

The Hospitallers,
the Mediterranean and Europe
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iuris in illis per me poterunt clamare in perpetuum abiuravi. Hiis testibus domino Willelmo de Heliun, Gilberto de Bailloll', Helya de Bailloll', Philippo de Bello campo, Roberto filio Radulphi, Galfrido novo homine, Willelmo de Hoo, Gilberto de Heliun, Rogero le Utlaghe, Michaelae filio Ioce, Rogero filio Bernardi, Willelmo filio Derkini et multis aliis.

Chapter 16

The Military Activity of the Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary (Thirteenth to Fourteenth Centuries)

Zsolt Hunyadi

The following survey is based on a recently completed doctoral thesis on the Hungarian-Slavonian Hospitaller Priory up to 1387.¹ One of the main goals of the thesis was to investigate whether the sources justify the common scholarly assumption that the Hospitallers in Hungary performed significant military activities during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The aim was to collect and analyse possible sources of such military activities and either to confirm this belief or to redefine it as necessary.

Although the survey traced the activities of the Hungarian-Slavonian Hospitaller Priory from the mid twelfth century onwards, the first palpable, albeit still indirect, information comes down to us from as late as the first phase of the Fifth Crusade. Before his armed pilgrimage to the Holy Land, King Andrew II (1205–35) sent the Hospitaller prior of Hungary to Venice to prepare for his embarkation in the late summer of 1217.² However, there is no clear sign of the participation of the Hospitallers in the Hungarian ruler's campaign. During the king's stay in the Holy Land no Hungarian Hospitallers were recorded as being present either in his entourage or in his army. His remarkable donations made in the Latin East concerned the castles of Crac des Chevaliers and Margat³ and had no immediate reference to Hospitallers stationed in Hungary. After his return from Syria, Andrew II asked the pope to commission the Hospitallers and the Templars to guard his son, who had been sent to Armenia in 1219, but this request did not particularly concern the brethren of these military-religious orders in Hungary.⁴

1 Zs. Hunyadi, 'Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387', Ph.D. thesis (Budapest, 2004). Its revised version is forthcoming.

2 *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, 11 vols, ed. G. Fejér (Buda, 1829–44) (hereafter Fejér, *CD*), vol. 7/4, p. 73; *Árpádkori új okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*, 12 vols, ed. G. Wenzel (Pest, 1860–74) (hereafter: *ÁUO*), vol. 6, pp. 380–3.

3 *Vetera Monumenta Historica Hungariam Sacram Illustrantia, 1216–1352*, 2 vols, ed. A. Theiner (Romae, 1859–1860), vol. 1, pp. 14–18; *ÁUO*, vol. 1, pp. 156–8; *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 1100–1310*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols (Paris, 1894–1906) (hereafter *CH*), nos. 1613–1616.

4 Fejér, *CD*, vol. 3/1, pp. 250–4; Theiner, vol. 1, pp. 20–21.

What sort of military support the Hospital provided to King Béla IV (1235–70) during the 1241–42 Mongol invasion of Hungary is also obscure.⁵ It is likely that the report of Master Rogerius, in its known form, is not completely reliable as it reads that 'Upon the Mongols' retreat, King Béla came to Hungary from the coastal areas with the help of the knights of the Island of Rhodes'.⁶ Other contemporary sources, however, indicate Hospitaller participation in these events. Béla IV complained in a letter to the pope, most likely in 1247,⁷ that at the appearance of the Mongol menace he received help *a nullo christianorum Europe principe, nisi a domo Hospitalis Iherosolimitani, cuius fratres ad requisitionem nostram nuper arma sumpserunt contra paganos*. It is likely that the Hospitallers accompanied the king when he fled from the Mongols, down to Trau on the Dalmatian coast.⁸ This hypothesis is supported by two indirect pieces of evidence. The corroborating formula of the first extant charter (1243) issued by the Székesfehérvár Hospitaller preceptory reads: *proprium sigillum nostrum erat in maritima propter metum tartarorum*; that is, the personnel of the preceptory took their common seal and perhaps their archives to the safety of the coast when the Mongols came in 1241.⁹ Another charter reveals that Raimbaud of Voczon, the Hungarian-Slavonian prior, was in Trau on the Dalmatian coast as

5 Hungarian scholarly literature often cites Hospitallers who fought in the battle of Muhi but the sources clearly refer to the Templars. See, for instance, Chapter 36 of *Thomas archidiaconus, Historia Salonitana*, in A.F. Gombos (ed.), *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae 800–1301*, 3 vols (Budapest, 1937–43), p. 2235; J. Długosz, *Annales seu Cronicae incliti regni Poloniae. Liber septimus et octavus*, *Annales Poloniae (Varsaviae, 1975)*, pp. 33–4.

6 '... rex Bela maritimis de partibus per cruciferos de insula Rodi [...] de recessu Tartarorum in Hungariam venit ...' 'Rogerii carmen miserabile,' in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum*, 2 vols, ed. E. Szentpétery (Budapest, 1937–38), vol. 1, p. 596. It is clearly an anachronism to associate the Hospitallers with Rhodes in the mid-thirteenth century. Thus this is an obvious interpolation of a later hand, and noted by László Juhász, the editor of the text. It cannot be ruled out, however, that in the 'original' version *cruciferos* referred to the Hospitallers without using the phrase 'de insula Rhodi', as the Hospitallers were not present in Rhodes before 1309/10. See also P. Jackson, 'The Crusade against the Mongols (1241)', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 42 (1991), 15.

7 On the dating and the background of the letter, see T. Senga, 'IV. Béla külpolitikája és a IV. Incéhez intézett "tatár-levele"' [The Foreign policy of Béla IV and his 'Mongol letter' sent to Pope Innocent IV], *Századok*, 121 (1987), 606–9.

8 E. Reiszig, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János lovagrend Magyarországon* [The Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Hungary], 2 vols (Budapest, 1925–28), vol. 1, p. 56. For the flight of the royal court, see J.R. Sweeney, "'Spurred on by the fear of Death": Refugees and Displaced Population during the Mongol Invasion of Hungary', in M. Gervers and W. Schleppe (eds), *Nomadic Diplomacy, Destruction and Religion from the Pacific to the Adriatic* (Toronto, 1994), pp. 46–8.

9 *ÁUO*, vol. 7, pp. 144–5; cf. Zs. Hunyadi, 'A székesfehérvári johannita konvent hiteleshelyi tevékenysége az Árpád-korban' [The Székesfehérvár Hospitaller convent as a place of authentication in the Árpád Age], in L. Koszta (ed.), *Capitulum I. Tanulmányok a középkori magyar egyház történetéből* (Szeged, 1998), pp. 40–1.

late as November 1243, since he witnessed a transaction there.¹⁰ This may account for the fact that the Order appointed a general proctor in the person of a canon of the Buda collegiate chapter.¹¹ In the defence against the Mongols the Order must have played some kind of military role,¹² since as late as the summer of 1247 the king, perhaps remembering his father's plans between 1211 and 1225 for the Teutonic Order in the Barcaság,¹³ wanted to have the Hospitallers as defenders of the south-eastern frontiers of the kingdom. Béla IV tried to settle the Hospitallers in the region called Severin as far as the River Olt. According to a letter issued in November 1247, the Hospital partially occupied it: *quos [fratres] iam partim collocavimus in loco magis suspecto, videlicet in confinio Cumanorum ultra Danubium et Bulgarorum*.¹⁴ It is obscure, however, why the Order left the region shortly after 1250,¹⁵ wrecking the king's defensive plans. It should be emphasized that the grant was not a genuine one, but rather a concession for occupying and populating the region, and it included the usual exemptions for would-be settlers. It resembles a contract, as it clearly sets out the military obligations of the Order: where and how many armed men they were expected to provide in case of an attack against the kingdom. The Hospitallers were to provide 100 armed brethren in the event of an attack by pagans, Bulgars and schismatics; 50 armed brethren were to be stationed in Pozsony, Moson, Sopron, Vasvár and Újvár or other places against Christian invaders; while against the Mongols they were to provide 60 *fratres* for the defence of the frontiers.¹⁶ Some scholars regard this as a manifest military role played by the Hospital, although it is not clear whether the above plans were ever executed. Nonetheless, Pope Innocent IV provided further evidence for possible or planned Hospitaller military activities

10 'Testes sunt Rambaldus preceptor domus Hospitalis per totam Hungariam ...' *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae ac Slavoniae*. *Diplomatički zbornik kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, 18 vols, ed. M. Kostrenčić and T. Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1904–98) (hereafter Smičiklas), vol. 4, pp. 205–6.

11 *ÁUO*, vol. 7, pp. 144–5.

12 For a general observation, see H. Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller on the Frontiers of the British Isles', in J. Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, (Aldershot, 1999), p. 55.

13 See A. Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (London, 1992), pp. 34–5; see also H. Zimmermann, 'Der deutsche Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen', in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, Vorträge und Forschungen 26*, (Sigmaringen, 1980), 261–98; J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann, *Der Deutsche Orden im Burzenland: eine diplomatische Untersuchung*, *Studia Transylvanica 26* (Köln-Weimar-Wien, 2000); J. Laszlovszky and Z. Soós, 'Historical Monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania,' in Zs. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 319–36.

14 Fejér *CD*, vol. 4/1, pp. 447–54; *Erdélyi okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae 1023–1300*, vol. 1, ed. Zs. Jakó (Budapest, 1997), p. 191; *CH*, no. 2445.

15 Pope Innocent IV confirmed Béla IV's grant in 1250. Fejér *CD*, vol. 4/2, pp. 75–6; Theiner, vol. 1, pp. 208–11; Jakó, *Codex diplomaticus Transsylvaniae*, p. 195.

16 For comparison, see the case of Charles of Anjou with the Hospital in 1262: D. Selwood, *The Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania, 1100–1300* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 109.

when, unusually in European practice, he granted to both the Hospitallers and those who joined them fighting against the Mongols in Hungary the same indulgence that had been granted to the crusaders who won martyrdom against the infidel in the Holy Land.¹⁷

A few years later, following the fall of the Latin Empire, Emperor Baldwin II sought to win Pons de Fay, the Hungarian-Slavonian prior, to provide military assistance for the recovery of Constantinople in 1267. But there is no evidence that a Hungarian contingent was ever sent to or stationed in *frontaria Grece*.¹⁸

After the turmoil that followed the extinction of the Arpadian dynasty in 1301, a long-lasting consolidation of royal power started with the triple coronation (1301, 1309, 1310) of the Angevin King Charles (Caroberto) I (1301–42).¹⁹ It is obscure what role the Hospitallers played in this process, but there is no doubt that Pope Boniface VIII put pressure upon them to support the Angevin claimant against the Bohemian Wenceslas.²⁰ The Battle of Rozgony in 1312 provides another piece of evidence. According to the chronicle, after the royal standard-bearer was killed the king continued to fight under the banner of certain *cruciferi*²¹ who – subsequent to the dissolution of the Templars – may have been either the Hospitallers or the

17 '...familie vestre ac omnibus aliis, qui vobiscum signo crucis assumpto in Ungariam contra Tartarorum processerint feritatem, illam indulgentiam idemque privilegium elargimur, que transeuntibus in terre sancte subsidium in generali concilio sunt concessa...', Fejér CD, vol. 4/1, pp. 465–7; Theiner, vol. 1, p. 206; AÜO, vol. 2, pp. 205–6; CH, no. 2477. About the importance of the indulgence, see Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Province of Almania to 1428', in *Ritterorden und Region, Ordines militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII*, ed. Z.H. Nowak (Toruń, 1995), p. 29. See also Luttrell, 'The Military Orders: Further Definitions,' *Sacra Militia*, 1 (2000), 10–11; A. Forey, 'Military orders and secular warfare in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Viator*, 24 (1993), p. 85.

18 CH no. 3252; A. Forey, 'The Military Orders and Holy wars against Christians in the thirteenth century', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 3; Luttrell, 'The Hospitaller Province of Almania', 29; Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources', in Zs. Hunyadi and J. Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), p. 272.

19 P. Engel, 'Az ország újraegyesítése. I. Károly küzdelmei az oligarchák ellen (1310–1323)' [The reunification of the country. The struggle of Charles I against the oligarchs (1310–1323)], in P. Engel, *Honor, vár, ispánság. Válogatott tanulmányok*, ed. E. Csukovits (Budapest, 2003), pp. 320–408; See also Gy. Kristó, 'I. Károly király harcai a tartományurak ellen' [The struggles of Charles I against the oligarchs], *Századok*, 137 (2003), 297–347.

20 Theiner, vol. 1, pp. 401–2; *Anjou-kori oklevéltár. Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*, 22 vols. Praeside J. Kristó (Budapest–Szeged, 1990–2005) (hereafter *AOKI*), vol. 1, p. 220.

21 '... Gurke sub vexillo regis vexillarius existens occisus est: rex sub vexillo cruciferorum pugnavit...' *Johannes de Thurocz, Chronica Hungarorum, I, Textus*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum, Series nova VII, ed. Gy. Kristó and E. Galántai (Budapest, 1985), chapter 117; cf. Gy. Kristó, *A rozgonyi csata* [The battle of Rozgony] (Budapest, 1978), pp. 80, 84; Gy. Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi* [Wars of the Angevin period] (Budapest, 1988), pp. 37–8. In the former work (1978), Kristó mentions Hospitallers, while in the latter (1988) he uses the literary translation of *cruciferi* ('keresztések'), but later in the book he still seems to identify them with the Hospitallers.

canons regular of St Stephen, that is, the Stephanites.²² If the Hospitallers rendered effective military services to Charles I, the king would probably have supported the Order in acquiring possessions. Yet in 1317 or 1318 Charles I supported his relative, Prince Mieseo of Beuthen, as prospective prior of the Hungarian-Slavonian priory against Filippo of Gragnana, the candidate of the Hospital, or more precisely of Pope John XXII.²³ Moreover, it was a difficult period for both the Hungarian king and the Hospital. Charles I still struggled against provincial *potentates*, and his 'Slavonian war' proved to be lengthy. Perhaps this situation, and/or the absence of a legal prior, induced Pope John XXII to commission the archbishop of Kalocsa to appoint judges for the custody of the Hospitallers' property.²⁴ Difficulties proved to be ceaseless for the time being. Although the king had consolidated his position against the great provincial nobles by 1322–1323, Vrana – the former Templar headquarters now held by the Hospitallers – was besieged by the Croats (*crohati*) in (or just before) 1328. Owing to the help of laymen, the resident brethren survived, but the fortification and the building complex suffered serious damage.²⁵

Just as for the Arpadian period (up to 1301), there is much discussion about the role played by the Hospital in Hungary during Angevin rule with regard to fighting the infidel and its other military–defensive functions. There are sources that indicate that in the first third of the fourteenth century the Hospitallers took up arms not against the infidel but against the enemies of the king or in favour of their own properties (1312, 1319–20, 1328). The Hospitallers also ceased to fight against the infidel in other parts of Europe after 1320. Only in 1334 did the Hospitallers show some inclination to again play a more active role in the crusading movement. Anthony Luttrell has pointed out that this moment can be regarded as a turning point in the history of the Hospital.²⁶

This change, however, did not convince either the public or the papal curia. As for the public, both royal and private land donations virtually ceased in the fourteenth century.²⁷ The series of secular privileges also faltered in Hungary during the reign

22 In contrast to the Western European situation, Hungarian and many Central European written sources in Latin very often use the term *crucifer* instead of the appropriate *frater hospitalis*, *miles Templi*, conceivably with reference to the cross they wore on their habits. This led to confusion: many scholars treated the houses and the landed properties of other orders, for instance the Order of St Anthony or the Order of the Holy Spirit, as belonging to the Hospital or the Temple, and vice versa.

23 *Registres de Jean XXII, Lettres communes analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican*, ed. G. Mollat and G. de Lesquen (Paris, 1904–20), no. 6549. See also K. Borchardt, 'The Hospitallers, Bohemia, and the Empire, 1250–1330', in J. Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 1999), p. 225.

24 *Registres de Jean XXII*, no. 10462; *AOKI*, vol. 5, p. 232.

25 Fejér CD, vol. 8/3, pp. 341–3; *AOKI*, vol. 12, p. 146.

26 A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes: Prospectives, Problems, Possibilities', in J. Fleckenstein and M. Hellmann (eds), *Die Geistlichen Ritterorden Europas, Vorträge und Forschungen 26* (Sigmaringen, 1980), p. 244.

27 Cf. the Polish situation: M. Starnawska, 'Crusade Orders on Polish Lands during the Middle Ages. Adaptation in a Peripheral Environment', *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae*,

of Charles I. It would be irrational to expect private gifts, which were infrequent even in the Arpadian period, to be given to an Order that was gradually losing its popularity. At the same time, papal discontent was manifest. In 1342, Pope Clement VI threatened to replace the Hospitallers with a newly founded military-religious order, if they were still reluctant to support a general papal crusade against the Turks.²⁸

The calls to fight against the Turks also reached Hungary and those Hospitallers stationed here, but this was already another period: the reign of King Louis I (1342–1382). Although the new ruler also belonged to the Angevin dynasty, his accession to the throne marked the beginning of a new era in many respects, including changes in the life of the Priory. These changes became manifest during the wars against Venice and the Kingdom of Naples.²⁹

There was a peculiar triangular relationship between Venice, Louis I and the Hospital in rivalry for the Dalmatian coast.³⁰ In July 1345 the Hungarian prior obtained the Venetians' permission to acquire oars *apud Jadram* (sc. Zara/Zadar in Dalmatia) and to export them to the Master of the Hospital (most likely to Rhodes), who had asked for these oars, on a ship that he hired from Venice, because it was stated that *ipse Prior non teneatur facere venire contra litteras a dicto Magistro, quomodo dicti remi illuc sint conducti*.³¹ By the time the transaction was made, war had broken out in the Dalmatian coastal area, including Zara.³² During this war the Venetians believed that they were on the same side as the Hungarian Hospitallers. Their error was based on the fact that the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory belonged to the Italian *langue* and was thus linked to the Priory of Venice.³³ The 'good relations' were spoiled when the Croatian Mladen Subić (III) – who had been a citizen of Venice

2 (1997), 124–5, 137; M. Starnawska, *Między Jerozolimą a Łukowem. Zakony kryżowe na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* [Between Jerusalem and Łuków. Military-religious orders in Medieval Poland] (Warszawa, 1999), p. 70.

28 A. Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1306–1421', in *Crusades*, vol. 3, p. 294; Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes: Prospectives, Problems, Possibilities,' p. 244; H. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 52.

29 As far as the Neapolitan wars are concerned, King Louis I encroached on the autonomy of the Priory (and that of the Order) by, most likely, giving the prioral title to the infamous Montreal du Bar, also known as Frà Moriale. Reiszig, vol. 1, pp. 100–12; cf. I. Miskolczy, *Magyar-olasz összeköttetések az Anjouk korában. Magyar-nápolyi kapcsolatok* [Hungarian-Italian relations in the Angevin period. Hungarian-Neapolitan relations] (Budapest, 1937), pp. 250, 252.

30 Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, pp. 97–115; P. Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895–1526* (London and New York, 2001), pp. 161–2.

31 *Diplomáciai emlékek az Anjou-korból. Acta externa Andegavensia*, 3 vols, ed. G. Wenzel (Budapest, 1874–76), vol. 2, pp. 75–6. Apparently the prior received a special licence to export oars, although generally it was prohibited to sell oars abroad.

32 Zara was under Hungarian control in 1311–12, 1345–46 and in the period 1357–1401.

33 Cf. Zs. Hunyadi, 'Hospitaller Officials of Foreign Origin in the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory: thirteenth–fourteenth century', in H.J. Nicholson and J. Burgdorf (eds), *International Mobility in the Military Orders (Twelfth to Fifteenth centuries): Travelling on Christ's Business* (Cardiff, 2006), p. 145.

since 1343³⁴ – was prompted by the Venetians to besiege Vrana during the winter of 1345.³⁵ Without adequate sources, it cannot be determined whether the Hungarian prior Pierre Cornuti (1335–48) or his lieutenant, Giovanni Latini of Perugia, made any arrangements for Vrana's defence, or whether any of them stayed at Vrana during the siege. King Louis I led his army to Zara against Venice but in 1346 he suffered an unexpected defeat, which he wanted to repair quickly.³⁶ This had to be postponed, however, since in the meantime Prince Andrew, the younger brother of Louis, was assassinated in Naples and Hungary reorientated its foreign policy immediately. Not much attention was paid to the report sent by the Hungarian-Slavonian vice-prior, Baudoin Cornuti (1348–74), to Nicholas of Lendva, warden of Slavonia, concerning the Venetians' military preparations against Zara in the spring of 1348.³⁷ By that time Pierre Cornuti was away from Hungary, although it is not known whether he left for Rhodes or if he ever arrived there. The affair with Venice in the coastal areas came to an end in 1358 through the Treaty of Zara, which in a certain respect concluded the debate over this region not only among the secular parties but also in relation to the role played by the Hospital. The Hungarian-Slavonian prior was among the witnesses on behalf of the Hungarian king,³⁸ while the head of the Priory of Venice, Napoleone de Tibertis, witnessed the oath of the Venetian party in San Marco in the same year.³⁹

Returning to the fight against the infidel, it can be observed that, although the leaders of the Order made efforts to involve the Hungarian Hospitallers, the local brethren followed the policy of the Hungarian ruler. A full assessment of King Louis I's anti-Turkish policy would exceed the scope of the present survey, but it is worth summarizing briefly its major characteristics. During the first decade and a half of Louis I's reign the Turks were not an important concern for him. If he planned wars against the infidel, he meant the heathen Lithuanians. Fighting against the Lithuanians established Louis's fame as *rex bellator*, *athleta domini*, and *zelator fidei christianae*. These wars, nonetheless, did not involve the Hospital, as opposed to the Teutonic Order. Similarly, the first measures of Louis I against the Turks in the 1360s did not involve the Hospitallers either. Royal policy did not favour direct military activities but tried to impede Turkish expansion into the Balkans by shaping buffer zones under Hungarian control. As Ferenc Szakály has pointed out, the problem was not with Louis I's plans but rather with their implementation.⁴⁰ Western scholars have charged the *rex bellator* with the abuse of religious enthusiasm and

34 Wenzel, *Acta externa*, vol. 2, pp. 34–5.

35 Wenzel, *Acta externa*, vol. 2, p. 124.

36 Kristó, *Az Anjou-kor háborúi*, pp. 97–115.

37 '... Veneti die noctuque non cessant civitatem Jadre fortificare et munire', Smičiklas, vol. 11, pp. 444–5; *A római szent birodalmi széki Teleki család oklevéltára* [The cartulary of the Teleki family], 2 vols, ed. S. Barabás (Budapest, 1895), vol. 1, pp. 84–7.

38 Wenzel, *Acta externa*, vol. 2, pp. 501–4.

39 Wenzel, *Acta externa*, vol. 2, pp. 513–18.

40 F. Szakály, 'A török-magyar kilzdelem szakaszai a mohácsi csata előtt (1365–1526)' [The periods of the Turkish-Hungarian struggle prior to the battle of Mohács (1365–1526)], in L. Rűzsás and F. Szakály (eds), *Mohács. Tanulmányok a mohácsi csata 450. évfordulója alkalmából* (Budapest, 1986), p. 15.

misuse of financial support originally dedicated to crusading activity. Louis I used the subsidies against the Turks for his own purposes expansionary by pretending to make efforts to uproot the heresy spreading in the Balkans.⁴¹ The popes from Clement VI to Gregory XI prevailed upon the Hungarian ruler – either by bringing pressure to bear on him or by feather-bedding⁴² – to become a leading figure of a *passagium generale*. In the early 1370s, Pope Gregory XI used all the means in his power to induce Louis I to fight against the infidel. Instead, the king turned against Venice in 1372–73, allying with Padua.⁴³ In addition, a disagreement arose between Louis I, the pope and the Hospital concerning the succession of the Hungarian prior in 1373, although Baudoin Cornuti was still in office!⁴⁴ This was not the only reason that prevented Louis I from providing effective help against the Turks, but it certainly made diplomatic relations tenser than before. Eventually, the pope seemed to lose hope over the participation of the Hungarian ruler in a land crusade. Gregory XI again began to prefer the organization of a naval force in which the Hospitallers had a share. He called the Order in December 1375 to recruit a contingent of more than 400 knights, including one and a half dozen brethren from the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory.⁴⁵ It is not known, however, whether they played an active role, that is, whether they took part in any *passagium* at all. All that is known is that Hesso Schlegelholz, preceptor of Rottweil and Freiburg-im-Breisgau, was sent to Hungary to advance the crusading movement, but in the end he failed to reconcile the quarrel between the pope and Louis I over the succession of the Hungarian-Slavonian prior. Thus the cooperation was cancelled.⁴⁶ Perhaps it was because of this situation that King Louis I did not encourage the local Hospitallers to fight against the infidel. The menace of the Turks was still far from the frontiers of Hungary in the first half of Louis's rule, and the issue did not belong to the main problems of Hungarian foreign policy.

Perhaps Hungarian Hospitallers participated in crusades by joining a *passagium* individually or in smaller groups. According to a recently discovered letter from Rhodes, Hungarians served in the army of King Peter I of Cyprus at the siege of Antalya in 1361.⁴⁷ In this letter, James of Panyit mentions that he had received news from Hungary. Thus it is likely that there were other Hungarians arriving in Rhodes. From 1351 at the latest, there may have been a hospice of the Hungarian prior at their

41 N. Housley, 'King Louis the Great of Hungary and the Crusades, 1342–1382', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 62 (1984), 207–8.

42 For example, Theiner vol. 1, pp. 658, 697–8.

43 Cf. A. Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370–1378', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 46 (1980), 395–6.

44 Hunyadi, 'Hospitalier Officials', p. 146.

45 Theiner, vol. 2, pp. 155–6; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la Mort de Philibert Naillac: 1310–1421* (Paris, 1913; reprint: London, 1974), p. 188; Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', p. 301; Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks', p. 409.

46 A. Luttrell, 'Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384', *Speculum*, 41 (1966), 35; Luttrell, 'Gregory XI and the Turks', p. 408.

47 P. Engel, 'A török-magyar küzdelmek legrégebbi fejezete? (Egy magyar lovag levele Rhodoszról 1361-ből)', [The earliest chapter of the Turkish-Hungarian struggle? The letter of a Hungarian knight from Rhodes] in F. Glatz (ed.), *Szomszédaink között Kelet-Európában. Emlékkönyv Niederhauser Emil 70. születésnapjára* (Budapest, 1993), pp. 33–40.

disposal.⁴⁸ Moreover, Ede Reiszig explained Prior Baudoin's long absence by stating that he left the priory for Rhodes in July 1364 and came back as late as the beginning of 1370. This explanation cannot be confirmed as Reiszig referred to the exact date of the charter of 1364 but, unusually for him, he did not give the signature or the shelf-mark of the charter of Louis I in which he found this information.⁴⁹ Neither the inventory of the National Archives of Hungary⁵⁰ nor the source publications contain any charter of Louis I issued on 24 July 1364. Not even the central administration of the Order recorded the presence of Baudoin on Rhodes. On the contrary, Reiszig's theory can be refuted with the help of other extant written sources. According to a charter issued in February 1365, Baudoin stayed in the County of Dubica when he – as the count of Dubica – exempted the folk of the Pauline monastery of Dubica from various forms of taxation.⁵¹ He also appeared in Slavonia at the end of May 1367, when he issued a charter at the preceptory of Pakrac.⁵² Admittedly, there are several hiatuses in his priorial itinerary (24 June 1361–12 February 1365 and 22 May 1367–12 December 1371), but they do not include the one long hiatus suggested by Reiszig. The prior's absence could have had many different reasons, although the possibility of the war against the Turks should not be ruled out entirely.

Last but not least a certain Barraxius de Barrax should be mentioned, who applied for *ancianitas* in 1392.⁵³ According to this charter of the Master of the Order, Barraxius – who was most likely of Provençal origin⁵⁴ – accompanied Raymond de Beaumont not only to the Priory of Hungary but *etiam partes alias cismarinas se contulerit in eis residens*. It is hopeless to reconstruct either the exact pursuits of Barraxius in Hungary or whether he was provided a *stagia* at any of the local preceptories. The fact that he appealed for *ancianitas* implies that as a senior brother he served the Order as *miles*. Raymond de Beaumont acted as prior between 1374 and 1381,⁵⁵ and in a certain respect up to 1384. So it is probable that his compatriot stayed in the Hungarian-Slavonian priory and went to *partes alias cismarinas*, for instance, to fight the infidel at this time.⁵⁶

48 For the *hospicium*, see A. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes, 1306–1356* (Rhodes, 2003), pp. 115, 249.

49 Reiszig, vol. 1, pp. 116–17.

50 Gy. Rác, *A középkori Magyarország levéltári forrásainak adatbázisa. (DL-DF 4.2)* [Database of Archival Documents of Medieval Hungary], CD-ROM edition (Budapest, 2003).

51 *Alsó-Szlovéniai okmánytár (Dubicza, Orbász és Szana vármegyék). Codex diplomaticus partium Hungariae adnexarum (Comitatum Dubicza, Orbász et Szana) 1244–1718*, ed. L. Thallóczy and S. Horváth (Budapest, 1912), pp. 82–3.

52 National Archives of Hungary, Budapest, *Collectio Antemohacsiana* (hereafter: MOL), DL.8617.

53 Malta cod. 325, fol. 61v–62r.

54 B. Beaucage, *Visites générales des commanderies de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du Grand Prieuré de Saint-Gilles: 1338 (Aix-en-Provence, 1982)*, p. 200.

55 Hunyadi, 'Hospitalier Officials', pp. 146–7.

56 During the priorship of Raymond, in 1376, two other Hospitallers of unknown origin turned up: 'Philipus de Czamana magister domorum, Blvnsis magister domorum.' I could not identify their affiliation in Hungary; MOL Df.230580.

From the written sources, therefore, there is rather limited evidence for defensive-military functions of the Hospitaller brethren in the Hungarian-Slavonian priory. Finally, the castles and fortifications pertaining to this priory should be taken into consideration. In this respect the organization of the preceptories has to be discussed.⁵⁷ On the basis of my research and critical survey, I found that the prevailing view in Hungarian scholarship⁵⁸ concerning the Hospitaller fortified sites is highly coloured. In the Arpadian period, only one fortification clearly belonged to the Order. It may have been built just after the Mongol invasion. The castle was situated at the southern corner of Margitsziget,⁵⁹ if what King Béla IV said in his letter to Pope Innocent IV is accepted, that the king – due to fear that the Mongols would return – had built castles along the Danube River before ca. 1247.⁶⁰ It is not clear where, exactly, these fortifications were situated, although scholarly literature seems to identify the one built on Margitsziget. The king also states in his letter that he gave the Hospitallers control of some of these *castra* since ‘our people is inexperienced in such matters’. The above data and Béla IV’s special ‘devotion’ toward the island support the interpretation that it was the Hospital which indeed controlled that castle for a while. The Hospitallers may have been more experienced in this respect than the majority of the Hungarians, but there are no palpable signs of their castle-building activity in Hungary.⁶¹ In the Angevin period there was no radical change either, although there was a ‘new’ castle of the Priory at Bela in 1303, and another fortification was located near Pakrac (Szentiván, Trnava), though the first information about this is from the 1320s. The Hospital also took over the former Templar headquarters in Vrana, which no doubt was a huge and splendid fortification, by 1328 at the latest. These three examples still do not indicate a fundamental change in the basic activities of the Order. Several secular lords had more castles even after the consolidation of the Angevin rulership and the recovery of the royal domain. Really important changes took place only around the end of the fourteenth century. These were partly in connection with the changes in the leadership of the Priory, but, first of all, they reflected the Turkish menace. The striking increase in the number

57 For details, see Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary*, chapter VI.

58 Originally stated by Ede Reiszg and then by those who have based their ideas on his 2-volume monograph.

59 Margaret’s Island, in the Middle Ages: *Insula Leporum* (island of the rabbits) (today Budapest).

60 Fejér *CD*, vol. 4/2, pp. 218–24; Theiner, vol. 1, pp. 230–2; Senga, ‘IV. Béla külpolitikája’, pp. 590–605; *A tatárjárás emlékezete* [Memory of the Mongol invasion] ed. T. Katona (Budapest, 1981), pp. 341–4; B. Nagy, ed. *Tatárjárás* [Mongol invasion] (Budapest, 2003), p. 197.

61 Accordingly, Miklós Horler’s theory concerning the application of the ‘knowledge’ of the Hospitallers in castle building in Hungary is unfounded: cf. M. Horler, ‘A johanniták és a korai magyar vártípus’ [The Hospitallers and the early Hungarian castle-type], in L. Horváth (ed.), *Castrum Bene 1989, Várak a 13. században* (Gyöngyös, 1990), p. 138.

of *castra* from the second third of the fifteenth century onwards directly reflects the reaction of the Order to the growth of Ottoman power in the Balkans.⁶²

62 Cf. P. Engel, ‘The Estates of the Hospitallers in Hungary at the end of the Middle Ages’, in Hunyadi and Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Order*, pp. 293–9.