



***Hospitallers and Others. Military and Social Encounters.* Edited by Christie Majoros, Maria Bonet Donato, and Julia Pavón Benito. Crusades Subsidia. Abingdon–New York: Routledge, 2025. xi + 127 pp., ill. ISBN 978-1-032-61520-2.**

The eight contributions to this slim but important collective volume concern the eastern Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula and Scandinavia in the late Middle Ages and the 16th century. A short preface introduces the volume, and an index facilitates its use. To identify a common question is not entirely easy; essentially, it seems to be about identities, but also about challenges and responses which were caused by changing historical and geopolitical circumstances.

In the late 13th and early 14th century one new challenge was presented by Turkish ships in the Aegean. Christine Isom-Verhaaren (“Umur of Aydin: Holy War Encounters at Smyrna between Turkish Gazis and the Knights Hospitaller of Rhodes in the Mid-14th Century”, pp. 1–20) puts this phenomenon in context and studies it with the help of a 15th-century Turkish ballad, Enveri’s *Düsturnâme*. Before the second half of the 14th century the ghazis from Menteshe and Aydin were clearly perceived as a greater danger by the Latin Christians than the raids of the Ottomans and their ghazis. The paper summarises parts of the author’s recent book, Christine Isom-Verhaaren, *The Sultan’s Fleet: Seafarers of the Ottoman Empire* (2022).

Juho Wilskman (“The Military Conservatism of the Hospitallers during the 14th and Early 15th Centuries”, pp. 21–36) argues that the Hospitallers did not respond adequately to the Turkish naval challenge; rather, they abandoned their chivalric conservatism only after the mid-15th century in the face of the increasing importance of cannons and firearms. There is indeed evidence for this. On the other hand, one should not fail to notice that after 1291 the Hospitallers maintained their own ships and crews for naval warfare, first on Cyprus and then on Rhodes; by 1299 they had even installed an admiral for their fleet among the leading fratres in their Convent (J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050–1310* (1973) p. 330).



Anthony Luttrell ("Hospitaller Lodgings and Auberges on Rhodes after 1309", pp. 37–42) examines the different forms of accommodation of the Hospitallers in the city of Rhodes. The albergia of the individual tongues only gradually developed from smaller or larger hospitia for individual fratres or groups of fratres primarily from the kingdom of France and from Italy. By the end of the Middle Ages the Hospitallers may have been an aristocratic oligarchy with some sort of 'federal' structures in their headquarters based on langues, groups of fratres with the same geographical and/or linguistic background. But this was a long and by no means straightforward development.

George Summers ("Charity, Obedience, and Authority in the Late Medieval Hospital: Leonardo Buonafede's Interventions in the *Regula Monacharum*", pp. 43–57) traces changes and additions to guidelines for the sisters of San Niccolò dei Freri in Florence that Buonafede made around 1400. San Niccolò had been (re)founded in 1392 for five ladies from the city's upper class by the Roman Hospitaller Master Riccardo Caracciolo (sic, not Carraciolo as p. 48) and the Roman Pope Boniface IX. Unfortunately, the nuns' original guidelines are no longer extant. Buonafede started from the *Regula Monacharum*, a 14th-century work that was wrongly attributed to St Jerome (d. 420), and stressed both the necessity of enclosure and of obedience to the prioress. This points towards lively discussions in the convent, although the details remain unknown.

Gregory O'Malley ("The Mediterranean Acquaintances of the Hospitallers of the English Langue, 1400–1540", pp. 58–67) compiles what can be said about Hospitallers from the British Isles on Rhodes and on Malta, on their journeys to the Mediterranean and back. Through service in the Convent, fratres of the English langue acquired ancianitas, which helped them to get commanderies and offices on the British Isles. When returning home from Rhodes after ten or more years, they were often accompanied by their Greek or other Mediterranean servants. The sources for this are evaluated here for the first time. Further contacts resulted from the sending of responsiones and similar monies to Rhodes, a business that necessitates further research on the Hospitaller accounts.

The two papers by Paula Pinto Costa / Joana Lencart ("Oriental Mediterranean Social Encounters as a Framework of the Portuguese Hospitallers", pp. 68–83) and by Maria Bonet Donato / Julia Pavón Bonito ("Hospitallers in a Multi-ethnic Society. Northeastern Spain (12th–14th Centuries)", pp. 84–105) deal with more or less the same problem, the position of Mohammedan subjects and peasants in the military-orders' estates. Both in Portugal and in Navarre and the Crown of

Aragon (Aragon proper, Catalonia, Valencia) the orders made great efforts not to expel such people. The *mourarias* (eleven Moorish neighbourhoods, comparable to 140 *judiarias*, Jewish neighbourhoods, p. 79, in Portugal) and the *aljamas* (Jewish or Mohammedan communities both in towns and villages) received guarantees regarding their religious practices and their self-governance. This was intended to prevent the departure of experienced craftsmen and farmers. Over time, however, the pressure to assimilate gradually increased. The military-religious orders strengthened their rights of intervention against communities of the other faiths concerning appointments of officials, services and payments. It would be interesting to know how the orders behaved towards comparable Christian communities. Regarding Portugal, the general background is described here. Regarding Navarre and the Crown of Aragon, the sources are here compiled and interpreted in great detail.

Wilhelm Ljungar ("Crisis, Change, and Transformation at the Edge of the World. The Priorate of Dacia after the Fall of Acre (1291–1352)", pp. 106–122) examines the scattered sources about the Hospitallers in Scandinavia in a very thoughtful and convincing manner. While the Templars had no possessions in Scandinavia, the Hospitallers were given Antvorskov, Denmark, in the 1160s, and a little bit later Varne (Værne, Varna), Norway, and (Eskils)Tuna, Sweden. In the mid-13th century the priory or priorate of Dacia was established. Its leader, the prior of Antvorskov, played an important role at the Danish court, being, e.g., a member of the regency council for the young King Erik IV in 1283. In the interest of the Danish kings the Hospitallers supported the Baltic crusades. The fact that the *Danebrog* is identical with the flag of the Hospitallers may be mentioned in this context (although the legend of its appearance in 1219 or in 1208 when King Valdemar II fought against heathen Estonians is not recorded before the 16th century), as well as the transfer of the day of the saint Duke Canute Lavard (d. 1131) from 7 January, the day of his martyrdom, to 25 June, the day after the Nativity of St John the Baptist. The loss of Acre and the trial against the Templars, however, led to a noticeable diminution of prestige for the Hospitallers and to a very noticeable decline in donations to the Hospitallers. The kings of Denmark and of Norway even tried to confiscate Hospitaller possessions. In response, the Hospitallers emphasised their spiritual side by strengthening their convents which began to have their own seals and their own priest brothers as priors, ranking second after the traditional priors who were *fratres milites*.

Overall, this collection of essays offers significant contributions to both Hospitaller history and to questions concerning local, regional and proto-national influences on a military-religious order that was present throughout all parts of Latin Christianity.

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