

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

VOLUME / BAND 1

ISSUE / HEFT 1



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The University of Debrecen
Faculty of Humanities
Institute of History



2025

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Published by / Herausgegeben von:

University of Debrecen

Issued by / Veröffentlicht von:

The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities, Institute of History

Address / Adresse:

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1.

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ISSN:

Print: 3058-0501

Available online at / Online verfügbar unter:

<https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

(Editorial support by University of Debrecen University and National Library/ unterstützt durch Universitäts- und Nationalbibliothek der Universität Debrecen)

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Distancing or Breaking? The Relation of the Hungarian Hospitaller Priory to the Central Convent of the Order in the late Middle Ages

ABSTRACT

In the course of recent historiography it has been debated that the Hungarian-Slavonian Hospitaller priory became detached from the Order's central convent in Rhodes by the late Middle Ages: local Hospitallers failed to pay the regular taxes and other dues, they disregarded the centrally appointed priors, and elected their superiors locally. More recently, it has even been suggested that the Hungarian-Slavonian priory, known as the Priory of Vrana, may have also broken away from the administrative structure of the Order. Based on international analogies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the article argues that despite the loosening of the administrative burdens, the Hungarian-Slavonian priory remained an integral part of the Order of the Hospital. Several other priories and bailiwicks of the Order showed similar features in the period under examination. The author argues that the internal changes of the Hospital, inter alia, the growing independence of the bailiwicks forced the Convent to react: the intensity of visitation manifestly increased in the fifteenth century. On the other hand, one of the most serious constraints that retained the Hungarian priory in the Order was the exemption/privilege that functioned as a basis of the Order's economy, which the local knights could not renounce.

Keywords: Hospitallers, Hungarian-Slavonian Priory, administrative structure, visitations

The present study was prompted by a recent hypothesis of András Ribi, my colleague and former co-author, who conducted research on the history of the Knights Hospitaller in Hungary in the late Middle Ages. The hypothesis states that the Hungarian province had distanced itself from its headquarters in Rhodes to such an extent that it could no longer be properly considered Hospitaller from the last quarter of the fifteenth century onwards.¹ He also

¹ Ribi, András, “Filia ordinis crucigerorum de Alba’ – A soproni keresztes preceptorium a középkor végén”, = *Soproni Szemle* 72:3, 2018, 286–296.

formulated his thesis in his 2019 doctoral dissertation² and in several publications,³ most recently in our co-authored English-language monograph in 2023. To be fully accurate, I quote his latest formulation verbatim:

“The quasi-Hungarian Order of Saint John – the *ordo cruciferorum* – was then formed from the remnants of the former Knights Hospitaller province under the leadership of the Vrana priors, who became royal barons, and the superiors of the Székesfehérvár Convent. However, the Knights Hospitaller tradition was not completely abandoned in Hungary.”⁴

In the following, I would like to enumerate some arguments indicating that the situation developed in the late Middle Ages cannot be interpreted as breaking, but as distancing at most, and moreover, that the case and situation of the Priory of Hungary (Vrana) cannot be considered unique during the analyzed period. I attempt embedding my findings into a broader international context, thereby drawing the attention of researchers to the significance and possibilities of comparative studies concerning the history of the Order. I consider it particularly important to provide an appropriate background in case of a highly centralized international military-religious order, where historians of the very field are often forced to use analogies due to the availability of sources.

So far I have systematically studied the history of the Hospitallers from their foundation until the end of the fourteenth century,⁵ although I have

² Ribí, András, “A fehérvári johannita (keresztes) konvent története a késő középkorban (1390–1543)”, (PhD diss., ELTE University, 2019).

³ Ribí, András, “A várnagy és a püspök – fehérvári johannita preceptorok karrierje a 15. század második felében”, In: Szanka, Brigitta – Szolnoki, Zoltán – Nagy, Zsolt Dezső (eds.) *Középkortörténeti tanulmányok 10*. Szeged, 2018. 95–115.; Ribí, Filia ordinis crucigerorum de Alba, 2018. 286–296.; Ribí, András, “A magyarországi rendtartomány története a konstanzi zsinattól a középkor végéig, különös tekintettel a fehérvári konventre”, *Máltai Tanulmányok* 1:1–2, 2019, 125–171.; Ribí, András, *A fehérvári keresztes konvent története: Preceptorium, hiteleshely, ispotály a késő középkorban (1390–1543)*. Székesfehérvár, 2021.

⁴ Ribí, András, “From Hospitallers to Cruciferi. The History of the Knights Hospitaller Province in Hungary from the Council of Constance to the end of the Middle Ages with special emphasis on the Székesfehérvár Convent,” In: Hunyadi, Zsolt – Ribí, András, *The Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest, 2023. 163.

⁵ Summing up: Hunyadi, Zsolt, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387*. Budapest, 2010.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, “Szent János ispotályos testvérei: A johanniták Magyarországon a 12. század közepétől a konstanzi zsinatig”, = *Máltai Tanulmányok* 1:1–2, 2019, 11–124.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, “Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth

occasionally made short detours into the fifteenth century.⁶ I attempted updating my knowledge through the major comprehensive works on the late medieval history of the Order, but I never examined the interval between 1410 and 1523 in depth. This was partly due to the fact that the period following the death of Philibert de Naillac (1421) has been somewhat neglected in research on the history of the Order, with the exception of the last three decades.⁷ Concerning certain late medieval issues, historians had to refer back to the study of the Hospitaller Giacomo Bosio (1544–1627), who was active at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that is his works obviously not written with the demands of modern scholarship. The situation has fundamentally changed by recent years, and numerous remarkable works have been published with a focus on the century preceding the Maltese period of the Order, first of all, by Karl Borchardt, Pierre Bonneaud, Carlos Barquero Goñi, Gregory O'Malley, Jürgen Sarnowsky, and Theresa Vann. It is not the task of the present study to describe and evaluate these works, I would only point out that most of these authors have examined and evaluated very important phenomena related to the questions to be discussed below. These include constitutional changes within the Order, changes in the balance of power within the Order's leadership, developments in royal and papal influence, "schisms" in certain priories of the Order, the payment of revenues of the Order, the notorious non-payment, and the visitations arranged to the priories. By reviewing these areas, I hope to demonstrate that the status of the Hungarian province cannot be considered exceptional from any point of view.

It is useful to trace the story back to the early fourteenth century, i.e. the transfer of the headquarters to Rhodes, when the tongues (*linguae*) of the Order – emerged in the last quarter of the thirteenth century – be-

century to the Great Western Schism", In: Hunyadi, Zsolt – Ribí, András, *The Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest, 2023. 11–141.

⁶ Hunyadi, Zsolt, "The Hungarian nobility and the Knights of St John", In: Coulet, Noel (ed.), *La noblesse dans les territoires Angevins à la fin du Moyen Age*. Rome, 2000. 607–618.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, "Royal power and the Hungarian–Slavonian Hospitaller priors before the mid-fifteenth century", In: Edbury, Peter (ed.), *The military orders: Politics and power*. Aldershot, 2012. 321–328.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, "Entering the Hospital. A way to the elite in the fifteenth century?", In: Jossierand, Philippe – Oliveira, Luís Filipe – Carraz, Damien (eds.), *Élites et ordres militaire au Moyen Age*. Madrid, 2015. 101–110.

⁷ Cf. Delaville Le Roulx, Joseph, *Les hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310–1421)*. Paris, 1913.; Recently, see: Luttrell, Anthony, "Philibert de Naillac, Master of Rhodes: 1396–1421", = *Ordines Militares* 28, 2023, 177–196.

came increasingly influential in the leadership of the Order. The quasi-coup against Foulques de Vilaret in 1317 also clearly indicated that the power of the Grand Master could be limited not only by the Chapter General, but also by the Order's leadership (Convent).⁸ According to the first surviving records of the Chapter General in Rhodes, the Hungarian priory belonged to the Italian tongue, as confirmed by the list of priors, even though the "consolidation" of the Italian tongue was not completed until the 1340s.⁹ In any case, until the outbreak of the Great Western Schism in 1378,¹⁰ the Hungarian priory was listed in the chartularies (copy-books) of the central chancery as belonging to the Italian tongue, even though a Provençal superior had been heading the priory since 1335.¹¹ An important event of the following period was the dispute concerning the appointment of the prior in 1373, when the Hungarian ruler, Louis I (1342–1382) openly intervened in the internal affairs of the Order. He protested against both the pope's and the grand master's candidates, even though he did not want to see a Hungarian Hospitaller in the priory. For a long time, I interpreted this increasingly open intervention by the king as a Hungarian peculiarity and even believed that this was only the beginning of a process that extended during the reign of King Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387–1437).¹² Recent studies on the Hospitaller priories show that this sort of intervention was by no means unique. English rulers openly intervened in the internal affairs of the English and Irish priories of the Order, although in "exchange" the English provincial leaders were given important political roles, although it is clear by now that this was not the case from the settling down of the Hospital. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the appointed English prior almost automatically became a royal

⁸ Hunyadi, Zsolt, "Konvent, generális káptalan, perjelségek: a johannita 'hálózat' a középkorban", = *Aetas* 37:2, 2022, 67–74.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, "A johannita nagymesteri hivatal anomáliái a kora újkorig", In: Hunyadi, Zsolt – Köfalvi, Tamás (eds.) *Napok, évek, századok. Tanulmányok Almási Tibor 65. születésnapjára*. Szeged, 2024. 181–189.

⁹ Sire, Henry J. *The Knights of Malta*. New Haven–London, 1994. 163.

¹⁰ Hunyadi, Zsolt, "The Western Schism and Hungary: From Louis I to Sigismund of Luxembourg", = *Chronica* 13, 2017, 45–53.

¹¹ Hunyadi, Zsolt – Ribí, András, *The Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Hungary*. Budapest, 2023. 290.

¹² Hunyadi, The Hospitallers, 2010. 221. Hunyadi, Szent János ispotályos testvérei, 2019. 84–85.; Hunyadi, Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth century, 2023. 91–92.

councillor and he rose to the rank of English baron,¹³ while “in exchange” the ruler had a say in the appointment of the prior. However, it proved to be a long road to get there, as King Edward III of England (1327–1377) accused in 1339 the English priory of violating his loyalty by sending money abroad and thus reducing the assets of the Hospital, “which he is obliged to use to defend the kingdom against attacks by hostile foreigners”.¹⁴ Meanwhile, several scholars pointed out that the Hospitaller prior did not have an automatic parliamentary mandate until the fourteenth century,¹⁵ although from that time onwards he was involved in governmental and military affairs. (as, for instance, admiral of the English fleet, or as Treasurer),¹⁶ but his membership in the royal council only became permanent in the mid-fifteenth century.¹⁷

A very similar situation can be observed on the Iberian Peninsula. There are numerous signs that the rulers of Navarre also intervened in the internal affairs of the local Hospitallers, mainly on the grounds that during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries¹⁸ members of the ruling dynasty made very important donations to the brethren of St. John. The Hungarian parallel to this feature hardly needs to be proven,¹⁹ but a very close parallel can also be drawn between the Spanish Catholic rulers and the Hospitallers.²⁰

¹³ Tyerman, Christopher, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588*. Chicago, 1988. 355.; Sarnowsky, Jürgen, “Kings and Priors: The Hospitaller Priory of England in the Later Fifteenth Century”, In. Sarnowsky, Jürgen (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*. Aldershot, 1999. 83–102. 85.

¹⁴ Nicholson, Helen, “Serving king and Crusade: The military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220–1400”, In. Bull, Marcus – Housley, Norman (eds.), *The experience of Crusading I: Western approaches*. Cambridge, 2003. 233–254. 244.

¹⁵ Phillips, Simon, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in late medieval England*. Woodbridge, 2009. 163.

¹⁶ Nicholson, Helen J. “The Hospitallers in Medieval Britain,” In. Sarnowski, Jürgen – Kwiatkowski, Krzysztof – Houben, Hubert – Pószán, László – Bárány, Attila (eds.) *Studies on the military orders, Prussia, and urban history: Essays in Honour of Roman Czaja*. Debrecen, 2020. 41–55. 46.

¹⁷ Phillips, The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller, 2009. 163.

¹⁸ Barquero Goñi, Carlos, “The Hospitallers and the kings of Navarre in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries”, In. Nicholson, Helen (ed.) *The Military Orders: Welfare and Warfare*. Aldershot, 1998. 349–354. 354.

¹⁹ Most recently see Hunyadi, Zsolt, “Queen Euphrosyne and Princess Elizabeth: Hospitaller *consores* or *donate* in the 12th century?”, = *Ordines Militares* 28, 2023, 41–62. 51–53.

²⁰ Barquero Goñi, Carlos, “The Hospitallers and the Catholic Kings of Spain, 1474–1516”, In. Upton-Ward, Judi (ed.), *The military orders: On land and by sea*. Aldershot, 2008. 207–213. 211–212.

On the other hand, similar to the English situation, the Hospitaller priors of Navarre were also members of the royal council from time to time, so their political involvement is also evident.²¹ On this basis, it is perhaps not surprising that the Hospitallers of the Bohemian priory also operated under significant royal influence in their province, not only during the Přemysl dynasty, but also during the Luxembourg era.²² In fact, recent research suggests that the Hospitaller brethren of the Brandenburg bailiwick had very similar relationship with the Margraves of Brandenburg as their English counterparts had with their own rulers.²³ Accordingly, I would dismiss the relationship of the Hungarian Hospitallers with the ruler from the possible premises of efforts aiming at independence.²⁴

While examining the characteristics of the priories, it is hard to avoid the question of whether any similar “separation” from Rhodes can be observed in other regions of the Hospital as a whole. Before entering this issue, it is worth taking a brief look at this “Rhodes headquarters” and its functioning, as well as its possible transformation. This is particularly important because most historians mentioned above²⁵ conducted fundamental research on the very functioning of the international leadership of the Order. For the Hospitallers the Western Schism effectively ended with the Council of

²¹ Barquero Goñi, Carlos, “Los hospitalarios y los últimos reyes de Navarra (1483–1512)”, In. Borchardt, Karl – Jaspert, Nikolas – Nicholson, Helen (eds.), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*. Aldershot, 2007. 233–242. 236, 238.

²² Mitáček, Jiří, “Správa české provincie Johanitů za Vlády Lucemburků s důrazem na vedlejší země Koruny České”, In. Bobková, Lenka – Konvičná, Jana (eds.), *Náboženský život a církevní poměry v zemích Koruny české ve 14.–17. století*. Prague, 2009. 92–111.; Mitáček, Jiří, “The Czech province of the Knights Hospitaller and the era of the Luxembourgs”, In. Galuška, Luděk (ed.), *Stopy minulosti: věda v Moravském zemském muzeu na prahu třetího tisíciletí = Vestiges of the past: science in the Moravian Museum on the threshold of the third millennium*. Vyd. 1. Brno, 2011, 165–192. 172.

²³ Sarnowsky, Jürgen, “Die mittelalterliche Ballei Brandenburg der Johanniter: Rezeption und Wirklichkeit”, In. Nowak, Zenon Hubert – Czaja, Roman (eds.), *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Ritterorden: Die Rezeption der Idee und die Wirklichkeit* (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XI). Toruń, 2001. 165–182. 175.; Smoliński, Marek, “A military order in an order state. Pomeranian Hospitallers and the Teutonic Knights, 1308–1370,” = *Studia z Dziejów Średniowiecza* 26, 2023, 191–231. 196.

²⁴ Cf. Ribí, A fehérvári keresztes konvent története, 2021. 163.

²⁵ One of the most important points of reference is the seminal monograph of Sarnowsky, Jürgen: *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421–1522)*. Münster, 2001.

Pisa in 1409, but a new era only began after the death of Grand Master Philibert de Naillac (1421). Interlinking the threads mentioned above, it is important to note that the German tongue (*Lingua Alamanie*) became virtually invisible in the Convent of the Order in the early 1340s.²⁶ According to our current knowledge, it gradually regained its influence and “prestige” only in the 1420s, and its complete recuperation can be dated to 1428.²⁷ It is a rather interesting fact, because during the years of the schism (between 1389 and 1400),²⁸ the Hungarian priory was mostly listed as belonging to the German tongue in the copy-books of the Rhodes chancery, when the *Lingua* was still in a dysfunctional state. However, when the *Lingua Alamanie* again took part in the activities of the Convent with full momentum, the Italian and Provençal tongues reshaped the original agreement of 1373, according to which in case of a vacancy at the head of the priory, the Master had the right to appoint the next prior, thereafter, the Master was authorized to appoint priors from the Italian and Provençal tongue alternately.²⁹ The agreement was, of course, partially overwritten by the stipulation that the Priory of Hungary belonged to the Italian language, unless the Master found a more suitable candidate. The agreement appears to have functioned for a while, because by 1438 the Priory of Hungary was again listed among the priories of the Italian tongue.³⁰ The situation became more interesting by the fact that even before the death of Prior Albert of Nagymihály (1434), the Provençal tongue appointed a prior as the head of the Hungarian province in the person of

²⁶ Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, 1994. 105., 196.; Sarnowsky, Jürgen, “Der Konvent auf Rhodos und die Zungen (lingue) im Johanniterorden (1421–1476)”, In: Nowak, Zenon Hubert (ed.) *Ritterorden und Region – politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter* (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII). Toruń, 1995. 43–65. 44–45.; Luttrell, Anthony, “The Hospitaller Province of Alamania to 1428”, In: Nowak, Zenon Hubert (ed.) *Ritterorden und Region – politische, soziale und wirtschaftliche Verbindungen im Mittelalter* (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica VIII). Toruń, 1995. 21–41. 35.; Nicholson, Helen, *The Knights Hospitaller*. Woodbridge, 2001. 77.

²⁷ Valentini, Roberto, “Un capitolo generale degli Ospitalieri di S. Giovanni tenuto in Vaticano nel 1446”, = *Archivio Storico di Malta* 7, 1936, 133–149. 133–135.

²⁸ Borhardt, Karl, *Documents concerning Central Europe from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1314–1428*. London–New York, 2021. XIV.; Hunyadi, Konvent, generális káptalan, 2022. 73.

²⁹ Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers*, 2010. 86.; Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth century*, 2023. 88.

³⁰ Ribi, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 17.; Ribi, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 149.

Johannes Cavalion in August 1433, i.e. during the tenure of the active prior.³¹ This might have been based on incorrect information,³² but it may also have been an outcome of the freshly launched statute of the Chapter General, which superseded the provision adopted at the general assembly in Aix-en-Provence (1410),³³ which allowed the provinces to elect their own priors, especially in cases where their representation in Rhodes was not available. According to this regulation, only those could be elected priors who had spent at least ten years in Rhodes. It cannot be ruled out that Jován Tallóci, who held the title of Prior of Hungary for many years, was motivated to have his title of prior recognized by the leadership of the Order in Rhodes when he requested admission to the Convent through the intercession of Pope Eugene IV in 1444.³⁴ However, he died during a siege in 1445, thus his plan did not come true.³⁵ As an ironic twist of fate, he devoted a significant part of his official activities to fighting the Ottomans, but he lost his life during a civil war siege. The rule established in 1433 was reinforced and amended by the Chapter General of Rome in 1446 – where the Priory of Hungary was represented by Jacobus de Soris³⁶ – and the prerequisite for appointment as prior was raised to at least 15 years of membership in the Order, of which at least five years had to be spent in Rhodes.³⁷ All these efforts meant, of course, only a minor part of the constitutional changes established between 1421 and 1467, which culminated partly during chapters general and partly in serious and often rather personal disputes (1446).³⁸ The minor tongues rebelled against the “French” hegemony in the Convent, and for the first

³¹ Sarnowsky, *Der Konvent auf Rhodos*, 1995. 55. Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 17.; Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 149.

³² Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 17–18.; Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 150.

³³ O’Malley, Gregory, “Authority and Autonomy: Relations between Clerkenwell, Kilmainham and the Hospitaller Central Convent after the Black Death”, In: Browne, Martin – Ó Clabaigh, Colmán (eds.), *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland*. Dublin, 2016. 23–46. 28, 30.; Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 2021, XVII.

³⁴ Hunyadi, *Entering the Hospital*, 2015. 107.

³⁵ Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 23.

³⁶ Ribí, *A magyarországi rendtartomány története a konstanzi zsinattól*, 2019. 130.; Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 18.; Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 150.

³⁷ Sarnowsky, *Kings and priors*, 1999. 90.

³⁸ Sarnowsky, *Der Konvent auf Rhodos*, 1995. 55.; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller province of Alania*, 1995. 35.; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 2001. 149–150.

time in 78 years, a non-Provençal master of the Order was elected.³⁹ Papal influence, in addition to the above, can also be seen in the fact that during the legislative process of 1446/7, Pope Eugene IV initiated the enactment of numerous statutes, however, these were ultimately dismissed by the Order.⁴⁰

Although the reforms of the Order reached their peak at the Chapter General convened to Rome in 1466/7, two closely related consequences of these changes have been stabilized by this time. The Order's leadership introduced plenty of financial reforms, the most important of which had already been decided at the first Chapter General in Rome: a *conservator generalis* was elected from each tongue to oversee the payment of the taxes levied, thereby reducing the direct influence and control of the Grand Master and the Chapter General respectively.⁴¹ Of course, enforcing payment discipline was not easy, and it was very difficult to bring the priories back from the negligence experienced during the Schism. Its main channels in the fifteenth century were the visitations, which not only sought to increase willingness to pay, but also became a means of determining the taxes to be levied on the provinces in the late Middle Ages. Sets of data are at our disposal on visitations from the mid-twelfth century,⁴² but those which were specifically aiming at economic purposes were carried out after the dissolution of the Templars, in 1338.⁴³ However, these visitations were performed by the local priors themselves, who gradually took over the function of the provincial chapter from the second half of the fourteenth century onwards. The end of the Western Schism saw the beginning of a new process in which the Grand Master en-

³⁹ Hunyadi, Konvent, generális káptalan, 2022. 73.

⁴⁰ Sarnowsky, Jürgen, "The Convent and the West: Visitations in the order of the Hospital of St John in the fifteenth century", In: Borchardt, Karl – Jaspert, Nikolas – Nicholson, Helen (eds.), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*. Aldershot, 2007. 151–162. 153.

⁴¹ Sarnowsky, Jürgen, "'The rights of the Treasury': The financial administration of the Hospitallers on fifteenth-century Rhodes, 1421–1522", In: Nicholson, Helen (ed.) *The Military Orders: Welfare and Warfare*. Aldershot, 1998. 267–274. 269.; Sarnowsky, Jürgen, "The Convent and the West", 2007. 153.; Bonneaud, Pierre, "A Culture of Consensus. The Hospitallers at Rhodes in the Fifteenth Century (1420–1480)", In: Schenk, Jochen – Carr, Michael (eds.), *The military orders: Culture and conflict in the Mediterranean world*. London–New York, 2017. 137–146. 140–141.

⁴² Riley-Smith, Jonathan, "The Origins of the Commandery in the Temple and the Hospital," In: Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *Crusaders and Settlers in the Latin East*. Aldershot, 2008. 1–11. 5.

⁴³ O'Malley, Gregory, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565*. Oxford–New York, 2005. 60.

trusted experienced Hospitallers with visiting a specific, sometimes large region. So did Master Philibert de Naillac when he appointed Leonardo de Buonafede of Florence, preceptor of Albarese, in the autumn of 1409 in Pisa, to visit the priories of Alamania, Bohemia, Hungary, Venice, and Pisa, with the promise to the reimbursement of his expenses.⁴⁴ Similarly, a few years later, in 1412, the Grand Master's lieutenant in Rhodes, Luce de Vallins commissioned Johann Schweidler of Patzkorw to visit the priories of Hungary and Bohemia. Johann, as a "reward" for the 1,090 forints he had previously collected from the indulgences issued by Pope Alexander V in 1409, became chaplain of the Convent in Rhodes and, presumably through applying for *ancianitas*, he also obtained a preceptory of the Priory of Bohemia.⁴⁵ It is unknown whether they reached the Priory of Hungary at all, just as there are no news of Jean de Patria and Johann von Richenberg, preceptor of Villingen, whom Naillac appointed in the autumn of 1420, a few months before his death, after returning to Rhodes following the Council of Constance.⁴⁶

Certainly, there is no room to discuss the details of the fifteenth-century visitations targeting the Priory of Hungary,⁴⁷ but I would like to point out that, in terms of their frequency, the expectations of the Convent were mostly fulfilled: steps were usually taken to launch visits to the priories of the Order at intervals of 3–4 years at average:⁴⁸ 1428, 1433, 1435, 1440, 1442, 1446, 1448, 1450, 1456, 1462/3, 1480, 1494/95, 1510, 1511, 1517. One must

⁴⁴ National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of Malta [hereinafter: AOM] 335, fol. 137r–138r. Edition: Borchardt, Documents concerning Central Europe, 2021. doc. n. 229–231. 191–196.; See also Mitáček, Jiří, "Česká provincie řádu sv. Jana Jeruzalémského za vlády Lucemburků (1310–1419)" (PhD diss., Masaryk University, 2005). 112. – with misspelled name of the visitor.

⁴⁵ AOM 339, fol. 156r–v. Edition: Borchardt, Documents concerning Central Europe, 2021. doc. n. 261. 229–231. For the papal indulgence, see Luttrell, Anthony. "The later history of the Maussolleion and its utilization in the Hospitaller castle at Bodrum", In: *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos. Reports of the Danish archaeological expedition to Bodrum*. Vol. 2: The written sources and their archaeological background. Aarhus, 1986. 146.

⁴⁶ AOM 345, fol. 143v (144v). Edition: Borchardt, Documents concerning Central Europe, 2021. doc. n. 379. 343–348.

⁴⁷ For these visitations, see: Sarnowsky, *The Convent and the West*, 2007. 154–159.; Ribi: *A magyarországi rendtartomány*, 2019. 130–133.; Ribi, *A fehérvári kereszties konvent története*, 2021. 18–19, 24.; Ribi, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 151–152.

⁴⁸ Less insight is provided into whether another expectation was fulfilled during the assignments, namely that the members of the mission should include a Hospitaller with some knowledge of the local circumstances. Cf. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English langue*, 2005. 77.

be cautious, because we cannot prove that most of the appointed visitors actually reached the designated priory. However, this kind of doubt is by no means limited to the Priory of Hungary. Ribí dates the alleged separation to after 1475, but there is no visible evidence of such a change or break in the trend of the Order's visitation assignments. It is also not entirely clear on what basis he makes the assertion that there were no Hungarian Hospitallers stationing in Rhodes between 1461 and 1513.⁴⁹ The referred page of Jürgen Sarnowsky's monograph contains two tables,⁵⁰ one of them shows the register of taxes paid by the Hospitallers residing in the Convent, data grouped by preceptor and status (knights, chaplains, servant brothers) for the year 1466. The Priory of Hungary is indeed omitted from this list, but this is only a single annual statement. The other table, on the other hand, does indeed provide data for the period of 1461–1513 (measured at five years), but these are payments made to resident brethren of the Order in the Convent, listed by tongues, so it is not (and cannot be) clear from this table whether there was any Hungarian Hospitaller in Rhodes. Anyway, it is certain that between 1467 and 1471, the Priory of Hungary appears at the section of the *Lingua Alamanie* in the copy-books, and between 1472 and 1510 in index of the Italian tongue.⁵¹ In the table referred to, payments were made for both tongues in all five years examined.

I would also be cautious about whom we may consider to be a “Hungarian member of the Order.” Numerous details are known about Michele Castellacio's visitation in 1448,⁵² which I do not intend to repeat here, but I would like to highlight one particular moment from the sequence of events of the visit. Ribí mentions that the highly respected Castellacio ordered the head of the Székesfehérvár preceptory – a certain Peter, whom he refers to in his studies as “of Rhodes” and considers to be the last foreign-origin Hospitaller in the Priory of Hungary – to return to the Convent due to the disciplinary situation he had experienced, in order to obtain pardon from his Master (“ut suam religionem et conventum Rhodi peteret, unde exivit et ad suum

⁴⁹ Ribí, András, “Johanniták vagy keresztetek? A fehérvári konvent tagjai a középkor végén,” In: Kis, Iván – Kozák-Kigyóssy, Szabolcs László – Veres Kristóf György – Veszprémi Márton (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales VIII*. Budapest, 2019. 67–86. 82–83.; Ribí, A fehérvári keresztet konvent története, 2021. 42.

⁵⁰ Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 2001. 511.

⁵¹ Hunyadi, *Konvent, generális káptalan*, 2022. 73.

⁵² Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztet konvent története*, 2021. 234.; Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 161, 201.

superiorem transiret, ut ibidem reconciliaretur et ibidem viveret”).⁵³ In my opinion, it cannot be ruled out that Peter was originally of local origin. It is highly probable that he spent years in the Convent, where he earned the right to *ancianitas*, which enabled him to choose which preceptory he wanted to lead. Székesfehérvár was probably one of the most important preceptories of the Priory of Hungary. If the Convent in Rhodes had almost no connection with the Priory of Hungary, where did Peter get the idea that it would have been worthwhile to obtain the office of preceptor here, as it was one of the most lucrative preceptories of the priory? Moreover, according to the report of Castellacio, Peter had achieved his rather reprehensible plan by deceiving a papal legate (“dictam preceptoriam obtentam a domino cardinali legato fraudulose impetratam tacita sue inhabilitatis veritate”). The fact that Castellacio sent the sinner “back” to Rhodes is entirely consistent with the regular disciplinary measures of the Order, and it does not imply that he was of Rhodian origin;⁵⁴ indeed, the latter is highly unlikely. Nor the above listed features of the visitations provide a basis for proving the separation of the priory from the Order.

The phenomenon of perceived division or separation should certainly be examined in a broader context. In 1347, the Grand Master sent a rather sarcastic letter to the Hospitaller Priory of Dacia, reproaching them for forgetting their fellow members operating in the Mediterranean, and perhaps even for not having realized that the Order had moved its headquarters to Rhodes in the meantime. Previous scholarly literature interpreted this message as indication that the Scandinavian Hospitallers had separated from the Order as a whole,⁵⁵ but more recent studies have pointed out that Grand Master Dieudonné (Deodatus) de Gozon expressed his criticism with rhetorical eloquence, lamenting the unpaid taxes and the failure of sending Scandinavian

⁵³ The edition of the respective charter: Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. n. 9. 180–181.

⁵⁴ Ribí does not consider this likely either, see Ribí, András, “Karrier, tisztségek, létszám a fehérvári keresztes konvent személyi összetétele (1390–1450)”, In: Fábrián, Laura – Uhrin, Dorottya – Farkas, Csaba – Ribí, András, (eds.), *Micae Mediaevales VI*. Budapest, 2017. 197–212. 198. n. 8.

⁵⁵ Hatt Olsen, Thomas, *Dacia og Rhodos: en studie over forholdet mellem Johannitterstormesteren på Rhodos og prioratet Dacia i de 14. og 15. århundrede med saerligt henblik på Juan de Carduna's visitation (–1476)*. København, 1962. 21.; Cf. Berntson, Martin, “The Dissolution of the Hospitaller Houses in Scandinavia”, In: Nicholson, Helen J. – Militzer, Klaus, Mol, Johannes A. (eds.), *The military orders and the Reformation: Choices, state building, and the weight of tradition*. Hilversum–Utrecht, 2006. 59–77. 60.

brethren to Rhodes.⁵⁶ According to the sources, the unpayment of taxes, the refusal to recognize the provincial leader appointed by the Convent, and various disciplinary problems continued throughout the fifteenth century, which is clearly evident in the case of the unruly preceptory of Eskilstuna.⁵⁷ It is worth noting that the historian who most recently examined the fifteenth-century Scandinavian “schism” used the example of the Priory of Hungary to argue that the situation of the Priory of Dacia was not unique.⁵⁸ Among the parallels cited by Ljungar, the case of the Austrian preceptory of Mailberg is to be noted, the house which was part of the Hospitaller Priory of Bohemia. Although the author does not explain in detail where he sees the similarity, the conflicts in Mailberg can certainly be traced back to the Western Schism at the end of the fourteenth century, when the preceptory wanted to separate from the Bohemian priory at the provincial chapter convened in 1392.⁵⁹ Eventually it did not happen, but the attempt at separation resumed in the 1460s and provided a rather strange twist to the history of this Central European province of the Order. Politics played a decisive role in this particular attempt at separation. In 1468, Emperor Frederick III (1452–1492) succeeded in breaking the preceptory of Mailberg away from the Bohemian priory (1468) and assigning it to the newly founded Order of St. George in Millstatt (1469), thus creating open hostility between the Habsburg court and the candidates of the Bohemian prior for a while, creating open hos-

⁵⁶ Jensen, Kurt Villads, “The Hospitallers in Scandinavia and their connections to the Mediterranean after the Fall of the Crusader States”, In: Ferreira Fernandes, Isabel Cristina (ed.), *Entre Deus e o Rei: O Mundo das Ordens Militares*. Palmela, 2018. 755–772. 762.

⁵⁷ Berntson, *The Dissolution of the Hospitaller Houses in Scandinavia*, 2006. 60–61.; Carlsson, Christer, “A new chronology for the Scandinavian branches of the military orders”, In: Judi Upton-Ward (ed.) *The military orders: On land and by sea*. Aldershot, 2008. 57–62. 60.; Jensen, *The Hospitallers in Scandinavia*, 2018. 766–768.

⁵⁸ Ljungar, Wilhelm, “Revisiting the collapse of the Hospitaller priory of Dacia in late medieval Scandinavia (1429–1493)”, = *Ordines Militares* 29, 2024, 289–312. 309–310.

⁵⁹ Mitáček, Jiří, “K některým aspektům života řádu johanitů za vlády Lucemburků. Provinciální kapituly konané na Moravě a ve Slezsku, jejich význam ve správě provincie a komunikaci s řádovým centrem na Rhodu”, In: Borovský, Tomáš – Wihoda, Martin – Mezník, Jaroslav – Jan, Libor (eds.), *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přátelé a žáci k pětasedmdesátým narozeninám*. Brno, 2003. 533–544. 541.; Jan, Libor, “Die Entwicklung des böhmischen Priorats der Johanniter”, In: Borchardt, Karl – Jan, Libor (eds.), *Die geistlichen Ritterorden in Mitteleuropa: Mittelalter*. Brno, 2011. 79–98. 96–97.; Mitáček, *The Czech province of the Knights Hospitaller*, 2011. 167.; Borchardt, Karl, “National Rivalry among Hospitallers?: The case of Bohemia and Austria, 1392–1555”, = *Medievalista online* 30, 2021, 204.

tility between the Habsburg court and the candidates of the Czech priory for a while.⁶⁰ Finally, in 1517, Emperor Maximilian I (1508–1519) returned Mailberg to the Bohemian priory,⁶¹ but it is worth highlighting an important aspect of the story: the emergence of bailiwicks could be regarded a new trend in the fifteenth century, because this may have been the background to the Mailberg conflict.⁶² Specifically, it is worth examining the separation of the bailwick of Branderburg, a chain of events that also may lead us back to the Western Schism at the end of the fourteenth century.

Previous historiography⁶³ also interpreted the Treaty of Heimbach (1382) as a sign of separation since it was an agreement which, *inter alia*, made it possible to elect local leaders. However, recent research has painted a much more nuanced picture about the situation, suggesting that the organizational reshaping of the Brandenburg Hospitallers resulted in the emergence of the bailwick (*baiulatus*),⁶⁴ an institution with considerable autonomy that was “inserted” between the level of the priory and the individual preceptories. According to the sources, although the Brandenburg brethren did not consult the Priory of Germany about the structural changes, but the Convent in Rhodes was aware of the transformation. The 1382 agreement was reaffirmed at the Chapter General of Rome in 1466/7, and the Convent even arranged a visitation to the “province” in 1493.⁶⁵ By paying the order’s taxes from time to time, they had, in a way, exchanged their independence. On the other hand, in parallel with the locally elected leaders, bailiffs were also appointed in Rhodes, whom the Brandenburg brethren refused,⁶⁶ but their Hospitaller status was never questioned.

⁶⁰ Borchardt, National Rivalry among Hospitallers?, 2021. 222–227.

⁶¹ Borchardt, National Rivalry among Hospitallers?, 2021. 225.

⁶² Mitáček, The Czech province of the Knights Hospitaller, 2011. 167.

⁶³ Luttrell, The Hospitaller province of Alamania, 1995. 34.; Sarnowsky, Die mittelalterliche Ballei Brandenburg, 2001. 171–172.; Mitáček, Správa české provincie Johaniťů, 2009. 108–111. Starnawska, Maria, “The Knights Hospitallers of St John in Polish Lands and Rhodes in the Late Middle Ages. Piety, Pugnacity, Property, and Power on Peripheries”, In: Morton, Nicholas (ed.), *The military orders: Piety, Pugnacity and Property*. London–New York, 2020. 218–226. 224.; Smoliński, A military order in an order state, 2023. 196–199.

⁶⁴ For the meaning of the term, see most recently: Borchardt, Documents concerning Central Europe, 2021. VIII.

⁶⁵ Sarnowsky, Die mittelalterliche Ballei Brandenburg, 2001. 175.

⁶⁶ Sarnowsky, Die mittelalterliche Ballei Brandenburg, 2001. 173–174.

As mentioned above, a substantial requirement of Hospitaller status was the regular payment of the taxes levied by the Order.⁶⁷ One of the most important elements of them was the tax known as *responsio*,⁶⁸ which was usually 20–25% of the annual income of the preceptories,⁶⁹ while in times of wars this ratio could rise to as much as 50–75% in the fifteenth century. It became a certain topos in the overall conversations of the Order that there were major contributors to the expenses of the Rhodes and were notorious non-payers having much less importance in the maintenance of the expensive fight against the infidels. Perhaps Pope Eugene IV tried to take action against the growing negligence of the tax-payment in the Order in 1433, when he attempted to use the newly elected Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg (1433–1437) as a whip to force the Hospitallers to pay their taxes.⁷⁰ However, a certain “battlefield logic” can be observed in the escalation progress of non-payments into manifest conflicts. As long as the Convent in Rhodes received sufficient revenues from its European provinces, it was less concerned with priories that neglected their payments. A turning point in this regard was the Western Schism, when payment discipline dramatically deteriorated⁷¹ and restoring it proved much more difficult than the successive grand masters had anticipated. An important task of each of the mentioned visitations was to encourage the provinces to pay their taxes to the Order in the Bohemian, Polish, German, English,

⁶⁷ Cf. Nisbet, James “Treasury Records of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes”, = *Melita Historica* 2, 1957, 95–104. 95–97.

⁶⁸ Cf. Hunyadi, Zsolt, “Adalékok a johannita magyar–szlávón (vránai) perjelségre kirótt rendi adók kérdéséhez”, = *Acta Historica Universitatis Szegediensis* 116, 2002, 31–47.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, “A responsiótól a likviditási problémákig: a johanniták pénzügyi rendszere a középkorban”, In. Pósan, László – Veszprémy, László – Isaszegi, János (eds.), *A hadifinanszírozás gazdasági alapjai az ókortól napjainkig*. Budapest, 2022. 44–56.

⁶⁹ Bonneaud, Pierre, “The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their vow of poverty in the 15th century (1420–1480)”, = *Imago Temporis* 7, 2013, 299–322. 313.

⁷⁰ Sarnowsky, “The Rights of the Treasury”, 1998. 271.; Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 2001. 53.

⁷¹ Tipton, Charles, “The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism”, = *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4, 1967, 91–124.; Swanson, Robert. “Obedience and disobedients in the Great Schism”, = *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 22, 1984, 377–387. 379–383.; Luttrell, Anthony, “Sugar and Schism: The Hospitallers in Cyprus from 1378 to 1386”, In. Bryer, Anthony – Georghallides, G. S. (eds.), *The Sweet Land of Cyprus*. Nicosia, 1993. 157–166, 162–163.; Hunyadi, *The Western Schism and Hungary*, 2017. 45–53.; Luttrell, Anthony, “The English Hospitallers in Holy War and Papal Schism, 1378–1417”, In. Buttigieg, Emanuel – Almagro Vidal, Clara (eds.), *The military orders: In a Wider World*. London, 2025. 105–109.

Irish, Scandinavian, and even Hungarian priories.⁷² A manifest change began in 1440, when the military pressure (initially from the Mamluks, while later from the Ottomans) on the Order intensified. The Hospital was increasingly forced to collect arrears of debts. The aforementioned Brandenburg bailiwick and even the Priory of Dacia claimed that they had been exempted from various taxes of the Order in 1454, but this did not mean full release.⁷³ Since one of the main obstacles to paying taxes could be the absence from the general chapters,⁷⁴ the grand masters entrusted the collection of payments to *receptores* of the Order or to lay people, sometimes simultaneously with the visitation that was about to launch.⁷⁵ These assignments were accomplished with varying degrees of success, as illustrated by the telling example of the Priory of Hungary. However, no case has been identified so far where the neglect of paying the taxes – either persistent or notorious – would have resulted in expulsion from the Order. The latter is indicated not only by the displayed trend of visitations until 1517, but also by the fact that priors were appointed from Rhodes and later from Malta to the Priory of Hungary at least until the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁷⁶

Finally, I would like to add a few minor but important comments to the question of “separation–distancing.” The first is more conceptual in nature: it has been mentioned several times in the scholarly literature that instead of the proper term *frater hospitalis* referring to the full members of the Order, the term *crucifer* was very often used in Central Europe by contemporary chanceries, and this “custom” has led to numerous misunderstandings in historiography.⁷⁷ In his argument, András Ribí repeatedly pointed out that the supposed break at the end of the Middle Ages is also indicated by a change

⁷² Cf. Mitáček, *Česká provincie řádu sv. Jana Jeruzalémského*, 2005. 134.; Jensen, *The Hospitallers in Scandinavia*, 2018. 762–763.; Starnawska, *The Knights Hospitallers of St John in Polish lands*, 2020. 222.; Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 2021. XXV.

⁷³ Luttrell, *The Hospitaller province of Alamanía to 1428*, 1995. 34.

⁷⁴ Certainly, it deserves raising a separate question of how the absence from chapters general could be appraised. Cf. Hunyadi, *Konvent, generális káptalan*, 2022. 71–72.

⁷⁵ See, for instance, in 1414 (Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 2021. doc. n. 292., 257–259.), or in October 1420 (doc. n. 399., 360–363.).

⁷⁶ According to my own, admittedly incomplete, collection of early modern sources, the last known Hungarian prior appointed in Malta was Antonio Martelli (1603–1604.); see AOM 210, fol. 181.

⁷⁷ Most recently, see. Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth century*, 2023. 15–16.

in terminology, but I failed to trace this change in the extant sources. The term *crucifer* was already in use in the Árpád era (up to 1301), and the preceptories of Újudvar and Sopron, which houses also functioned as places of authentication (*locus credibilis*), even used this term in the circumscription of their conventual seals.⁷⁸ I continue to treat this idea as a hypothesis, and until this conceptual transformation may be demonstrated/proved through data-sets covering a longer period, it is difficult to build any argument on it. For example, the reference “of Jerusalem” may tend to disappear from the *intitulationes*,⁷⁹ but the reference to St. John certainly did not. Ribí attempts to resolve the latter by stating: “The quasi-Hungarian Order of Saint John – the *ordo cruciferorum* – was then formed from the remnants of the former Knights Hospitaller province under the leadership of the Vrana priors, who became royal barons, and the superiors of the Székesfehérvár Convent.”⁸⁰ And this is where my other minor but important comment is to be added. Beyond the doubts concerning the terminology, the latter situation is inconceivable with regard to canon law. Belonging to an order recognized by the pope since the beginning of the twelfth century did not merely mean living and maintaining the bonds of a religious community, but it also ensured the possibility of enjoying numerous privileges and exemptions from duties. If they had broken away from the “mother order”, they would have had to renounce all of these privileges and were to obtain papal approval for the new organizational form. The aforementioned separation of Mailberg was not a “breakaway” but a joining to another order (St. George of Miltstatt) functioning with papal approval between 1469 and 1517. At the same time, if such an idea had already been formulated, it would be much more appropriate to examine the fate of the hospitaller Order of St. Stephen of Hungary – founded in the second half of the twelfth century – which community disappeared from the sources after 1439, as they most likely merged with the Hospitallers of St. John. At least some of their documents, houses, and estates certainly passed into

⁷⁸ Újudvar: *Conventus cruciferorum (ante quem 1298*, dated around mid-thirteenth century); Sopron: *Domus cruciferorum (ante quem 1310)*. Cf. Hunyadi, Zsolt, “(Self) Representation: Hospitaller Seals in the Hungarian–Slavonian Priory up to c. 1400”, In: Czaja, Roman – Sarnowsky, Jürgen (eds.), *Selbstbild und Selbstverständnis der geistlichen Ritterorden: Die Rezeption der Idee und die Wirklichkeit*. (Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica XIII). Toruń, 2005. 199–212. 206–207.

⁷⁹ Ribí, *Johanniták vagy keresztések?*, 2019. 82.; Ribí, *A fehérvári keresztés konvent története*, 2021. 53.

⁸⁰ Ribí, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 163.

the possession of the Hospitallers, causing numerous misunderstandings in historiography.⁸¹

Based on the above, is it possible to draw a constructive conclusion? I would suggest accepting that the changes that took place in the status and characteristics of the late medieval Hospitaller Priory of Hungary do not prove that the province separated from the Order as a whole. At the same time, according to Ribi, the “so-called minor preceptorship system, which was modeled on the relationship between the provost and the minor provost, is unprecedented in the history of the Knights Hospitaller and symbolizes the almost complete dissolution of connections with Rhodes.”⁸² I do not consider the system of minor preceptors described by Ribi to be unprecedented.⁸³ I myself was inclined to explain the “appearance” of the minor preceptors with the emergence of the institution of *camera prioralis*, but after reviewing and analyzing the broad international situation, now I am much more inclined to recognize the emergence of the *bailulatus*/bailwick system in the Priory of Hungary.⁸⁴ The functioning of the Székesfehérvár preceptory in the late Middle Ages is very similar to the respective administrative units of Brandenburg, Westphalia, Cologne, and Bohemia,⁸⁵ and this hierarchical stratification would also explain many aspects of the relationship between Székesfehérvár and the Priory of Vrana. However, the details should be the subject of another study.

⁸¹ Cf. Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth century*, 2023. 16–18.

⁸² Ribi, *From Hospitallers to Cruciferi*, 2023. 163.

⁸³ Ribi, *A várnagy és a püspök – fehérvári johannita preceptorok karrierje a 15. század második felében.*; 105. Ribi, *Filia ordinis crucigerorum de Alba*, 2018. 289.; Ribi, *Johanniták vagy keresztetek?*, 2019. 82.; Ribi, *A fehérvári kereszties konvent története*, 2021. 53.

⁸⁴ Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers*, 2010. 154.; Hunyadi, *Hospitallers in Hungary from the middle of the twelfth century*, 2023. 75, 137.

⁸⁵ In addition to the above, see Luttrell, *The Hospitaller province of Almania*, 1995. 35.; Sarnowsky, *Die mittelalterliche Ballei Brandenburg*, 2001. 173.; Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 2021. VIII.

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

Zielsetzung

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

Impressum

Publisher / Verlag: The University of Debrecen Faculty of Humanities Institute of History

Responsible Publisher / Verantwortlicher Herausgeber: Róbert Keményfi

Responsible Editors / Verantwortliche Redakteurs: Attila Bárány, László Pószán

ISSN 3058-0501

Printed in Hungary by / Gedruckt in Ungarn von Printart Kft.

Editorial Office / Redaktionsbüro

H-4032 Debrecen, Egyetem tér 1, Magyarország

e-mail: lendulet.unideb@gmail.com

Homepage: <https://ojs.lib.unideb.hu/eastcentraleurope/index>

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Front cover / Titelbild:

Hartmann Schedel, *Registrum huius operis libri cronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi*, Nürnberg, 1493. (Schedelsche Weltchronik/Nürnberg Chronik/Chronicon mundi)

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Rar. 287. (<https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00034024>)

Prussia, fol. 288v. / Dalmatia, fol. 268r.

Supported by / Gefördert durch:

University of Debrecen Thematic Excellence Programme “The Role and Image of Hungary in Medieval Europe Research Group”

HUN-REN-DE “Research Group Military History of Medieval Hungary and Central Europe”