

W SŁUŻBIE ZABYTKÓW

pod redakcją
Janusza Hochleitnera
Karola Polejowskiego



**ZAMEK
MALBORK 20
NA LIŚCIE UNESCO**

Malbork 2017

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Zjednoczonych
dla Wychowania,
Nauki i Kultury



Castle of the Teutonic Order in Malbork
inscribed on the World
Heritage List in 1997
Zamek Krzyżacki w Malborku
wpisany na Listę Światowego
Dziedzictwa w roku 1997



MUZELUM ZAMKOWE
W MALBORKU

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Wstęp

Rok 2017 dla Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku to moment szczególnie, albowiem mija 20 lat od momentu wpisania malborskiej rezydencji na Listę Światowego Dziedzictwa Organizacji Narodów Zjednoczonych dla Wychowania, Nauki i Kultury (World Heritage List, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, UNESCO). Dzisiaj, kiedy ten fakt jest dla nas oczywisty, a renoma Muzeum Zamkowego została trwale ugruntowana, trudno jest nam sobie wyobrazić ile należało podjąć działań, aby ten status uzyskać. Warto więc przypomnieć, że okres związany z przygotowaniem dokumentacji aplikacyjnej trwał 10 lat i został zapoczątkowany w roku 1987. Inicjatorem owych przygotowań był obecny dyrektor Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku, Mariusz Mierzwiński, powołany zresztą wówczas na to stanowisko. To Mariusz Mierzwiński podjął decyzję o powołaniu zespołu merytorycznego do przygotowania dokumentacji. Równolegle organizował liczne spotkania i konsultacje, które miały przede wszystkim wykorzystać doświadczenie krajowych i zagranicznych środowisk konserwatorskich oraz zabytkoznawczych, związanych ze współpracą z UNESCO. W gronie najważniejszych partnerów dyrektora Mierzwińskiego w tym okresie należy wskazać profesora Mariana Arszczyńskiego i ówczesnego wicedyrektora, świętej pamięci Mieczysława Haftkę. Dla ówczesnych malborskich starań ważne znaczenie należy przypisać pisemnej opinii, sporządzonej przez profesora Ernsta Badstübnera.

Cel, który wyznaczono w roku 1987 został osiągnięty 10 lat później (1997) i od tego momentu Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku jest częścią światowego dziedzictwa. W ciągu kolejnych 20 lat stopniowo ugruntowano nową świadomość, wedle której zaczęto przypisywać malborskiemu zamkowi nie tylko znaczenie ważnego pomnika historii oraz wybitnego dzieła architektury średniowiecznej, ale także jednego z najważniejszych w Europie obiektów kreacji konserwatorskiej. Mariusz Mierzwiński znając bardzo dobrze dzieje zarządzanego przez siebie obiektu, zaczął ze swoimi współpracownikami podkreślać, że zamek poprzez swoją długotrwałą odbudowę, najpierw dwukrotnie w wieku XIX, a potem jeszcze raz w wieku XX i XXI, stał się w konsekwencji swoistą kolebką wyjątkowej szkoły konserwatorskiej. To tutaj kilka pokoleń konserwatorów, najpierw niemieckich, potem polskich, doskonalilo zasady, które dzisiaj uznajemy za wzorcowe. W ten sposób malborski zabytek zaczęto traktować również jako najważniejszy pomnik światowego konserwatorstwa.

Dziś, gdy możemy bezpośrednio oceniać efekty prowadzonych od ponad 30 lat, i to na niespotykaną skalę, prac konserwatorskich, nie mamy wątpliwości, iż działalność

Mariusza Mierzwińskiego w zakresie ochrony dziedzictwa kulturowego oraz konserwacji, należy do najistotniejszych etapów w procesie fachowej opieki nad tym monumentalnym zabytkiem. Należy podkreślić zwłaszcza Jego rolę w odbudowie zamku ze zniszczeń II wojny światowej. Działalność Mariusza Mierzwińskiego w tym zakresie stanowi trwały i ważny rozdział w dziejach polskiej szkoły ochrony zabytków. W tym miejscu należy wymienić najważniejsze przedsięwzięcia, które w tym obszarze dane Mu było zrealizować:

- kompleksowa konserwacja zachodniego skrzydła Zamku Średniego, co uratowało od katastrofy budowlanej jeden z najcenniejszych fragmentów średniowiecznej warowni. Warto podkreślić, że przez prawie 150 lat konserwatorzy niemieccy i polscy bez rezultatu podejmowali próby ratowania fundamentów Wielkiego Refektarza
- projekt „Aktywizacja turystyczna wschodnich terenów zamku” tj. rewitalizację wschodnich terenów Przedzamcza i odtworzenie pierwotnego wejścia do zamku z nowym budynkiem kasowym, który w zasadniczy sposób podniósł standard obsługi ruchu turystycznego oraz przygotował specjalną przestrzeń muzealną na działania edukacyjne, a zwłaszcza markowy już produkt, jakim jest „Oblężenie Malborka” (nagradzany m.in. jako Produkt Turystyczny Roku w Polsce)
- odbudowa i konserwacja w latach 2014–2016 zespołu kościoła Najświętszej Maryi Panny na Zamku Wysokim, wielokrotnie już wyróżniana specjalistycznymi nagrodami, jak „Zabytek Zadbany”, czy muzealnym wyróżnieniem „Sybilla”.

Nie jest wobec tego przypadkiem, że swoim znakomitym doświadczeniem zawodowym w zakresie konserwacji zabytków dzielił się, jako konsultant, w Niemczech, Rosji, na Litwie czy w Syrii.

To doświadczenie konserwatorskie tylko wzmacniało jego poczynania muzealne. Na zaproszenie rządu Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki (Departament Stanu USA) odbył staż studyjny w Waszyngtonie, Nowym Jorku, Filadelfii, Cincinnati i Los Angeles, w zakresie zarządzania dużymi muzeami sztuki. Poczynione tam obserwacje i zebrane inspiracje zaowocowały licznymi przedsięwzięciami muzealnymi na zamku malborskim. Jego menedżerskie zaangażowanie wyniosło Muzeum Zamkowe do rangi jednej z najważniejszych atrakcji turystycznych na świecie.

Również obecnie Mariusz Mierzwiński podejmuje nowe inicjatywy, które mają jeszcze bardziej uatrakcyjnić ofertę muzealną. Co roku wzbogacana jest oferta dla zwiedzających – trasa rodzinna, próba uruchomienia parku machin oblężniczych, w sezonie letnim wydłużenie czasu otwarcia muzeum do późnych godzin wieczornych, nocne zwiedzanie czy organizacja gier rycerskich. Muzeum Zamkowe w Malborku, przy współpracy z ośrodkiem w Laskach pod Warszawą, jako pierwsze w Polsce opracowało cykl zajęć dla grup specjalnych, m.in. dla osób niewidomych i niedowidzących. Jeszcze w ubiegłym stuleciu dyrektor Mierzwiński uruchomił jeden z pierwszych na Pomorzu ośrodków konferencyjnych w obiekcie zabytkowym, jakim jest Karwan. Poza tym wykreował formę wystawienniczą jako produkt turystyczny, poprzez organizację wystaw zagranicznych. To m.in. dzięki Jego zabiegom kolekcja bursztynu stała się ekspozycją

eksportową. Zbiór malborskiego bursztynu liczy półtora tysiąca obiektów i należy do najcenniejszych zbiorów tego typu na świecie. Warto podkreślić, że wolontariuszką Muzeum w ramach organizacji projektów wystawienniczych za granicą była obecna następczyni tronu Królestwa Szwecji, księżna Wiktorja Bernadotte. Kolekcja bursztynów gościła sześciokrotnie w Szwecji, trzykrotnie w Niemczech, tyleż samo w Japonii i dwukrotnie w Wielkiej Brytanii. Zbiory eksponowano też w Stanach Zjednoczonych i we Włoszech.

Należy także uwypuklić zmysł organizacyjny oraz talent Mariusza Mierzwińskiego w kreowaniu nowych inicjatyw muzealnych na arenie międzynarodowej. To z Jego inicjatywy w 1991 r. powstało w Malborku Międzynarodowe Stowarzyszenie Zamków i Muzeów Nadbałtyckich – pierwsza wówczas organizacja skupiająca instytucje kultury z dziewięciu krajów nadbałtyckich. Od tego czasu Malbork jest centralną siedzibą Stowarzyszenia, a dyrektor Mariusz Mierzwiński jego najważniejszym przedstawicielem.

Mariusz Mierzwiński jest także uznanym badaczem oraz autorem licznych artykułów i książek, które dotyczą dziejów zamku, miasta Malborka i Żuław Wiślanych. I chociaż w wolnych chwilach lubi odwiedzać swoją rodzinną Jelenią Górę, w której może wspominać przeszłość ze swoją Mamą, a także przetestować okoliczne narciarskie trasy zjazdowe, to i tak najlepiej czuje się w malborskim zamku. W życiu zawodowym nadal jest wierny swojemu podstawowemu wykształceniu – archeologii, dzięki której zrozumiał potrzebę interdyscyplinarnego działania dla osiągnięcia wspólnego celu. Do dziś w gronie Jego Przyjaciół spotkamy najważniejszych w Polsce i Europie konserwatorów zabytków, muzealników, historyków, historyków sztuki, artystów, fotografów i samorządowców.

Niniejsza książka niech będzie wyrazem upamiętnienia dwudziestej rocznicy wpisania Muzeum Zamkowego w Malborku na Listę Światowego Dziedzictwa UNESCO oraz hołdu dla Mariusza Mierzwińskiego, który uczynił zamek malborski tym czym jest dzisiaj – zachwycającym pomnikiem historii i żywym centrum kultury i sztuki, do którego przybywają ludzie z całego świata.

Janusz Hochleitner i Karol Polejowski

Introduction

The year of 2017 is a special year for the Malbork Castle Museum as this year we celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Malbork Castle being listed in the World Heritage List of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). Today, when this fact seems indisputable to us and the renown of the Malbork Castle Museum has been affirmed, we find it difficult to imagine how much effort it required to obtain this status. Therefore, it would be worthwhile to recall that the period dedicated to the preparation of the application documentation lasted 10 years and began in 1987. The initiator of these preparations was the current director of the Malbork Castle Museum, Mariusz Mierzwiński, who was at that time appointed to this post. It was Mariusz Mierzwiński who made the decision to create a focus team responsible for the preparation of documentation. Concurrently, he was organising numerous meetings and consultations on cooperation with UNESCO, which were aimed primarily at taking advantage of the expertise of Polish and international specialists in the field of conservation and heritage. During that time, the key partners of Mariusz Mierzwiński were professor Marian Arszynski and then the deputy director, the late Mieczysław Haftka. Of considerable importance to these efforts was the written opinion prepared by professor Ernst Badstübner.

The objective which had been set in 1987 was achieved ten years later (1997) and from that year onwards, the Malbork Castle Museum has been a part of world heritage. In the course of the next 20 years, new awareness was proclaimed according to which the castle began to be perceived not only as a significant historic monument and outstanding example of medieval architecture, but also as one of the most important buildings in the field of conservation in Europe. Mariusz Mierzwiński, being very well acquainted with the history of the building under his care, together with his colleagues began to underline that the castle, through its long-lasting reconstruction – twice in the 19th century and then once in the 20th and 21st century, has become a certain cradle of the unique craft of conservation. This is where several generations of conservators, first German and then Polish, mastered their principles, which today are considered as the benchmark. In this way, Malbork Castle also began to function as the most important monument to the art of global conservation.

Today, when we are able to directly evaluate the results of the conservation work conducted for more than 30 years and on an unprecedented scale, we have no doubt that the work performed by Mariusz Mierzwiński in protecting cultural heritage and

conservation can be considered as one of the most crucial stages in the process of professional preservation of this monumental complex of buildings. Of particular emphasis should be his role in the reconstruction of the castle from the destruction of World War II. The work of Mariusz Mierzwiński in this area constitutes a permanent and important chapter in the history of the Polish school of preservation of architectural heritage. At this stage, we should mention the most important undertakings carried out by the museum director:

- comprehensive conservation of the west wing of the Middle Castle, preventing an impending construction disaster from taking place, which could have damaged one of the most valuable sections of the medieval fortress. It should be highlighted that for almost 150 years, both German and Polish conservators had unsuccessfully tried to salvage the foundations of the Great Refectory.
- project entitled “Tourism mobilisation for the eastern sections of the castle”, i.e. revitalisation of the eastern areas of the Outer Bailey and reconstruction of the original entrance to the castle with a new building dedicated to the sale of tickets, which to a considerable degree improved the standard of providing tourism-related services and created a special space for educational activities, and in particular the well-known product in the form of “The Siege of Malbork”, recognised, amongst others, as the “Best Tourism Product of the Year” in Poland.
- reconstruction and conservation in 2014–2016 of St. Mary’s Church at the High Castle, which has been recognised with specialist awards on numerous occasions, for instance, with “Zabytek Zadbany” (Well-cared for Monument) and the “Sybilla” award.

It is therefore not accidental that Mariusz Mierzwiński has been sharing his outstanding professional expertise on conservation of historic buildings as consultant in Germany, Russia, Lithuania and Syria.

His experience in conservation only strengthens his museum-related activities. On the invitation of the government of the United States Department of State, he completed an internship on managing large museums of art in Washington, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati and Los Angeles. Observations and inspirations from his time in America have resulted in many different museum events at the Malbork Castle. His managerial involvement gave the Malbork Castle Museum the rank of one of the most important tourist attractions in the world.

At present, Mariusz Mierzwiński continues to undertake new initiatives which aim to make the museum portfolio even more attractive. Every year, attractions for visitors become more numerous – with the addition of a family route, an attempt to open a park displaying siege engines, extending the opening hours of the museum until late evening hours, night sightseeing options and organising medieval tournaments. The Malbork Castle Museum, in collaboration with the Institute for the Blind in Laski near Warsaw, was the first in Poland to organise a series of workshops for special groups, for instance, for blind and partially sighted persons. Already in the last century, Mariusz

Mierzwiński opened one of the first conference centres in a historic building in the Pomerania region, i.e. Karwan Conference Centre. Moreover, he has transformed exhibitions into a product for tourists by means of organising exhibitions abroad. It was also thanks to his efforts the amber collection became an exhibition sent for export. The collection of the Malbork amber has one and a half thousand exhibits and is one of the most valuable collections of this type in the world. It should be mentioned that the current heiress apparent, Victoria Bernadotte, Crown Princess of Sweden, was a volunteer at the Museum and participated in the organisation of exhibition projects abroad. The amber collection travelled six times to Sweden, three times to Germany and Japan, and twice to United Kingdom. It was also shown in the United States and Italy.

Another aspect worthy of note is Mariusz Mierzwiński's organisational skills and talent in creating new museum-linked initiatives on the international arena. It was on his initiative in 1991 that the International Association of Castles and Museums around the Baltic Sea was founded – the first such organisation to incorporate cultural institutions from nine countries surrounding the Baltic Sea. Since that time, Malbork has acted as the central headquarters of the Association, and Mariusz Mierzwiński is its most important representative.

The director of the Malbork Castle Museum is also an eminent researcher and author of numerous articles and books on the history of the castle, the city of Malbork and the Vistula Żuławy. And although in his spare time he likes to visit his hometown of Jelenia Góra, where he can reminisce on the past with his mother, and put the nearby ski slopes to the test, he feels best when he is inside the Malbork Castle. In his professional life, he is faithful to his field of education – archaeology – which has enabled him to understand that interdisciplinary activities are necessary to achieve a common goal. His esteemed colleagues include the most renowned specialists both in Poland and Europe – conservators, museum professionals, historians, art historians, artists, photographers and local government representatives.

Let this book be an expression of recognition for the 20th anniversary of the entry of the Malbork Castle Museum to UNESCO's World Heritage List and a tribute to Mariusz Mierzwiński, who has made Malbork Castle what it is today – a spellbinding monument to history and a living cultural and art centre to which people travel from all corners of the world.

Janusz Hochleitner and Karol Polejowski

Why did some military orders become great international institutions while others remained small scale? (1120–1314)

For anyone catching their first sight of Malbork castle it is immediately apparent that the Teutonic Order must have been an institution possessed of enormous military, political and financial power. The sheer scale of Malbork's massed ramparts stands as silent testimony to the order's might. Visitors are undoubtedly struck by the same thought when touring the Hospitallers' great fortified harbours in Rhodes town and later Valetta (Malta) or, before its fall, the Templars' great stronghold in the city of Acre in the kingdom of Jerusalem. Clearly the greatest of the military orders rose to occupy positions of exceptional authority.

Nevertheless, success on this scale was not common to all the military orders. Among the tens of such institutions established between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries most failed to achieve anything like this kind of growth. The order of Dobrin was founded in c.1228, but survived for a mere seven years before being partly agglomerated with the Teutonic Knights in 1235. The remaining members were defeated in battle three years later¹. The order of Mountjoy was established in c.1173 and operated for several decades before being broken up and its various parts being amalgamated with the Templars (1196) and the order of Calatrava (1221)². The English order of St Thomas continued for much longer, lasting until the English Reformation (1538), but it never achieved a position of prominence³.

Some embryonic orders scarcely grew at all. The order of St Edward of Acre, founded by Prince Edward of England [future King Edward I] during his sojourn in the Holy Land in 1271, barely registers among the surviving sources⁴. Likewise, there is a single tantalising reference to a group of warriors known as the '*Maccabaeus milites*' (the knights of [Judas] Maccabaeus) in a charter issued in the port of Acre in 1233. This group seems likely to have been an embryonic or aspiring order -or perhaps a knightly fraternity - which subsequently vanished from the historical record⁵. Clearly there was no guarantee that a newly-founded military order would succeed; a handful managed to become

¹ M. Starnawska, *Military orders and the beginning of the Crusades in Prussia*, [in:] *The Crusades and the military orders: expanding the frontiers of medieval Latin Christianity*, ed. Z. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovsky, Budapest 2001, p. 422.

² A. J. Forey, *The order of Mountjoy*, „*Speculum*”, 46 (1977), pp. 250–266.

³ A. J. Forey, *The military order of St Thomas of Acre*, „*The English Historical Review*”, 92 (July 1977), pp. 481–503.

⁴ M. Prestwich, *Edward I*, in: *Yale English Monarchs*, London 1997, p. 79.

⁵ *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani: 1097–1291*, ed. R. Röhrich, vol. 1, Innsbruck 1893, no. 1046, p. 273.

enormous international institutions; most did not. It is necessary to consider therefore, why some military orders grew dramatically, while others remained small scale.

This question is all the more thought-provoking when it is remembered that, in their origins at least, the military orders were remarkably similar. Initially almost all the military orders began as a small group of pious knights or, in the case of the medical orders, pious individuals, working on a frontier and performing a much needed task with scant resources. The Templars started as a group of pilgrim escorts patrolling the roads to Jerusalem;⁶ the order of Calatrava as a band of fighters committed to the defence of a single castle in the kingdom of Castile (Iberia);⁷ the Swordbrethren as a force of warriors intended to protect the Cistercian mission to Livonia (modern-day Latvia);⁸ the Teutonic Knights as a devout party of pilgrims caring for sick and burying the dead during the Third Crusade's siege of Acre⁹. Consequently, the parities between these orders are striking: all had humble beginnings; almost all were founded spontaneously on the frontier to perform a military or medical purpose; none received a colossal initial endowment which would automatically guarantee its rapid rise to prominence.

This question can be addressed in several different ways. It might be pointed out that, for some orders, their basic vocation inhibited them from achieving much growth. The order of St Lazarus, for example, by focusing its attention on the care of lepers, was naturally confined to a niche role¹⁰. Other orders may have lacked the ambition to grow or perhaps found themselves ill-suited for their intended purpose. For example, a group known as the Militia of the Faith of Jesus Christ was active in 1221, seemingly to combat the Cathar heresy in Southern France and yet it doesn't seem to have grown. Indeed, we know virtually nothing about it¹¹. Exactly why it never prospered is unclear but it seems likely that the knightly companies of a military order were simply not suited to the sensitive work of rooting-out heretics in the combustible world of Southern France in the early thirteenth century. This was a task for which the friars were far better prepared.

Many reasons can be found for an order's failure and yet it is striking that the explanations for larger orders' success are far more uniform. The biggest military orders – the Templars, Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights – all achieved international status essentially because they captured Christendom's imagination. By the mid-1120s the

⁶ For an introduction to the early origins of the Templars see: M. Barber, *The Origins of the order of the Temple*, „Studia Monastica”, 12 (1970), pp. 219–240; M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A history of the order of the Temple*, Cambridge 1994; H. Nicholson, *A Brief History of the Knights Templar*, London 2010. For the famous account of the order's origins by William of Tyre see: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis LXIII), Turnholt 1986, pp. 553–555. English Translation: M. Barber, K. Bate, *The Templars: Selected Sources*, Manchester 2002, pp. 25–27.

⁷ Roderigo Jiménez de Rada, *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, ed. J.F. Valverde, (Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis LXXII), Turnholt 1987, pp. 234–236. English translation: N. Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders: 1120–1314*, Harlow 2013, pp. 153–154.

⁸ *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, [in:] *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, ed. L. Arbusow and A. Bauer, vol. 31, Hanover 1955, p. 18. English translation: Henricus Lettus, *The chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, trans. J. A. Brundage, (Records of Western Civilization), New York 1961, p. 40.

⁹ *De Primordiis Ordinis Theutonicis Narratio*, [in:] *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: Des Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit*, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehlke, vol. 1, Leipzig 1861, pp. 220–225. For discussion see: M. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Stuttgart 1974.

¹⁰ For the history of the order of St Lazarus see: D. Marcombe, *Lepers Knights: The order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, 1150–1544*, (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion), Woodbridge 2003; M. Barber, *The order of Saint Lazarus and the Crusades*, „Catholic Historical Review”, 80 (1994), pp. 439–456.

¹¹ D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, 1100–1300*, Woodbridge 1999, p. 41.

Templars had been protecting pilgrims travelling to Jerusalem and the holy sites of the east for years and yet they had scarcely grown. This changed in 1127 when Hugh of Payns, Templar master was sent to Western Europe to raise new forces for a major crusade¹². By travelling across Christendom, visiting royal courts and noble strongholds, Hugh drew attention to his order's work and the result was an avalanche of donations, gifts and recruits. The Templars grew rapidly from this point and, by 1131, they had become so widely respected that King Alfonso I of Aragon attempted to leave one third of his entire country to the order in his will (although this was never implemented)¹³.

The Teutonic Knights grew for similar reasons. By 1210, the order's development had been very slow and there was little to suggest that it would ever rival its larger sister orders of the Temple or the Hospital. Even so, with the election of Herman von Salza as the order's new master, the order suddenly surged forwards. Herman's major achievement was to demonstrate his order's potential to major benefactors in Western Europe. As an exceptionally gifted diplomat and 'networker' Herman – like Hugh before him – worked relentlessly to raise crusading forces across Western Europe, becoming deeply involved in the Fifth Crusade (1213–1221), Frederick II's crusade (1215–1229) and the Barons' Crusade (1234–1241). In doing so, and by proving his worth to magnates including the Hohenstaufen emperors, the Babenburg dukes of Austria, the landgraves of Thuringia, the papacy, as well as countless less prominent knights and nobles, he managed to secure the donations of land, money, papal privileges, and infrastructure, which would see his order rise to be ranked alongside the Templars and Hospitallers¹⁴. As the order's chronicler Nicolaus von Jeroschin observed: *his period in office went so well that [following the order's small beginnings] the order's wealth and power increased so much that after his death there were 2000 brothers, noblemen from German lands and outstanding examples of manhood*¹⁵.

In essence, the closest modern analogy to a military order is a charitable organisation. Like charities, the military orders were dependent for their growth (at least in their early years) upon the benefactions and protections granted by leading patrons. Typically, the orders which prospered were those which, under the dynamic leadership of commanders such as Hugh of Payns or Herman von Salza, managed to draw their work to the attention of leading noblemen and royal/imperial families in Western Europe, who had the resources to sponsor an order's subsequent development.

The specific messages which might attract patrons were diverse. Some seem to have been inspired by an order's military or medical work; others by the quality of their spirituality and pastoral care; some seem to have been moved by the order's association with

¹² For discussion on Hugh's tour across Western Christendom see: J. Phillips, *Hugh of Payns and the 1129 Damascus Crusade*, [in:] *Military Orders: fighting for the faith and caring for the sick*, ed. M. Barber, Aldershot 1994, pp. 141–147.

¹³ For an English translation of the will see: *The will of Alfonso I, King of Aragon and Navarre (October 1131)*, [in:] *The Templars: selected sources*, ed. and trans. M. Barber, K. Bate, (Manchester Medieval Sources), Manchester 2002, pp. 161–163.

¹⁴ For discussion see: N. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291*, Woodbridge 2009; H. Kluger, *Hochmeister Hermann von Salza und Kaiser Friedrich II: Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens, Bd. 37, Marburg 1987.

¹⁵ Translation: *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A history of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, trans. M. Fischer, [in:] *Crusade Texts in Translation*, 20, Aldershot 2010, p. 37. For the original see: Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, [in:] *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum: des Geschichtsquellen der Preussischen Vorzeit*, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, E. Strehle, vol. 1, Leipzig 1861, p. 315.

the Cistercian order and the advocates of monastic reform¹⁶. Whatever their motives, the money/resources/protection/recruits such benefactors could bestow would then support the order's growth and enable it to fulfil and expand its vocation. Estates donated to the orders in Western Europe could then be used to create funds and materials which could be despatched to frontier regions such as the Crusader States, the Baltic or the Iberian peninsula. Indeed, the Templar, Hospitaller and Teutonic orders all relied heavily on networks of estates, known as commanderies, located in Christendom's heartlands to send *responsions* (payments of 1/3 of annual revenue) to support their efforts on the front-line¹⁷. Consequently – and certainly in their early years – a military order's development stood in direct correlation to its ability to capture the imagination of powerful patrons.

The larger orders all succeeded in this task; the smaller ones either failed or never aspired to such growth. Strikingly in 1236, Pope Gregory IX wrote to the English order of St Thomas of Acre, discussing the reasons why they had experienced so little growth. In particular, he commiserated with them that their initial great patron, Richard I, king of England, had died before he could render substantial aid to the order¹⁸. Inherent within such a verdict is the recognition that a major patron such as Richard was needed if an order was to be elevated to the status of a major military order.

This dependence on patronage was a core consideration for all the military orders at all stages of their development. In a sense their prosperity, growth-and even existence in some cases – relied on their ability to persuade their patrons of their continued value (again, rather like modern charities)¹⁹. To this end, they became adept at presenting a public image in Western Europe that was conducive to eliciting sustained support²⁰. Both the Templars and Hospitallers, for example, constructed some of their churches with circular naves; distinctive architectural features that were seemingly modelled on the *Anastasis* of the church of the Holy Sepulchre²¹. In this way, the order's buildings served as reminder of their work in the Holy Land. At times, the orders also decorated their churches with frescos depicting their labours, either fighting Christendom's enemies in battle or spiritually fending off the devil's temptations. Two such frescos survive in the Templar church in Perugia (Italy)²². Likewise, the Templars ornamented their churches with liturgical items which immediately called to mind the saints and spirituality of Jerusalem and the Holy Land; again reminding all viewers of their labours to protect the holy city²³.

¹⁶ See: *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*, Leicester 1995; J. Schenk, *Templar families: landowning families and the order of the Temple in France, c.1120–1307*, (Cambridge studies in Medieval life and thought), Cambridge 2012.

¹⁷ See, for example, M. Barber, *Supplying the Crusader States: The Role of the Templars*, [in:] *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B. Z. Kedar, Jerusalem 1992, pp. 314–326; N. Morton, *The medieval military orders*, pp. 21–24.

¹⁸ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, ed. L. Auvray, (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. 2), Paris 1907, no. 2944.

¹⁹ N. Morton, *Institutional dependency upon secular and ecclesiastical patrons and the foundations of the Trial of the Templars*, [in:] *The Trial of the Templars: 1307–1314*, ed. H. Nicholson, J. Burgtorf, P. Crawford, Aldershot 2010, pp. 49–68.

²⁰ H. Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291*.

²¹ A. Demurger, *Les Templiers: Une chevalerie chrétienne au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2005, pp. 168–170; H. Nicholson, *At the Heart of Medieval London: the New Temple in the Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. R. Griffith-Jones, D. Park, Woodbridge 2010, pp. 1–2.

²² M. Barber, *The New Knighthood: A history of the order of the Temple*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 203–204; P. Scarpellini, *La Chiesa di San Bevignate, i Templari e la pittura perugina del Duecento*, [in:] *Templari e Ospitalieri in Italia: La chiesa di San Bevignate a Perugia*, ed. M. Roncetti, P. Scarpellini, F. Tommasi, Milan 1987, pp. 93–158.

²³ S. Salvado, *Icons, crosses and the liturgical objects of Templar chapels in the crown of Aragon*, [in:] *The debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, ed. J. Burgtorf, P.F. Crawford, H.J. Nicholson, Farnham 2010, pp. 183–198.

The way in which the orders presented their churches represents simply one means among many by which they drew attention to their work. Others included: processions, letters, poems, and alms collectors tasked with touring Christendom to rally support²⁴. Orders were especially adept at sending appeals for aid from their various battlefronts back to Christendom's heartlands soliciting aid. To take one example, following the kingdom of Jerusalem's great victory over Saladin's Egyptian army at the battle of Montgisard in 1177, the Hospitallers swiftly sent news of this success to the west, stressing the magnitude of the enemy's losses and their own role in caring for the many wounded. Most imaginatively, the task of bearing this news was given to a brother who had been seriously injured in the fighting and it was hoped (the letter states this explicitly) that the sight of such a messenger – fresh from the fight – would lead the faithful to bestow alms upon the order²⁵. Other orders were equally alert to the importance of presenting appeals for assistance in the most effective way possible. During the Teutonic Knights' wars with Duke Swietopolk of Pomerania they took the duke's son – then held as hostage – to the Austrian court in an attempt to win the duke of Austria's aid. Presumably they wished to present the young man as a tangible symbol of their ongoing struggle. In the event they were successful in their aim because the duke of Austria promptly sent 30 mounted crossbowmen to support the Teutonic Order²⁶.

Such activities were all designed either to win new supporters or to remind existing patrons of the importance of their work. The military orders' commitment to presenting their work in the most advantageous manner possible also extended to preventing or curbing any public behaviour that might bring them into disrepute. It is presumably for this reason that the orders' rules are very careful to regulate the behaviour of brothers when they were in towns – or other places where they were visible to the wider populace and where they might be imperilled by the presence of very visible temptations²⁷. Often brothers were expected to travel in pairs, presumably so that they would not singly fall prey to sinful desires²⁸. Such regulations were naturally designed to prevent brothers from being led astray into vice, but they would also have been guided by the desire to avoid 'bad publicity', criticism and the censure of patrons.

Certainly, a bad reputation could pose substantial problems for an order and its ability to win or retain patrons. This can be seen in the case of the Order of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This order was founded in 1261 by Urban IV for the unusual purpose of preventing infighting among the various rival factions within the Italian city of Bologna. There may have been an acute need to stem Bologna's urban violence and yet the order, while fairly long-lived, was not a success. It acquired a reputation for lax

²⁴ For discussion on the order's use of alms collectors see the Teutonic Order's rule: *Die statuten des Deutschen ordens nach den ältesten handschriften*, ed. M. Perlbach, Halle 1890, p. 34.

²⁵ R. Röhrich, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1878, pp. 127–128. English translation: *Letters from the east: crusaders, pilgrims, and settlers in the 12th and 13th centuries*, trans. M. Barber, K. Bate, (Crusade Texts in Translation 18), Farnham 2010, pp. 72–73.

²⁶ Nicolaus von Jeroschin, *Di Kronike von Pruzinlant*, pp. 389–390. English translation: *The chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, pp. 103–104.

²⁷ See for example: *La Règle du Temple*, ed. H. de Curzon, Paris 1886, pp. 44–47, 114, 186. For English translation see: *The Rule of the Templars: the French text of the rule of the order of the Knights Templar*, ed. J. M. Upton-Ward, (Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 4), Woodbridge 1992, pp. 29, 55, 90. *Die statuten des Deutschen ordens*, p. 50.

²⁸ *La Règle du Temple*, p. 46.

moral standards, which would have discouraged potential patrons, for whom a religious order's spiritual and moral purity was a vital pre-requisite for any kind of donation or support. The order acquired the name *fratres gaudentes* (normally translated as 'jovial brothers')²⁹ reflecting public recognition of their dissolute lifestyle. The Franciscan author Salimbene of Adam supplies a detailed list of their many vices including: avarice, gluttony, drinking, idleness, and a lack of charity. They became an object of ridicule³⁰. Another similar example can be seen with the English order of St Thomas which was reformed and converted into a military order in 1227–1228 through the efforts of Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, in part because its former members had been living a dissolute lifestyle³¹.

Over time, some of the larger orders may have become rather less dependent on their major patrons and so the need to maintain relations with their major benefactors would have become less acute. The Teutonic Order's growing landholdings in Prussia and Livonia, during the mid-late thirteenth century, certainly in the wake of the Second Prussian Rebellion, would have enabled them to produce a large proportion of their resources, funding and manpower within territories under their immediate control. This would have enabled them to rely less heavily upon donations or estates in Christendom's heartlands, which were under a patron's protection. Likewise, the Hospitallers' islands of Rhodes and then Malta may have granted them a greater degree of autonomy from their patrons' interests or demands.

Nevertheless, even the greatest military orders could be brought-low should their leading benefactors turn against them. The most-obvious example here is naturally King Philip IV of France's assault upon the Templars – commonly known as the Trial of the Templars. Exactly why Philip instigated these proceedings is unclear and yet, whatever his reasons, he was evidently intent upon breaking up the order; thereby shifting his status abruptly from that of a major patron to that of a determined enemy. It is vital to note that when he chose to launch his assault upon the Templars, the order was in no position to offer any kind of military resistance. This in itself underscores a great inherent weakness in the military orders, especially those which (unlike the Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights) could not take refuge within independent territories under their direct control. The Templars' estates in Christendom's heartlands were almost entirely unguarded and were permanently in need of the goodwill and support of local, noble or royal families for their protection. Inventories taken during the Templar Trial stand as witness to the fact that the Templars maintained no weapon hoards away from the frontline³². In a sense, this 'weakness' was unavoidable because in order to fulfil its vocation an order needed to consolidate its military assets on frontier regions; even so, its rich and vulnerable estates away from the frontier represented a major source of

²⁹ A. Forey, *The military orders: from the twelfth to the early fourteenth centuries*, Toronto 1992, p. 43.

³⁰ *The Chronicle of Salimbene of Adam*, trans. J. Baird, G. Baglivi, J. Kane, (Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 40), Binghamton 1986, pp. 477–478.

³¹ *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, vol. 2, no. 2944; A. Forey, *The military order of St Thomas of Acre*, p. 487; N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: an alien in English politics (1205–1238)*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 248–249.

³² M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 2nd ed., Cambridge 2006, pp. 68–69.

temptation for monarchs/nobles who might find themselves attracted to the idea of seizing an order's assets within their kingdom.

Indeed, as an order acquired more land in any given country, becoming increasingly powerful and wealthy, it would become a bigger source of temptation for monarchs such as Philip IV who was – as is well known – desperately in need of money at the time of the Templar arrests, both to fund his wars and to service his colossal debts. The history of the Templar order likewise furnishes other examples of money-starved monarchs arbitrarily seizing its financial assets. In 1263 King Henry III's son Edward (future Edward I) alleviated his father's urgent need for cash by demanding admittance to the Templar house in London and then seizing a vast quantity of coin, provoking an outcry from the city's citizens³³. In this case at least the order's fame for wealth had transformed it into a target.

Another important variable in the complex equation determining a military orders' growth and success was the place and timing of its foundation. There can be little doubt that the Templars benefited hugely through their foundation in the immediate aftermath of the First Crusade. With Jerusalem now in Christian hands the Templar order represented a response to the new, exciting and widely understood goal of ensuring the holy city's protection; a link made repeatedly by Bernard of Clairvaux when he penned his famous sermon praising the 'new knighthood'. Bernard also recognised the Templars' value as role-models for contemporary secular knighthood; holding them up as ideal examples of Christian knighthood worthy of emulation³⁴. Clearly the establishment of the Templars struck multiple chords within Western Christian society in the early-mid Twelfth Century which cumulatively propelled the order's ascent to major power. Likewise, the Teutonic Knights emerged at a time when the German nobility was deepening its commitment to the defence of the east. Between 1190 and 1229, Frederick I, Henry VI and Frederick II all either led crusades or despatched armies to the east, while Otto IV (Welf) laid plans for a crusading expedition³⁵. All came to patronise the Teutonic Knights, fuelling their growth and establishing a symbiotic relationship between the German nobility's crusading aspirations and the stellar rise of the Teutonic Knights during and after the Fifth Crusade³⁶. They were in the right place at the right time.

By contrast, none of the order's founded during the mid-late thirteenth century prospered. These included the above mentioned order of St Edward, the Iberian order of Santa Maria de España and the order of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Likewise, many of the more established orders began to encounter unprecedented difficulties during this time. The social *zeitgeist* was shifting. The crusader states were in decline³⁷. Secular power was rising and rulers no longer needed to lean on monastic orders in quite the same way as their forebears; indeed many instigated legislation designed specifically

³³ *Annales de Dunstaplia*, [in:] *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, vol. 3, (Rolls Series), London 1866, p. 222.

³⁴ M. Barber, *The social context of the Templars*, [in:] *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series*, 34 (1984), pp. 27–46. Bernard of Clairvaux, *Liber ad milites templi de laude novae militiae*, [in:] *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. J. Leclercq, H.M. Rochais, vol. 3, Rome, 1963, pp. 213–39.

³⁵ N. Morton, *In Subsidiium: The declining contribution of Germany and Eastern Europe to the crusades to the Holy Land, 1187–1291*, „German Historical Institute Bulletin”, 2011, pp. 33–66.

³⁶ N. Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land*, pp. 9–84.

³⁷ H. Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, p. 50.

to curb the growth of monastic landholdings³⁸. The territorial expansion of Christian Iberia had slowed to be replaced by a period of consolidation,³⁹ while new forms of religious life – most importantly the friars – had taken centre-stage in Christendom's imagination just as the military orders had in the twelfth century⁴⁰. In these ways, it was not merely an order's dynamism which underpinned its success; social-cultural context and public enthusiasm could equally play a decisive role.

Overall, the question of why some military orders grew while others did not, is a complex issue. It is also an equation which changed over time. The factors driving the Teutonic Knights' successes and failures in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries bear only a partial relation to the social and religious forces which lifted them to prominence in the thirteenth. In the earlier period, they were a religious-spiritual knighthood dependent for their success predominantly on Christendom's collective goodwill. In the later period, while these factors remained important, the order's steady rise to statehood, driven by its growing power in Prussia and Livonia, established an additional set of factors underpinning the order's existence and growth.

Nevertheless for the vast majority of military orders, the routes either to glory or oblivion were defined by an order's ability to establish and manage its relationships with patrons, great and small. It is easy to be swept-away by the sight of Malbork's majestic ramparts or the Hospitallers' great fortress of Krak des Chevaliers and then to subscribe to the belief that the military orders' power was so great as to render them invulnerable to anything but the most aggressive external attack by a non-Christian enemy. This was not the case on two counts.

Firstly, no major external non-Christian enemy ever succeeded in destroying a major military order during this – or any –⁴¹ period. Smaller orders such as the Swordbrethren – whose lands were almost all on the frontier – were vulnerable to such attacks, but the larger orders proved incredibly resilient in their defence of the Holy Land during the thirteenth century. They may have suffered multiple defeats (i.e. Darbsak 1237, Gaza 1239, Forbie 1244, Mansurah 1250, the raid against Turkmen tribes 1260, Careblier 1266), but they proved adept at swiftly recovering their position, promptly bringing forward a new wave of troops and resources from Western Christendom whenever they were needed⁴².

Secondly, the military orders were acutely vulnerable to a danger which could not be resisted by their mighty fortifications. This point of weakness was their network of commanderies in Christendom's heartlands. These estates were rich, numerous and entirely undefended. They also represented the backbone of the order's financial, recruitment and resource infrastructure. Their survival – still more their expansion – depended ultimately on the goodwill of patrons great or small and this support relied in turn on the vicissitudes of public image and popularity. Thus, the rise or fall of a military order was decided in many cases in that most fickle of courts: the court of public opinion.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁹ N. Housley, *The later crusades: from Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580*, Oxford 1992, p. 268.

⁴⁰ H. Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, p. 48.

⁴¹ Even the Teutonic Knights in their famous defeat of 1410 were subdued only by an alliance of Christian foes.

⁴² J. Bronstein, *The Hospitallers and the Holy Land: financing the Latin East, 1187–1274*, Woodbridge 2005, pp. 64–132.

Streszczenie

Dlaczego niektóre zakony rycerskie stały się wielkimi instytucjami międzynarodowymi, podczas gdy inne nadal działały na małą skalę? (1120–1314)

W czasach średniowiecza wzdłuż granic świata chrześcijańskiego założono dziesiątki zakonów rycerskich, których zadaniem było zwalczanie wszelkiej maści wrogów – czy to muzułmanów, czy to pogan, heretyków, czy nawet bandyckich szajek. Niektóre z tych zakonów – Krzyżaków, templariuszy czy szpitalników – wyrosły na poważne instytucje międzynarodowe, dowodzące ogromnymi zasobami, podczas gdy znakomita większość pozostała organizacjami działającymi na niewielką skalę w swoich strefach wpływu. W niniejszym artykule autor zastanawia się, dlaczego niektóre zakony rycerskie rozwijały się tak pomyślnie, podczas gdy inne nie. Ocenia, w jaki sposób powołanie zakonu lub jego pierwotne umiejscowienie mogło wpłynąć na jego późniejszy rozwój, biorąc przy tym pod uwagę także znaczenie momentu w dziejach, w którym dany zakon założono. Templariuszom i szpitalnikom znaczne korzyści przyniosła zapewne spuścizna po pierwszej wyprawie krzyżowej, stając się paliwem napędzającym ich początkowy rozwój we wczesnych latach dwunastego wieku, podczas gdy, jak się zdaje, wielu zakonom założonym w trzynastym wieku przyszło zaczynać w mniej sprzyjających warunkach. Ogólnie biorąc, w artykule podkreślono znaczenie popularności i publicznego apelu, które determinowały rozwój zakonu i wytyczały kierunki rozwoju na wiele lat. Instytucje te uzależnione były od datków od ludzi, dlatego te, które prosperowały, były zazwyczaj tymi, które przyciągały uwagę społeczeństwa.