

Milites Christi

in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: a historiographical overview

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The overall objective of the following survey is to outline the achievements of East-Central European scholarship after the Second World War, with special regard to the medieval kingdom of Hungary.¹

Presenting and evaluating the post-war historiography of the military-religious orders in Hungary, one cannot, and certainly, should not skip the serious hiatus in the literature of church history in the "region." The "region", principally, is meant to be Hungary, but as the topic concerns the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, the survey should also include, to a certain extent, present-day Croatia, Slovenia, Romania and Slovakia. It is not my objective to appraise the historiography of these Eastern European countries, but rather my intention is to display the major trends. Accordingly, emphasis should be given to the fact that the post-war Communist regimes, in effect from 1949, undermined medieval studies in general, and church history in particular. All pre-war projects were split by the early '50s and this process also effected the edition of primary (Latin) written sources as well. There was no way to obtain an academic degree by compiling high-quality source editions, and this fact hindered both directly and indirectly new research projects in any field of medieval studies. This mostly affected the edition of medieval charters. The exception that proves the rule, was the attempt by Elemér Mályusz to publish the charter-calendars of the Sigismund Era (1387–1437) from 1951 but which remains unfinished.² The first comprehensive enter-

¹ An earlier version of the present paper was delivered at the conference entitled *Medio siglo de estudios sobre las Cruzadas y las Órdenes militares, 1951–2001* held by the Universidad de Zaragoza (Facultad de Huesca) in Teruel.

² E. Mályusz, I. Borsa, eds. *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár, 1387–1421*. [Cartulary of the Sigismund era], 7 vols. Budapest 1951–2001. (Vol. 7 (1422), and Vol. 8 (1423) are forthcoming).

prise is the compilation of the documents of the Angevin period (1301–1387) from 1990 onwards.³

It was the works of Ágoston Boltizsár,⁴ János Strázsay,⁵ Antal Karcsú,⁶ Ivan Kukuljević,⁷ Frigyes Pesty,⁸ Ferenc Patek,⁹ and Ede Reiszig¹⁰ that first surveyed and summarised the history of the military orders in the region with scholarly rigor. Their research was facilitated by the simultaneous formation of the medieval collection of the National Archives of Hungary, and by the more and more extensive source editions that began in the first third of the nineteenth century.¹¹ The common feature of these works – i.e. of pre-war titles – is, on the one hand, that they reflected upon international literature but, on the other hand, most of them are full of conceptual problems and misunderstandings. In contrast to the Western European situation, Hungarian – and many Central European – (Latin) written sources very often use the term *crucifer* instead of the appropriate *miles Templi*, *frater hospitalis*, and so on. It led to confusion – many scholars treated the houses and the landed properties of other orders, for instance the Order of St. Anthony or that of the Holy Spirit as belonging to the Hospital or the Temple, and vice versa. Moreover, there was no attempt to analyse the nuclei of these orders through their administrative units, that is through the commanderies or preceptories. Finally, prior to World War II “national history-writing” shifted the balance towards the autonomy of these orders, and thus almost disregarded their centralised nature and/or international characteristics.

After World War II, a radical decline in the studies of the military orders set in. Certainly, the missing research could not correct the many mistakes of earlier scholars. Instead, the very few works bequeathed several problems from the outdated studies. It was the general situation until the late 1960s when Karl-Georg Boroviczeny, a German haematologist of Hungarian origin (not accidentally,

³ Anjou-kori oklevéltár. *Documenta res Hungaricas tempore regum Andegavensium illustrantia*. Praeside J. Kristó, Vols. 1–12, 17, 23–24, Budapest–Szeged 1990–2002.

⁴ Á. Boltizsár, “A keresztes lovagok regestái hazánkban az Árpádkorszak alatt,” [The calendars of the charters of the Knights of St. John in Hungary during the Árpád Age], *Magyar Sion* (1863), 58–62, 209–216, 294–298, 373–377, 453–457.

⁵ J. Strázsay, “A Kereszt-Vitézek Magyarországon,” [Cruféri in Hungary] *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* 11 (1823), 64–98.

⁶ A. Karcsu, *Az egyházi és szerzetesi lovagrendek történelme* [A history of the military-religious orders], Pest 1867.

⁷ I. Kukuljević, “Priorat vranski sa vitezi templari hospitalci sv. Ivana u Hrvatskoj,” [The Priory of Vrana of the Templars and the Hospitallers in Croatia] *Rad JAZU*, 81–82 (1886).

⁸ F. Pesty, *A templáriusok Magyarországon* [The Templars in Hungary] Budapest 1861.

⁹ F. Patek, *A magyarországi templárius rendtartomány felbomlása*. [The dissolution of the Templar Province of Hungary] Budapest 1912.

¹⁰ E. Reiszig, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János lovagrend Magyarországon*. [The Order of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary], 2 vols. Budapest 1925–1928.

¹¹ For a detailed description, see Zsolt Hunyadi, “Research Resources for Medievalists in Hungary,” in *Issues and Resources for the Study of Medieval Central Europe*. eds. J. M. Bak, P. Banyó, Budapest–Cambridge (Mass.) 2001, 111–139.

a modern Maltese “knight”), studied the history of the military orders in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, compiled an annotated bibliography and wrote a study that was presented in Hungary in 1970 but published only in 1990.¹² Boroviczény’s work proved to be very important. First of all, he reinforced the demand for new research projects concerning the military-religious orders. Moreover, his survey aimed at collecting all the primary written sources published up to the end of the 1960s. What is more, by close reading the primary sources and by the clarification of the notions and denominations applied in these charters, Boroviczény discovered or, in fact, separated a hitherto unknown religious institution, the Order of Hospitaller Canons Regular of St. Stephen, founded by the Hungarian King Géza II around the mid-twelfth century.¹³ The members of this order were also called *cruciferi* in contemporary sources, – they used this expression even in the inscriptions of their own charters – but they had nothing in common either with the Crusaders or with the Hospital of St. John. The ideas of Boroviczény, however, were neglected and disregarded for almost two decades – basically for two reasons. First, he lived in Germany which made it difficult to keep “daily contacts” with mainstream Hungarian scholars. But the fact that he was not a professional historian proved the most problematic issue. Most Hungarian historians refused his ideas merely because he was an enthusiastic amateur. The reception of his suggestions has changed since 1990.

Undoubtedly, the most neglected topic was the history of the Templars in the region. This situation, however, is not self-evident. Their presence was shorter than that of the Hospitallers but, on the other hand, it was much longer than the one and a half-decade presence of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania (Barcaság/Burzenland). The first post-war study of the Templars that meets modern scholarly standards was published in the journal of the Zadar division of the Yugoslav (present-day Croatian) Academy of Sciences which dedicated a whole volume in 1971 to Vrana, the medieval headquarters of the Templars and Hospitallers on the Dalmatian coast.¹⁴ In addition to these minor studies from the 1980s, the Croatian Lelja Dobronić,¹⁵ published two monographs and several articles on

¹² K.-G. Boroviczény, *Kommentierte Bibliographie der Kreuzherren- und Hospitalorden, sowie deren Krankenhaus- und Bädergründungen in Ungarn in der Zeit der Arpaden (X. bis XIII. Jahrhundert)* (manuscript) Freiburg 1970.

¹³ K.-Gy. Boroviczény, “Cruciferi Sancti Regis Stephani. Tanulmány a stefaniták, egy középkori magyar ispotályos rend történetéről,” [The Knights of St. Stephen: Study on a medieval Hungarian Hospitaller Order] *Orvostörténeti Közlemények. Communicationes de Historiae Artis Medicinae*, 133–140 (1991–92), 7–48.

¹⁴ L. Kos, “Prior vranski i njegove funkcije u našoj pravnoj povijesti,” [The prior of Vrana and his function in the Croatian legal practice] *Radovi Istraživačkog centra Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 18 (1971), 227–237; E. Peričić, “Vranski priori Ivan od Paližne i Petar Berislavic,” [John of Palisna and Peter Berislo, Hospitaller Priors of Vrana] *ibid.*, 239–321; J. Kolanović, “Vrana i Templari,” [Vrana and the Templars] *ibid.*, 207–226.

¹⁵ L. Dobronić, “Posjedi srednjovekovnih viteških redova u okolici Zagreba,” [The estates of the medieval military orders in the vicinity of Zagreb] in *Gunjačina Zbornika*, Zagreb

the military-religious orders in present-day Croatia. She might have corrected the errors and imperfections of the nineteenth-century authors (Ivan Kukuljević, Frigyes Pesty, and Ferenc Patek), but she almost completely ignored Hungarian sources, that is the written sources preserved or published in Hungary. Also, she applied and combined unverifiable archeological ideas, thus further confusing the picture of the Hungarian-Slavonian province of the Templars.

More recently, Miha Kosi, a young Slovenian scholar published comprehensive studies (in 1994 and 1995)¹⁶ on the history of the Templars in present-day Slovenia summing up the literature published until that time. Unfortunately, Hungarian scholarship still lack a scholarly monograph on the topic. The main reason for this situation is that the majority of medieval Templar sites are to be found outside the borders of present-day Hungary. On the initiative of Karl-Georg Boroviczény, a research group was established at the University of Szeged at the beginning of the 1990s for studying church history with special regard to military-religious orders.¹⁷ As a member of this research group, Balázs Stossek took up the history of the Hungarian-Slavonian province of the Templars. Stossek's works aim at providing a thorough investigation of the primary sources and the secondary literature in a doctoral dissertation. Moreover, with the help of foreign studies – e.g. that of Karl Borchardt¹⁸ – he is trying to place this province of the Order in the broader (Central-) European framework.¹⁹

Parallel to the academic works, translations of popular works on the Templars have been published in the region. Needless to say, these popular works, often

1980; *eadem*, "The Military Orders in Croatia," in *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the period of the Crusades*, ed. V. Goss, Kalamazoo 1986, 431–438; *eadem*, "Viteški redovi: Templari i Ivanovci u Hrvatskoj," *Analecta Croatica Christiana*, 18 (1984); *eadem*, *Posjedi i Sjedišta Templara, Ivanovaca i Sepulkralaca u Hrvatskoj*, [Estates and Residences of Templars, Hospitallers and Canons Regular of the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem in Croatia] Zagreb 1984; *eadem*, *Viteški redovi. Templari i Ivanovci u Hrvatskoj*, [Knightly Orders. Templars and Hospitallers in Croatia] Zagreb 1984, reprint: Zagreb 2002.

¹⁶ M. Kosi, "Templarji na Slovenskem," [Knights Templar in Slovenia], *Zgodovinski časopis* 48 (1994), 149–186; *idem*, *Templarji na Slovenskem* [Knights Templar in Slovenia], Zbirka Zgodovinskega časopisa 13, Ljubljana 1995.

¹⁷ CAPITULUM Research Group for Medieval Church History, University of Szeged, Hungary, <http://www.staff.u-szeged.hu/~capitul>.

¹⁸ K. Borchardt, "Military Orders in East Central Europe: The First Hundred Years," in *Autour de la première croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for Study of the Crusades and the Latin East (Clermont-Ferrand, 22–25 juin 1995)*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 14, ed. M. Balard, Paris 1996, 247–254; *idem*, "The Templars in Central Europe," in *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity*, eds. Zs. Hunyadi, J. Laszlovszky, Budapest 2001, (henceforth: *Expanding the Frontiers*) 233–244.

¹⁹ B. Stossek, "Maisons et Possessions des Templiers en Hongrie," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 245–251; *idem*, "A templomosok Magyarországon," [The Templars in Hungary] in *A magyar kereszties háború (Szentföld, keresztiesek, lovagrendek)*, ed. J. Laszlovszky, J. Majorossy, J. Zsengellér, Budapest 2004, forthcoming.

full of delirious ideas, add nothing to scholarly advancement.²⁰ Among these are the recent monographs of Paul Piers Read on the Templars,²¹ even though scholars would have preferred other works, for instance, that of Alain Demurger and/or Helen Nicholson. Fortunately research on the Hospitallers provides a rosier picture. There seems to be a newfound interest among members of the modern Maltese Orders to pursue the history of the order. Following Ede Reiszig's scholarly achievements of the 1920s,²² several works have been published since 1959 by Miklós István Tóth,²³ Karl-Georg Boroviczény,²⁴ Martin von Walterskirchen,²⁵ Antal Radvánszky²⁶ and Szabolcs de Vajay.²⁷ All these works were published in Western European countries, thus they did not have a commensurate impact in Central Europe.²⁸ The very few exceptions are the popular works by Imre Marjai published in 1990, and the joint publication of László Legeza and József Török in 1999.²⁹ These studies – published in Hungarian or German – were usually summaries of former secondary works, and they yield no new insights.

Simultaneously with the studies of the Croatian Lelja Dobronić, Hungarian lay scholarship also “discovered” the importance of the topic at the end of the

²⁰ L. Charpentier, *Les Mystères Templiers*. Paris 1967; Hungarian tr. *A templomos lovagok titkai*. tr. I. Lőrinszky, Budapest 1992; S. Howarth, *The Knights Templar*. London 1982; Hungarian tr. *A templomosok titka*. [The Secret of the Templars] Budapest, 1986; V. Loos, *A templomos lovagrend története*. [History of the Templars]. Pécs n.d. [2000].

²¹ P. Piers Read, *The Templars*. London 1999; Hungarian tr. *A templomosok*. tr. by J. Majorossy, Budapest n.d. [2001].

²² E. Reiszig, *A jeruzsálemi Szent János lovagrend Magyarországon*. [The Order of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in Hungary] 2 vols. Budapest: Nemesi Évkönyv, 1925–1928. Its ‘summary’ was published in H. Thierry, “L’Ordre de St. Jean de Jérusalem en Hongrie,” *Rivista Mensile Illustrata: Sovrano Ordine Militare di Malta* 2 (1938/1, April): 13–19; 2 (1938/2 May): 23–30.

²³ I. M. Tóth, *Die Ungarische Genossenschaft des Ritterlichen Ordens Sankt Johannis von Spital zu Jerusalem*. München 1959.

²⁴ K.-G. Boroviczény, “Die Hospitaller und Ungarn,” *Johanniter* (1972/3) [1971].

²⁵ M. von Walterskirchen, “Béla III. schenkt den Johannitern Land bei Akkon: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des internationale Zahlungsverkehrs im 12. Jahrhundert,” *Annales de l’Ordre Souverain Militaire de Malte* 33 (1975), 102–109.

²⁶ A. Radvánszky, “Ein Ritterwall Gegen die Türken Geschichte des Johanniterordens in Ungarn,” *Johanniter* (1986/2); *idem*, *A Szent János lovagrend története Magyarországon*. [A History of the Hospitallers in Hungary] Paris 1986.

²⁷ Sz. de Vajay, *A johannita lovagrend tagjai*. [The members of the Hospital] Munich 1987.

²⁸ See also A. Ruttkay, “Die Ritter- und Spitalsorden in der Slowakei. Archäologie und Geschichte,” in J. Pavúk, ed. *Actes du XII^e Congrès International des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques*. Vol. 4. Bratislava 1993, 141–161; *idem*. “Military and Religious Orders Offering Medical Care (Archaeological and Written Sources in Slovakia),” in L. Kajzer, and H. Paner, eds. *Castrum Bene: Castle and Church*. Vol. 5. Gdańsk 1996, 173–192.

²⁹ I. Marjai, *A kereszt és a kard lovagjai (A máltai lovagrend)*, [The Knights of the Cross and the Sword. (The Knights of Malta)] Budapest 1990; J. Török, and L. Legeza, *Máltaiak. Szerzetesrendek a Kárpát-medencében*. [The Maltese Order. Religious Orders in the Carpathian Basin] Budapest 1999.

1970s. The work of László Hársing and Károly Kozák³⁰ aimed at providing a modern summary for a wider audience, though Kozák's work of 1982 explicitly targeted the scholarly world, and it was published in the Hungarian *Acta Archaeologica* in French.³¹ As an archeologist, he combined history and art history without any sort of source criticism in his "catalogue." Although he mentioned the Canons Regular of St. Stephen quoting Boroviczény's idea, he completely confused the data referring to the different orders.

When evaluating the work of Lelja Dobronić, one can say, she treated Hospitallers like Templars. However, it is worth noting that she was the first scholar from the region who consulted the Central Archives of the Hospital (Malta) from the perspective of the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory of the Order. Slovenian scholars also studied the history of the Hospitallers in their region during the last two decades (Joze Mlinarič and Miha Kosi),³² but they mostly relied upon Dobronić's works.

As a member of the afore-mentioned research group at the University of Szeged I started investigating the history of the Hospitallers in the medieval kingdom of Hungary in 1994. My objective has been to produce a comprehensive work on the history of the Order in East-Central Europe based on all the available primary sources with reference to the Order, and to provide a fundamental criticism of the former studies. I published my results thus far in minor articles³³

³⁰ L. Hársing, K. Kozák, "A johanniták a középkori Magyarországon," [Hospitallers in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary] *Világosság* 20 (1979), 692–699.

³¹ K. Kozák, "Constructions dans la Hongrie des XII–XV^e siècles des ordres de chevalerie et d'Hospitaliers et leur influence," *Acta Archaeologica* 34 (1982), 71–130.

³² J. Mlinarič, "Malteška komenda na Polzeli," [Hospitaller Commandery at Polzela/Heiligenstein] *Kronika* 28 (1980), 161–171; *idem*, "Melje in njegova malteška komenda od 12. stoletja do leta 1803," [Melje and its Hospitaller Commandery from the twelfth century to 1803] *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje* Nova vrsta 16 (1980) 217–238; *idem*, "Malteški red na Slovenskem," [The Order of the Hospital in Slovenia] in *Glavarjev simpozij v Rimu*, Celje 1999, 17–25; M. Kosi, "The Age of the Crusades in the South-East of the Empire (Between the Alps and the Adriatic)," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 123–166.

³³ S. Homonnai, and Zs. Hunyadi, "Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolomitani. A johannita lovagrend regulája." [The Rule of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem] in L. Koszta, ed., *Capitulum I. Fejezetek a középkori magyar egyház történetéből*. Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1998, 171–183.; Zs. Hunyadi, "The Knights of St John and the Hungarian Private Legal Literacy up to the Mid-Fourteenth Century," in ... *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways ... Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. B. Nagy, M. Sebők, Budapest 1999, 507–519; *idem*, "The Hungarian Nobility and the Knights of St John," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. N. Coulet, J.-M. Matz, Rome 2000, 607–618; *idem*, "The Identification of a Forgery: Regularities and Irregularities in the Formulae of the Charters Issued by the Székesfehérvár Convent of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem (1243–1353)," in *Dating Undated Medieval Charters*, ed. M. Gervers, Woodbridge 2000, 137–149; *idem*, "Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary: Houses, Personnel, and a Particular Activity up to 1400," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 253–268; *idem*, "The Locus Credibilis in Hungarian Hospitaller Commanderies" in *La Commanderie: Institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident médiéval*, eds. A. Luttrell, L. Pressouyre, Paris 2002, 285–296; *idem*, "Cruciferi domus

– mostly in English – and I am about to submit my doctoral thesis, on the topic soon. Certainly, my work is facilitated by the fact that Karl Borchardt and Anthony Luttrell have been working on the history of the Province of *Alamania* – and other similar topics – for years.³⁴

The most fruitful topic in the region is the history of the Teutonic Order in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, namely in Transylvania (1211–1225 and also for a short while during the reign of King Sigismund (1387–1437).³⁵ Although this topic has often been researched by Hungarian, German and Romanian scholars, the peak of studies can be dated from 1970 onwards. In the course of a decade some ten studies were published by Gábor Adriányi,³⁶ Adolf Armbruster,³⁷ Horst Glassl,³⁸ Harald Zimmermann,³⁹ and others. Their works were explicitly dedi-

hospitalis per Hungariam et Sclavoniam... A johanniták Magyarországon a 14. század végéig" [Hospitallers in Hungary up to the end of the fourteenth century] *Aetas* 17 (2002/4), 52–76; *idem*, "Adalékok a johannita magyar–szlavón (vránai) perjelségre kirótt rendi adók kérdéséhez," [Contributions to the question of the taxes levied on the Hungarian-Slavonian Hospitaller Priory] *Acta Universitatis Szegediensis. Acta Historica* 116 (2002): 31–49; *idem*, "Hospitaller Officials of Foreign Origin in the Hungarian-Slavonian Priory: thirteenth–fourteenth century" in *International Mobility in the Military Orders (twelfth–fifteenth centuries)*, ed. H. J. Nicholson, and J. Burgtorf, Cardiff 2004, forthcoming.

³⁴ A. Luttrell, "The Hospitaller Province of *Alamania* to 1428," in *Ordines Militares – Colloquia Torunensia Historica* VIII, Torun 1995, 21–41; *idem*, "The Hospitallers in Hungary before 1418: Problems and Sources," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 269–282. There are also important recent works: G. Érszegi, "Fejér megyére vonatkozó oklevelek a székesfehérvári keresztes konvent magán levéltárában, 1193–1542," [Charters concerned to Fejér County from the private archive of the convent of the Knights of St. John in Székesfehérvár] *Fejér megyei Történelmi Évkönyv* 5 (1971), 177–264; A. Borosy, "Egyház és honvédelem az Árpád-korban. Hadakozó egyháznagyok, szerzetes lovagrendek," [Church and the defence of the kingdom in the Árpád-age. Higher clergy and the military orders as fighters] *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 100 (1987): 199–233.; M. Horler, "A johanniták és a korai magyar vártípus," [The Hospitallers and the early Hungarian castle-type] *Castrum Bene* (1989), 135–152; P. Engel, "14. századi magyar vonatkozású iratok a johannita lovagrend máltai levéltárából," [Fourteenth-century documents from the Archives of the Order of St. John in Malta with reference to the History of Hungary] *Történelmi Szemle* 39 (1997), 111–118; *idem*, "The Estates of the Hospitallers in Hungary at the End of the Middle Ages," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 291–302. N. Budak, "John of Palisna, the Hospitaller Prior of Vrana," *ibid*, 283–290.

³⁵ Cf. L. Pószán, "Sigismund und der Deutsche Orden," in *Das Zeitalter König Sigmunds in Ungarn und im Deutschen Reich*, ed. T. Schmidt, P. Gunst, Debrecen 2000, 73–83.

³⁶ G. Adriányi, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971).

³⁷ A. Armbruster, "Nachspiel zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens Burzenland," *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 18:2 (1979), 277–287.

³⁸ H. Glassl, "Der deutsche Orden im Burzenland und in Kumanien (1211–1225)," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 3 (1971), 23–49.

³⁹ H. Zimmermann, "Kreuzritter in Siebenbürgen," in *Kirche im Gespräch*, Hg. G. Traar, Wien 1976, 3–15; *idem*, "Ungarische Politik und Türkenabwehr zur Zeit Sigismund des Luxemburgers," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 21 (1978), 267–298; *idem*, "Der

cated to the presence of the Teutonic knights in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary. Certainly, there are many other works touching upon the problem from different angles, but the mere list of them would exceed the frames of this brief summary. After a decade in a "standby state", from the beginning of the 1990s, several remarkable articles and chapters of monographs have appeared by, for instance, Gábor Frank,⁴⁰ László Pószán,⁴¹ Adrian Rusu,⁴² Horst Klusch,⁴³ and others.⁴⁴ Their works share some important characteristics. The professional one is that most of the primary sources of the topic were edited and published decades or – in some cases – almost a century ago. Moreover, as it very often happens, there are characteristics of ideological and political character. By now, these supra-professional "elements" became, more or less, visible but scholars still must be aware of these above described historiographical features. The most recent studies are rather intensive in nature as they claim for the reevaluation of prevailing ideas instead of incorporating new sources.

By summing up, it is not surprising that much has changed since the decline of the communist regimes. From the very beginning of the 1990s, church history regained its former luster making it possible to launch new projects in the field. Both established and young scholars initiated or began new studies of the history of the military-religious orders as well as that of the Crusades. Numerous articles, monographs and theses indicate the regained importance of the topic. Moreover, the recent publications meet modern scholarly standards and they have mostly been published in (major) foreign languages. Until we lack modern and reliable scholarly works concerning the above surveyed region, it is not possible to produce appropriate comparative works for the West either. Hopefully, the majority of the above listed recent works provide a revised basis or starting point for "exploring" a part of Europe which once was regarded to be a part of Latin Christendom.

deutsche Ritterorden in Siebenbürgen," in *Die geistlichen Ritterorden Europas*, ed. J. Fleckenstein, M. Hellmann, Vorträge und Forschungen 26, Sigmaringen 1980, 261–298; *idem*, "Der deutsche Ritterorden zwischen Siebenbürgen und Gundelsheim am Neckar," in *Wege landeskundlicher Forschung. 25 Jahre Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde 1962–1987*, ed. K. Gündisch, Köln–Wien 1988. See also the edition of his works on this topic in: *idem*, *Siebenbürgen und seine Hospites Theutonici*. Köln–Weimar–Wien 1996.

⁴⁰ G. Frank, "Újabb nézetek a Német Lovagrend barcasági történetéről," [New considerations upon the History of the Teutonic Order in Barcaság] in *Történeti tanulmányok Dél-Pannóniából*. ed. M. Fülöp, J. Vonyó, Pécs 1994, 38–48.

⁴¹ L. Pószán, *A Német Lovagrend története a 13. században*. [The Teutonic Order in the thirteenth century] Debrecen 1996, 21–43.

⁴² A. A. Rusu, "Die Frage der vom Deutschen Orden im Südosten Siebenbürgens etrichteten Burgen," *Castrum Bene* 5 (1996), 165–172.

⁴³ H. Klusch, "Zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ritterordens innerhalb und ausserhalb des Karpatenbogens," *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde* 39 (1996), 137–150.

⁴⁴ For instance, A. Pippidi, "Aperçu sur les Rapports des Roumains avec les Ordres de Chevalerie," in *Miscellanea in honorem Radu Manolescu*, Bucharest 1996, 107–115; See also J. Laszlovszky, Z. Soós, "Historical Monuments of the Teutonic Order in Transylvania," in *Expanding the Frontiers*, 317–336.