PART V

The European expansion

Thus in 1095 Islam was by no means advancing everywhere. It had lost ground to the Christians in western Europe, both in Spain and in Sicily, at the same time that it was on the offensive in Asia Minor under Seljuq leadership. The dividing line was in general the Mediterranean, the northern coast of which was mostly Christian, while the southern coast was largely Muslim. A nascent Christian expansion movement was also becoming apparent in other regions. The Viking invasions, which had repeatedly sowed destruction since the end of the eighth century, ended with King Harald Hardraada's failed attack on England in the year 1066. The nomadic Hungarians (Magyars) had been integrated into Latin Christendom in the second half of the tenth century. The most important religious boundary of Christendom remained northeast Europe, the home of the pagan Slavs. Even here Latin Christianity was expanding at the end of the eleventh century. Granted, the great Slav rebellion of 983 had destroyed many of the Carolingian and early Ottonian conquests and foundations. But since the mid-eleventh century lost territory east of the Elbe and Saale was reconquered and destroyed churches were rebuilt. Settlers flocked to the newly won regions, while the indigenous population was evangelized. To the east of the Roman-German Empire, Christian states and native Church hierarchies were created (Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary), although pagan peoples still remained in northeastern Europe at the turn of the century. The west Slavic Pomeranians and Wends, along with the Finno-Ugric and Baltic tribes (Prussians, Livonians, Estonians, Lithuanians, and Finns) formed a great arc of illiterate polytheistic peoples that reached from the border of Saxony to the polar circle. Their lands, just like the Iberian Peninsula and the Near East, would become an objective of crusader armies.

The crusades assumed particular importance in society against the backdrop of the three most important developments that have been described here—the fragmentation of political authority in Europe, the progressive confessional division of Christianity in the eleventh century, and finally the expansion movements in both East and West. They were able to surmount the barriers that stood in the way of the great expansion movement and therefore presented a clear, common goal to the warriors of Latin Europe. Contemporaries already testified to the crusades' characteristic of reaching beyond established borders. This new form of military undertaking was fundamental in giving coherence to the medieval expansion of Europe.

Holy war, knighthood, and pilgrimage

Just war—holy war

The idea of crusade

Both contemporaries and later commentators rightly regarded the First Crusade as something new. Still, it rested on a series of foundations that often reached far into the past. Many were of a political and social

nature or belonged in the realm of medieval world-view and piety. They will be presented in the next two chapters. This is all the more necessary because these basic elements of medieval life and belief are unfamiliar to most modern people. These preconditions amalgamated into what one can characterize as the "idea of the crusade"—the spiritual and ideological foundations for the expeditions. These ideas worked with varying strength on the crusading movement, affecting its intellectual leaders as well as individual crusaders. A great number of sources shed light on this issue; the extant documents and letters of crusaders do so with particular vividness.

Today, as in earlier ages, the crusades bring to the forefront the question: is it possible for a war to be just? At its most essential level, Christianity is founded on the peaceful action of Christ. Therefore, unlike Islam—whose prophet was both a spiritual and a military leader—Christianity has to resolve a great contradiction: it must reconcile the Bible's contradictory pronouncements about war. The Fifth Commandment ("Thou shalt not kill"), or Jesus' words of peace, contradicts many passages of the Old Testament especially. The official adoption of Christianity in the Roman Empire at the beginning of the fourth century had no effect on the pursuit of war. Some Christian warriors were even "raised to the honor of the altar," i.e., canonized. In the early Middle Ages bishops assumed many of the functions of city governors and as such had to guarantee the security of their domains, with armed force if necessary. The resulting theological challenge found varying responses from members of the clergy. They laid the foundations for a theology that served to legitimate war in the Middle Ages and beyond—the theory of just war. The essential components of this theory were established by St Augustine of Hippo.

The memory of Augustine's theoretical edifice was largely lost during the early Middle Ages. What became decisive in judging the justice of a war was not the warrior's inner attitude and the goal of his actions, but simply the outcome. Therefore, penances were imposed when a soldier killed, even if his victim was a violator of the peace or an aggressor, and the killer acted at the command of a legitimate ruler. The concept of the just war was not even reactivated at the time of the Muslim expansion in the seventh century, when the situation was in fact one of defense against external aggression.

Augustine (354–430) was bishop of Hippo Regius in modern Algeria. He laid out the conditions for just war in his treatise "Against Faustus the Manichaean" in the course of controversy with the Manichaean heresy, which repudiated war as a whole and also the Old Testament. In Augustine's view, four conditions must exist for a war to be just: the war must be declared by a legitimate authority, there must be a lawful reason for war, any other possible resolution must have failed, and the war must be waged with moderation. Augustine made a clear division between the inner attitude of those fighting and their deeds, so that the legitimacy of the *casus belli* became essential in judging whether a war was just or unjust. He made a further definition: the warrior acts justly who defends country, law, or customs against aggression, who enforces a judicial decision, or who fights to regain stolen property. Besides this, wars are also just that are waged by a secular power acting with God's authority (*Deo auctoritate*). But war should not serve as a means of conversion or annihilation of pagans. At its core, the Augustinian doctrine of just war (*bellum iustum*) was thus leveled against internal enemies of the faith. The restoration of disturbed peace was the most urgent goal, so the bishop understood waging war as an act of love for one's neighbor. Christian behavior was thus also guaranteed in war. Augustine had created a new ethics for warfare.

Holy war on the Iberian Peninsula

Since the ninth century Christianity had faced new threats. Attacks by pagan Vikings, Magyars, and Slavs in the north and east, as well as Muslims in the south and west, allowed Augustine's theory to reappear in both the Greek East and the Latin West. In individual cases it is possible to detect a theological discussion of the nature of war—for example in Spain, which the Muslims conquered in the early eighth century. In the mountainous north (Asturias and León) Christians defended their independence and gradually began to expand their kingdoms southward. They could point out that this was a case of recovering formerly Christian land, in which co-religionists still lived. This alone was sufficient cause to declare their war just. In Asturia and León the claim was explicitly formulated that the Christians were pursuing a just war; in other words a war with God's authority (*Deo auctoritate*) against an aggressive new religion. Chroniclers of the ninth through eleventh centuries portray the conflict not merely as a just but indeed as a holy war. Christian rulers were likened to Old Testament kings and the Spanish Christians to the people of God, contributing to the realization of God's plan for salvation.

There is no evidence that the crusaders adopted this concept directly. But for most contemporary Christians the crusades, too, were more than simply just wars, more than defense against an unjust attack. They too were sanctified, because in them warriors fought not only for the defense of Christianity but directly for God. The crusader fulfilled God's will, was God's tool. Participation in such a war was thus no longer

something that had to be repented, but an activity that would bring salvation; it was possible in this context even to speak of "meritorious warfare." The war in itself was not regarded as holy, but it had a salvific effect on the participants. This interpretation, which can be found in contemporary documents and letters, was promoted by the reawakening of interest in Augustinian writings in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and was an important element of the idea of crusade. Increasingly, motivation or inner intention moved to the center of interest, and the significance of actual deeds receded to the background. The crusade in itself was already justified, but it was the inner attitude of participants that made their actions meritorious before God. Pope Urban II (1088–99) specifically underscored this point by offering the crusading indulgence (see "Penance and indulgence," p. 30) only to those who "from devotion alone" (*sola devotione*) set out for the Holy Land.

War as an act of love or revenge

Last but not least, war against the Muslims was especially approved because it was waged on behalf of threatened fellow Christians. This was an extension—in this case a military extension—of the concept of love for one's neighbor. Were not the Greek Christians threatened by Muslims? Did they not fear for life and limb? Emissaries from the East and the pope both presented this menace vividly before the eyes of contemporaries. Some propagators of the crusade understood the struggle (however strange this view may seem to modern people) as an act of love in the sense of the biblical commandment, even if this way of thinking may not have been central to the ordinary crusader. A different concept, derived from Augustine's idea of just war, fits contemporary values better: the idea of war to punish violators of the peace. In the eleventh century this theme was especially relevant for a sector of society that was still in its adolescence—the knightly class.

Knighthood

Without question the high Middle Ages was an era of open violence, violence that grew to even greater intensity during the eleventh century. It is not only the narrative texts that convey this impression. In the administration of justice corporal punishment in the form of mutilation and death became common instead of earlier forms of penance—both a response to and an expression of the general militarization of society. This endemic violence had much to do with the lack of an effective central power. The division and dissolution of the Carolingian Empire left a power vacuum, especially in West Francia, that was increasingly filled by local powers. These depended on the support of mounted warriors, known as *milites* (knights). This was their epoch, the period in which they rose to power. Some of these knights were rising free peasants; many others descended from officials. They carried out administrative tasks in the name of their lord and sometimes enjoyed considerable independence. A visible sign of their freedom of action was

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the knightly castles that had sprung up in ever-greater numbers since the beginning of the eleventh century. Scholars debate whether lesser military lords succeeded in garnering a quasi-autonomous position, whether they accomplished this transformation by force, and whether this development was connected to the subjugation of the formerly free peasantry. It cannot be contested, however, that the rise of this military elite was a major characteristic of the time and should be seen as an essential precondition to the crusades.

The knight's armor

What differentiated the knight from other fighting men was his horse and his appropriate weapons. The primary weapon was the lance, which was clamped under the arm and gave the knight enormous penetrating power when he attacked on horseback. This effectiveness was still greater if the knights attacked in a closed formation, which also contributed to the group solidarity of the knightly class. The fundamental ideals of this warrior culture were military toughness, prowess, and honor. The young knighthood of the eleventh century had not yet acquired the heraldry, ceremonies, and courtly rules of conduct of later ages. These ideals were to affect the crusades of the late twelfth century and later undertakings. The knight's armaments—from the longsword, chain mail, and spurs, to the costliest element, the horse—were extraordinarily expensive. Such equipment could only be financed if the knight had considerable means. This usually took the form of a landed estate. It is estimated that an armored rider needed the income of twelve peasant holdings to pay for a horse and weapons.

A knight in the field also required support, whether servants (who wielded weapons when needed) or infantry. Therefore a knight did not stand alone, but was the center of a small military unit. Indeed, the nobles and knights constituted only about 10–15 per cent of the larger crusade armies, because the papal call caught the imagination of men and women of all classes. But the *milites* rightly regarded themselves as the most important military element, and others concurred. It was these knights whom Urban II had in mind when he made his call for a crusade. And it was to their mental world that Urban and later popes appealed in a wide variety of ways. The only problem was how the Church was to convince this new, warlike group to enter the service of Christ and the Church.

The Peace of God

In some parts of Europe the weakness of central, especially judicial, authorities and the power of the knights led to great abuses. Armed men carried out their feuds by military means, at the cost of defenseless clerics, women, or peasants. To counteract this abuse, the churchmen of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and northern France began to propagate the idea of the Peace of God (*pax Dei*) toward the end of the tenth century. This movement was intended to protect the defenseless groups in the population. The Peace was elaborated by establishing certain periods in which fighting was not allowed (the Truce of God, *Treuga Dei*). Whoever

broke the Peace or the Truce was not merely excommunicated; in some regions secular lords also guaranteed enforcement. They swore on holy relics, with the Church's blessing, that they would take arms against peace-breakers. Although the Peace of God movement came to an end in these regions in *c.* 1030, the idea of a general or temporally specific peace and harmony league (*pax et concordia*) was adopted in other regions, such as Flanders, Lotharingia, and the Rhineland, directly before the First Crusade. At this time, too, the pope and the emperor repeatedly called for the establishment of peace.

Thus, the Peace of God and the *Treuga Dei* were attractive for a number of reasons. These movements gave local authorities a widely approved means to restrain the knights' arbitrariness. In our context, though, it is more important that the Peace and Truce movements strengthened the Church's position, because churchmen played an important role in securing peace. These initiatives also helped to condemn warfare against fellow Christians as "unchristian" in the ideological world of the knights. The solemn, religious oath taken is evidence of this development, and also points the way toward the crusades. It is noteworthy that Urban II proclaimed a Peace of God at the same time that he called the crusade, extending protection to crusaders' property. To be sure, the Peace of God was not as important for the development of the idea of the crusade as some other concepts and phenomena of the time. But, as an ecclesiastical call on knights to pledge themselves by oath to secure the well-being of fellow Christians with strength of arms, it was undoubtedly one of the steps toward the crusade movement.

Chansons de geste

Some of the men who became crusaders had already fought Muslims with ecclesiastical approval before the Council of Clermont, whether in the Byzantine Empire, Sicily, or Spain. The conflict in Spain in particular had become the subject of literature. A series of epic tales, known as *chansons de geste*, developed around the figure of Charlemagne. These stories, orally transmitted at first, tell of the emperor's legendary campaign against the Spanish Muslims. Eleventh- and twelfth-century nobles, especially in France, loved these stories, and the *chansons de geste* played a role in validating and sanctioning the struggle against Islam. However, those involved saw a qualitative difference between the conflicts on the Iberian Peninsula and the expedition to the Near East. The call issued at Clermont came to the knights as something completely new and unique. Certainly this rests on the fact that Pope Urban and later crusade preachers managed to connect in a way never seen before with the fundamental values of this sector of the population. But what marked the knights' world-view? Why did they take arms on the Lord's behalf?

Economic interests

Some historians have underlined economic motives for taking the cross. The financial expenditure for a participant in a crusade was enormous. It is estimated that going on a crusade could well have cost five or six

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times a knight's annual income. To raise the money, knights alienated land and sought loans in large quantities; the extant documents bear witness to the extreme measures they took to scrape together the necessary funds. It is modern scholars, rather than contemporaries, who have regarded this as a form of investment, made with expectation of rich future rewards. The crusaders—even the first, but more so the participants in later crusades—knew that a crusade was an extremely dangerous venture, from which a great many would never return. Indeed, contemporary crusader wills testify to a realistic evaluation of the peril, and, according to later chronicles, Urban II had already warned of this:

The call to martyrdom in Urban II's sermon at the Council of Clermont

From *Gesta francorum et aliorum Hierusolimitanorum* (I, 1), pp. 2–3.

The Lord Pope also said: "Brothers, you will have to suffer greatly for the name of Christ—pain, poverty, nakedness, persecutions, privations, sickness, hunger, thirst, and more—for Christ said to his disciples: 'You must suffer much in my name' [Acts 9:16] . . ."

Only a few of those who managed to reach Palestine and survived the fighting settled there. So it seems very unlikely that the prospect of new lands could have been a motivation for these warriors. Recent research has also presented evidence, contradicting older assumptions, that economic factors such as hope for new territory or demographic pressure were hardly important for the crusaders. Only after the establishment of the Latin lordships in Palestine was there a colonization movement worthy of mention. It should not, however, be equated with the crusades themselves. There were of course some exceptions. Several of the leaders of the First Crusade, such as Tancred (*c.* 1076–1112), Bohemund of Tarento (1050/58–1111), or Baldwin of Boulogne (1058–1118), seem to have aimed at acquiring rule over new territories. Still, the extant wills of crusaders testify that the knights in general were well aware of the danger and did not anticipate winning great riches. What inspired most knights and other fighting men to take part in a crusade was not external reward but internal motivations and ideals.

The Christianization of the knightly class had already been set into motion with the Peace of God movement. Subsequently, the idea of the *miles Christi*, which had originally referred to clerics who strove in God's service with spiritual weapons, was transferred to armed men. As such a knight of Christ, the crusader set out for the fight, perhaps to avenge his Lord and certainly to regain his Lord's inheritance, the *hereditas Christi*. These ideas were closely tied up with the knightly world. They can be pieced together from the letters and documents of

The knightly ethos

Three factors weighted especially heavily on knightly families: family consciousness, feudalism, and concepts of honor. It was with these issues that the papal appeals struck a deep resonance, not just Urban II's call but those of his successors. According to the chronicler Baldric of Dol, Urban described the Greek Christians under Muslim threat as blood relatives—relatives who had to be aided. Later, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, this argument could be understood more directly, since some knights did in fact have relatives who had emigrated to the "crusader states," or ancestors who had already won fame as crusaders. Echoes of noble feudal values can also be seen in the calls for crusades, which refer repeatedly to the loss of threatened territories. Baldric of Dol tells that Urban II made this point with reference to the eastern Christians. Later, the theologian and crusade preacher Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) hammered the feudal point home much more forcefully when he characterized Palestine as the Lord's own property, the *patrimonium Christi*. Christ, he argued, had been driven from his property, and every knight of Christ is in duty bound to fight to restore his highest overlord to what is rightfully his. Such an argument appealed not only to feudal obligations but also caught knights by their sense of honor. After all, Christ himself had been dishonored by the loss of his homeland, and the living conditions of threatened or subjugated fellow Christians were also described in images that particularly invoked the dishonor involved. Members of the knightly class can have had no doubt that the crusades were vindicated on these grounds.

participants in the First Crusade; the chroniclers, popes, and crusade preachers of the twelfth century declared them openly. There were also further, equally strong motivations to make the decision to go on crusade, motivations that aimed both at this life and at the life to come. The most important of these was pilgrimage.

Pilgrimage

One of the reasons why pilgrimage played a special role in religious life was the saints' ability to petition God, to intervene on behalf of individuals. Concern for salvation and personal sinfulness thus relied heavily on the cult of saints and pilgrimage. The relics of some saints (bones or body parts) attracted pilgrims from far beyond local or regional borders. A net of pilgrimage centers arose in Christian Europe, with a number of major shrines. Three places above all acquired a Europe-wide significance: Rome, Santiago de Compostela on the Iberian Peninsula, and Jerusalem. Rome was appealing especially as the center of the papacy, the site where many Christians were martyred, and above all as the final resting place of the leading apostles Peter and Paul. Compostela was distinguished by the relics honored there of St James the Greater, the son of Zebedee. The pilgrimage there could also provide a special

form of purification for participants, thanks to the simple fact that it was a long journey for most pilgrims—the penitential journey itself was, as it were, a substantial part of the goal. One could certainly say the same of Jerusalem. Besides, Palestine was directly linked to the Christian history of salvation like no other area. The land itself was holy, and was normally spoken of as the *loca sancta*, the holy places.

Jerusalem-centered piety

The idea of purifying and sanctifying oneself by visiting such a *locus sanctus* is older than Christianity. In Judaism, longing for Jerusalem finds its most heartfelt expression in the Passover prayer "Next year in Jerusalem," but also manifests itself in the concrete form of pilgrimages to the Holy Land. It was and still is the dream of many Jews to make this holy earth their final resting place. This idea was also strong in late antique Christianity. Many Christians not only visited Palestine but stayed there and ended their days in the Lord's land. The Church father Jerome (347/48–419/20), for example, settled in Palestine himself and also helped promote the idea. Others were content to see the holy places and then return home, bringing objects back, not as souvenirs but as venerated, salvation-bringing relics. Places as well as holy people could pass on their special power, their *virtus* or *eulogia*, to "secondary relics"—objects that touched them—which explains the spread of blessed keepsakes such as water from the Jordan or holy oil.

During the high Middle Ages the legal aspects of pilgrimage came to be regulated. The *peregrinus* swore a special oath and was placed under the particular protection of both the Church and secular officials. His goods and family were protected during his absence; debts were frozen. As evidence of their status, both male and female pilgrims wore a special badge. Not surprisingly, false pilgrims sometimes abused this special position. It is also clear that some people made pilgrimages for other reasons besides spiritual malaise and concern for their salvation. Love of adventure, curiosity, or desire to combine economic or political interests with a pilgrimage could all lead a person to set out.

Already in Late Antiquity pilgrimage traffic between Europe and Palestine was active. Egeria, a fourth-century pilgrim who probably came from Spain, wrote a detailed account of her journey. Many similar works followed, some written as tour guides for other pilgrims, others as personal accounts of experiences. Whether or not a pilgrim could make the long journey to the Near East depended fundamentally on the political conditions of the lands that had to be traversed, as well as in Palestine itself. At first the Islamic conquest put a stop to pilgrimage, but the situation was normalized in the course of the eighth and ninth centuries. The Byzantine emperors' military successes in the tenth century had a salutary effect on the Christian Jerusalem pilgrimage. True, they were not able to take the Holy City itself, but the road from Constantinople to Syria came under Byzantine supervision, and further west relations with the Fatimids were good enough to make the final stage of the journey to

Jerusalem quite easy. Around the middle of the eleventh century, perhaps inspired by the millennium of Christ's passion, there is evidence of record numbers of western pilgrimages to the Holy Land (see "The Great Pilgrimage of 1064," following).

Difficulties of pilgrimage

This upsurge of western pilgrimage suffered a check with the Seljuq invasion. Far-reaching Muslim control of Asia Minor and the political fragmentation of the region hindered the journey by land, and the sea route to Palestine was both dangerous and exorbitantly expensive. What's more, neither Fatimid nor Seljuq rulers were in a position to control Palestine effectively, so pilgrims were repeatedly in danger of falling prey to robbers. But despite all difficulties, the stream of pilgrims to the Holy Land continued. It is probably right to assume that if a crusader setting out for the Holy Land had had any prior contact at all with the Islamic world, it was more likely to have been as a pilgrim than as a fighter. Pope Urban II, according to the chroniclers, referred to this fact in his sermon at Clermont, when he commented that many members of the audience had themselves made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, or knew someone who had.

The Great Pilgrimage of 1064

The Great Pilgrimage of 1064, led by Bishop Gunter of Bamberg and other high German dignitaries, is famous because of its sheer magnitude. Supposedly more than 7,000 pilgrims took part. Contemporary sources like the annals of Niederaltaich and Lampert of Hersefeld's (before 1028–after 1081) chronicle report the difficulties encountered on the long road through Hungary, the Byzantine Empire, and Syria. Robbers, swindlers, and highwaymen all preyed on the pilgrims—who ended up defending themselves. However, such instances of self-defense were most unusual and were caused by the particular circumstances of the journey. The sources explicitly stress that most of the pilgrims (as was the basic rule) traveled unarmed to the East. The 1064 pilgrimage was also exceptional in its size. Still, the chronicles and tales of this event give a good impression of the general trials a pilgrim faced on the road. They also show how conflicts could arise due to intercultural misunderstanding. Even though the number of participants in the Great Pilgrimage of 1064 may be exaggerated, they express the tendency of the age to travel—in large groups—to the Holy Land.

Urban II also emphasized Jerusalem's special dignity as a pilgrimage center. He described the desecration and defilement of the holy places in drastic terms in order to motivate his audience. As a result, many crusaders regarded the essence of their undertaking as a campaign to free the most important of all shrines, the tomb of Christ. We should not underrate the role that veneration and longing for Jerusalem played in inspiring participants, as crusaders' letters and documents eloquently

testify. Independently of the question of whether or not Urban II's main goal was support for the threatened Christians in the East, for many participants in the first and later crusades their personal goal was Jerusalem. They went to "free" Jerusalem, to protect her, or to win her back again, depending on the current political situation.

Pilgrimage and crusade: similarities in law and terminology

The close relation between pilgrimage and crusade can be discerned in terminology. For a long time there was no clear distinction between the two journeys: both crusaders and pilgrims were called *peregrini*, and *iter* (road, march, journey), *expeditio* (expedition), or even *peregrinatio* (pilgrimage) were the standard terms used to describe the crusade. It was only in the thirteenth century that the Old French *croiserie* came into use, whereas the specific term *crucesignatus* for a crusader can be found at the end of the twelfth century; the word *cruciata* only appeared in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Both pilgrimage and fighting on God's behalf brought the individual salvation and purification. This affinity also becomes apparent in legal contexts and external symbolism. Both pilgrims and crusaders swore an oath, a voluntary and solemn promise to God. Through this oath they temporarily entered the clerical state, with all the moral duties this entailed, and were consequently subject to canon law. To make their special status visible, both pilgrims and crusaders wore the sign of the cross.

Although pilgrimage was so important for the rise of the crusades, fundamental differences between pilgrims and crusaders make it impossible to equate the two despite their similarities. The special attraction that a crusade had for laypeople, especially fighting men, was that it promised salvation through battle. The pilgrim, on the contrary, was expected to be unarmed, even though this rule was not always obeyed in the face of danger. The crusader armies, on the contrary, were *intended* for military purposes. Armed strife as an act of expiation, as a means of personal purification, as a tool of God—this was indeed something new.

Papacy, piety, and indulgence

The reform papacy

The papacy was a decisive element in the creation of the crusades, among other reasons because crusades were initiated by formal papal proclamation. The most famous of these is Urban II's sermon at Clermont on November 27, 1095. In his exhortation the pope referred to many of the "preconditions" for the crusades, which the following pages will consider from the modern historical perspective. Pope Urban's speech touched on attitudes, wishes, and fears that were already widespread in the populace. His call is reported in four very different versions, which will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter.

themselves fell victim to a powerful enemy: on July 20, 1402 the Mongols under Timur the Lame (Tamerlane, r. 1370–1405) defeated them in a great battle. Only the khan's interest in another front (China) and his death in 1405 saved the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish catastrophe of 1402 gave the Byzantine Empire a grace period of half a century. In 1422 it successfully warded off an Ottoman attack, but slowly the danger increased once again. Appeals for help were sent to the West; the Byzantine emperor even agreed to reunification with the Roman Church (1437). But the Greek Orthodox Christians of Constantinople ignored the ecclesiastical union, and a Polish-Hungarian crusader army suffered a horrible defeat at Varna in 1444. The event that had been evaded so many times by fate or good fortune finally came to pass on May 29, 1453: Muslim troops under Sultan Mehmed II (r. 1444–46, 1451–81) conquered Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire, for whose help the First Crusade had been called in 1095, had ceased to exist.

Practice, theory, and critique of crusading

The practical problems of a crusade

The organization and conduct of a crusade brought many challenges, both for its leaders and for individual participants. The crusaders had to spend a great deal of money, especially when, like the knights, they not only had to purchase expensive war gear but had to pay attendants (squires, etc.), too. Property often had to change hands. Already the First Crusade had caused a considerable reshuffling of real estate, many monasteries buying land from financially strapped crusaders. More often, landowners mortgaged their estates, because the land could be used and revenue earned from it as long as the crusader was away. If he came back, the land returned to its proprietor once the mortgage was paid; if he died, it was transferred to his heir under the same conditions. Crusaders also had to take steps for their souls' well-being during the journey and in the afterlife. So they donated considerable funds to religious institutions in return for prayers. Finally, the estate, the castle, or the kingdom had to be put in the hands of competent and trustworthy deputies. For kings, this was normally a relative; sometimes the pope also took a role as advisor to the regent.

Logistical and financial problems

Before their departure, the crusaders had to buy durable food supplies like cheese, salt meat, and beans. The purchases posed major logistical challenges when it was necessary to provision entire armies. Still more complicated was the question of transport. From the end of the twelfth century, most crusaders traveled by sea. The potentate, like King Richard I the Lionheart of England, who had his own fleet, was in an enviable position. In such cases, not only the passage but military and logistical support were assured. Normally, however, the fleets of Mediterranean trade cities like Genoa, Venice, or Marseille, already

experienced in pilgrim transport, were hired for the task. The shippers charged a graduated tariff, according to comfort level and equipment. The solution of organizational and financial problems was made easier by institutions in Outremer. Besides the territorial lords, this meant above all the military religious orders, which, thanks to their presence on both sides of the Mediterranean, offered the best means for carrying out financial transactions. But what was needed above all was the organizational ability and authority of the army's commander. Crusade armies usually consisted of diverse contingents of troops. The command structure had to be agreed on and unified to ensure the undertaking's success. It also served to keep discipline during the journey. After the pillaging of the first undertakings, draconian punishments were imposed to keep the peace both within the army and toward the inhabitants of lands they marched through.

Financial problems also often remained dire while the campaign was underway. As far as they had any means left, crusaders exchanged money in foreign lands and bought food from local merchants. Crusader poems and other sources tell of the decisive moment in a crusader's life when the money he had brought along finally ran out. For the great as well as for the lesser men, this often meant changes in their original plans. For example, the decision the crusaders of 1202–4 made to detour to Zara and later to Constantinople was imposed by financial pressure. In general, it seems certain that most crusaders returned home impoverished—if they ever got home again at all. The situation was even worse for those taken captive. Great Muslim victories flooded eastern markets with Christian slaves and made the prices plummet. Only the wealthy could hope for ransom from captivity, and this financial burden reduced some noble families to penury. When even the well-to-do often encountered financial problems, it is not surprising that the burdens placed on the poorer crusaders were often much worse. "Living from the land" was only possible to a limited degree, and besides was only officially allowed in enemy territory; often people had to help themselves as best they could. A crusader in the service of a powerful lord had fewer difficulties, since the latter had to provide subsistence (for which he could in turn demand taxes and dues). This, however, by no means applied to all simple crusaders, for many people who were not warriors accompanied the expeditions, although in the normative texts they are rarely or never mentioned. Among them were churchmen, physicians, and women.

Clerics and physicians as crusaders

Officially, monks were forbidden to participate in a crusade, because the journey was a breach of their vow of stability of place (*stabilitas loci*). Already in the first crusades, though, it appears that this prohibition was frequently ignored. Many secular clerics also journeyed to Outremer, some as chaplains to a magnate, others on their own initiative. Among the laity, there were groups like the physicians, who mostly took part in

the crusade to practice their healing arts—which does not mean that they did not take up arms at need. And finally there was a group whose presence was repeatedly, and unsuccessfully, forbidden in the crusade bulls—the women. In the medieval crusades, women played highly diverse roles: as serving women and wives traveling with their husbands, as prostitutes, and as fighters.

Women on crusades

From the first expedition of 1096–99, many female crusaders traveled to the East. Albert of Aachen and other authors report that on the one hand the women supported the army, but on the other hand could be a hindrance on the long marches. The pattern repeated itself on later expeditions. The *Itinerarium regis Ricardi* tells that before Acre in 1191 the women helped with the earthworks, and the Anglo-Norman poet Ambrose reports in his *Estoire de la Guerre Sainte* that there were women fighters among the crusaders. Some of these tales became part of the edifying literature of the age as *exempla* of moral behavior—such as the story of the wounded crusader woman who asked to be thrown into the ditch at Acre so that in death she could help fill it and thus aid in the city's conquest. But it was not only fighting women who accompanied the expedition. Prostitutes, too, took part, and were sometimes blamed for military failures: God's army, moralists declared, had sinned and therefore justly suffered defeats. This was an important reason for the prohibitions against women taking part in crusades. But they had little effect, and there is evidence that many nobles and princes took their wives along to the East. Some of them, like the French queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (d. 1204), also had an active influence on political relations in Outremer.

The sources speak repeatedly of gambling, falconry, and other pastimes of the wealthier knights. Blatant licentiousness, though, was certainly exceptional; crusaders pledged personal purification in their crusade vow. But such occurrences are an indication of the practical problems of the crusade. They called for action; in the course of the twelfth century the crusade expeditions were established on firm principles that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Creating an institutional framework for the crusades

Legal and organizational challenges

The First Crusade was something new, and fixed rules for it did not really exist. It brought many legal and organizational challenges to the Church, secular rulers, and the crusaders themselves. Solutions only gradually emerged, starting in the second half of the twelfth century. This "institutionalization of the crusades" was completed in its essentials by the end of Innocent III's pontificate (1216), after which only details still needed to be refined. In this context, it is possible to

distinguish five task or problem areas that required the establishment of firm rules. First was the question of protection: these newfangled expeditions took men from their families and possessions for far longer periods than previous campaigns. In their absence, how could the security of those who stayed at home and the economic survival of the estate be assured? Second was the financial problem: crusades were for the most part undertaken voluntarily and thus should be privately financed. But here, too, solutions had to be found. The difficulties encountered depended on the organization of crusade financing by secular and religious institutions. Third was the commitment by oath: the first crusaders had sworn an oath. But how binding was this crusade vow—was it possible to fulfill it without personally making the journey to Palestine? Fourth was the unclearly defined scope of the crusade indulgence. It was not obvious how far the privilege extended at Clermont reached. In 1095/96 this issue had not remained completely under the Church's surveillance, an important consequence of which was the "People's Crusades." To prevent similar unforeseen consequences, control of the channels of information (crusade preaching and publicity) had to be organized more strictly. A series of answers were found to these five pressing questions.

Perhaps the most urgent issue was clarification of the crusaders' legal position, and thus their worldly privileges. The already-mentioned bull *Quantum praedecessores* of December 14, 1145 settled this point: the Church took the crusader, his possessions, and his dependants under its protection. In other words, it removed the crusader from secular jurisdiction. Debts and interest payments were frozen while he was gone, mortgaging of possessions was expressly permitted. During the pontificate of Innocent III (r. 1198–1216) crusader privileges were expanded still further to include freedom from taxation and special services, as well as permission for clerics, during a crusade, to enjoy the income from benefices or to mortgage them. These rights were attractive, and some were quick to take the cross but slow to carry out their oaths. In reaction, in 1286 the papacy decreed that a crusader's privileges only came into force when he actually set out. These and other legal definitions of crusader status were essentially a matter for the canon lawyers.

Crusade taxes

After the legal issue, the second problem, the financial aspect of a crusade, was particularly important. The crusaders took their vows of their own free will and thus had to finance themselves. But crusading devoured enormous sums. A system that relied solely on the initiative of individuals put these to too great a strain: families could be deprived of the fundamentals of life, and whole lineages collapse. So in the course of the twelfth century financing passed considerably, although never exclusively, into the hands of the Church and kings. As early as 1166 Louis VII of France (r. 1137–80) levied a crusade tax, a measure taken again in 1185. This form of crusade finance reached a new level with the

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Canon law

Canon law is the law of the Catholic Church. It is based on the Bible, the works of the Church fathers, the prescriptions (*canones*) of synods (assemblies of bishops), and papal declarations. In the eleventh century several collections of such *canones* were created, but canon law first really flourished in the twelfth century. In 1140 the most famous canon law collection, the *Decretum Gratiani* (Gratian's Decretum) was completed. Along with later collections it formed the *Corpus iuris canonici*, which regulated not just churchmen's lives but many areas of lay behavior. In terms of canon law, the crusaders belonged to the prior group, because their crusader vows temporarily transplanted them to the clerical state; thus, their rights could be regulated through the laws of the Church. The importance of canon law in the twelfth century can be seen in the fact that several canonists were elected pope during this period. The most famous of them was Innocent III (r. 1198–1216), under whom the legal status of crusaders was finally clarified. Canon law also assured that the papacy's leading role in the call and organization of a crusade remained unquestioned. The canonists also established the theoretical foundation for expanding the idea of crusade to include attacks on heretic and schismatics in the thirteenth century (see "Enemies within," p. 134).

crusade tax of 1188, called the "Saladin Tithe," that both the English king Henry II (r. 1154–89) and the French king Philip II Augustus (r. 1180–1223) raised. It was levied on both lay and clerical income and paved the way for the English and French kings' demanding a fortieth part of all income in 1201. Still, the expenses remained enormous. For his first crusade, Louis IX had to raise six times the regular annual income of the crown, a total of 1.5 million livres tournois. To bring together such a massive sum of money, the crusade organization had to expand both administratively and logistically. Thus the thirteenth-century expeditions were usually fundamentally better planned than their predecessors. Above all, in the second half of the century, official powers took the matter of the *passagium* into their own hands, and individual initiative took second place.

The papacy played a vital role in this sort of institutionalization. The Church had access to three major sources of income—taxation of the clergy, general contributions, and subsidies. In 1199 Innocent III levied a tax of one-fortieth of all ecclesiastical incomes, although admittedly the clerics affected were slow to pay. A demand for a twentieth, to be paid over the course of three years, followed in 1215 to finance the Damietta crusade. The papacy found itself—not least because of the clergy's general unwillingness—compelled to create a more comprehensive system. It established collectors, who were put in charge of specific districts. Their records form an important source of information on ecclesiastical wealth in the Middle Ages. Collection boxes were also

placed in churches and monasteries and the faithful were exhorted to give generously. The subsidies called for on specific occasions also provided welcome financial boosts, which however had to be defended against the covetousness of secular rulers.

Dispensation and commutation

Finally, the Church received payments in return for freeing crusaders from their vows (dispensation). This measure not only brought financial gain but also helped solve a legal difficulty of the crusade. Through dispensation, those Christians for whom direct military activity was impossible received an opportunity to contribute their share to the crusade. Dispensation also solved the problem of hastily made vows, for it now became possible to substitute something else for the vow; in other words to "commute" it. This could be done in three ways: first, instead of going to the Holy Land, one could fight the enemies of the Church on another front (e.g., in Spain or against heretics); second, it was also possible to send a warrior to the East as a substitute; or third, one could give the cost of the crusade to the Church. The person involved received the status and privileges of a crusader despite the dispensation or commutation. Freeing from vows through monetary payment increasingly developed into a special form of purchasing indulgences. At the same time, commutation gave the papacy a useful tool for political power: crusade armies could now be used for other, eventually papal goals. In 1236 Gregory IX commuted the crusade vows of several hundred French knights so he could use them to defend the Latin Empire against the Greeks. Similarly, in 1264/65 knights were "diverted" from fighting the Mamluk sultan Baibars to wage a campaign against the Hohenstaufen in southern Italy. This practice did not win universal acceptance and encouraged criticism of the crusades.

As far as the actual crusade indulgences are concerned—the fourth problem—they came to be broadly defined in general thought and the sermons of crusade propagandists; already in Urban II's time popular belief held that an indulgence was a complete cancellation of actual sins. This point of view became well established despite the efforts of individual theologians, who at the beginning of the thirteenth century still attempted to distinguish between cancellation of the *guilt* of sin and its *punishment*. The crusade proclamations of 1145 and 1198, for example, explicitly stated that those who fulfilled their vows and went on crusade would win complete *remissio peccatorum* (see "Penance and indulgence," p. 30). Early in the thirteenth century Innocent III simplified the conditions by offering the indulgence for forty days of active service in the Albigensian Crusade. Besides the full (plenary) indulgence, graduated partial indulgences were also offered—by the late Middle Ages even for merely listening to a crusade sermon. As well as dispensations, the new indulgence regulations made it easier to participate in the crusades without taking any military part; the crusades more and more became a special, often nonviolent form of religious devotion. This transformation can be seen in crusade sermons.

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Crusade sermons

Many such sermons from the high and late Middle Ages, including handbooks of crusade sermons like that compiled by the Dominican Humbert of Romans (*De praedicatione Sanctae Crucis contra Sarracenos*, c. 1266), are extant. These texts are important sources of information on medieval views, images, and modes of communication. The preachers told anecdotes and *exempla* (short instructive tales), drew attention to the unique opportunity to win the indulgence, and called for defense or reconquest of the Holy Land.

Crusade advertising

These sermons and other speeches were fundamental components of crusade propaganda, organized primarily by the Church. Popes, archbishops, bishops, and even parish priests are known to have preached the cross as part of their offices. However, there were also clerics who received special commissions to devote themselves full-time to the task. In the twelfth century, many of these special preachers were Cistercians and secular clerics; afterward friars of the mendicant orders were preferred. Famous preachers like Bernard of Clairvaux (see "The crusades to the Battle of Hattin, 1187," p. 47), the head of the Cologne cathedral school Oliver of Paderborn, or the later bishop of Acre Jacques de Vitry (see "The Latin Church," p. 104) were enlisted for this task. Normally crusade preachers were authorized by the pope, whose most effective means for advertising the crusade was the crusade bull. The bulls *Quantum praedecessores* (1145) and *Ad liberandam* (1215) became the models for later such documents. *Quantum praedecessores* was the first to introduce the repeatedly copied sequence of narrative—exhortation—privilege (*narratio—exhortatio—privilegia*). Transmission of crusade bulls was regulated, at the latest by the beginning of the thirteenth century, thanks to the growing comprehensiveness of the papal bureaucracy. First archbishops and then suffragan bishops had copies of the document prepared that were then sent out to the parish clergy. Crusade sermons, often given in an atmosphere of festive processions and public prayers, then spread the word to the faithful. This process very often culminated in the listeners swearing crusade vows and taking the cross.

The crusade as knightly "grand tour"

A secular form of propaganda—songs and poems that exhorted people to take the cross—supplemented ecclesiastical initiatives. Fame and amorous success served in these works as inducements for taking the cross. The poets aimed especially at a type of crusader that became more significant in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries: the chivalrous noble, who sought out foreign courts in the so-called late medieval grand tour, motivated by a characteristic blend of longing for adventure, crusade ideology, and wanderlust. This development forms part of a general tendency. On the one hand, for broad sectors of the populace the crusades had become a special form of devotion. At the

same time, though, on the other hand the social and geographical recruiting ground for actual fighters became narrower—among other reasons because of the financial, logistical, and organizational changes that have been described. The crusades increasingly became a noble venture undertaken for the most part by the groups that were under the most direct threat. Mostly Germans participated in the Hussite crusades, mostly Spaniards fought in the Iberian expeditions, Hungarians concerned themselves with fighting the Ottomans, etc. The practice of the crusade had become significantly different from its origins. This fact led to criticism, not only from churchmen. Narrative sources, treatises, and poems testify that these and other reproaches were also known in wide sections of the population. A chorus of critical voices rose that rejected specific crusade practices or the expeditions as a whole.

Criticism of crusading

Ever since the first failed crusade undertakings (1096, 1101, 1147/48), some people demanded an explanation: how could it have come to pass that an expedition called on the Lord's behalf had failed? The oft-repeated answer to this question was that human sinfulness had cost the crusaders God's support. Pope Eugenius III already provided this explanation in the bull *Quantum praedecessores* of December 1, 1145. It also served to exculpate the fiasco of 1147/48, as well as other reverses. Reports of loose living on the crusade journey, of pride, greed, and other failings, only appeared to substantiate the charge. Prior Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093–1169) gives a further explanation for the crusaders' defeat. In his *De investigatione Antichristi* of 1160/62 he identified two other guilty parties besides the crusaders: the Byzantines for their half-hearted support and especially the Latins of the crusader states, who through their greed had supposedly brought about the unhappy end of the expedition. Earlier reservations about journeys to the Holy Land supplemented this form of crusade—or more accurately, crusader—criticism.

General criticism of pilgrimage and of war

Objections had been raised to pilgrimage since long before the First Crusade. Above all, two complaints had been brought up repeatedly: first, that it was simply not necessary to travel to distant places for sanctification, and second that pilgrimage brings direct dangers to both body and soul. St Jerome had admonished, in a letter to Paulinus, that living well was more salutary than leaving one's home. From the ascetic-monastic perspective the pilgrim's mobility appeared to be downright negative, because it broke the command to maintain *stabilitas loci* (remaining in the same place). As for the inner danger to the pilgrim, this was especially reduced to sexual offenses. As the late medieval popular theologian Thomas à Kempis (1379/80–1471) put it: *Qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur* (he who travels much on pilgrimage is

rarely sanctified). Well beyond the Middle Ages these and similar objections were still a recurrent theme. One need only think of Luther's biting critique of pilgrimage: that it was nothing but adventure, and that besides, the showing and veneration of relics was dangerously close to worshiping idols.

Still more fundamental was the objection against military strife itself: that wars against the Muslims were sinful, since they were contradictory to Christ's words and deeds of peace, the pacifistic passages of the Old Testament such as Ezekiel 33:11, or the voluntary martyrdom of the saints. We know that such voices existed because theologians argued against them. The canonist Gratian (d. *c.* 1150) did so in his *Decretum*, as did the author of a letter written sometime in the period 1128–36 to the young community of Templars, who argued the question of whether it was wrong and depraved to kill enemies. Admittedly, these voices were apparently not particularly loud, and barely a single advocate of this line of argument is known by name. Fundamental criticism of pilgrimage or war, although ongoing, is not very well attested.

More familiar by contrast were concrete reproaches against participation in a crusade. Some of these objections were completely practical in nature, such as the complaint that a man's absence would place his family in danger. Reports of encroachments against crusaders' possessions and dependants testify that such warnings were justified. Despite that sort of complaint, contemporary criticism usually did not focus on the practice of crusading in itself. The objections about negative corollary phenomena were addressed mostly against those who exploited the situation, rather than against the crusade as such.

Concrete criticisms of the crusade

The majority of objections were leveled against three features of the crusades, all consequences of the thirteenth-century institutionalization described above. First was the expansion of the idea of crusade beyond its original Palestinian goal, second was the delay of crusades to the Holy Land, and third was the use of crusades by secular or ecclesiastical potentates to serve their own political, financial, or military objectives. Very often these complaints were treated as related to each other, such as by the southern French troubadour Guilhem de Figueira (active 1215–40) in the period *c.* 1227–29. He accused the popes of acting against Greeks and Latins from greed, but sparing the Muslims. The Albigensian crusades of the early thirteenth century, and the calling of a crusade against Emperor Frederick II, received particularly harsh censure from poets and singers.

Further events of the thirteenth century, especially the gradual Mamluk advance, gave greater impetus to crusade criticism. The failure of many undertakings and the difficulty in organizing more expeditions led some contemporaries, like the Italian chronicler Salimbene de Adam (or of Parma, 1221–88) to the conclusion that winning back the

The troubadours

At the end of the eleventh century singers in the Midi (southern France) began to compose songs in their own language, the *langue d'oc*. Soon afterward, troubadours also started to create poems in eastern Spain and Italy. This genre had a deep influence on the German-speaking minnesingers. At the heart of their works were love and the "service of ladies," but they also expressed their opinions on the crusades. Often they furthered the work of crusade preachers; in other cases they linked the crusades to the subjects dear to them. *Militia amoris* (chivalrous knighthood) was linked to the *militia Dei*, service of love became service of God and vice versa. In this genre, participation in a crusade often became a journey through which one won the love of a lady. Troubadours and minnesingers played an important role in the crusade movement, both by composing calls for the defense or conquest of the holy places and by idealizing true or fictional experiences. However, they also seized on contemporary criticism and strengthened it. The disillusioning end of the 1202–4 expedition, but especially the Albigensian war and the condemnation of Frederick II, had a negative impact. In the early thirteenth century southern France was both a theater of war and the heartland of troubadour poetry, and some minnesingers recited their pieces at the Hohenstaufen court. Walther von der Vogelweide (d. *c.* 1230), the most famous of the minnesingers, composed both exhortations to take the cross (*ouwê waz êren sich ellendet von tiuschen landen*, 1227/28) and poems against the pope's presumed greed (*The Irritated Song*, 1213) and his trespasses against the emperor (*Emperor Frederick's Tune*, 1224/27).

holy places was not God's will. At the second Council of Lyons in 1274, the Dominican theologian Humbert of Romans (*c.* 1200–77) compiled at Pope Gregory IX's (r. 1271–76) request possible objections to crusading in an assessment (the *Opusculum tripartitum*) under seven headings. These ranged from practical considerations about the numerical imbalance between Christians and Muslims in the Near East to the charge that crusading kept Muslims from the possibility of conversion, to doubts about whether crusading was pleasing to God at all.

Criticism of the papacy

New reverses came in the fourteenth century, and with them emerged new grounds for complaint. A special target was the papacy's lust for power, which found expression in the curia's move to Avignon and the papacy's resulting dependence on the French kings, as the dissolution of the Knights Templars at the urging of the French king Philip IV demonstrates. All these factors undermined papal prestige and thus indirectly also that of the crusades, because the canonists had juridically linked the papacy with crusading. The expansion of the bureaucracy that dealt with papal finance, which had served the thirteenth-century crusades well, quickly became the object of further attacks, when funds were

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collected but no expeditions set out. Crusade criticism was in this case to a large degree criticism of the papacy, especially when directed against the popes' political crusades, undertaken to secure papal power in Italy (see "The Church's secular enemies," p. 141). Occasionally this anti-papal criticism of the crusades made common cause with contemporary spiritual trends like Joachimism (named after Joachim of Fiore, d. *c.* 1202/5) and other millenarian movements. These movements advocated the peaceful conversion of the Muslims as a sign of a new, emerging age of humankind and consequently relegated the crusades to an older age soon to be overcome. But despite their growing numbers and various charges, the effectiveness of the diverse critiques, here given in broad outline, was limited. Certainly the idea of crusade did not collapse in the late Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century, too, plans were made and campaigns carried out. The only difference is that such initiatives could no longer hope for a massive resonance that reached beyond political boundaries. They usually remained a matter for individual princes.

The crusades from the Muslim perspective

The crusader lordships in Islamic power structures

Conflict with the Christian invaders was merely one element, and not the most important one, in the complex history of the medieval Islamic world, the Dar al-Islam (see "The Islamic world in *c.* 1095," p. 5). Therefore, in the following section I intend to place the presence of Latins in Outremer into the larger context of events in the Near East. The crusades appear here solely in the form they were usually perceived by the Muslims: as campaigns to provide military support for the Christian states of the Levant. The question must also be investigated how demarcation from the Christians helped foster the idea of jihad and to which political use this concept was put in the course of the twelfth century. Finally, I will move from military and political history and the history of ideas to the field of perception of the Other, to consider how the Muslims visualized their new neighbors or lords. Muslim historians like the lord of Saizar, Usama ibn Munqid, are important sources for many of these issues.

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The military religious orders

before 1080	Amalfitan merchants found St John's Hospital in Jerusalem
before 1120	Hugh de Payens founds the Templar community
1113	Papal approval of the community of St John (Hospitallers)
1129	Council of Troyes: Confirmation of the Templars' customs
c. 1130	Creation of the Hospitaller Rule
c. 1135	The Hospitallers militarize
1139	Bull *Omne datum optimum*: papal approval of the Order of Knights Templars
1142	First mention of the Order of Lazarus
1154	Bull *Christiane fidei religio*: approval of the Order of St John
1158	Establishment of a confraternity at the fortress of Calatrava
1175/76	Papal approval of the Order of Santiago and its rule. Papal confirmation of the confraternity of San Julián de Pereiro (later the Order of Alcántara) First mention of the confraternity of Évora (later the Order of Avís)
1187	Rule of the Order of Calatrava
1190	Foundation of a German hospitaller confraternity at the siege of Acre
1198	Militarization of the Teutonic order
1202	Foundation of the Order of the Sword-Brothers
1211	Confraternity of San Julián de Pereira subjected to the Order of Calatrava
1218	Conquest of the castle of Alcántara
1225	Teutonic order driven from Burzenland
before 1228	Foundation of the Order of Dobrin
1235/37	Order of the Sword-Brothers and Order of Dobrin incorporated into the Teutonic order
1307	October 13: arrest of the French Templars

1309	Headquarters of the Teutonic order transferred to the Baltic
1306–10	Order of St John conquers Rhodes
1312	March 22: dissolution of the Order of the Temple
1410	July 15: Battle of Tannenberg/Grunwald
1466	Second Peace of Thorn
1523	Knights of St John evacuate Rhodes
1525	Secularization of Prussia
1530	Knights of St John take up residence on Malta

Foundations and beginnings of the military religious orders

Preconditions for the rise of the military orders

Of all the institutions that grew from the crusades and the crusader lordships, the military religious orders had the longest life and greatest success. Thanks to their military might, wealth, and political weight they influenced events in Outremer more than any other corporate body. Over a dozen military orders came into being in the period up to the mid-thirteenth century, some of which spread over all of Christian Europe. In the following discussion I will attempt to present in a systematic manner the foundation of the various orders and their expansion. But first it is necessary to consider the various conditions from which they rose.

Crusader and knight of a military religious order

At first glance, it is hard to pin down the difference between a crusader and the member of a military order. Both took up arms to defend Christendom, both understood themselves to be *milites Christi* (warriors for Christ), and both hoped for a special heavenly reward for their endeavors. Both forms of life combined elements of the *vita religiosa* and pilgrimage. Many of the reasons that led people to participate in a crusade (see "Holy war, knighthood, and pilgrimage," p. 14; "Papacy, piety, and indulgence," p. 23) could equally well lead a man to join a military religious order. But for members of the military orders some of these reasons had a particularly great resonance. The following five factors were especially compelling: the idea of service to one's neighbor, the Christianization of knighthood, the ecclesiastical reform movements, the lay piety of the twelfth century, and the particular conditions in the lands that bordered on Islam. Certainly other motivations, such as political or economic interests, supplemented the military orders' *raison d'être*, but they cannot provide an adequate explanation for their creation.

The impulse to serve one's neighbor was fulfilled in a twofold manner—a military order's members provided armed protection to fellow Christians (in contemporary eyes this, too, was an act of Christian love of one's neighbor), and charitable work in hospitals. Both activities had

their origins in the context of pilgrimage. The original task of the oldest military order, the Knights of the Temple, was to protect Christian pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. The idea of providing assistance or defense to fellow Christians also influenced the foundation of several Spanish military orders, which sought to defend newly conquered territory from the Muslims. On the other side of the spectrum, the Knights of St John, the Lazarites, and the Teutonic order, all of which developed from hospitaller confraternities, exemplify the charitable works of the orders.

The Christianization of the knightly class, which has already been mentioned (see "Knighthood," p. 16), was also a fundamental precondition for the rise of the military orders. Without the Church's growing acceptance of these warriors it would have been impossible to integrate them formally into the ecclesiastical organization as members of religious orders. This appears with particular clarity in a work that catches the essence of the military orders' novelty, the "Treatise in Praise of the New Knighthood" (*Ad milites Templi de laude novae militie*) by the Cistercian abbot Bernard of Clairvaux (see "The crusades to the Battle of Hattin, 1187," p. 47). This text repeatedly emphasizes that the Templar community gives knights the opportunity to employ their military skills for the sake of God and their neighbors.

Ecclesiastical reform movements and lay piety

Building on the model of pre-existing forms of religious life eased the military religious orders' integration into the structures of the Church. Two ecclesiastical reform movements in particular served as inspiration, the Cistercians and the canons regular (see "New orders and religious movements," p. 27). Most of the Iberian military orders were institutionally affiliated to the Cistercian order and thus lived in accordance with the Benedictine Rule. Many others, such as the Knights of St John and the Order of Santiago, chose St Augustine's rule for canons as the basis of their own order's rule.

The lay piety of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was probably a still weightier influence on the genesis of the military orders than the three reasons already named. For in their beginnings these orders were usually lay fraternities plain and simple. This is true of the first Templar community as well as of the Spanish *milicias*, from which orders of knights later developed. This is especially valid for the Hospitaller communities, which were only militarized at a later stage of development. These confraternities were fundamentally imbued with the idea of poverty in imitation of Christ. It is no coincidence that the first Templars called themselves *pauperes commilitones Christi*—poor fellow-fighters of Christ. Bernard of Clairvaux also particularly accentuated this characteristic. Thus in the military orders, four elements joined together in a symbiotic relationship: older views of church-led war against pagans, more recent monastic reform movements, the new lay piety of the twelfth century, and the aspiring knightly class.

Military orders and *ribat*

It has been argued that the first Templars modeled themselves on a Muslim prototype, the *ribat*. This term is used to describe Muslim conventual buildings that were defended by warriors. Some of these volunteer fighters only served for a limited period and combined military service with spiritual exercises. Their similarities to the Christian military orders are apparent, and the idea of direct imitation is reasonable. But no evidence has yet been found to support this assertion. The distinctive features of the military orders were not propagated solely in Islam. The communal, regulated life of laypeople fits in with the Christian confraternity movement, the idea of "meritorious violence" developed from older Christian roots, and even the armed service for a limited time that the first Templars were permitted can be detected in the Spanish militias. Yet, the question of Christian military order members adopting Islamic elements has still not been settled conclusively.

Apart from all the general spiritual, religious, and social bases of this new form of professional religious life, one last factor should not be overlooked, one that had decisive significance for the creation of the military orders: the immediate circumstances in Christianity's border regions. The foundation of the first confraternities to protect pilgrims or fortresses, but also the transformation of charitable foundations into military orders, was made in large part in response to a direct challenge. It was an attempt to provide an adequate solution to an actual situation that arose from the unique character of the crusader lordships or other border regions.

The union of religious life and armed conflict also provoked skepticism. Early sources reveal that doubt about this novelty existed not only outside but within the Templar community. In the Order of St John, too, until the mid-twelfth century there was opposition to setting aside service of the poor and sick in favor of military action. For the rest of the Middle Ages, criticism was never completely silenced. Over time, further arguments embroidered on this initial criticism and finally contributed to the amalgamation or dissolution of particular orders.

Charitable or military confraternities: the conditions of foundation

Confraternities and military orders

When looking at the history of the military religious orders—often centuries long and sometimes reaching even to the present—it is easy to overlook that these orders usually had their start as lay confraternities. These groups, which appear in the sources as *confraternitates, societates*, and other terms designating associations of like-minded people, admittedly lived according to religious principles, but without having

taken religious vows. Church authorities generally approved the confraternities, but the groups did not satisfy all the conditions necessary to be "orders": they all lacked papal approval and did not follow an approved rule. Nonetheless, approved orders could very well develop from confraternities, as was indeed the case with many military orders.

If one attempts to categorize the medieval military orders by content instead of just by locality, an important consideration is the type of religious confraternity from which each order sprang. According to this categorization, one can distinguish between two types of association—those dedicated to armed conflict from their origin (often called *militia(e)* in the sources) and those that originally cared for the sick and poor and only later assumed a military role. This distinction remained significant even when both types became militarily active to an equal degree. One can see this in the fact that some members of the orders as well as other contemporaries repeatedly referred to the respective order's original purpose. For all institutions that had their start as charitable foundations, service of the sick and poor in the order's own hospitals continued to play a much greater role than in the corporations of the first, genuinely military type (which also provided such care). The founding circumstances of the military religious orders will thus be discussed and counterpoised in the following pages, making use of this distinction. Still, it is impossible to deal with all the bewildering multiplicity of large and small, Palestinian, Baltic, and Hispanic military orders in equal detail. Instead, I will focus on the three most powerful corporations: the Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights. One should bear in mind, though, that smaller or less durable institutions, like the Lazarites, the Order of St Thomas, the Order of Montesa, and others, also made their mark on the history of medieval religious orders.

The Knights Templars

The Order of Knights Templars is the archetypical example of a military order that sprang from a purely military confraternity. It had its origins as a confraternity of knights that came together in Jerusalem shortly before the year 1120 under the leadership of a Champagne noble named Hugh de Payens (*c.* 1080–1136/37). This group appears to have formed an alliance with the patriarch of Jerusalem and dedicated itself to protecting Christian pilgrims, who repeatedly suffered Muslim attacks on the road between the coast and Jerusalem. King Baldwin I (r. 1100–18) gave the knights some space in one of his palaces on the Temple Mount (Arab. *al-Haram as-Sarif*), the site of the original Temple of Solomon, from which the confraternity took its name. Probably the group was confirmed at a council of important secular and ecclesiastical officials at Nablus in 1120.

The new order's decisive break came nine years later, though, at a synod in the French city of Troyes. There, Hugh de Payens submitted the customs (*consuetudines*) that he and his brethren followed for the

The Spanish military orders

Of all the border regions of Christian Europe, it was the Iberian Peninsula that produced the most military orders. The conditions under which the four most important Spanish orders were founded—the orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, Santiago, and Avís—can be summarized briefly. In 1158 the fortress of Calatrava (which had been captured in 1147 by King Alfonso VII of León and Castile [r. 1126–57]) was under threat of being lost once again to the Muslims. So some Cistercian monks and laymen banded together to defend the castle. In 1187 the association of Calatrava received its own rule. The new order was placed under the Cistercian order, but retained considerable independence. Three other Hispanic military orders also developed from *militiae* (Sp. *milicias*); in other words, military lay confraternities. The Order of Alcántara goes back to such a *milicia*, which was founded in about 1167; Pope Alexander III (r. 1159–81) confirmed the order in 1176. Although the order was able to expand its power, it was still subordinated to the Order of Calatrava in 1213, following the Rule of Calatrava from that time on. It was only in this period (in the year 1218) that the order received the castle and town of Alcántara, from which it took its name. The Order of Santiago, too, was not originally called by that name; it stemmed from the lay confraternity of *fratres de Cáceres*, which King Ferdinand II of León (r. 1157–88) founded in 1170 after he took the town of Cáceres (in the Extremadura). Only a year later did this group, as the community of St James, subordinate itself to and enter into a sort of brotherhood with the cathedral chapter of Santiago de Compostela. In 1175 Pope Alexander III confirmed the order's rule, based on that of St Augustine, the last step to make the group a fully functional military order. The first mention of the oldest Portuguese military order also falls in this period (1176). It was founded in the city of Évora, conquered from the Muslims in 1165, and later received the town of Avís from which it took its name. Thus, within a few years four military orders came into being on the Iberian Peninsula. The number is still higher if one counts ephemeral foundations like the Order of Trujillo or that of Montjoie. These associations were, however, incorporated into the already-named institutions after a few decades.

assembled clerics' approval. At this point his foundation won acceptance at the highest level—even a papal legate was present. This support and the Templars' bid for support on their journeys to various European countries primed the pump—many men joined the Templars or made them donations. The means that were obtained in this way served as a basis for expanding the originally localized foundation beyond the boundaries of Jerusalem and Palestine. All that was still lacking was approval from the Holy See, which came in 1139 in the seminal bull *Omne datum optimum*. The path was open for development into an international order, the *Ordo Militiae Templi Hierosolimitani*.

Military orders in the Baltic

Military orders were not confined to Outremer or the furthest western rim of Europe. On the other end of the continent, in the Baltic region,

religious corporations also formed in the early thirteenth century, the Order of the Sword-Brothers and the Order of Dobrin (see "The Teutonic Knights and their state," p. 128). A Cistercian monk and some north-German knights founded the Order of the Sword-Brothers in 1202 for the protection of newly converted Christians from the non-Christian Livonians, placing the organization under the bishop of Riga's authority. At first the order was able to expand its power and territory significantly and even to establish its own lordship. After an annihilating defeat at the hands of the pagans, though, the Sword-Brothers were incorporated into the Teutonic order in 1237 at the pope's behest. The Order of Dobrin was created in the locale of that name on the river Weichsel at the instigation of Bishop Christian of Prussia and Duke Conrad of Masovia. It was intended for campaigning against the Prussians, a non-Christian Baltic tribe. Yet it too was incorporated into the Teutonic order in 1235.

Which brings us to the military order that had the strongest ties with the Baltic—the Teutonic Knights. Despite that connection, they neither originated in the Baltic region nor were they even dedicated to warfare originally. The order had its inception as a Hospitaller confraternity, founded by northern German crusaders in 1189/90 during the siege of Acre and placed under the protection of the Virgin Mary. This charitable confraternity militarized swiftly. As early as 1198 the members adopted the Templar Rule alongside the Hospitaller Rule they had followed hitherto, and shortly thereafter Pope Innocent III granted them formal approval as a military order. In their early years, the Hospitallers still asserted their claims on the new foundation, but the Teutonic Knights successfully warded off these demands under the adroit leadership of their high master Hermann von Salza. Consequently, the community, not least thanks to Hohenstaufen support, was able to establish itself among the military orders of the crusader states as the *ordo fratrum hospitalis sanctae Mariae Theutonicorum Hierosolimitanorum*. Until the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem, this order's administrative and spiritual center was in Palestine, not the Baltic.

The Order of St John (the Hospitallers)

Smaller military orders, too, like the Lazarites (who cared for lepers) or the Order of St Thomas developed from charitable confraternities. But this overview will focus on the foundation that was the first to make this transformation and thus served as a model for all later groups: the Order of St John. This order developed from a hospital that merchants from the southern Italian port city of Amalfi founded sometime before 1080 at the monastery of Santa Maria Latina in Jerusalem. After the conquest of 1099 these Hospitallers, like the Templars, appear to have entered into a still-unclear legal relationship with the patriarch of the nearby Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Nonetheless, in 1113 Paschal II (r. 1099–1118) recognized them as an independent foundation with the bull *Piae postulatio*, and in about 1135 (scholars disagree on the date) the Hospitallers were entrusted with military duties. It apparently took decades

before the members of the community themselves were willing to recognize military service as an equally important task as their charitable duties; even the bull Pope Anastasius IV (1153/54) issued approving the order, *Christiane fidei religio* of October 21, 1154, does not speak of it. After 1160 the order's increasing military commitment at first caused financial and internal crises, but in the 1180s the way to militarization won general agreement in light of the crusader lordships' needs. From the beginning of the thirteenth century on, hospital work took a back seat to military activities. Nonetheless, the Knights of St John continued their original ideals appropriately in their hospital in Jerusalem. Until the fall of Jerusalem this structure could house 2,000 patients, both male and female, and thus made an essential contribution to the care of needy inhabitants and pilgrims. The Hospitallers would never have been able to fulfill these charitable duties if they had not—like the other Palestinian military orders—been able to count on an extensive network of houses in the Latin West, which served as recruiting and supply bases and through which they contributed decisively to the survival of the crusader states. This network will be described in the following section.

The spread of the military orders

Until 1291, the center of all Palestinian military orders was the Holy Land. During the first kingdom of Jerusalem, until the loss of the holy city in 1187, the Templars' mother house was on the Temple Mount and that of the Order of St John was in the nearby Hospital of St John Locating the orders' headquarters in Jerusalem is understandable because of the city's outstanding significance, both as political center and because of its particularly venerable status. It is not a coincidence that the treatise "In Praise of the New Knighthood" includes a detailed description of the holy places of Jerusalem. Indeed, even the non-Palestinian military orders maintained a presence in the Holy Land. Some Spanish military orders or *milicias* were oriented at least ideally toward Palestine or acquired possessions there. The loss of Jerusalem in 1187 forced a displacement of the mother houses; the Templars and Hospitallers moved their headquarters to Acre, and the Teutonic Knights, starting in the late 1220s, built up the nearby castle of Montfort as their center of operations. Nonetheless, the loss of most Palestinian possessions was a heavy blow and also had an effect beyond the crusader lordships in the East.

The military orders' sphere of activity

Under these circumstances, the European daughter houses of the orders took on a special significance. All of the military orders of the Holy Land held a larger or smaller number of such filiations or dependencies, which supported the mother houses above all through the *responsio* (see box). This network of branch houses reached from Portugal to Poland, from Scotland to Sicily. The network might be narrower or broader

depending on the order and also varied in degree of communication within a given institution. The Knights of St John controlled the widest, most inclusive network, with hundreds of houses in Palestine and all lands of the Latin West. The Knights Templars were admittedly distributed widely in Europe, but their possessions were particularly concentrated in what is now eastern France, Catalonia, Aragón, and Portugal, as well as eastern England, Tuscany, and Latium. In the first decades of its existence, the Teutonic order, by contrast, was especially well endowed outside of Palestine, in southern Italy and the German Empire, before new possibilities opened up for it to expand into Kulm and Pruzzenland, what later became the order-state (*Ordensstaat*) of Prussia. Among the great military orders, the Spanish ones were most limited geographically. There is, admittedly, evidence of dependencies of the orders of Santiago and Calatrava in southern Italy and France, but essentially their sphere of influence was focused on the Iberian Peninsula, and here too concentrations of possessions can be observed.

The *responsio*

The dependencies carried out a variety of functions for the orders' central command. Their most important task was to collect and transport materials to support their respective headquarters in Palestine. The houses had to turn over a portion of the goods they produced or received as donations to the mother house. This portion, called the *responsio*, was usually a third of their income. Only on the Iberian Peninsula was the share smaller, since here a large part of the orders' possessions lay in the border regions of Christendom, where means were also needed to fight against Muslim adversaries. Military material, especially horses and weapons, also passed to Outremer along these channels. Lastly, the dependencies also functioned as recruiting stations, from which brothers of the order could be dispatched to other houses or to military service in the East.

The organization of the military orders

Carrying out these tasks was made easier by the hierarchical organization of the orders. At the local level the individual house (*commanderie, encomienda, Kommende*) was the most important element. In agricultural regions such a house was little more than a large farm with attached chapel, but it could also take the form of a fort with numerous buildings. At the regional level the commanderies were joined together in "provinces" (called bailiwicks in the Teutonic order), which, depending on order and region, could be aligned with counties but also with kingdoms, and thus usually followed existing political borders. All of these provinces were answerable to the master and high officials of the order. The organization of the military orders was thus in fact international and for the time of their creation, the twelfth century, ground-breaking. The ability of this international organization to function was facilitated by the fact that most military orders were freed from the jurisdiction of local bishops; in other words, "exempt." Thus in

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canonical terms they were subordinate only to the pope. They did not have to pay tithes and the local clergy could not control them. A series of extra privileges expanded these liberties, including the grant of free burial and freedom from interdict (a ban on taking part in the sacraments and suspension of religious services). It is hardly surprising that these privileges, repeatedly granted by popes, gave rise to difficulties with the secular clergy. The conflicts continued throughout the entire Middle Ages. There were repeated attempts to control the orders' activities at the local level through individual lawsuits, though in most cases the orders were able to defend their most important rights. With secular powers, by contrast, the military orders got along well, by and large, although the closeness of their dealings varied from order to order. The degree of proximity to royal power an order enjoyed might serve as the central question for the following sketch of the most important military orders.

Relationship to the kings of Jerusalem

For example, the Templars and Hospitallers were extremely important supports for the kingdom of Jerusalem, and not just militarily. The masters of the military orders were members of the Haute Cour, the court assembly, and usually served as advisors to the current ruler. The kings' dealings with the orders were correspondingly intense until the loss of Jerusalem in 1187: the rulers did not hesitate to interfere directly in the orders' affairs and may also have had a direct role in the election of order officials. This began to change early in the thirteenth century, as the kings were more rarely—and from 1229 on almost never—present in the kingdom. At this point the military orders, along with the patriarchs of Jerusalem, assumed the role of *de facto* rulers. They were the only ones who were able to provide for a standing military power, and possessed not only military knowledge but also the necessary political awareness to secure the ongoing existence of the crusader lordship in hard times. The military orders in general worked together to fulfill this function, although they sometimes came into conflict with each other. Precisely because their political power in Palestine was so great, the final loss of Acre in 1291 was a particularly heavy blow. Admittedly, from their emergency stations on Cyprus the orders' members still hoped for a reconstitution of their old lordships, but soon they had to acknowledge that they had now been thrown back onto their European possessions.

The Teutonic order in Hungary

In their early stages the Teutonic Knights were even more strongly obligated to secular potentates, especially the Hohenstaufen emperors, than the Templars and Hospitallers. Of all the military religious orders, this group underwent the most astonishing transformation. We have already seen their development from charitable confraternity to order; still more unusual was their spread and development beyond the Holy Land. In 1211 the opportunity arose for them to take over new holdings and rights of lordship in Burzenland (Siebenbürgen) in modern Romania, when King Andrew II of Hungary (r. 1205–35) of the Arpad dynasty invited the order to support him in fighting the Cumans, a nomadic

Turkish tribe that inhabited the areas beyond the eastern borders of his kingdom. He consequently granted the Knights extensive revenues and important fortifications in the frontier region. The Knights were indeed able to establish themselves in Burzenland, but in 1225 King Andrew drove them from his kingdom. It is hard to establish the particulars behind this decision, but it appears that on the one hand the king feared that the Knights wanted to carve out their own lordship on the borders of his kingdom and on the other hand his step was a response to his barons' resentment of the growing German influence at court. Shortly thereafter, a new opportunity presented itself for the order to win its own territory, this time in Kulmland. How they did so has already been described (see "The Teutonic Knights and their state," p. 128). In this new territory the Teutonic Knights gained a greater degree of legal and political independence than any other military order.

Military orders and kingship on the Iberian Peninsula

Of all rulers, the Hispanic kings consistently exercised the highest degree of political influence on the region's military orders. Just as they tried to regulate the progress of the Christian conquests, the kings watched over the institutions that evolved in the course of the *reconquista*. During the first century of their existence, the orders of Calatrava, Alcántara, and Santiago served the kingdom of Castile and León as reliable supporters, while the Order of Avís played the same role for Portuguese monarchs. The military orders were essential in the great expansion thrusts of the early thirteenth century, including the conquest of Córdoba (1238) and Seville (1248). They received a rich reward for their aid when the land was partitioned. Only after mid-century—not coincidentally with the close of the great expansion—did the first cracks appear in what until then had been a close relationship. More and more, the officials of the major orders sought a political rather than just a military function in the consolidating lordships of the south. Tensions became ever more apparent, finally leading to an open struggle for power in the early fourteenth century—which the kings won.

The military orders in Palestine, on the Iberian Peninsula, and in the Baltic

The organization of the military orders

The universal base of all Christian orders was a commitment to keep the three "evangelical counsels": poverty, chastity, and obedience. But for the actual arrangement of the religious life normative texts were necessary. These are divided between the overarching definitions (the actual rule [*regula*] of the order) and the more specific prescriptions for daily life, the statutes or customs (*statuta* or *consuetudines*). The evidence of these normative texts will help us grasp the essential features of the medieval military orders in the following section, as we discuss (1) their organization, (2) the social and geographical origins of their members,

(3) their offices and dignitaries, and (4) the unique qualities of the orders' religious and liturgical practices.

The Templar and Hospitaller rules

The Templars' and Hospitallers' life was organized according to the rules of their orders, which in turn served as the basis for the rules of other military orders such as the Teutonic Knights. The Council of Troyes confirmed the customs of the first Templars in 1129, which developed further into a true rule, consisting of seventy-two chapters. It contained elements of both the Augustinian and Benedictine rules and was strongly imbued with the poverty ideal of the twelfth century. The brothers were to renounce all sorts of display, only to speak when absolutely necessary, and to eat in moderation. Truly innovative were the directives for military service—the rule set the number of horses allowed and also prescribed simplicity in armor. While in the field, exemption from fasting was permitted. The early seal of the Templars portrays these rules and ideals with particular clarity. Devoted to the ideal of *pauperes commilitones Christi*, two Templars are depicted mounted on a single horse. The first Hospitaller Rule was composed in the 1130s, during the reign of Master Raymond of Puy (1120–60). It is based on the Augustinian Rule and reveals the strong ongoing influence of the community of St John's charitable origins, placing special emphasis on following Christ's example in service to the poor.

The habit

The rules also dictated the habit—that is, the clothing—that members were to wear. It had a symbolic value. Thus only the full knight-brothers were entitled to a white habit, because, thanks to their vow of chastity, they had achieved a special degree of purity. Brethren of all the military orders wore some form of cross on their habit, differing in shape and color depending on the order. Besides this, the habit showed the wearer's rank, because, like all religious orders, the military orders were organized according to a functional hierarchical system. At least five groups can be distinguished: knight-brothers, priest-brothers, *servientes* (*seargents, sariant-brothers*), *milites ad terminum*, and finally the *confratres* or *consorores*.

The members

The full knight-brothers formed the military core of the order. With their profession (taking of the order's vows) they swore to lead a religious life according to the order's rule in the service of God and in war against God's enemies. They were obligated to obey and accept discipline from the order's leadership and were equipped with a set number of horses. The second group of members was the priest-brothers. These men were ordained clerics. Their duty was spiritual care of the order's other members and laypeople. In general they were in charge of the churches or chapels of each order. The third group of members was very similar to the knight-brothers, and was indeed subordinated to them—the *servientes* (or sergeants among the Templars