

The Military Orders in Medieval Iberia

Image, propaganda and legitimacy*

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Research on Medieval military orders has considerably advanced in the last decades¹, especially regarding the Iberian orders. However, there are some subjects that need further study. One of these subjects is that of the military orders' image, built up through propaganda to legitimise their political power. Existing studies explore this issue in part: chronologically or thematically.² In this paper we analyse the images of all the medieval Iberian military orders. To explain the proposed subject we will begin, in the first place, by finding out what image did the contemporaries have of the military orders. Secondly we will examine the image military orders' dignitaries wanted to convey to society. Thirdly, we will consider the ceremonies of the masters and commanders as tools of propaganda intended to legitimate their power. Fourthly, we will approach the study of military orders' architecture as a symbol of their power. Finally, we will analyse the concern of military orders' dignitaries for posthumous fame and for the perpetuation of their memory. To attain the abovementioned objectives, the research has been carried out by combining sources of different nature such as chronicles, archival documents, architectural remains, funerary monuments, and iconographic images.

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¹ For a general overview of these institutions see, for example, Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries*, University Toronto Press: London 1992; Malcom Barber ed., *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and caring for the Sick*, Variorum: Aldershot 1994; Helen Nicholson ed., *The Military Orders. Volume 2. Welfare and Warfare*, Ashgate: Aldershot 1998; Alain Demurger, *Chevaliers du Christ. Les ordres religieux-militaires au Moyen Age (XI^e-XVI^e siècles)*, Editions de Seuil: Paris 2002; Victor Mallia-Milanes ed., *The Military Orders. 3: History and Heritage*, Ashgate: Aldershot 2008; Nicole Bériou and Philippe Josserand (eds), *Prier et combattre. Dictionnaire européen des ordres militaires au Moyen Âge*, Fayard: Paris, 2009; Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Orders*, Central European University Press: Budapest 2009; Judith Upton-Ward ed., *The Military Orders. 4: On Land and by Sea*, Ashgate: Aldershot, 2009.

² This subject has, however, been touched upon in some studies: see e.g. Philippe Josserand, *Église et pouvoir dans la Péninsule Ibérique. Les Ordres Militaires dans le Royaume de Castille (1252-1369)*, Casa de Velázquez: Madrid 2004, 37-96; Olga Pérez Monzón, 'Iconografía y poder real en Castilla: las imágenes de Alfonso VIII', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 14 (2002), 19-41; Olga Pérez Monzón, 'La imagen del poder nobiliario en Castilla. El arte y las órdenes militares en el tardogótico', *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 37 (2007), 907-956; Feliciano Novoa Portela, 'El monje-soldado de Alcántara: imagen y gestos', *Cistercium* 246-247 (2007), 189-217; Miguel Cortés Arrese, *El espacio de la muerte y el arte de las Órdenes Militares*, Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha: Cuenca 1999; and Aurora Ruiz Mateos, Jesús Espino Nuño and Olga Pérez Monzón, 'Architecture and Power: the Seats of the Priories of the Order of Santiago', Malcom Barber ed., *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and caring for the Sick*, Variorum: Aldershot 1994, 302-309

1. The Military Orders in Medieval Iberia: a short introduction

The military orders were religious orders of the Catholic Church, primarily created to fight the Muslims or the pagans. In the first place, the 'international' military orders emerged in the Holy Land, a frontier between Islam and Christendom, in the twelfth century. The 'international' military orders were also installed in the Iberian Peninsula, especially the Knights Templar and the order of St John (the Hospitallers). Secondly, on the Iberian Peninsula the military orders made their first appearance during the second half of the twelfth century, at a time when the different Iberian monarchies were becoming consolidated and endeavoured to define more clearly the limits and dimensions of their territorial jurisdictions. Needless to say, the orders were assigned above all to the broad strip bordering on al-Andalus that stretched from the mouth of Tagus to the west as far as the Ebro Delta to the east.

The 'international' military orders were the product of two factors: on the one hand the crusading ideals of the Gregorian Reformation and on the other feudalism, two characteristics of which were religion and war. In the case of the Iberian Peninsula a third factor came into play: the rise of the feudal monarchies, a crucial contributory element to the birth of the Hispanic military orders.³

While in the Holy Land the military orders were created to be the armed branch of Christendom, the *milites Christi* of a reformist and militant Church, on the Iberian Peninsula the autochthonous orders emerged also, while continuing to serve their calling as *milites Christi*, as the armed branch of the monarchies that contributed to their creation. As instruments useful to the Church and monarchies alike, the military orders fulfilled five essential functions: military, ecclesiastical, charitable, economic and political. The military function, the most important of the five and the *raison d'être* of the orders, is the one that distinguishes these institutions from other religious orders.

³ For the historiography of the military orders in Medieval Iberia see Derek W. Lomax, *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica durante la Edad Media*, Instituto de Historia de la Teología Española: Salamanca 1976; Carlos de Ayala et alii, 'Las Órdenes Militares en la Edad Media Peninsular. Historiografía 1976–1992, I. Reinos de Castilla y León', and 'II. Corona de Aragón, Navarra y Portugal', *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* 2 (1992), 119–169, and 3 (1993), 87–144; Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, 'La investigación sobre Órdenes Militares en la Edad Media hispánica durante los últimos decenios: Corona de Castilla y León', in Ricardo Izquierdo Benito and Francisco Ruiz Gómez, *Las Órdenes Militares en la Península Ibérica, I. Edad Media*, Univesidad de Castilla-La Mancha: Cuenca 2000), 9–31; Philippe Josserand 'L'historiographie des Ordres Militaires dans les royaumes de Castille et de León. Bilan et perspectives de la recherche en histoire médiévale', *Atalaya. Revue française d'études médiévales hispaniques* 9 (1998), 5–44. Carlos de Ayala Martínez, 'Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media. Aproximación bibliográfica', in *Estudios sobre las Órdenes Militares. Lux Hispaniarum*, Real Consejo de las Órdenes Militares: Madrid 1999, 425–457; Carlos de Ayala and Carlos Barquero, 'Historiografía hispánica y órdenes militares en la Edad Media, 1993–2003', *Medievalismo. Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales* 12 (2002), 101–161; Paula Pinto Costa, 'The Military Orders Established in Portugal in the Middle Ages: A Historiographical overview', *e-Journal of Portuguese History* 2.1 (2004), available at http://www.brown.edu/Departments/Portuguese_Brazilian_Studies/ejph/html/issue3/pdf/ppcosta.pdf; Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, 'Historiography and History: Medieval Studies on the Military Orders in Spain since 1975', in Victor Mallia-Milanes ed., *The Military Orders. 3: History and Heritage*, Ashgate: Aldershot 2008, 23–43.

The earliest Iberian military orders emerged during the second half of the twelfth century when the feudal monarchies were asserting their sway over well-defined territories by challenging the jurisdiction of the universal powers. The monarchs began to foster the creation of new orders in their kingdoms, committed to their territorial projects and serving as the armed branches of the monarchies, who had adapted the ideal of the crusade to their own interests. These military orders, which first appeared in one of the Peninsular kingdoms, were less dependent on the papacy and were soon established also in neighbouring kingdoms, where, attracted by the monarchs, they came to serve other territorial projects. Of the earliest Iberian military orders the most important were Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara and Avis.

The later Iberian military orders emerged between the last third of the thirteenth and early part of the fourteenth centuries in tune with the Hispanic monarchs' gradual assertion of power and jurisdiction over specific territories, in accordance with the original concept of 'regal sovereignty'. These institutions became increasingly detached from the papacy and progressively more closely linked to their corresponding monarchies: they identified only with a kingdom and with the interests of the monarchs who had created them. These, therefore, were fully 'monarchised' military orders, effective political instruments at the service of the kings who had brought them into being. Of the later Iberian military orders the most important were Montesa, Cristo and Santiago of Portugal⁴.

Table 1. The Iberian Military Orders

ORDER	ORIGIN	KINGDOM
Calatrava	1158	Castile
Santiago	1170	León
San Marcos de León	1172	León
Alcalá de la Selva	1174	Crown of Aragón
Montegaudio-Santo Redentor	1174	Crown of Aragón
San Julián del Pereiro-Alcántara	1176	León
Evora-Avis	1176	Portugal
Monfragüe	1196	Castile
San Jorge de Alfama	1201	Crown of Aragón

⁴ Carlos de Ayala Martínez, *Las órdenes militares hispánicas en la Edad Media (siglos XII–XV)*, Marcial Pons-La Torre Literaria: Madrid 2003, 65–147.

Santa María de España	1272	Castile and León
Santiago of Portugal	1290–1327	Portugal
Montesa	1317	Crown of Aragón
Cristo	1319	Portugal

2. Military Orders' image: propaganda and criticism

Since the moment they were founded, the military orders met both with unconditional support and with fierce criticism. We should not forget that several intellectuals of the time saw the birth of military orders as an aberration. It is useful to have in mind that many of those intellectuals were ecclesiastics who simply could not understand why professed brothers would undertake the killing of the enemies of Christendom as one of their main tasks. Bernard of Clairvaux soon raised his voice to counteract criticism against brother-warriors. He was a Cistercian monk, and one of the most outstanding intellectuals of his time (1090–1153). His work *De Laude novae militiae* began the favourable propagandistic line towards the military orders. It placed the brother-warrior's endeavour among the most praiseworthy of ways to serve God and Christendom. The Knights Templar appeared surrounded by an heroic halo. With God on their side they were able to accomplish the most impressive feats, for their sole presence on the battlefield infused fear in their enemies.

The laudatory line towards the orders was followed by the popes, for the *fratres* (members of the military orders) were the papacy's military arm against Muslims and other enemies of the Christian faith. The papacy knew that the existence of Latin Kingdoms in the Holy Land was possible mainly because of the presence in the area of the military orders. Brother-warriors were sometimes called 'athletes of Christ'. This laudatory image of the orders' members was inherited – practically since the beginning – by the Iberian *fratres*. Successive popes saw them as embodying the virtues of the warrior-brothers of the Latin East, since they fought their own crusade against the Muslims of al-Andalus. Thus, Innocent IV (1243–1254) commuted the vow of visiting the Holy Land for voluntary enrolment in the Order of Santiago, placing on the same level the benefits accruing from fighting in peninsular territories as those associated with a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.⁵

The laudatory line towards the military orders was also followed by archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (c. 1170–1247), one of the most accomplished intellectuals of his time. In his work *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae*, the prelate praised the Knights Templar for being the first to join military pride with religion and charity, without their courage being affected in any way. They fought keeping the Gospel in mind, and taking up the emblem of the cross. The

⁵ Antonii Francisci Aguado de Cordova et alii, *Bullarium Equestris Ordinis S.Iacobi de Spatha*, J. de Ariztia: Madrid 1719, 140.

Hospitallers on their side, prompted by their love for their fellow men, took up their weapons as the best way to protect the Christian Faith and the Holy Land. Talking about the brothers of the Order of Santiago (*santiaguistas*), the archbishop acclaimed their numerous feats on Hispanic soil, and he praised Alfonso VIII (1158–1214) for giving them lands in Toledo and in the Tajo riverside. These lands were to be dedicated to holiness and religion. The adjectives applied to brothers of the Order of Calatrava⁶ (*calatravos*) are even more laudatory. Such heaps of praise recorded in the middle of the thirteenth century might represent the common feeling of the time. Moreover, this praise has the added merit of coming from a prelate that had serious disagreements over ecclesial rights with the *santiaguistas* and *calatravos*. Jimenez de Rada had witnessed their feats on the battlefield and had also seen them living in their convents.

The apologetic line towards the *fratres* was taken up among military orders by the *santiaguistas* themselves. A document of the order written in 1250 defines the fighting *fratres* as noble and generous men who could spill their blood up to seven times a day on Christ's behalf.⁷ It is important to note as well the identification of the knights of the Order of Santiago with the most sublime crusaders. If the supposedly lost *Corónica del Maestre Pelayo Pérez*⁸ (written shortly after the death of its protagonist) truly existed, this line of thought may have had some continuity, for this chronicle seems to have praised the feats of *santiaguistas* knights in the conquest of Betic Andalusia, under their masters' command.⁹

Broadly speaking, the military orders' eulogistic propaganda was widespread during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, even though their existence and doings came in for isolated criticism now and then. This criticism was based on moral arguments related to the improper nature of the warrior-*frater*, and their lust for accumulating wealth not used to fight against Muslims. Criticism against the greed and arrogant behaviour of the orders' members appeared early. It came mainly from high-ranking ecclesiastics like John of Salisbury (1110/1120–1180) and William of Tyre (c. 1130–1186). Both of them accused the warrior-brothers of benefiting unjustly from their privileges of exemption from diocesan jurisdiction. They also accused them of greed in the collection of alms and taxes to the detriment of bishops. This tax-collecting activity was seen as a sign of greed rather than a sign of piety.¹⁰ The bishops made their discontent public in the ninth canon of the Third Lateran Council (1179). It aimed at stopping the excesses of the military orders and other religious orders. It was settled then that these institutions could not receive churches nor tithes

⁶ Rodericij Ximenii de Rada, *Historia de Rebus Hispaniae sive Historia Gothica*, J. Fernández Valverde ed. (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 72), Brepols: Turnhout 1987, VII, XXVII and VIII, III.

⁷ Aguado de Cordova 1719, 178.

⁸ Pelayo Pérez Correa, master of the Order of Santiago (1242–1275).

⁹ Derek W. Lomax, 'A Lost Mediaeval Biography: The *Corónica del Maestre Pelayo Pérez*', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 38 (1961), 153–154.

¹⁰ Luis García-Guijarro Ramos, *Papado, cruzadas y órdenes militares, siglos XI–XIII*, Cátedra: Madrid 1995, 151–53.

without the consent of the bishops, and that they should comply with interdicts and sentences of excommunication.¹¹

Due to the resounding defeat at Hattin (1187) and the growing difficulties to establish Christian control over the Holy Land, the initial criticisms against the military orders would not fade. They were motivated by the orders' accumulation of wealth and their perceived inability to use it to defeat Muslims. Obviously, reproaches increased a great deal when the Syria-Palestine area was abandoned in 1291. The stress was put on the orders' military incompetence, for they had proved incapable of keeping Christian rule over the Latin East, the very reason for their existence.

Accusations against the military orders increased. Rivalry between the Templars and the Hospitallers was brought up as the main cause of their failure. Their separate military actions (not only from other orders but from those of the leaders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem as well), it was said, led to the inefficacy of joint war actions. Insufficient belligerence against Muslims (with whom these orders at times had friendly relations) was not at all appreciated to say the least. Old criticism against the orders' greed and pride rose again. Now that they were not fighting in the Holy Land, their wealth and the bad use they were seen to make of it could be held against them. Stern criticism came mainly from Westerners who did not understand the running of military orders in the Latin East and the complex situation of the area, but witnessed the orders' large landed properties, uniquely exempt from tithes. They did not take into account that those lands did pay taxes through the system of the *responsiones*.¹²

Criticism affected especially the 'international' military orders, and its impact eventually reached their Iberian sections, as well as the peninsular orders. Nevertheless, reproaches to the orders in the Iberian area were just imported echoes of foreign criticism. It was possibly true that brother knights did not deploy all the military zeal and ardour they were capable of, and that they failed to show their supposed military effectiveness, but general opinion against them in the Iberian Peninsula cannot be compared with that facing the 'international' military orders.¹³ Dealing with this subject, it is useful to have in mind a document dated in December 1320 in which Pope John XXII (1316–1334) ordered William, bishop of Sabina – and the apostolic legate in Castile – to force the military orders of Santiago, Calatrava and Alcántara (as well as other orders) to send armed contingents in sufficient number to the frontier of the Kingdom of Granada to meet the needs of the war effort there. The pope thus echoed the insistent opinion accusing the warrior-brothers of these orders of investing considerable sums of money '*in usos illicitos*' and neglecting the fight against the Muslims.¹⁴

¹¹ Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights. Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester University Press: Leicester 1993, 41; García-Guijarro Ramos 1995, 156.

¹² Demurger 2002, 250–252; Forey, 1992, 52–53; Nicholson 1993, 44–45.

¹³ Josserand 2004, 37–96.

¹⁴ Città del Vaticano, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Reg. Avi., n° 14, fol. 412r; Città del Vaticano, Archivum Secretum Vaticanum, Reg. Vat., n° 71, fol. 43r; Bonifacio Palacios Martín ed., *Colección Diplomática Medieval de la Orden de Alcántara (1157?–1494)*, 2 vols., Editorial Complutense: Madrid 2000–2003, 1, n° 504.

However, as the Iberian orders served the interests of the kings that had contributed to their creation there was little chance they could disappear. From the middle of the thirteenth century onwards the orders of the kingdoms of Aragon and Portugal lost a fundamental part of their military role when war against the Muslims reached an end in those areas. However, they were still very useful as a defensive force. Moreover – the kings could argue – the military orders were a useful tool in reinforcing royal power.

Exceptionally the monarchs could feel that the orders, far from being faithful tools in their hands, were becoming a threat. On such an occasion it might have entered their minds then to banish the orders. This is what may have happened when King Pedro IV (1336–1387) of Aragon tried to eliminate the Order of Montesa. However, to abolish a religious order that depended directly on the Pope was as difficult as creating a new one. The easiest way to extinguish a military order was to merge it with another: one order then disappeared and the other emerged reinforced. This is precisely what Martin I of Aragon (1396–1410) did with the last military orders that remained in his kingdom: the Order of San Jorge de Alfama and the Order of Montesa.

In fact, the military orders could be considered a part of the kingdom's patrimony, and as they could not be extinguished, the kings had to control them. The best way to secure them was to appoint faithful allies or even better, members of the royal family, as masters of the orders.

3. The iconography of power. The imagery of masters

The image of magisterial power in the military orders was only exceptionally communicated in literary works, but rather through powerful iconographic representations. The study of medieval imagery¹⁵ allows us to establish four types of masterly models: the master as the king's vassal, the master as a monarch, the master as a nobleman, and the master as a scholar.

The master as the king's vassal

The earliest representation of an Iberian master known to us can be found in a miniature that illustrates folio n^o 15 of the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla*, or *Book of Privileges of the Order of Santiago*, which can be dated c. 1238.¹⁶ The image (figure 1) shows the handing over of the castle of Uclés, by Alfonso VIII and his wife Eleanor, to the master of the Order of Santiago, Pedro Fernández (1170–1184). The master accepts the donation together with another *frater* of the order. They both wear the habit of the Order of Santiago and the characteristic white mantle with the red cross particular to the *santiaguistas* knights. Over the keep tower of the Uclés Fortress there is a banner with several tongues that bears the image of Santiago. Some scholars see in it the one donated by the archbishop of

¹⁵ On the meaning and the power of images see David Freedberg, *The Power of Images*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago 1989; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge 1989; and Hans Belting, *Bild-Anthropologie: Entwürfe Für Eine Bildwissenschaft*, Fink: Munich 2001.

¹⁶ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Códices, 1046B, fol. 15.

Compostela to the Order in 1171. Apostle James is depicted riding a horse and brandishing the sword of justice. This image is seen as the paradigmatic portrait of a victorious Christian knight.



1. Miniature from the *Tumbo Menor de Castilla* (fol. 15r). Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid. Reproduced from *Maravillas de la España Medieval. Tesoro Sagrado y monarquía*, 2, *Albúm de imágenes*, Junta de Castilla y León, Valladolid, 2001, n° 48.

The representation of the first master of Santiago, Pedro Fernández, as a faithful vassal of the monarchs, is very interesting. The master is portrayed standing up, in the same pose as the unidentified *frater* who accompanies him. Both of them are depicted in the same size. Only three elements tell them apart: the master stands next to the monarchs; he is holding the royal seal, and he wears a beard. Besides, there is a sign above his figure with his name on it clearly written. Nevertheless his humble aspect in the presence of the monarchs stands out. The monarchs share the same seat of honour and they wear crowns with halos, a detail deriving from religious imagery and expressing sacrality.¹⁷

The miniature was made for *The Book of privileges of the Order of Santiago* that was to be kept in Uclés to be used by the members of the order, and yet the king and the queen are portrayed oversized and even sacralised, and the master is seen as their loyal and grateful servant. At the closing of the decade of 1230, the masters had not yet begun the process of creating the *Mesa Maestral* (the combination of income from various sources and properties that belonged to the master) that would reinforce their power. They still were the faithful servants of the crown.

¹⁷ Pérez Monzón 2002.

The master as a king

From the second part of the thirteenth century onwards, the masters started the process of consolidating their power that would see them running their orders as kings ran their kingdoms. These were in fact two different parallel processes: the masters were probably influenced by the political changes that the monarchies were going through. A species of *masters' monarchy* was thus implanted.

We find an early testimony of the association of a master with the symbols of monarchy in the *Corónica del Maestre Pelayo Pérez*. We have also evidence of the existence of a primitive account, contemporary with the said master, found in a later addition to the *Chronicle of Lucas de Tuy*. In this text the master of Santiago is likened to King David. The assimilation of Pelayo Pérez with the biblical king that best represents the ideal of a sacred monarch cannot be missed.¹⁸ Neither should be missed the inclusion, in the master's biography, of a motif taken from the Old Testament account of Joshua's fight against the Amorites (Jos. 10:12). This is found in a passage taken from the *Estoria de la Orden de Caballería del Señor Santiago de Espada* (1488), also transmitted in later *libros de visitas*. It deals with the miraculous apparition of the Virgin Mary to the master, and also tells how the Virgin supported the Christians in their fight against the Muslims by stopping the revolution of the sun.¹⁹ The legend explains the dedication of the monastery of Santa María de Tentudía (Badajoz, St Mary of 'Hold your Day') and shows the master as a delegate of God, just like the kings, as we can read in the biographies of several monarchs. Both the kings and the masters are thus identified with charismatic biblical leaders.

Years later, between 1422 and 1433, the master of Calatrava, Luis González de Guzmán (1414–1443), was portrayed in a miniature (figure 2) sitting on a throne with the insignia of royalty. In this miniature, included on folio 25v of the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba*, the Jew Moses Arragel is portrayed offering the master the Bible he had ordered. It is a scene of a pyramidal structure in which the master is placed on top of the pyramid and the rabbi and other Calatravan knights are placed at its base. Hierarchic perspective is used to underline rank and power, an old device, which shows the superiority of the master. Although seated, he is still a much larger figure than the rest of the subjects depicted in the miniature. This depiction of Master Luis González de Guzmán parallels a miniature in the same Bible manuscript (folio 235v; figure 3) depicting King Solomon.

King Solomon was the archetype of a just and a wise ruler. Master Luis González de Guzmán is portrayed (see figures 2 and 4) sitting on a throne under a kind of baldachin. He wears the sword the way kings used to do it. An architecture topped by a semi-spherical gilded dome, of ancient cosmic

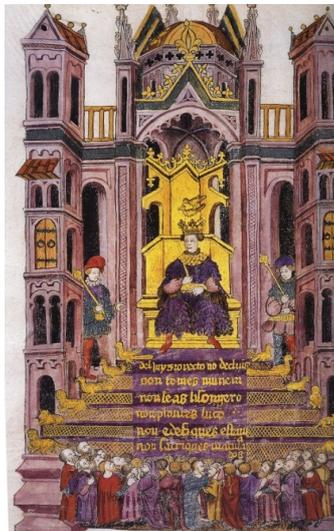
¹⁸ Lomax, 1961, 153–154; and *Crónica de España por Lucas, Obispo de Tuy*, J. Puyol ed., Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos: Madrid 1926, 432.

¹⁹ Pedro de Orozco and Juan de la Parra, *[Primera] Historia de la Orden de Santiago. Manuscrito del siglo XV, de la Real Academia de la Historia*, prólogo de Diego de Angulo, introducción, transcripción, notas y apéndice del Marqués de Siete Iglesias, Badajoz 1978, 368: '[C]on la rogaría i suplicación del buen maestre, su devoto, que fallándose vencedor en el cabo del día, con aquel deseo i fervor de acabar a su voluntad el vencimiento de los enemigos, porque no los cubriese la noche, dixo las siguientes palabras: Santa María ten tu día. E pues fue oydo, i respondido con obra bien se da a conocer que él, fuese amigo, i temeroso de Dios, i que su petición fue justa'.

connotations, shelters the master's throne. Over his head a little angel with his index finger stretched out (reproducing the typical gesture of messengers) designates the master as the one chosen by God, thus sacralising his power. The celestial messenger carries a double tongued banner of the Order of Santiago. Master Guzmán holds the Bible while he wraps up his velvet robe in a stylish white mantle trimmed with the cross of Calatrava.



2. Luis González de Guzmán, master of Calatrava. Miniature from the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba* (fol. 25v). *Fundación Casa de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid* (with permission).



3. Solomon. Miniature from the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba* (fol. 235v). *Fundación Casa de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid* (with permission).

The image of worldly power is reinforced by two pageboys wearing maces. They flank the master, conveying a courtly air to the scene, together with a group of Calatravan *fratres* placed on an inferior step. They wear different types of coloured gowns, swords, and red crosses on the upper left sides of their breasts. Those crosses are a symbol of their membership in the Order of Calatrava. Clothes – particularly those of the pages and of the *fratres* – in a variety of bright hues stress the courtly nature of the scene. The bright colours depicted in this

scene had little to do with the typically much more austere range worn by members of a religious order. It is yet another sign of the preponderance of lay elements over clerical ones, materialised in the courtly atmosphere that dominates the scene, so far away from the spirituality of the convent of a religious order.



4. Luis González de Guzmán, master of Calatrava (detail). Miniature from the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba* (fol. 25v). Fundación Casa de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid (with permission).

This miniature is one of the more overwhelming images of fifteenth century Castile. It is superior to the period's other representations of overbearing political power, including the portraits of kings. The visual impact of this majestic iconography cannot be divorced from Luis González de Guzmán's political project of ruling the Order of Calatrava as a king with omnipotence. Summing up, the master is portrayed as a king whose power comes directly from God.²⁰

The master as a nobleman

In the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba*, mentioned above, in a miniature on folio 1v, Master Luis González de Guzmán is also portrayed as a nobleman (figure 5). He is depicted seated on a high chair holding a falcon in his hand while he sends a letter to Moses Arragel de Guadalajara. The depiction of a bird of prey in the scene is associated with the aristocratic way of life, falconry being closely associated with nobility. A Calatravan *frater*, accompanied by two others carries in his hand the letter addressed to Arragel. This scene could as well represent any member of the lay nobility giving orders to his vassals. The noble condition of the master is thus underlined. González de Guzmán came from one of the most ancient of Castilian lineages, the Guzmán family. It is interesting to note that Luis González de Guzmán behaved like any other nobleman of his time, for his main

²⁰ Enrique Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla and Olga Pérez Monzón, 'Mentalidad, cultura y representación del poder de la nobleza calatrava en la Castilla del siglo XV', *Hispania* 222 (2006), 199–242, at 212–221.

goal was to bequeath a lay state to his firstborn, and a fitting inheritance, worthy of their high social condition, to the rest of his offspring.



5. Luis González de Guzmán, master of Calatrava. Miniature from the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba* (fol. 1v), Fundación Casa de Alba, Palacio de Liria, Madrid (with permission).

Two decades after the making of the *Biblia de la Casa de Alba*, on the second of June 1453, Álvaro de Luna, master of the Order of Santiago (1445–1453), was executed in the main square of Valladolid. The dishonourable circumstances of his death prevented him from lying in state in the lavish funerary chapel that he had prepared in the ambulatory of the Toledo cathedral. Three decades passed until his widow, and his daughter María de Luna, duchess of Infantado, could transfer his body to the family vault under the chapel of St James. At the end of the 1480's María de Luna had the magnificent funerary chapel finished, ordering a retable (1488) and a pair of tombs (1489). The two iconographic representations we have of Álvaro de Luna come from these works of art.



6. Chapel of Álvaro de Luna, master of Santiago. Toledo cathedral. Photograph by the author.

In the retable (figure 7 and 8), the master is portrayed on his knees in prayer, as is usual in many other representations of noblemen and kings of the age in the Iberian kingdoms. The red cap the masters received when they were sworn in, and the white mantle with the red cross of St James stand out. The rest of the elements are similar to those seen in the retables ordered by Hispanic noblemen in the fifteenth century.



7. and 8. Álvaro de Luna, master of Santiago. Details of the altarpiece. Chapel of Álvaro de Luna. Toledo cathedral. Photographs by the author.

Lunas' sepulcher has a recumbent funeral sculpture, according to the fashion followed by the lay nobility in their funeral monuments. There are also other elements characteristic of the lay nobility, such as the coats of arms carved in the sides of Luna's tomb.



9. Álvaro de Luna's tomb (detail). Chapel of Álvaro de Luna. Toledo cathedral. Photograph by the author.

The recesses of the tomb are decorated with angels that hold the arms of the Luna family and of the Order of Santiago (figure 9). Coats of arms are carved all over

the chapel as well. Four *fratres* of the Order of Santiago pay eternal homage to their lord on each corner of the tomb. The virtues that must adorn an honest man in his double task as a ruler and a soldier, as a nobleman and a master of the Order of Santiago, are chiselled in the recesses of the tomb.²¹

The master as a learned man

Álvaro de Luna was an educated man. The iconography of the retable in the chapel of St James in the Toledo cathedral contains hints of his scholarly side, as it refers to his book, *El libro de las claras y virtuosas mujeres*.²² Nevertheless there are also other iconographic representations of masters, both earlier and later, that show their erudite side.

The earliest representation of a master as a learned man is that of Master Juan Fernández de Heredia of the Order of St John (1377–1396). Although he spent the last years of his military career serving in Rodas, he came from a noble family of Aragón. Earlier in his career he was appointed as the *castellan* of Amposta (Tarragona), and while he died in Avignon, he asked to be buried in Caspe (Zaragoza), which is how we have images of him in the Iberian Peninsula.



10. Juan Fernández de Heredia, master of the order of St John. Miniature from the *Grant crónica de los conqueridores*. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Reproduced from *La época del gótico en la cultura española* (c. 1220–c.1480), (*Historia de España Menéndez Pidal*, Espasa Calpe 16), 3^a ed., Madrid, 2000, 416.

Images of Juan Fernández de Heredia show him as an aged man, with a long beard and marked lines on his face. He embodies the kind of wisdom achieved through experience conferred by a long life. We can see him in several miniatures drawn in the initials of the books he commissioned, and in the recumbent funeral statue of his tomb. In one of the miniatures the master is depicted sitting down with an open book on his lap. He is wearing the habit of the Order of St John, with its characteristic cross. In another miniature he holds an open book in one

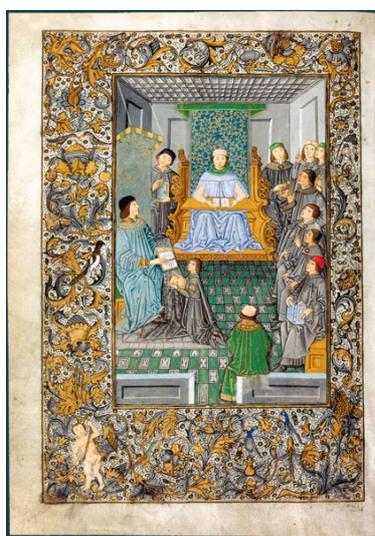
²¹ Pérez Monzón 2007.

²² Álvaro de Luna, *Libro de las virtuosas e claras mujeres*, Julio Vélez-Sainz ed., Cátedra: Madrid, 2009.

hand and points to one of the pages with the other (figure 10). These images speak quite particularly of the life experience of the master, about his spirituality and wisdom, and about his great learning. Indeed, this master's iconography shows him as a venerable old man, a symbol of wisdom, and an outstanding intellectual. It also reflects the extraordinary erudition he possessed.²³

The study of the masters' image as erudite men culminates chronologically and conceptually with the representation of the master of the Order of Alcántara, Juan de Zúñiga (1477–1494). He appears in a miniature which can be found in the second edition of *Introducciones Latinae* by Elio Antonio de Nebrija (1441–1522), dated between 1493 and 1494.²⁴ The image shows a master who is a learned man with wide cultural interests. He is represented as listening to a lecture by Nebrija, a famous humanist.

Nebrija, sitting in his chair lecturing to the humanist court of the master of Alcántara, occupies the central position in the composition. Obviously, Juan de Zúñiga takes the best place among the audience. He wears expensive clothes and sports a conspicuous cross on his chest. He sits under a rich baldachin with his book open on a lectern, lavishly covered with a rich cloth. A page boy on his knees attends to his lord. Facing Zúñiga we can see other people attending Nebrija's lecture (figure 11). One of them wears a red bonnet and has the cross of Alcántara on his breast. He is probably Marcelo de Nebrija, son of the humanist, who acquired the *encomienda* (commandery) of *La Puebla* as a reward of his father's services to Master Juan de Zúñiga.²⁵



11. Miniature from the *Introducciones latinae* of Elio Antonio de Nebrija. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Reproduced from Reyes y Mecenas. Los Reyes Católicos, Maximiliano I y los inicios de la casa de Austria en España, Ministerio de Cultura: Toledo, 1992, 490

²³ Cortés Arrese 1999, 69–126.

²⁴ Eustaquio Sánchez Salor, 'La segunda edición de las *Introducciones latinae* de Nebrija. Un ejemplar de Juan Zúñiga', *Revista de Estudios Extremeños* 59 (2003), 631–660, at 631–632, 635, 649–651 and 655–659.

²⁵ Novoa Portela 2007, 202–203.

This last medieval image of an Iberian master is also the first one to announce the dawning of a new era, the Renaissance. The new era was embodied by Master Juan de Zúñiga, for he acted as a true patron of the arts. The iconography used in this miniature is exceptional in the Hispanic area, but not in Italy where similar images could be found.²⁶ The learned master definitively triumphs over the warrior master, accurately announcing the marginal role the orders were henceforth to play on the military scene.

4. Propaganda and legitimacy: the ceremonies of masters and commanders

In a medieval society where ritual was so important,²⁷ the taking up of positions or titles of importance was preceded by ceremonies of propagandistic character. Such ceremonies were one of the sources of the political legitimacy of the dignitaries of the orders. As much is true also of the members of the royal family and the lay nobility, from whose ranks many masters and commanders came. That is why all their ceremonies all resembled each other.²⁸

The commanders' ceremonies

Whenever the commanders took up office in their *encomiendas* they had to perform a set of ceremonies charged with deep symbolic meaning, stressing their status as lords of the town. These ceremonies did not change much from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century, but our first documentation about them is unfortunately quite modern, dating back only to the end of the fifteenth century.²⁹

For the carrying out of the the 'true, real, actual, and physical possession of the place',³⁰ a set of ceremonies were performed. Following the practise of the investiture of vassals, the lord commander received the symbols of his office in the shape of lordly objects (a globe, a staff of office) or the symbols of landed property (earth, grass, a bouquet of flowers).

The ceremonies commenced with the new commander strolling through the main buildings of his *encomienda*. The plan of the visit was always more or less the same: he first visited the secular buildings, then the religious ones, and lastly those edifices that had an economic function. Then he proceeded to symbolically open and close every building of the *encomienda*, which signified his

²⁶ Joaquín Yarza Luaces, 'La imagen del rey y la imagen del noble en el siglo XV castellano', Adeline Rucquoi ed. , *Realidad e imágenes del poder. España a fines de la Edad Media*, Ámbito: Valladolid 1988, 266–278, at 276–278.

²⁷ See, for example, Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval*, Gallimard: Paris 1990; Murielle Gaudé-Ferragu, Bruno Laurioux, and Jacques Paviot, *La cour du Prince. Cour de France, cours d'Europe, XIF–XV^e siècle*, Honoré Champion: Paris 2011.

²⁸ José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Ceremonias de la realeza. Propaganda y legitimación en la Castilla Trastámara*, Nerea: Madrid 1993; Ana Isabel Carrasco Manchado, *Isabel de Castilla y la sombra de la ilegitimidad. Propaganda y representación en el conflicto sucesorio (1474–1482)*, Sílex: Madrid 2006.

²⁹ Olga Pérez Monzón, *La encomienda de Novillas y su pasado histórico-artístico*, Centro de Estudios Borjanos: Borja 1997, 42–46.

³⁰ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Leg. 8.283¹, n^o 1: 'verdadera, real, actual y corporal possession del dicho lugar'.

acquisition of command of the place. The sentence commonly used in these ceremonies was: ‘...and he opened and closed the doors of that church, castle, bakery, and mill...’³¹. The commander the set up gallows on the main square as a sign of lordly jurisdiction, and hung his glove on the gallows. He finally strolled through the whole territory of the *encomienda*. This stroll was related to the ritual known as *hollar con los pies* (‘to set foot on the land’), a symbolic act of taking up the possession of a domain, customary in the swearing-in ceremonies of the nobility.³²

The masters' swearing-in ceremonies

The masters' swearing-in ceremonies had a wider scope and a greater solemnity than those of the nobility in general. The great significance of physical setting is important to keep in mind. The usual setting chosen for the performance of these ceremonies was a highly symbolic place closely related to the military orders, just as the ceremonies of the noblemen were carried out in the keeps within their castles. The swearing-in ceremony of the master of Alcántara, staged by Juan de Zúñiga in 1475, took place in Cáceres, where the headquarters of the order were.³³ More specifically the ceremony took place in the church of Santa María de Almocóvar, and in the hall of the nearby convent. This extraordinary setting and its symbolic meaning has been compared to the keeps of the nobility.³⁴

The ceremony to bestow the *maestrazgo* of the Order of Santiago to Álvaro de Luna was performed in 1445, in an architectural setting even more powerfully symbolic. To match the great power Luna had over the kingdom of Castile, the chapter of the Order met in Ávila at the church of St James, but the written records report that the ceremony took place at ‘the choir of the main church of that city’.³⁵ Such precise information, along with a quote related to the episcopal chair leaves little place to doubt that the ceremony took place in the Ávila Cathedral. Cathedrals were the favourite sites for the performance of royal ceremonies as well as royal funerals. Álvaro de Luna, who had his funerary chapel built in the ambulatory of the Toledo Cathedral, was aiming to imitate the ways of royalty. We must not forget that he fought to strengthen the royal power of the king. He even had his own chronicle written down as kings used to do, and his name can be found in several literary texts of his time, including the *El Laberinto de la Fortuna* (*Fortune's Labyrinth*) by Juan de Mena (1411–1456), the *Coplas por la muerte de su padre* (*Stanzas on His Father's Death*) by Jorge Manrique (c. 1440–1479), and the *Generaciones y Semblanzas* (*Generations and Biographical*

³¹ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Leg. 8.283¹, n° 1: ‘...y abrió y cerró las puertas de dicha yglesia y castillo, orno y molino...’

³² Concepción Quintanilla Raso, ‘El orden señorial y su representación simbólica. Ritualidad y ceremonia en Castilla a finales de la Edad Media’, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 29 (1999), 843–873, at 859.

³³ Alonso de Torres y Tapia, *Crónica de la Orden de Alcántara*, 2 vols., Imprenta de Gabriel Ramírez: Madrid 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192.

³⁴ Novoa Portela 2007, 206–211.

³⁵ José Manuel Calderón Ortega, *Álvaro de Luna (1419–1453)*. *Colección diplomática*, Dykinson: Madrid 1999, n° 107: ‘coro de la iglesia mayor de la dicha çibdat’.

Sketches) by Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (c. 1370–c. 1460). This gives a hint of his preponderance in the Castilian political arena of the fifteenth century.

The ceremonies of the masters required a specific staging which asked for the city to be decked out with tapestries, carpets, and articles in gold and silver. The inhabitants were also supposed to dress up. Although written sources or documents that talk about this particular kind of ceremony are scant, we can see the aforementioned characteristics in the ceremony of the taking of holy orders of Juan de Zúñiga which preceded his swearing-in ceremony to become master of the Order of Alcántara. The doors of the church of Santa María de Alcocóvar were closed after laymen had been expelled. A table was set up (perhaps close to the altar), with 'thin tablecloths and two large silver plates'.³⁶ The habit and the crosses of the Order were placed on this table; the habit being meant to replace the would-be master's clothes, 'a black velvet cloth lined with cibelina sable and a black silken overcoat'.³⁷ The change of clothes required of Zúñiga to lie down on his back on a doublet set on the steps of the altar. That way everyone could witness this act filled with symbolic meaning. In other ceremonies, enclosed spaces within churches were fitted out with poles and drapes. The drapes could either be closed or drawn back for a premeditated element of surprise. We do not know for sure if this took place in any of the Iberian masters' swearing-in ceremonies.

The centre of the ritual was the oath of allegiance to the Order. Álvaro de Luna made a vow of obedience to the pope and to the king. He also swore an oath, several chapters long, that had to do mainly with the preservation of the patrimony and personnel of the Order of Santiago. He took his vows and oaths 'on his knees',³⁸ with his hands placed over a Gospel book and a cross. After taking the oath of office the master received the specific marks of his new status: Luna received a red bonnet, a sword, a silver seal, and the main banner of the Order of Santiago.³⁹ Zúñiga received the same marks, presented to him on 'silver plates'.⁴⁰

The swearing-in ceremonies included also a hand-kissing ceremony, which had clear overtones of the ceremonies of investiture of vassals. The literary sources of the period repeatedly speak of that gesture as a show of respect of a person of superior rank. We have two examples of the hand-kissing ceremony in the *Poema de Fernán González* (c. 1250): Bernaldo del Carpio kisses the hand of a Moorish king named *Marsil*; Master Pelayo Pérez received the same treatment from the Castilian knights who, in so doing, recognised his sovereign position.⁴¹ The meaning of the hand-kissing ceremony is obvious, but in the cases of Luna and Zúñiga the ritual was not accompanied by the acts of genuflection or prostration that expressed subordination. There were other ways to stress the

³⁶ Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192: 'mantel delgado y dos platos grandes de plata'.

³⁷ Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192: 'un mongil de terciopelo negro aforrado en mantas cevellinas e un sayo de seda negra'.

³⁸ Calderón Ortega 1999, n° 107: 'fincado de rodillas'.

³⁹ Calderón Ortega 1999, n° 107.

⁴⁰ Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192: 'ciertos platos de plata'.

⁴¹ *Poema de Fernán González*, Juan Victorio ed., Cátedra: Madrid 1998, 69 and 74.

subordinate position of men of lesser rank; Álvaro de Luna, for instance, received homage seated in the bishop's chair, which was 'on the right hand side of the choir'.⁴² He thus used a religious symbol of authority, the episcopal seat.

Zuñiga's ceremony was completed with a festive procession to the convent of Alcántara with flying banners, and the master's sword, carried by the King of Arms, exhibited to the people, possibly in the 'Spanish fashion', i.e. held by the tip to show the hilt. The procession had also a merry component, with 'many dances and merriments'⁴³ as in other similar ceremonies organised by the nobility and the crown, such as the royal entrances into cities staged by the Catholic Monarchs (1474–1504). Juan de Zuñiga's swearing-in ceremony concluded with the town authorities handing over the keys to the town to the newly appointed master. They also handed him the staff of office, acknowledging his jurisdictional power over the town.⁴⁴

In conclusion, in these ceremonies objects that had a powerful symbolic component, such as habits, insignia, emblems, banners, and seals, so characteristic of the military orders, contributed to reinforce their identity.

5. Architecture as a symbol of power

Commanders and masters needed a multi-functional kind of architecture that could meet their representative, residential and economic needs. The building they lived in was a symbol of their power; its layout included domestic accommodations such as halls, warehouses and spaces for agricultural production and stockbreeding. These buildings were designed as castles in the early Middle Ages, whereas in the late Middle Ages they evolved into palaces.

Castles as symbols of power

Medieval castles are a three-dimensional expression period's ideas about security, protection, and authority. How, and to what end, these theoretical concepts did materialise are two key subjects that help us understand the societies in which the military orders thrived. In many cases small villages grew around castles and were protected by their walled perimeters, reinforced by towers and barbicans. Medieval villages, in general, had a profile that was determined by a need for protection and the spatial delimitation that resulted from this need. The high location of castles had an obvious defensive function. But there was a secondary function not in the least less important, namely the semantics of subordination: to behold the surrounding territory from the castle's heights produces a sudden feeling of dominion, whereas to behold the fortress from a lower site makes it grow to monumental proportions.⁴⁵

⁴² Calderón Ortega 1999, n° 107: 'en la mano derecha del dicho coro'.

⁴³ Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192: 'muchas danzas y alegrías'.

⁴⁴ Novoa Portela 2007, 210; Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.460–468; Palacios Martín 2000–2003, 2, n° 1192.

⁴⁵ Enrique Varela Agüi, *La fortaleza medieval: Simbolismo y poder en la Edad Media*, Junta de Castilla y León: Ávila 2002, 87 and 128–129.

The dimensions of the castles contributed to their visual effect. Not all castles had the same importance: there were buildings of lesser dimensions, known in the written records as small castles or small towers. The castles were scattered all over the borders faithfully fulfilling their military and colonising functions. The most remarkable castles were usually built in stonework, and had a courtyard that worked as a centralising axis for the building. They also had a keep tower, the symbolic epicentre of the fortress. The castles that sheltered the orders' headquarters were among the most outstanding military constructions known to us: Uclés, Calatrava, Alcántara, Avis, Consuegra, Tomar or Montesa.⁴⁶



12. Castle of Calatrava la Nueva (Ciudad Real). Order of Calatrava. Photograph by the author.



13. Castle of Monfragüe (Cáceres). Order of Monfragüe. Photograph by the author.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Mario Jorge Barroca, 'Os Castelos das Ordens Militares em Portugal (Séculos XII a XIV)', *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500). Actas do Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos*, Colibrí: Lisboa 2002, 535–548; Carlos de Ayala Martínez, 'Las fortalezas castellano-leonesas de las Órdenes militares. Problemas de control político y financiación (siglos XII–XIV)', *Mil Anos de Fortificações na Península Ibérica e no Magreb (500–1500). Actas do Simpósio Internacional sobre Castelos*, Colibrí: Lisboa 2002, 549–570; Myriam Navarro Benito, *Los castillos de la orden de Montesa en la baja Edad Media valenciana*, Universidad de Alicante: Alicante 2001.

In these kinds of castles ornamentation had but little importance. It was in fact limited to heraldic decoration, referring to the institution owning the building and the coat of arms of the master, on the outside of the building.⁴⁷ The balance in these decorations between the coats of arms of the military orders and those of the masters shifted in the course of the Middle Ages to the benefit of the latter.



14. Castle and convent of Uclés (Cuenca). Order of Santiago. Photograph by the author.

Among the most outstanding places inside these castles was the sacral space, a humble oratory or even a church. The sacral space represents the religious side of military orders. The keep tower is also very important; it was where the domestic accommodations were to be found. The rooms where ceremonies, such as swearing-in, homage, and fealty took place were also in the keep. The upward-reaching and vertical physiognomy of keeps stood out among the surrounding buildings in a hierarchical gradation of space that had a strong symbolic meaning. The keep tower was the place where the ruling class lived, where the masters and commanders dwelt.

The castles were mostly abandoned in late Middle Ages. The inconvenience of their high locations, the settlement of the growing population on the plains, and the end of the era of military conflicts contributed to the neglect of these bastions. This neglect grew under the rule of the Catholic Monarchs, who encouraged the dismantling of castles.⁴⁸

The castles were seats of the power of the nobility, and as such they were a threat to the centralised power of kings. They were a challenge to royal authority because of their architectural presence and their coercive force; thus, their destruction was a way to assert royal power. As an illustration of this last statement we have the case of the castle of Castronuño that belonged to the Order

⁴⁷ Olga Pérez Monzón, 'La arquitectura religiosa y civil de las órdenes militares en la Castilla medieval', *Del silencio de la cartuja al fragor de la orden militar*, Fundación Santa María: Aguilar de Campoo 2010, 201–227.

⁴⁸ Edward Cooper, *Castillos señoriales de Castilla de los siglos XV–XVI*, 2 vols., Fundación Universitaria Española: Madrid 1980–1981, 1,72–117.

of St John.⁴⁹ In its days of glory this castle certainly must have had an impressive appearance, but in the course of the Castilian War of Succession (1474–1479) King Fernando el Católico lay siege to the castle for eleven months, and when he finally took it, he made an example of his punishment, ordering the complete dismantling of the castle.⁵⁰



15. Castle of Zorita (Guadalajara). Order of Calatrava. Photograph by the author.



16. Castle of Tomar (Portugal). Order of Temple and Order of Cristo. Photograph by the author.

⁴⁹ Olga Pérez Monzón, *Arte sanjuanista en Castilla y León. Las encomiendas de la Guareña y su entorno geo-histórico*, Junta de Castilla y León: Valladolid 1999, 102–103 and 110.

⁵⁰ Andrés Bernáldez, *Memoria del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, ed. y estudio de Manuel Gómez Moreno y Juan de Mata Carriazo, Real Academia de la Historia: Madrid 1962, at 63-66: 'la fizo derribar e asolar toda por el suelo'.



17. Castle of Consuegra (Toledo). Order of St John. Photograph by the author.

New architectural spaces

In the late Middle Ages the dwellings of commanders and masters exchanged their defensive military character for a jubilant residential one. This evolution is the logical consequence of the process undergone by the military orders: their dignitaries had become noblemen and their buildings reflected this change.

The process had two aspects: the transformation of old castles, and the building of new ones. There were several reasons that led to the preservation of some castles and to the wrecking of others. Some castles were well kept, others were included in the fabric of a town. Other castles retained their central position and all their coercive and symbolic power. We know of transformations of castles in Montijo, Montemolín, Azuaga or Guadalcanal, all of them belonging to the Order of Santiago. In all these places, the bleak, functional courtyards became highly ornamented spaces, decorated with corridors called *danzas de arcos* ('dances of arches') in the written sources. The bases and capitals of columns as well as heraldic shields were made of stonework and alabaster. These elements were added to the castle and they transformed it into a real palace. We have an instance of this kind of transformation in the castle of Manzanares el Real (Madrid) built in the 1470's by the first duke of Infantado, Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1417–1479). This castle is a prototype of rural late-gothic architecture.⁵¹

The castle of Manzanares el Real belonged to the lay nobility and like the castles of the military orders, it retains the topography of a defensive building, with defensive walls, a barbican, and a keep, etc. But the ornamentation of its walls, windows, and galleries shows it no longer had a defensive character. The wall of the castle is punctured by a gallery the arches of which open to a magnificent view of the sierra madrileña. The castles of Guadalcanal and Segura de León have keep towers that are named 'miramontes'⁵² (keeps that 'look at the

⁵¹ Joaquín Yarza Luaces, *La nobleza ante el rey. Los grandes linajes castellanos y el arte en el siglo XV*, El Viso: Madrid 2003, 48.

⁵² Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1110c, fol. 1.073.

mountains'). Moreover, the castle of Segura de León had a garden with a cistern and fruit trees. Both castles along with that of Manzanares el Real combined two functions: the domestic and recreational function, and the symbolic and coercive function. All of them represented the power of the landed nobility. Only the quality of the workmanship tells them apart. The *visitadores* ('visitors') of the Order of Santiago expressed this double character with reference to interventions in one of these castles: 'not only did these works make more room for dwelling in that house, but they gave it a better appearance and more authority'.⁵³

A large number of the dwellings of commanders were of recent work, built in the course of the fifteenth century or even in the sixteenth. This fresh crop of castles was brought about by the founding of new *encomiendas*, by a wave of economic development, and by the coming to power of important lineages that would use art as a way of social promotion.

The new dwellings of commanders had different types of layouts depending on their geographical setting. In the northern part of the plain they had a single building mass with a courtyard in the back. In the south and in the middle of the Iberian Peninsula the new dwellings were organised around a central courtyard. They cannot, however, be considered a part of popular architecture. In the sources they are characterised as 'fine houses, big houses or main houses'.⁵⁴ They are finely made, very big, and have many ornamental elements of symbolic value, such as continuous balconies, where commanders appeared in front of the common people in their taking-up of office ceremonies. Special care was dedicated to the façade where heraldic emblems of the military orders and of the masters' lineages were on display. The façade of the palace of Castronuño of the Order of St John is an instance of this new trend.

One important feature of these buildings is the keep tower, a typical element of defensive architecture. Keeps were built in urban areas too, carrying with them their symbolic and coercive character.

Some of these dwellings had special artistic relevance. This is particularly true for some houses of the Order of Santiago and those of Calatrava. The same can be said about the house of the Order of St John in Consuegra. These all had large reception halls, known as *salas grandes*, private oratories, and gardens with aromatic plants, wild animals kept in captivity, fountains of various types, and recreational spaces such as garden pavilions and gazebos.

The Calatravan house – now lost – of Argamasilla de Alba (Ciudad Real) had a private chapel and a garden, which was characterised by those who enjoyed it as a 'a well kept orchard for recreation'.⁵⁵ The house of Corral de Caracuel (Ciudad Real) that belonged to the Order of Calatrava had an orchard filled with orange trees, roses, other kinds of trees, and a fish pond.⁵⁶

⁵³ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1108c, fol. 1.019: 'no solo dieran más aposento a la dicha casa, pero diérales mejor vista y con más autoridad'.

⁵⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, leg. 7504¹, n° 11, fol. 59; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, leg. 7494², n° 5, fol. 214; Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, leg. 7491², n° 36, fol. 9: 'casas buenas, casas grandes o casas principales'.

⁵⁵ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, leg. 6080, n° 6, fol. 3r: 'huerto bien tratado para recreación'.

⁵⁶ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, leg. 6078, n° 20, fol. 201 v.



18. *The master's palace at Almagro (Ciudad Real). Order of Calatrava. Photograph by the author.*

All of these elements can also be found at the palace of Llerena (Badajoz), which belonged to the Order of Santiago. The written records speak of

...a garden and an orchard which has olive trees and pear trees and other kinds of trees ... it has no orange trees because they were burnt by the frost, it has a well with a waterwheel ... and on the upper side ... there is a garden pavilion with its merlons and a high vine arbor which covers it entirely ... next to this garden pavilion there is a small reservoir.⁵⁷

These descriptions link the commanders' dwellings with the palaces of the lay nobility. In those palaces the main role of gardens was as light, festive spaces. They were also ceremonial spaces, and as such highly symbolic settings, where also exotic animals were exhibited. The keeping of wild animals, especially of exotic species, was one of the main interests of private collectors in the later Middle Ages.

The masters of the military orders could enjoy these dwellings that perpetuated the building typology described in the section about *encomiendas*. The houses were sometimes enlarged or their quality improved. The Order of Calatrava set its headquarters in the master's palace in Almagro (Ciudad Real), which has recently become the National Theatre Museum. There is no monographic study yet available about it, but a central courtyard that organises the space within the palace stands out from the layout. The coats of arms of Luis González de Guzmán and of Pedro Girón (1445–1466) were painted alongside the Calatran arms on the wooden foundations that organise the space between the two supporting walls, an interesting combination which underlines the noble and masterly condition of these two men. A remarkable part of the palace was the

⁵⁷ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1012c, fol. 111v: 'vergel y huerta que tiene unos olivos y perales y otros árboles...no tiene naranjos porque con el yelo se ha quemado, tiene un pozo de agua como anoria...y, a la parte de arriba,...está un zenadero con sus almenas y parral alto que lo cubre...junto al dicho zenadero está una alberquilla'.

chapel of St Benedict— now lost— decorated with a marvellous roof made of wood, highly praised by the *visitores*.⁵⁸



19. The arms of Pedro Girón. The master's palace at Almagro (Ciudad Real). Photograph by the author.



20. The arms of Calatrava. The master's palace at Almagro (Ciudad Real). Photograph by the author.

Exceptionally, some masters, like Álvaro de Luna, had a private palatial dwelling. Álvaro was the master of the Order of Santiago and he owned the castle of Escalona (Toledo). His chronicle tells us about the representational use of this palace where lavish parties were thrown and theatrical pieces staged. The chronicle beautifully describes the dressing up of rooms with sideboards heavily decorated with gold plates and precious stones, the lavish tapestries, the magnificent furniture on display, and the marvellous well kept gardens filled with exotic animals and adorned with a display of a wide variety of aromatic plants. Exotic animals could be found in other gardens belonging to military orders, but in those places we do not find the luxury and magnificence we know existed in

⁵⁸ Rodríguez-Picavea Matilla and Pérez Monzón 2006, 222–223, 227–228 and 237–239.

the castle of Escalona, thanks to the particular information provided by the *Crónica de Álvaro de Luna*.⁵⁹ The reason for such wealth and splendour was that, in addition to being the master of the Order of Santiago, don Álvaro was a powerful favourite of King Juan II (1406–1454) of Castile.

The interventions of the Catholic Monarchs in the military orders' emblematic buildings: the plastic expression of a new ruling power

The crown finally managed to bring the military orders under its control, and the new situation soon had a plastic representation in the heraldic shields placed all over the dwellings of the military orders, as we can see in the monastery of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo.⁶⁰ The use of heraldic shields was not a novelty but their monumental size was truly new. They certainly made an impression and conveyed a clear message: already Alfonso X the Sage (1252–1284) had stated in *Las Siete Partidas* that the royal coat of arms was equal to the physical presence of the king.⁶¹ Taking this idea – typical of the political theory of the Middle Ages – in account, we understand the use monarchs made of this method to exercise their *auctoritas*.

Between 1489 and 1495 the Catholic Monarchs paid for the renovations carried out in the refectory of Calatrava la Nueva (Ciudad Real) and in the so called *Casa de los Pavones*, a kind of a guest house similar to the royal accommodations built next to monasteries, castles, or palaces.⁶² At the refectory they carved a work 'in Roman style'⁶³ with gilded clusters, phylacteries, and a thick blue and gold rope with a *letrero* (a sign) which contained a phrase of royal propaganda. The decoration of the refectory, a communal space, was completed by 'three shields carved with the royal coat of arms',⁶⁴ beautifully painted. Each shield was two meters high. Other rooms in the *Casa de los Pavones* had a similar heraldic decoration, and they also had a frieze in Roman style, under the roofing. The reason for this 'sudden' royal intervention was to show the *fratres* who were their new masters. The actual physical presence of the Catholic Monarchs in Calatrava was quite short, but their symbols were left there to represent their *auctoritas*.

Royal shields of arms decorated also the *santiaguista* refectory of the convent of Uclés. Sources are rather vague about the date of these interventions. The *visitores* mentioned the decorations in the sixteenth century, always in plural:

⁵⁹ *Crónica de Don Álvaro de Luna*, Juan de Mata Carriazo ed., Espasa-Calpe: Madrid 1940.

⁶⁰ Pérez Monzón 2007, 929.

⁶¹ *Las Siete Partidas del Sabio Rey don Alonso el Nono, glosadas por el licenciado Gregorio López*, Andrea de Portonaris: Salamanca 1555, *Segunda Partida*, Título XIII, Ley XVIII, 39.

⁶² Jesús Espino Nuño, 'Obras de los Reyes Católicos en el Sacro Convento de Calatrava la Nueva', *El arte español en épocas de transición*, I, Universidad de León: León, 1992, 309–314

⁶³ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Consejo, leg. 6.109, 29, fol. 71: 'del arte romano'.

⁶⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Consejo, leg. 6.109, 29, fol. 71: 'tres escudos hechos de talla de las armas reales'.

‘the arms of the kings of Spain’;⁶⁵ this suggests the repeating character of the ornamentation, as already seen in Calatrava.



21. *Hospital of San Marcos (León). Order of Santiago. Photograph by the author.*

These interventions were a part of an ambitious project, a planned renovation of the whole convent. The plans can be traced back in several documents dating to the fifteenth century, and they included the expert reports of famous architects of the period, such as Antón Egas (c. 1475–1531) and Alonso de Covarrubias (1488–1570).⁶⁶



22. *Hospital of San Marcos (León). Order of Santiago. Photograph by the author.*

It is significant that these vast works of renovation in the emblematic convent of Uclés (Cuenca) answered a sheer desire for renewal rather than a real constructive need. The same spirit underlied King Fernando's claim to improve the San Marcos of León complex,

⁶⁵ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1086c, fol. 15v: ‘armas de los reyes de España’.

⁶⁶ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Archivo Judicial de Toledo, leg. 22.444. Ruiz Mateos–Espino Nuño–Pérez Monzón 1994, 305.

because that convent is an old and badly built house, and it is not well done and arranged as a house of a religious community should be, especially one so important and with such high a rent.⁶⁷

The king asked architect Pedro de Larrea (active from 1506), working in San Benito de Alcántara (Cáceres) at the time, to design a new plan for the convent.⁶⁸



23. San Benito de Alcántara (Cáceres). Order of Alcántara. Photograph by the author.

6. Fame and memory: *post-mortem* remembrance

The medieval concern with *post-mortem* fame was perfectly expressed by Jorge Manrique in his famous *Coplas por la muerte de su padre*: ‘...and although he lost his life, his memory was a great consolation to us...’⁶⁹ This concern with posthumous fame steered the interest of the higher dignitaries of the military orders in their future resting places. Their choices fell on the most emblematic buildings of their orders, which soon acquired a funerary dimension. The rank of the deceased determined the nature of their funerary monuments; a tomb stone, a sepulchre, an *arcosolium*, perhaps a funerary chapel endowed with liturgical paraphernalia to celebrate masses in the memory of the noble deceased. These were the funerary customs of lay nobility and royalty. The typology and the decoration of those tombs obeyed the same parameters: the deceased wore their robes of state. Eschatological or funeral scenes, identifying inscriptions, and coats of arms were accompanied by the crosses of the orders.

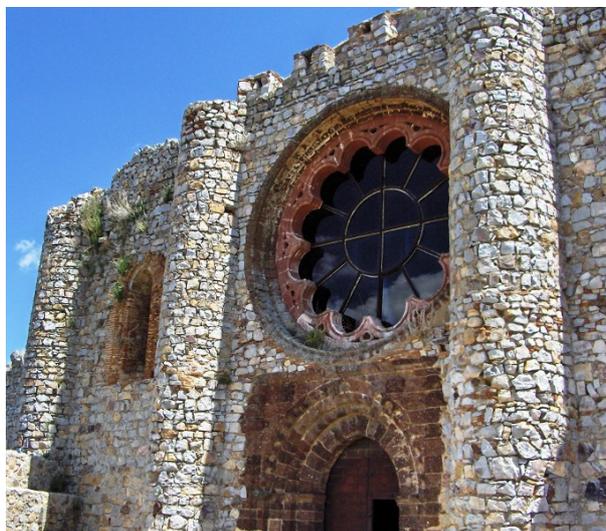
Some relatives of the members of the orders – especially those who belonged to the high nobility – could also hope to be buried in the most privileged

⁶⁷ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1094c, fol. 306; Libro 1098c, fol. 419; and Libro 1099c, fol. 416: ‘porque ese dicho convento es casa vieja y mal edificada e no está echa y ordenada según e como conviene para casa de Religión especialmente siendo tan principal e teniendo tan buena renta como tiene’.

⁶⁸ Ruiz Mateos, Espino Nuño and Pérez Monzón 1994, 308.

⁶⁹ ‘...y aunque la vida perdió,/ dejonos harto consuelo/ su memoria...’. See Jorge Manrique, *Coplas*, edición de Amparo Medina-Bocos, Edaf: Madrid 2003, 143.

places. In the middle of the thirteenth century the magnate Rodrigo Fernández de León, and the Infante Don Alfonso, brother to Fernando III of Castile (1217–1252), were buried in the convent church of Calatrava la Nueva. In the second half of the thirteenth century, Infante Don Manuel and his wife Constanza were buried in the *santiaguista* convent church of Uclés⁷⁰.



24. Church of Calatrava la Nueva (Ciudad Real). Order of Calatrava. Photograph by the author.

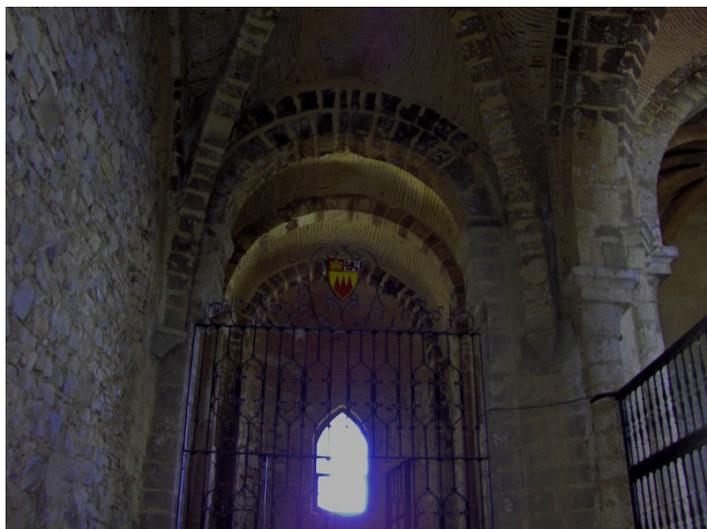
Concerning the burials of the *fratres* the best known case is the church of Calatrava la Nueva that eventually became a kind of pantheon. Here the three facades (the head and the foot of the church as well as the lateral aisles of the crossing), especially the one oriented to the south, were the chosen spaces for building those funerary chapels that did not belong to the masters. Unfortunately the convent was abandoned in the nineteenth century and all these chapels disappeared. We know of their existence from extant written sources which mention them.⁷¹ Since the end of the fourteenth century, grand masters could be buried in the head of churches, the most sought-after sites of burial. The growing power of the masters entitled them to be entombed in such a privileged place.

The head of the church of Calatrava la Nueva was the masters' exclusive burial site. Only after the crown took over the mastery of the order could other Calatran dignities be entombed inside the convent church. Among all the funeral monuments, the funeral chapel of Pedro Girón deserves special mention. It is placed in the southern apse of the church. The Calatran master sought a magnificent effect through the iconographic novelties carved on his tomb, made of alabaster, and through excellent workmanship in the architectural work by Hanequin of Brusells (d. 1494), who directed the renovation of Toledo Cathedral.

⁷⁰ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, c. 339, n° 11. See Milagros Rivera Garretas, M., *La encomienda, el priorato y la villa de Uclés en la Edad Media (1174–1310). Formación de un señorío de la Orden de Santiago*, CSIC: Madrid–Barcelona 1985, n° 213.

⁷¹ Vicente Castañeda y Alcover, 'Descripción del sacro convento de Calatrava la Nueva', *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 28 (1928), 402–443; Fernando de Cotta y Márquez del Prado, 'Descripción del Sacro Convento y Castillo de Calatrava la Nueva, Cabeza y Casa mayor de esta Orden y caballería y de sus rentas y casas', *La Mancha* 1:1 and 2 (1961) 35–76 and 24–34.

In the corners of the tomb there are angelic figures holding shields, and on its sides is carved a funeral procession, showing Pedro Girón and other commanders, contemporaries of the master, as we can see from the attached titles. The funerary procession is no longer anonymous, like the processions carved in cenotaphs since the thirteenth century, but a real funeral cortege that pays homage to the deceased master. It is the most accurate plastic representation of the iron authority with which Pedro Girón ruled the Calatravan institution for twenty years.⁷²



25. Chapel of Pedro Girón. Church of Calatrava la Nueva (Ciudad Real). Photograph by the author.

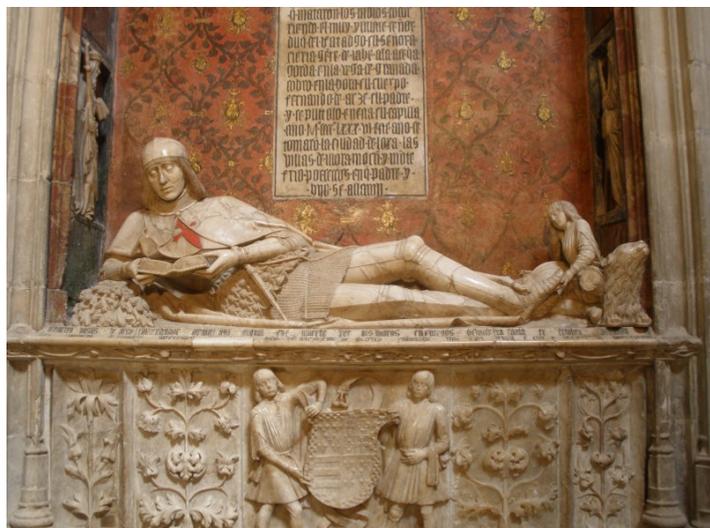


26. Convent of Uclés (Cuenca). Order of Santiago. Photograph by the author.

The complex of Uclés, in Cuenca, was extensively renovated in the Renaissance period and in the Baroque period. It was one of the most popular burial places among the high dignitaries of the Order of Santiago. In the chapel of St Augustine, located around the cloister, we can find the burial sites of ‘certain

⁷² See, for example, Joseph O’Callaghan, ‘Don Pedro Girón, Master of the Order of Calatrava, 1445–1466’, *Hispania* 21 (1961), 342–392.

masters'.⁷³ This space thus assumed one of the functions of the chapterhouse, as a Hall of Fame of the Order of Santiago. That is why the titles with the names of the masters are so conspicuous among the ornaments of the chapel. In this, as in many other matters, the brothers of the military orders imitated the ways of the monarchy and of the lay nobility.



27. *Doncel de Sigüenza. Sigüenza cathedral (Guadalajara). Photograph by the author.*

The glorious past of the Order of Santiago was remembered through the names of all the masters that had held the command of the institution since it was founded. In the houses of the Order of Santiago in San Marcos (León), and in Tentudía (Badajoz), there were two chapels with the same dedication and function. The chapel of San Marcos was placed around the cloister and it sheltered the sepulchre of Master Pedro Fernández. The chapel of Badajoz opened to the church and sheltered the funeral tombs of Gonzalo Mejía (1366–1370) and Fernando Osórez (1370–1382).

In the course of time the church of the convent of Uclés became a highly popular place of burial. The most sought after place within it was the Gospel side of the crossing (i.e. on the left when looking from the nave towards the apse), which was crowded with tombstones and chapels, like those of the Priors Juan de Velasco (1389–1428) and Hernando de Santoyo (1428–1472), and that of Master Rodrigo Manrique (1474–1476). The funerary lot of Rodrigo Manrique had an alabaster tomb in the centre, with a recumbent funeral statue, and an epitaph recording his victories and feats, along with the date of his passing (1467).⁷⁴ Such a laudatory epigraphic *cursus honorum* was a common feature of the funeral monuments of the period. They represented the late medieval conception of *post-mortem* fame. The famous tomb of the *Doncel de Sigüenza* (surname of Martín Vázquez de Arce, knight of the Order of Santiago) includes a sign which praises his premature and quasi-heroic death in the Granada War.

The list can be extended with references to other buildings of the Iberian military orders. The masters of the Order of Alcántara, Suero Martínez (1356–

⁷³ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1067c, fol. 107v: 'çiertos maestros'.

⁷⁴ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Órdenes Militares, Libro 1067c, fol. 453v

1362) and Martín Yáñez de Barbudo (1385–1394) requested to be buried in the church of the old convent-fortress of Alcántara, and in the church of Santa María de Almocóvar of that town, respectively. Laudatory inscriptions, and shields with their coats of arms that proclaimed their noble lineages, were carved on both tombs.⁷⁵



28. Doncel de Sigüenza (detail). Sigüenza cathedral (Guadalajara). Photograph by the author.

The master of the Order of St John, Fernández de Heredia, ordered that he be buried in Caspe, in a sepulchre with a recumbent funeral statue that wore the master's robes of state.⁷⁶ The funeral procession carved on the sides of the tomb follows the fashion one of the most magnificent examples of which was found in the monument of Pedro Girón, as we have already seen. We find further examples of funeral monuments at the parish churches of the *encomiendas*, where many commanders lie buried. Among the tombs that remain we have the *arcosolium* made of polychrome plaster for Commander Fernando de Cárdenas (d. 1508) of the Order of St John, set in the main chapel of the church of Fresno el Viejo (Valladolid).⁷⁷

We cannot close this section without mentioning Álvaro de Luna's unique sepulchre in the ambulatory of the Toledo Cathedral. Even though the constable received the permission to build the chapel in 1430, before he was appointed master of the Order of Santiago, the references to the order are omnipresent in this impressive funeral site. There are the shells and crosses of St James carved in relief everywhere; we can find them on the walls and on the keystones of the starry vault that tops the chapel (figure 30). We can also see crosses and seashells on the robe of state Luna wears in the retable and in his recumbent funeral statue. The four life-size *fratres* that flank the cenotaph perpetuate in stone the deposition of the corpse and the homage they pay to their superior: the master of the Order of Santiago.⁷⁸

⁷⁵ Torres y Tapia 1763, 2.90; Novoa Portela 2007, 194–198.

⁷⁶ Cortés Arrese 1999, 69–126.

⁷⁷ Pérez Monzón 1999, 125–126.

⁷⁸ Pérez Monzón 2007, 931–935.



29. Arcosolium of Fernando de Cárdenas, commander of the Order of St John. Church of Fresno el Viejo (Valladolid). Photograph by the author.



30. Chapel of Álvaro de Luna (detail). Toledo cathedral. Photograph by the author.

Conclusions

In the beginning of this article we analysed the image that the contemporaries had of the military orders. Broadly speaking, propaganda eulogising the military orders was widespread during the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, although their existence and doings came in for isolated criticism occasionally. This criticism was based on moral arguments related to the perceived improper nature of the warrior-*fratres*, and their lust for accumulating wealth, which was not used to fight against Muslims. Obviously, reproaches increased a great deal when the Syria-Palestine area was abandoned in 1291. Criticism especially affected the 'international' military orders, but its impact eventually reached their Iberian sections as well as the peninsular orders. Nevertheless, reproaches to the orders in the Iberian area were simply imported echoes of foreign criticism.

Secondly, we studied the iconography of the power of the masters of the Iberian military orders, conveyed through powerful iconographic representations. The study of medieval imagery allowed us to establish four types of masterly models: the master as the king's vassal (Order of Santiago), the master as a monarch (orders of Santiago and Calatrava), the master as a nobleman (orders of Calatrava and Santiago), and the master as a learned man (orders of St John, Alcántara and Santiago). However, the impact of these images was limited, for they could be viewed by only a limited number of people.

Thirdly, we considered the ceremonies of the masters and commanders as tools of propaganda intended to legitimate their power. Whenever the commanders took-up office in their *encomiendas* they had to perform a set of ceremonies charged with deep symbolic meaning, stressing their condition as lords of the town. The masters' swearing-in ceremonies had a wider scope and a greater solemnity. The usual setting chosen to perform these ceremonies was a highly symbolic place closely related to the military orders, just as the noblemen carried out their ceremonies in the keeps of their castles. Juan de Zúñiga's ceremony took place at the church of Santa María de Almocóvar (Alcántara, Cáceres) and Álvaro de Luna's ceremony at the Cathedral of Ávila.

Fourthly, we examined the architecture of the military orders as a symbol of their power. Commanders and masters needed a multi-functional kind of architecture that could meet their representative, residential and economic needs. These buildings were designed as castles earlier in the Middle Ages, but during in the later Middle Ages they lost their defensive military character in favour of a more jubilant residential one. This evolution follows logically from the fact that the dignitaries of the military orders had become noblemen and needed dwellings that would reflect their status. To meet these needs new palaces were constructed and old castles renovated.

Finally, we analysed the concern of the dignitaries of the military orders for posthumous fame and the perpetuation of their memory. To secure their posthumous fame the leaders of the military orders chose the most emblematic buildings of the orders as their places of burial. The rank of the deceased rulers determined the nature of their funerary monuments.

In conclusion, the *fratres* of military orders transmitted an image and developed a behavior, especially in the late Middle Ages, like that of the secular nobility and very far from that of members of other religious orders. The *fratres* transmitted that image and that behavior by the iconography, the ceremonies, the architecture and the choice of burial areas.

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