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Fortified architecture of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem in southwest France, from the 12th to the 15th century. Current status of knowledge

Arquitectura fortificada dos Hospitalários de São João de Jerusalém no sudoeste da França, do século XII ao XV. Estado actual do conhecimento

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to propose a state of knowledge on the castral architecture and protection of the religious establishments founded by the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem in southwestern France from the twelfth to the end of the fifteenth century. The archaeological traces of a fortification implemented from the foundation of the houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are rare. Only the written sources provide a few clues as to the presence of a castral architecture within the commanderies, without it being possible to determine whether it was an architectural legacy linked to the founding of the religious establishment through donations, or whether it was a real desire on the part of the religious community to build, *ex nihilo*, a castral complex intended to house it. At the end of the Middle Ages, during the Hundred Years' War, the hospital commanderies were the object of an important defense. This fortification of religious houses in a context of insecurity resulted in the construction of towers and enclosures, as well as the defense of churches, barns and agricultural domains. This generalized fortification also concerns the habitat that was agglomerated near the hospital *domus*.

Keywords: Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem; castral architecture; fortification; Hundred Years' War; southwest France.

RESUMO

O objectivo deste artigo é fazer um balanço do estado actual dos conhecimentos sobre a arquitectura militar e a proteção dos estabelecimentos religiosos fundados pelos Hospitalários de São João de Jerusalém no sudoeste da França desde o século XII ao final do século XV. São raros os vestígios arqueológicos de estruturas fortificadas desde a fundação das casas nos séculos XII e XIII. Apenas as fontes escritas dão algumas pistas sobre a presença de uma arquitectura militar nas comendas, sem que seja possível determinar se este é um legado arquitectónico dos tempos da fundação do estabelecimento religioso através de doações, ou se corresponde um desejo real, por parte da comunidade religiosa, para construir, *ex nihilo*, um complexo defensivo destinado a abrigá-la. No final da Idade Média, durante a Guerra dos Cem Anos, as comendas hospitalares foram objecto de importantes reforços defensivos. Esta fortificação de casas religiosas num contexto de insegurança resultou na construção de torres e cercas, bem como na defesa de igrejas, celeiros e terrenos agrícolas. Tal processo de fortificação generalizada também incluiu o *habitat* concentrado junto das *domus* do Hospital.

Palavras-chave: Hospitalários de São João de Jerusalém; arquitectura castral; fortificação; Guerra dos Cem Anos; sudoeste da França.



What are the characteristics of the fortified architecture of the religious establishments founded by the brothers of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in the Middle Ages in southwest France? This question raises all sorts of problems. Recent work on military religious orders in the West, in southern France in particular, has exposed the absence of true castles built to house these new Hospitaller or Templar regular communities, unlike what is observed for the same period in the Iberian Peninsula or in the Latin East, albeit in a different socio-political and military context¹. We find traces of measures undertaken as early as the twelfth century to defend the houses of the Hospital in Languedoc. However, they are still difficult to apprehend due to the many problems greatly limiting their analysis. Most of them come from available sources, monumental or written, that were preserved, but they document the subject unequally. Indeed, their proliferation during the last two centuries of the Middle Ages sheds light on a general tendency to fortify the habitat of these religious communities amid conflicts brought about by the Hundred Years' War. However, among the many forms of material translation of the Hospitallers' habitat, which does not follow any typical plan or architecture which are common features of the habitat developed within military monasticism, some houses benefitted from elements characteristic of a castral architecture as early as the twelfth century. This phenomenon is however more clearly noticeable among Templar establishments in the Quercy, Rouergue or Albigeois for example, where, between the second half of the twelfth century to the end of the thirteenth century, the brothers erected towers which included most of the functional areas necessary for the practice of a common religious life and which no doubt contributed to the expression of an identity brand². In the absence of such

¹ CARRAZ, Damien – “Templar and Hospitaller Establishments in Southern France: The State of Research and New Perspectives”. In PIANA, Mathias; CARLSSON, Christer (eds.) – *Archaeology and Architecture of the Military Orders. New Studies*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014, p. 120.

² MATTALIA, Yoan – “L’inscription du sacré dans l’espace templier. Piste de réflexion sur quelques tours méridionales, XII^e-XIII^e siècles”. *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* [Online] 28 (2010). Dossier spécial: *Organiser l’enclos, sacré et topographie dans les maisons hospitalières et templières du Midi de la France*. Actes du Séminaire Terrae organisé par les laboratoires Traces (UMR 5608, CNRS, Toulouse) et Framespa (UMR 5136, CNRS, Toulouse), Archéologie et histoire des espaces médiévaux méridionaux, le 24 avril 2009 à Toulouse, pp. 255-270. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/amime.2010.1932>; MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles dans les diocèses de Cahors, Rodez et Albi. Approche*

architectural vestiges in the Hospitaller commanderies of the Southwest for the same period, it is still possible to question the reality of the fortification from which they could have benefitted, even though the archaeological data which would make it possible to propose an overview of their topographic and monumental organization in the first two centuries of their existence is still lacking.

It is therefore a matter of giving a rough sketch of the fortification of the habitat of the brothers of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in the southwest of France by comparing, as much as possible, the contribution of written and archaeological sources based on examples mainly chosen from the Quercy, Rouergue, Albigeois, Lauragais and Toulousain areas. Although this provides a partial review of what is known, it allows to reveal the components of a castral architecture visible in some houses of the Order of the Hospital in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to put forward the proliferation of fortifications in these religious establishments in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Establishments of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem and their fortified architecture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries

The perception of the architecture and topography of the establishments founded by the brothers of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in southwest France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is arduous, more particularly in the dioceses of Cahors, Rodez and Albi. There are few monumental remains and the written sources that document them don't say much. Therefore, in the absence of archaeological excavations, any attempt at a synthesis is impossible.

A hardly noticeable castral architecture

Based on current knowledge, it is not possible to observe the castral dimension of the Hospitaller commanderies from the southwest of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries from their numerous architectural vestiges. One has to resort

archéologique et historique. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, 2013. Thèse de doctorat, vol. 1, pp. 326-327; MATTALIA, Yoan – “Les tours des maisons templières des diocèses de Cahors, de Rodez et d’Albi (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)”. In FERNANDES, Isabel Cristina (ed.) – *Castelos das Ordens Militares. Encontro internacional (Tomar, 10-13 Outubro 2012)*. Palmela: Direcção-Geral do Património Cultural; Câmara Municipal de Palmela, 2013, pp. 63-78.

to the written documentation produced by the religious institution to try to understand in part the material organization of the *domus* and detect a possible trace of fortification. Scant information can be obtained through the analysis of mentions of places where some transactions took place in the Middle Ages and descriptions of buildings done after general visits in the beginning of the early modern period, particularly during the first years of the seventeenth century. By using general visits cautiously, we are able, in some cases, to compensate for the absence of vestiges of conventual buildings. Of course, they were done at a later date and they provide a vision distorted by the eyes of administrative-focused visitors whose descriptions don't give clues to differentiate between older and more recent architectural structures. In Rouergue for example, in the thirteenth century, the *domus* of the Canabières, founded shortly after 1120³, had one- or two-story buildings which expressed a social and functional hierarchy between a noble floor, hosting an *aula* or the *camera* of the commander, and the common areas on the ground floor, including the kitchen⁴. Further south in the diocese of Rodez, the house of Saint-Félix-de-Sorgues, founded between 1146 and 1159⁵, had several residential buildings which were organized with Saint-Pierre church around a square plan. This general layout of the buildings gave it a castral appearance until its complete destruction during the wars of religion in modern period. Descriptions from the modern period mention the “château et forteresse” erected “en un coin de ladite ville en forme de citadelle”⁶. From texts from this *domus*'s cartulary we can only guess the presence of a *platea* structuring the space, around which stood a two-story residential building adjoining the church, and, probably, a building dedicated to receiving the pilgrims, the poor and the sick⁷. The term *solier* used for the two Hospitaller buildings of Canabières and Saint-Félix-de-Sorgues, in the thirteenth century, might designate multiple-story houses, if not turriform, whose fortified dimensions remain largely unknown.

³ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, pp. 153-155.

⁴ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, p. 221.

⁵ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, pp. 156-157.

⁶ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 230r. The castle of the Hospitallers thus had “un grand nombre de bâtiments, membres, chambres, caves, cuisines, salles, greniers et basse-cour”: Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches du Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 231v.

⁷ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, p. 221 and pp. 360-363.

This commitment to protecting houses can be seen in the layout of the conventual buildings that compose and delimit the quadrilateral of some Hospitaller establishments and materialize the defensive and passive enclosure. While it can be found in both rural and urban commanderies, this topographical arrangement is better documented when found in a city. In Millau for example, the two-story conventual buildings of the peri-urban religious establishment delimited the area of a *domus* organized around a courtyard as early as the second half of the twelfth century. A monumental door or a porch gave access to the portico courtyard which served the church of Saint-Jean-Baptiste built before 1160, its adjoining cemetery, along with the residential buildings⁸. This topographical and architectural layout ensured an enclosure which served as much to defend the place as to symbolize the religious community's search for relegation, away from the tumult of the urban world, even though it was fully integrated into the socio-economic activities of the city⁹. It was the same in Toulouse where the church of Saint-Jean, the dormitory, the refectory, the kitchen and the cellar of the priory of the Hospital built *intra muros* were organized at the end of the twelfth century around a conventual quadrilateral and its cloister¹⁰. At the beginning of the 1180s, the brothers proceeded to modify their block of buildings and built a new enclosure, materialized by a surrounding wall with its porch¹¹.

⁸ A door or a porch is mentioned in 1236 and in 1245: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Canabières 17, résidus. It was located on the ground floor of a building which housed the commander's *camera* upstairs.

⁹ CARRAZ, Damien – “Expériences religieuses en contexte urbain. De l'*ordo monasticus* aux *religiones novae*: le jalon du monachisme militaire”. In CARRAZ, Damien (ed.) – *Les ordres militaires dans la ville médiévale (1100-1350), Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 26-28 mai 2010*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2013, pp. 37-56.

¹⁰ POUSTHOMIS-DALLE, Nelly – “Histoire et archéologie de la commanderie-grand prieuré des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean à Toulouse: état de la recherche”. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 41 (2006): *Les ordres religieux militaires dans le Midi (XII^e-XIV^e siècle)*, pp. 242-245; MACÉ, Laurent – “*In salvetate domini comitis*. Les ordres religieux-militaires dans la cité de Toulouse (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)”. In CARRAZ, Damien (ed.) – *Les ordres militaires dans la ville médiévale (1100-1350), Actes du colloque international de Clermont-Ferrand, 26-28 mai 2010*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2013, p. 217.

¹¹ POUSTHOMIS-DALLE, Nelly; MACÉ, Laurent – “Structurer et modifier l'enclous en milieu urbain : la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Toulouse au XII^e siècle”. *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* [Online] 28 (2010). Dossier spécial: *Organiser l'enclous, sacré et topographie dans les maisons hospitalières et templières du Midi de la France*. Actes du Séminaire Terrae organisé par les laboratoires Traces (UMR 5608, CNRS, Toulouse) et Framespa (UMR 5136, CNRS, Toulouse), Archéologie et histoire des espaces médiévaux méridionaux, le 24 avril 2009 à Toulouse, p. 323. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/amime.2010.1935>.

Some fortified structures attested in the texts

The elements that constitute a Hospitaller house's fortification in twelfth- and thirteenth century southwestern France are not materially known. Some topographical indications on the choice of the location of the houses undoubtedly reveal the regular communities' search for defense, and they very occasionally favored a settlement on a high site, as illustrated by some establishments in Auvergne¹². In southern France, the brothers sometimes chose to modify the topography and raise the ground where they would establish themselves. This is the case at La Salvetat de Serres in the diocese of Comminges. This Hospitaller house was positioned on a rectangular anthropogenic hillock. Ditches were dug to protect the *domus* and separate the area from the rest of the upper terrace. The digging material was then used to artificially raise the mound where the small religious establishment stood¹³. Similar structures are attested in Gascony at Goutz and Moncassin¹⁴. An analysis of the processes and the chronology of the foundation of these religious houses in Quercy, Rouergue and Albigeois clearly shows that these communities have essentially adapted to the practical and economic realities of the places where they wished to settle with the *Subsidium Terre Sancte* in mind¹⁵.

Through donations, the brothers were able to obtain fortified places in which they settled. However, it is not always possible to distinguish from the texts between a fortified settlement that may have been ceded to them and the castral-type establishment that they built to house their religious community, as the donation of the *castellum* of Caignac, in Lauragais, to the brothers of the Hospital in the second quarter of the twelfth century, illustrates. The Hospitallers settled there following the donation by Guilabert de Laurac, his wife, their sons and other local lords of the

¹² D'AGOSTINO, Laurent – "Un établissement des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean: la commanderie de Chauliac (Le Broc, Puy-de-Dôme)". In LAFFONT, Pierre-Yves; DE FRAMOND, Martin; SANIAL, Bernard (eds.) – *Châteaux du Moyen Âge, de l'étude à la restauration. Auvergne, Velay et autres exemples régionaux, Actes du colloque du Puy-en-Velay, 3-5 juin 2004*. Le Puy-en-Velay: Éditions de la Société académique du Puy-en-Velay et de la Haute-Loire, 2008, pp. 102-104.

¹³ MANIÈRE, Gabriel – "Un établissement des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, La Salvetat de Serres (Commune de Lavelanet-de-Comminges, Haute-Garonne)". *Archéologie médiévale* VII (1977), p. 182.

¹⁴ RAMIS, Pauline – *Implantation des Hospitaliers et des Templiers dans les départements du Gers et des Hautes-Pyrénées: historique et bilan historiographique monumental (XII^e-début du XVI^e siècle)*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, 2009. Mémoire de Master I, p. 111.

¹⁵ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, pp. 168-178.

honor of Caignac, the church and their associated rights, as well as the *sauveté* that had been established. The donation reserved for the inhabitants of Caignac privileges they had enjoyed before, and that bound the Hospitallers, particularly in regard to their protection and defense¹⁶. In 1171, Sicard de Laurac, one of Guilabert's sons, confirmed his father's donation and authorized the prior and the brothers of the Hospital to erect a fortified place at Caignac for their religious community¹⁷. In the seventeenth century, this building was still described as a castle made up of four-square towers and a keep¹⁸. Still in Lauragais, in the first half of the thirteenth century, following a donation from Hugh II de Lacy, the Hospitallers took possession of Renneville, established on a hill overlooking the Hers Mort and Marés valleys. Hugh II de Lacy was an English knight and former Earl of Ulster, companion of Simon de Montfort in the Crusade against the Albigensians. Montfort made him lord of Castelnaudary, Laurac and a number of surrounding villages and domains in 1212, when the Pamiers statutes were promulgated¹⁹. Seeking to forge ties with local religious communities, Hugh II de Lacy made a series of donations to the Dominicans of Prouille and also became close to the Hospitallers of Toulouse, probably around 1215²⁰. The Hospitallers received Renneville after many twists and turns. Before the Crusade against the Albigensians, the area was held by Lord Almaric de Castelnaudary. But he was dispossessed of it by Simon de Montfort after

¹⁶ DU BOURG, Antoine – *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse et diverses possessions de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans le sud-ouest de la France, Languedoc, pays de Foix, de Comminges, de Béarn, Gascogne, Guyenne, Périgord, Quercy, Albigeois, Rouergue*. Toulouse: L. Sistac et J. Boubée, 1883, pp. 117-119 and pièce justificative n.º XXXI, also published in NGUYEN THANH, Karine – *Formation et gestion du patrimoine des commanderies hospitalières de Caignac et de Saint-Michel de Lanès du XII^e siècle au milieu du XIII^e siècle*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, 1996. Mémoire de maîtrise, pp. 136-138.

¹⁷ DU BOURG, Antoine – *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, pièce justificative n.º XXXII. The text was also published in NGUYEN THANH, Karine – *Formation et gestion du patrimoine des commanderies hospitalières*, pp. 139-141: “*quod in villam de Caniaco, seu in villare quo vobis loco in vestro alode magis placuerit castellum ibi pro vestro dominio et forcias faciatis liberum et absolutum et separatam ab omni nostra dominacione*”.

¹⁸ DU BOURG, Antoine – *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, p. 125.

¹⁹ BIGET, Jean-Louis – “La déposition des seigneurs méridionaux. Modalités, limites, portée”. In ROQUEBERT, Michel (dir.) – *La croisade albigeoise: actes du colloque du Centre d'études cathares, Carcassonne, 4, 5 et 6 octobre 2002*. Carcassonne: Centre d'études cathares, 2004, p. 267; DUFFY, Paul – “Le comte d'Ulster et la croisade contre les Albigeois”. *Annales du Midi* 126 (2014), pp. 16-17; Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Renneville 1, n.º 2.

²⁰ DUFFY, Paul – “Le comte d'Ulster et la croisade contre les Albigeois”, p. 18. The author interprets the donation to the Hospitallers of Toulouse as a gesture of conciliation towards the Raimondine comital house, which had largely favored the installation of the Brothers of the Hospital in the city in the twelfth century.

having been prosecuted with his wife for heresy²¹. Hugh II de Lacy finally relinquished Renneville after he affiliated himself *ad succurrendum* to the order of the Hospital, and expressed the wish to be received as a *donat* as his death drew near, in order to gain the spiritual benefits of the religious community and to obtain a burial in the cemetery of the Toulouse Hospitaller house²². In an undated document he associated his affiliation with the donation of the place of Renneville, which was then qualified as *forcium et municionem*, of its inhabitants and its outbuildings. The chronology of the establishment of the Hospitallers in Renneville deserves to be reviewed, because Hugh II de Lacy ultimately left the Lauragais area to return to England in 1221 after the failure of the siege of Castelnaudary, which was then in the hands of Count Raymond VII²³. The Hospitallers, finally took possession of the fortified place of Renneville during the thirteenth century and were able to found a commandery at the end of a process that would be worthy of a new analysis. Only a few elements are available regarding its architecture, which was probably castral. General visits from the beginning of the early modern period are the only ones to mention that the commander's castle was divided into two two-

²¹ For a reminder on the chronology and stages of Renneville's donation to the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem, see Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Renneville 1, n.º 2.

²² The document was published in DU BOURG, Antoine – *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, pièce justificative n.º XXV, as well as in DUFFY, Paul – “Le comte d’Ulster et la croisade contre les Albigeois”, p. 27. These two editions being faulty, I propose here a new transcription of the document. Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Renneville 1, n.º 1:

“In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Tam presentibus quam futuris notificetur quod ego Ugo de Lasces, Lauragensis dominus, reddo et dono animam meam et corpus meum domino Deo et beate virgini Marie et sancto Iohanni et Dominis pauperibus et fratribus sancte domus Hospitalis Iherosolimitani et tibi fratri B. de Capolegio, priori Tolose, in vita et in morte ita quod divinitus inspiratus cum habitum Religionis recipere velim predicte sancte (repeated twice) domus habitum me profiteor et assero receptarum et ad nullum alium habitum profiteor me posse extendere propter ipsum. Interim vero habito scilicet nondum assumpto si forte contingeret quod corpus meum morte preoccuparetur ipsum ad propinquiores domum antedicti Hospitalis rogo et supplico deferendum. Ibidem similiter pietatis intuitu cum predicto dono pro anime mee salute et omnium peccatorum meorum remissione erogo iamdictis Dominis pauperibus et fratribus prefate sancte domus et tibi fratri B. de Capolegio, priori Tolose, forcium et municionem Ranaville, homines scilicet et feminas, terras, herbas et prata cultum et incultum, aquas et nemora egressus et ingressus et quicquid ibi pertinet vel pertinere debet, nullo mihi penitus in omnibus predictis retento dominio vel alio jure que omnia ut predictum est laudo et approbo et in perpetuum concedo iam dictis Dominis pauperibus et fratribus et prefato priori Tolose in pace possidenda.

Ego frater B. humilis prior Tolose, de consilio et consensu nostrorum fratrum colligo et recipio te, Ugonem de Lasces, in omnibus beneficiis preteritis, presentibus et futuris que in prefato Hospitali a principio usque in finem mundi facta sunt vel ad unanimitate Domino fient in propriam partem vel nostrum fratrem et cum divina gratia permitente habitum nostrum summere volueris in pretaxata domo panem et aquam atque pannos humiles tibi concedimus diligenter”.

Then follows an alphabet line, similar to an unshared chirograph.

²³ DUFFY, Paul – “Le comte d’Ulster et la croisade contre les Albigeois”, pp. 22-23.

story main buildings, organized around a small courtyard and linked to a tower which was probably built in the thirteenth century²⁴.

The Hospitaller establishment of Latronquière, in the northeast of the diocese of Cahors, also adopted a fortified architecture. This building, now completely destroyed, was the main commandery of the Order in the Quercy area. The Hospitallers had a fortified establishment built there, which appears late in the written documentation. The religious establishment's very name, designated in 1285 as *la mayo del castel da la Tronquieira*, conveys the castral dimension of the house²⁵. However, we are very poorly informed about its architecture and topography. The castle stood on a hill, in an enclosure materialized by the presence of a surrounding wall combined with a ditch. Nevertheless, thanks to general visits from the first years of the seventeenth century, it is possible to picture its physiognomy. Two towers, one square and the other circular, connected by a main building, sheltered the small community of brothers²⁶, while the chapel of Saint-Jean-Baptiste stood in close proximity in the enclosure of the castle²⁷. Although the written documentation does not give a precise idea of the ancient topography of the site, the example of the *domus* of Latronquière could compare with what we observe in Auvergne, where the association of a quadrangular tower and a chapel seems to have been very widespread among Hospitaller houses²⁸.

Finally, the donation of the fortified granary of La Bastide-Pradines, which overlooks the Cernon valley southeast of the Rouergue province, is another example of the predominantly castral architecture. It was probably an old toll station established in the twelfth century by the Count of Rodez who owned a monumental granary there,

²⁴ LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain à la fin du Moyen Âge (vers 1350-vers 1550)*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse, 2016. Thèse de doctorat, vol. 1, p. 420.

²⁵ Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Le Bastit 7, n.º 9. This is also the case, for example, in November 1350: *Acta sunt predicta apud castrum de La Tronquieyra*: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte La Tronquière 2, n.º 1; or even in the second half of the fifteenth century: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte La Tronquière 3, n.º 41: *Acta vero fuerunt hoc apud dictum castrum de Trunqueria et in camera cubiculari ejusdem praedicti domini preceptoris*.

²⁶ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 3v-5v.

²⁷ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 2v-3v.

²⁸ D'AGOSTINO, Laurent – “Un établissement des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean: la commanderie de Chauliac (Le Broc, Puy-de-Dôme)”, pp. 96-97 and 106.

a place of storage for the perishable goods that were collected²⁹. The chronology and the modalities of the Hospitallers's establishment are unclear. The brothers are believed to have settled nearby between 1208 and 1221. Then the *domus* took its definitive form when Count Henri de Rodez, who was dying in the house of the Hospitallers of Acre, bequeathed all that he owned in La Bastide-Pradines to the brothers³⁰. The fortified granary of the old county toll thus formed the heart of a small castral Hospitaller house, which is clearly mentioned in written documentation of the second half of the thirteenth century³¹, although it developed mainly in the fourteenth century.

While the data collected is still meager, these few examples are evidence of the castral dimension assumed by certain houses of the brothers of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in the southwest of France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It can be explained by the cultural imprint of the aristocratic social class from which the commanders and the knight brothers originated. This fortified architecture was undoubtedly more widespread than the sources available today suggest and, in any case, it was reactivated in the fourteenth century in a context of great insecurity.

²⁹ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, pp. 159-160.

³⁰ The document is a copy made at the end of the Middle Ages. Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Canabières 1, liasse 1, n.º 17: "*Anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo vicesimo primo indictione VIII, XV kalendas novembris, manifestum sit cunctis quod ego Henricus Dei gratia comes Ruthenensis apud Accon gravi detentus infirmitate compos tamen mentis et ordinator dono et in perpetuum irrevocabiliter trado in helemosinam Deo et domui sancti Hospitalis Iherosolimitani in manu fratris Garini de Monte Acuto eiusdem domus venerabilis magistri pro redempcione peccatorum meorum et antecessorum et successorum meorum villam meam de Caneto cum omnibus suis pertinenciis sicut michi [worn out] pertinet et pertinuit. Dono et in presenti trado eidem Hospitali omnes mansos meos de Frontignano et quicquid habeo et habere debeo in Bastida de Sarnonca et in omnibus suis pertinenciis ita quod de cetero dicta domus Hospitalis dictam bastidam cum omnibus suis pertinenciis habeat libere et quiete. Et dono eidem Hospitali omnes homines quos in eadem Bastida habeo et mansos omnes quos circa et iuxta eandem bastidam habeo et mansos meos omnes qui sunt circa et iuxta Canabeiras et mansos omnes meos qui sunt circa et iuxta Bonum Locum...*".

³¹ The place is mentioned in 1278: *Actum apud castrum de La Bastide in domibus Ospitalis Sancti Johannis*: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Saint-Félix 2, n.º 8; as well as in 1299: *Preceptor domorum Sancti Felicis et domus castrum de La Bastida* : Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Saint-Félix 2, n.º 13.

To be investigated: the fortification of the houses of the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

The many vestiges of fortifications preserved within the houses of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem come from the fortification of these religious establishments which started in the fourteenth century, during the Hundred Years' War³². This building activity, fostered by the prevailing climate of insecurity, continued throughout the fifteenth century and beyond. The Hospitaller commanderies contributed to the militarization of the built landscape taking place in the southwest of France at the time. They set up real fortification programs according to various modalities, which affected all the monumental structures of the commanderies, be it the brothers' residential spaces, their churches, the barns or even the defensive structures of the village communities which dwelled in the shadow these religious establishments.

The fortification of the religious houses

The Hospital houses and the old Templar establishments devoted to the Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem from 1312 were fortified in order to protect the religious communities they accommodated. The fortification work was diverse: new towers were built; old residential buildings were modernized... there are too many examples to mention here. For example, in Cras, in the diocese of Cahors, the old Templar tower originally built between the end of the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century was raised at the end of the Middle Ages, probably in the fifteenth century (it is not yet possible to give a precise date). The new levels were erected in association with the construction of an adjoining rectangular dwelling which resulted, in particular, in the modification of the circulation within these spaces³³. The old tower of the Templar *domus* of Trébaix in Quercy, built in the last years of the thirteenth century according to an architectural program which associated to the tower and its chapel on the ground floor a dwelling dedicated to the common life of brothers, was also raised and partially refurbished³⁴. Besides a

³² CARRAZ, Damien – “Archéologie des commanderies de l’Hôpital et du Temple en France (1977-2007)”. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* [Online] 15 (2008), pp. 175-202. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI : <https://doi.org/10.4000/crm.5753>; CARRAZ, Damien – “Templar and Hospitaller Establishments in Southern France”, pp. 120-121.

³³ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 3, pp. 9-22.

³⁴ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 3, pp. 63-77.

modification of the tower's upper levels, the creation of new residential spaces and the fitting out of new windows, its fortification resulted, particularly, in the piercing of shooting apertures, including an open cannon port in the lower part of the spiral staircase which led to the different levels of the building.

A lot of building reconstructions were done in Rouergue. In La Couvertoirade, on the Larzac plateau, for example, a tower with a brattice was built upon the thirteenth-century wall adjoining the old Templar tower which had been erected at the end of the twelfth century³⁵. The *domus* of Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon and La Selve were also rebuilt. In La Clau, also in Rouergue, the brothers of the Hospital were careful to alter the castral complex, bequeathed to the Templars by Grimal de la Source and his wife Aigline in the first half of the thirteenth century³⁶. In general visits from the beginning of the seventeenth century, the place is described as a fortress surrounded by high walls within which stood the commander's castle and the lodges of the village fort which had been built there during the Hundred Years' War³⁷. The castle consisted of a large square tower erected, according to Jacques Miquel, between 1380 and 1392³⁸ (**Fig. 1**). It included two vaulted rooms above which rose four more levels with planked floors and various comfort amenities. At the top of the tower stood a last vaulted room surmounted by a guardhouse combined with machicolations. A second square tower, lower than the first one and undoubtedly older, was made up of five levels which essentially served as storage space during the modern period. It included a vaulted room on the ground floor. The two towers were linked together by a large main building which was accessed by a spiral staircase integrated into a small circular tower. In Mouret, the Hospitallers most probably had the tower of Landes erected on the base of an older construction which might have been the remains of a building of the old Templar house. The new

³⁵ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 3, pp. 91-108.

³⁶ Grimal de la Source and his wife Aigline joined the Order of the Temple in 1224 and gave the place of La Clau, then described as a *villa et municione seu bastida*: MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, pp. 151-152; DU BOURG, Antoine – *Histoire du Grand-Prieuré de Toulouse*, pièce justificative n.º CIX.

³⁷ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 159v-161r. About the location of the lodges of the *fort villageois* erected within the walls of La Clau: Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, PA 112 012.

³⁸ MIQUEL, Jacques – *Châteaux et lieux fortifiés du Rouergue*. Rodez: Éditions d'françaises d'arts graphiques, 1982, p. 173.

square-shaped residential tower housed in the commander's *camera* an altar in a window of the building, intended for the expression of his private devotion (**Fig. 2**). In Limouze, west of the city of Rodez, the old agricultural establishment related to the Templars of Espalion was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The Hospitallers erected a tall square tower, protected in the sixteenth century by an enclosure flanked by a circular tower³⁹ (**Fig. 3**). In the seventeenth century, the square tower topped with machicolation consisted of eight levels. The first two levels were vaulted⁴⁰. Finally, in the heart of the village of Drulhe, stood the old tower of the Templar house, first mentioned in 1303⁴¹. This building probably reappears in written documentation in 1476, in a transaction made on the shared use of the tower between the five lords of the place. The commander of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem owned half of it, while the other four lords each owned a quarter of the other half⁴². At the time, the village of Drulhe was protected by ditches and an enclosure, still represented on an eighteenth-century plan (**Fig. 4**). At the end of the fifteenth century, the place was defended jointly by the men of the commander, those of the four other lords and by the people of Drulhe. A door on the first level of the Hospitaller house gave access to the heart of the village. The tower adjoining the Hospitaller house was intended for “the service” of the lords and was probably not a residential tower. The use of the ground floor, which had a prison function, was shared between the lords and, as it required repairs, the Hospitaller commander promised to vault it in 1476. The keys to the building were held by the bailiff of the place, who managed the prison. While the lords shared the upper floor *ad servicium comune et thuitionem et deffentionem* for the watch and the night and day guard, the commander had full rights to the other levels of the building, although the other lords had to participate in their maintenance. The Hospitallers also had work done in their old establishment in Lugan. The conventual buildings were rebuilt and arranged according to a quadrangular plan delimited by two residential wings and by the church of Sainte-Marie. Circular towers with shooting openings protected the

³⁹ MIQUEL, Jacques – *Châteaux et lieux fortifiés*, p. 188.

⁴⁰ The site is described as a “château ou grosse tour forte carrée”: Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 62v to 64r.

⁴¹ Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte La Tronquière 28, n.º 3: *Apud Drulham in platea juxte turrem*.

⁴² Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte La Tronquière 16, liasse 9, n.º 7.

house at the corners⁴³ (**Fig. 5**). Finally, in Martrin, the commandery, also altered at the end of the Middle Ages, adopted a similar quadrangular plan, with the wings being defined by the conventual buildings and the church of Sainte-Marie⁴⁴. In the fourteenth century, the establishment also had a tower destined to accommodate the locals in the event of an attack⁴⁵.



Fig. 1 - Tower of the house of La Clau in Vézins-de-Lévézou (Aveyron) (©Y. Mattalia).



Fig. 2 - Tower of the house of Les Landes in Mouret (Aveyron) (©Y. Mattalia).

⁴³ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 3, p. 109.

⁴⁴ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 130, fol. 247v-249r.

⁴⁵ MIQUEL, Jacques – “Commanderies templières et hospitalières du Rouergue”. *Revue du Rouergue* 57 (1999), p. 13.



Fig. 5 – View of the house at Lugan (Aveyron) (©Y. Mattalia).

In Albigeois, the main Hospitaller establishment in the diocese of Albi was in Rayssac. The house, largely refurbished at the end of the Middle Ages, was described in the seventeenth century as a castle surrounded by ditches without water⁴⁶ (**Fig. 6**). It had a square plan similar to that of the abovementioned establishments, associating conventual buildings protected by watchtowers in the corners and the Saint-Jean-Baptiste chapel. The mention of semi-circular or pointed barrel-vaulted arch rooms on a square plan most probably corresponding to an old tower which should be studied anew, hints at a previous fortification of this establishment, which was reworked in the second half of the fifteenth century and the first years of the sixteenth century to put in lodging with windows fitted with shooting slots⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 129, fol. 721r.

⁴⁷ CABIÉ, Edmond – “Le château de Rayssac près d’Albi. Ancienne commanderie des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem”. *Revue du Tarn* 16 (1899), pp. 1-16 and for a first proposal for dating the different parts of the castle: pp. 10-13.



Fig. 6 – Representation of the castle of Rayssac in the 18th century, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Reg. 2683, n.º 7 (©Y. Mattalia).

A final example illustrates the brothers' desire to erect fortified structures in an urban environment. In Toulouse, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the Hospitallers took advantage of an effort to restructure the eastern wing of their old twelfth-century cloister to raise a large tower behind the apse of the church of Saint-Jean. The tower's ground floor was used for the sacristy, while the upper levels housed ceremonial rooms and archives⁴⁸.

Refitting the Places of Worship

Some churches erected in the heart of Hospitaller houses were also fortified in the same way as many secular churches in the various dioceses of southwest France⁴⁹. The nave of the old Templar church of Saint-Étienne d'Anglars in Cayrol, in the Rouergue area, was rebuilt and fortified around 1381 when the locals obtained

⁴⁸ POUSTHOMIS-DALLE, Nelly – “Histoire et archéologie de la commanderie-grand prieuré”, pp. 244-245; POUSTHOMIS-DALLE, Nelly; MACÉ, Laurent – “Structurer et modifier l'enclos en milieu urbain”, p. 326.

⁴⁹ CROZIER, Jacynth – “La mise en défense d'un lieu-refuge spécifique: l'exemple des églises fortifiées en Rouergue et en Languedoc”. *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* [Online] 25 (2007). Dossier spécial: des hommes et des murs. Pour une approche de la mise en défense des communautés dans le Sud-Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du séminaire d'Archéologie des espaces médiévaux du laboratoire TRACES (Toulouse, 20 avril 2007), pp. 135-140. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/amime.2007.1641>.

permission from the commander of the house of Espalion⁵⁰. A lodging comprised of two levels and several rooms was then fitted above the nave. Corner turrets ensuring the defense of the building were then built in the sixteenth century (**Fig. 7**). In the Quercy area, the old Templar church of Sainte-Marie erected within the *domus* of Lacapelle-Livron in the diocese of Cahors, was also fortified. While the brothers of the Hospital restructured the conventual buildings of their religious establishment, they raised this ecclesial building which had already been extensively altered in the thirteenth century to accommodate a Templar community. A tower was built on top of the first span of the nave at the end of the Middle Ages, while a fortified dwelling was built on the last two spans of the place of worship. In Poucharramet, in Toulousain, the commander John d'Assar had the church of Saint-Martin fortified after having been ordered to do so by the Duke of Anjou, governor of Languedoc, in 1367. According to him, this was justified because of the threat from *routiers* (mercenaries)⁵¹. He ordered the commander to protect the church of Poucharramet, to have it surrounded by ditches, provide it with the necessary fortifications and set up a watch day and night. All the local and the neighboring residents were requisitioned for construction work and guard duty⁵² (**Fig. 8**). The church was thus fitted with machicolations, battlements, corners watchtowers and a walkway, while ditches were dug around the adjoining conventual buildings.

⁵⁰ BLANC, Marie-Claude – *Anglars-du-Cayrol, Sauvegarde du Rouergue* 103 (2010), p. 9 and p. 13; MIQUEL, Jacques – “Commanderies templières et hospitalières”, pp. 35-36. Finally, see MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, p. 297.

⁵¹ Toulouse, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, H Malte Toulouse 393, n.º 41, published in LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain*, vol. 1, pièce 5, pp. 463-464. On the stages of the fortification of this place of worship and the initial reluctance of the commander to begin work, see LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain*, vol.1, p. 130.

⁵² LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain*, vol. 1, pp. 405-416.



Fig. 7 – Fortified church of Saint-Étienne d'Anglars at Cayrol (Aveyron) (©Y. Mattalia).



Fig. 8 – Fortified church of Saint-Martin de Poucharramet (Haute-Garonne) (©Y. Mattalia).

The Fortification of Barns and agricultural domains

The Hospitallers fortified some of their agricultural domains to protect the crops and the population of the surrounding farms. On the Larzac plateau, the old Templar barns of Gals and Frassinel were thus abandoned in the fifteenth century in favor of the agricultural domain of Viala-du-Pas-de-Jaux, created by the Templars between 1150 and 1186⁵³. Bernard d'Arpajon, commander of Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon and prior of Saint-Gilles, erected a 15-meter-long, 9-meter-wide refuge tower more than 25 m high, that included a vaulted ground floor and five planked levels⁵⁴. An adjoining house was built for the brothers. It was extended in the sixteenth century. Likewise, after the Counts of Armagnac, successors of the Counts of Rodez, granted the Hospitallers of La Bastide-Pradines full legal independence of the place in 1320, they had their establishment refitted and fortified in the first half of the fourteenth century. Its new name, *Castel-Granieyras*, reflects its dual castral and economic dimension. The old granary thus took the form of a large rectangular building with four levels, the first two being vaulted and the two upper levels planked⁵⁵ (Fig. 9).

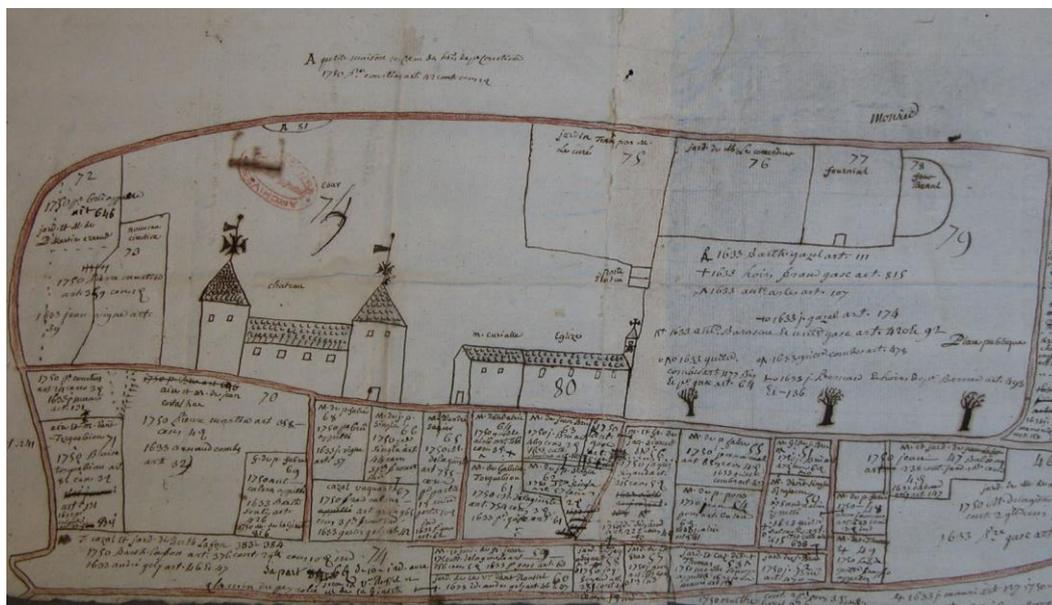


Fig. 9 - Representation of the castle of La Bastide-Pradines (Aveyron) in the 18th century, Archives départementales de la Haute-Garonne, PA 197 026 (©Y. Mattalia).

⁵³ MATTALIA, Yoan – *Les établissements des ordres religieux militaires*, vol. 1, p. 147.

⁵⁴ MIQUEL, Jacques – “Les fortifications de la commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon pendant la guerre de Cents Ans et les guerres de Religion”. In LUTTRELL, Anthony; PRESSOUYRE, Léon (eds.) – *La commanderie. Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2002, p. 338.

⁵⁵ The building is 16 m long and 7.5 m wide, and the door on its southern wall is shut by a brattice. The first two levels of the building served as a granary.

Collective fortifications

Along with the fortification of commanderies and housing, collective enclosures were built in order to provide the population with safe places. This was in response to growing fear and insecurity, which bred various types of reaction depending on the place⁵⁶. An analysis of the construction of these defensive elements reveals the legal basis at their origin and the existence of relationships, sometimes complicated, maintained between the commanders, the lords of the places, the communities of inhabitants who resided there and the representatives of royal power. Thus, in Renneville, in the Lauragais area in 1366 and 1368, or in Poucharramet in the Toulousain area in 1367, the fortification of the commanderies and their agglomerations was planned by associating the commanders and the communities of inhabitants. As Camille Lacroix was able to demonstrate, the transactions they established enabled the two parties to agree on the terms of construction, maintenance and occupation of the fortified space to be built, as well as on the organization of the defense of the place⁵⁷. These fortifications often generated tensions. At Poucharramet, the commander expressed some reluctance to undertake the fortification works of the commandery requested by the king's lieutenant in Languedoc⁵⁸. In Saint-Félix-de-Sorgues, in Rouergue, the community of inhabitants was reluctant to participate in the repair work of the enclosure and in the repair of the walls which required, for example, the installation of raceways, walkways or openings for observation, despite the order from the royal judge of Millau received twice in April 1398⁵⁹. On the Larzac plateau, the constructions of the

⁵⁶ For the Rouergue area, see FERRAND, Guilhem – “Les murs, le guet et la communauté: la construction d'un système défensif”. *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* 25 (2007). Dossier spécial: des hommes et des murs. Pour une approche de la mise en défense des communautés dans le Sud-Ouest à la fin du Moyen Âge. Actes du séminaire d'Archéologie des espaces médiévaux du laboratoire TRACES (Toulouse, 20 avril 2007), pp. 141-155. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/amime.2007.1642>.

⁵⁷ LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain*, vol. 1, p. 131.

⁵⁸ LACROIX, Camille – *La défense collective en Toulousain*, vol. 1, pp. 129-131.

⁵⁹ RAMONDENC, Erwann – “Trois documents concernant la réparation des fortifications à Saint-Félix-de-Sorgues (Aveyron, 1398-1410). *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* [Online] 126/286 (2014): La défense des communautés d'habitants, XIVe-XVIe siècle, pp. 217-226. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/anami.2014.8717> FERRAND, Guilhem – “Les pulsions de la guerre et la mise en défense (Rouergue, XIVe-XVe siècles)”. *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* [Online] 126/286 (2014): La défense des communautés d'habitants, XIVe-XVIe siècle, pp. 187-189. [Accessed 10 February 2022]. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.3406/anami.2014.8714>. For a similar example in Auvergne at La Sauvetat, with the construction of an enclosure and a round tower to protect the village and the commandery, certainly on the initiative of the prior Odon de Montaigu in the

collective fortifications of the village of La Couvertoirade from 1439, of Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon from 1442 and, shortly after, of the agglomeration of La Cavalerie, seem to have posed fewer problems⁶⁰. The construction of the enclosure of La Couvertoirade was granted by the commander and prior Bernard d'Arpajon on November 2, 1439 after a request issued by the community of the inhabitants of the place who wished to raise fortifications consisting of walls and other defenses to protect the persons and their property, while associating royal power with it in the person of the Seneschal of Rouergue or his representative. The enclosure, which is still awaiting an archaeological study, leans against the old Templar castle (**Fig. 10**). It is made up of round or semi-cylindrical towers flanking curtain walls and pierced with cannon port arches and gates topped with machicolations under square towers⁶¹. It served as a model for the one built in 1442 in Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon, of which the price contract relating to its implementation specifies, in addition to its funding in kind and in cash, the topographical, architectural and technical characteristics of the fortification necessary to defend the community of inhabitants.



Fig. 10 – Enclosure of La Couvertoirade (Aveyron) (©Y. Mattalia).

fourteenth century, see D'AGOSTINO, Laurent – “Un établissement des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean: la commanderie de Chaillac (Le Broc, Puy-de-Dôme)”, p. 106.

⁶⁰ MIQUEL, Jacques – “La commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie. La construction des enceintes fortifiées du XV^e siècle”. in *Les Hospitaliers du XII^e au XVII^e siècle, Provence historique XLV* (1995), pp. 157-170; MIQUEL, Jacques – “Les fortifications de la commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon”, pp. 329-358.

⁶¹ MIQUEL, Jacques – “Les fortifications de la commanderie de Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon”, p. 342.

So, the various *domus* of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem in southwestern France sometimes took on a castral dimension, although it was not a systematic defining trait. Traces of fortification of this religious habitat are, if not unequally present in the concerned region from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, at least hardly perceptible. The choice to fortify these regular establishments might have concerned some of them as early as their foundation and the construction of their first buildings to shelter and protect small communities of brothers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, it seems that it was not a predominant feature in their architecture in that period, although this argument should be made with caution due to the very small number of preserved elevated remains. On the whole, we experience great difficulties in detecting the topographic and monumental organization of these religious establishments which did not follow a standard plan. While the use of written sources seems to attest to this castral dimension, its perception remains meager and only archaeological excavations would certainly make it possible to add new data to the problem and to qualify the matter. The presence of a more particularly fortified architecture might have mainly concerned houses which enjoyed a higher status within the network of Hospitaller *domus* previously founded in the countryside like La Tronquière or Rayssac, but it would be necessary to extend the investigation. In addition, the vocabulary used to designate this habitat in the donation charters sometimes adds to the confusion between the fortified place ceded to the brothers for them to settle there and the fortified habitat that they erected there. It is essentially the redevelopment of the houses at the end of the Middle Ages which marks, among the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem in the southwest of France as well as elsewhere in the kingdom of France, the will to fortify these religious houses in the specific context of the Hundred Years' War. The fortification of the *domus*, of their conventual buildings, the construction of towers, the fortification of ecclesial buildings or barns which has been compared, for example in Auvergne, with the architecture of stronghold houses⁶², associated with the collective fortification of agglomerations formed by the polarization of a habitat near the commanderies, is part of a general movement which is striking by the extent of the work carried out. It highlights a strong

⁶² D'AGOSTINO, Laurent – "Un établissement des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean: la commanderie de Chauliac (Le Broc, Puy-de-Dôme)", p. 93.

constructive dynamism from the fourteenth century on, and the presence of significant economic means available, similar to what is observed at the same time among Cistercians in Rouergue⁶³, sometimes linked to specific legal, judicial or conflictual conditions that should be studied further. It also raises the question of chronology, of the causes and the need for reconstructions. Did the destructions engendered by the war make it necessary to redevelop or rebuild the brothers' habitat, or is it a precaution desired by the religious community, which could perhaps also be associated with an evolution in the practice of a daily and religious life in the various *domus* of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem?

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⁶³ These observations, for Cistercian monks, were highlighted during the Bozouls seminar, *Abbayes et domaines cisterciens face aux crises de la fin du Moyen Âge (1337-1500)*, on August 31 and September 1, 2012.

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