



KRISTJAN TOOMASPOEG*
Dipartimento di Scienze Umane e Sociali
Università del Salento
Ex monastero degli Olivetani
Viale San Nicola
I-73100 Lecce
Italy
kristjan.toomaspoeg@unisalento.it

BETWEEN IDEAL AND REALITY:
CONCUBINES, PROSTITUTES, AND DISHONEST WOMEN
IN THE MILITARY ORDERS' EVERYDAY LIVES –
SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON AN OLD ISSUE

KEYWORDS

history; the Middle Ages; military orders; gender history; sexuality in the Middle Ages; monastic discipline; chastity; everyday life

ABSTRACT

Women were present in the lives of the military orders, but not every single woman had a positive role to play in the orders' reputation. Some brethren did not respect the vow of chastity, in given periods and contexts not even a majority. There were two major issues related to that: the frequenting of prostitutes and living with concubines. In some orders, such as Santiago and later also the other Iberian congregations, it was permitted for the brethren to take wives, but this did not stop all those illicit practices. Generally, in the military orders, breaking the vow of chastity was considered much less of an offence than breaking the vows of obedience and poverty. Though, in all the orders, it was important to avoid the scandals and to judge the transgressions inside the convent. Those communities had a basic ideal of life, be it within the walls of a convent or in the theatre of battle, but circumstances also changed. The brothers' everyday life was quite different from an ideal which

* ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5179-9041>

was markedly monastic. Everyday life in a military order was much too complicated and related to the secular world to strictly follow those ideals. This does not mean that the brethren of the military orders were lascivious sinners and womanisers, but that, in some way, the spiritual and natural ways of life could coexist in those institutions.

In the last years, scholars of the medieval military orders have carried out a series of innovative studies on the role of women in the life of those institutions.¹ Their research has focused especially on fully professed sisters, lay familiars and donators, and other female supporters. It has been noted that the misogyny of the Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights, apparently expressed in their normative acts, sharply contradicts everyday reality.²

Women were present in the routine of the military orders. However, not every single woman had a positive role to play in the orders' reputation. There is a good reason to think that some brethren did not respect the vow of chastity, not even a majority in given periods and contexts. This issue has not been the object of specific studies, except for some considerations made by Helen Nicholson and by Christian Vogel in his book on "Templar Law."³ Mostly, scholars have limited themselves to quoting testimonies given during the Templar Trial, namely by one Templar in Paris, who denied sodomy in the order, since the order was so rich and powerful that its members could have all the beautiful women they wanted. According to a merchant of Famagusta in Cyprus, it was claimed in that city that no girl became a woman until she had slept with a Templar.⁴ However, the first of these testimonies was collected during a very specific occasion, to rule out allega-

¹ Alan J. Forey, "Women and the military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries," *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987): 63–92; *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Helen J. Nicholson, "Femme," in *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (Paris: Fayard, 2009), 352–355.

² Helen J. Nicholson, "Templar attitudes towards women," *Medieval History* 1, no. 3 (1991): 74–80, 86.

³ Nicholson, "Templar attitudes," 74; Christian Vogel, *Das Recht der Templer. Ausgewählte Aspekte des Templerrechts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Statutenhandschriften aus Paris, Rom, Baltimore und Barcelona* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2007), 212–215.

⁴ Jules Michelet, *Le procès des Templiers*, vol. I (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841, 2nd ed.), 326; Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens. Mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*, vol. II (Berlin: Mittler, 1887), 390; Marie-Luise Bulst-Thiele, *Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974), 350 footnote 262; Anne Gilmore-Bryson, "Sodomy

tions of sodomy, which may explain the Templar's misogynistic choice of words, while in the second we are in the presence of gossip.

One reason why this issue remains unstudied is because primary sources are very sparse. Some regions – such as the Netherlands, Livonia, the Iberian Peninsula, Italy in the 15th and 16th century, or Malta in the modern era – have more data to offer than others, where only scattered information can be found.⁵ The reason is that transgressions were judged within the walls of convents to avoid scandal at all costs. Consequently, much fewer sources are available for the military orders than for other religious congregations. For example, the Apostolic Penitentiary records cannot help with this issue: whenever the military orders sent pleas to the pope, it was for other reasons.⁶ Some information can in fact be extracted from the orders' internal documentation, such as the visitation records of the Teutonic Knights, but it mostly comes from the files originating from public trials against brethren who had committed crimes susceptible to be judged by authorities external to the order.

For example, at the end of the year 1400, the Hospitaller commander of Corleone in Sicily, Antonio Taverna, had kidnapped and raped a very young girl for several days. Royal justice had to intervene and there was a public trial. As Taverna was a priest and forced marriage was impossible, he was condemned to pay a sum of six ounces of gold – about the price of two horses – which counted towards the girl's dowry. No reaction came from the order and Taverna remained in charge of the commandery.⁷ Years later, he and the Hospitaller prior of Messina, Roberto Diana, were accused by King Martin of Sicily of raping “virgins and married

and the Knights Templar,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 2 (1996): 179; Nicholson, “Templar attitudes,” 75; Vogel, *Das Recht*, 215.

⁵ See Daniela Gröger-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht während der Reformationszeit: die Landkommende zwischen Rebellion und Staatsbildung* (Weimar: VDG, 2015), 39–43; Juhhan Kreem, *Ordu sügis. Saksa ordu 16. sajandi Liivimaal* (Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2022), 144–148; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, *The Teutonic Order in Italy, 1190–1525. Building Bridges in the Medieval World* (London: Routledge, 2024), 119–125; Christine Muscat, “Regulating Prostitution in Hospitaller Malta: The *Bonus Paterfamilias* Way,” *Storja* (2018–2019): 121–153.

⁶ See Karl Borchardt, “Die Johanniter in den Supplikenregistern von Papst Innozenz VI. 1352–1362,” in *Religiones militares. Contributi alla storia degli Ordini religioso-militari nel medioevo*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Francesco Tommasi (Città di Castello: Selecta, 2008), 9–25.

⁷ Patrizia Sardina, “Vizi privati e pubbliche virtù dei Gerosolimitani di Corleone tra XIV e XV secolo,” *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 2/I n.s. (2018): 14–15.

women” during the conquest of the city of Catania. The accusation could have been more than simple rhetoric.⁸

Simply put, one reason why members of the orders failed to respect their vow of chastity was everyday life. Since the 12th century, women had lived in the orders’ houses across Western Europe.⁹ In most cases, this did not affect morals, and there are only a few examples of conflicts and misunderstandings. During a papal enquiry on the Order of St. John in 1373, a *donata* living in the commandery of Puimoisson, in the diocese of Riez, was accused of being a “dishonest woman who rules the House, treating the brethren and the knights badly.”¹⁰ The main problem concerned the brothers’ living space. In many cases, in the West, rather than conventual life, the matter was that separate living spaces existed. In Italy, for example, the Teutonic Order’s brethren slept in individual chambers, not dormitories. Consequently, there were greater liberties in behaviour.¹¹

As the compilers of the orders’ rules and statutes found evident, it was not possible to avoid the company of women completely. In such cases, it was necessary to keep decent behaviour. It was recommended that the Templars and Teutonic Knights avoid speaking with women, especially if younger, and it was forbidden

⁸ Kristjan Toomaspoeg, *Templari e Ospitalieri nella Sicilia Medievale* (Taranto: Centro di Studi Melitensi, 2003), 93, 210–211 no. 235.

⁹ See, for example, the Italian case in Kristjan Toomaspoeg, “The nunneries of the Order of St. John in medieval Italy,” *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 27 (2022): 115–133.

¹⁰ Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Camera Apostolica (hereafter as: AAV, CA), *Collectoriae* 419A, fol. 6v, 8r; and Roma, Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Stanza Storica, M 1 C (2), fol. 25r. The commander had overgiven the management of the house to this lady, Alacta Fabrissa, which explains her unpopularity. On the same occasion, during the enquiry in the diocese of Besançon, the investigators were interested about the presence of women in the order’s houses and a series of female servants were listed, all of them more than 40 years old, cf. Gérard Moysse, “Les hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le diocèse de Besançon en 1373,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome. Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes* 85, no. 2 (1973): 455–514. In Genoa, the inquisitors thought that the local commenda was spending too much on a women’s hospital and on orphan girls, who were married off at the order’s expense: AAV, CA, *Collectoriae*, 431A, fol. 4r, 6v, 8r–v.

¹¹ Kristjan Toomaspoeg, “Alltagsleben in den Ordenshäusern Siziliens am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts,” in *Das Leben im Ordenshaus. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Tallinn 2014*, ed. Juhan Kreem, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 81, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 17 (Weimar: VDG, 2019), 130–136.

to kiss them.¹² Frivolous and lascivious conduct had to be avoided, including when speaking to one's sister and mother. The Hospitallers had to keep their distance from women, who should not wash the men's hair and feet, nor make their beds.¹³

Those strict limitations were impossible to follow in everyday life. As we have seen, women lived in the orders' houses, and female servants were authorised by the Statutes of the Teutonic Order.¹⁴ Moreover, female relatives of male brethren posed another problem. In Livonia, they used to travel together with their sons, brothers or other Teutonic Order's male relatives. In the 16th century, the Teutonic Order's commander of Reval (Est. Tallinn) even had his "ladies of the court."¹⁵ As to the Order of St. John, lay women were allowed to enter the orders' houses in southern France, and they even had access to the *camera preceptoris*.¹⁶

Instead, the rules, statutes and customs of the military orders linked unchastity exclusively to spaces situated outside the convents. In fact, for the Templars, if someone was found in a "bad place" or "bad house" at the side of a "bad woman", he was automatically deemed guilty. As Christian Vogel noted, according to the Templars' *retrait* – number 236 of the de Curzon edition – many brethren had been punished for that transgression.¹⁷ Because travel by the brethren presented potential dangers, it was scrupulously regulated by all the military orders. The basis of that was chapter 67 of the Rule of St. Benedict, which the Templars adopted, expanding chapter 61 of the Latin version and 24 of their French version.¹⁸ The Hospitallers did the same, using as a source the so-called Rule of St. Augustine and also including in the Rule of Raymond du Puy a chapter determining *Comment les freres aler et ester doivent*.¹⁹ Much later, the Teutonic Knights included in their Rule

¹² Simonetta Cerrini, "Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: l'ordre du Temple (1120–1314). Etude et édition des règles latine et française" (PhD Diss., Université de Paris IV–Sorbonne, 1998), 154 (Templars' Latin Rule § 69 (*Ut omnium mulierum oscula fugiant*)); *Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*, ed. Max Perlbach (Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1890), 50–51 (Rule 28: [...] *et ipsarum adeo detestentur oscula*). *Osculum* is the ritual kiss, such as the *osculum pacis* (kiss of peace) given during Mass.

¹³ *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Marie Antoine Delaville le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), 63.

¹⁴ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 52 (Rule 31).

¹⁵ Kreem, *Ordu sügis*, 144.

¹⁶ Damien Carraz, *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), 334.

¹⁷ *La Règle du Temple*, ed. Henri de Curzon (Paris: Renouard, 1886), 156 (*retrait* 236); see Vogel, *Das Recht*, 213.

¹⁸ *De fratribus qui per diversas provincias proficiscuntur*, cf. Cerrini, "Une expérience," 148–149; *Des freres mandés*, cf. *ibid.*, 187.

¹⁹ *Cartulaire général*, I, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 63.

a chapter in the Latin version entitled *De itinerantibus*. This chapter is the most interesting and complete of all those regulations, based not only on the similar chapters in the Templar and Hospitaller rules but also on several other passages taken from the Templars.²⁰

Common to all the chapters mentioned was the order to avoid bad and infamous places and company during travel. This included frequenting taverns, inns, brothels and the such, but also parties, lay ceremonies like marriages, and all kinds of spectacles. A later addition to the Teutonic Order's statutes was the prohibition to spend the night in nunneries and to avoid certain regions and cities of bad reputation, such as Elbing.²¹ The place where to spend the night had to be carefully chosen and it was recommended to sleep only having lit a candle. It was forbidden to travel alone and it was important to always remember that even outside the convent "God is within."²²

Those were feasible regulations in the context of the Holy Land, since in some cases the travelling brethren could avoid urban settlements. One out of two examples of lewdness mentioned in the Templars' *retraits* (the second one being sodomy), concerns the case of a brother who, disrespecting his commander's orders, entered a *casal*, spending the night with a woman there.²³ In the West it was far more difficult to respect such strict regulations. For example, the condition of travelling as a group was not respected, as many cases are known of brethren sent on individual long-term missions.²⁴

First of all, there was the omnipresent danger of prostitution. It seems that in most cases unchastity related to this. It was certainly not a coincidence that Bérenger Monge, the Hospitaller commander of Manosque in the second half of

²⁰ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 50–51 (Rule 28). See Kristjan Toomaspoeg, "Manquements et dérèglements dans l'Ordre Teutonique (XII^e–XV^e siècle)," in *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieu clos (IV^e–XIX^e siècle)*, ed. Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabet Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), 353–373, 359–363.

²¹ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 140, 152.

²² *Deus enim qui habitat in sanctis isto modo custodiat eos*, cf. *Cartulaire général*, 1, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 63, from the Rule of St. Augustine, IV, 22: *Deus enim qui habitat in vobis, etiam isto modo vos custodiet*.

²³ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 322.

²⁴ See, for example, the known cases of Italian bailiwicks of the Teutonic Order in Toomaspoeg, *The Teutonic Order*, 106–107; or those of the officers of the military orders acting on behalf of the royal courts, such as Arnould de Wesemaal in 1278: Charles-Victor Langlois, *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1887 (repr. Genève: Mégarisot Reprints, 1979)), 85–87.

the 13th century, was the main antagonist of the local brothel keeper.²⁵ Despite attempts to preserve morality among the brethren, sources about them having sex with prostitutes are numerous and can be found all over the West. To take as an example Corleone in Sicily, it represents the typical case of a peripheral, isolated commandery. At the beginning of the 15th century, this Hospitaller house was closely tied to two famous local prostitutes, Rosa from Catania and Caterina from Rome. Both of them made their will in favour of the Order of St. John.²⁶

The Hospitallers of Rhodes recognised that prostitution was a major problem and attempted to regulate it. In 1421, their statutes forbade visiting prostitutes;²⁷ in 1456, an order was given to expel prostitutes using the houses attached to the walls of the order's convent, and they were confined to an area within the city. Another measure, taken in 1478 by the order's Chapter General, was to give the inhabitants of the city of Rhodes the right to expel prostitute neighbours by purchasing their houses.²⁸ However, those measures did not work in full and the Hospitallers would eventually "export" prostitutes and brothels to Malta, where the sexual behaviour of the brethren seems to have been particularly loose.²⁹

Another major problem regarding lewdness was concubinage. I do not refer to sexually hyperactive brethren, such as the commander of the Teutonic Order in Palermo at the end of the 15th century who had seven or more concubines and many children from them,³⁰ but to persons living with women without attracting much attention and trying to avoid scandal. Concubinage was a general practice in the 15th century,³¹ but there is enough data to state that some brethren were living together with women as early as the 13th century.³²

This gave rise to the matter of fully professed brethren of the military orders fathering children, and specifically the problem of their maintenance and inhe-

²⁵ Carraz, *Un commandeur*, 290.

²⁶ Sardina, "Vizi privati," 21.

²⁷ Iacomo Bosio, *Gli statuti della Sacra Religione di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano* (Rome: Giacomo Tornieri, 1589), 264, quoted in Muscat, "Regulating Prostitution," 126.

²⁸ Muscat, "Regulating Prostitution," 126.

²⁹ Emanuel Buttigieg, *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity. The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580 – c. 1700* (London: Continuum, 2011).

³⁰ Toomaspoeg, *The Teutonic Order*, 122–123.

³¹ See the list of the commanders of the Teutonic Order in Livonia keeping concubines in Kreem, *Ordu sügis*, 145–147.

³² See, for example, the case of a Teutonic Order's brother named Henricus Lupus living with a woman in Melfi (Basilicata, South Italy) in 1269: *I Registri della cancelleria Angioina*, vol. V, 1266–1272, ed. Riccardo Filangieri (Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1953), 115 no. 68.

ritance. In theory, the brethren could not own personal property³³ and so their children's inheritance could come only from the order's assets. However, already in the 14th century the difference between personal and the order's property was often unclear. Even the Hospitallers, who were particularly strict on the vow of poverty, foresaw the situation of a brother leaving personal property after death.³⁴ Cases of brethren making legacies to their sons and daughters are known from Livonia and elsewhere.³⁵ Many high-ranking Hospitallers, beginning with Grand Master Juan Fernández de Heredia, had children and left them sums of money and estates.³⁶ If we go backwards in time, after the Templar Order was abolished, one former Templar in the Kingdom of Aragon was found living with a woman more *uxorio*, and another was accused of having "kidnapped a woman," something which could point to sexual abuse or concubinage.³⁷ A single case needs to be mentioned, where concubinage was not possible or suitable and a brother preferred to leave the order to be married: in 1337 or shortly before, a Hospitaller of Zadar in Dalmatia, Johannes de Camporiano, "instigated by a diabolical spirit" had taken a false name (Bonjohannes) and entered into marriage.³⁸

At this point, some observations have to be made. Firstly, priests, canons and even bishops or cardinals living together with women were extremely frequent in medieval society. This was the case before the Council of Trento.³⁹ Secondly,

³³ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 295–296 (*retrait* 566); *Cartulaire général*, 1, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 66 (Hospitallers' Rule of Raymond Du Puy, 13); *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 65–66 (Laws 5).

³⁴ *Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum: die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93*, ed. Jyri Hasecker and Jürgen Sarnowsky (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007), 143–145.

³⁵ Kreem, *Ordu sügis*, 147–148.

³⁶ Anthony T. Luttrell, "Intrigue, Schisme and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384," *Speculum* 41, no. 1 (1966), 33.

³⁷ Hans Prutz, *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens* (Berlin: Grote, 1888), 316; Heinrich Finke, *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*, vol. I (Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1907), 383, quoted in Alan J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 362.

³⁸ *Benoît XII (1334–1342). Lettres communes. Analyses d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. Jean-Marie Vidal, vol. I (Paris 1902), 470 no. 5031 (11 April 1337).

³⁹ Some regional examples: for Sicily, see Salvatore Fodale, *Alumni della perdizione. Chiesa e potere in Sicilia durante il grande scisma (1372–1416)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2008), 745–772; for England, see Janelle Werner, "Promiscuous priests and vicarage children: clerical sexuality and masculinity in Late Medieval England," in *Negotiating clerical identities. Priests, monks and masculinity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jennifer Dawn Thibodeaux (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 159–184; for France, see Jacques Voisenet, "Figure de la virginité ou image de la paillardise: la sexualité du clerc au Moyen Âge," in *Le clerc au Moyen Âge*, Sénéfiance 37 (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 1995), 571–578.

the military orders went through their own, specific process of development. The foundation of such orders has been considered revolutionary, as two very different categories of men – those who pray and those who fight – first combined in a unique figure, that of *miles Christi*.⁴⁰ The exact definition of the knights (and sergeants) of the military orders is a much debated topic by scholars. They were neither “soldier monks” nor canons, and formed the specific category of *defensores*, laymen who submitted to monastic discipline.⁴¹

Those 12th-century experimentations did not end there. Turning to the military orders of the Iberian Peninsula, we find another substantial, in some ways revolutionary, phenomenon, the Order of Santiago or St. James. This order, as is well known, accepted married people into its ranks, its Rule affirming that it was better “to marry than burn.”⁴² The rule introduced the term “marital chastity”, which by no means meant sexual abstinence. In fact, sexual relations were forbidden among the couple only during Lent and other important religious festivities.⁴³ Later, it became possible to obtain an exemption, under Pope Innocent VIII.⁴⁴ In theory, a distinction was made between married and unmarried brethren, requested by Pope Alexander III at the moment of the Order’s foundation,⁴⁵ but it would seem

⁴⁰ See Simonetta Cerrini, *La révolution des Templiers: Une histoire perdue du XII^e siècle* (Paris: Perrin, 2007); and criticism of the theory in Karl Borchardt, “Historiography and memory: what was new and unique about the templars?” in *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares. Palmela, 10 a 14 de março de 2010*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, vol. I (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2012), 49–60.

⁴¹ Kaspar Elm, “Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters,” in *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, ed. Zenon Hubert Nowak, Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VII (Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993), 22; Tom Licence, “The Templars and Hospitallers, Christ and the Saints,” *Crusades* 4 (2005): 41.

⁴² *Videlicet ut in coniugali castitate sine crimine vivendo antiquis patribus asimilentur, cum melius sit nubere quam uri [...]*, cf. *The rule of the Spanish military order of Saint James: 1170–1493. Latin and Spanish texts. With apparatus criticus, English translation and preliminary study*, ed. Enrique Gallego Blanco (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 82, 84. It is a quote from Saint Paul (*Epist. prima S. Pauli ad Corinth.*, cap. VII, v. 9).

⁴³ Derek W. Lomax, *La Orden de Santiago: 1170–1275* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1965), 91; Luis Corral Val, “La orden de Alcántara: Organización institucional y vida religiosa en la Edad Media” (PhD Diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003), 559; Isabel Maria de Carvalho Lago Barbosa, “A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal na baixa Idade Média: normativa e prática,” *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* 2 (1998): 177, 195.

⁴⁴ Barbosa, “A Ordem,” 177; Maria Isabel Rodrigues Ferreira, *A normativa das ordens militares portuguesas (séculos XII–XVI). Poderes, Sociedade, Espiritualidade*, vol. I (Porto: author’s edition, 2004), 371.

⁴⁵ *Bullarium equestris ordinis Sancti Iacobi de Spatha per annorum seriem nonnullis donationum et aliis interiectis scripturis congestum*, ed. Antonio Francisco Aguado de Córdoba, Alfonso An-

that this condition was never applied. In reality, the experiment made in the Order of Santiago was not the only one. For example, in 1230 Pope Gregory IX approved the foundation of the Order of St. James for the Defence of the Faith and Peace in Gascony, which accepted married couples.⁴⁶ Chastity was not dogmatic for a military order, nor was it indispensable.

The situation of the other Iberian orders was different, at least in theory. While Santiago adhered to Augustine's rule, the other orders mostly followed Cistercian norms.⁴⁷ In reality, the difference was not so much created by the norms, but by the fact that other orders such as Alcantara and Calatrava were subject to big Cistercian abbeys, and Cistercian monks had quite rigid ideas on conventual life and sexuality.

However, the fact that some brethren took wives did not stop concubinage as a practice. In fact, concubinage was very common in the Order of Santiago as well as in the orders that ruled out marriage. This, however, was never considered a problem until as late as the 15th century, when the Cistercian supervisors of Alcantara and Calatrava highlighted the phenomenon, making a series of attempts to fight it. Specific interdictions were issued in 1411, 1418, 1468, 1488, and 1492.⁴⁸ For example, the Definitions given by the abbot of Morimond to the master of Calatrava in July 1418 noted that it was publicly known that many knights and other

tonio Alemán y Rosales, and José López Agurleta (Madrid: Ex typographia Ioannis de Ariztia, 1719), 13–17 (5 July 1175); *Regesta pontificum romanorum: ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, vol. II, ed. Philipp Jaffé, Wilhelm Wattenbach, Samuel Loewenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner, and Paul Ewald (Leipzig: Veit, 1888), 285 no 12505; Portuguese version (from 1509) in Barbosa, "A Ordem," 201–207. See Corral Val, *La orden*, 559 footnote 22.

⁴⁶ Damien Carraz, "L'Ordre de la Foi et de la Paix et les réseaux aristocratiques en Gascogne au XIII^e siècle," in *IX Encontro sobre ordens militares. As ordens militares. Do convento e da guerra para o mundo. 25 a 29 outubro 2023, Palmela*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (in preparation).

⁴⁷ Luis Rafael Villegas Díaz, "Calatravensis Militia, cisterciensis ordinis," *Cistercium* 51 (1999): 547–562; Corral Val, *La orden*, 547, and following; Manuel Ciudad Ruiz, "La tradición benedictino-cisterciense y la herencia templaria en la forma de vida calatrava (1163–1205)," in *El nacimiento de la orden de Calatrava. Primeros tiempos de expansión (siglos XII y XIII). Actas del I Congreso Internacional de la Orden de Calatrava. Almagro, octubre 2008*, ed. Angela Madrid Medina and Luis Rafael Villegas Díaz (Ciudad Real: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 2009), 305–325; Luís Filipe Simões Dias de Oliveira, "Para o estudo da religiosidade dos freires: as fontes e alguns problemas," in *Ordens Militares e Religiosidade. Homenagem ao Professor José Mattoso*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela: Câmara municipal de Palmela, 2010), 27.

⁴⁸ Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Las definiciones de la Orden de Calatrava, 1383–1418," *En la España medieval* 19 (1996): 118–123; Corral Val, *La orden*, 560, 562; Rodrigues Ferreira, *A normativa*, I: 182.

brethren of the Order kept in their houses concubines and “suspicious women,” who thus had to be thrown out.⁴⁹ Those measures were part of the general attempt from all of the military orders to fight concubinage in the 15th century. The Hospitallers’ 1421 statutes forbade the knights to keep concubines,⁵⁰ and in 1442 the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Conrad of Erlichshausen, ordered the severe punishment of several brethren on account of their unchaste behaviour.⁵¹ As the following decades would prove, those measures did not result in much.

The case of the Iberian Peninsula remains surprising. Undoubtedly seen as a solution to the problem of illicit sexual relations, but officially presented as a measure to allow the entry of many married noblemen into the order, Pope Eugene IV authorised in February 1440 the masters, commanders and other brethren of the Order of Calatrava to take wives.⁵² Naturally, this left out the orders’ priests. The same concession was made to the orders of Christ and Avis by Pope Alexander VI in 1496.⁵³ In 1540, at the request of Emperor Charles V, Pope Paul III extended it to the Order of Alcantara.⁵⁴ As it can be noted, even adherence to Cistercian norms – as was the case with Alcantara, Avis, and Calatrava – did not preclude reform.

Leaving the Iberian Peninsula aside, following the Protestant Reformation, several brethren in some commanderies of the Teutonic Order, especially in the bailiwick of Saxony, married without having to leave the Order. This created an obvious obstacle relating to the maintenance of their children.⁵⁵ In other territories, such as Livonia, marriage continued to be forbidden, but by then practically all brethren kept concubines and the problem of their sons and daughters was far from being resolved.⁵⁶

The cases mentioned make it possible to suggest some ideas concerning the concept of chastity in the military orders. All the basic normative acts, rules, statutes, and customs, as well as later additions, addressed the chastity vow. For

⁴⁹ O’Callaghan, “Las definiciones,” 122.

⁵⁰ See footnote 26.

⁵¹ Indrikis Sterns, “Crime and Punishment among the Teutonic Knights,” *Speculum* 57 (1982): 97.

⁵² *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. VII, 1439–1443, ed. Antonio Joaquim Dias Dinis (Coimbra: Oficina Gráficas d’Atlantida, 1965), 58–60 no. 43 (20 February 1440); see Antonio Maria Falcão Pestana de Vasconcelos, “A Ordem militar de Cristo na baixa Idade Média. Espiritualidade, normativa e prática,” *Militarium ordinum analecta* 2 (1998): 85.

⁵³ Vasconcelos, “A Ordem,” 52.

⁵⁴ The papal letter concerns Alcantara and Calatrava, even if Calatrava, as we have seen, had already received (and put in practice) this privilege: Corral Val, *La orden*, 559–560.

⁵⁵ Gröger-Schiemann, *Die Deutschordensballei*, 40–41.

⁵⁶ Kreem, *Ordu sügis*, 147–148.

example, the Teutonic Order's Rule mentioned chastity already in the first chapter, before the vows of obedience and poverty.⁵⁷ It is therefore important to examine those sources. Observing the full corpora of norms, comprising the Temple, the Order of St. John, and the Teutonic Order, and comparing them to the Iberian orders, it can be seen that in reality the chastity vow lagged behind the two others. More than a quarter of the norms concern directly or indirectly the vow of obedience. Obedience is the basic condition in the orders, together with internal solidarity and fraternity.⁵⁸ The vow of poverty follows, something which is directly linked to obedience, while the vow of chastity is subject to norms or mentioned at all in only a few cases.

The most common view is that the Templars and Teutonic Knights, inspired as they were by the Rule of St. Benedict, differed in their attitude towards women from the Hospitallers, who were influenced by the Rule of St. Augustine. In reality, there were many cross-influences, especially in the Teutonic Order's case. Contrary to what one might think, the Benedictine Rule was not as rigid regarding women as Augustine's, because it was intended for men living in closed monasteries, without much relation with the world outside, and therefore women. The Augustinian Rule could be followed by canons and other persons living in strict relation with the lay world and accustomed to women. Thus, added caution and carefulness were necessary on this point.⁵⁹

The Teutonic Order's Rule referred to the danger that women represented, "since it often happens that men's hearts are softened by the flattery of women."⁶⁰ In the same way, the Templar Rule considered women dangerous, as they were used by Satan to drive many men away "from the right path of paradise."⁶¹ Besides, the Templars took from chapter four of the Rule of St. Augustine a poignant affirmation, that "a woman's face is dangerous to a religious community," and exhorting the "Chivalry of Christ" to "flee the feminine kisses through which men have often perished."⁶² There are other instances in the texts where "kisses" – not passionate ones, but ritualised and formal *oscula* – seem to haunt the redactors of the military orders' rules. What is significant, in other occasions the same terror of the opposite

⁵⁷ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 29 (Rule 1).

⁵⁸ Kristjan Toomaspoeg, "Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights," in *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, ed. Krijn Pansters (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020), 238–244.

⁵⁹ Toomaspoeg, "Templars, Hospitallers," 236, 243–244.

⁶⁰ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 52 (Rule 31).

⁶¹ Cerrini, "Une expérience," 145 (Templars' Latin Rule 53).

⁶² *Ibid.*, 154 (Templars' Latin Rule 69).

sex is also expressed from the point of view of women, in Pseudo-Jerome's *Regula monacharum*.⁶³

The fact that breaking the vow of chastity was considered much less of an offence than breaking the vows of obedience and poverty, as several authors have noticed,⁶⁴ is also reflected by the system of punishments imposed on the perpetrators. To give an example of how highly the vow of poverty was regarded, if money or other values were found in the clothes of a deceased Templar or Hospitaller, he could not be buried in consecrated soil. In the case of Templars, the corpse had to be "thrown away to the dogs."⁶⁵ Penalties applied in cases of unchastity were much softer. The one exception, homosexuality, falls outside the remit of this paper. Following the work of Anne Gilmour-Bryson, the common opinion has been that cases of homosexual relations were not frequent in the military orders, maybe because of their laxity regarding relations with women.⁶⁶ This might result in oversimplifying the matter, but as was also the case with other monastic congregations, there are not enough sources regarding the issue. What is certain, homosexuality existed in the military orders and was harshly punished, though without ever reaching the drastic levels described in the charges filed during the Trial of the Templars.

While "sodomy" was considered to be among the greatest crimes a brother could commit, together with apostasy and conversion to Islam,⁶⁷ other cases involving unchastity were seen as minor crimes. Some orders employed a system to classify offences, from "slight" to "very serious". It could be that the Teutonic Order's Rule took this system from the Constitution of the Dominican Order, but the idea of ranking sins seems to have constituted a trend in the mid-13th century. It was adopted also by the Templars in their *retraits*. Besides, the Dominican Constitution considered carnal sins to be among the gravest of all,⁶⁸ while in the

⁶³ Toomaspoeg, "The nunneries," 129.

⁶⁴ Luttrell, "Intrigue," 39; Vogel, *Das Recht*, 212–213.

⁶⁵ *Cartulaire général*, 1, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 66 (Hospitallers' Rule of Raymond Du Puy 13); *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 295–296 (*retrait* 566).

⁶⁶ Gilmour-Bryson, "Sodomy"; Vogel, *Das Recht*, 214–215.

⁶⁷ See, for example, *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 86–87 (Laws 39).

⁶⁸ To be precise, the Dominican Constitution listed the most serious crimes in chapter *De graviori culpa*, while the *De gravissima culpa* included those who did not repent: Georgina Rosalie Galbraith, *The constitution of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360* (Manchester: University Press, 1925), 220–223.

Teutonic Order's and Templar norms they came second, among the "most serious" but not irremediable transgressions.⁶⁹

In case sexual relations with a woman were proved, punishment consisted of the loss of the order's habit, for one year in the Teutonic Order and an unspecified lapse of time in the case of the Templars. The Templars also kept the transgressors chained for an amount of time and forbade them to participate in the election of the order's master and to carry the order's banner.⁷⁰ Although those were the maximal penalties, the comments to the Templars' *retraits* indicate that brethren could be punished more lightly and even pardoned.⁷¹

As to the Hospitaller rule, it introduced the concept of "scandal". In fact, if a brother was caught *in flagrante delicto*, it was said that "if he has sinned in secret, let him repent secretly, and let him join in suitable penitence," without further explanation. Yet, if the sin was committed in a way that made it known to the public, that is before people outside the convent's walls *par certaineté paleisement*, the punishment had to be severe. The responsible was to be publicly flogged after the Sunday Mass and condemned to one-year penitence, while risking permanent expulsion from the order.⁷²

Avoiding public scandal was a strong motivation, even if in some cases it did not appear so. We have already seen the cases in Corleone, and also Palermo at the end of the 15th century, where the local commander of the Teutonic Order used to welcome local noblemen in the company of his concubine at the moment, who acted like a married woman and lady of the house.⁷³ Unchastity could provoke scandal and create dangerous links with the outside world. Interestingly, this transgression was punished exactly in the same way as another, spending two or more nights away from the convent.⁷⁴

Another minor crime tied to unchastity was taken into consideration in the Teutonic Order's and Templar regulations. This consisted of frivolous and indecent conversation. The Templars specified it as a brother boasting to another about

⁶⁹ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 83–86 (Laws 38); *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 156 (*retrait* 236).

⁷⁰ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 242 (*retrait* 452), 309 (*retrait* 594).

⁷¹ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 322 (*retrait* 625): *Et en cria merci si come j'ai devant dit, et li fu regardé l'abit; et puis li laisserent por Dieu, que il estoit devant de bone renomée.*

⁷² *Cartulaire général*, 1, ed. Delaville Le Roulx, 64–65 (Hospitallers' Rule of Raymond du Puy 9).

⁷³ *Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*, part II, 1450–1519, ed. Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupova, prep. Udo Arnold, *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens* 50/II, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 10/II (Marburg: N.G. Elwert, 2004), 206, 210–211, 214.

⁷⁴ *La Règle*, ed. de Curzon, 162 (*retrait* 262); *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 83–86 (Laws 38).

carnal sins committed before entering the order.⁷⁵ As to the Teutonic Order's Rule, it generally referred to talk about the sins of the flesh, and among the transgressions possible, it also included lascivious and voluptuous conduct when outside the convent, even when the existence of sexual relations had not been proven.⁷⁶ Whenever proved, however, such sins were punished with a one, two or three day penance. The norm was inspired by the Rule of St. Benedict (VI, 1) quoting Psalm 38 of the Vulgata, *Custodiam vias meas, ut non delinquam in lingua mea*.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, it becomes evident that breaking the vows of chastity was considered a less serious offence in the military orders than in other religious congregations. Those communities had a basic ideal of life, be it within the walls of a convent or in the theatre of battle, but circumstances evolved making the brothers' everyday life quite different from an ideal which was markedly monastic. In the West, the foundation of a vast number of commanderies scattered throughout the territory and often equipped with very reduced personnel created dynamics that were quite different, accentuating the individualism of the brethren.⁷⁷

The question is also about mentality. According to the ideal, when a lay knight became a *miles Christi* he did not abandon his former life. Rather, he transformed it. Life in a military order should mirror the secular world, so the knight of Christ was supposed to transform the basic elements of chivalry, for example, *l'amour courtois* and veneration for his lady, into the worship of Mary the Virgin and other female saints.⁷⁸ In many cases, clearly this was not enough.

Everyday life in a military order was much too complicated and related too much to the secular world to strictly follow a contemplative monastic ideal. The wish to avoid scandal, demonstrated by the orders, means that we will never know the real extent of the relationships created between brethren and the women

⁷⁵ Cerrini, "Un expérience," 140 (Templars' Latin Rule 33).

⁷⁶ *Die Statuten*, ed. Perlbach, 80–81 (Laws 36).

⁷⁷ See, for example, the case of the Hospitaller priory of Rome in the first half of the 14th century in Dominique Moullot, *Le Liber Prioratus Urbis de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem: édition critique du Vat. Lat. 10372* (Taranto: Centro di Studi Melitensi, 2004).

⁷⁸ See Mary Fischer, "Di himels rote." *The idea of Christian chivalry in the chronicles of the Teutonic Order* (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991).

around them. However, if there were religious congregations open to that experience, certainly the military orders were among them.

The aim of this short overview is not to affirm that the brethren of the military orders were lascivious sinners and womanizers. For example, in the Benedictine world cases of sexual misbehaviour are incomparably more numerous. To mention but one case, the abbot of Santa Maria di Montesanto, close to Civitella del Tronto in Abruzzo, Giacomo Lippi, a serial rapist, was brought to trial in 1449–1450 but then saved thanks to the intervention of John of Capistrano, a future saint.⁷⁹ There were two different categories of misbehaviour in the military orders: occasional recourse to “bad women” and concubinage, which was usually unwavering and long-term. As to the latter, the question is to what extent was the status of a knight or sergeant in a military order compatible with the monastic way of life? Had it not been simpler to allow the brethren to marry, as in the Order of Santiago and, in due time, all the Iberian orders – seeing that the marriage of brethren did not create any particular problems? Similarly, to the celibacy of priests, the most important obstacle posed by marriage was the maintenance of the brothers’ children, which most evidently clashed with the vow of poverty. However, the generalisation of concubinage in the 15th century is indicative of the consideration that living with a woman was not a sin, nor a crime as serious as others, and that the spiritual and natural ways of life could well coexist.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Città del Vaticano. Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Camera Apostolica, *Collectoriae* 419A, 431A.

Roma. Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede, Stanza Storica, M 1 C (2).

Benoît XII (1334–1342). Lettres communes. Analyses d’après les registres dits d’Avignon et du Vatican. Edited by Jean-Marie Vidal. Vol. I. Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1902.

Bosio, Giacomo. *Gli statuti della Sacra Religione di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano.* Rome: Giacomo Tornieri, 1589.

Bullarium equestris ordinis Sancti Iacobi de Spatha per annorum seriem nonnullis donationum et aliis interiectis scripturis congestum. Edited by Antonio Francisco Aguado de

⁷⁹ Mario Sensi, *Santa Maria di Montesanto. Un monastero benedettino di frontiera tra Regno di Napoli e Stato Pontificio* (San Benedetto del Tronto: Edizioni diocesane, 1996), 30–35, and the edition of the trial, 75–108.

- Córdova, Alfonso Antonio Alemán y Rosales, and José López Agurlera. Madrid: Ex typographia Ioannis de Ariztia, 1719.
- Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*. Vol. 1. Edited by Joseph Marie Antoine Delaville le Roulx. Paris: Leroux, 1894.
- La Règle du Temple*. Edited by Henri de Curzon. Paris: Renouard, 1886.
- Galbraith, Georgina Rosalie. *The constitution of the Dominican Order 1216 to 1360*. Manchester: University Press, 1925.
- Michelet, Jules. *Le procès des Templiers*. Vol. I. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1841, 2nd edition.
- Monumenta Henricina*. Vol. VII. 1439–1443. Edited by António Joaquim Dias Dinis. Coimbra: Oficina Gráficas d'Atlantida, 1965.
- Moullot, Dominique. *Le Liber Prioratus Urbis de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem: édition critique du Vat. Lat. 10372*. Taranto: Centro di Studi Melitensi, 2004.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. "Las definiciones de la Orden de Calatrava, 1383–1418." *En la España medieval* 19 (1996): 99–124.
- Regesta pontificum romanorum: ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, Vol. II. Edited by Philipp Jaffé, Wilhelm Wattenbach, Samuel Loewenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner, and Paul Ewald. Leipzig: Veit, 1888.
- I Registri della cancelleria Angioina*. Vol. V. 1266–1272. Edited by Riccardo Filangieri. Naples: Accademia Pontaniana, 1953.
- The rule of the Spanish military order of Saint James: 1170–1493. Latin and Spanish texts. With apparatus criticus, English translation and preliminary study*. Edited by Enrique Gallego Blanco. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Stabilimenta Rhodiorum militum: die Statuten des Johanniterordens von 1489/93*. Edited by Jyri Hasecker and Jürgen Sarnowsky. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2007.
- Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens nach den ältesten Handschriften*. Edited by Max Perlbach. Halle/Saale: Niemeyer, 1890.
- Visitationen im Deutschen Orden im Mittelalter*. Part 2. 1450–1519. Edited by Marian Biskup and Irena Janosz-Biskupowa. Prepared by Udo Arnold. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 50/II, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 10/II. Marburg: N.G. Elwert Verlag, 2004.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

- Borchardt, Karl. "Historiography and memory: what was new and unique about the templars?" In *As Ordens Militares. Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro sobre Ordens Militares. Palmela, 10 a 14 de março de 2010*, vol. I, edited by Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, 49–60. Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2012.
- Borchardt, Karl. "Die Johanniter in den Supplikenregistern von Papst Innozenz VI. 1352–1362." In *Religiones militares. Contributi alla storia degli Ordini religioso-militari nel*

- medioevo*, edited by Anthony Luttrell and Francesco Tommasi, 9–25. Città di Castello: Selecta, 2008.
- Bulst-Thiele, Marie-Luise. *Sacrae domus militiae templi hierosolymitani magistri. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Templerordens 1118/19–1314*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1974.
- Buttigieg, Emanuel. *Nobility, Faith and Masculinity. The Hospitaller Knights of Malta, c. 1580 – c. 1700*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Carraz, Damien. *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIII^e siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020.
- Carraz, Damien. “L’Ordre de la Foi et de la Paix et les réseaux aristocratiques en Gascogne au XIII^e siècle.” In *IX Encontro sobre ordens militares. As ordens militares. Do convento e da guerra para o mundo. 25 a 29 outubro 2023, Palmela*, edited by Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (in preparation).
- de Carvalho Lago Barbosa, Isabel Maria. “A Ordem de Santiago em Portugal na baixa Idade Média: normativa e prática.” *Militarium Ordinum Analecta* 2 (1998): 98–288.
- Cerrini, Simonetta. “Une expérience neuve au sein de la spiritualité médiévale: l’ordre du Temple (1120–1314). Etude et édition des règles latine et française.” PhD Dissertation, Université de Paris IV–Sorbonne, 1998.
- Cerrini, Simonetta. *La révolution des Templiers: Une histoire perdue du XII^e siècle*. Paris: Perrin, 2007.
- Ciudad Ruiz, Manuel. “La tradición benedictino-cisterciense y la herencia templaria en la forma de vida calatrava (1163–1205).” In *El nacimiento de la orden de Calatrava. Primeros tiempos de expansión (siglos XII y XIII)*. *Actas del I Congreso Internacional de la Orden de Calatrava. Almagro, octubre 2008*, edited by Angela Madrid Medina and Luis Rafael Villegas Díaz, 305–325. Ciudad Real: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 2009.
- Corral Val, Luis. “La orden de Alcántara: Organización institucional y vida religiosa en la Edad Media.” PhD Dissertation, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2003.
- Elm, Kaspar. “Die Spiritualität der geistlichen Ritterorden des Mittelalters.” In *Die Spiritualität der Ritterorden im Mittelalter*, edited by Zenon Hubert Nowak, 7–44. *Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VII*. Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 1993.
- Rodrigues Ferreira, Maria Isabel. *A normativa das ordens militares portuguesas (séculos XII–XVI). Poderes, Sociedade, Espiritualidade*. Vol. 1. Porto: author’s edition, 2004.
- Finke, Heinrich. *Papsttum und Untergang des Templerordens*. Vol. I. Münster: Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1907.
- Fischer, Mary. “*Di himels rote*.” *The idea of Christian chivalry in the chronicles of the Teutonic Order*. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991.
- Fodale, Salvatore. *Alunni della perdizione. Chiesa e potere in Sicilia durante il grande scisma (1372–1416)*. Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2008.
- Forey, Alan. J. *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Forey, Alan. J. "Women and the military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries." *Studia Monastica* 29 (1987): 63–92.
- Gilmore-Bryson, Anne. "Sodomy and the Knights Templar." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 7, no. 2 (1996): 151–183.
- Gröger-Schiemann, Daniela. *Die Deutschordensballei Utrecht während der Reformationszeit: die Landkommende zwischen Rebellion und Staatsbildung*. Weimar: VDG, 2015.
- Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*. Edited by Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006.
- Kreem, Juhan. *Ordu sügis. Saksa ordu 16. sajandi Liivimaaal*. Tallinn: Tallinna Linnaarhiiv, 2022.
- Langlois, Charles-Victor. *Le règne de Philippe III le Hardi*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1887 (repr. Genève: Mégariotis Reprints, 1979).
- Licence, Tom. "The Templars and Hospitallers, Christ and the Saints." *Crusades* 4 (2005): 39–58.
- Lomax, Derek W. *La Orden de Santiago: 1170–1275*. Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, 1965.
- Luttrell, Anthony T. "Intrigue, Schisme and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384." *Speculum* 41, no. 1 (1966): 30–48.
- Moyse, Gérard. "Les hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le diocèse de Besançon en 1373." *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Âge – Temps Modernes* 85, no. 2 (1973): 455–514.
- Muscat, Christine. "Regulating Prostitution in Hospitaller Malta: The *Bonus Paterfamilias* Way." *Storja* (2018–2019): 121–153.
- Nicholson, Helen J. "Femme." In *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, edited by Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand, 352–355. Paris: Fayard, 2009.
- Nicholson, Helen J. "Templar attitudes towards women." *Medieval History* 1, no. 3 (1991): 74–80.
- de Oliveira, Simões Dias. "Para o estudo da religiosidade dos freires: as fontes e alguns problemas." In *Ordens Militares e Religiosidade. Homenagem ao Professor José Mattoso*, edited by Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, 23–30. Palmela: Câmara municipal de Palmela, 2010.
- Prutz, Hans. *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*. Berlin: Grote, 1888.
- Sardina, Patrizia. "Vizi privati e pubbliche virtù dei Gerosolimitani di Corleone tra XIV e XV secolo." *RiMe. Rivista dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea* 2/I n.s. (2018): 5–35.
- Schottmüller, Konrad. *Der Untergang des Templer-Ordens. Mit urkundlichen und kritischen Beiträgen*. Berlin: Mittler, 1887.
- Sensi, Mario. *Santa Maria di Montesanto. Un monastero benedettino di frontiera tra Regno di Napoli e Stato Pontificio*. San Benedetto del Tronto: Edizioni diocesane, 1996.
- Sterns, Indrikis. "Crime and Punishment among the Teutonic Knights." *Speculum* 57 (1982): 84–111.

- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. "Alltagsleben in den Ordenshäusern Siziliens am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts." In *Das Leben im Ordenshaus. Vorträge der Tagung der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens in Tallinn 2014*, edited by Juhan Kreem, 117–143. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 81, Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Historischen Kommission zur Erforschung des Deutschen Ordens 17. Weimar: VDG, 2019).
- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. "Manquements et dérèglements dans l'Ordre Teutonique (XII^e–XV^e siècle)." In *Enfermements II. Règles et dérèglements en milieu clos (IV^e–XIX^e siècle)*, edited by Isabelle Heullant-Donat, Julie Claustre, Élisabet Lusset, and Falk Bretschneider, 353–373. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015.
- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. "The nunneries of the Order of St. John in medieval Italy." *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders* 27 (2022): 115–133.
- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. *Templari e Ospitalieri nella Sicilia Medievale*. Taranto: Centro di Studi Melitensi, 2003.
- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. "Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights." In *A Companion to Medieval Rules and Customaries*, edited by Krijin Pansters, 225–252. Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2020.
- Toomaspoeg, Kristjan. *The Teutonic Order in Italy, 1190–1525. Building Bridges in the Medieval World*. London: Routledge, 2024.
- de Vasconcelos, Antonio Maria Falcão Pestana. "A Ordem militar de Cristo na baixa Idade Média. Espiritualidade, normativa e prática." *Militarium ordinum analecta* 2 (1998): 5–92.
- Villegas Díaz, Luis Rafael. "Calatravensis Militia, cisterciensis ordinis." *Cistercium* 51 (1999): 547–562.
- Voisenet, Jacques. "Figure de la virginité ou image de la paillardise: la sexualité du clerc au Moyen Âge." In *Le clerc au Moyen Âge*, 571–578. Sénéfiance 37. Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 1995.
- Vogel, Christian. *Das Recht der Templer. Ausgewählte Aspekte des Templerrechts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Statutenhandschriften aus Paris, Rom, Baltimore und Barcelona*. Münster: LIT Verlag, 2007.
- Werner, Janelle. "Promiscuous priests and vicarage children: clerical sexuality and masculinity in Late Medieval England." In *Negotiating clerical identities. Priests, monks and masculinity in the Middle Ages*, edited by Jennifer Dawn Thibodeaux, 159–184. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.