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edited by

Helen Nicholson

editorial committee

Malcolm Barber, Peter Edbury, Anthony Luttrell,
Jonathan Phillips, Jonathan Riley-Smith

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The Role of Hospitals in the Teutonic Order

Klaus Militzer

The Teutonic Order arose from small beginnings in the twelfth century. Its foundation passed without ceremony; there was nothing to indicate that it would expand so rapidly in the first half of the thirteenth century. In 1190, during the siege of Acre, a hospital was founded by citizens of Bremen and Lübeck who were taking part in the Third Crusade. This hospital was dedicated to sick and wounded German crusaders, and according to the Order's own tradition the citizens stretched out a ship's sail in order to give shade to the care of sick and wounded.¹ We do not know exactly how the care of the sick was organized, but it seems certain that the newly founded hospital was managed by a lay fraternity with a master. A similar arrangement had been introduced into hospitals in German cities and was the most modern form of organization at that time.² Therefore it is possible that the citizens of Bremen and Lübeck committed the new foundation to the care of such a fraternity.

The form of organization adopted by the citizens did not remain in place for long. When Duke Frederick of Swabia arrived at Acre in October 1190 he took the hospital under his protection, and from that time on it played a role in Staufen politics. Perhaps the lay fraternity was transformed into an order, but we do not know the precise circumstances, nor when this happened; no rule of this order has come down to us. Then, in 1198, the hospital was transformed

¹ M.-L. Favreau, *Studien zur Frühgeschichte des Deutschen Ordens*, Kieler Historische Studien, 21 (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 35–63; U. Arnold, 'Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens. Zu Gründung und innerer Struktur des Deutschen Hospitals von Akkon und des Ritterordens in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen, 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 81–107.

² S. Reicke, *Das deutsche Spital und sein Recht im Mittelalter*, Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, 111–114 (Stuttgart, 1932), 1, pp. 53–71.

into a military order. The brethren were to observe the rule of the Templars in military affairs and the rule of the Hospitallers in matters of hospitality.³

Some historians maintain that military functions were assigned to the hospital before this transformation, referring to the fact that in 1193 Henry of Champagne had given the hospital a section of the defences of Acre next to the gate of St Nicholas. But as the hospital was obliged only to repair this part of the fortifications this obligation was more financial than military, and so we would suggest that there was no military involvement before 1198. After the transformation the military function became more dominant.⁴ Nevertheless, the Order continued to support hospitals even after 1198; it had and retained an official for caring for the sick. He was the *Spittler*, or hospitaller, who ranked among the *Großgebietiger*, the leading officials in the Order's headquarters under the Grand Master (*Hochmeister*).⁵ The first *Spittler* that we know of was a knight brother, Henry, in 1208.⁶ The main hospital of the Order remained in Acre until 1291, and was not moved when the Order's headquarters were transferred to the castle of Montfort.⁷

After the loss of Acre in 1291 the Grand Master transferred his headquarters to Venice; the *Großgebietiger* were also usually based there.⁸ According to the statutes promulgated by Siegfried of Feuchtwangen (1303–9) or Gottfried of Hohenlohe (1297–1303), a *Spittler* lived in the headquarters in Venice, and he was ordered not to cross the Alps without permission.⁹ But it is not clear from the statutes whether the Order supported a hospital in Venice or even whether it had a hospital there at all.¹⁰ The absence of any evidence for a Venice hospital suggests that its existence is improbable.¹¹

³ Favreau, pp. 64–73.

⁴ U. Arnold, 'Vom Feldspital zum Ritterorden. Militarisierung und Territorialisierung des Deutschen Ordens (1190–ca.1240)', in *Balticum. Studia z dziejów polityki gospodarki i kultury XII–XVII wieku, ofiarowane Marianowi Biskupowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z.H. Nowak (Torun, 1992), pp. 27–8; A. Forey, *The Military Orders. From the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), pp. 19–20.

⁵ F. Milthaler, *Die Großgebietiger des Deutschen Ritterordens bis 1440*, Schriften der Albertus-Universität. Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 26 (Königsberg and Berlin, 1940), pp. 23–5, 39–40, 85–91.

⁶ *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex regii tabularii Berolinensis codici potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869, repr. Toronto and Jerusalem, 1975), p. 35.

⁷ C. Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinalkwesen in Preußen: Hospital, Firmarie und Artz bis 1525*, QuStDo, 29 (Bad Godesberg, 1969), p. 37.

⁸ Milthaler, pp. 43–4.

⁹ SDO, p. 145.

¹⁰ Thus Probst, p. 38 and Milthaler, p. 44.

¹¹ K. Forstreuter, *Der Deutsche Orden am Mittelmeer*, QuStDO, 2 (Bonn, 1967), p. 56, and U. Arnold, 'Der Deutsche Orden und Venedig', in *Militia Sacra*, ed. E. Coli, M. de Marco and F. Tommasi (Perugia, 1994), p. 149, state that in 1300 a *Spittler* named Conrad of Babenberg is mentioned in Famagusta. In fact, a careful reading of the relevant document reveals that he was probably in Venice: see the document printed in *Notai Genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Cipro di Lamberto di*

In 1309 the Grand Master transferred his headquarters to Marienburg in Prussia. The *Spittler* accompanied him but set up his residence in Elbing, where the Hospital of the Holy Ghost, which was already in existence by the middle of the thirteenth century, became the Order's main hospital.¹² The supreme hospitaller (*Oberster Spittler*), as he was called, did not manage the hospital by himself; that was the task of the under-hospitaller (*Unterspittler*).¹³ The supreme hospitaller had to govern the old commandery or preceptory of Elbing, which was also already in existence before his arrival. As a member of the *Großgebietiger* he belonged to the council of the Grand Master. So he was not a minister of public health nor an inspector general of all hospitals in Prussia;¹⁴ as the under-hospitaller's superior he was responsible for the main hospital of the Order in Elbing, but only with general oversight, not directly.

According to the rule of the Teutonic Order the *Spittler* could claim an exceptional position. Unlike other officials who had to render accounts for their office, he was not expected to render an account of the hospital's expenses. His hospital was financially independent with its own income and he could demand contributions without any interference from other officials of the Order, only being obliged to inform the Grand Master of the hospital's economic position now and then; this enabled the *Spittler* to give the best care to the sick and poor.¹⁵ These regulations, which were laid down for the headquarters and its hospital in the Latin East and were already valid about 1200, were written into the rule about 1250, and became standard for the Order's other hospitals. Many hospitals in other regions were financially independent with their own incomes, with no external control over their expenses. The possessions of these hospitals could be allocated specifically to them, for their use alone. These hospitals were able to develop into separate economic units, independent of the economies of the preceptories to which they belonged. An example of this development is the hospital in Nuremberg, the most important hospital in the bailiwicks under the *Deutschmeister*, the master of the Order's possessions in Germany.¹⁶ However, the Order did not usually distribute properties specifically to individual hospitals. For most of the hospitals in the bailiwicks such a development cannot be proven and probably did not occur. This may have been the result of a decision reached by the

Sambuceto (3 Luglio–3 Agosto 1301), ed. V. Polonio, *Collana Storica di fonti e studi*, 31 (Genoa, 1982), no. 140 (pp. 156–7).

¹² Probst, pp. 44–5, 64–7; B. Jähnig, 'Das Entstehen der mittelalterlichen Sakraltopographie von Elbing', *Beiträge zur Geschichte Westpreußens*, 10 (1987), 40–1.

¹³ Probst, p. 67.

¹⁴ Milthaler, pp. 87–91.

¹⁵ SDO, p. 107.

¹⁶ K. Militzer, 'Wirtschaftstätigkeit ländlicher und städtischer Deutschordenshäuser', in *Zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, ed. U. Arnold, QuStDO, 38 (Marburg, 1989), p. 6; *Die ältesten Urbare der Deutschordenskommande Nürnberg*, ed. G. Pfeiffer. Veröffentlichung der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte, 10.10 (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1981), pp. 81–153.

chapter general before 1289, by which smaller hospitals with only a few properties were managed by cellarers (*Kellnern*), who were obliged to render accounts.¹⁷ The properties of these hospitals were not separate from the goods of the preceptories to which they were attached.

Because of its emergence from a hospital fraternity the Teutonic Order was regarded as a competent manager of hospitals even after its transformation into a military order. Emperors, kings, lords, noblemen and citizens donated hospitals in Italy, southern France and in the German Empire. In 1200 the archbishop of Magdeburg and the burgrave of Magdeburg transferred a place near Halle on the River Saale to the Order for the building of a hospital.¹⁸ Two years later the citizens of Bozen (Bolzano) granted the Order their hospital¹⁹ and the following year the archbishop of Salzburg donated his hospital in Friesach.²⁰ In fact, by 1230 the Order had received at least twenty-six hospitals.²¹ In the years that followed the middle of the century the Order received another four hospitals, among them the hospital of St Elizabeth in Marburg²² and the hospitals in Lengmoos and Sterzing on the route to the Brenner Pass.²³ In the fourteenth century some small hospitals were added, such as those in Bilin (Bilina) in Bohemia in 1302,²⁴ in Neubrunn in Franconia in 1311,²⁵ and in Aken on the River Elbe in 1355.²⁶ The last three hospitals hardly expanded at all because the Order did not support them; we have only a small amount of evidence about other hospitals in Italy.²⁷ After the middle of the thirteenth century contemporaries no longer had any confidence in the

¹⁷ *SDO*, p. 137.

¹⁸ R. Wolf, *Das Deutsch-Ordenshaus St Kunigunde bei Halle an der Saale*, Forschungen zur thüringisch-sächsischen Geschichte, 7 (Halle an der Saale, 1915), pp. 6–10; *Urkundenbuch der Deutschordensballei Thüringen*, ed. K.H. Lampe, Thüringische Geschichtsquellen, new ser. 7 (Jena, 1936), pp. 1–2.

¹⁹ *Tiroler Urkundenbuch*, 2, ed. F. Huter (Innsbruck, 1949), no. 543; U. Arnold, 'Die Ballei und das Land. Mittelalter', in *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol. Die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge*, ed. H. Noflatscher, QuStDO, 43 (Marburg, 1991), p. 130.

²⁰ U. Arnold, 'Die Gründung der Deutschordensniederlassung Friesach in Kärnten 1203', in *Festschrift für Hans Thieme*, ed. K. Kroeschell (Sigmaringen, 1986), pp. 37–41.

²¹ Other figures: Probst, p. 39; Reicke, I, pp. 112–32.

²² U. Braasch-Schwersmann, *Das Deutschordenshaus Marburg. Wirtschaft und Verwaltung einer spätmittelalterlichen Grundherrschaft*, Untersuchungen und Materialien zur Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte, 11 (Marburg, 1989), pp. 6–15.

²³ F.-H. Hye, 'Die Ballei an der Etsch und die Landkommende Bozen', in *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol. Die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge*, QuStDO, 43, pp. 330–1.

²⁴ *Preußisches Urkundenbuch* (hereafter *Preuß. UB*), 1.2, ed. A. Seraphim (Königsberg, 1909), no. 776; *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaris Bohemiae et Moraviae*, 2.6, ed. J. Emler (Prague, 1874), no. 1927.

²⁵ K.H. Lampe, 'Die Entstehung der Deutschordenskommende Prozelten', *Wertheimer Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Volks- und Heimatkunde des Main-Tauberlandes*, 1955 (1956), 41–2.

²⁶ E. Behr, 'Zur Geschichte der Deutschordenskommende Aken', *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 31.2 (1896), 222–6.

²⁷ Probst, pp. 37–9; M. Tumlner, *Der Deutsche Orden im Werden, Wachsen und Wirken bis 1400* (Vienna, 1955), pp. 75–7.

Order's management of hospitals; it had lost its credibility as a hospital order and its competence in that field.

In 1289, two years before the fall of Acre, the chapter general had to impress upon the brethren that the sick and poor were their masters, whom they had to serve.²⁸ Burchard of Schwanden, the last Grand Master to have resided at least for part of his magistracy in Acre had to admonish the commanders of bailiwicks (*provinciales*, or *Landkomture*), that the hospitals were reserved for the poor and the sick and not for the brethren. If a house was burdened with too many brothers, they should be sent to other houses. On no account were the incomes of hospitals to be used for the upkeep of the brethren.²⁹ This instruction was repeated by Burchard's successor, Conrad of Feuchtwangen, in 1292, but he restricted its application to those houses with ancient hospitals.³⁰

Some historians link these instructions to the reduction of hospitality in the Teutonic Order after the end of the thirteenth century, others to the loss of the Latin East by the Christians, because, they say, many brethren fled from the Latin East to the bailiwicks, occupied the hospitals and consumed their incomes.³¹ Such a view can hardly be supported, as most of the brethren in the Latin East lost their lives fighting against the Muslims; in fact, it is probable that no brothers of the Teutonic Order escaped from the besieged and conquered city of Acre in 1291.³² Therefore refugee brethren from the Latin East cannot be the reason for the decline of hospitality in the bailiwicks. Symptomatic of the decline may be the fact that the Teutonic Order did not care for the refugees of Acre in Cyprus as did the Hospitallers and even the Templars.³³ So we must ask whether the Teutonic Order reduced its involvement as a result of the loss of its headquarters and main hospital in Acre, or whether it began to reduce it before the fall of Acre, this event merely accelerating an already existing development.

In recent years Klaus van Eickels, who has published a book about the bailiwick of Koblenz, has argued that the Teutonic Order had used the income of the hospitals for its military engagements and not for the sick and poor alone. As he has dealt with this subject, I refer the reader to his work.³⁴

²⁸ *SDO*, p. 137.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

³¹ See, for instance, Probst, p. 39.

³² U. Arnold, 'Deutschmeister Konrad von Feuchtwangen und die "preußische Partei" im Deutschen Orden am Ende des 13. und zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts', in *Aspekte der Geschichte. Festschrift für Peter Gerrit Thielen zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Arnold, S. Schröder and G. Walzik (Göttingen, 1990), pp. 22–42.

³³ M.-L. Favreau-Lilie, 'The Military Orders and the Escape of the Christian Population from the Holy Land in 1291', *Journal of Medieval History*, 19 (1993), 223.

³⁴ See his article in this volume, 'Knightly Hospitallers or Crusading Knights? Decisive Factors for the Spread of the Teutonic Knights in the Rhineland and the Low Countries, 1216–1300'. See also his *Die Deutschordensballei Koblenz und ihre wirtschaftliche Entwicklung in Spätmittelalter* (Marburg, 1995).

The Order used its hospitals in this way not only in the bailiwick of Koblenz but in other bailiwicks too, although it is necessary to qualify this statement. In Nuremberg in Franconia, for instance, it appears that the Order had established its own hospital rather than acquiring it from the citizens.³⁵ But even if the Order did obtain the hospital in this way, it extended and developed it at its own cost. This became the Teutonic Order's most important hospital in the German Empire, the main hospital in the region of the *Deutschmeister* and of the branch of the Order in the bailiwicks.³⁶ The hospital in Marburg was also extended by the Order: about the middle of the thirteenth century a new hospital building was erected. However, the Order then lost interest in the foundation.³⁷ Both hospitals, in Marburg and in Nuremberg, had already needed the attention of Grand Master Burchard of Schwanden. In 1284 or 1285 he transferred the Order's preceptory in Griefstedt near Erfurt to support the hospital in Marburg and in 1287 the preceptory in Hüttenheim to support the hospital in Nuremberg.³⁸ Yet Burchard of Schwanden was an exception in the sequence of masters, and his successors did not follow his example. In the fourteenth century the citizens of both towns, Marburg and Nuremberg, complained that the Order was not doing its duty and was receiving rich beneficiaries in the hospitals rather than caring for the sick and poor.³⁹ In Nuremberg, Conrad Groß deemed it necessary to found the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in 1331 because the Order's existing hospital had failed to provide adequate welfare in a large medieval town.⁴⁰ The new hospital soon became more important than the old one.

As in Nuremberg and Marburg, all the hospitals which the Order maintained became institutions for providing for the wealthy. This became a continuous trend but there were notable exceptions. In the main hospital in Nuremberg, for instance, care for the sick and poor continued, although, as we have seen, the new Hospital of the Holy Ghost superseded the Order's older Hospital of St Elizabeth. In 1340 Henry of Zipplingen, commander of the preceptory in Donauwörth, established ten new prebends and – more important for our subject – five beds for sick people in the Order's hospital at Donauwörth. The five beds were reserved for those ill with fever, raving madness or dysentery. These beds still existed in the sixteenth century, when the city's council

³⁵ Thus D.J. Weiß, *Die Geschichte der Deutschordens-Ballei Franken im Mittelalter*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für fränkische Geschichte, 9.39 (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1991), p. 34.

³⁶ K. Militzer, 'Der Deutsche Orden in den großen Städten des Deutschen Reichs', in *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. U. Arnold, QuStDO, 44 (Marburg, 1993), pp. 196–7.

³⁷ Braasch-Schwersmann, p. 233–4.

³⁸ K. Militzer, *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich*, QuStDO, 16 (Marburg, 1981), pp. 97, 116.

³⁹ Braasch-Schwersmann, pp. 235–6; see also Weiß, pp. 363–4.

⁴⁰ U. Knefelkamp, *Das Heilig-Geist-Spital in Nürnberg vom 14.–17. Jahrhundert*, Nürnberger Forschungen, 26 (Nuremberg, 1989).

obtained a right to reserve them.⁴¹ In 1340 the *Deutschmeister*, Wolfram of Nellenburg, probably one of the few reformers to hold this office, founded a new hospital in Mergentheim in Franconia. This hospital was not managed by the Order's brethren, however; it was only under the superintendence of an official of the Order.⁴² Wolfram's foundation was more typical of its age than that of Henry of Zipplingen. With only a few exceptions, new foundations were no longer managed by the Order's brethren.

In 1242 the cardinal legate William of Modena decided that all hospitals in Prussia should be under the direction of the Teutonic Order.⁴³ The hospital in Thorn was under the Order's control from 1257, but the hospital in Elbing was managed by *provisores*, perhaps a lay confraternity.⁴⁴ When the Grand Master transferred his headquarters from Venice to Marienburg in 1309, the supreme hospitaller took up residence in Elbing and the hospital there accordingly became the Order's principal hospital. Another hospital, in Preußisch-Holland ('Prussian Holland'), in the territory of the commandery of Elbing, was managed by a lay *provisor* under the supreme hospitaller's superintendence. Other hospitals in Prussia were associated with houses of the Order and included in the administration of the preceptories. In other cases, such as Danzig and Königsberg, the Grand Master held the superintendence.⁴⁵ Besides the Order, bishops and cities supported and managed hospitals.⁴⁶ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries new hospitals were erected under the superintendence of the Order. During this time the Order's hospitals in Prussia continued to develop along the same lines they had followed earlier in the West. In the fifteenth century the people of Prussian cities were complaining about the Order's hospitals just as people living in the German Empire had done, and were making the same criticism that only the rich were admitted as beneficiaries.⁴⁷

The achievements of Byzantine and Arab medicine were not introduced into Germany and Prussia. For instance, physicians did not serve in the hospitals, either in the bailiwicks or in Prussia, not even in the main hospitals. However, physicians would examine the Grand Masters and important officials, and from the mid-fourteenth century there were physicians attached to the Master's court.⁴⁸ Sometimes they were sent by the Masters to the preceptories to examine sick brethren, but they were not sent into the ordinary hospitals, which

⁴¹ Weiß, pp. 249, 364.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 331; K. Heck and A. Herrmann, *Der Deutsche Orden und Mergentheim* (Mergentheim, 1986), p. 35.

⁴³ *Preuß. UB*, 1.1, ed. R. Philippi (Königsberg, 1882), no. 138 (pp. 102–3).

⁴⁴ Probst, pp. 43–5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 48–50.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 89.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 90–2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 160–75.

generally continued to be the homes of wealthy beneficiaries as in the bailiwicks and did not develop into hospitals in a modern sense. The Hospitallers in Rhodes were more progressive than the Teutonic Order in the bailiwicks or in Prussia.

In Livonia the Order of the Swordbrothers was founded as a military order; it did not found or support hospitals. After losing the battle at the Saule in 1236, it was incorporated into the Teutonic Order in 1237. The Teutonic Order followed in the Swordbrothers' footsteps and did not found or support hospitals in Livonia. In contrast to the Prussian branch under the *Landmeister*, and after 1309 under the Grand Master, the Livonian branch had no hospitals throughout its history until its end in 1562.⁴⁹

All preceptories had their own infirmaries for their brothers, which were separated from the hospitals. According to the statutes, brethren who suffered from particular illnesses such as fever, dysentery, diarrhoea or festering wounds had to enter the infirmary.⁵⁰ The ruins at the base of the castle of Montfort were formerly believed to be the infirmary of this convent; but in fact the building seems to have been a mill and later on a guest house for important visitors,⁵¹ although this is not quite certain. In Montfort and Acre the grand commander (*Großkomtur*), not the supreme hospitaller, governed the infirmary. We do not know much about separate buildings for sick brethren in the preceptories of the German bailiwicks. It seems that the infirmaries were integrated into the preceptory building complex. For most of the thirteenth century there were no infirmaries in the combat area of the Baltic region, although surely the Order cared for its wounded and sick brethren. Those who were no longer capable of bearing arms were sent back to the bailiwicks to end their lives in a preceptory.⁵² It was probably after the last rebellion of the Prussians at the end of the thirteenth century that the Order started to build infirmaries in Prussia. In the fourteenth century there was no preceptory without an infirmary, which was usually situated in the castle's inner courtyard and reserved for knight, sergeant and priest brothers.⁵³ Sometimes there were infirmaries for lay servants in the outer courtyards of the castles.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ M. Hellmann, 'Der Deutsche Orden und die Stadt Riga', in *Das Verhältnis des Deutschen Ordens zu den Städten in Livland, Preussen und in Deutschen Reich*, QuStDO, 44, p. 10; see also F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 9 (Cologne and Graz, 1965), pp. 54–62.

⁵⁰ *SDO*, p. 70; Probst, p. 105.

⁵¹ W. Hubatsch, 'Montfort und die Bildung des Deutschordensstaates im Heiligen Lande', *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1966, 5 (1966), 186–99 and Probst, p. 109 speak of an infirmary; for a different opinion see R.D. Pringle, 'A Thirteenth-Century Hall at Montfort Castle in Western Galilee', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 66 (1986), 68–75.

⁵² Probst, p. 111.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 118–30.

Infirmaries were built in Livonian preceptories too, but we know little about them. For instance, a *Spittler* was caring for the sick and old brethren in Fellin during the fifteenth century.⁵⁵ There must have been such infirmaries in other castles of the Livonian branch of the Order.

To sum up, from the thirteenth century onwards the Order took over hospitals for their goods and income, which it wanted to use to support its wars in the Latin East, Prussia and Livonia. Some hospitals remained, as in Marburg or Nuremberg, but they changed their character and became homes for rich beneficiaries, who could buy a bed or room with food and clothing included. These hospitals were no longer houses for the sick and poor. Exceptions such as the foundation in Donauwörth were rare. From the fourteenth century the city councils tried to obtain influence over these hospitals – with success. They supported their own hospitals, which replaced those of the Order; caring for the sick and poor had become a municipal task in the cities.

We can observe the same trend in Prussia with a certain time lag. The supreme hospitaller was not a minister of public health. He only had to manage the main hospital in Elbing, assisted by an under-hospitaller. In Livonia the Order supported no hospitals. In both countries, from the end of the thirteenth century the Order was developing infirmaries for sick and old brethren. In the subsequent period nearly every preceptory had its own infirmary situated in the inner courtyard of the castle; but only the Grand Master had paid physicians living in the Order's headquarters. These physicians could be sent to officials or brethren in Prussia, but they did not practise in public hospitals. The Teutonic Order never reached the standards of medical care the Hospitallers employed in Jerusalem or in Rhodes.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ L. Fenske and K. Militzer, *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens*, Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte, 12 (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1993), p. 757.

⁵⁶ See B.Z. Kedar's article in this volume, 'A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital' (Chapter 1).

Welfare and Warfare in the Teutonic Order: a Survey

Bernhard Demel, OT

In the earliest statutes of the Teutonic Order, which date to about 1244, we read the following:

Quia vero ordo iste prius hospitalia quam miliciam habuit, sicut ex nomine eius liquidius edocetur, statuimus, quod in principali domo, vel ubi magister decreverit cum consilio capituli, semper hospitale teneatur. In aliis vero locis, si hospitale iam ante factum cum loco et redditibus fuerit oblatum, poterit provincialis terre de prudentiorum fratrum consilio illud recipere, si voluerit. In domibus autem alii ordinis, que sine hospitali sunt, non fiat hospitale absque magistri ordinis ordinatione speciali cum consilio fratrum prudentiorum.¹

(But, because this order was a hospital before it became a military order, so that it may better live up to its name we resolve that there should always be a hospital in the principal house or wherever the master decrees with the advice of the chapter. In other places, if a hospital has already been built and is offered with the place and its revenues, the provincial commander may receive it if he wishes, after taking advice from the more prudent brothers. In other houses of the Order, however, where there is no hospital, no hospital should be established without the special ordinance of the Master, with the advice of the more prudent brothers.)

These regulations summarize the obligations of the Teutonic Order, and allude to its origins during the Third Crusade when the first members – priests and laymen vowed to poverty, chastity and obedience – had to help the

¹ *SDO* (repr. Hildesheim and New York, 1975), p. 31. For the date, see U. Arnold, 'Die Statuten des Deutschen Ordens. Neue amerikanische Forschungsergebnisse', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 83 (1975), 145. For the history of the Order's rules and statutes, I. Sterns, 'The Statutes of the Teutonic Knights. A Study of the Religious Chivalry', PhD thesis (University of Pennsylvania, 1969); E. Volgger, *Die Regeln des Deutschen Ordens in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Lana, 1985). For the current rules and statutes see *Das Ordensbuch. Die Regeln und Statuten des Deutschen Ordens* (Vienna, 1996).

sick and wounded during the siege of Acre (1189–91).² Throughout the Order's history – as the so-called *Deutsche Hospitalbruderschaft*, the fraternity of the Hospital of the Germans (1190–98/9),³ as a military order (1199–1299), and as a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church (1299 to the present)⁴ – the Teutonic Order has observed its obligation to care for the sick and the dying.⁵ It soon received houses with hospitals in the Holy Land and the adjoining territories, and also in the towns of the Empire and along the routes through the Alps.⁶ As examples I would mention the principal house at Acre held from 1190 or 1191;⁷ the oldest house in the Empire with a hospital for the poor at Halle in 1200;⁸ the hospital with a church at Bozen, South Tyrol, granted in

² *SDO*, pp. 159–60; H.E. Mayer, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 8th edn (Stuttgart, Berlin and Cologne, 1995), pp. 125–38; E. Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient. Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrich I.* (Tübingen, 1977), pp. 1–179, esp. pp. 167–9; R. Hiestand, 'Precipua tocius christianismi columpna. Barbarossa und der Kreuzzug', in *Friedrich Barbarossa. Handlungsspielräume und Wirkungsweisen des staufischen Kaisers*, ed. A. Haverkamp (Sigmaringen, 1992), pp. 51–108.

³ U. Arnold, 'Entstehung und Frühzeit des Deutschen Ordens. Zu Gründung und innerer Struktur des Deutschen Hospitals von Akkon und des Ritterordens in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts', in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen, 26 (Sigmaringen, 1980), pp. 81–107.

⁴ For the history of the Teutonic Order, *Tabulae Ordinis Theutonici ex regii tabularii Berolinensis codici potissimum*, ed. E. Strehlke (Berlin, 1869, repr. Toronto and Jerusalem, 1975); M. Tumlner and U. Arnold, *Der Deutsche Orden. Von seinem Ursprung bis zur Gegenwart*, 5th edn (Bad Münstereifel, 1992); I. Sterns, 'The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States', in *Crusades*, 5, pp. 315–78; H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (London and New York, 1993); U. Arnold, '800 Jahre Deutscher Orden', *Westpreussen Jahrbuch*, 40 (1990), 5–20; *idem*, 'Eight Hundred Years of the Teutonic Order', in *MO*, 1, pp. 223–35; also the studies by J.M. Powell (pp. 236–44), K. Guth (pp. 245–52), J. Sarnowsky (pp. 253–62), S. Ekdahl (pp. 263–9), K. Militzer (pp. 270–7), and B. Demel (pp. 278–9) in the same volume; B. Demel, 'Hospitalität und Rittertum im Deutschen Orden', in *Der Deutsche Orden und die Ballei Elsaß-Burgund. Die Freiburger Vorträge zur 800-Jahr-Feier des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. H. Brommer (Bühl/Baden, 1996), pp. 33–56; *idem*, 'Der Deutsche Orden und die Krone Frankreichs in den Jahren 1648–1789', *ibid.*, pp. 97–188 (and the other studies in this volume); J. Sarnowsky, *Die Wirtschaftsführung des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen (1382–1454)* (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1993). For the Order's history from the beginning to the present, see the catalogues: *800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, ed. G. Bott and U. Arnold (Gütersloh and Munich, 1990); *Kreuz und Schwert. Der Deutsche Orden in Südwestdeutschland, in der Schweiz und im Elsaß*, ed. U. Arnold, B. Leipold and A. Soffner (Mainau, 1991); *Ritter und Priester. Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Nordwesteuropa*, ed. U. Arnold, *et al.* (Alden-Biesen, 1992); *Die Leechkirche. Hügelgrab-Rundbau-Ordenshaus*, ed. G.M. Dienes, F. Leitgeb and H. Leitgeb (Graz, 1993). For recent research in this connection see the published volumes of the QuStDO (Bonn, [Bad] Godesberg, Marburg, Bozen and Lana, 1966–).

⁵ Demel, 'Hospitalität'.

⁶ S. Reicke, *Das deutsche Spital und sein Recht im Mittelalter*, Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen, 111–114 (Stuttgart, 1932, repr. Amsterdam, 1970), 1, pp. 112–49.

⁷ *SDO*, pp. 159–60.

⁸ R. Wolf, *Das Deutsch-Ordenshaus St Kunigunde bei Halle an der Saale*, Forschungen zur thüringisch-sächsischen Geschichte, 7 (Halle an der Saale, 1915), pp. 6–10; B. Sommerlad, *Der Deutsche Orden in Thüringen* (Halle an der Saale, 1931), p. 5; K. Militzer, *Die Entstehung der Deutschordensballeien im Deutschen Reich*, QuStDO, 16, 2nd edn (Marburg, 1981), p. 34.

1202;⁹ and, on the route from Venice to Vienna, the house with the Hospital of St Mary Magdalen at Friesach in Carinthia which dates from 1203 and was the oldest established house in the province or *Ballei* (bailiwick) of Austria.¹⁰ The hospital at Nuremberg began its existence in 1209 and lasted throughout the Middle Ages and then from the time of the Reformation to the Treaty of Pressburg (1805), which saw the end of the Order as a member of the Empire and the expulsion of the Order from Germany by Napoleon (1809).¹¹ For around two centuries in the Middle Ages the hospital at Nuremberg was the greatest hospital anywhere in the Empire. Dieter Weiss supposes that it owed its origins to the initiative of the Order itself and not to other institutions or the inhabitants of Nuremberg. Alongside the *Komtur* or commander, the principal ecclesiastical official in the house at Nuremberg, we also hear of an administrator of the hospital, which received many donations in the city of Nuremberg and the surrounding district.¹² The hospital was dedicated to St Elizabeth of Marburg, the second patron saint of the Order after the Virgin Mary. From 1234 the Order also held the hospital at Marburg which St Elizabeth had founded and where she had lived until her death in 1231. At Marburg the Order built one of the most famous gothic churches of the Middle Ages, which became a centre of pilgrimage, especially in the fourteenth century.¹³

In his thesis Christian Tenner has made a special study of the history of the hospitals in the *Ballei Franken*, the bailiwick of Franconia, and has discussed

⁹ U. Arnold, 'Die Ballei und das Land. Mittelalter', in *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol. Die Ballei an der Etsch und im Gebirge*, ed. H. Noflatscher, QuStDO, 43 (Bozen and Marburg, 1991), pp. 125–70 (at p. 130).

¹⁰ W. Wadl, 'Friesachs historische Entwicklung. Ein Überblick', in *Die profanen Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Stadt Friesach*, ed. B. Kienzl, *et al.* (Vienna, 1991), pp. 1–71, esp. pp. 29–30; B. Demel, 'Zur Geschichte der Johanniter und des Deutschen Ordens in Kärnten', in *Symposium zur Geschichte von Millstadt und Kärnten*, ed. F. Nikolasch, (1992), pp. 76–99, esp. pp. 82–4.

¹¹ C. Tenner, 'Die Ritterordensspitäler im süddeutschen Raum (Ballei Franken). Ein Beitrag zum frühesten Gesundheitswesen', Diss. (Munich, 1969), pp. 52–8, 105–26, 130–8 and *passim*; D.J. Weiss, *Die Geschichte der Deutschordens-Ballei Franken im Mittelalter* (Neustadt an der Aisch, 1991), pp. 31, 232–7. For Napoleon, see F. Täubl, *Der Deutsche Orden im Zeitalter Napoleons*, QuStDO, 4 (Bonn, 1966), pp. 101–76.

¹² Weiss, pp. 34–6.

¹³ *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden und ihre Kirche. Festschrift zur 700jährigen Wiederkehr der Weihe der Elisabethkirche Marburg 1983*, ed. U. Arnold and H. Liebing, QuStDO, 18 (Marburg, 1983); B. Demel, 'Die Heilige Elisabeth von Thüringen – Patronin des Deutschen Ordens', *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien*, 12 (1993), 74–96; M. Werner, 'Mater Hassiae – Flos Ungariae – Gloria Teutoniae. Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Nachleben der hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen', in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. J. Petersohn (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 449–540. For the church and pilgrimage, see J. Michler, *Die Elisabethkirche zu Marburg in ihrer ursprünglichen Farbigeit*, QuStDO, 19 (Marburg, 1984); K.E. Demandt, 'Verfremdung und Wiederkehr der Heiligen Elisabeth', *Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte*, 22 (1972), 112–61, esp. 134–9.

the hospitals at Speyer, Ellingen, Öttingen, Neubrunn-Prozelten, Donauwörth, Mergentheim and Frankfurt-Sachsenhausen.¹⁴ In addition to the bailiwick of Franconia, which was under the rule of the *Deutschmeister* or German Master, answerable only to the Grand Master as the head of the whole Order,¹⁵ the province of Bohemia also possessed hospitals.¹⁶ To mention just one example, the hospital at Neuhaus, in the southern part of the kingdom of Bohemia, had twelve residents and was possibly founded in 1255.¹⁷

After the transfer of the Grand Master's residence from Venice to the castle of Marienburg in September 1309, the house of Elbing with its commander (one of the grand commanders and known as the *Oberster Spittler*, supreme hospitaller) became the principal hospital in Prussia. Later on there was a *Spittler* (hospitaller) at the commandery of Christburg, another settlement in the Order's Prussian territories. After the end of the 'Thirteen Years' War (1454–66), the *Oberster Spittler* became the commander in the newly built house of 'Prussian Holland' and from 1467 in the chief commandery of Brandenburg. Subsequently he had the house in Osterode to support him in his duties, although this arrangement ended in 1511. Hospitals existed in 'Prussian Holland' and Osterode until the demise of the Order in eastern Prussia in 1525.¹⁸ As we know from Klaus Neitmann's recent investigations, the Grand Master visited the hospitals in all the provinces.¹⁹ There is hardly any information about the hospitals in the Livonian sector of the Order's lands. We know only of hospitals at Riga and Reval; whether any existed in the other Livonian houses remains a matter for future research.²⁰

¹⁴ Tenner, pp. 45–52, 58–60. For Frankfurt-Sachsenhausen, see B. Demel, 'Die Sachsenhäuser Deutschordens-Kommende von den Anfängen bis zum Verkauf an die Katholische Gemeinde Frankfurt am Main im Jahre 1881 – Versuch einer Gesamtübersicht', *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte*, 23 (1971), 37–72; H. Mann, 'Die Reichsstadt Frankfurt und die Deutschordenskommende Sachsenhausen', *ibid.*, 47 (1995), 11–43.

¹⁵ Deutschordens-Zentralarchiv (hereafter DOZA), Vienna, MS 411, pp. 90–101; B. Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden und seine Besitzungen im südwestdeutschen Raum vom 13. bis 19. Jahrhundert', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 31 (1972), 16–73.

¹⁶ J. Hemmerle, *Die Deutschordens-Ballei Böhmen in ihren Rechnungsbüchern 1382–1411*, QuStDO, 22 (Bad Godesberg, 1967), pp. 11–22; B. Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden in Mähren und Schlesien', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, 32 (1991), 29–68. There were hospitals in the Order's Silesian territory at Freudenthal and Braunseifen: DOZA Mei[stertum] 139/1–10, 140/1–14, 141/1–5.

¹⁷ Hemmerle, p. 17; F. Kavka, *Jindrichov Hradec 1293/1993* (Budejovice, 1992), p. 25.

¹⁸ C. Probst, *Der Deutsche Orden und sein Medizinwesen in Preußen: Hospital, Farmarie und Arzt bis 1525*, QuStDO, 29 (Bad Godesberg, 1969), pp. 63–92. For the background for this period, M. Burleigh, *Prussian Society and the German Order. An Aristocratic Corporation in Crisis c. 1401–1466* (Cambridge, 1984). For hospitals in Prussia, J. Rink, *Die christliche Liebestätigkeit im Ordensland Preussen bis 1525* (Freiburg i. B., 1911).

¹⁹ K. Neitmann, *Der Hochmeister des Deutschen Ordens in Preußen – ein Residenzherrscher unterwegs. Untersuchungen zu den Hochmeisteritineraren im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Vienna, 1990), pp. 41–54.

²⁰ D. Jetter, *Das europäische Hospital. Von der Spätantike bis 1800* (Cologne, 1986), p. 46.

The sixteenth century saw the loss of the rest of Prussia (1525) and then of the Livonian territories (1561/2).²¹ As a consequence of the Reformation in the Empire, knights and priests left the Order. They served the Protestant princes or civic leaders in Hesse, Thuringia, Westphalia and Saxony as Lutherans, and then in the third quarter of the seventeenth century as Calvinist members of the Teutonic Order.²² What remained of the Order in the Holy Roman Empire became '*des adels getreuer Aufenthalt*', a residence for the aristocracy, or, more exactly, '*ain Spital unnd sonnderlich Zuflucht unnd uffenthalt des Adels teutscher nation*', a hospice and special refuge and residence of the German nobility, where the knights serving in the Order were maintained in an aristocratic lifestyle.²³ During the wars of the sixteenth²⁴ and seventeenth centuries,²⁵ the Order suffered major financial problems and loss of its properties, although its continued existence within the Empire after the Peasants' War was assured in 1527–30, when the holder of the amalgamated posts of Grand Master and German Master was incorporated into the imperial power structure, where he ranked after the archbishops but ahead of the bishops and abbots.²⁶

In readiness for new problems the Order reformed its statutes in 1606.²⁷ Between the time of the Reformation and the Treaty of Utrecht-Baden of 1714 there were wars against the Turks to the east and south of the Empire,²⁸ and

²¹ *Ritterbrüder im livländischen Zweig des Deutschen Ordens*, ed. L. Fenske and K. Militzer (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 1993), pp. 11–70, esp. pp. 11, 16, 46.

²² See the so-called Ri[itterakten] in DOZA. For Hesse, see B. Demel, 'Von der katholischen zur trikonfessionellen Ordensprovinz. Entwicklungslinien in der Personalstruktur der hessischen Deutschordensballei in den Jahren 1526–1680/81', in *Elisabeth, der Deutsche Orden*, ed. Arnold and Liebing, pp. 186–281. For Westphalia, see *ibid.*, p. 191. My study on Saxony and Thuringia is forthcoming.

²³ See, for example, the imperial diploma of 17 July 1530 in DOZA; H. Boockmann, *Der Deutsche Orden. Zwölf Kapitel aus seiner Geschichte*, 4th edn (Munich, 1994), pp. 194–6; A. Herrmann, *Der Deutsche Orden unter Walther von Cronberg (1525–1543). Zur Politik und Struktur des 'Teutschen Adels Spital'* im Reformationszeitalter, QuStDO, 35 (Bonn and Godesberg, 1974), pp. 220–43; K. Oldenhege, *Kurfürst Erzherzog Maximilian Franz als Hoch- und Deutschmeister (1780–1801)*, QuStDO, 34 (Bad Godesberg, 1969), pp. 45–93; V. Press, 'Des deutschen Adels Spital'. Der Deutsche Orden zwischen Kaiser und Reich', in *Der Deutsche Orden in Tirol*, ed. Noflatscher, pp. 1–42.

²⁴ For detailed figures, see the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna, Mainzer Erzkanzler Archiv, Reichstags Akten, Faszikel (hereafter HHStA, MEA, RTA, Fasz.) 77, A, fols 194r–197r. See also DOZA, Merg[entheim], 284/1, fols 140r–150v.

²⁵ For the losses before 1634, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, Germany, Bestand 298, Büschel 198 (hereafter StAL, Bs, Bü).

²⁶ Demel, 'Die Deutsche Orden und die Krone Frankreichs', pp. 103–13.

²⁷ See DOZA, MS 790. Also *Sammlung der neuesten Regeln, Statuten und Verwaltungsvorschriften des deutschen Ritterordens 1606–1839* (Vienna, 1840), pp. 70–155.

²⁸ W. Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung* (Munich, 1978); H. Noflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie. Maximilian der Deutschmeister (1558–1618)*, QuStDO, 11 (Marburg, 1987), pp. 173–91; J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der 'Lange Türkenkrieg' Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Vienna, 1993); M. Braubach, *Prinz Eugen von Savoyen*, 5 vols (Vienna, 1963–5); E. Zöllner, *Geschichte Österreichs*, 8th edn (Vienna and Munich, 1990), pp. 187–327.

– particularly during the reign of Louis XIV – against the kingdom of France to the west.²⁹ During these troubled centuries we cannot detect any significant hospital activity in the remaining commanderies. Large and small hospitals existed in the new residence of the Grand Master at Mergentheim (1525–1809), notably the *Carolinum* for sick and wounded soldiers;³⁰ and there was a hospital in the territory of the commandery at Frankfurt-Sachsenhausen.³¹ Grand Master Franz-Ludwig of Pfalz-Neuburg (1694–1732) made provision for hospital care after the long wars in the Empire, building a new hospital at Mergentheim on the River Tauber, which he mentioned in a letter dated 1724 to the president of the Order's central court at Mergentheim.³² After 1705 the old hospital was reconstructed in the residence of the important Franconian commander (the *Landkomtur*) at Ellingen, and it received new statutes approved by the Grand Master in 1736.³³

In 1809 Napoleon dissolved the Teutonic Order in the German territories; but it survived in the Austrian Empire where it was reorganized between 1834 and 1840.³⁴ It then had just two provinces: 'Austria' and 'Etsch' (abolished in 1810 but revived at the beginning of 1836) and the so-called 'Masterdom' in Silesia and Moravia.³⁵

The institution of the nuns of the Teutonic Order was re-established in Tyrol with a mother house at Lanegg, and in Silesia with the houses in Freudenthal and Troppau founded between 1837 and 1841. Their vocation was the education of girls and the care of patients in the municipal hospitals and their own infirmaries.³⁶

As for the remaining knights, Archduke and Grand Master Wilhelm (1863–94) re-established new offices in the imperial army. The money came from the knights themselves and from the members of the newly founded orga-

²⁹ Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden und die Krone Frankreichs', pp. 97–188.

³⁰ DOZA, MS 436, fols Anhang 65r–71r. See also fols Anhang 72r–77r for the so-called 'Große und kleine Armenhaus' (also in StAL, Bs 236, Bü 215). For the other hospitals at Mergentheim see fols Anhang 10r–64r.

³¹ H. Wolter, 'Die Bedeutung der geistlichen Orden für die Entwicklung der Stadt Frankfurt am Main', *Archiv für mittelhessische Kirchengeschichte*, 26 (1974), 25–43 (at 37).

³² DOZA, G[eneral] K[apitel] 730/7, Punkt 3 (general chapter of 1700); DOZA, H[och]m[eister] 500 (letter of 15 August 1724 from Grand Master Franz Ludwig to the governor at Mergentheim). Also DOZA, GK 737/7, Punkt 2 and 3 (grand chapter of 1736); Demel, 'Hospitalität', pp. 40–1.

³³ R. Grill, 'Die Deutschordens-Landkommende Ellingen', Diss. (Erlangen, 1957), p. 79. For the organization of this hospital in the early eighteenth century, see Tenner, pp. 176–84; also H.H. Hofmann, *Der Staat des Deutschmeisters* (Munich, 1964), pp. 288, 474. In the Ellingen hospital the old women had their own rooms, but at Nuremberg the women lived together in one room. See the letter dated 9 April 1716 to the grand commander at Ellingen: DOZA, V[aria], no. 3681.

³⁴ U. Gasser, *Die Priesterkonvente des Deutschen Ordens*, QuStDO, 28 (Bonn and Bad Godesberg, 1973), pp. 10–19.

³⁵ There are many as yet unexamined documents and papers in DOZA. See Täubl, p. 174; B. Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden in Schlesien und Mähren in den Jahren 1742–1918' *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien*, 14 (1997), 7–62.

³⁶ E. Gruber, *Deutschordensschwestern im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Wiederbelebung, Ausbreitung, und Tätigkeit 1837–1971*, QuStDO, 14 (Bonn and Bad Godesberg, 1971), pp. 6–167.

nizations, the *Ehrenritter* (1866) and the *Marianer* (1871), made up of nobles from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other European states. Their donations were used for the construction of the Order's first modern hospital, used for example during the Serbo-Bulgarian War in 1885 in cooperation with the Order of Malta. We currently have some knowledge of the cooperation between the two Orders in the Austro-Hungarian Empire during service in both peace and war, but a thorough study of the development of their medical services in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is needed.³⁷

The nuns of the Teutonic Order first served in the military hospital at their mother house at Lanegg in 1859. In 1864 a military hospital was organized by nuns in Schleswig in northern Germany during the war against Denmark. A new hospital was built at Friesach in Carinthia in 1880; this still exists and has been enlarged as the only hospital now owned by the Order. In the First World War nuns of the Order were employed as nurses helping to move the sick and wounded from high up in the Alps to the hospitals in the villages.³⁸

The reorganization of the Order after the First World War with the demise of the Habsburgs was difficult, but the care by the nuns and priests for the sick, the wounded and the dying continued. All these activities were destroyed by the Nazis in Austria after September 1938 and in the Sudetenland after February 1939 when the Order was dissolved. Following the Second World War, the new government of Czechoslovakia expelled the German priests and nuns from their offices, hospitals and parishes, and they moved to Germany and Austria. In Germany a new province for the sisters and priests was developed with the traditional obligations of pastoral care and welfare for the sick.³⁹

This survey cannot discuss every aspect of the subject. It must be pointed out, however, that from medieval times to the late twentieth century the Order has maintained its obligations to help the sick and the dying, to educate the young and to bring help where needed in accordance with its means and in obedience to its statutes.

During the Third Crusade the brotherhood of the Teutonic Order was founded to take care of the sick and pilgrims. Eight years later, on 19 February 1199, Pope Innocent III approved the transformation of this religious corporation into a military order of the Roman Catholic Church.⁴⁰ It continued

³⁷ G. Müller, *Die Familiaren des Deutschen Ordens*, QuStDO, 13 (Marburg, 1980), pp. 77–102; Gruber, pp. 118–20; Demel, 'Hospitalität', pp. 52–4; M. Deeleman, *Der Deutsche Ritterorden, einst und jetzt* (Vienna, 1903), pp. 84–102; D. Wehner, 'Das Feldsanitätswesen des Deutschen Ritterordens von 1871 bis zum Vorabend des Ersten Weltkrieges', thesis (Constance, 1995).

³⁸ Gruber, pp. 99–105, 108–18, 137–40; Wadl, pp. 29–30.

³⁹ A. Wieland, 'Vom Ritterorden zu den Regeln von 1929', in *Die Regeln*, ed. Volgger, pp. 231–74; B. Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden in den Jahren 1918 bis 1989', in *Il tessuto cristiano della Mitteleuropa (1919–1989)*, ed. F. Tassin (Gorizia, 1994), pp. 201–15, esp pp. 202–11.

⁴⁰ *Tabulae*, no. 297; U. Arnold, 'Vom Feldspital zum Ritterorden. Militarisierung und Territorialisierung des Deutschen Ordens (1190–c. 1240)', in *Balticum. Studia z dziejów polityki gospodarki i kultury XII–XVII wieku, ofiarowane Marianowi Biskupowi w siedemdziesiąt rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Z.H. Nowak (Toruń, 1992), pp. 25–36.

as a military order until 1929.⁴¹ Insofar as its means allowed and in association with the Templars and the Knights of St John, it was involved in the conquest and defence of the Christians' possessions in the Holy Land until the final loss of Acre in 1291.⁴² In the meantime it also became involved in the affairs of the Empire and the Baltic region.⁴³ In all its houses the Order served pilgrims bound for Jerusalem, Rome and the shrine of St James in Spain. After the Order's unfortunate experiences in trying to establish a new state in Siebenbürgen, Grand Master Hermann of Salza (1209–39) made sure of the assistance of Emperor Frederick II. This was granted in the Golden Bull of Rimini of March 1226 with the result that it was possible for the Order to help Piast Duke Conrad of Masovia against the pagan Prussians.⁴⁴

In 1230–31 the Order began the conquest of Prussia. The wars, backed by newly built castles, ended in 1283 following the second Prussian rebellion (1260).⁴⁵ In 1236–37 the pope had agreed to the union of the Teutonic Order with the so-called Swordbrothers (*Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*), and the Order thereby gained influence in Livonia.⁴⁶ However, it did not have the complete authority there that it had in Prussia owing to the opposition of towns such as Riga and its archbishop, and Reval following the Order's purchase of Estonia with the territories of Harrien and Wierland in 1346.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Tumler and Arnold, pp. 8–87; Wieland, 'Vom Ritterorden'.

⁴² E. Stickel, *Der Fall von Akkon. Untersuchungen zum Abklingen des Kreuzzugsgedankens am Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Bern and Frankfurt, 1975). See the studies in *Acri 1291. La fine della presenza degli ordini militari in Terra Santa e i nuovi orientamenti nel XIV secolo*, ed. F. Tommasi (Perugia, 1996).

⁴³ B. Schumacher, *Geschichte Ost- und Westpreußens*, 7th edn (Würzburg, 1987), pp. 24–142, and notes on pp. 334–58; Boockmann, pp. 10–291.

⁴⁴ I. Matison, 'Zum politischen Aspekt der Goldenen Bulle von Rimini', in *Acht Jahrhunderte Deutscher Orden in Einzeldarstellungen*, ed. K. Wieser, QuStDO, 1 (Bad Godesberg, 1967), pp. 49–55. For the text of the bull and the diplomatic problems it presents, see E. Weise, 'Interpretation der Goldenen Bulle von Rimini (März 1226) nach dem kanonischen Recht', *ibid.*, pp. 15–47.

⁴⁵ Schumacher, pp. 34–43; Boockmann, pp. 93–114. See also the studies in *Der Deutschordensstaat Preussen in der polnischen Geschichtsschreibung der Gegenwart*, ed. U. Arnold and M. Biskup, QuStDO, 30 (Marburg, 1982); A. Nowakowski, *Arms and Armour in the medieval Teutonic Order's State in Prussia*, Studies on the history of ancient and medieval art of warfare, 2 (Lódź, 1994). For the fortresses, U. Arnold, 'Zur Entwicklung der Deutschordensburg in Preussen', in *Die Ausgrabungsergebnisse der Deutschordensburgen Graudenz und Roggenhausen*, ed. H. Jacobi (Braubach, 1996), pp. 84–103.

⁴⁶ F. Benninghoven, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder. Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, Ostmitteleuropa in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, 9 (Cologne and Graz, 1965), pp. 321–87.

⁴⁷ M. Hellmann, 'Die Stellung des livländischen Ordenszweiges zur Gesamtpolitik des Deutschen Ordens vom 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert', in *Von Akkon bis Wien. Studien zur Deutschordensgeschichte vom 13. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. U. Arnold, QuStDO, 20 (Marburg, 1978), pp. 6–13 (at p. 12); also R. Wittram, *Baltische Geschichte. Die Ostseelände Livland, Estland, Kurland 1180–1918. Grundzüge und Durchblicke* (Munich, 1954, repr. Darmstadt, 1973), pp. 36–41.

Until the loss of Livonia in 1561/2, the Order was the greatest military power in the Baltic area.⁴⁸ After the transfer of the Grand Master's residence from Venice to the castle of Marienburg in September 1309, relations with Lithuania and other territories bordering Prussia became important. In 1398 Grand Master Conrad of Jungingen (1393–1407) regained the island of Gotland from the pirates, the so-called 'Vitalian Brothers', using a fleet owned by the Order and so secured control of trade in the Baltic for the members of the Hanse.⁴⁹ However, with the defeat at the battle of Tannenberg/Grunwald (15 July 1410),⁵⁰ the first Treaty of Thorn (1411)⁵¹ and the founding of the Prussian Union (1440),⁵² the situation began to deteriorate seriously. In the second Treaty of Thorn (October 1466) at the end of the 'Thirteen Years' War (1454–66), the Order lost the western part of Prussia, including the important Hanseatic cities of Elbing, Danzig and Thorn. From 1457 the Grand Master had to fix his new residence at Königsberg, where hitherto the *Ordensmarschall*, one of the grand commanders, had coordinated the *Litauenreisen* (military expeditions into Lithuania) and other military activities.⁵³

⁴⁸ Wittram, *Baltische Geschichte*, pp. 64–73; U. Arnold, 'Livland als Glied des Deutschen Ordens in der Epoche Wolters von Plettenberg', in *Wolter von Plettenberg. Der größte Ordensmeister Livlands*, ed. N. Angermann (Lüneburg, 1985), pp. 23–45; M. Hellmann, 'Wolter von Plettenberg. Bedingungen und Beweggründe seines Handelns', *ibid.*, pp. 47–69, esp. pp. 65–6.

⁴⁹ B. Eimer, *Gotland unter dem Deutschen Orden und die Konturei Schweden zu Arsta* (Innsbruck, 1966), pp. 119–72. For the Teutonic Order as a member of the Hanse, K. von Schlözer, *Die Hansa und der Deutsche Ritter-Orden in den Ostseeländern* (Stuttgart, 1851–3, repr. Wiesbaden, 1966); T.H. Lloyd, *England and the German Hanse, 1157–1611: A study of their trade and commercial diplomacy* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 51–72, 112–44, 174–93, 287, 371; S. Jenks, *England. Die Hanse und Preußen Handel und Diplomatie 1377–1474* (Cologne and Vienna, 1992); F. Benninghoven, 'Die Gotlandfeldzüge des Deutschen Ordens 1398–1408', *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 13 (1964), 421–77; *idem*, 'Die Vitalienbrüder als Forschungsproblem' in *Kultur und Politik im Ostseeraum und im Norden, 1350–1450*, ed. S. Ekdahl, Acta Visbyensia, 4 (Visby, 1973), pp. 41–52.

⁵⁰ H. Baranowski and I. Czarcinski (with additions by M. Biskup), *Bibliografia bitwy pod Grunwaldem i jej Tradycji* (Toruń, 1990); S. Ekdahl, *Die Schlacht bei Tannenberg 1410. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen*, 1 (Berlin, 1982); *idem*, *Das Soldbuch des Deutschen Ordens 1410/11*, 1 (Cologne and Vienna, 1988).

⁵¹ Schumacher, p. 127; Z.H. Nowak, 'Waffenstillstände und Friedensverträge zwischen Polen und dem Deutschen Orden', in *Träger und Instrumentarien des Friedens im hohen und späten Mittelalter*, ed. J. Fried, Vorträge und Forschungen, 43 (Sigmaringen, 1996), pp. 391–403, esp. p. 395.

⁵² E. Weise, *Das Widerstandsrecht im Ordensland Preußen und das mittelalterliche Europa* (Göttingen, 1955); K.E. Murawski, *Zwischen Tannenberg und Thorn. Die Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens unter dem Hochmeister Konrad von Erlichshausen 1441–1449* (Göttingen, 1953), pp. 95–104; Boockmann, pp. 205–12; K. Neitmann, 'Die Außenpolitik des Deutschen Ordens zwischen preußischen Ständen und Polen-Litauen (1411–1454)', in H.-J. Schuch, *Westpreußen Jahrbuch*, 42 (Münster, 1991), pp. 49–64.

⁵³ Schumacher, p. 137; Boockmann, pp. 151–69, 207–10; L. Dralle, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen nach dem II. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen und ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497* (Wiesbaden, 1975), pp. 9–13; Nowak, pp. 397, 402–3. For this period of the Order's history, see also Burleigh, *Prussian Society*.

When the last Prussian Grand Master, Albert of Brandenburg-Ansbach, adopted the Lutheran faith in 1525, Lutheranism was introduced into Prussia and the Order, which was at the time involved in wars against the Poles, lost control there.⁵⁴ Only in the Holy Roman Empire and in Italy did the Order continue. The *Deutschmeister* Walther of Cronberg (1526/27–43) was appointed administrator of the vacant Grand Master's office by the Emperor Charles V, and at the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530 Walther was installed as the new head of the Order. From this time the offices of Grand and German Master (*Hoch- und Deutschmeister*) were combined. The Order suffered grievously during the widespread warfare of this period (the war against the Poles, the Peasants' War and the Schmalkaldian War of 1546–7), especially at its remaining houses at the centre of the Empire on the Rivers Tauber and Neckar.⁵⁵ The Order lost its houses in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia,⁵⁶ Spain and elsewhere.⁵⁷ It was therefore necessary to consolidate and reform its medieval structure, and this was done in the general chapter of 1606 at the new residence at Mergentheim.⁵⁸ The Order then had to suffer the depredations of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48)⁵⁹ and could only raise the money to pay the *Schwedische Satisfaktionsgelder*, which supported the foreign troops in the Empire, by resorting to credit.⁶⁰

The Order continued to play some role in the military affairs of the Empire. From 1593 the archduke and Grand Master, the Habsburg Maximilian I (1585/90–1618), directed the emperor's troops as chief commander in Hungary; in the two years following, the grand chapter of the Order approved 150 horse and 100 foot for these campaigns.⁶¹ Later the Teutonic knight Johann Caspar

⁵⁴ W. Hubatsch, *Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach. Deutschordens-Hochmeister und Herzog in Preußen 1490–1568*, 2nd edn (Cologne, 1965), pp. 139–83; U. Arnold, 'Luther und die Reformation im Preußenland', in *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Ostdeutschland und Südosteuropa*, ed. U. Huter and H.-G. Parplies (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 27–44.

⁵⁵ Hubatsch, pp. 74–137; Herrmann, pp. 23–97; B. Demel, 'Mergentheim-Residenz des Deutschen Ordens (1525–1809)', *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte*, 34/5 (1975/6), 185–8. For the position of the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*, Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden und die Krone Frankreichs', pp. 97–109.

⁵⁶ Demel, 'Mähren und Schlesien', pp. 42–4.

⁵⁷ DOZA, Wel[schland], boxes 124/1–154 (containing many hitherto-unknown documents and papers). For these sources, see my forthcoming study.

⁵⁸ Noflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie*, pp. 245–87.

⁵⁹ DOZA, Liga-Akten 62/3 (1646–49), 62/1 (1649–50).

⁶⁰ For the decision of Grand Master Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1641–62) regarding the payment of this money on 30 November 1648, see StAL, Bs 298, Bü 199. For the background, A. Oschmann, *Der Nürnberger Exekutionstag 1649–1650. Das Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges in Deutschland* (Münster/Westphalia, 1991), pp. 41–6, 354–61.

⁶¹ For the achievements of Grand Master Maximilian and his successors from 1593 to 1725 and the Teutonic knights, DOZA, Wel 153/1, no. 82/n9; Noflatscher, *Glaube, Reich und Dynastie*, pp. 175–91; Niederkorn, pp. 11, 13 f., 76, 345, 401, 421, 453 f., 459 f., 462, 470, 471–5, 479 f., 485–91, 493 f.

of Stadion, from the province of Alsace-Burgundy, joined the troops around Vienna at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, and then served Emperor Ferdinand II as *Hofkriegsratspräsident* (minister of war) from 1619 until 1624.⁶² The commander of Austria, (*Landkomtur*) Guidobald of Starhemberg (1657–1737), joined in the battle against the Turks at Zenta (11 September 1697)⁶³ and his successor, Johann Joseph Philipp *Reichsgraf* of Harrach zu Rohrau, played a major part in the battle of Belgrade (16 August 1717) under Prince Eugene of Savoy.⁶⁴ For many years the wars against the Turks, which threatened the Order's possessions in Austria and Styria, provided the opportunity for Teutonic knights of other provinces of the Order to serve in the imperial army and, after 1695/96, in the famous regiment of the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister*.⁶⁵ Teutonic knights also fought against the Turks in Crete in 1668,⁶⁶ and they served and fought with the imperial forces to defend the Empire on various fronts.⁶⁷ The Order's statutes and the subsequent grand chapters laid down that in times of peace the novice knights could serve their three probationary periods on Malta on the so-called 'Caravans'.⁶⁸ At the siege of Vienna in 1683 Coadjutor Ludwig Anton of Pfalz-Neuburg (1679–84) was appointed *Obrist Veldt Wachtmeister* (major general) by his brother-in-law, Emperor Leopold I. Before his early death this Grand Master fought against the Turks and, from 1689, in the Rhineland against the troops of Louis XIV. As the elected coadjutor of Mainz (after 1691), he was the commander of the town's own troops, and from 1692/3 he assumed military direction of the whole electorate of Mainz.⁶⁹ During the Wars of Spanish and Polish Succession

⁶² O. Regele, *Der österreichische Hofkriegsrat 1556–1848* (Vienna, 1949), p. 74.

⁶³ B. Demel, 'Die Beziehungen der Starhemberger zum Deutschen Orden', in *1933–1993. Festschrift 60 Jahre Katholische Österreichische Landsmannschaft Starhemberg* (Vienna, 1993), pp. 33–56, esp. pp. 37, 52–3.

⁶⁴ Braubach, 3, pp. 354–7. Harrach was the leading general on the left wing at the battle of Belgrade. See P. Stenitzer, 'Die Deutschordensprovinz Österreich unter der Führung des Komturs und Balleioberen Johann Joseph Philipp Graf Hararch (1678–1764)', Diss. (Vienna, 1992); Regele, p. 76 (for Harrach as *Hofkriegsratspräsident*).

⁶⁵ B. Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden und das Regiment Hoch- und Deutschmeister von 1695–1918 – Überblick und neue Erkenntnisse', in *300 Jahre Regiment Hoch- und Deutschmeister 1696–1996* (Vienna, 1996), pp. 2–28. After 23 February 1595 (DOZA, V 1062) all knights killed by the Turks were considered to be *in nomine Jesu entschlaffen*.

⁶⁶ DOZA, Exercitium Militare, 116/1. These documents were not used by W. Kohlhaas, *Candia 1645–1669. Die Tragödie einer abendländischen Verteidigung mit dem Nachspiel Athen 1687* (Osnabrück, 1978), pp. 125–46.

⁶⁷ Important papers in DOZA, Ritter-Akten. H. Hartmann, 'Deutschordensritter in den Kriegen des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts', in Arnold, *Von Akkon bis Wien*, pp. 228–49. For example, a knight of the Teutonic Order, Franz Josef Baron of Reinach, died on 28 January 1795 as captain in the *Fränkischen Kreiskompanie*, which the Order, as a member of the Franconian *Kreis*, had to support: DOZA, V 1378, 1815, 3071.

⁶⁸ *Sammlung der neuesten Regeln*, p. 116.

⁶⁹ M. Lehner, *Ludwig Anton von Pfalz-Neuburg (1660–1694). Ordensoberhaupt – General – Bischof*, QuStDO, 48 (Marburg, 1994), pp. 83–6, 135–175.

(1701–14; 1733–5) troops of the Order fought under Prince Eugene.⁷⁰ The Austrian knight and coadjutor of the Austrian *Ballei*, Field Marshal Harrach, was Prince Eugene's right-hand man in the Polish War of Succession near Heidelberg and Heilbronn in the Swabian *Reichskreis*.⁷¹ Teutonic knights also served in the imperial army in the wars against King Frederick II of Prussia and revolutionary France, in the armies of the various *Reichskreise* and as officers in the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister* regiment. The famous Archduke Charles of Austria, who was Grand Master (without having taken religious vows) for three years from 1801 until 1804, resigned as the head of the Order in favour of his younger brother, Anton Victor. Charles then served as chief commander in the new Austrian Empire until 1809.⁷²

After the loss of all their possessions in the former Holy Roman Empire and their restriction to the territory of the Austrian Empire, the Teutonic knights had to prove their military skills in the army and the general staff, as did the last knight of the Order, Frederick of Belrupt-Tissac.⁷³ Grand Master Archduke Wilhelm (1863–94) was the only chief commander of the regiment of the *Hoch- und Deutschmeister* to fight with his troops at the battle of Königgrätz (3 July 1866). He was wounded in this battle but subsequently went on to become an artillery expert.⁷⁴ The last knightly Grand Master, Archduke Eugen (1894–1923), held a leading position in the Austro-Hungarian army, rising to the rank of field marshal in 1916.⁷⁵

After the end of the First World War and following negotiations with the successor states to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Pope Pius XI reformed the Order so that it became a purely religious order with no knightly brethren.⁷⁶ The priests, coming from the convents at Lana in South Tyrol (founded in 1855), Troppau in Silesia (1866), Laibach in Slovenia (1917) and Gumpoldskirchen in Austria (1924), engaged in pastoral care, charitable work and

⁷⁰ Demel, 'Hoch- und Deutschmeister', pp. 6–7; Braubach, 3, pp. 15–234; 5, pp. 199–362.

⁷¹ DOZA, G[eheime] K[onferenz]-P[rotokolle], 1733–35.

⁷² Täubl, pp. 83–6; H. Hertenberger and F. Wiltschek, *Erzherzog Karl. Der Sieger von Aspern* (Graz, Vienna and Cologne, 1983), pp. 134–293.

⁷³ 'Offiziersbelohnungsantrag für Friedrich Graf Belrupt-Tissac im Ersten Weltkrieg', in *A[usstellungen] – K[atalog] 800 Jahre Deutscher Orden*, p. 296.

⁷⁴ Demel, 'Hoch- und Deutschmeister', p. 10; G. Müller, pp. 77–98. For Archduke Wilhelm's decoration after the battle of Königgrätz, *AK 996–1995. Ostarrichi Österreich. Menschen Mythen Meilensteine*, ed. E. Bruckmüller and P. Urbanitsch (= Katalog des Niederösterreichischen Landesmuseums new ser., 388) (Horn, 1996), pp. 114–15.

⁷⁵ E. F. Hoffmann, 'Feldmarschall Svetozar Boroevic von Bojna. Österreich-Ungarns Kriegsfront an den Flüssen Isonzo und Piave', Diss. (Vienna, 1985), pp. 27–9, 33, 44, 47, 53–5, 60–86, 112, 131, 159, 171–5, 237–8, 246; M. Rauchensteiner, *Der Tod des Doppeladlers. Österreich-Ungarn und der Erste Weltkrieg* (Graz, Vienna and Cologne, 1993), pp. 544, 545, 555 and *passim*.

⁷⁶ Wieland, pp. 249–74. For the negotiations, DOZA, Ballei Österreich Korrespondenz, Box 25/1; Demel, 'Der Deutsche Orden in den Jahren 1918', pp. 201–2.

various educational activities.⁷⁷ They were forced to confront fresh problems in Fascist Italy and Czechoslovakia and had to develop new forms of religious involvement in the new youth movement.⁷⁸ After the Order's abolition in Austria by the Nazi government at the beginning of September 1938⁷⁹ and soon afterwards, in February 1939, in the Sudetenland, and then later by the governments in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia whence the Order's priests and sisters were expelled to Germany and Austria, new problems were created that could not easily be solved.⁸⁰ Since the Second Vatican Council and the collapse of the Soviet bloc, the Order has had to face new political situations in its charitable and educational work.⁸¹ The Order is preparing new initiatives in pastoral care for the next century, such as the foundation of a new province in Slovakia for priests and sisters, and in medical care in its German province. Regular information about these activities will appear in its quarterly journal, *Deutscher Orden*.

⁷⁷ Gasser, pp. 83–281. For Gumpoldskirchen, *Mitteilungen des Deutschordens* no. 9/10 (September–October 1924), p. 28; D. Heyderer, *Die Geschichte der Österreichischen Brüderprovinz des Deutschen Ordens. Vom Untergang der Monarchie bis zur Gegenwart*, Master's thesis (Vienna, 1994), pp. 18–19.

⁷⁸ D. Langhans, *Der Reichsbund der deutschen katholischen Jugend in der Tschechoslowakei 1918–1938* (Bonn, 1990), pp. 27, 40, 43, 106–8, 135, 141, 191, 221, 230, 231, 244, 255–8.

⁷⁹ M. Liebmann, *Theodor Innitzer und der Anschluss. Österreichs Kirche 1938* (Graz, Vienna and Cologne, 1988), pp. 177, 186 f.; E. Weinzierl, *Prüfstand. Österreichs Katholiken und der Nationalsozialismus* (St Gabriel/Mödling, 1988), p. 132.

⁸⁰ Demel, 'Deutsche Orden in den Jahren 1918', pp. 204–9.

⁸¹ B. Demel, 'Die Pfarrei Schottenfeld in Wien und der Deutsche Orden', in *Pfarre St Laurentz am Schottenfeld 1786–1986*, ed. J. Kellner (St Pölten and Vienna, 1986), pp. 189–211, esp. pp. 196–9.