

8. The Charism of Chaplaincy in the Order of St John

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Introduction

The Order of St John, in its early united form, and since its post-Reformation division, has a rich history that dates back over nine centuries. Throughout its existence, priests and chaplains have played a significant role in the life of the Order, providing spiritual guidance and support to its members, and manifesting the charism of the Order. The following is a brief account of the role of priests and chaplains in the Order, in the context of this charism.

The Hospitallers, formally (since 1961) the Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes, and of Malta, is a religious military Order that was founded at Jerusalem in the eleventh century and that, headquartered in Rome, continues its humanitarian tasks in most parts of the modern world under several slightly different names and jurisdictions. A Convention of Alliance in 1961 linked the Sovereign and Military Order of Malta with Orders which were, to a greater or lesser degree offshoots of the parent Order. These are the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem (of which the Order in New Zealand is a part),¹ the *Johanniterorden*,² and the Swedish and Dutch Orders of St John.³

The Sovereign Military Order of St John of Jerusalem, of Rhodes and of Malta, is a unique international confraternity. It is the only organisation currently recognised, albeit controversially, by a plurality of countries, as sovereign or quasi-sovereign. Crucially, for the purposes of this article, the Order is also the possessor of a millennium-long charism.⁴ This tradition is also to be seen in the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, or Order of St John, as it today operates in the Commonwealth and several predominantly English-speaking countries outside the Commonwealth.

This article will offer a brief account of the history of the chaplaincy, or clerical brethren, of the Hospitaller Order, in particular its role in upholding and embodying the charism of the Order, and how that charism is manifested today, with particular emphasis in the present time upon the charism of the Most Venerable Order in the Priory of New Zealand.

The historical background

The major features of the long history of the Order are well known. In the early eleventh century a hospice (or hospital, as it was then known⁵), served by a lay fraternity, was founded or possibly restored in the city of Jerusalem. Its staff were bound by oath to serve the poor of the Holy Land, whatever their religion, and from wherever they came. The hospital, early funded by merchants from the Italian city of Amalfi, was later dedicated to St John the Baptist.



After the Christian conquest of Jerusalem in 1099 during the First Crusade, the hospital's superior, a monk named Gerard, intensified his work in Jerusalem and also founded hostels in Provençal and Italian cities on the route to the Holy Land. The friars who worked in these institutions had not formed a religious order but performed their service under the *prepositus* Gerard.⁶ Initially, the monastic community in Jerusalem lived by the Rule of St Benedict and then later by what was known as the 'Rule of the Hospital', which in turn was influenced by the Rule of St Augustine. The hospital, known as the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, was dedicated to providing care to sick and injured pilgrims visiting the Holy Land. Initially, it had a primarily lay composition, but as the institution grew, the presence of priests became essential for the provision of spiritual care to patients and the spiritual formation of the Order's own members.⁷ This was however also in the context of an institution whose early principles and practice included ministering to all, irrespective of race, religion or class.⁸

Following the successful expansion of the enterprise, the hospital was formally recognised on 5 February 1113 by the Bull *Pie Postulatio Voluntatis* of Pope Paschal II as an autonomous religious body, dedicated to serving the poor and sick.⁹ It not yet an order as that term was later understood,¹⁰ the word order (or *ordo*) meaning a rule.¹¹ It was, first and foremost, a religious charitable (eleemosynary) institution, whose members were bound to serve God and humanity in a rule of common life.¹²

In its early years the Order remained purely charitable in character. Over time, however, it also took on a military character as it sought to defend Christian pilgrims and crusaders in the Holy Land. The exact time this occurred is now uncertain but was likely in the c.1130s,¹³ possibly between 1126 and 1140. In 1137 the Hospitallers accepted the custody of the newly fortified castle of Bait Jibrin, and the Order's military role in the Holy Lands steadily grew under the leadership of the second grand master, Raymond du Puy, who had succeeded Gerard in 1120. Du Puy also substituted the Augustinian rule for the Benedictine, as more suited to the practical work of a hospital,¹⁴ and began building the power of the organisation.

The military Orders grew out of the tradition of monasticism, during the Gregorian reforms, with a common focus on service to others, voluntary poverty, and interior spirituality. But this was to take, broadly, two distinct paths. These were the monastic, according to the Rule of St Benedict (such as the Templars), whose monks pursued inner perfection, and the canonical, according to the Rule of St Augustine (such as St John), whose canons sought a more public apostolate, in services to churches and charities.¹⁵ Thus the maintenance of hospitals for Christian, Jew and Muslim alike, and the provision of castles and armed forces, were not as discordant as might at first appear to be the case.

Despite its military role – explicitly sanctioned by the Pope in 1191¹⁶ – the Order always maintained a strong commitment to its hospitaller tradition, and priests



continued to be an integral part of its structure, providing sacramental and pastoral care to members and patients alike.¹⁷ It also retained its commitment to serving 'Our Lords, the sick and the poor' irrespective of creed.¹⁸

As the importance of the Order grew, it was made autonomous by both the Patriarch and the King of Jerusalem.¹⁹ In 1154 it acquired independence from episcopal control,²⁰ with the issuing of the bull '*Christiane Fidei Religio*' by Pope Anastasius IV. Thereafter the Order spread outwards from Jerusalem, particularly to western Europe, where the Order's estates provided funds to operate the expensive and extensive medical facilities in the Holy Land, and also new recruits for the Order. As the Order expanded its presence throughout Europe, it established various commanderies and priories in different countries, each acting as autonomous entities under the overall authority of the Grand Master. Each of these entities had its own chaplaincy, with priests serving in pastoral roles and providing spiritual guidance to the members of the Order in their respective regions.²¹

Despite this dispersal of its activities, the Order had one convent (initially and until the fall of the Crusaders States, in the Holy Land), but they erected a hospital wherever they went. Eventually there were hospitals, or houses of the Order, throughout Europe.²² It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that it is to the Order of Malta that we owe the survival of a public hospital service through the European middle ages.²³

The Order acquired wealth and lands and combined the task of tending the sick with defending the Crusader kingdom. Along with the Templars, the Hospitallers became the most formidable military order in the Holy Land. The military Orders gradually replaced the Frankish feudal aristocracy as the leading landlords in Syria. On the death of Baldwin II, King of Jerusalem, in 1185, the castles of the kingdom were placed in the custody of the two military Orders.

But unlike the Templars, who uneasily combined a dual nature of a contemplative Cistercian monastic tradition and warfare, the Hospitallers successfully combined canonical, non-monastic care for the sick and poor, with (the then) necessary military activity.²⁴ The Hospitallers were never a purely military body, and they also allowed women to become affiliated – if not full – members.²⁵

The Hospitallers therefore maintained the service of the poor on two fronts. They provided hospitals on their estates in Europe, and the Levant, while they protected the poor from their castles and fastnesses in Palestine, and later on Rhodes and Malta.²⁶ Reflecting this, Grand Master Raymond du Puy divided the members of the Order into three classes, namely Priests (*capellani*), Knights of Justice (*milites*) and Serjens or Serving Brothers (*servientes*).²⁷ Yet, even after 1180 their statutes were silent on matters military.²⁸ In 1206, Knights were constituted as a separate class, next to Chaplains and Sergeants.²⁹



When the Muslims recaptured Jerusalem in 1187, the Hospitallers removed their headquarters first to Margat and then, in 1197, to Acre. When the Crusader principalities came to an end after the fall of Acre in 1291,³⁰ the Hospitallers moved to Limassol in Cyprus. In 1309 they moved again, this time to Rhodes (which they seized from the Eastern Roman empire), which was to remain their home until 1523. After a brief time on the Venetian island of Crete and elsewhere, in 1530 they reformed on Malta,³¹ their home till their remaining military, political and economic power was finally broken with the arrival of the French in 1798.³² Meanwhile, the mid-sixteenth century the Reformation led to the cessation of operations in the British Isles, and elsewhere.³³

On Rhodes and later on Malta – though not, apparently, on Crete – the Order had acquired and exercised sovereign authority, ruling the islands, at least in the early centuries, with an efficiency and vigour which was to prove generally to the advantage of the native inhabitants. Not the least of the Order's responsibilities was maintaining a small fleet for the suppression of piracy in the Mediterranean.

Attempts were occasionally made after 1798 to regain territory for the Order,³⁴ but none succeeded. Although lacking a territorial base, the Order continued to maintain hospitals, as it still does. For a few years it also retained its public status in Germany as a member of the Holy Roman Empire, with voting rights in the College of Princes, and retained a vote in the College of Princes of the Empire,³⁵ until those bodies in their turn fell under the wheels of the advancing French juggernaut, and the Holy Roman Empire collapsed with the abdication of Francis II in 1806.

Later in the nineteenth century, the Order faced a period of decline, which led to its dissolution in various European countries where it had not already lapsed during the Reformation. Due to its grievously weakened condition, the Order remained for some time in danger of total disbanding, despite its ongoing hospitaller function. As a sign of its weakness, it lacked a permanent head for nearly a century, and it was governed by Lieutenant Grand Masters until 1871. Only in 1879 did the Holy See authorise the election of a new Grand Master.³⁶ In that latter year, Pope Leo XIII officially recognised the Sovereign Military Order of Malta and restored its sovereignty, albeit one juridically dependent upon the Holy See. This restoration of relative normality reaffirmed the Order's commitment to its hospitaller and religious traditions, with priests and chaplains continuing to play a vital role in providing spiritual support to the members.³⁷

Even today its military character is not entirely extinct, with the Military Corps of the Sovereign Military Hospitaller Order of Saint John of Jerusalem of Rhodes and of Malta (*Corpo speciale volontario ausiliario dell' Esercito Italiano dell' Associazione dei cavalieri italiani del Sovrano militare Ordine di Malta, Corpo Militare: EI-SMOM*), founded 1877, from 1909 a fully integrated part of the Italian army. Today it comprises mainly medical officers.³⁸

The charism of the Order of Malta and Alliance Orders

Despite the political and military vicissitudes through which the Order passed, especially from 1187 to 1291, and then from 1798, the Order retained its hospitaller function. This was, however, but one aspect and manifestation of a broader eleemosynary function, the care of the sick and poor, in the service of God and humanity. This forms the overarching charism of the Order. Charism, in the context of religious and spiritual communities, refers to a special gift or grace bestowed by the Holy Spirit upon individuals, groups, or orders within the Church. The word charism denotes the gifts bestowed by the Holy Spirit on any member of the body of Christ for the building up of the community and the fulfilment of its calling.³⁹ It is a unique quality or characteristic that defines the identity, mission, and spirituality of a particular religious community or movement.

The charism of a religious community or order may manifest in various forms, such as a particular focus on prayer, service to the poor, education, missionary work, contemplation, advocacy for social justice, or a combination of these and other aspects. It sets them apart and gives them a specific mission or purpose within the broader context of the Church.

For the Hospitallers, the profession of the three vows (of poverty, chastity and obedience⁴⁰) – for the first time cited together explicitly in a rule – came at the time Raymond du Puy's Rule,⁴¹ issued sometime between 1137 and 1153;⁴² it is unlikely the first hospitallers were professed.⁴³ Unlike the monastic monks and nuns, the brethren of the Order of St John were not bound by a vow of stability,⁴⁴ and therefore were not confined to one house.

In the 1160s-70s the Order underwent something of a crisis of conscience, to reconcile welfare and warfare. Yet the distinction was not, in theory at least, so great as it might appear to us from the perspective of the twenty-first century. Hospitals were, in the twelfth century, places of shelter rather than necessarily places of cure; the Hospitallers were there to protect the poor not cure the sick,⁴⁵ although the two functions were easily – and early – conflated. Holistic care for God's children included protection, but also medical or nursing care, and where appropriate, spiritual care.

The Sovereign Military Order of Malta, and its successor Alliance Orders, has a distinct charism that encompasses several key elements. The first is the hospitaller charism. The Order of St John of Jerusalem was initially established as a religious order dedicated to caring for the sick and providing hospitality to pilgrims in the Holy Land during the Crusades. This hospitaller charism remains a fundamental aspect of the Order's identity and mission. The members of the Order, known as the Knights Hospitaller, were and are committed to serving the sick, the poor, and the marginalised, inspired by the Christian virtue of charity. They provide medical assistance, humanitarian aid, and support to those in need, both within the context of military campaigns



and in peacetime. This is reflected in the second of the mottos of the Venerable Order – '*Pro Utilitate Hominum*' (for the service of humanity).

The second aspect of the charism of the Order is chivalry and the defence of the faith. This is reflected in the first motto, '*Pro fide*' (for the faith), and – for all the Alliance Orders – in their attributes as orders of chivalry. The Knights Hospitaller were renowned for their chivalric traditions and military service. They were committed to defending the Christian faith and protecting the interests of pilgrims and Christians in the Holy Land, though this was often, though not invariably, subordinate to the hospital charism, the original purpose of the institution. The Order's charism includes a dedication to the virtues of courage, honour, and selfless service in the defence of faith and the promotion of justice and peace. Its Christian members are committed to living out their Christian beliefs and fostering a vibrant spiritual life. The Order provides for the spiritual needs of its members through religious services, sacraments, and spiritual guidance. It upholds the teachings and values of the Church while respecting the religious freedom of individuals of different faiths.

In 1999 The Venerable Order became an 'inclusive Christian Order,' meaning that individuals of no faith or a non-Christian could become members. This was a necessary change given the reality of an increasingly secular society. However, to ensure that sight was not lost of the *Pro Fide* part of the motto of the Order it was agreed that the Order would develop a consciously pastoral chaplaincy, to strengthen what had largely become a ceremonial role for chaplains.

The elder sister – or perhaps mother – of the Alliance Orders, the Sovereign Military Order of Malta, also possesses a unique sovereign and diplomatic status. It still maintains diplomatic relations with various countries and international organisations, allowing it to pursue its humanitarian and diplomatic missions worldwide. This supports the exercise of the charism of the Order. The special charisma of the Order of Malta is the protection of the faith and the service of the poor ('*tuitio fidei et obsequium pauperum*') – similar, but not identical to the Venerable Order's '*Pro fide*' and '*Pro Utilitate Hominum*'. This was re-affirmed in 2022, in a papal decree, dissolving the Sovereign Council, revoking the High Officers, and promulgating a new Constitutional Charter and Code.

Chaplains in the original foundation

From the earliest time clients of the Hospitallers received a mixture of spiritual, physical and medical attention, in keeping with the charism of the nascent Order.⁴⁶ The existence of clerical brethren was sanctioned in 1154.⁴⁷ The original statutes of the Order, in the time of Roger de Moulins, only specify the care of the sick, as the role of the brethren. It is only in the time of the ninth Grand Master, Fernando Afonso of Portugal (c.1200) that military service is specified. The brethren were then divided into the military brethren, the



brethren infirmarians, and the brethren chaplains, although the first mention of military brethren (brethren at arms) had been in the 1181 statutes.⁴⁸

Due to the developments in political and military affairs in the Holy Land, it is not surprising that, as de Palma noted, 'there are very few studies on the Order of Malta's spirituality compared to the vast range of research on its political, military, charitable, diplomatic and economic activities and on legal and canon law implications'.⁴⁹

The chaplains were full members of the Order, though not perhaps present in the very early days. After the Order assumed the 'Rule of the Hospital', and was recognised by the Pope, the position of clerical members was strengthened. With this recognition, priests were officially incorporated into the ranks of the Order, reinforcing the religious nature of the institution.⁵⁰ The Augustinian Order, also known as the Order of Saint Augustine, survives as a separate Catholic religious order that traces its origins back to the teachings of Saint Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century. Religious members included both friars and nuns. The friars were priests and brothers who lived in community and engaged in pastoral work, education, research, and other ministries. The nuns lived a contemplative life dedicated to prayer, often in enclosed convents.

According to Canon Law the Order of Malta is a lay religious order, where some of its members are religious – they have professed the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience – and others have just taken the special promise of obedience. The great majority of the knights and dames are lay members. Bishops and priests are generally admitted as chaplains of the Order of Malta. The priests of the Order of Malta today are ranked as Honorary Canons, as in the Order of the Holy Sepulchre. Even today the Order of Malta retains several convents for nuns, at St Jean d'Acre in the Salinas de Añana and Zamora districts in Spain and that of St Ursula on Malta.

Chaplains today in the Order of Malta and the Venerable Order of St John

In the present day, priests and chaplains in the Order of Malta continue to serve in various capacities. They offer spiritual guidance to the members of the Order, perform religious services, administer sacraments, and accompany the Order's humanitarian activities worldwide. The spiritual and pastoral care provided by priests and chaplains remain essential to the Order's mission of serving the sick and the needy.

A similar charism is at work today in the Venerable Order, although this took some time to be revived following the restoration of the order in England in the early nineteenth century, after a long absence since 1564. It is perhaps unsurprising that the founding knights of the restored Order in England included such individuals as the Reverend Sir Robert Peat. Philippe de Castellane and Donald Currie were authorised by the Council of the French *Langues* of the Order of Malta to form the Council of the English Langue, which was duly inaugurated on 12 January 1831, under the executive control of

Alejandro, conde de Mortara.⁵¹ Peat was appointed Prior *ad interim*, an office he held until his death in 1837.⁵² Regretfully, Peat's successor, Sir Henry Dymoke (1838-47), failed in his efforts to obtain the recognition of the Order of Malta, by now based in Rome, and so the revived Order of St John asserted its independence in the 1830s;⁵³ the separate presence of the Order of Malta, sanctioned by the Grand Magistracy, began in England in the nineteenth century. But the first aid, and hospitaller, work of St John grew imbued with a charisma derived from the dual motto of the Order. This was preserved, if not strengthened, when the Venerable Order was established as a royal Order.

Following the 1999 re-emphasis of the religious nature of the ethos of the Venerable Order, work has been done to strengthen chaplaincy. This has been particularly noticeable in New Zealand. To strengthen the Order's commitment to *Pro Fide*, successive Priory Deans have worked at recruiting chaplains for St John (since 2023 operating under the brand of Hato Hone St John) across the whole of New Zealand, and with the support of St John management have developed a support network for the chaplains, including a biennial national conference for professional development, and mutual support and encouragement. St John chaplains are becoming professional emergency service chaplains able to work along-side operational members of St John in local or national emergencies.⁵⁴

Chaplaincy in St John in New Zealand has developed its own structure which enables its chaplains to become increasingly integrated within the wider St John family. There is a Chaplaincy Leadership Team which includes the Priory Dean and three Regional Chaplains. The Regional Chaplains are supported by District Chaplains, who in turn provide support for the Area Chaplains. The chaplains are available to all members of St John, their families and members of the public while in St John care, and can provide a variety of pastoral and spiritual services.⁵⁵

Caring ministry and service based on Christian faith are at the heart of the life and work of St John. To strengthen the first part of the joint motto, *Pro Fide*, St John in New Zealand, through chaplaincy, aims to strengthen the Christian identity of the organisation as a unique component within the wide spectrum of diverse charitable agencies in New Zealand society. For people of faith chaplaincy reminds them that the service all members of St John offer – in whatever task or role – is a work offered to God from whom all life derives.⁵⁶

All of the Hato Hone St John chaplains are volunteers and are committed to maintaining the professional standards of best practice. Chaplains are members in good standing in their national churches, have a theological qualification and a history of good pastoral practice.⁵⁷

Hato Hone St John aims to provide a chaplaincy service to all area committees and stations throughout New Zealand, whilst realising that this goal may be difficult to achieve in some remote areas. The chaplaincy service and programme form an integral part of Hato Hone St John, New Zealand.⁵⁸

St John Chaplaincy has a distinctive character and four aspects to its work. These are, pastoral care, which is the assistance chaplains offer to people in need, whether the need is physical, emotional, mental or spiritual; liturgical – public, formal worship, so that chaplains provide leadership and advice for all public and private ceremonial occasions for Hato Hone St John including investiture services, youth enrolment services, chapter prayers and the blessings of individuals, vehicles, and buildings; spiritual care, which concerns the inner life, how individuals understand their own ethically and committed existence, and the way they act and react habitually to this understanding; and lastly, prophetic, ensuring that Hato Hone St John remains faithful to its foundations and ethos, as expressed in its motto, vision and values.⁵⁹ This is the contemporary charism of the chaplaincy of St John.

Conclusion

Priests and chaplains have been an integral part of the Order of Malta and the descendant Alliance Orders, particularly the Venerable Order of St John, throughout its history. From the origins of the hospitaller tradition to the present day, they have provided spiritual care, guidance, and pastoral support to the members of the Order, reinforcing its commitment to both the military and hospitaller aspects of its mission.

Chaplaincy in the Order of St John has always reflected the nature of the Order in its particular time and setting. While the Reformation ended the operation of the Order of St John in the British Isles, elsewhere in Europe it continued, albeit in a similarly enfeebled state, compared to its height in the time of the Crusades. The nuns of the Order of Malta, however, kept alive something of the charism of the early institution, and the weakened military and political power of the Order ensured it turned its focus once more to the hospitaller function. In this setting the chaplains retained an active role.

After a prolonged period in which the newly restored presence of the hospitallers in the British Isles relegated clerical brethren to largely ceremonial functions, in the late twentieth century an attempt was made to revive the charism of the Order. This largely took the form of strengthening the role of the chaplaincy, so that they assumed pastoral and prophetic functions, as a reminder of the holistic care which the founders of the Order took of its patients, irrespective of creed or race, but inspired by a charism of service to humanity and to the faith.

References

¹ The branch of the Order descended from that in England, and revived in the United Kingdom in 1831.

² The German branch, also called the Venerable Order of St John in Prussia, was established 1812 and recognized 1852.

³ The Venerable Order of St John in the Netherlands was established in 1909, and recognized in 1946. The Venerable Order of St John in Sweden was established in 1920.

⁴ The World Council of Churches report, 'Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry', para 7(a).



⁵ Myra Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (University of North Carolina PhD thesis, 2006), p. 42.

⁶ Luigi Michele de Palma, 'The Spirituality of the Order of Saint John' in 'Service to Neighbour as a Testimony of Faith', *Journal of Spirituality*, Vol. 16 (2017), pp. 59–100 (72). In Latin, 'prepositus' is the past participle of the verb 'praeponere,' which means 'to place before' or 'to put in charge.' In ecclesiastical contexts, 'prepositus' can refer to a person who has been appointed as a superior or head of a religious community or order.

⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, C. 1070-1309* (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012).

⁸ *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers, 1099-1310* ed. & trans. Sir Edwin King (London: Methuen, 1934).

⁹ Johann Christian Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, Vol. 4 (1725-35), p. 1451. It had previously been admitted as such by the King of Jerusalem; Arthur Breycha-Vauthier & Michael Potulicki, 'The Order of St John in International Law: A forerunner of the Red Cross', *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 48 (1954), pp. 554-563 (554).

¹⁰ A. Luttrell, *From Jerusalem to Malta: the Hospital's Character and Evolution*, «Peregrinationes. Acta et documenta», Vol. 1 (2000), p. 15.

¹¹ Myra Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (University of North Carolina PhD thesis, 2006), p. 42, relying on Constance Bermer, *The Cistercian Evolution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 79.

¹² J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre* (Leroux, 1904).

¹³ James W. Brodman, 'Rule and Identity: The case of the Military Orders', *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (July 2001), pp. 383–400 (385).

¹⁴ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 48; see also T. Miller, 'The Knights of Saint John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (1978), p. 717.

¹⁵ Brodman, 'Rule and Identity', pp. 384–385.

¹⁶ H. J. Hoegen Dijkhof, 'The legitimacy of Orders of St John: a historical and legal analysis and case study of a para-religious phenomenon' (Leiden University PhD thesis, 2006), p. 305.

¹⁷ C. Tyerman, *God's war: A new history of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2006).

¹⁸ *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers*, ed. & trans. King.

¹⁹ de Palma, 'The Spirituality of the Order of Saint John', pp. 74–75.

²⁰ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 48.

²¹ J.-B.-Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemont, *History of the Sovereign Order of St John of Jerusalem* (London: D. & J. Sadlier & Company, 1844).

²² In 1130 the Order was granted freedom from tolls (Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, Vol. 4, p. 1451); in 1144 it was placed under the protection of the Holy See (*Magn. Bull.*, Vol 2, p. 471); and 1190 placed under the protection of the Emperor (Lünig, *Codex Italiae Diplomaticus*, Vol. 4 (Johann Christoph Lochner Frankfurt, 1725-35), p. 1455).

²³ Timothy Miller, 'The Knights of St John and the Hospitals of the Latin West', *Speculum*, Vol. 53 (1978), pp. 720–722.

²⁴ de Palma, 'The Spirituality of the Order of Saint John', p. 92; following Brodman, 'Rule and Identity', pp. 383–400; James W. Brodman, *Charity and Welfare: Hospitals and the Poor in Medieval Catalonia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998).

²⁵ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers'.

²⁶ see Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Military-Religious Orders: Their History and Continuing Relevance', *Traditio Melitensis*, Vol. 7 (2005), pp. 31–39.

²⁷ Dijkhof, 'The legitimacy of Orders of St John', p. 84.

²⁸ Brodman, 'Rule and Identity', p. 386; *The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers*, ed. King, pp. 20, 26.

²⁹ Statutes of Margat, cited in Dijkhof, 'The legitimacy of Orders of St John'; Brodman, 'Rule and Identity', p. 387.

³⁰ Some survived, namely the Principality of Tyre (to 1297); Lordship of Sidon (1298), and more distant, the Kingdom of Cyprus (1489); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).



³¹ On 24 March 1530 Emperor Charles V granted the Order the island in his capacity as King of Sicily, '*in feudum perpetuum, nobile, liberum et francum*'. This was confirmed by Papal Bull of 1 May 1530 (*Magn. Bull.*, Vol 4, p. 140).

³² This was implemented by convention of 12 June 1798, in which the Order renounced in favour of the French Republic its rights of property and sovereignty in and over the islands of Malta, Gozo and Comino; Georg Martens, *Recueil Des Principaux Traités*, Vol 4 (2nd ed., Göttingen: Dieterich, 1817-35), pp. 322, 324.

³³ In England, the old Order was effectively disbanded in 1540. It was revived by letters patent on 2 April 1557, and never subsequently abolished, though suppressed by Elizabeth I in 1564. Titular grand priors were appointed from the 1560s till 1815 by the Grand Master or (later) Lieutenant Grand Master in Malta (and after 1798, wherever they were temporarily based). A new Grand Priory was established in 1994.

³⁴ In 1806 Gustav IV, King of Sweden, offered the dispossessed Order Gothland. This offer was however rejected; Alessandro Visconti, 'La sovranità dell'Ordine di Malta nel diritto Italiano', *Rivista di diritto privato*, Vol. 6 (1936), pp. 195-205.

³⁵ Martens, *Recueil Des Principaux Traités*, Vol 7, § 32, sub 59.

³⁶ The former requirement that the election of a new Grand Master be approved by the Holy See has since disappeared (*Constitutional Charter and Code*, art 13).

³⁷ M. Fraher, *The Order of Malta: A portrait* (London: Profile Books, 2016); This can be interpreted as a sign that the Holy See did not wish to have a role in the governance of the Order that can be seen as infringing its sovereignty – even if that sovereignty is only functional.

³⁸ It is now regulated under Decreto legislativo n. 66 del 2010, titolo V, art. 1761.

³⁹ Faith and Order Commission of the World Council of Churches, *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry* ('Lima report') (World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1982), Faith and Order Paper No 111, para 7(a).

⁴⁰ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 66.

⁴¹ de Palma, 'The Spirituality of the Order of Saint John', p. 78.

⁴² Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 59.

⁴³ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 66.

⁴⁴ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 60.

⁴⁵ Brodman, 'Rule and Identity', pp. 399-400.

⁴⁶ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 86.

⁴⁷ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 67.

⁴⁸ Struckmeyer, 'Female Hospitallers', p. 59.

⁴⁹ de Palma, 'The Spirituality of the Order of Saint John', p. 71.

⁵⁰ J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre* (Émile Bouillon, Leroux, 1904).

⁵¹ Mas J. Ellul, *The Sword and the Green Cross: The Saga of the Knights of Saint Lazarus from the Crusades to the 21st Century* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2011), p. 304.

⁵² Sir Edwin King, *The Grand Priory of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England* (London: Order of St John, 1924), p. 113.

⁵³ Charles W. Tozer, *The Insignia and Medals of the Grand Priory of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem* (London: J.B. Hayward & Son, 1975), p. 78. The revival of the Order in England in the early nineteenth century was not recognised as a branch of the Order. This revival was led initially by French Knights of Malta, as part of an abortive plan to raise military and naval forces to aid the oppressed Greeks gain their freedom from the Ottoman empire. For the history of the Order in England, see Sir Edwin King, *The Knights of St John in the British Realm* (3rd ed, London: Order of St John, 1967).

⁵⁴ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).

⁵⁵ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).

⁵⁶ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).

⁵⁷ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).

⁵⁸ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).

⁵⁹ *Chaplaincy Handbook* (Auckland: Order of St John, 2018).