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## **Two thirteenth-century hospitaller castles in Provence: Manosque and Puimoisson according to written sources\***

### **Dois castelos hospitalários do século XIII, na Provença: Manosque e Puimoisson, segundo as fontes escritas**

*Damien Carraz*

Université de Toulouse 2 – Jean-Jaurès  
31 000 Toulouse, France

[damien.carraz@univ-tlse2.fr](mailto:damien.carraz@univ-tlse2.fr)

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8201-9471>

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## ABSTRACT

Apart from border areas with Islam or the pagans, few constructions of military orders are known to have all the attributes of a castle. This was however the case of the castle or fortified palace of Manosque and its reproduction, on a smaller scale, at Puimoisson. These two constructions, located in the Haute-Provence, were commissioned by the Hospital during the thirteenth century, the first on the basis of a fortified palace of the Counts of Forcalquier, the second erected *ex nihilo*. Although these two castles were completely razed to the ground following the French Revolution, their construction and occupation between the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries have left a great deal of written evidence: charters, accounts, minutes of visits. The use of accounts documents certain phases of the construction of the Manosque palace and allows us to formulate hypotheses on the organization of the spaces. By comparison, this major construction site sheds light on the more modest, and as yet unstudied, side of Puimoisson. In conclusion, these two long-forgotten buildings are placed in the current of fortified architecture that spread throughout Provence in the thirteenth century

**Keywords:** Hospital of St. John; Upper Provence; fortified architecture; written sources; building site.

## RESUMO

À exceção das zonas fronteiriças com o Islão ou com os pagãos, conhecem-se poucas construções de ordens militares que tenham todos os atributos de um castelo. Ainda assim, o castelo ou palácio fortificado de Manosque e a sua reprodução, em menor escala, em Puimoisson, foram um desses casos. Estas duas construções, localizadas na Haute-Provence, foram encomendadas pelo Hospital durante o século XIII, a primeira com base num palácio fortificado dos Condes de Forcalquier, a segunda erguida *ex nihilo*. Embora estes dois castelos tenham sido completamente arrasados após a Revolução Francesa, a construção e ocupação dos dois entre os séculos XIII e XVIII deixaram muitas evidências escritas: forais, contas, atas de visitas. Os documentos contabilísticos documentam algumas fases da construção do palácio Manosque e permitem formular hipóteses acerca da organização dos seus espaços. Em comparação, este grande local de construção lança luz sobre o lado mais modesto, e ainda não estudado, de Puimoisson. Em conclusão, estes dois edifícios há muito esquecidos inserem-se nos exemplos da arquitectura fortificada que se espalhou por toda a Provença no século XIII.

**Palavras-chave:** Hospital de São João; Haute-Provence; arquitectura fortificada; fontes escritas; local de construção.



“C’était une bâtisse construite pour la guerre plutôt que pour la religion. Greniers, celliers, caves et granges à fourrage se succédaient dans un ordre parfait. Les lieux de prière et ceux destinés aux hommes étaient des plus succincts. On respirait ici l’odeur des batailles”<sup>1</sup>.

It was not rare that the Military Orders' constructions contained fortified elements in their residential, religious or agricultural buildings. However, it is commonly perceived that the brothers didn't build real castles far from the border regions<sup>2</sup>. The two buildings presented here make us reconsider this opinion as their architectural characteristics actually correspond to the idea of a “real castle”.

These castles were located in Manosque and Puimoisson, in today's district of Alpes-de-Haute-Provence<sup>3</sup>. Among other common attributes, they were built in the central decades of the thirteenth century, only 40 kilometers apart, they were very connected<sup>4</sup>, and very much linked to a habitat. These buildings were the expression of the lordship domination of the Military Order on the population: in Manosque as well as Puimoisson, the Hospital of St. John inherited the full jurisdiction of county lordship. Therefore, these symbols of oppression were a privileged target for revolutionary revenge: both castles were entirely destroyed, shortly after 1793 for Manosque, after 1802 for Puimoisson<sup>5</sup>. Still today, aerial photography shows in negative the mark of these buildings on the urban landscape. In Manosque, the castle

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<sup>1</sup> “It was a building made for war rather than religion. Granaries, cellars, basements and fodder barns lined up in perfect order. The places of worship and housing facilities were sparse. You could smell the scent of battle”. MAGNAN, Pierre – *Chronique d'un château hanté*. Paris: Gallimard, 2008, pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup> Templars and Hospitallers may have been given custody of fortresses, most notably in the context of wars between princely powers that affected Southern France in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. However, they were not the commissioners of these buildings. CARRAZ, Damien – *L'Ordre du Temple dans la basse vallée du Rhône (1124-1312). Ordres militaires, croisades et sociétés méridionales*. Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 2005, pp. 422-427.

<sup>3</sup> Manosque was in the diocese of Sisteron and Puimoisson was part of the diocese of Riez.

<sup>4</sup> On this general background, see: CARRAZ, Damien – *Un commandeur ordinaire? Bérenger Monge et le gouvernement des hospitaliers provençaux au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2020, *ad indicem*: “Puimoisson”.

<sup>5</sup> In Puimoisson, the decision to demolish was taken under the Revolutionary “Convention” but the execution was much more difficult than expected. MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson et de la commanderie des chevaliers de Malte*. Paris: A. Picard et fils, 1897, p. 289.

was set in the south-west part of the city, on today's "Place du Terreau", right at the edge of the medieval walls<sup>6</sup>. In Puimoisson, it occupied the top of the village, where the public square now stands.

Very sparse, the iconographic documentation has only been able to provide one starting point for the study: for both buildings, only one rudimentary blueprint, drawn before the demolition<sup>7</sup>. Our work has been therefore based mainly on written documentation of the medieval and modern eras, starting with minutes produced by visitors of the Order of Malta, particularly "improvement visits". If the principle of regular visits had already started in the thirteenth century, the minutes were not kept in books and sufficiently detailed to be considered until the seventeenth. These inspections allow us to cross-reference different things on the blueprint. They give information about circulation and points of entry, as well as information about interior constructions (fireplaces, cupboards...), which we won't consider here because they came later. These documents cannot give precise information on the reality of architecture, but they allow us to unveil the style and the rhythm of the refurbishing of the interior space. From that situation in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we can suggest careful hypotheses on the internal organization of the medieval castle. Still, only Manosque offered an important collection of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century charters and some account books that mention different locations and refurbishing in the castle<sup>8</sup>. Surveys in the modern era document important modifications in the organization and attribution of the spaces, but the building has remained unchanged for the most part since the

<sup>6</sup> In October-November 2016, the "Place du Terreau" was the focus of an archaeological diagnosis. BUCCIO, Vincent (dir.) – *Manosque. Place du Terreau. Rapport de diagnostic*. Service départemental d'archéologie des Alpes de Haute-Provence, February 2017. This study did not reveal any medieval occupation. However, some features could correspond to the bottom of the cellars of the castle in its last stage. Archaeology therefore confirmed the radical nature of the demolition that occurred at the end of the 18th century.

<sup>7</sup> Manosque: plan drawn up around 1793 for a project to move the court into the former palace of the Order of Malta. Digne-les-Bains, Archives Départementales des Alpes-de-Haute-Provence, L 383. However, the legend of the plan is of no use as it reflects the new allocation of rooms and the reorganisation projects during the French Revolution. Puimoisson: summary plan and drawing published in MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson*.

<sup>8</sup> The references to the castle must be distinguished from those concerning other buildings belonging to the Hospital and in particular the "*castrum Manuasce*", a former fortification established on the hilltop of Mont d'Or, which were kept by a "*preceptor castris*". On this location, of which the dungeon still remains: CLAUDE, Sandrine – "De l'Antiquité au bas Moyen Âge: Manosque ou la genèse de la ville moderne". *Bulletin de la Société scientifique et littéraire des Alpes de Haute Provence* 343-344 (2001), pp. 40-43.

Middle Ages. For example, vaulted rooms, “semicircular arches”, “lattices” of “gothic style arched doorways” or paved floors are mentioned<sup>9</sup>.

In Puimoisson I had to start from scratch. In Manosque I was able to rely on the work of Sandrine Claude, who has already used the written sources to describe the composition and the evolution of the castle. Larger documentary research has allowed us to express new observations and go deeper in the hypothetical restitution of the building<sup>10</sup>.

Before trying to exhume these long-gone buildings, two preliminary points have to be clarified. In order to qualify these constructions and to understand how the contemporary people were seeing it, it is useful to research the terminology. In Manosque, as well as Puimoisson, since it was first mentioned until the fifteenth century, the monument was called a “palace”. This term often applies to urban houses of the Military Orders and, generally, to commanderies with important seigneurial rights<sup>11</sup>. In the fourteenth century, the fortification is often described with the expression “*fortalicio vero palacii Manuasce*”<sup>12</sup>. Starting in the sixteenth century it becomes a “castle” or “fortress”. In Puimoisson, there is hesitation between “*palais*” and “*chasteau seigneurial*” until the eighteenth century<sup>13</sup>. In the

<sup>9</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all the references quoted are from the Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône. Manosque: 56 H 252: survey of 1747, fol. 18-20, 27-28 and 71; survey of 1776, fol. 14. Puimoisson: 56 H 263, survey of 1783, fol. 21-25.

<sup>10</sup> CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie de l’Hôpital sur l’évolution et les dispositions du paysage urbain à Manosque (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)”. In CARRAZ, Damien (ed.) – *Les ordres religieux militaires dans la ville médiévale (1100-1350). Actes du colloque de Clermont-Ferrand, 26-28 mai 2010*. Clermont-Ferrand: Presses de l’Université Blaise Pascal, 2013, pp. 273-290; CLAUDE, Sandrine – “La commanderie des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem à Manosque: un édifice seigneurial en Provence (fin XII<sup>e</sup>-fin XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”. 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, vol. 2, pp. 275-291.

<sup>11</sup> This is the origin linked to the “*palatium*”, the place from which sovereign authority is exercised and in particular where justice is administered. On the significance of the concept: MOULINIER-BROGI, Laurence – “Palais: la singulière fortune d’un mot”. In CORNETTE, Joël; AUZÉPY, Marie-France (eds.) – *Palais et pouvoir. De Constantinople à Versailles*. Saint-Denis: Presses universitaires de Vincennes, 2003, pp. 295-308.

<sup>12</sup> CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, p. 277.

<sup>13</sup> “*le chasteau et forteresse et maison située au plus hault dicelle ville de Manosque, clos et fermé de bonnes et suffisantes murailles et fosséz*”. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 591v (1540). Puimoisson: 56 H 263 (survey from 6 May 1689 and 3 September 1717). On the new realities associated with the idea of a castle under the Ancien Régime, seen as a fortified place but also as a house of pleasure: FIGEAC, Michel – *Châteaux et vie quotidienne de la noblesse. De la Renaissance à la douceur des Lumières*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2006, pp. 7-9.

tradition of the knights of Malta, the main location of the seigneurial power is above all a fortified residence. If the “*château*” refers to the exterior aspect, the idea of a palace would qualify more accurately the status of its occupants<sup>14</sup>.

This leads to a second preliminary question: who was living in such buildings in the thirteenth century? The commandery (*bajulia*) of Manosque was one of the most important and prestigious houses of the Hospital in Provence. The castle itself, different from the territory of the commandery as a whole, was hosting three or four senior officials – commander, bailiff, chaplain –, a dozen brothers (knights and sergeants) and as many lay affiliates (“*donats*”)<sup>15</sup>. A religious community of around thirty to which we should add a few servants directly employed at the palace but whose number is impossible to evaluate. Also, the castle was frequently hosting other people, traveling brothers and honorable guests. When the Prior of Saint Gilles was on site for example, he would travel with a scribe, a chaplain, an esquire and a few servants. Puimoisson is less documented but, as its headquarters were more modest, we can easily cut the estimations of Manosque by half, so around fifteen people maximum were living in the palace<sup>16</sup>.

Beyond their common points, the two castles present a relatively important difference: Manosque had just been built by the count of Forcalquier when the Hospitallers inherited it; Puimoisson was entirely commissioned by the Order. We can then make assumptions about the composition and organization of the Manosque castle. Puimoisson, although much less documented, is geographically and formally too close to be discarded. We will then discuss the role of these buildings in the renewal of the fortified landscape which marked Provence in the thirteenth century, especially under the impulse of the Angevin lordship.

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<sup>14</sup> MOULINIER-BROGI, Laurence – “Palais’: la singulière fortune d’un mot”, p. 307.

<sup>15</sup> The survey submitted by the commander (*status baiulie*) on 28 June 1299 mentions 26 brothers and 12 donats for the entire commandery. *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*. Ed. K. Borhardt, D. Carraz, A. Venturini. Paris: CNRS éditions, 2015, suppl., p. 147. The figures are even higher in 1338: 29 brothers and 20 donats for the main house and its annexes – *in capite et in membris. Visites générales des commanderies de l’ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du Grand Prieuré de Saint-Gilles (1338)*. Ed. B. Beaucage. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence; Marseille: Laffitte, 1982, pp. 353-354.

<sup>16</sup> In 1338, there were the commander, 14 brothers and 8 donates, but they were divided between the mother house and the other dependent houses. *Visites générales des commanderies*, p. 308.

### Manosque: A castle inherited and refurbished

The first mention of the building comes in August 1198, when the count of Forcalquier, Guilhem II hands various toll and common rights to the Hospitallers: the charter is then given in Manosque, *in novo palatio comitis subtus capella*<sup>17</sup>. After that time, the comital palace is occasionally mentioned until 1207<sup>18</sup>. That year, to end the sixty-year-old conflict between the count's family and the Hospital, Guilhem II gave away all his seigneurial rights over Manosque along with his palace<sup>19</sup>. Two years later, on February 4, 1209, the prince confirmed his donation of the palace, *in camera subtus cappellam, in suo scilicet sedens lecto ante furnellum*<sup>20</sup>. In front of a vast assembly made of vassals, knights and burghers of the town – the Count reminded, among other things, being at the origin of the construction of the building<sup>21</sup>. Guilhem II died a few months later and the Hospitallers didn't wait long before transferring their headquarters, initially located *extra muros*, by the chapel of Saint-Pierre<sup>22</sup>.

### General aspect: map and defense organs

Let's leave here the origins of the installation of the Hospitallers in the comital palace to jump in time. According to the blueprint drawn in 1793 before the destruction of the castle, it seems to be a quasi-perfect square with around 40 m sides (20 “*toises*” by side) and an internal courtyard 22 m wide. This blueprint *shows a good starting point, but it is not fully reliable because the seven towers mentioned in the visits don't appear, among which four round towers at each corner, visible on*

<sup>17</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4627.

<sup>18</sup> “*juxta portam palatii*” (November 1202). *Recueil des actes des comtes de Provence de la Maison de Barcelone - Alphonse II et Raymond-Berenger V (1196-1245)*. Ed. F. Benoit. Paris: A. Picard, 1925, n.° 18, pp. 17-20.

<sup>19</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4628; *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Gilles de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1129-1210)*. Ed. D. Le Blévec, A. Venturini. Turnhout-Paris: Brepols, 1997, n.° 340 (February 8, 1207).

<sup>20</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4628; *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem (1100-1310)*. T. 2. Ed. J. Delaville le Roulx. Paris: E. Le Roux, 1897, n.° 1324.

<sup>21</sup> “*palacium de Manuscha cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, quod meis sumptibus edificavi*”. In fact, Sandrine Claude argued that the count more likely commissioned the refurbishment of an older house, as shown by a dispute over property ownership. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “De l'Antiquité au bas Moyen Âge: Manosque ou la genèse de la ville moderne”, p. 52.

<sup>22</sup> As early as 1210, a charter was written *in capella palatii*. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4676.

the map of the city drawn around 1773<sup>23</sup>. The visits allow us to deduce the approximative position of the three so-called “square” towers, which were not necessarily exactly in the middle of the curtain walls<sup>24</sup> (**Fig. 2**). The regularity of the map as it appears in 1793 should not be misleading, as it is the result of many transformations. And we can even suppose that, being a building-reconversion project, some elements have been wiped from the map if not completely demolished. What could the palace look like when it was passed onto the Hospitallers (**Fig. 1.A**)? The pair *camera/capella* appears first, with a vast seigneurial room on the ground floor, built on top of the chapel on the first floor<sup>25</sup>. The building already had at least three towers, as suggested by the presence of a “*turre veteri*” and a “*torre de contessa*” serving as dungeon<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the system of a porch-shaped entrance defended by a third tower and provided with two doors, with the first one preceded by a portcullis had already been confirmed<sup>27</sup>. A charter from 1226 quotes a “*refectorium*,” also inherited from the comital palace. From there, the Hospitallers engaged in a number of important refurbishments. In addition to the three towers dating back to the count's era, four other towers are mentioned in the second half of the thirteenth century: the “Tower of the English”<sup>28</sup> (1261), the “Tower of the

<sup>23</sup> These corner towers had been demolished shortly before the plan was drawn up. Perhaps they had already been weakened by the powerful earthquake that affected the entire building in the summer of 1708. BUCCIO, Vincent (dir.) – *Manosque. Place du Terreau. Rapport de diagnostic*, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> The central position of the square towers was argued by COLOMBI, Jean – *Histoire de Manosque* [1662]. Trad. H. Pellicot [1799]. Apt: Imprimerie de Joseph Tremollière, 1808, pp. 176-178. Some of the rectangular towers may have been rather low projecting, as suggested by the mention as early as 1262 of a “*bisturre*”, which probably refers to an engaged tower. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, fol. 33v.

<sup>25</sup> As early as 1205-1207, charters were written “*ante (h)ostium camere subtus capellam*”. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 303; and “*in camera subtus cappellam*”. *Livre des privilèges de Manosque. Cartulaire municipal latin-provençal (1169-1315)*. Ed. M.-Z. Isnard. Paris-Digne: Impr. de Chaspoul, Constans et Vve Barbaroux, 1894, n.° I, p. 6.

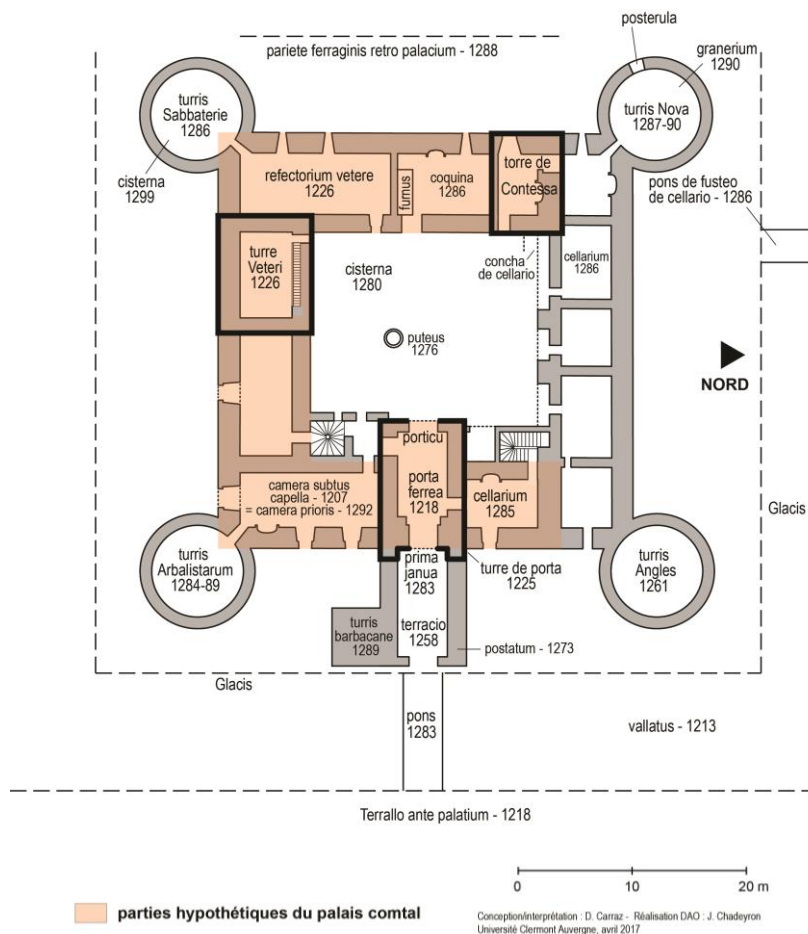
<sup>26</sup> “*turre veteri et turre de porta et refectorio*” (February 1226). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4629; “*magnam turrim palati in summitate eiusdem, appellatam la torre de Contessa* (1226)”. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4629. These towers are still found in the 16th century. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, pp. 278-279.

<sup>27</sup> “*portam ferream palatii Manuasche*” (1215). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4628; “*in palatio Manuasce in porticu scilicet infra portam ferream* (1218). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4639; “*portam primam palatii*” (1263). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, fol. 39v; “vestibule pavé, vouté a plein ceintre” (minutes of the visit of 26 November 1776). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 252, fol. 5.

<sup>28</sup> This tower, which requires renovation in 1287-88, may be the first of the four to be built. Work was indeed carried out in 1263. *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 263 and 275; Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, fol. 44.



Crossbow” (1284), the “Tower of the Cordonnerie” (1286) and a “New Tower”<sup>29</sup>. The account books inform us that the “Tower of the Crossbow” is still under construction in 1289, and that, between 1287 and 1290, the various stages of the construction of the “New Tower” are mentioned, from the digging of the foundations until the hardware of the doors and windows<sup>30</sup>. So, the seven towers are mentioned in the modern era, but it is impossible to place them precisely on the map (**Fig. 1 and 2**) or to know what modifications some of them underwent over four centuries.



**Fig. 1.A. – Manosque castle: hypothesis of restitution for the 13th century - ground floor.**

<sup>29</sup> “*turre Angles*” (1261). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, fol. 17r; “*turre arbalistarum*” (1284). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 227; “*turrem Sabbatarie*” (1286). *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 154.

<sup>30</sup> This tower was located behind the kitchen, not far from the “*turre Sabbatarie*”, and had a postern. The 17th-century indication of a postern to the west suggests a hypothetical location for this tower. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “De l’Antiquité au bas Moyen Âge: Manosque ou la genèse de la ville moderne”, p. 52. If the references are to the same tower under construction, it had a room (*camera*), a heated room, a stable and a cellar.

The monument has an undeniable fortified character. In the modern era, the curtain walls are still serrated, whereas the towers are crenellated and machicolated. The crenellation and machicolation of the “Old Tower” were being repaired in 1288<sup>31</sup>. The so-called “great crossbow”, which probably stood at the top of the tower of the same name, was part of this ostentatious but also threatening defense<sup>32</sup>. This “Tower of the Crossbow” can easily be pictured on the main façade, facing the city. The Hospitallers didn't have much to fear from the population, but it served to confirm the rank of the lord, sole ruler of the city.

Isolation from the urban landscape serves the same goal. By its size, the castle (which stood on a platform, as a plan dating from the Revolution suggests) was crushing the entire urban space. In the modern era, it appears largely isolated by an outer-yard planted with mulberries along the curtain walls. This “*promenade*” was built over a ditch, which was at least partially filled<sup>33</sup>. These ditches have been attested since 1213 and might even have been equipped with a masonry glaze<sup>34</sup>. One could cross with a bridge located outside of the first door and first mentioned in 1283<sup>35</sup>. It is specifically referred to as a drawbridge in 1483<sup>36</sup>. From the mid-thirteenth century onwards, many charters were written on a “terrace” in front of the iron gate of the castle<sup>37</sup>. This clearing was then defended by a barbican with a

<sup>31</sup> “*in petra ad opus adobandis enquinastris et merletos turre veteris*” (1288). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 270.

<sup>32</sup> In 1260, the repair of a trebuchet is being considered: “*aptandum puteum et trapas super palatii*”. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 835, fol. 8v. The maintenance of the great crossbow is regularly documented in the 1280s. *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290: “magna albarista”, ad indicem*.

<sup>33</sup> Minutes of the visit of 5 August 1754. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 252.

<sup>34</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4638. In 1283-1285, the accounts show extensive foundation work –judging by the number of people employed– in the ditch. *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 19, 40, 53, 55, 120. The masonry glaze is mentioned in 1662. COLOMBI, Jean – *Histoire de Manosque*, p. 224.

<sup>35</sup> “*in postis ad opus pontis prime janue*” (1283). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 18. In 1324, it is confirmed that it is made of wood: *in spacio ante pontem fusti de palatio*. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, p. 277.

<sup>36</sup> “*Io pon levedis du palais de Manosca*” (1483). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 841, fol. 20v; “par dehors avons led. chastel visite et est une tres belle place environnee de bonnes tours alentour de la mureille bien machecolee avec bons fosses a fons de quorche, bon ponct levis et de bonnes barbecannes” (1495). 56 H 124, fol. 118v. In the 17th century, the northern access was still defended by two drawbridges, “l'un est sur le fossé où l'on découvre le retranchement, l'autre est à la porte du palais”. COLOMBI, Jean – *Histoire de Manosque*, p. 177.

<sup>37</sup> “*in porticu que est in teracia porte ferree*” (1258). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4641.

tower and a fence<sup>38</sup>. Once they were installed in the castle, the Hospitallers became owners of surrounding pieces of ground and buildings, which allowed them to open a vast space to the east, known as “*Terreau*” since 1218<sup>39</sup>. To the west was an orchard which was still accessible in the seventeenth century through a postern<sup>40</sup>. Protecting the entrance and isolating the fortification from the urban landscape was clearly a decision of the Hospitallers.

### Organization of the spaces

We shall begin with the general organization of the buildings as it was in the eighteenth century, if only to verify the eventuality that some spaces are still unchanged. The ground floor appears to be shared between the service quarters (stalls, basements, storage rooms...), possibly living spaces, a prison<sup>41</sup>, and a chapel (**Fig. 2.A**). On the first floor, the southern and eastern aisles, where the commander's apartments were, are reserved for prestigious residency (**Fig. 2.B**). The medieval chapel, looking down the east side, is still standing but it was turned into the treasure room. In the other aisles are the service quarters.

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<sup>38</sup> “*in postato palatii Manuasce, ante portam ferream*” (1273). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4632; “*pro opere... turris barbacane*” (1289). *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 288.

<sup>39</sup> CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, p. 282; *in Terrallo ante palatium* (1218). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4627.

<sup>40</sup> Orchard surrounded by a wall: *reparandam parietem ferraginis retro palacium* (1350). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 836 (3<sup>rd</sup> booklet).

<sup>41</sup> Under the *Ancien Régime*, this part of the seigneurial jurisdiction was therefore moved back to the palace. But in the Middle Ages, the courtroom (*sala placitatoria hospitalis, curia hospitalis*), attested to as early as 1217, was located in the town. This is probably where the prison was.

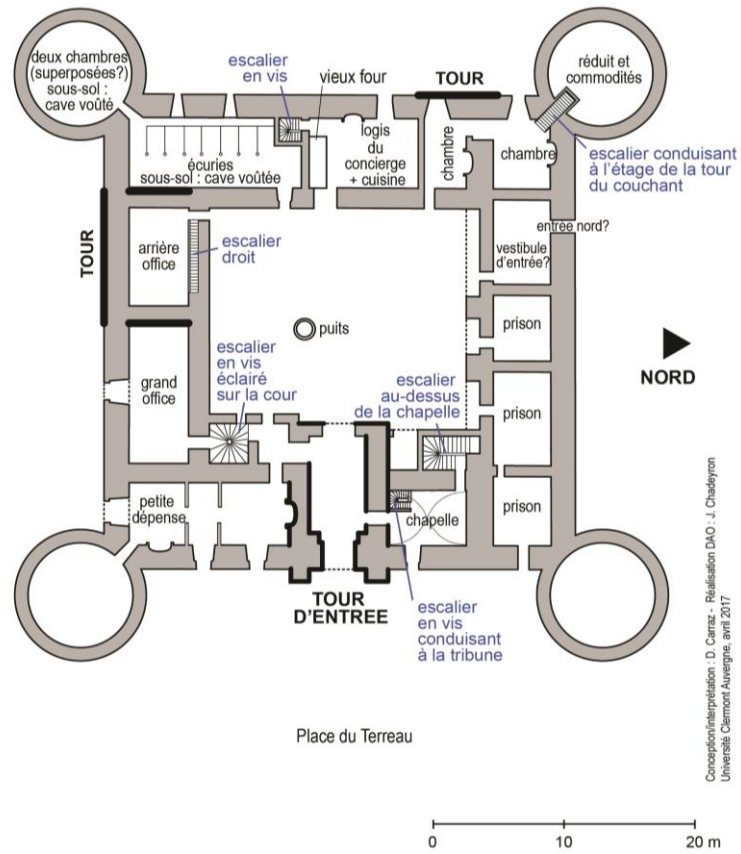


Fig. 2.A. - Manosque castle in the 17th and 18th centuries - ground floor.

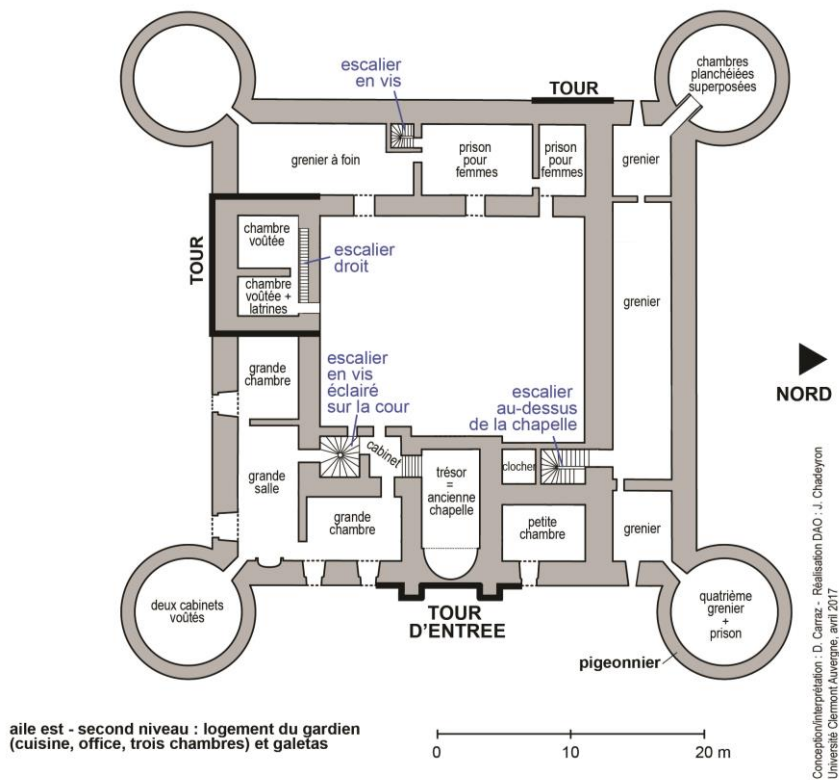


Fig. 2.B. - Manosque castle in the 17th-18th century - floor.

From the eighteenth century, let's jump five centuries back, when charters and account books show a certain amount of information on the specifics of the spaces inside the castle. All matters relating to stewardship can be classified as follows<sup>42</sup>:

animals:

- *magnum stabulum* (1284)
- *stabuletum* (1286)

stocks:

- *cisterna*<sup>43</sup> (1280)
- *botellaria* (1285)
- *cellarium* (1285) <between> [*postatum*] <and> [*porta ferrea*]
- *cellarium* (1286)
  - <preceded by> [*pons de fusteo de cellario*]
  - <preceded by> [*paymento de morterio ante concham*]
- *salsaria* (1287) <preceded by> [*callata*]
- *turris de porta* [with *solerium*] :
  - [*portare bladum in -*] (1287)
  - solerium mejanum – plenum consiginis*
  - pro stablida* (1299)
- *turris Englesi*
  - [*portare bladum in -*] (1287)
- *turris Sabbatarie*
  - [*portare bladum in -*] (1287)
  - cisterna Sabaterie plenam faba* (1299)
- *granerium turris nove* (1290)

transformation:

- *coquina* (1286) [*cum fornellum*]
- *sabbateria*<sup>44</sup> (1286)

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<sup>42</sup> All mentions are taken from *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*. An inventory from 1400 also mentions three pantries, a bakery, a butchery, a kitchen, a room with two blood mills, a cellar with wine barrels, a small cellar. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, p. 279.

<sup>43</sup> “*in curte ad pedem cisterne*” (1280). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4633.

<sup>44</sup> The tower probably takes its name from this service inside the castle, which can also be found, for instance, in the Templar house in Arles. CARRAZ, Damien – *L'Ordre du Temple*, p. 267.

Looking at the conventual buildings, the location of the chapel is the first thing we will consider. The plan from the revolutionary period shows the chapel above the entry porch (**Fig. 2.B**). But, at that time, it was a treasury room because the chapel had been moved to the ground floor, on the northern side of the porch<sup>45</sup>. The position above the entrance might not be not the oldest location: in the times of Guilhem II of Forcalquier, the chapel was above a vast *camera*. Anyway, the Hospitallers had to repair the porch-tower quickly because the chapel was located above the entrance as early as 1231<sup>46</sup> (**Fig. 1.B**). The cult, dedicated to saint Géraud, was associated with a “*scalerium sancti Geraldi*”<sup>47</sup>. It is not a simple access point as one must connect the staircase to the wooden tribune which had its roof rebuilt in 1290 and then painted and decorated<sup>48</sup>. At last, the chapel was topped with a steeple mentioned for the first time in 1351<sup>49</sup>. The treasury room, which generally served as sacristy, had to be near<sup>50</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> This reorganisation took place in 1537 and is due to the bailiff Jean de Boniface. BELTJENS, Alain – “Trois questions à propos de l’hospitalier Gérard”. *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire et du patrimoine de l’Ordre de Malte* 19 (2007), pp. 37-38. In the 15th century, the chapel was still located in front of the entrance gate: *palatio Manuasce subtus capellam Santi Gerardi infra duas portas* (1450). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4636.

<sup>46</sup> “*infra palatium Manuasce in porticu subtus sancti Giraudi*” (1231). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4640. Layout confirmed again in 1450: *palatio Manuasce subtus capellam Santi Gerardi infra duas portas*. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4636. In 1299, the chapel again appears above a “*camera*”, which raises questions about the reliability of the locations given by charters: *infra palacium in camera subtus cappellam*. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4633. In the light of our research, our interpretation differs from that of S. Claude who saw a restructuring of this eastern aisle “after the end of the 14th century”. CLAUDE, Sandrine – “La commanderie des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem à Manosque: un édifice seigneurial en Provence (fin XII<sup>e</sup>-fin XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)”, p. 279.

<sup>47</sup> Mention of a “*scalerium capellae*” in 1267 which becomes “*scalerium sancti Geraldi*” from 1289. Manosque, Archives municipales de Manosque, Kkb 23.

<sup>48</sup> *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 347, 348, 350, 353, 356. For more details on this feature commissioned by the important commander Bérenger Monge: CARRAZ, Damien – *Un commandeur ordinaire?*, pp. 343-345.

<sup>49</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 836 (3<sup>rd</sup> booklet).

<sup>50</sup> First mention in 1273. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4632.

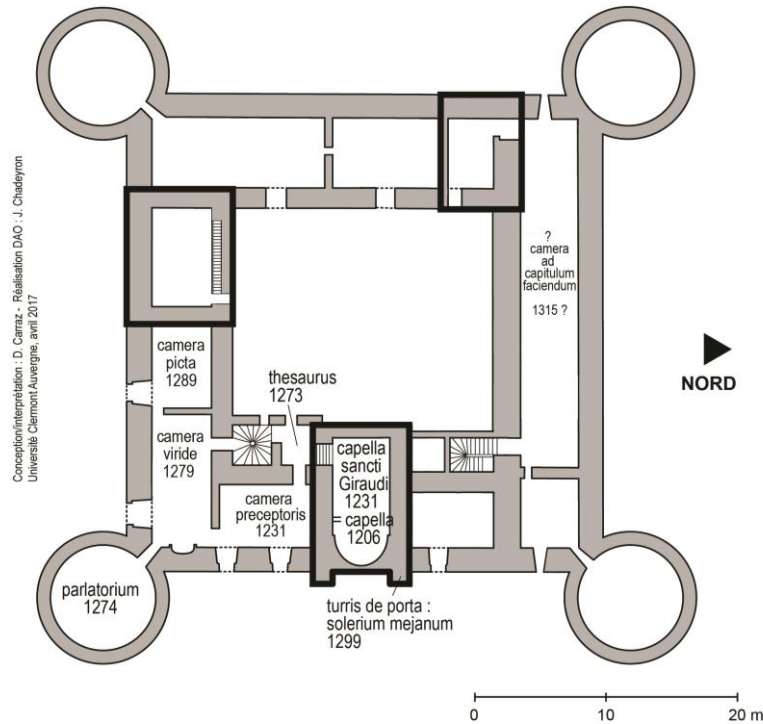


Fig. 1.B. – Manosque castle: hypothesis of restitution for the 13th century – floor.

What about the residential spaces? The *maior camera*, which had been the headquarters of the comital power, was still mentioned frequently in the following decade when the palace was a possession of the Hospitallers (Fig.1.A). Later, it is mentioned more sporadically, as the room was then reserved for a distinguished guest during his visits in Manosque: the prior of Saint-Gilles<sup>51</sup>. Also called “*camera subtus capellam*”, that room disappears because, from the 1230s, most charters were subscribed in the room of the commander<sup>52</sup>, an important location which was upstairs, near the treasury, the chapel in particular<sup>53</sup>. We find this same feature, at least from the end of the Middle Ages, in other commanderies where the apartments

<sup>51</sup> “*in camera domini prioris S. Egidii*” (1251). *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers*, n<sup>o</sup>. 2570; “*camera dicti domini prioris subtus capellam*” (1292). *Livre des privilèges de Manosque*, n<sup>o</sup>. XXXII-XXXIII, pp. 86-90; “*infra palacium in camera domni prioris, subtus cappellam*” (1308). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4682.

<sup>52</sup> First mention in March 1230/31: “*infra palatium Manuasce in camera preceptoris*”. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4639.

<sup>53</sup> “*infra palacium dicte ville, scilicet in camera ipsius magnifici domini preceptoris existenti prope cameram thesauri ipsius palacii*” (1451). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 719.

of the commander were connected to the chapel through a tribune<sup>54</sup>. I would place this “*camera preceptoris*” in the eastern aisle, suspecting it would be a rather permanent place as the apartments of the commander were there in the modern era (**Fig. 1.B and 2.B**). Besides, it wouldn't be too anachronistic to talk about apartments as early as the thirteenth century since the commander Bérenger Monge was known to sign acts in a “*parlatorium*” next to his room. Here, this “*parlatorium*” has nothing to do with the parlor of the cloistered orders: It was apparently more a work study open to public life<sup>55</sup>. A “green room,” where Bérenger Monge was alone to issue charters, is mentioned next to the parlor<sup>56</sup>. The color probably expresses a bucolic painted decoration, which was very fashionable in courtly and seigneurial milieus at the time<sup>57</sup>. But we can't say if this “*camera viride*” was the same as the “*camera preceptoris*” or if it was a different room. Finally, in front of the green room is a *camera* simply called “painted”<sup>58</sup>. If we can't imagine for sure how these three or four rooms were furnished, we can guess the specifics of the public spaces, according to each activity. What emerges of this complex program, is a special attention given to the majesty of the *decorum* where the rooms got their names to them from the way they were decorated. This reminds what Paul Deschamps wrote about the “room of the master” in castles of the Latin East. At Crac des Chevaliers, the “apartment of the lord of the castle” which was located in one of the towers of the southern side, was decorated in the years 1230-1240”<sup>59</sup>.

<sup>54</sup> CARRAZ, Damien – “Archéologie des commanderies de l'Hôpital et du Temple en France (1977-2007)”. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 15 (2008), pp. 183-184. In the chapel of the Hospital of Comps (Var), the tribune of the modern period is still preserved. THIRION, Jacques – “À propos des découvertes de Puimoisson. Quelques exemples de la diversité des églises des ordres militaires”. *La Sauvegarde de l'Art français* 4 (1987), p. 27 and 29.

<sup>55</sup> “*parlatorio palatii Manuasce*” (1274). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4632; “*in parlatorio ante cameram dicti domini preceptoris*” (1275). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4643.

<sup>56</sup> “*parlatorio palatii Manuasce ante cameram viridem dicti domini preceptoris*” (1279). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4666.

<sup>57</sup> PASTOUREAU, Michel – *Vert: histoire d'une couleur*. Paris: Seuil, 2013, p. 76. In the 13th century in Marseille, a green room is also attested in no less than three places of power – the *domus episcopalis*, the town hall and the house of the provost. PÉCOUT, Thierry – “De Saint-Cannat à Saint-Cannat: les résidences de l'évêque de Marseille, XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle”. *Provence historique* 66 (2016) p. 353.

<sup>58</sup> “*infra palatium, in camera picta ante cameram viridem*” (1289-1292). Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4652; 56 H 4668; *Livre des privilèges de Manosque*, n<sup>o</sup>. xxx and xxxiv, p. 86 and 92.

<sup>59</sup> DESCHAMPS, Paul – *Les châteaux croisés en Terre sainte*. t. I. *Le Crac des Chevaliers. Étude historique et archéologique*. Paris: Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1934, pp. 93 and 289-290.



Since the mid-thirteenth century at least, the tendency among commanderies had moved toward a privatization of spaces and the loosening of communal life<sup>60</sup>. Rooms were therefore affected to other officials of the convent (priest, bailiff, treasurer...)<sup>61</sup>. These weren't necessarily located in the aisles because, while the ground floor of the towers was used as storage, the upper floors were inhabited, as evidenced by the chimneys<sup>62</sup>. Also, the fact pavement had been laid in the “New Tower” and the “Tower of the Crossbow” would suggest that the various levels of the towers were vaulted rather than framed<sup>63</sup>. Several other rooms appear in the documents, some “old,” some “new”. To all it is impossible to attribute a function<sup>64</sup>. The dormitory, on the other hand is not mentioned anywhere, which only confirms observations made for most of the commanderies where the common room is no longer attested after the twelfth century<sup>65</sup>. The refectory is a more enduring symbol of monastic life: although the former dining room was dismantled, a *refectorium* reappears in 1299<sup>66</sup>. Finally, after the Hospitallers settled in the castle, account books attest that a

<sup>60</sup> CARRAZ, Damien – *L'Ordre du Temple*, pp. 265-266.

<sup>61</sup> “*camera sacerdotis*” (1286). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 55; “*camera dicti baiuli*” (1348). Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 406v; “*loco ubi comedit dictus dominus thesaurarius*”. Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 719.

<sup>62</sup> “*pro adobando fornello turris Englese*” (1289). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 308.

<sup>63</sup> “*opera pavimenti turris albaristarum*” (1287). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 222; “*pro opere turris de ultima solutione et complemento dicte turris in pavimentis...*” (1290). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 337.

<sup>64</sup> Some rooms are poorly located: “*ante cameram que est ad pedem cisterne*” (1282). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4677; “*infra palacium in camera magna juxta scalarium capelle*” (1316). *Livre des privilèges de Manosque*, n<sup>o</sup>. LII, p. 187; “*coram ponte palatii Manuschaie in camera*” (1390). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 849 bis, fol. 429v.

<sup>65</sup> The dormitory can still be mentioned in the 12th century. *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Gilles*, n<sup>o</sup>. 271 (1190). And the Templars of Pézenas (Hérault) still used their dormitory in the early 13th century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms lat. 16, fol. 84-85 and 204-207. The dormitory is, on the other hand, attested in the great castles of the Hospital in the Latin East (Crac des Chevaliers, Margat), at least if we follow the interpretations of the scholars who, however, cannot rely on any written evidence. MESQUI, Jean – “La fortification des croisés au temps de Saint Louis au Proche-Orient”. *Bulletin monumental* 164/1 (2006), pp. 9 and 23.

<sup>66</sup> “*infra palacium, in camera iuxta refectorium*” (1299). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4633. This refectory could have been located on the ground floor if we assume that this space corresponds to the “*tina*” surmounted by a “*camera*” in the 15th century (*portal de la tina*; 1492). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 841, fol. 19.

chapter room and an infirmary had to be built, where the brothers went to relax<sup>67</sup>. Now, how to give a little more dynamic perspective to this inventory of spaces?

### Under permanent construction

The regular maintenance and adaptation of the living conditions were such that such a monument was constantly evolving. If it is difficult to know about the interventions of the Hospitallers in the four or five decades that followed their arrival in the castle. The documentation sheds light on the activity employed in the second half of the thirteenth century. Beside the frequent maintenance works attested by the account books, we can spotlight the following mentions:

#### Structural work:

1258, February	<i>"infra palatium in camera nova"</i>	56 H 4641
1262	<i>"iiii hominibus qui expedirunt curtem palatii de lapidibus"</i>	56 H 835, fol. 32v
c. 1275-80	<i>"pro opera portalis novi... xv sol. mandato dni preceptoris"</i>	56H2624, fol. 73
1285	<i>"calamis ad opus trium camerarum novarum que sunt in reffreitorio veteri"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 94
1287-1290	construction of the New Tower	Comptes... 1283-1290
1289, February	<i>"pro opere turris albaristarum et bisturre"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 292, 293
1289, February	<i>"pro ponendis boquetis super palatium"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 293
1289, March	<i>"pro cohoperimento turris albaristarum"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 295
1289, May	<i>"boquetis, quos in palatio debet facere / pro boquetis super palatium factis"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 302, 305
1289, June	<i>"pro boquetis supra palatium"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 306
1289, January	<i>"pro opere turris albaristarum et turris barbacane"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 288
1289, February	<i>"pro opere turris veteris et bestorre"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 289
1289, February	<i>"pro lausato turris albaristarum / pro enquinastris et bistourre adobandis"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 291
1289, May	<i>"opus domus nove infirmarie"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 304
1290, January	<i>"pro opere, quod facere debent inter turrem novam et turrem Sabbatarie"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 341
1290, March	<i>"pro faciendis XI cannis de boquetis petrinis super palatium"</i>	Comptes... 1283-1290, § 349

<sup>67</sup> *"camera infirmarie"* (1287). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 188; *"opus domus nove infirmarie"* (1289). *Comptes de la commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années*, § 304; *"in camera ubi fratri congregantur ad capitulum faciendum"* (1315). *Livre des privilèges de Manosque*, n.º LIII, p. 189.

1290, April	<i>"faciendis banquis petrinis ante domum infirmarie"</i>	<i>Comptes... 1283-1290,</i> § 350
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**Refurbishings of interior spaces:**

1275	<i>"in camera que est mediana de tribus que fuerunt facte in refectorio veteri"</i>	56 H 4633
1288, October	<i>"... qui dirruerunt postatum turris Englese"</i>	<i>Comptes... 1283-1290,</i> § 275
1289, December	<i>"fusta ad opus coperiendi scalerium Sancti Geraldi"</i>	<i>Comptes... 1283-1290,</i> § 333
1290, March- May	<i>"opus amvaneti super scalerium Sancti Geraldi / in coloribus causa pingendi dictum amvannum / pinxerit parafollias amvanni Sancti Geraldi"</i>	<i>Comptes... 1283-1290,</i> § 347, 348, 350, 353, 356
1290, March	<i>"pro serranda fusta ad opus coperture scalerii Sancti Geraldi"</i>	<i>Comptes... 1283-1290,</i> § 346

Significant work was done in the last third of the thirteenth century: new spaces were added (at least one new room and one infirmary) and at least than four towers came out of the ground. These new constructions, I believe, are the four circular towers<sup>68</sup> (**Fig. 1.A**). New arrangements seem to have also taken place at the upper level of the existing buildings where the pose of stone brackets is attested. The internal compartments are modified as well. Three rooms are refurbished in the former refectory, which shows a tendency of specialization of the spaces. On the upper floor, the area around the St. Geraud's staircase and the tribune was also covered and embellished, maybe during the restructuring of the commander's "suite"<sup>69</sup>.

All these constructions can be linked to the ambitions of Bérenger Monge, commander of Aix and Manosque during the entire second half of the thirteenth century. In Manosque, he had built a reputation as the leader of the religious community he was in charge of and sole ruler of the city and its inhabitants. In Aix, he also imposed himself as a master builder, and conducted for Charles I of Anjou the reconstruction of the priory church in a gothic style never seen before in Provence<sup>70</sup>. There is a great deal of evidence that shows Bérenger Monge at the head

<sup>68</sup> They all appear in the documentation in the last third of the 13th century, even if one cannot deny the "source effect" caused by the appearance of accounting records.

<sup>69</sup> These works around the chapel of Saint-Géraud should probably be linked to the pious foundation made on 11 July 1283 by Bérenger Monge. See: CARRAZ, Damien – *Un commandeur ordinaire?*, pp. 157-159 and 338-345.

<sup>70</sup> CARRAZ, Damien – *Un commandeur ordinaire?*, pp. 303-317.

of the important program which deeply restructured the old comital palace and gave it its general appearance, which remained mainly unchanged until the Revolution. Some works are also attested in the first part of the fourteenth century, like the reconstruction of a tower and the campanile of a chapel.

1321, June	works in the “ <i>sabateria</i> ”	56 H 836
1321, Oct.	“ <i>pro aptandis colompnis infermarie</i> ”	56 H 836, fol. 21v
1340 1341, August	supplementary tower court investigation against 4 workers who worked on the tower <sup>71</sup>	ADAHP, 2 E 2837 <sup>72</sup>
1351, May	“ <i>lapides supra turim novam</i> ”	56 H 836, 3rd booklet
1351, May	“ <i>pro obrando campanillum campana magna palacii et ponimentur in calc... et ex alia parte in calce ad obrandum turis / et pro uno dimidio quintale ferri / et pro magistri qui obravit dicti campanillum</i> ” + other things for the bell tower / “ <i>extraxerint terram de palacio et portaverunt extra</i> ”	56 H 836, 3rd booklet

The dispersion of the late medieval documentation, which has not been entirely unveiled, can explain these sporadic mentions<sup>73</sup>. Another reason is the new context facing the Hospitallers<sup>74</sup>. Financial difficulties, a lack of leadership despite the need for reform, wars, and, finally the strengthening of the monarchy and the rise of a municipal conscience: all these obstacles didn't encourage serious reconstructions in the castle. Even maintenance seems to have been neglected; at the end of the fifteenth century, the fortification appeared derelict<sup>75</sup>. The Bailiff Jean de Boniface (1536-1545) engaged serious restorations but with no real effect on the general

<sup>71</sup> SHATZMILLER, Joseph – *Médecine et justice en Provence médiévale. Documents de Manosque, 1262-1348*. Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1989, n.º 78, p. 227.

<sup>72</sup> Quoted by CLAUDE, Sandrine – “Impact et limites de la seigneurie”, p. 281.

<sup>73</sup> The notarial registers kept at the Archives Départementales des Alpes-de-Haute-Provence have been examined by S. Claude but without any decisive result. The reason for this is due to the profile of notarial documentation which, before the 15th century, contains very few acts relating to building (estimates, inventories, expert reports, etc.). Under the *Ancien Régime*, such notarial documents may have been kept in the archives of the commandery, as attested by the mention of a masons' report, dated 22 May 1400, concerning repairs to the palace wall. Inventory of the archives, 1531. Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 68, fol. 25.

<sup>74</sup> The general evolution of the commandery in the years 1330-1550 has been described, in a second part called “The Decadence”, by REYNAUD, Félix – *La commanderie de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, de Rhodes et de Malte à Manosque*. Gap: Société d'études des Hautes-Alpes, 1981.

<sup>75</sup> “le bastiment qu'est dedans ledict castel s'en va quasi par terre, cart il y a ung long temps qu'il n'y fut faite reparation et qui n'y donnera en brief provision, le tout s'en ira en brief en totale destruction” (minutes of the visit of 24 July 1495). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 126, fol. 24-28.

structure of the building<sup>76</sup>. One thing is certain: between the sixteenth century and the Revolution, it was progressively adapted to the taste of the day plop with elements mentioned in the visits: main spiral stairway, cross windows, chimneys... Yet it doesn't seem that the medieval matrix was profoundly changed.

## Hospitallers' castles and castle architecture in the thirteenth century

### *A Castle Built Ex Nihilo: Puimoisson*

To settle in the locality of Saint Michel, the Hospitallers benefited from the support of the Bishop of Riez who gave them the parish church (ca. 1125), and of the count of Provence who gave them the rights on the *villa* (in 1150)<sup>77</sup>. The Hospitallers waited until the end of the century to launch a land-ownership campaign. In 1231, the Prior of Saint-Gilles, Bertrand de Comps, received sole lordship on the *castrum* of Puimoisson from the Count Raymond Bérenger V. Probably soon thereafter, the brothers moved their headquarters from the *villa* to the *castrum* and built a new house on the highest peak of the plateau, flanked by a parish church which kept the name of Saint-Michel<sup>78</sup>. Like in other Provençal sites, the settling of the headquarters and the moving of the parish church led to a new polarization in the settlement, causing the primitive site of the village (*villa*) of Saint-Michel to be dropped progressively.

For this reason, the name of the brothers' residency is pretty instructive. We found, in the years 1230-1240, the expected title of "*ospitale Podii Moisonis*" or "*domus ospitalis*", but we find, around 1250, the localization "*in castro Hospitalis de Podio*

<sup>76</sup> REYNAUD, Félix – *La commanderie de l'Hôpital de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, p. 129. The completion of the work, in the summer of 1537, was celebrated by the placing of an inscription to the glory of the Bailiff above the main door. BELTJENS, Alain – "Trois questions à propos de l'hospitalier Gérard", p. 36.

<sup>77</sup> On the setting up of the commandery and the constitution of the estate: PÉCOUT, Thierry – *Une société rurale du XII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle en Haute-Provence. Les hommes, la terre et le pouvoir dans le pays de Riez*. Aix-Marseille: Université de Provence, 1998. Thèse de doctorat, pp. 574-597; which updates, MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson*.

<sup>78</sup> If we follow the generally well-informed archivist Jean Raybaud, the Hospitallers built the parish church of Saint-Michel with the help of the inhabitants in the last third of the thirteenth century. RAYBAUD, Jean – *Histoire des grands prieurs et du grand prieuré de Saint-Gilles*. t. I. Ed. C. Nicolas. Nîmes: Imprimerie Clavel et Chastanier – A. Chastanier, 1904, p. 184. Nothing remains of the first state of this place of worship, which was entirely rebuilt on the initiative of the Hospitallers in 1496, then enlarged again in 1659-1660 by the addition of two chapels. MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson*, pp. 184-185. Strangely enough, as there were no topographical constraints, this church is not oriented and its chevet faces north-east.

*Moisono*<sup>79</sup>. We can't determine if that applies to the fortified village (*castrum*) or to the Hospitaller house which was then remarkably fortified. The ambiguity is interesting in itself. The first occurrence of the term "*palatium*" appears in 1264<sup>80</sup>. We suppose that the apparition of this name corresponds to a new architectural program showing with spark the strength, now firmly established, of the ecclesiastical lordship. Yet, the medieval documentation doesn't give a single clue on the aspect of the building, other than "*bonum fortalitium*" in 1373<sup>81</sup>. The spaces quoted in the charters of the thirteenth century correspond to what we know of the usual composition of the commanderies: the one in Puimoisson therefore included a large room apparently near the main entrance, a porch, a refectory, a room of the commander, a cellar, a kitchen<sup>82</sup>. Note that, unlike Manosque, the palace was hosting the court of justice, at least in the fourteenth century<sup>83</sup>. Despite scanty information on the medieval state, the evocation of the palace in modern times is especially worthwhile for a comparison with Manosque.

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<sup>79</sup> "*infra ospitale Podii Moisonis supra domo Peltorie*" (15 March 1232). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4861; "*extra portam domus ospitalis iusta parietem sale dicte domus*" (28 August 1233). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4826; "*in castro Hospitalis de Podio Moisono in camera preceptoris*" (4 September 1254). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4836; "*in castro Hospitalis Podii Moissoni in camera comendatoris*" (29 December 1259). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4827; "*in castro Hospitalis Podii Moisoni*" (23 December 1261). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4827, etc.

<sup>80</sup> "*apud Podium Moissonum in palatio*" (16 October 1264). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4852.

<sup>81</sup> "*et preceptor dicte domus sive preceptorie habet in dicto castro merum et mixtum imperium et totalem jurisdictionem, altam et bassam, et est dominus insolidum dicti loci, et habet ibi bonum fortalitium per se*" (minutes of the visit of June 1373). Città del Vaticano, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, *Collectoriae*, 419 A, fol. 2rv. In 1338, the building was still described as a "*palatium*" when repairs were carried out. *Visites générales des commanderies*, p. 324.

<sup>82</sup> "*acta extra portam domus ospitalis iusta parietem sale dicte domus*" (August 1233). 56 H 4826; "*in porticu domus Hospitalis Podii Moyssoni*" (June 1235). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4855; "*apud hospitale de Podio Moisson in refectorio*" (January 1239). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4855; "*in camera preceptoris*" (4 September 1254). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4836; "*ante granarii pallacii*" (November 1293). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4836; "*Podiomoysoni infra palatium dicti loci de ospitali ante quoquinam*" (December 1255). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4862.

<sup>83</sup> "*in curia dicti Hospitalis ubi reddatur jus*" (February 1305). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4855; "*in curia palacii ubi jus reddi consuevit*" (February 1333). Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4855.

Other than the visits of the order of Malta, we have a description at the beginning of the nineteenth century which gives a few dimensions<sup>84</sup>. Occupying a surface area of 524 m<sup>2</sup>, the building developed on a rectangular plan of 27 m. by 25 m., with a courtyard of 16 m. by 14 m.. This building was then smaller than Manosque. It was flanked at three angles with 16 m. high crenelated circular towers and four other 12 m. high square towers, two of which were on the west side and the other two on the north and east sides (**Fig. 3**). Built in cut stone, the exterior perimeter was 1.50 m. wide, 12 m. high. In the nineteenth century, the main entrance seemed to have been on the east side<sup>85</sup>. But before that, it was on the south, through a so-called squared tower in which there were two doors separated by a wooden portcullis, a similarity with the house of Manosque<sup>86</sup>.

According to the visits of the Order of Malta, the ground floor was the service area (cellar, ice house, stables) and the auditorium the area of justice, with a prison<sup>87</sup> (**Fig. 3.A**). On the first floor, the apartments of the commander expanded to the north wings, to the east and even to part of the southern wing; on the west aisle, a row of rooms with a kitchen were used by the farmer. A former gothic chapel, which occupied the rest of the south aisle, had been turned into a barn<sup>88</sup>. It was located above the gate within a square tower extended by a dovecote<sup>89</sup>. After the chapel was abandoned, the Hospitallers used the parish church next to the castle. According to a common usage in the commanderies, a tribune was reserved for the commander

<sup>84</sup> This is the description of a priest named Martin dated 1 September 1802 and reported by MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson*, pp. 293-295.

<sup>85</sup> As the description by the priest Martin and the plan published by J. Maurel indicate.

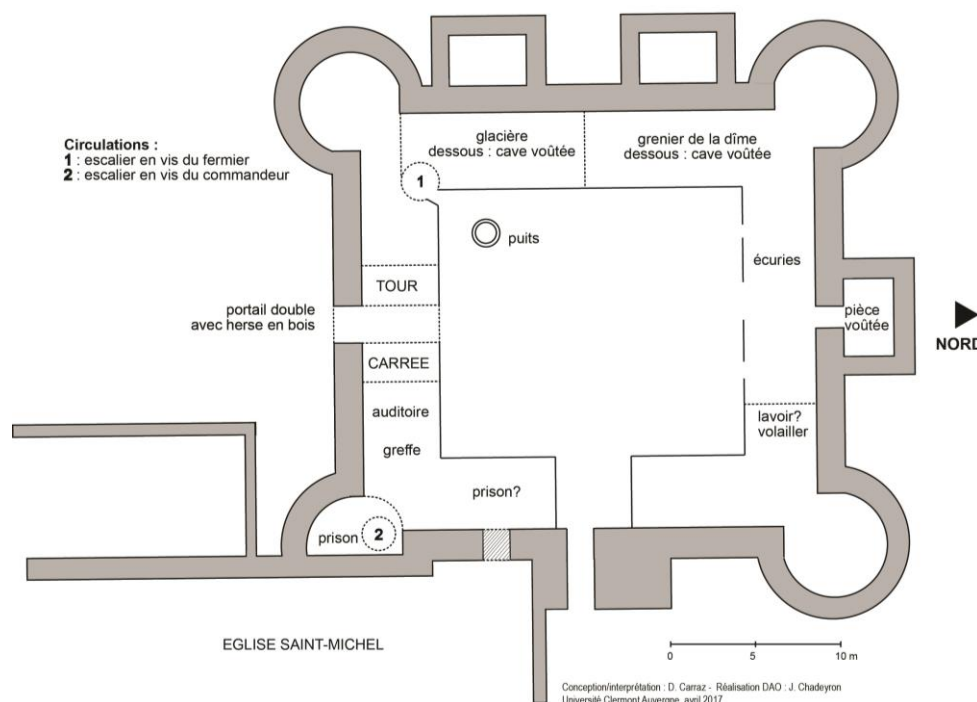
<sup>86</sup> If our interpretation is correct, this tower must not have been very prominent, since it is not shown on the plan, nor does the priest Martin mention it. The latter describes a knocker system protecting the portcullis, but the reference seems to apply to the eastern gateway, which was then considered the main access.

<sup>87</sup> Marseille, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 263: minutes of the visits of 6 May 1689, 29-30 July 1762, 20 May 1772 and 13 September 1783.

<sup>88</sup> “de l’escalier du fermier, l’on a une ancienne et belle chapelle abandonnée, d’architecture gothique dont les murs sont encore en tres bon etat qui se trouve directement au dessus de la porte du château, et qui sert a present de grenier aux fermiers, au dessus de laquelle et dans la tour quarrée est le pigeonnier peuplé” (1762); “une chapelle abandonnée depuis longtemps...ladite chapelle est voutée a croisillon bordée et éclairée par quatre petite fenestres... deux a l’espect du midi et deux a celui du nord” (1783). According to the priest Martin, this chapel, known as “La Madeleine”, was 12 m. long (6 cannes).

<sup>89</sup> On this symbol of seigneurial power: see FIGEAC, Michel – *Châteaux et vie quotidienne de la noblesse*, pp. 139-142. In Manosque, the dovecote was located on the circular tower in the north-east corner. It was attested as early as 1289, but its location at that time is not known. *Comptes de la commanderie de l’Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290*, § 293.

with a direct access from the castle to the church<sup>90</sup>. The circular towers, which were cross-vaulted, were occupied by rooms or extensions (**Fig 3.B**). On the second floor, the garret, were the rooms of the servants, a classical disposition in modern castles. Finally, unlike in Manosque, we notice the presence of a wooden gallery in the western and southern aisles<sup>91</sup>. It seems to have originally been made for the commander to go directly from the southern aisle to the western aisle, probably to reach the stairway leading to the tribune in the church.



**Fig. 3.A. – Puimoisson castle in the 17th-18th century - ground floor.**

<sup>90</sup> In the summer of 1790, this "seigneurial tribune", which overlooked the commander's bench in the church, was demolished. It is not easy to trace its access from the castle: the descriptions all refer to the tribune being served by the so-called "staircase of the farmer", located opposite the church, in the south-west corner. In these conditions, one can only imagine a direct access from this staircase to the church, which would cross the south wing through the attic.

<sup>91</sup> This gallery, which was about 1.70 m wide (6-7 pawns), was covered by a framework with a glazed tile roof. Stone and carpentry galleries were also built in the fifteenth century along the four wings of the nearby castle of Gréoux-les-Bains (see below on this building).



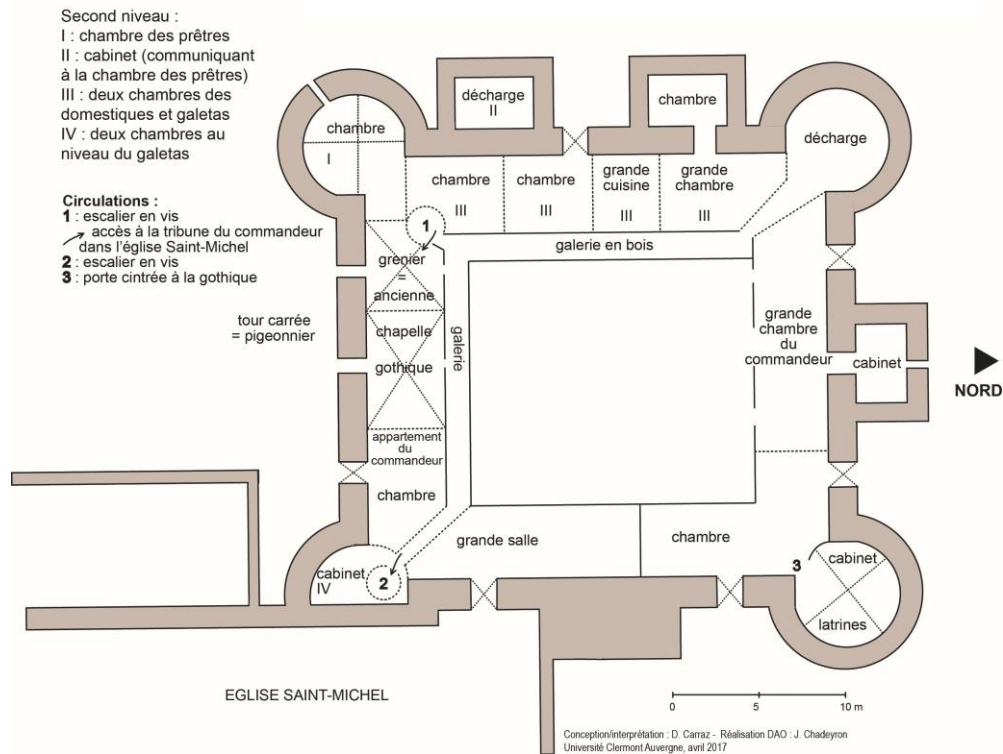


Fig. 3.B. – Puimoisson castle in the 17th-18th centuries – floor.

As in Manosque, everything suggests that the castle of Puimoisson, as it appeared between the seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries, largely matches the medieval monument, only impacted by some of the usual “modernization” that followed the Wars of Religion<sup>92</sup>: large crossed windows were built, a second level underneath the attic with a gable roof was added (III. 1). I would be inclined to locate the main phase of construction of the *palatium* of Puimoisson in the central decades of the thirteenth century. Like in Manosque, the Hospitaller lordship is then at the height of its power and its chief is a very important person: Féraud de Barras, who cumulated the charges of Prior of Saint-Gilles (1245-1269) and commander of Puimoisson (1246-1264)<sup>93</sup>. This nobleman, who came from a family based in the diocese of Digne, enjoyed coming to Puimoisson. There, he exercised full jurisdiction on behalf of the Hospital and received homage from the local lords. He could have decided to build a house that projected a certain social status. It wasn't quite the

<sup>92</sup> In the last third of the 16th century, the castle was first occupied by the Protestants and then taken over by the Catholics. So it played a real military role. MAUREL, Marie-Joseph – *Histoire de la commune de Puimoisson*, pp. 140-152.

<sup>93</sup> CARRAZ, Damien – *Un commandeur ordinaire*, pp. 336-337.

only monumental marker of the Hospitaller lordship because, in the same central decades of the thirteenth century, the brothers of Puimoisson rebuilt the church of Saint-Apollinaire, a “magnificent stone cube built like a fortress”<sup>94</sup> (III. 2). The intense building activity that we can imagine at this period in the Hospitaller lordships of Manosque and Puimoisson was related to a certain renewal of the fortified architecture which was a trademark in Provence at the time.



III. 1 - The castle of Puimoisson before its destruction (after M.-J. Maurel, 1897).

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<sup>94</sup> Located 3 km east of Puimoisson, the church of Saint-Apollinaire was acquired by exchange in 1233. On the borrowings from military architecture and on dating, see THIRION, Jacques - “À propos des découvertes de Puimoisson”, pp. 14-23.



Ill. 2 – The church of Saint-Apollinaire of Puimoisson (© D. Carraz).

### A renewal of fortified architecture

The Capetian rule over Languedoc and Provence through the Angevine branch, induced the rebuilding – or more rarely the creation *ex nihilo* – of numerous fortified sites<sup>95</sup>. However, we attribute to this context the introduction in meridional ground of the quadrangular designed castle with a courtyard. Let's just mention a few examples<sup>96</sup>. The fortress of Beaucaire (Gard), having probably been rebuilt since the reign of Louis VIII and finished under his successor's rule, shows a vast trapezoidal perimeter wall with circular towers<sup>97</sup>. Not far from there in Fourques, the old castle of the counts of Toulouse was entirely rebuilt by the Capetians at an unclear date, sometime between the reign of Saint Louis and Philippe le Bel: we find a rectangular design flanked by angular quadrangular towers, with buildings on the curtain walls. In even more modest proportions, the square of Châteaurenard (Bouches-du-Rhône) was rebuilt by the count of Provence in the last third of the thirteenth

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<sup>95</sup> Despite the numerous monographs, a comprehensive survey of the subject is still lacking. In the meantime, some elements can be found in DIELETTIENS, Dominique – *Châteaux et forteresses du Midi*. Portet-sur-Garonne: Loubatières, 2011, pp. 82-100.

<sup>96</sup> On the origin of the so-called “château philippien” in the royal domain: CIVEL, Nicolas – *La fleur de France. Les seigneurs d’Ile-de-France au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, pp. 124-139.

<sup>97</sup> CONTESTIN, Maurice – “Le château de Beaucaire”. *Bulletin monumental* 131 (1973), pp. 129-136.

century: the central trapezoidal body (23 m x 11 m) shows four circular towers<sup>98</sup>. Closer to Manosque and Puimoisson, the castle of Gréoux features a more complex ensemble, like Manosque, with a farm yard and a first perimeter wall<sup>99</sup>. The dimensions are comparable (49 m x 38 m) and the quadrangular design shows an exemplary regularity. The reconstruction of the former castle shows large volumes of living space in the aisles, a row of rooms on two levels and, on the other side a vast square tower leads the defense on the north west angle. The ambitious program, probably commissioned by Arnaud de Trian in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, appears later than Manosque, which could have been used as a model<sup>100</sup>.

Finally, in Manosque itself, besides the large destruction, some remains attest the fortification program engaged by the Hospitallers. On the Mont d'Or hill, where the former castle was, we find the remains of a little fortified ensemble (III. 3). It is composed of a high master tower surrounded by a square perimeter wall, protected by prominent circular towers<sup>101</sup>. This stronghold, ruled by a *preceptor castri*, could have been reconstructed in the second third of the thirteenth century, maybe when the Hospitallers were rebuilding their castle in the lower city.

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<sup>98</sup> DIELTIENS, Dominique – *Châteaux et forteresses du Midi*, pp. 260-262.

<sup>99</sup> CLAUDE, Sandrine – *Le château de Gréoux-les-Bains (Alpes-de-Haute-Provence). Une résidence seigneuriale du Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2000.

<sup>100</sup> It should be noted that the Order of the Hospital owned this castle between 1307 and 1324. But its reorganisation is most probably due to the great personality of Arnaud de Trian. CLAUDE, Sandrine – *Le château de Gréoux-les-Bains*, p. 140.

RAYNAUD, Frédéric – “Manosque, Mont d'Or”. In *Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur. Bilan scientifique 1994*. Aix-en-Provence: DRAC-SRA, 1995, p. 23; CLAUDE, Sandrine – “De l'Antiquité au bas Moyen Âge: Manosque ou la genèse de la ville moderne”, pp. 40-43. This type of “secondary fortification”, which often favours high ground, has begun to be inventoried on the scale of Provence. DADURE, Maxime – “Les fortifications privées secondaires dans la Provence du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: regard archéologique sur la bastide”. *Provence historique* 66 (2016), pp. 303-326.



**Ill. 3 - Manosque, tower of Mont d'Or (© D. Carraz)**

Apart from the model, the aspect of the two Hospitaller castles is very close to some important commanderies of cities or big villages. The Templar house of Monfrin, for example, showed many attributes of the urban palace, as well as elements of military architecture – massive walls with little openings and square crenelated towers at the angles<sup>102</sup>. Even more than the “military” status of its occupants, this type of program should be seen as a manifestation of seigneurial domination. The episcopal palaces are built in the same spirit, like the one of the archbishops of Arles in Salon which really had the status of an urban castle<sup>103</sup>. Probably rebuilt in the second half of the thirteenth century, it was noticeable, with its two towers. A closed forecourt fronted the castle, with a gateway protected by a ditch and draw bridge. The gateway

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<sup>102</sup> CARRAZ, Damien; ASPORD-MERCIER, Sophie – “Le programme architectural d’un pôle seigneurial: la commanderie de Montfrin (Gard)”. In MATTALIA, Yoan (ed.) – *Organiser l’enclos: sacré et topographie dans les maisons hospitalières et templières du Midi de la France. Archéologie du Midi médiéval* 28 (2010), pp. 297-316.

<sup>103</sup> FORMIGÉ, Jules – “Le château de Salon (Bouches-du-Rhône)”. *Bulletin monumental* 75 (1911), pp. 226-246.



was a real place of expression of the seigneurial power and we can picture a similarly monumentalized entrance front in Manosque. Indeed, dozens of charters have been written “before the iron door of the palace” of the Hospitallers. All these dispositions show the means actually used by the Military Order: the defensive system with portcullis was not exactly an innovation, but it had not been seen in Provence before Charles I of Anjou. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the use of a draw bridge was still limited to princely fortresses (Beaucaire, Hyères)<sup>104</sup>.

The Hospitaller castles of Manosque and Puimoisson (the latter could be seen as a reduced model of the former), were integrated in the innovative trends of military architecture of Provence in the thirteenth century. An originality particularly strikes the attention: the position of the chapel above the entrance. To our knowledge, it hasn't been seen in any castle or palace in Provence, so we could wonder if it were a particularity of the Hospital, maybe brought from the Holy Land, where prestigious examples exist, the most accomplished one in its form being probably the castle of Belvoir. The Templars also positioned the chapel above the entrance at Latrun (around 1180?) and at Sidon Sea Castle (after 1260), where the sacristy next to the chapel defended the entrance of the place<sup>105</sup>. In the templar castle of Miravet, in Aragon, the high chapel, placed on the northern aisle of the quadrangle, flanked the dungeon defending the entrance to the second perimeter wall<sup>106</sup>.

With their impressive volumes both monuments of Manosque and Puimoisson dominated the urban core of their respective agglomerations and the visibility of their fortified character clear showed the nobility and the military power of the Hospitallers. As eminent lords, they were able to prepare for war if requisitioned by

<sup>104</sup> CORVISIER, Christian – “Le château d’Hyères et la fortification capétienne sous le règne de Charles d’Anjou à Hyères et à Brégançon”. In *Var. Congrès archéologique de France (160<sup>e</sup> session, 2002)*. Paris: Société Française d’Archéologie, 2005, pp. 166-168; DIELTIENS, Dominique – *Châteaux et forteresses du Midi*, p. 194.

<sup>105</sup> PRINGLE, Denis – “Castle chapels in the Frankish East”. In FAUCHERRE, Nicolas; MESQUI, Jean; PROUTEAU, Nicolas (eds.) – *La fortification au temps des croisades*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2004, pp. 29-32. The chapel was also located on the first floor in the small Hospitaller fortress of Belmont (Suba).

<sup>106</sup> FUGUET SANS, Joan – “L’architecture militaire des commanderies templières de la Couronne d’Aragon”. In LUTTRELL, Anthony; PRESSOUYRE, Léon (eds.) – *La Commanderie, institution des ordres militaires dans l’Occident médiéval*. Actes du premier colloque international du Conservatoire Templier et Hospitalier (Sainte-Eulalie de Cernon, 13-15 octobre 2000). Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2002, pp. 193-194.

the count of Provence (cavalcade), the castle of Manosque being highly armed<sup>107</sup>. However, the castles played a real military role during the wars of religion rather than under the Hospitaller rule. Anyway, scholars are aware that the symbolism of castle architecture cannot be ignored. As Alain Salamagne says, ditches, walls, draw bridges, crenellations and machicolation were the “plastic symbols” that represented seigneurial power<sup>108</sup>. While the complexity of the architectural program is intended to represent the power and wealth of the builder, the quadrangular plan, adopted primarily to manifest princely domination, refers to the idea of hierarchical order. In this respect, in Manosque as in Puimoisson, the Hospitallers were part of the continuity of a power of kingly nature inherited from the Counts of Forcalquier and Provence.

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<sup>107</sup> The term “garrison” (*stablida*) was indeed applied to the men assigned to guard it, according to the “*Status baiulie*” of 28 June 1299. *Comptes de la commanderie*, suppl., p. 148. The “*fortalicium*” of Mont d’Or also contained weapons.

<sup>108</sup> SALAMAGNE, Alain – “Le symbolisme monumental et décoratif : expression de la puissance seigneuriale”, in *Seigneurs et seigneuries au Moyen Âge. 117<sup>e</sup> Congrès national des Sociétés savantes, Histoire médiévale*. Clermont-Ferrand: Éditions du CTHS, 1992, pp. 563-579.

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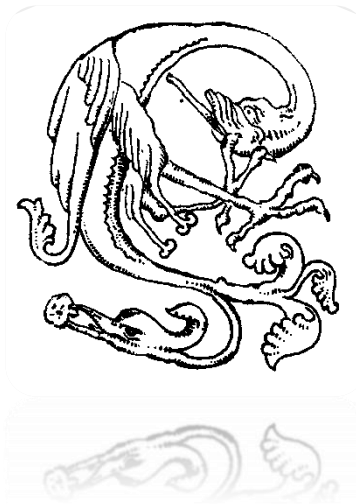
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