

Institutionalization and *Vita Religiosa*. New Approaches towards the History of the Medieval Religious Orders.

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Viewed from our long-term perspective, the religious orders count doubtlessly among the most striking instances of successful continuity within the spectrum of medieval institutions. Thus, the organized religious life provides an instructive and illuminating case study to examine in greater detail how institutionalisation functions. In fact, studying the religious orders in terms of a theory of institutionalisation helps to explain how social institutions shape themselves and maintain their stability over the course of time and succeeding generations, thus giving answers to questions central to understanding any human formation. In 1997, the research project ‘Institutionelle Strukturen religiöser Orden im Mittelalter’ (‘Institutional Structures of Medieval Religious Orders’) was established under the direction of Professor Gert Melville at the University of Dresden. This project aims for a strictly comparative approach towards the history of religious orders as institutional formations. The historians involved include many students undertaking doctoral research; they analyze those institutional mechanics that guaranteed the proper and enduring transference of norms and ideals into practical religious life, effecting stability in the dialectic of intended continuity and actual change. In the following general insight, the aims and structure of our Dresden research project as well as some of the results reached so far will be given.¹

Our research project forms part of a larger research collaboration, the Dresden Sonderforschungsbereich 537 ‘Institutionalität und Geschichtlichkeit’ (‘Institutionality and Historicity’). This confederation has developed the theory of institutionalization in order to grasp the complex structures and mechanics that secured the stability of specific cultural arrangements developed between antiquity and the modern ages.² In general, the theory of institutionalization assumes that the legitimacy and lasting success of any social formation depend to a high degree on its ability to mediate its particular guiding principles and normative values in both an instrumental and a symbolic way.³ From this point of view, the religious orders and religious houses represent excellent fields of observation for those who are interested in the functioning of institutional mechanics and dynamics.

There is no form of living but the *vita religiosa* that strives so strictly for an absolute congruence between the spiritual ideals and the practice of communal life. Thus, to deal with the institutional structures of religious orders in the Middle Ages means to analyse a *forma vitae* which would have to be defined as tending toward ‘total

institutionalization'.⁴ Becoming a religious meant to surrender completely one's former way of living and to subject oneself voluntarily and irrevocably to a microcosm which was determined and strictly delimited from its surroundings by its own codes of conduct, normative values, and symbolic visualizations of its guiding principles. In religious communities the individual member had his behaviour regulated almost down to the trivial aspects of everyday living, and it was through the voluntary but unquestioning acceptance of these codes of conduct that the institutionalized concepts of order and stability could find realization in practical life.

As in every social formation, however, uniformity, stability, and enduring existence as communities would not have occurred as a matter of course. In the development of the orders continuity was a rather unexpected outcome. Therefore, the religious orders developed complex networks of stabilizing structures to maintain their concepts of order and internal uniformity, which, however, in practice, were continually put to the test. Securing continuity also meant to bridge the distances inherent in regular life: the temporal distance from the generation of the founder to the generations to come, and the geographical and cultural distances between the mother foundation and her filiations across the whole of medieval Europe. All our research and our academic series *Vita regularis* – which currently includes twenty-seven volumes⁵ – concentrates on these institutional modes as they unfolded between the ideals and realities of regular life.

In our research we want to examine in detail the complex forms of stabilization the religious orders developed for handling their organizational and functional problems. In particular, we study the skills and techniques they employed in transforming their guiding principles (*proposita*) into continuous modes of living. We concentrate on the questions of how standard models of behaviour developed and became integrated in a system of rules and constitutional texts, how ideals were recalled by historical writings and exemplary stories, and how both authoritative agencies and elaborate controlling authorities became established and mediated between the orders' macro- and micro-levels, or rather between administrative centres and the individual monasteries and convents. We look at all these structures and institutions in their dynamic dimension, and approach the history of the religious orders as a vital process of perpetual change and development, as an interplay of *deformatio* and *reformatio*, which only continued thanks to the orders' ability to adjust to the conditions, needs, and expectations of the changed times and generations.⁶

In the first six years of work, our project was concerned with the mendicant orders of the thirteenth century, which marked a new direction in which religious life was moving. From the functioning of institutionalization the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the Augustinian Friars have proved particularly worth studying, not least because of their aiming for strict forms of living and their constitutive perfection, which developed in close relation to the structures of the older orders. Moreover, the mendicants represented a form of religious life which claimed openness towards the

secular world unknown before. With the establishment of the mendicant orders the former doctrine of stability of place (*stabilitas loci*) was given up. This provided a precondition for taking over completely new sets of tasks within their secular environment and the Roman church. Preaching among both the Christians and infidels became distinctive features of the mendicant orders and were soon embodied as a guiding principle in their normative texts.⁷

After having focused in particular on the mendicant orders during the first period of our research, we extended our chronological framing, taking into consideration the great variety of religious orders and canons that generated from the reform movement of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Detailed studies into the diverse institutional structures of those communities and orders which developed on the base of the *vita eremitica*, the *vita canonica*, and the *vita monastica* have been undertaken, and will be continued during the next phase of the project. Cluniac houses, the Carthusian and Cistercian Orders, the Camaldolesi, the Gilbertines, the Orders of Obazine and Savigny, the Premonstratensian Canons, the Mercedarians, and many more communities following the rule of St Augustine have meanwhile been analyzed in greater detail. However, neither a chronological nor an encyclopaedic reconstruction of each particular order's history is intended by our investigations. Rather, emerging from our interest in a comparative approach towards institutional structures and mechanisms of maintenance, our studies cover three thematic categories, focusing on the guiding ideas and normative systems of the orders, on the structures of their internal organization, and on their establishment and functional orientation in particular environments.

Principal ideas and systems of norms and values

In this area we search for the basic values and spiritual foundations of the various kinds of religious life, as well as for the forms of their internal mediation. With particular regard to the order's spiritual ideas and functional orientations, we study both the normative writings in the strict sense (such as rules, constitutions, general chapter decisions, papal decrees, and relevant parts of the canon law), and the norm-setting texts in the broader sense (such as exempla collections and other paranetic texts, commentaries on the rule, historical and hagiographic writing, and testaments of the founders). We are analyzing these texts in terms of their instrumental functions of constituting self-identity and of establishing and enforcing concepts of behaviour specific to the relevant orders.

Accordingly, our research throws light on the transformation of guiding ideas into norms and rules. A number of studies discuss how the religious orders developed, adapted and executed their normative settings.⁸ In addition a separate volume is chiefly dedicated to the question of how in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries an outstanding wide spectrum of multifunctional religious orders and communities could

emerge on the base of the rule of St Augustine, which was then supplemented by constitutions tailor-made to the needs of the particular community.⁹

Similarly, attempts are made to examine the pervasive powers of historiography, hagiography and paranetic writing in the process of mediating guiding principles to members of the orders living in different times and places. The modes of subjects' formation and the establishment of a collective memory by means of collections of exempla have been studied for the Franciscan and Dominican Orders of the thirteenth century.¹⁰ The phenomenon that the order's own founding stories represented fictitious but fruitful symbolic construction of stability occupies a large place in a book prepared on the development within the Franciscan and the Dominican orders and the order of the Augustinian Eremites of writing the orders' own histories.¹¹ One of the studies compares the novitiate within the Cluniacs, the Cistercians and Franciscans, analyzing in detail how new generations of religious were instructed in order to guarantee that the existing communal values and forms of behaviour would be maintained and preserved in their own time as monks.¹² This section also includes work on the relationship between the *ius particulare* as it was established by the religious orders and the *ius commune* of the church.¹³ Special attention is given the *Liber Extra*, in which the treatment of the problem of *transitus*, i.e. the precondition under which a monk was allowed to change from his own to another order, is particularly remarkable; and this is not only for giving insight in how the order's every day problems were handled, but for proving that the *vita religiosa* was seen by contemporary legal scholars as a complex *ordo* in itself.

Currently our investigations focus in particular on the fundamental question of how the *proposita* of the founder could have been kept valid after his death. One of our recent volumes, which is the result of an international conference held in Dresden, studies the founders of the different religious orders as often being charismatic people, who shaped and symbolically represented norms and ideas as a 'living rule' – a fact, which at the moment of the founder's death became crucial for the continuation of his community. The collection's case studies therefore discuss how such a charismatic rule could have been replaced by formal organizations of medieval religious life, leading to institutionalization in a transpersonal sense.¹⁴

Organization

Here we study the order's complex organizational and administrative networks which provided both the essentials of a uniform daily life and routine, and methods of dealing with deviant behaviour within the communities. We look at the development and functioning of the instruments of leadership (or rather representation, jurisdiction and administration) in central institutions such as the general chapter and the *definitorium*, as well as at authoritative establishments on a regional and local level, as represented for example by the provincial and house chapters and the leadership of individual convents and monasteries. Insights into the functioning of the separate

branches of the internal administrative and controlling structures have been the starting point for taking a vertical approach, analyzing in more detail the modes and effectiveness of communication between the order's macro- and micro-levels, as well as the patterns of appointments of officials, the modalities of recruiting members, and the running of the elaborate mechanisms of internal control, sanction, and punishment.

Earlier studies that have been undertaken in our project shifted the focus of attention away from the correct *observantia regula* towards disorder and infractions of the rule, scrutinizing both the functioning of the order's internal system of visitation and the far-reaching spectrum of sanctions taken against deviant behaviour.¹⁵ An instrument of both symbolic representation and practical government, which might even be called the medieval forerunner of modern parliaments, was invented by the religious orders in the twelfth century: the *capitulum generale* or general chapter. After one of our studies devoted to the structures and working of the general chapter within the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Carthusians, and the Order of Premontré in greatest detail,¹⁶ we then aimed to illustrate various aspects of communication between these central authorities and the controlling instances established at provincial and local levels. Our work also includes studies on the archives of Cluny, which emerged in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries on a rather informal base. Most strikingly, however, both the basic structures of its organization and its arrangements of self-representation virtually did not change up to the eighteenth century, when medieval original charters, chartularies and inventories were still in use.¹⁷

Considering the very close organization and strictly structured relationships among members, the communities, and their surroundings, the religious orders also offer a revealing opportunity to examine the specific aspect of monastic obedience in greater detail. A collection, containing contributions by many international scholars, examines this phenomenon of obedience (*obedientia*) and subordination (*subordinatio*) in a wide-ranging combination of analytical approaches towards its theoretical meaning, and provides case studies from the broad spectrum of religious orders and their environments.¹⁸ One purpose of this volume is to examine the reasons which made men and women give up their individual freedom to subordinate themselves to a system whereby personal wishes had to be abandoned to favour communal life. Obedience was vowed when a person entered religious life, and yet to obey implicitly was obviously something quite different in everyday monastic life. The reasons for refusing to obey are discussed in the book, as well as the practical consequences of disobedience. Similarly, the structures of interdependence among the religious, their governments, and secular authorities are taken into consideration.

Environmental and social functions

In this field of research we focus on the establishment of the religious orders at a local level, asking how they implanted and maintained themselves both in competition with

other religious orders and in correlation with the laity and secular church. So we turn to functional issues and examine how the orders could fulfil their specific spiritual, cultural, social, and political functions in different local contexts. Due to the fact that universal institutions depend on asserting their claims also beyond their historical and political centres (which in general have been the places of their foundation), we approach the geographical periphery as having a particularly central function in institutionalizing a form of living that was distinguished by its highly expansive, international and integrative character.

Different geographical areas were chosen to illuminate the processes of establishment of the religious orders and the sets of tasks they had to face under highly variable local and cultural conditions. One of the mendicants' special responsibilities – in fact an outcome of their impressive mobility, which already by the end of the thirteenth century had taken friars to Peking on the eastern fringe of the then-known world – was the preaching to the 'infidels'. We have attempted to illustrate how the Islamic world drew the Franciscans' and Dominicans' attention immediately from their beginnings as orders, particularly as the founders of both orders were themselves enthusiastic to convert *inter Saracenos*. A volume concentrates on the question of how the idea of mission was integrated in the normative texts, i.e. the Franciscan *Regula non bullata* and the Dominican constitutions. It shows that missionaries speedily assumed posts of authority within the secular church, that as early as the 1220s friars had become bishops in Africa (a phenomenon unthinkable in Europe at that time), and it discusses how Franciscan missionaries were motivated by the ideal of martyrdom (which was propagated by *passions*), while at the same time the Dominicans, understanding mission in a rather more pragmatic sense, founded *studia lingua* in order to debate with Arabs. The book ends by showing that already by the second half of the thirteenth century the mendicants' preaching within Islamic territories was recognised to be a futile attempt, which is the reason why they then began opening missions in new areas, such as in Eastern Asia and among the Mongols in particular.¹⁹

There are other case studies exemplifying the interactions of the religious orders with urban communities and secular rulers. The province of Saxony (in Germany), Toulouse (in France), religious landscapes in Italy, and the German Regensburg have been among the territories regarded as particularly suitable for systematic treatments of the ties between religious communities and their secular surroundings, and for comparing structures of local establishment and the orders' environmental contacts. In addition, the Celtic fringes of the British Isles proved to be a highly illustrative example of the difficulties of incorporating different nations within the order's microcosm.²⁰ A comprehensive case study is dedicated to the formation of the Franciscan order in England, examining in great detail how universal ideals were mediated to the *provincia Anglia*. Special attention is given to the development of a separate historical writing by which common concepts could have been integrated into the diverse local realities of the English Franciscan province.²¹ Strategies of self-

representation to the outer world, and, in turn, outside views of the orders are a further aspect with which this section is concerned.²²

As a research project, we have greatly benefited from the expertise of many historians from all over the world who have gathered in Dresden to discuss both our theoretical perspectives and to help us in answering queries on particular historical points. Most of our anthologies are in fact the results of international collaborations and colloquia held in Dresden. Among the contacts we are now fostering, some were established through the internet. Thus, given the positive effects of the new media in consolidating international academic research, we would like to draw attention to our own online project 'Rete Vitae Religiosae Medievalis Studia Conectens' (RE.VI.RE.S.). With this multilingual homepage (at <http://www.vita-religiosa.de>), which has been developed and webmastered by Tobias Tannenberger, we intend to put a topical communication platform at the disposal of individual academics and institutions occupied with international research on religious orders and communities. In addition, we intend to provide an appropriate tool for accessing information on the location of both research centres dispersed in the world and institutions run by the religious orders themselves. Our homepage offers a continually updated collection of relevant links (already numbering more than 2000), containing source material and bibliographies, treatises on the history of the different orders and on the development of particular religious environments, as well as biographies of nuns and monks, founders and saints, histories of individual convents, and other material, down to addresses and a calendar of events. We are positive that supplying us with information about topical research projects and planned colloquia on the history of religious orders – a form to convey announcements is available on our homepage – would be a small but essential step towards further a internationalization of comparative research, and would be of great benefit to all those working in the field of the medieval religious life.

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¹ For further information on our project 'Institutionelle Strukturen religiöser Orden im Mittelalter', see our information brochure edited under the direction of Gert Melville: *Sonderforschungsbereich 537 Institutionalität und Geschichtlichkeit. Ein neuer Sonderforschungsbereich stellt sich vor* (Dresden: Technische Universität, 1997), esp. pp. 65-73.

² On the formal criteria and the practical application of the theory of institutions for the historical sciences see G. Melville, 'Institutionen als geschichtswissenschaftliches Thema. Eine Einleitung', in G. Melville (ed.), *Institutionen und Geschichte. Theoretische Aspekte und mittelalterliche Befunde* (Norm und Struktur, 1; Cologne, 1992), pp. 1-24, and Melville, 'L'Institutionnalité médiévale dans sa pluridimensionalité', in J.-C. Schmitt and O. G. Oexle (eds.), *Tendances actuelles de l'histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 243-64. On this theory of institutions – which is actually the result of a rediscovery of older theories of scholars such as Arnold Gehlen, Bronislaw Malinowski and Max Weber at the 'Bielefelder Schule' in the 1970s – see also K.-S. Rehberg, 'Eine Grundlagentheorie der Institutionen: Arnold Gehlen. Mit systematischen Schlußfolgerungen für eine kritische Institutionentheorie', in G. Göhler, K. Lenk and R. Schmalz-Brunns (eds.), *Die Rationalität politischer Institutionen. Interdisziplinäre Perspektiven* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1990), pp. 115-44, and Rehberg, 'Institutionen als symbolische Ordnungen. Leitfragen zur Theorie und Analyse institutioneller Mechanismen (TAIM)', in G. Göhler (ed.), *Die Eigenart der Institutionen. Zum Profil politischer Institutionentheorie* (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), pp. 47-84.

³ On the stabilizing effects of symbolic self-representation in social formations, see Rehberg, 'Weltrepräsentanz und Verkörperung. Institutionelle Analyse und Symboltheorien – Eine Einführung in systematischer Absicht', in Melville (ed.), *Institutionalität und Symbolisierung. Verstetigung kultureller Ordnungsmuster in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2001), pp. 3-49.

⁴ The characteristic features of such 'total institutions' or rather 'closed forms' of life are discussed by E. Goffmann in *Asylums: Essays on the social situation of mental patients and other inmates* (New York: Anchor, 1961).

⁵ Both monographs and anthologies, and – since 2004 – text editions, are published in this series *Vita regularis. Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter*, ed. G. Melville (Münster/Hamburg/London: LIT-Verlag, 1996ff.). A survey of the volumes, of which some are mentioned in the following footnotes, is given at the homepage <http://www.vita-religiosa.de>.

⁶ There are historical case studies illustrating how change affects continuity of social institutions, e.g. S. Müller, G. S. Schaal and C. Tiersch (eds.), *Dauer durch Wandel. Institutionelle Ordnungen zwischen Verstetigung und Transformation* (Cologne: Böhlau-Verlag, 2002).

⁷ There is a volume in the series *Vita regularis* concerned with the generating and establishment of the mendicant orders. It is our project's first attempt to bring together and to compare the guiding ideas of the mendicant orders, the formulation of norms and the shaping of organizational structures, as well as some external reflections on the mendicant orders: G. Melville and J. Oberste (eds.), *Die Bettelorden im Aufbau. Beiträge zu Institutionalisierungsprozessen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 11; Münster/Hamburg/London, 1999). Another volume concentrates on poverty as a central principle of legitimacy and functioning in the process of institutionalization of the mendicant orders: A. Kehnel and G. Melville (eds.), *In proposito*

paupertatis. Studien zum Armutsverständnis bei den mittelalterlichen Bettelorden (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 13; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2001).

⁸ A two-volume book on the rules and normative foundations of different religious orders will be published under the title *Regulae – consuetudines – statuta. Studi sulle fonti normative degli ordini religiosi nei secoli centrali del Medioevo*, ed. D. Fonseca, H. Houben, G. Picasso, C. Andenna, and G. Melville (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 25; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2005). These volumes form the proceedings of an international two-session symposium which was organized by our research project and the Centro italo-tedesco di Storia Comparata degli Ordini religiosi in October 2002 in Bari and Lecce, and continued in May 2003 in Castiglione di Stivere. This German-Italian centre for comparative investigation of the history of religious orders was founded in December 2001 under the direction of Gert Melville (Dresden), Giancarlo Andenna (Brescia), Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Bari), Hubert Houben (Lecce), and Giuseppe Picasso (Milano). It represents an important step towards the internationalization of our work. In July 2005 a research centre for the comparative history of the religious orders in the Middle Ages, directed by Gert Melville, began work at the Catholic University in Eichstätt.

⁹ G. Melville and A. Müller (eds.), *Regula Sancti Augustini. Normative Grundlage differenter Verbände im Mittelalter* (Publikationen der Augustiner-Chorherren von Windesheim, 3; Paring, 2002). This volume is the result of an international conference which was organised by our research group in 2001.

¹⁰ M. Schürer, *Das Exemplum oder die erzählte Institution. Studien zum Beispielgebrauch bei den Dominikanern und Franziskanern des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 23; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2005).

¹¹ A dissertation on this subject is due to be published by Achim Wesjohann in 2006 in the series *Vita regularis*.

¹² There is a dissertation prepared on the novitiate. As a first result of his work the author edited a tract dating from the end of the twelfth century (MS Douai 827): *De novitiis instruendis. Text und Kontext eines anonymen Traktates vom Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts*, ed. M. Breitenstein (Vita regularis. Editionen, 1; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2004).

¹³ This dissertation project is undertaken by Lars-Arne Dannenberg.

¹⁴ G. Andenna, M. Breitenstein and G. Melville (eds.), *Charisma und religiöse Gemeinschaften im Mittelalter* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 26; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2005).

¹⁵ On the system of visitation see J. Oberste, *Visitation und Ordensorganisation: Formen sozialer Normierung, Kontrolle und Kommunikation bei den Cisterziensern, Prämonstratensern und Cluniensern (12. – frühes 14. Jahrhundert)* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 2; Münster/Hamburg/London, 1996). On the means to deal with deviant behaviour see Th. Fuser, *Mönche im Konflikt. Zum Spannungsfeld von Norm, Devianz und Sanktion bei den Cisterziensern und Cluniensern (12. bis frühes 14. Jahrhundert)* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 9; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2000).

¹⁶ F. Cygler, *Das Generalkapitel im hohen Mittelalter. Cisterzienser, Prämonstratenser, Kartäuser und Clunienser* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 13; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2001).

¹⁷ S. Barret, *La mémoire et l'écrit: l'abbaye de Cluny et ses archives (Xe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 19; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2005).

¹⁸ G. Andenna, S. Barret and G. Melville (eds.), *Oboedientia. Zu Formen und Grenzen von Macht und Unterordnung im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 27; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2005). This volume develops the approach of a book which lays emphasis on the relationship between both the individual and God and the individual and his community: G. Melville and M. Schürer (eds.), *Das Eigene und das Ganze. Zum*

Individuellen im mittelalterlichen Religiosentum, (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 16; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2002).

¹⁹ On the practical transformation of the order's idea of preaching to gentiles see the dissertation by A. Müller, *Bettelmönche in islamischer Fremde. Institutionelle Rahmenbedingungen franziskanischer und dominikanischer Mission in muslimischen Räumen des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Vita regularis. Abhandlungen, 15; Münster/Hamburg/London, 2002).

²⁰ The relationship between the mendicant orders and urban society is dealt with in case studies by J. Oberste, *Zwischen Heiligkeit und Häresie. Religiosität und sozialer Aufstieg in der Stadt des hohen Mittelalters*, 2 vols (Norm und Struktur, 17; Cologne, 2003). Cristina Andenna and Guido Cariboni are dealing with the religious communities in Italy; Reinhardt Butz analyzes the formation and the *cura monialium* of the Franciscans in the province *Saxonia*. Anne Müller studies the problem of national duality within the religious orders, looking more closely at the mendicants in Ireland, the Franciscans in Scotland, the Cistercians in Wales. Our research on the local arrangements of the religious orders is most fruitfully interrelated to the project 'Stadtkultur und Klosterkultur in der mittelalterlichen Lombardei. Institutionelle Wechselwirkungen zweier politischer und sozialer Felder' ('Urban and monastic culture in medieval Lombardy. Institutional interrelation of two political and social sphere'), which, under the direction of Professor Giancarlo Andenna, has formed part of the Dresden research collaboration for three years.

²¹ A. Kehnel, *Regionale Ordnungen universaler Konzepte. Die Franziskaner auf den britischen Inseln (13.–16. Jahrhundert). Historische Fallstudien zu einer europäischen Gemeinschaft des Mittelalters* (Technische Universität Dresden habilitation thesis, 2004), which is prepared for print.

²² A recent doctoral thesis deals with external perceptions of the mendicant orders: R. Sickert, 'Fremdbeobachtungen von Mendikantenorden im 13. Jahrhundert', due for publication in summer 2005 in *Vita regularis*.