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# A Pilgrimage of Faith, War, and Charity.

## The Order of the Hospital from Jerusalem to Malta

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*The Hospitaller Order of St John, whose origins are traced back to the years before the First Crusade, began as a purely charitable institution in Jerusalem and, through the crusading movement and other related factors, gradually evolved into an exempt religious-military order of the Latin Church. Its two functions – to care for the sick and the poor and to fight for the Christian faith – were retained throughout its protracted pilgrimage from Jerusalem, through Acre, Cyprus, and Rhodes, to Malta. The French Revolution of 1789 and the Order's consequent eviction from the central Mediterranean island determined the need to rethink its constitution and to revert to its original charitable raison d'être. Its performance during this long pilgrimage constituted both a strong element of historical continuity and a powerful force of long-term change.*

### AN ACT OF LOVE

Whatever the true political motives behind it were, Urban II's famous sermon, delivered in an open field outside Clermont on 27 November 1095, was an ingenious intellectual endeavour at reconciliation. He succeeded in bringing intimately together hitherto disparate realities to form a new conceptual phenomenon. Cloistered monastic life, chivalry, spiritual combat and worldly warfare, the traditional pilgrimage, the evangelical virtues of love and peace – all these realities had been for long distinct and incompatible. The emergence of the Cluniacs in the 11th century and the pervasive spiritual fervour of the 12th created the context which rendered changes in the general attitude towards these realities possible. Indeed their occurrence had already begun albeit at almost imperceptible rhythms. The 'emergence of a new ideal of Christian knighthood' was one such, the innovative fusion of the *miles Christi*, spiritually fighting the forces of evil, and the knight endeavouring to 'repel the enemies of Christ by material arms'<sup>1</sup>. Warfare was thus transformed into a holy activity and whoever participated in it was offered spiritual rewards in the form of indulgences for the remission of sins<sup>2</sup>. The alarmingly dangerous spread of Islam which 'had swept through Asia Minor and had almost reached Constantinople'<sup>3</sup>, the persistent requests from Byzantium to the West for mercenaries and other military help, and the Latin Church's response to both consolidated the revolutionary drift in the shape and form assumed by the crusading movement which Urban II's long preaching tour round France had inaugurated.

Like the later crusades, the First Crusade was a holy war, with as much piety in it as there was adventure<sup>4</sup>. It was an armed pilgrimage for the liberation of a 'people' and 'a place' – to set free, says Jonathan Riley-Smith, both 'the baptized members of the Eastern churches ... from Muslim domination and tyranny,' and 'the Holy Sepulchre'<sup>5</sup>. Urban II succeeded in dramatically creating of the Muslim Turk a convincing image of 'Europe's most significant other'<sup>6</sup>, a common enemy, one that had overrun 'an increasing amount of Christian territory on the frontiers [of the Byzantine world] ... ruining churches and ravaging the Kingdom of God'<sup>7</sup>. This was psychologically necessary and effective in seeking to promote solidarity in Latin Christendom. The Pope also succeeded in impressing on the European mind the importance and the urgency of fighting for the faith, an activity now transformed into a new Christian value, into 'an act of love'<sup>8</sup>. It was precisely this context, the social reality of a 'new vocation' and the ideals it inspired, that encouraged the charitable Hospitaller fraternity, then in its infancy, to develop into an institution not only with a significant military role to play, but also with considerably rich endowments to support it.

## THE HOSPITALLER EQUATION

The concepts of faith, war, and charity explicitly convey the three major characteristics of the Order of the Hospital. Set up a few years before the preaching of the First Crusade, it came near to a complete collapse as a result of the great waves of revolutionary upheaval symbolically ushered in by the fall of the Bastille in Paris in 1789, seven hundred years later. Strongly professing an unshakeable belief in the authentic Christian truths, it was already in existence in Jerusalem in the 1080s as a small and humble hospice dedicated to St John the Baptist, inspired by a philosophy of evangelical love as expressed in the Holy Beatitudes – to care for the sick, the poor, and the needy, both men and women, to provide them with shelter and food, with clothing and decent Christian burial. Their 'suffering, injuries, sadnesses, and needs' were the brethren's main concern<sup>9</sup>. The innovative Hospitaller philosophy had transformed the humble folk into *quasi domini*, the Lords, with the entire fraternity at their service<sup>10</sup>. These were the original values which the institution retained unchanged in essence long after it had become involved in military activities. Its endeavour to contribute to the operations to wrest Christ's Tomb in Jerusalem from the Muslims and render it, along with the routes leading to it and the surrounding territories making up the Holy Land (where Christianity was believed to have first begun), free, safe, and accessible to devout Christian travellers and pilgrims, was a gradual process. The two distinct phenomena – the *servus pauperum* and the *miles Christi* – had been fused together to form the two sides of the Hospitaller equation. Perhaps the immediate driving forces behind this development were the powerful and pervasive influence of St Bernard, the personality and foresight of Raymond du Puy (died c.1160), and 'the predicament of a society they were serving' to which he was responding. The historian C.H. Lawrence sums up this dilemma as 'the military needs of *Outremer*' in the second decade of the 12th century, the 'urgent need' of 'a standing army of professionals' with which to have its 'defensive capability' reinforced<sup>11</sup>.

The story of the Hospitallers constituted a true pilgrimage. Behind it lay the steady onslaught of the Seljuk Turks, followed by the consolidation and westward advance of the Ottoman Empire. Both Muslim phenomena dictated the physical transfer of the Hospitaller Convent from one place to another, both determined the Order's noble and chivalric response to changing realities. Begun at Jerusalem, it took them to Acre, Cyprus, and Rhodes, to Viterbo, Nice, and Malta<sup>12</sup>. But it was more than that: it was also a spiritual strength of will and mind, the Hospital's powerful resolve to continue to discharge elsewhere their primary obligations, the religious and the military, neither of which was allowed to detract from its original efficiency or importance. Like all living organisms, they evolved to respond to new pressures, to meet new demands.

Governed by their Augustinian Rule<sup>13</sup>, the Hospitallers were fully-professed religious who took the three monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Wherever they were, in Convent or on their European commanderies, they shared a common liturgical life – they prayed together, keeping the seven canonical hours of the divine office; they dined together in the refectory, retired to bed in their own cells at night, and rose for matins. Their style and pattern of life resembled much of 'western monastic life' in the later middle ages. Paschal II's *Pie postulatio voluntatis* of 15 February 1113 subordinated them to the master and the general-chapter<sup>14</sup>. From the mid-13th century, to qualify for admission into the Order, a brother knight had to be of legitimate birth and of immediate knightly ancestors<sup>15</sup>. Only brother knights could be elected master. For the execution of its mission and for the general up-keep of the Hospital, the Convent depended on the support it received from its landed estates in Europe. These varied in size and wealth, with the smallest unit of administration, the commandery or preceptory, consisting of a village, a hospice, a church, farms, and 'other lands lying close to one another'<sup>16</sup>, with a brother commander, or preceptor, entrusted with its government and answerable to the prior. These commanderies were originally spiritually-rewarding gifts the fraternity had been given by the faithful for its wide involvement in charitable activities. Administratively grouped into provinces or priories<sup>17</sup>, each sent a third of its produce, in cash or kind, as *responsiones* to the conventual treasury every year. In the 14th century, a resident treasury official or receiver was attached to every priory, especially for the collection of such dues and other similar taxes<sup>18</sup>. The brotherhood consisted of knights, sergeants (at-service and at-arms), and chaplains. There were nuns, donats, and other lay associates or *confratres*, male and female. They built their own churches, had their own cemeteries, and were exempt from episcopal and secular jurisdiction.

### CARING FOR THE SICK<sup>19</sup>

By the late 12th century the Order of St John was already functioning both as a hospice, which offered free shelter and comfort, physical and spiritual, to the homeless poor (*domus pauperibus*) and as a hospital, which extended free medical care and attention to the sick (*domus infirmis*). At every stage on their long pilgrimage from Jerusalem to

Malta, not only would the Hospitallers carry with them their crusading spirit, their holy relics, and their archives, their knowledge of government, administration, and fortress building, and their wide experience of medical practices, customs, and traditions<sup>20</sup>; they would set up a major functioning hospital within the Convent wherever they went, a living pious institution which owed much to the more advanced Arab theories and ideas<sup>21</sup>. Accompanying them on their military expeditions and (later) on board their naval squadrons were mobile hospitals to provide for those wounded during the campaigns. Moreover, an impressively remarkable network of similar institutions – hospitals, hospices, leprosy, and poorhouses – spread throughout their priories and commanderies in the West. Only in the eighteenth century, claims Christopher Toll, did Europe begin to surpass ‘Arab surgical operations and instruments’<sup>22</sup>. The Hospitallers, with their long medical tradition, must have played a not insignificant role in this process of slow conversion.

The Rule, the statutes, and other treatises provide ample insight into the structure of the *palacium infirmorum* of St John at Jerusalem, the manner of its administration, and the nature of the charitable and medical activities that were performed in it. Great attention was given to the responsibilities of the physicians employed with the hospital and the quality of the service they vowed to administer to the patients. They visited the sick twice a day, checked urine and pulse regularly, diagnosed the nature of their disease, prescribed the right medicines to cure the infirmity, and issued appropriate dietary instructions. Lapidaries and herbals were used for their therapeutic qualities. Of similar importance were the type, quality, and quantity of the food and drink prescribed and served. Loving care too, we are told, was extended to the *filiis beati Iohannis*, the abandoned infants. All poor and sick were admitted without discrimination – men and women, Christians and non-Christians, Muslims and Jews, free men and slaves. The Jerusalem hospital, according to one treatise, had eleven apparently general wards. When these were full, the brethren gave up their own cells and beds to the patients. Sick women had their own hospital. Under normal conditions, the hospital could accommodate some 1000 patients, with roughly six to seven patients per attendant, and four resident physicians – quite innovative by European standards, quite backward by traditional Muslim practice<sup>23</sup>.

This pious commitment to ‘our lords the sick and to the poor of Christ’ became more distinct and pronounced during the long years the Hospitallers spent on Rhodes after c. 1310. On the Dodecanese island, their medical, sanitary, and other charitable institutions became better organized and more efficiently administered, almost assuming a near-permanent structure<sup>24</sup>. Responsibilities – like those of the Grand Hospitaller, who was the head of the Holy Infirmary; the infirmarian, the day-to-day administrator who ‘visited the sick daily and saw that they had all the nourishment prescribed to them; that they behaved with great civility; that a sufficient number of servants was available to attend to the sick; and that the deceased received a decent burial’<sup>25</sup>; the *probi homines*; the ‘learned and experienced’ physicians<sup>26</sup>; the surgeons and pharmacist, the chaplain, the Commissioner for the Poor, the Health Commissioners or *do-*

*mini sanitatis*, and the Guardian of the Port – were defined with greater precision<sup>27</sup>. The Maltese phase of the Order's history (1530-1798) witnessed consolidation in this field. Notwithstanding the inherent difficulties which characterized the central Mediterranean island – general poverty; lack of natural resources; economic dependence on nearby Sicily; jurisdictional separatism; constant fear of outbreaks of plague; the recurrent threat of Muslim invasion; and the internal strife within the fraternity itself, reflecting 'the culmination of a period of great adjustment to the Order's changed position, its loss of territories, and the conflicts of Church and State in the 16th century'<sup>28</sup> – there was indeed marked expansion in several sectors. The negative conditions on late 16th-century Malta dictated the positive development of 'the hospital and the charitable role of the Order'. Both were, Ann Williams points out, re-emphasized, reinterpreted, and extended<sup>29</sup>, apparently in the baroque spirit of the post-Tridentine Church. A larger hospital was constructed in the new city of Valletta in the 1570s. 'But the real change', she continues<sup>30</sup>,

does not come until the 1580s when the new hospital expanded under Verdalle and coordinated the charitable activities of the Order, the house for exposed infants, the hospital for women and the refuge for prostitutes, as well as treatment outside the hospital for less serious diseases, and for poor law relief for the Maltese and for the Rhodians who had loyally followed the Knights.

At every stage in its historical development, from the 12th century to the end of the 18th, the hospital played a significant role for the Order. In times of serious crisis, like the one of 1291, when the military Orders failed to stem the advance of Islam sweeping through Latin Syria, or that of 1522, when Rhodes, after more than two hundred years of Hospitaller rule, was lost to the Ottoman Turks, or indeed the fall in 1551 of the North African fortress of Tripoli, which had been entrusted to the Order twenty years earlier, on all these occasions the importance of the Hospitaller institution's charitable function became even more pronounced. If the Order had failed to realize its military objective or to maintain its military achievements, if the Order after the fall of Acre had become a political anachronism<sup>31</sup>, or indeed irrelevant after Rhodes and Tripoli, were the revenues derived from its massive landownership in Europe, the equally wide patronage, and the vast and splendid array of privileges and exemptions it had been allowed to enjoy necessary and justified any further? The saving answer could well have been found in the hospital. By the time the Order had settled on Rhodes, says Anthony Luttrell, and indeed through the long 16th century, the hospital was more than 'a religious obligation'; it was more than 'a source of ideological strength'. It constituted, he claims, 'a show-piece to impress a visiting public which would transmit the resulting image throughout Latin Europe ...; the Conventual hospital was to some extent a public relations exercise'<sup>32</sup>.

## FIGHTING FOR THE FAITH

Like their active commitment to charity, the Hospitallers' professed hostility to Islam did not shrink over the centuries. Nor did changing geographical and political condi-

tions succeed in weakening or diminishing its importance. Indeed, during their brief and uncomfortable stay on Cyprus, they had already begun to respond to the dictates of insularity by constructing a small naval force. This would open for them a vaster horizon of new forms of activity. On Rhodes, their mission was transformed into a profession of eternal war, waged on all fronts, against the infidel. Their naval and maritime activities in the eastern Mediterranean remained a constantly irritating source of nuisance to Ottoman lands surrounding the island, to Muslim pilgrims to Mecca, and to Muslim trade and shipping plying the area or crossing the important Alexandria – Constantinople caravan route<sup>33</sup>. Their participation in crusading ventures on land and by sea remained regular and consistent. Their services were nearly always ready on demand. The 1460s<sup>34</sup>, to cite one example, saw the Hospitallers side by side with the Venetians at the siege of Negropont, defending the rights and privileges of the Adriatic Republic against Mahomet II in the east – as they would in the 1470s<sup>35</sup>, at the turn of the century<sup>36</sup>, and again and again throughout the early modern period<sup>37</sup>.

After 1523 the Hospitallers sustained the same provocative activity, first during their eight-year odyssey in desperate search for a permanent home and then, after October 1530, from their new base on central Mediterranean Malta. The latter gave them the added strategic advantage of extending their holy war to the western portion of the sea and along the entire North African coast. Unshaken by the nascent spirit of nationalism and reluctantly compliant with the dictates of the papacy and of France's changing attitudes towards the Ottoman Empire, the Hospitallers were determined to uphold their policy of active hostility against Islam, to continue fighting for the faith and in defence of Christendom, a resolve that remained of considerable political relevance, like the image they promoted of their hospitaller activities. Endeavouring to keep the crusading ideal alive was necessary for their prolonged existence. The institution was unthinkable without European patronage which was eloquently realized in the dual form of great-power protection and the sustained regular flow of new recruits and revenue from their priories in Europe. The hospital, in its broadest charitable manifestations, as has been shown, in part justified their existence. And so did the consistency of their naval campaigns in early modern times. Hospitaller Malta, not unlike Hospitaller Rhodes, was transformed into a double fortress which combined the two vocations fairly intimately – one against Islam and one against the plague.

In harmony with such policy, the Hospitallers involved themselves in almost all the naval encounters between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean. On Malta, as on Rhodes, they joined holy leagues and consistently placed all their naval forces at the disposal of allied Christian fleets. In 1500 the Order's naval squadron fought along with those of Pope Alexander VI, Venice, Spain, Portugal, and France<sup>38</sup>. The role the Hospitaller galleys played in Pius V's holy league of 1571, culminating in Lepanto, is too well known to need description<sup>39</sup>. On several other occasions they contributed their entire galley squadron and other craft to Habsburg punitive expeditions against the infidel. Conforming to their institution's statutory provisions, they often acted too on their own in seasonal cruises, harassing Muslims on land and at sea, looting their

towns and villages, and taking their men, women, and children into slavery. This latter form of anti-Muslim operations, already begun on Rhodes<sup>40</sup>, would develop into a major industry on Malta. The naval historian Ubaldino Mori Ubaldini assigns the initial involvement of individual members of the Order in such formal operations to the early years of Spain's Golden Age<sup>41</sup>. The Hospitaller Inyogo Ayalla was, he claims, among the first participants in this massive activity which would reach its peak in the next century. On 24 November 1503, Grandmaster Pierre d'Aubusson allowed Ayalla to arm the Order's *barcia Sancta Maria* and venture on a corsairing expedition against the infidel in Levantine waters on condition that two-thirds of the booty would go to the Order's Treasury<sup>42</sup>. Even during the severe crisis of the post-1522 years, the Hospitallers were active in privateering ventures, either undertaken by the naval squadron or by individual brethren in their own private capacity. Such activity was designed as much to keep alive the innate warlike spirit against the infidel as to underscore the institution's relevance to the Christian West. It was in the Order's interests that naval feats against the infidel, the capture of hundreds of Muslim slaves, and the freeing of equally large numbers of Christian subjects of diverse European monarchies and principalities from slavery were given wide publicity. In 1524, for example, the Order's admiral Bernardino d'Airasca celebrated one such occasion with a pageant spectacle of a victory march displaying the trophies of battle along the principal streets of Rome. Ottoman flags and banners, convincing evidence of the triumph of the white eight-pointed cross over the crescent, decorated prominently the Hospital's temporary conventual residence at the church of San Faustino at Viterbo<sup>43</sup>.

From October 1530 the monastic island-state of Malta began to assume the formidable task of being at the forefront of any Western Christian enterprise against Islam. During the earlier half of the 16th century alone, the Hospitaller galley squadron was present at Modon (1531)<sup>44</sup>, Coron and Patras (1532)<sup>45</sup>, Tunis (1535)<sup>46</sup>, Corfu (1537)<sup>47</sup>, Préveza (1538)<sup>48</sup>, Otranto and Castelnuovo (1539)<sup>49</sup>, at the conquest of Monastir and Susa (1540)<sup>50</sup>, the sieges of Sfax<sup>51</sup> and Algiers (1541)<sup>52</sup>, Mahdija (1550)<sup>53</sup>, Djerba (1560)<sup>54</sup> – an infinitely long string of daring deeds, copiously and profusely provocative, that goes a long way to explain not only the skilful Muslim reprisals on Gozo and Tripoli in 1551<sup>55</sup>, but also the abortive Ottoman siege of Malta in 1565<sup>56</sup>. The 'dazzling triumph'<sup>57</sup> of the Christian forces at Lepanto on 7 October 1571 would not be repeated, but the pattern of active performance in terms of courage, commitment, and naval technique that emerged in the 16th century would still characterize the story of the Hospital in the 17th and 18th centuries, though not perhaps on as large a scale as before.

## A CHANGE OF DIRECTION AND FOCUS

Acre, the last crusader state in Latin Syria, fell to the Mamluks in 1291. With hindsight, after that loss there was no hope for the military orders of ever recovering the Holy Land. That development caused consternation, bitter resentment, and widespread disil-



lusionment in the West, one which promoted severe criticism of the crusaders, the crusading movement, and the military orders<sup>58</sup>. Within the next two decades the Templars would be dissolved and the Teutonic Order would move to the Baltic<sup>59</sup>. For the Hospitallers, the fall of Acre, like the loss of Jerusalem before it, created a pattern of calculated response to hostile public opinion. It necessitated a change not only of direction on the pilgrimage they had undertaken, but also of focus, unless they wanted to allow themselves and their institution to be reduced to impotence. To survive, they needed to revisit their position – the ideas and ideals they had entertained, the structures they had worked in, and the conceptions they had been familiar with. The recovery of the Holy Tomb and the defence of the Holy Places were a thing of the past, albeit recent; they could no longer remain the focal point of their military activities. The Hospital acknowledged this new reality and turned its attention towards the new challenge. The security of the Latin West was at stake. Would the Turks overrun Europe? The threat of Islam was made to appear wider in magnitude and larger in scale than it really was, indeed ominous enough and frightening to shake the whole of Christendom on land and at sea. This was an impression which the Hospital sought deliberately to create in order to highlight its military worthiness, its indispensability, and its political and ideological relevance to Christian Europe. For subtly concealed beneath the failure to contain the Muslim threat lay the danger to its own continued existence. This approach was adopted not only after Acre. The strategically unnecessary building after 1407, for example, of the ‘imposing and expensive’ fortress of Bodrum<sup>60</sup> was a classic example. Bodrum, says Anthony Luttrell, ‘allowed the Hospital to present itself to Western public opinion as being in direct contact and confrontation with the infidel’<sup>61</sup>. Similar methods were applied after the loss of Rhodes in 1523, after the fall of Tripoli in Barbary in 1551, and indeed at regular intervals during the Order’s stay on Malta whenever the Hospital feared its *raison d’être* was in doubt. What contemporaries thought of the Hospitallers and especially the image their patrons (popes, emperors, and kings) entertained of them was a matter of no mean significance. Though clearly too extreme, the idea the order was trying to convey loud and clear at the end of the 13th century was reinforced by the dissension and internal strife that marked conditions in the West, a situation which strengthened the magnitude and gravity of the ever-growing threat from the East. At Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuk Turks had seized most of Asia Minor. Antioch fell in 1085. The power of Islam and the alarming pace with which it spread had helped create the military orders. After Acre it again in part determined the history of Europe; as it would after Rhodes. In 1789 the catalyst was no longer Islam but revolutionary France.

## CONCLUSION

Historians of the Order tend to reiterate the popular view that the 18th century witnessed the decline and fall of the Order of the Hospital. This remains debatable. Dictionaries define decline as a natural process of gradual deterioration in quality, health, or character. It is a process coming from within. The eviction of the Order from Malta

and its consequent crisis cannot, in this sense, be attributed to such process of disintegration, but rather to radical forces outside the institution's competence to contain or control. Changing patterns of international political, diplomatic, cultural, and commercial relations, the steady process of secularization, the pervasive influence of the French Enlightenment on European ideas, the force of rationalism – all challenged the principle of privilege on which the old order was established. This rendered the Hospital vulnerable, increasingly incompatible with the revolutionary spirit of the times. Few historians, if any, advance the saner argument that the institution had succeeded, against all odds, in nourishing the concept and spirit of the crusade for so long and in keeping its ideals alive through the entire 18th century. That was one of the Hospitallers' greatest achievements. With minor differences, every single privateering expedition organized seasonally by the Order as demanded by the statutes against the Muslim infidel in the Levant or on the long Maghrebi coast of North Africa was a campaign against the enemies of the faith, a holy war, a fusion of crusading piety and adventure<sup>62</sup>. In the late 1750s, shortly after the Hospitaller Massimiliano Buzzaccarini Gonzaga had settled on Malta as Venice's resident minister, he called the island 'so very necessary for the whole of Christendom'. Seven months before he passed away in 1776, he still entertained the idea that Hospitaller Malta, entrusted as it had been centuries earlier to the crusading Order by European sovereigns to protect Europe against the enemy of the Christian faith, was still performing that mission admirably<sup>63</sup>.

This forms part of the Order's legacy to Europe. Though the subject still needs to be more carefully analysed, the Hospitallers' contribution must have been considerable. The crusading movement had widened the Order's function beyond its original charitable role and increased its reputation<sup>64</sup>. By allowing themselves to get so deeply involved in these massive migratory movements of populations, the Hospitallers were also in part responsible for the export or dissemination of 'Western and especially French culture beyond its own borders'<sup>65</sup>. But their legacy goes even further than that. At one level, through their charitable and military activities, the Hospitallers had fulfilled a 'great civilizing and defensive function in the development of Europe'<sup>66</sup>, unwittingly contributing as much to the 'Christianization of Europe' as to the 'Christianization of warfare'<sup>67</sup>. At another level, the Hospitallers performed an intimately related and as equally remarkable social and economic function. Away from the theatre of war on land and at sea, outside the great halls and precincts of the hospital, and away from the remote Convent in Jerusalem or Acre, on Cyprus, Rhodes, or Malta, the Hospitallers for over seven hundred years resided on one of their Order's several European commanderies. In the long-term historical perspective, the intelligent administration of these massive estates, each of which played a wide range of useful and significant roles, constituted an unwittingly formative influence, a powerful force of continuity, and a constructive force in European civilization<sup>68</sup>. Today, as it had been at the start of its pilgrimage in Jerusalem, the Order's mission is to help that part of humanity that finds itself in distress. In the words of a recent French writer and critic, 'this institution holds sway over the world,' not through military force or political power, 'but through one sole act: that of charity'<sup>69</sup>.

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> J. Richard, *Introduction*, in M. Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders*, [I]: *Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, Aldershot 1992, p. xxi.
- <sup>2</sup> See C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn, London 1989, p. 207.
- <sup>3</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, 3rd edn, Hampshire 2002, p. 13.
- <sup>4</sup> M. Bloch, *Feudal Society, II: Social Classes and Political Organization*, trans. by L.A. Manyon, London 1962, p. 295.
- <sup>5</sup> Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?* cit., p. 13.
- <sup>6</sup> P. Rietbergen, *Europe: A Cultural History*, London 1998, p. 114.
- <sup>7</sup> Fulcher of Chartres's text of Urban II's sermon. Cited after *ibid.*, p. 115.
- <sup>8</sup> J. Riley-Smith, *Crusading as an Act of Love*, "History", LXV, 1980, pp. 177-192.
- <sup>9</sup> Cited after D. Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c.1100 – c.1300*, Suffolk 1999, p. 51.
- <sup>10</sup> A.T. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530*, in M. Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders*, [I], cit., pp. 65, 71-72.
- <sup>11</sup> Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* cit., p. 212.
- <sup>12</sup> For the history of the itinerant Hospitaller Convent after the loss of Rhodes, V. Mallia-Milanes, *Charles V's Donation of Malta to the Order of St John*, "Peregrinationes Acta et Documenta", 2, 2001, pp. 23-33.
- <sup>13</sup> Drawn up by Raymond du Puy, the second Master who had succeeded the Holy Gerard, the founder, it was confirmed by Pope Eugenius III.
- <sup>14</sup> For the papal bull, National Library of Malta, Cod. 1126. See also J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310*, London 1967, p. 342.
- <sup>15</sup> H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester 1993, p. 4.
- <sup>16</sup> Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John* cit., p. 341.
- <sup>17</sup> In the thirteenth century, the priories were in turn grouped into larger geographical units called *langues*. The Order was made up of eight such *langues* – Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany, and Castile.
- <sup>18</sup> V. Mallia-Milanes, *The Hospitaller Receiver In Venice: A Late Seventeenth-Century Document*, "Studi Veneziani", n.s., XLIV, 2002, p. 310.
- <sup>19</sup> This and the subsequent sub-headings are taken from the title of a conference on the military orders organized by the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades at the Museum of St John, St John's Gate, Clerkenwell, London, on 3-6 September 1992.
- <sup>20</sup> Luttrell, *Hospitallers' Medical Tradition* cit., p. 64, and *passim*.
- <sup>21</sup> S. Edgington, *Medical Care in the Hospital of St John in Jerusalem*, in H. Nicholson (ed.) *The Military Orders, II: Welfare and Warfare*, Aldershot 1998, pp. 27-33, especially p. 30.
- <sup>22</sup> C. Toll, *Arabic Medicine and Hospitals in the Middle Ages: A Probable Model for the Military Orders' Care for the Sick*, in Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders, II* cit., p. 40.
- <sup>23</sup> B.Z. Kedar, *A Twelfth-Century Description of the Jerusalem Hospital*, in *ibid.*, pp. 3-13. For a provisional edition of the treatise, *ibid.*, pp. 13-26.
- <sup>24</sup> For details, see A. Williams, *Xenodochium to Sacred Infirmary: the Changing Role of the Hospital of the Order of St John, 1522-1631*, in Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders*, [I] cit., pp. 97-102.
- <sup>25</sup> P. Cassar, *A Medical History of Malta*, London 1964, p. 40.

- <sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- <sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 99.
- <sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100-101
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- <sup>31</sup> Riley-Smith, *Knights of St John* cit., pp. 475-76.
- <sup>32</sup> Luttrell, *Hospitallers' Medical Tradition* cit., *passim*.
- <sup>33</sup> See N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes (1480-1522)*, Paris 1994, pp. 294-307, 329-42.
- <sup>34</sup> U. Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare Ordine di San Giovanni di Gerusalemme di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome 1971, p. 99.
- <sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100.
- <sup>37</sup> V. Mallia-Milanes, *Venice and Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Aspects of a Relationship*, Malta 1992, *passim*.
- <sup>38</sup> Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare* cit., p. 106.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 267-80.
- <sup>40</sup> L. Butler, *The Port of Rhodes under the Knights of St John (1309-1522)*, in *Les Grandes Escales: Recueils de la société Jean Bodin*, XXXII, Brussels 1974, pp. 339-345; A.T. Luttrell, *The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller Corso at Rhodes: 1413 and 1416*, "Mediterranean Historical Review", X, 1995, pp. 177-188.
- <sup>41</sup> Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare* cit., p. 108.
- <sup>42</sup> National Library of Malta, Cod. 80, *Liber Conciliorum*, fols. 74-75.
- <sup>43</sup> Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare* cit., pp. 122-123; also A. Guglielmotti, *Storia della marina pontificia*, III-IV: *La guerra dei pirati e la marina pontificia dal 1500 al 1560*, Rome 1886-87, III, p. 228.
- <sup>44</sup> K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)*, Philadelphia 1984, III, p. 352; E. Rossi, *Storia della marina dell'Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme, di Rodi e di Malta*, Rome 1926, p. 36. In December 1531, the Venetian Marin Sanudo diarized the following observation: 'et si ben siegue che l'armata di questo Signor parte potria ussir et andar verso Malta contra il Gran Maestro di Rodi per vendicarsi di Modon'. M. Sanudo, *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, edited by R. Fulin et al., Venice 1879-1903, LV, col. 518.
- <sup>45</sup> Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., p. 37; Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, pp. 366-67.
- <sup>46</sup> Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, pp. 396-400.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170-72; Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., p. 38-39; Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, ch. 11, *passim*.
- <sup>48</sup> I. Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione et Ill.ma Militia di S. Gio. Gerosolimitano*, III, Rome 1602, pp. 178-80; Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., p. 39; Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, pp. 445-449.
- <sup>49</sup> Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione* cit., III, pp. 186-187.
- <sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194; Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., p. 39.
- <sup>51</sup> Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione* cit., III, pp. 194-195; Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., p. 39.
- <sup>52</sup> See Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione* cit., III, pp. 199-200, pp. 205-211; Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., pp. 40; also J.B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast: Algiers under the Turks 1500 to 1830*, London 1979, pp. 27-30.
- <sup>53</sup> On the whole episode, Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, pp. 533-535.
- <sup>54</sup> Rossi, *Storia della marina* cit., pp. 45-46; Moro Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare* cit., p. 201; Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. by Sian Reynolds, London 1972-73, pp. 977, 980.
- <sup>55</sup> Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione* cit., III, p. 191; see also V. Mallia-Milanes, *Reflections on the Historiog-*

- raphy of Hospitaller Gozo, in L. Briguglio (ed.), *Focus on Gozo*, Malta 1996, pp. 146-51. When Tripoli fell on 14 August 1551 to the besieging Ottoman forces, Henri II's French ambassador to the Porte, Gabriel de Luitz d'Aramon, was present with two galleys and a galliot. The Hospitaller Caspar de Villier, Marshall, of the French Langue of Auvergne, was governor. Setton, *The Papacy* cit., III, p. 555; Braudel, *The Mediterranean* cit., pp. 920-921. On Hospitaller Tripoli, E. Rossi, *Il dominio dei cavalieri di Malta a Tripoli (1530-1551) e i rapporti dell'Ordine con Tripoli nei secoli seguenti (1551-1798)*, "Archivum Melitense", VI, 2, 1924, pp. 43-85; A.P. Vella, *The Order of Malta and the defence of Tripoli, 1530-1551*, "Melita Historica", VI, 4, 1975, pp. 362-81; A. Williams, *Tripoli and the Knights of Malta Revisited*, in P. Xuereb (eds.), *Karissime Gotifride: Historical essays presented to Godfrey Wettinger on his seventieth birthday*, Malta 1999, pp. 96-102.
- <sup>56</sup> For an evaluation of the significance of the siege, V. Mallia-Milanes, *The Birgu Phase in Hospitaller History*, in L. Bugeja et al. (eds.), *Birgu: A Maltese Maritime History*, Malta 1993, pp. 73-96.
- <sup>57</sup> Braudel, *The Mediterranean* cit., p. 1088.
- <sup>58</sup> See, for example, E. Siberry, *Criticism of Crusading 1095-1274*, Oxford 1985. Also N. Housley, *The Italian Crusades. The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades against Christian Lay Powers, 1254-1343*, Oxford 1982; H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. by J. Gillingham, 2nd edn, Oxford 1988; H. Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291*, Leicester 1993.
- <sup>59</sup> G. O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565*, Oxford 2005, p. 1; M. Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, Cambridge 1978.
- <sup>60</sup> O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller* cit., p. 5.
- <sup>61</sup> A.T. Luttrell, *English Contributions to the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum in Turkey: 1407-1437* in Nicholson H. (ed.), *The Military Orders*, II, cit., pp. 165-166.
- <sup>62</sup> For such ventures, Mori Ubaldini, *La Marina del Sovrano Militare* cit., *passim*.
- <sup>63</sup> See V. Mallia-Milanes, 'A Man with a Mission: A Venetian Hospitaller on Eighteenth-Century Malta', paper read in 'The Military Orders on Land and by Sea', The Fourth International Conference of the London Centre for the Study of the Crusades, the Military Religious Orders, and the Latin East', held at St John's Gate, London, 8-11 September 2005.
- <sup>64</sup> P. Contamine, *War in the Middle Ages*, trans. by M. Jones, Oxford 1984, p. 75.
- <sup>65</sup> Bloch, *Feudal Society* cit., p. 296.
- <sup>66</sup> E. Schermerhorn, *On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross: A Study of the Heritage of the Knights Hospitallers in Feudal Europe*, New York 1940.
- <sup>67</sup> J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Europe*, trans. by Janet Lloyd, Oxford 2005, pp. 58, 94.
- <sup>68</sup> Schermerhorn, *On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross* cit., *passim*.
- <sup>69</sup> B. Galimard Flavigny, *Histoire de l'Ordre de Malte*, Paris 2006, p. 10.

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