after death' while the latter stated that the Hospitallers were allowed 'to build the church and the cemetery to do in accordance with the needs of living here ... [and] with the needs of the pilgrims and the brothers who eat at your table.'<sup>429</sup> The granting of burial rights to the military orders led to conflicts of interest between the military orders and local clergy, which stemmed from the fact that if people chose burial with one of the military orders then the clergy would lose out on valuable payment and tributes upon death.<sup>430</sup> Intertwining of burial and religious motives is also reflected in numerous charters. For instance a profession from 1182 reads, 'I, D. Baldwies, give myself to God and the Hospital and their house of Audiz for burial, and I give all my rights in the town of Lugan. I do this for the sake of my soul and the souls of my father and mother and all of my lineage'.<sup>431</sup> An anonymous donor to the Templars in 1275 did so with the proviso that the ecclesiastics 'in the said church are to celebrate daily a requiem mass for my soul and for those of all my benefactors ... and are to go every day to my grave and absolve me and say prayers'.<sup>432</sup> Finally a charter from France in 1237 stated:

I, Peter of Alazardi ... choose my burial in the cemetery of Our Lady of Pézenas ... and for the redemption of my soul and the souls of my wife and my kin, I give to ... all the brothers of the house of Pézenas 100 *sous* in money ... and one piece of land.<sup>433</sup>

Medieval currency proves difficult to convert into modern day equivalents. This is largely down to two reasons. Firstly, there were a vast array of international and localised currencies each with their own precious metal compositions, which gave the coins their values, these compositions were often changed substantially effecting the value of the coin, secondly, the exchange rates in the medieval

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<sup>429</sup> Barber, M. & Bate, K. (2002). *The Templars: Selected Sources Translated and annotated*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, p.63; "The second director of the Hospital Community: Raymond du Puy". *Blessed Gérard and his "everlasting brotherhood": The Order of St. John of Jerusalem*. (2016). Retrieved from [http://blessed-gerard.org/bgt\\_1\\_4.htm](http://blessed-gerard.org/bgt_1_4.htm) – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>430</sup> Selwood. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*, p.91.

<sup>431</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*. Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016.

<sup>432</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.105.

<sup>433</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.54.



period between currencies lacked stability due to the interference of local Lords in the markets and coin minting.<sup>434</sup> The result of this makes it difficult to know how much each donated coin at any time was actually worth in modern equivalents or even between medieval currencies, as we need to know the quantities of gold or silver in each coin. Despite the multitude of currencies present in Europe, Jeffrey Singman states that 'The predominant monetary system of the Middle Ages was that of the pounds, shillings, and pence, known by various names in different languages.'<sup>435</sup> Using the currency outlined by Singman, figure 5 reflects the pay from the thirteenth century of certain professions, and figure 6 reflects how much things cost in the same period, to give a sense of context to income and costs.

**Fig.5. Pay For Certain Roles<sup>436</sup>**

Duke	£4000–5000/year	Earl	£1500/year
Baron	£100–200/year	Knight	£10–20/year
Royal official	3s./day	Priest	£2–10/year
Educated tradesman	8–9d./day	Tradesman	3–4d./day
Ordinary soldier	2–3d./day	Laborer	£1/year or 1½–2½d./day
Servant	1½d./day	Woman or child	1d./day

**Fig.6. Rough Cost of Items<sup>437</sup>**

2-lb. loaf of bread	¼d.	Dried dates, raisins, figs	1½–2d./lb.
Eggs	½d./dozen	Cheese or butter	½d./lb.
Wine	2–3d./gallon	Ale	½d./gallon
Sugar	1–2s./lb.	Salt	3–5d./bushel
Pepper	10d./lb.	Cinnamon	1s./lb.
Ginger	10d.– 2s. 6d./lb.	Book	6s.
Sword	2s.	Pickaxe	4d.
Tallow candles	2d./lb.	Wax candles	6d./lb.
Canvas	2d./ell	Linen	3d./ell
Fine wool cloth	3s. 6d./yd.	Ordinary wool cloth	1s. 4d./yd.
Hose	10d.	Shoes	2½d.
Shirt	5¾d.	Traveler's costs for a day, with horse	4½d.

<sup>434</sup> Singman, J.L. (1999). *Daily Life in Medieval Europe*. London: Greenwood Press, pp.57-58.

<sup>435</sup> *Ibid.*, p.58.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.60-61.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*, p.60.

## The Attraction of Military Practice

The military orders also gained a great deal of support because of their military ventures which, according to Morton:

... drew parallels between their warlike activities and the battles of the Old Testament. These books [of the Old Testament] provided a supply of stories of holy warfare that was lacking in the teaching of the New Testament. In many cases they considered their endeavours to be a direct continuation of these ancient wars.<sup>438</sup>

In the Old Testament there are numerous references to violence, although it is important to note that the Old Testament was only available in Latin so the vast majority of people could not read it. Yet, people would have been familiar with these stories from sermons and church art. Therefore people could still draw comparisons between what the military orders were doing, with what was depicted in the Bible. For instance Deuteronomy 20:13 states that 'And when the Lord thy God shall deliver it [a city] into thy hands, thou shalt slay all that are therein of the male sex, with the edge of the sword'.<sup>439</sup> Similarly Joshua 6:20-21 states that 'they took the city [of Jericho], And killed all that were in it, man and woman, young and old.'<sup>440</sup> Depictions of violence in the Old Testament were seen to be promoted by God, something which the crusaders sought to replicate in their mission. As Deuteronomy 20:16-17 states, 'But of those cities that shall be given thee, thou shalt suffer none at all to live: But shalt kill them with the edge of the sword ... as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee'.<sup>441</sup> Again in Joshua 11:20 it stated, 'For it was the sentence of the Lord, that their hearts should be hardened, and they should fight Israel, and fall, and should not deserve any clemency, and should be destroyed as the Lord had commanded Moses.'<sup>442</sup> These extracts from the Old Testament demonstrate that violence was tolerated by God and in some circumstances encouraged. In similar fashion, it could be seen that the military orders' knights were acting on behalf of God. As the medieval view of the world was split into categories

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<sup>438</sup> Morton. *The Medieval Military Orders, 1120-1314*, p.104.

<sup>439</sup> Deuteronomy 20:13. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/deuteronomy\\_20.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/deuteronomy_20.htm) – Consulted on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>440</sup> Joshua 6:20-21. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/joshua\\_6.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/joshua_6.htm) – Consulted 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>441</sup> Deuteronomy 20:16-17. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/deuteronomy\\_20.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/deuteronomy_20.htm) – Consulted on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

<sup>442</sup> Joshua 11:20. *Vulgate*. (2005-2012). Retrieved from [http://vulgate.org/ot/joshua\\_11.htm](http://vulgate.org/ot/joshua_11.htm) – Consulted on 2<sup>nd</sup> August 2017.

– clerics, fighters, workers – which was the plan designed by God.<sup>443</sup> Each of these groups was assigned a labor, as such with it been God's plan for the world it was seen that God had given knights authority to fight.<sup>444</sup> But as outlined in chapter one, there were right and wrong battles and as Kaeuper points out 'Crusade was surely the most pious form of knightly labor'.<sup>445</sup> All this could have alleviated any remaining doubts amongst the laity on the validity of fighting in the name of Christianity.

The military support that the Templars and Hospitallers provided to the crusaders helped attract support. For instance people perceived a link between the Holy Land and the military orders; by helping the military orders they were directly helping the Christian, crusading cause.<sup>446</sup> Charters of profession highlight the military orders' military nature. For instance an early profession in 1133 by Azalais, donated to the Templars who she describes as 'the knights of Christ'.<sup>447</sup> In similar fashion, a donation in 1132 to the Templars by the Trencavels was 'for the remission [of] ... our sins' and were given to the Templars because they were 'fighting for the defence of Christendom'.<sup>448</sup> Again an association charter from 1146 by Bertrand of Bourbouton, who became a lay associate of the Templars stated he did this for 'the service and defence of the Christian faith'.<sup>449</sup> Finally, Lauretta of Pignan in 1133 donated to the Templars because they:

... fight the Saracens eager to bring about the destruction of the law of God and His faithful servants, and who, following the words of the Gospel, battle daily and courageously, faithful and without deceit, against these most impious of people.<sup>450</sup>

From these charters of association and donation it shows a genuine interest in the laity to support the military activities of the Templars and Hospitallers. Also, the early nature of these donations show that the West was well aware of their militaristic nature and, to a certain extent, knew what was happening

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<sup>443</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.80.

<sup>444</sup> Ibid., p.300.

<sup>445</sup> Kaeuper. *Holy Warriors*, p.93.

<sup>446</sup> Schenk. *Forms of Lay Association with the Order of the Temple*, p.84.

<sup>447</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2010). *Relations with Donors – Charters of Donations to the Military Orders*.

Retrieved from: <http://www.cardiff.ac.uk/hisar/people/hn/MilitaryOrders/MILORDOCS5.htm> – Consulted 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2016.

<sup>448</sup> Cited in Selwood, D. (1999). *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania 1100-1300*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, p.63.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid., pp.134-135.

<sup>450</sup> Cited in Schenk, J. (2012). *Templar Families: Landowning Families and the Order of the Templars in France, c. 1120-1307*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.212.

in the Holy Land. Furthermore, the awareness of the military nature of the orders was realised by Raymond Berenguer IV, who, by 1149, had donated a fortress to the Hospitallers 'for the defeat and confounding of the Moorish race'.<sup>451</sup> However, this could only be maintained whilst there was a link to the Holy Land and towards the end of the thirteenth century this had the potential to dissipate.<sup>452</sup> At the start of the twelfth century while the link to the Holy Land was at its strongest, after the victory of the First Crusade, there was a strong motivation to share in the victories of the crusaders (as shown by the dates of the earlier charters). For the Templars, the importance of having a strong military reputation was more crucial than for the Hospitallers. This was because, as Riley-Smith argues, 'the [primary] function of the Templars was to fight ... [whereas] the Hospital had been established ... to nurse and bury the poor'.<sup>453</sup> It was this difference which helps to explain why when the Christians lost the Holy Land, in 1291, it was difficult for the Templars to recover their reputation.<sup>454</sup>

### **Military Order Lifestyle, Prestige and Social Advancement**

Although not mentioned in profession charters, there was a belief that joining a military order could improve the members' life: both elevating their standing in society as well as their level of material comfort.<sup>455</sup> The reason for no explicit reference to this is because the aim of personal advancement goes against the ethos of the military orders and as such the military orders did not advertise advancement as a strategy of appealing to prospective donors. Yet, there must have been an awareness of the opportunities of associating with a highly prestigious order of pious knights. Knights became a group for which other laymen should aim to emulate, because their chivalric ideals made them the perfect template.<sup>456</sup> They, as Kaeuper points out, 'gradually took their proper place at the pinnacle of lay society'.<sup>457</sup> So whether someone could not join as knights they could still associate themselves with such members of society. As Kaeuper argues, 'all the socially ambitious among the laity felt the irresistible draw of chivalry'.<sup>458</sup> Whilst improving one's life or the draw of chivalry is not

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<sup>451</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.25.

<sup>452</sup> Forey. *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, p.143.

<sup>453</sup> Riley-Smith. *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land*, p.62.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*, p.63.

<sup>455</sup> Forey. *Recruitment to the Military Orders: Twelfth to the Fourteenth Centuries*, p.165.

<sup>456</sup> Kaeuper. *Medieval Chivalry*, p.13.

<sup>457</sup> *Ibid.*, p.268.

<sup>458</sup> *Ibid.*, p.120.

explicitly identified as a motivating factor in profession charters, we can deduce this by looking at other sources. For instance, Hospitaller candidates were given the following warning:

... although it may be that you see us well-clothed and with fine horses, and think that we have every comfort, you would be mistaken, for when you would like to eat, it will be necessary to fast, and when you would like to fast, it will be necessary to eat. And when you want to sleep, it will be necessary to keep watch.<sup>459</sup>

The military orders did not want to deter possible recruits with the reality of life within the orders, yet they wanted to make people aware of the realities. Furthermore, James of Vitry highlights the intention of some who:

... after they have joined an order, want to have the things which they were unable to enjoy in the world ... I have heard of one man, who during the whole of his life in the world had never rested his head on a pillow but who, after joining an order, disturbed the whole convent by his grumbling and complaints, when he was lacking a pillow for just one night, because the linen pillow case was being washed.<sup>460</sup>

While some may have gone into the order with the hope of having possessions that they did not have while they were in the secular world, it would have been a different story for those of a high status. It would be these men who would have to give up the luxury of their possessions in pursuit of a religious life.

Traditional orders were restricted to the wealthy benefactors which were usually upper nobility, however the military orders needed the expertise of knights who could enter the order at a low level and work their way up to a higher office.<sup>461</sup> This enabled previously closed career doors to open and allow them to rise to a prestigious role. Furthermore the enhanced status that the military orders offered was tied up with their military ventures. Those who sought an association with the military orders over that of a traditional order must have been attracted to something that set the military orders apart from their

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<sup>459</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, pp.140-141.

<sup>460</sup> Ibid., p.141.

<sup>461</sup> Nicholson. *The Knights Hospitaller*, p.86.

traditional counterparts. This may have been because of the prestige surrounding the orders; in particular the idea of martyrs. Due to the religious theme of warfare, Nicholson argues that 'it was only during the First Crusade that Western Christian society decided that death in battle for Christ was martyrdom.'<sup>462</sup> This is exactly what the military orders were doing, but it was not until around the Third Crusade that depictions of martyrdom began to be reported to the West.<sup>463</sup> For instance during the battle of Cresson (1187) the Templar master fought to the death, the *Itinerarium peregrinorum* recorded that 'At long last, crushed rather than conquered by spears, stones and lances, he sank to the ground and joyfully passed to heaven with the martyr's crown, triumphant.'<sup>464</sup> And then later on in 1274 the Emperor of Habsburg stated:

... spurning worldly conflict, they [Hospitallers] fearlessly march against the forces of the pagan pestilence, staining the standards of Christian victory and the banners of their own knighthood in the blood of the glorious martyr; they fight valiantly against the barbarian nations, and do not fear to give themselves up to a worthy death.<sup>465</sup>

Because of the attraction of crusading for religious reward, the military orders allowed knights to permanently undertake this venture and by becoming knights of Christ they had the opportunity to die for Christ. Committing to a life of holy war could bring not only religious reward but also the chance of martyrdom – the ultimate Christian reward. So by forging an association with these orders of martyrs, it would seem to be of a better nature than supporting traditional religious orders as they could permanently fight in the name of Christ.

## Conclusion

While the intentions of the laity in supporting the military orders were mixed, and cannot be definitively proven due to the nature of the records, it can be seen that they were motivated by a combination of factors. Spiritual reward proves to be the driving factor for donations to the military

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<sup>462</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2014). '*Martyrum collegio scoiandus haberet*': Depictions of the Military Orders' Martyrs in the Holy Land. 1187-1291. In S. John & N. Morton (Eds.) *Realities and Representations, Essays in Honour of John France*. Surrey: Ashgate, p.101.

<sup>463</sup> *Ibid.*, p.105.

<sup>464</sup> Nicholson, H.J. (2001). *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*. Aldershot: Ashgate, p.26.

<sup>465</sup> Cited in Forey, A. (1992). *The Military Orders: From the Twelfth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. London: Macmillan, p.100.

orders, and this did not just have to be for oneself but instead could be extended to family and friends. This was made possible by the increase in spirituality felt by the laity at the time of the military orders' establishment. Closely intertwined with this was the need for burial. This was an attractive process for those who were going on pilgrimage and crusade, who if they died abroad could be buried in a cemetery of their chosen military order. Secondly the violence conducted by the military orders was excusable because of a close link with the Old Testament, as well as the development of the idea of holy war. This practice of being a permanent crusader meant that the military orders could act as representatives for those who could not actively participate in the crusades, such as women. Lastly the military orders were perceived to offer a better lifestyle as well as the opportunity to increase their status, which was of particular appeal if the recruit had their origins in a low status. This increase in status was made available to knights by the prospects of martyrdom, which benefitted not only the knights with a high Christian reward but also brought glory to the order they represented. This then boosted the appeal of the Templars and Hospitallers to the laity, as they could share in this glory through association.

## Dissertation Conclusion

This dissertation sought to outline the importance of the laity to the Templars and Hospitallers. What is certain is that the laity were crucial to the survival of the military orders. As Barber points out, 'Without an extensive network of support in the west, the Templars [and the Hospitallers] would have vanished with the first major defeat they suffered.'<sup>466</sup> Therefore, the success of the military orders was down to their international networks supported by the laity. The origins of the military orders and the First Crusade would not have been possible without the work conducted during the Gregorian reform movement. The importance of this is twofold. Firstly, by having an impact on attitudes surrounding warfare and secondly by having an impact on religious life. During the Gregorian reform movement, long held attitudes of the sinfulness of war was challenged, drawing on classical literature from the time of the Roman Empire. Eventually culminating in the broad acceptance of fighting in the name of religion, firstly in the crusades then the permanent vocation of the military orders. Running parallel to this was the challenging of monasticism that was on offer and the establishment of many new religious orders, such as the Cistercians, who harnessed the benefits of the laity. Therefore, the emergence of the military orders were able to come about because of a wider challenging of the religious status quo as well as the broad acceptance of the compatibility of Christianity with war under certain circumstances.

By the time of the emergence of the military orders, the practice of lay association with traditional religious orders was already established. Yet the military orders had more expansive forms of lay association on offer each with their own admission price and different spiritual rewards. Furthermore, the types of lay association offered was not just on offer for men. As they had opportunities for lay association and membership for women, which countered what we might expect from the time. With medieval attitudes towards women, we may assume that the military orders would have not wanted women associated with them in order to avoid spiritual corruption. But this was not the case, and as evident in the case of Mary de Lacy women could prove a valuable lay associate to gain. Both through marital connections and donations.

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<sup>466</sup> Barber. *The New Knighthood: A History of the Order of the Temple*, p.230.



When it comes to looking at the laity and their motivations for association, there was a mixture of reasons for doing so and they can be categorised into the two functions that the military orders represented; military and religious. The main reason for lay association, which is reflected in the profession charters, was for spiritual gain for oneself, family and/or friends. Despite the religious aspect being on offer from traditional religious orders, a proportion of the laity chose the Templars and Hospitallers for their spiritual safety. What set the military orders apart from their counterparts was the link between the military orders and Jerusalem. The link to the Holy Land meant that those who could/would not travel to the East to fight could still feel as though they were donating to help the Christian cause. As such, the military orders offered people the opportunity to support crusading and the protection of Christian lands. This is what set them apart from other religious orders and was a crucial aspect of their popularity. Crusading changed in nature in the later twelfth century and was no longer an option for many people, hence the popularity of being able to donate to the military orders for them to fight on the donors behalf.

### **Further Questions**

This dissertation has explored the importance of the laity to the Templars and Hospitallers. It has also suggested areas of further research relating to other aspects of the military orders' history. For one, the research could be taken further into a later time period. Because although the Holy Land was lost in 1291, the Templars were not abolished until 1312 and the Hospitallers moved their base to Rhodes then to Malta and played a vital role in combating the Ottoman advance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>467</sup> Research could be undertaken to see how the laity continued to interact with the Hospitallers into the modern day, and how their relevance changed. Furthermore, the focus of this work has primarily been on the Templars and Hospitallers while many other military orders existed. Many can be studied from Iberia, the Baltic or the Holy Land itself. Another international order that could be studied could be the Teutonic Knights and how they interacted with the laity and how and why there was a necessity for the growth in numerous other orders. Another underexplored aspect is the question of gender identity of members and the military orders, something which has been touched upon but

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<sup>467</sup> O'Malley, G. (2005). *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue: 1460-1565*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

would benefit from more attention.<sup>468</sup> A further examination into any of these areas would add to our understanding of the nature and popularity of the military orders. Thus adding valuable literature to the scholarship which has been produced in recent decades.

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<sup>468</sup> Buttigieg, E. (2011). *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity: The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c.1580-c.1700*. London: Continuum.

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