



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ

Εθνικόν και Καποδιστριακόν

Πανεπιστήμιον Αθηνών

Φιλοσοφική Σχολή

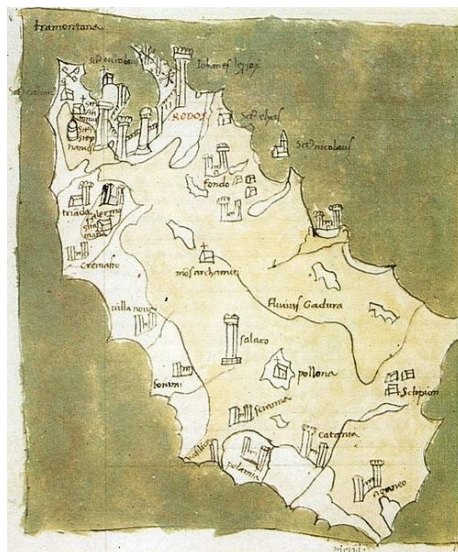
Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας

Rhodes in the Final Hospitaller Years, 1502 – 1521:

Latin and Greek interaction in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ

Simon David Phillips



Αθήνα 2021



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ

Εθνικόν και Καποδιστριακόν

Πανεπιστήμιον Αθηνών

Φιλοσοφική Σχολή

Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας

Rhodes in the Final Hospitaller Years, 1502 – 1521:

Latin and Greek interaction in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΤΡΙΒΗ

Simon David Phillips

Τριμελής Συμβουλευτική Επιτροπή

Επιβλέπων: Μαρία Ντούρου-Ηλιοπούλου

Μέλος: Νικολέττα Γιαντσή

Μέλος: Κώστας Γαγανάκης

Αθήνα 2021



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ

Εθνικόν και Καποδιστριακόν

Πανεπιστήμιον Αθηνών

Φιλοσοφική Σχολή

Τμήμα Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας

### Επταμελής Συμβουλευτική Επιτροπή

Επιβλέπων: Μαρία Ντούρου-Ηλιοπούλου, ομότιμη καθηγήτρια

Μέλος: Νικολέττα Γιαντσή, καθηγήτρια

Μέλος: Κώστας Γαγανάκης, αναπληρωτή καθηγητή

Μέλος: Α. Σαββίδης, καθηγητή Τμήματος Ιστορίας, Αρχαιολογίας και Διαχείρισης  
Πολιτισμικών Αγαθών, Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου

Μέλος: Φ. Πέρρα, επίκουρη καθηγήτρια Τμήματος Ιστορίας, Αρχαιολογίας και Διαχείρισης  
Πολιτισμικών Αγαθών, Πανεπιστήμιο Πελοποννήσου

Μέλος: Χ. Γάσπαρης, διευθυντή ερευνών Ινστιτούτου Ιστορικών Ερευνών, ΕΙΕ

Μέλος: Μ. Κουμανούδη, κύρια ερευνήτρια Ινστιτούτου Ιστορικών Ερευνών, ΕΙΕ

Αθήνα 2021

## Contents

Abstract (in English and Greek).....	ii
Author Declaration.....	xiii
Acknowledgements.....	xiv
Abbreviations.....	xv
List of figures and Tables.....	xvi
Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review.....	1
Chapter Two: Hospitaller Rhodes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.....	19
Chapter Three: Hospitaller brethren and servants on Rhodes and Cyprus, 1500-1522.....	71
Chapter Four: The Greek and Latin communities on Rhodes, 1502-1522.....	89
Chapter Five: The other islands of the SE Aegean under Hospitaller control, 1500-1522....	137
Chapter Six: Conclusion.....	186
Account of the 1522 Siege of Rhodes.....	191
Transcriptions of selected documents.....	194
Bibliography.....	200

## **Abstract**

The aim of this thesis, entitled ‘Rhodes in the Final Hospitaller Years, 1502 – 1521: Latin and Greek interaction in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean’, is to produce a balanced and full account of the period 1502-1521 using unpublished primary sources about Rhodes and the other Aegean islands under Hospitaller control that will enrich the selective history that currently exists. Until now, the subject matter on the last twenty years of Hospitaller rule has been on the political and military aspects of the Hospitallers’ existence in the eastern Aegean. In particular, the existing literature details the Hospitaller participation in the naval league against the Ottomans in 1501-1502, the Ottoman’s response with the attack on Archangelos in 1503 and the sacking of the islands of Tinos, Symi, Kos and Leros between 1505 and 1506. The Hospitallers campaign against the Mamluks is also described, including the capturing of Mamluk ships in 1507 and their defeat at sea off of Alexandretta in 1510, before reaching a truce in late 1516. The attention of the current literature then turns to the Ottoman and Hospitaller preparations for the siege of Rhodes in 1522. The abovementioned events reveal large gaps in the history of the period 1502-1522, especially after 1513, when almost nothing is mentioned. Virtually all the modern histories written to date on the 1502-1522 period use the same printed secondary sources, namely the histories of the Hospitallers written by Bosio and Vertot, and this explains why they all focus on the same selective events. The exception is Jürgen Sarnowsky's study (2001) that focuses on the Hospitallers' power and authority in the Aegean, but this covers a wide time-span from 1421, has its main focus on the fifteenth century and uses mostly the records of the Hospitallers’ council and chapters general, which rarely indicate the day-to-day life as it occurred on Rhodes.

The focus, then, of the current literature is on the change and turbulence of sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes. In contrast, this thesis aims to emphasise the continuity of life on Rhodes and the other islands under their control with the previous two centuries and to concentrate on

the Hospitallers' interaction with the local communities, whether Greek, Latin or otherwise. In order to reconstruct a clearer picture of life in the various settlements on Rhodes and the other islands they held, a geographical approach has been utilised. For example, all entries concerning the village of Archangelos on Rhodes are discussed in a separate section. In this way it is possible to piece together the people who lived, worked and interrelated in the towns and villages of Rhodes. A geographical approach using unpublished primary sources from the period has not been attempted before now.

The thesis will begin in 1502, in the year before the death of Grand Master d'Aubusson and end in January 1522, a few months before the siege of Rhodes begins. The reason for stopping prior to the siege is in order to focus on life on Hospitaller Rhodes under normal conditions, not during periods of crisis when exceptional measures ensue. Using original unpublished primary documents from the Hospitallers' archive in the National Library of Malta, an account of day-to-day life on Rhodes and other Hospitaller-controlled islands has been constructed, covering not only the Hospitallers themselves, but also interaction with local Greeks and Latins that had settled in the Aegean or were there for business. The bulk of the doctoral study concentrates on the everyday concerns of the Hospitallers' Aegean empire, as revealed in the *Libri Bullarum Partes Citramarine*. This is the section of their archive that concerns the issuing of the grand master's bulls on Hospitallers possessions in the eastern Mediterranean and mentions their dealings with the local community. These records are supplemented, where necessary, by the records of the Council of the Master and the general chapters of the Order. While the majority of documents inform us of various incidents, appointments and other matters pertinent to Rhodes, a sizeable number concern the island and/or commandery of Cos, St. Peter's Castle on the Anatolian coast, or other islands in the Hospitallers' possession, such as Leros.

The subject matter of the various chapters is as follows. The introduction presents the theme of the thesis and provides a review of the current secondary literature relating to sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes. It comments on how those studies centre on the military conflicts with the other powers in the eastern Mediterranean at that time. While the increasing threat to the Hospitallers' and other Christian powers existence in the region is an important aspect, such an approach neglects the continuity and connections with the previous centuries on Hospitaller Rhodes since 1309. It also omits to provide us with any information on those who lived and worked on Rhodes at that time, whether in the town or in other areas of the island. Concerning the latter, plus the other islands under the Hospitallers' control, there is almost an exclusive focus on the town of Rhodes, which the current thesis redresses. In order to set sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes in context, Chapter Two provides a brief history of the Hospitallers and their development prior to their conquest of Rhodes. It then continues to detail the conquest of Rhodes and the subsequent attempt to settle Latins on Rhodes and repopulate abandoned or uncultivated areas, whether with Latins or Greeks. It becomes apparent that Latins were mainly required for military service with land grants as their incentive to settle, while Greeks were essential for the agricultural production needed to maintain the island's population. They did, however, have minor military duties, such as keeping watch for enemy ships. By the mid-fourteenth century, the Hospitallers were increasing their control over island, legalising land holdings that previously had no title, yet the effect was to ensure they were the acknowledged overlords and they gained income from the leasing of the lands. As the Hospitaller state on Rhodes developed, new laws were necessary concerning the regulation of commerce, crime and social standing, for example the legal status of offspring of mixed Greek-Latin marriages. A key theme in Hospitaller rules and government was to avoid dissent by ensuring grievances were quickly settled. For this reason grand masters would hold regular meetings with community representatives and the

heads of guilds, where possible, would have an equal number of Greeks and Latins. Encouraging participation, rather than exclusion, was considered the key to maintaining harmony. Other groups on Rhodes are also considered, such as the Jewish community or those that were not defined by religion, but social status, such as slaves or serfs. Finally, to provide context to sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes, an overview is given of the situation in the Aegean, eastern Mediterranean and Western Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. This encompasses the fall of the last remnants of the Byzantine Empire between 1453 and 1461, the rise and expansion of the Ottoman Turks and the consequent decline of Latin influence in the Aegean, and the divisions between the major powers in Western Europe that prevented a united response to the Ottoman threat.

Chapter Three is the first to draw heavily on the unpublished primary sources in the Hospitallers' archive on Malta for the period 1502-1522. It considers the lesser known brethren, especially chaplains, and Hospitaller servants on Rhodes and Cyprus, who were at the forefront of interaction between the Order and the local community. Although Cyprus was never an island controlled by the Hospitallers, it is included due to its position in the eastern Mediterranean, as a potential Christian ally of the Order, and to dispel the widely held notion that the Hospitallers' presence on Cyprus ended with the Venetian take-over in 1489. The Hospitallers maintained a presence there even after the fall of Rhodes.

Chapter Four considers the everyday running of Hospitaller Rhodes, as is unveiled in the unpublished documents. It is divided geographically in order to construct a picture of life in the settlements outside Rhodes town, something hitherto not attempted for this period. Most were of agricultural significance, though many also served as look-out stations for enemy fleets, for example Embonas, while others such as Lindos acted as strongholds where the local population could gather in case of attack. The documents contained in the *Partes Citramarine* provide the closest we can get to the Hospitallers relations with the local



communities on Rhodes and the other islands under their control. These relations mainly concerned land tenure, official appointments to Hospitaller and other posts of local importance, including religious appointments. The documents show that, although some Latins lived or worked outside of the main town, the majority of those living in the countryside were overwhelmingly Greek and the proportion became greater the further south a settlement was on the island. Chapter Four also considers the information concerning Rhodes town in the last twenty years of Hospitaller rule. Due to the vagueness of the locations described in the documents, it has not been possible to divide the town up geographically, as done for the countryside, though where locations are clearly stated, such as a parish or a well-known landmark, they are grouped together. Instead, the grants are divided according to type, whether land, office, ecclesiastical or otherwise. There are also some grants that are of international significance, such as the 1516 agreement with the Mamluks, which were of relevance to merchants and others living in Rhodes town. A few documents reveal the emergence of suburbs, indicated by churches and *contrata*. This was prior to the Ottoman expulsion of the Greeks from the town after 1522.

Chapter Five explores life on the other islands of the eastern Aegean that were under the Hospitallers' control, as well as in St. Peter's Castle near Ancient Halicarnassus. It reveals how a number of islands, Kos, Kalymnos and Leros, together formed the commandery of Kos, a rare, if not unique example of an island commandery. For Kos Island, there are enough entries to organise it geographically, as for Rhodes, in order to gain an insight into the settlements that existed around the four main castles on the island. There appear to have been a greater proportion of freemen on Kos, compared to Rhodes, and this led to some Greek families gaining considerable influence in the local area. The chapter shows also how St. Peter's Castle interacted closely with Kos, even though it was not officially part of the commandery.

The conclusion highlights the elements of the thesis that make it a significant contribution, both through the use of untapped sources and methodologically, and an important addition to the existing knowledge, while considering the wider implications of the findings. In particular, the quite surprising fact that life continues as usual right up until the eve of the 1522 siege helps to explain how the Hospitallers were able to transfer their administrative machine to Malta maintaining its continuity.

### Περίληψη

Στόχος της συγκεκριμένης διδακτορικής διατριβής, η οποία τιτλοφορείται «Η Ρόδος στους όψιμους χρόνους της Ιπποτοκρατίας, 1502 - 1521: αλληλεπίδραση Λατίνων και Ελλήνων στο Αιγαίο και στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο», είναι να παρουσιάσει μια ισορροπημένη και πλήρη περιγραφή της περιόδου 1502-1521 αντλώντας στοιχεία από μη δημοσιευμένες πρωτογενείς πηγές που αφορούν τη Ρόδο και τα άλλα νησιά του Αιγαίου που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχο του Τάγματος των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών (εφεξής Τ.Ι.Ι.), η οποία θα εμπλουτίσει τη μέχρι πρότινος μονομερή ιστορία. Μέχρι τις μέρες μας, το κυρίαρχο θέμα της μελέτης των τελευταίων είκοσι χρόνων της κυριαρχίας του Τ.Ι.Ι. αφορά τις πολιτικές και στρατιωτικές πτυχές της παρουσίας των Ιπποτών στο ανατολικό Αιγαίο. Ειδικότερα, η υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία καταγράφει λεπτομερώς τη συμμετοχή του Τ.Ι.Ι. στο ναυτικό συνασπισμό κατά των Οθωμανών το 1501-1502, την αντίδραση των Οθωμανών με την αντεπίθεση στον Αρχάγγελο το 1503, και τη λεηλασία των νησιών της Τήνου, της Σύμης, της Κω και της Λέρου μεταξύ των ετών 1505 και 1506. Γίνεται επίσης αναφορά στην εκστρατεία του Τ.Ι.Ι. εναντίον των Μαμελούκων, συμπεριλαμβανομένης της κατάληψης των πλοίων των Μαμελούκων το 1507 και της ήττας τους στη θάλασσα στα ανοικτά της Αλεξανδρέττας το 1510, προτού καταλήξουν σε ανακωχή στα τέλη του 1516. Το ενδιαφέρον της τρέχουσας βιβλιογραφίας στρέφεται στη συνέχεια στις προετοιμασίες των Οθωμανών και του Τ.Ι.Ι. που προηγήθηκαν της πολιορκίας της Ρόδου το 1522. Τα προαναφερθέντα στοιχεία αποκαλύπτουν σημαντικά κενά στην ιστορία της περιόδου 1502-1522, ειδικά μετά το 1513, διάστημα για το οποίο ελάχιστα στοιχεία αναφέρονται. Σχεδόν όλες οι έρευνες, που έχουν δημοσιευθεί μέχρι σήμερα για την περίοδο 1502-1522, χρησιμοποιούν τις ίδιες δημοσιευμένες δευτερεύουσες πηγές, δηλαδή τα δύο έργα της Ιστορίας του Τ.Ι.Ι. που γράφτηκαν από τον Bosio και τον Vertot, γεγονός το οποίο εξηγεί την επικέντρωση των μελετών στα ίδια επιλεκτικά γεγονότα. Εξαίρεση αποτελεί η μελέτη του Jürgen Sarnowsky

(2001), η οποία εστιάζει στην επιρροή και στην εξουσία του Τ.Ι.Ι στο Αιγαίο. Ωστόσο, η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη καλύπτει ένα μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα ξεκινώντας από το 1421, επικεντρώνεται στον 15ο αιώνα, και χρησιμοποιεί κυρίως τα αρχεία του Συμβουλίου και των *Capitula Generalia* του Τ.Ι.Ι., τα οποία σπάνια αποκαλύπτουν πτυχές της καθημερινής ζωής στη Ρόδο.

Συνεπώς, το επίκεντρο της τρέχουσας βιβλιογραφίας αφορά τις μεταβολές και τις αναταραχές στην ιπποτική Ρόδο του 16ου αιώνα. Εν αντιθέσει, η συγκεκριμένη διδακτορική διατριβή στοχεύει αφενός να υπογραμμίσει τη συνέχεια της ζωής σε σχέση με τους δύο προηγούμενους αιώνες στη Ρόδο και στα άλλα νησιά που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχο του Τ.Ι.Ι., και αφετέρου να εστιάσει στην αλληλεπίδραση των μελών του Τ.Ι.Ι. με τις τοπικές κοινότητες, ελληνικές, λατινικές ή άλλες. Προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί η ανασύνθεση μιας σαφέστερης εικόνας της ζωής στους διάφορους οικισμούς της Ρόδου και των άλλων νησιών που κατείχε το Τ.Ι.Ι., επιλέχθηκε μια γεωγραφική προσέγγιση. Για παράδειγμα, όλες οι καταχωρήσεις που αφορούν το χωριό Αρχάγγελος στη Ρόδο παρουσιάζονται σε ξεχωριστή ενότητα. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο δίνεται η δυνατότητα να συνενωθούν οι άνθρωποι που έζησαν, εργάστηκαν και αλληλοσυνδέθηκαν στις πόλεις και στα χωριά της Ρόδου. Πρόκειται για μία πρωτότυπη προσέγγιση, η οποία επιχειρείται πρώτη φορά για τη μελέτη αδημοσίευτων πρωτογενών πηγών που αναφέρονται στην όψιμη περίοδο της Ιπποτοκρατίας στο Αιγαίο.

Αφετηρία της συγκεκριμένης διατριβής αποτελεί το έτος 1502, ένα χρόνο πριν από το θάνατο του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου d'Aubusson, και καταλήγει τον Ιανουάριο του 1522, λίγους μήνες πριν από την έναρξη της πολιορκίας της Ρόδου. Ο τερματισμός της έρευνας πριν από την πολιορκία ήταν σκόπιμος προκειμένου να μελετηθεί η ζωή στη Ρόδο κάτω από κανονικές συνθήκες, και όχι σε περιόδους κρίσης όταν απαιτείται η εφαρμογή ακραίων μέτρων. Χρησιμοποιώντας πρωτότυπα αδημοσίευτα έγγραφα από το αρχείο του Τ.Ι.Ι. που φυλάσσονται στην Εθνική Βιβλιοθήκη της Μάλτας, έχει παραχθεί μία ανασύνθεση της καθημερινής ζωής στη Ρόδο και στα άλλα νησιά που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχο του Τ.Ι.Ι., η οποία δεν αναφέρεται μόνο στους ίδιους τους Ιππότες, αλλά και στην αλληλεπίδρασή τους με τους ντόπιους Έλληνες και τους Λατίνους που ήταν μόνιμα εγκαταστημένοι στο Αιγαίο ή βρίσκονταν εκεί για επαγγελματικούς λόγους. Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της διδακτορικής έρευνας επικεντρώνεται στα καθημερινά ζητήματα της Αιγαιακής «αυτοκρατορίας» του Τ.Ι.Ι., όπως αποκαλύπτονται στο *Libri Bullarum, Partes Citramarine*, το τμήμα του αρχείου που περιλαμβάνει την έκδοση αποφάσεων του Μεγάλου Μαγίστρου και τα περιουσιακά στοιχεία του Τ.Ι.Ι. στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο, ενώ αναφέρεται επιπλέον και στις σχέσεις των

Ιπποτών με την τοπική κοινότητα. Τα συγκεκριμένα αρχεία συμπληρώνονται, όπου αυτό κρίνεται απαραίτητο, με τα αρχεία του Συμβουλίου του Μαγίστρου και των *Capitula Generalia* του Τάγματος. Ενώ η πλειονότητα των εγγράφων μας πληροφορεί για διάφορα περιστατικά, όπως διορισμούς σε θέσεις και άλλα θέματα που σχετίζονται με τη Ρόδο, ένας σημαντικός αριθμός αφορά το νησί ή/και τη διοίκηση (κομμανταρία) της Κω, το κάστρο του Αγίου Πέτρου στη Μικρασιατική ακτή ή άλλα νησιά που βρίσκονται στην κατοχή των Ιπποτών, όπως στην περίπτωση της Λέρου.

Το περιεχόμενο των κεφαλαίων έχει ως εξής. Αρχικά, το εισαγωγικό κεφάλαιο παρουσιάζει το θέμα της διατριβής, καθώς και μια συνοπτική ανασκόπηση της τρέχουσας δευτερεύουσας βιβλιογραφίας που αφορά την Ιπποτοκρατία της Ρόδου τον 16ο αιώνα. Σχολιάζεται επίσης το γεγονός ότι αυτές οι μελέτες επικεντρώνονται στις στρατιωτικές συγκρούσεις με τις άλλες δυνάμεις εκείνης της περιόδου στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο. Αν και η αυξανόμενη απειλή κατά του Τ.Ι.Ι. και των άλλων χριστιανικών δυνάμεων στην περιοχή αποτελεί μια σημαντική πτυχή της υφιστάμενης έρευνας, η μονομερής προσέγγιση αγνοεί τη συνέχεια και τη σύνδεση των γεγονότων με τους προηγούμενους αιώνες στην ιπποτική Ρόδο ξεκινώντας από το έτος 1309. Εξαιτίας αυτής της μεροληψίας, δεν παρέχονται οποιεσδήποτε πληροφορίες για όσους/όσες έζησαν και εργάστηκαν στη Ρόδο εκείνη την περίοδο, είτε στην πόλη είτε σε άλλες περιοχές του νησιού. Όσον αφορά το τελευταίο, καθώς και τα άλλα νησιά που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχο του Τ.Ι.Ι., η τρέχουσα έρευνα εστιάζει σχεδόν αποκλειστικά στην πόλη της Ρόδου, μονομέρεια την οποία αποκαθιστά η παρούσα διατριβή.

Προκειμένου να ενταχθεί η ιπποτική Ρόδος στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο του 16ου αιώνα, το Δεύτερο Κεφάλαιο παρέχει μια σύντομη ιστορία του Τ.Ι.Ι. και της εξέλιξής του πριν από την κατάκτηση της Ρόδου. Στη συνέχεια, περιγράφεται λεπτομερώς η κατάκτηση της Ρόδου και η επακόλουθη προσπάθεια του Τ.Ι.Ι. για την εγκατάσταση Λατίνων στη Ρόδο και για την επανακατοίκηση εγκαταλελειμμένων ή μη καλλιεργημένων περιοχών, είτε από Λατίνους, είτε από Έλληνες. Τεκμαίρεται ότι οι Λατίνοι απαιτούνταν κυρίως για την εκτέλεση στρατιωτικής θητείας με προσφορά επιχορηγούμενων γαιών ως κίνητρο για εγκατάσταση, ενώ οι Έλληνες ήταν απαραίτητοι για τη γεωργική παραγωγή η οποία απαιτείτο για την επιβίωση του νησιωτικού πληθυσμού. Ωστόσο, οι τελευταίοι αναλάμβαναν επίσης δευτερεύοντα στρατιωτικά καθήκοντα, όπως ήταν η παρακολούθηση εχθρικών πλοίων.

Μέχρι τα μέσα του 14ου αιώνα, οι Ιππότες αυξάνουν τον έλεγχό τους στο νησί, νομιμοποιώντας τις εκμεταλλεύσεις γης που προηγουμένως δεν έφεραν τίτλο ιδιοκτησίας με

απώτερο στόχο να διασφαλιστεί η επικυριαρχία του Τάγματος, ενώ παράλληλα κέρδιζαν εισόδημα από τη μίσθωση γαιών. Καθώς αναπτυσσόταν το κράτος του Τ.Ι.Ι. στη Ρόδο, νέοι νόμοι κρίθηκαν απαραίτητοι για την εύρυθμη λειτουργία του εμπορίου, την αντιμετώπιση εγκληματικών πράξεων, τα ζητήματα κοινωνικής θέσης, με παράδειγμα το νομικό καθεστώς που αφορούσε τους απογόνους μικτών ελληνο-λατινικών γάμων. Ένα βασικό ζητούμενο στους κανόνες και στην διακυβέρνηση του Τ.Ι.Ι. ήταν η αποφυγή διαφωνιών, διασφαλίζοντας την ταχεία επίλυση των παραπόνων. Για το λόγο αυτό, οι Μάγιστροι πραγματοποιούσαν τακτικές συναντήσεις με εκπροσώπους της κοινότητας, ενώ αποτελούσε προτεραιότητα η ισάριθμη συμμετοχή Ελλήνων και Λατίνων σε επικεφαλής θέσεις στις τοπικές συντεχνίες, όπου αυτό ήταν δυνατόν. Η ενθάρρυνση της συμμετοχής, παρά ο αποκλεισμός, θεωρήθηκε ζωτικής σημασίας για τη διατήρηση της κοινωνικής αρμονίας.

Στο ίδιο κεφάλαιο λαμβάνονται επίσης υπόψη και άλλες πληθυσμιακές ομάδες της Ρόδου, όπως για παράδειγμα η εβραϊκή κοινότητα ή οι ομάδες που δεν ορίζονται από τη θρησκεία, αλλά από την κοινωνική κατάσταση, όπως συνέβαινε στην περίπτωση των σκλάβων ή των δουλοπαροίκων. Τέλος, με στόχο να σκιαγραφηθεί το πλαίσιο της ιπποτικής Ρόδου του 16ου αιώνα, παρουσιάζεται μια επισκόπηση της επικρατούσας κατάστασης στο Αιγαίο, στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο και στη Δυτική Ευρώπη κατά τα τέλη του 15ου αιώνα. Σε αυτήν περιλαμβάνεται η πτώση των εναπομεινάντων τμημάτων της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας μεταξύ των ετών 1453 και 1461, η άνοδος και η επέκταση των Οθωμανών Τούρκων και η επακόλουθη συρρίκνωση της λατινικής επιρροής στο Αιγαίο, καθώς και οι διχασμοί μεταξύ των μεγάλων δυνάμεων στη Δυτική Ευρώπη που δεν επέτρεψαν μια ενωμένη αντίδραση απέναντι στην οθωμανική απειλή.

Το Τρίτο Κεφάλαιο είναι το πρώτο που βασίζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό στις μη δημοσιευμένες πρωτογενείς πηγές του αρχείου του Τ.Ι.Ι. στη Μάλτα για την περίοδο 1502-1522. Εκεί υπάρχουν αναφορές στα λιγότερο γνωστά μέλη της αδελφότητας, ειδικά στους ιερείς, και στους υπηρέτες του Τ.Ι.Ι. στη Ρόδο και στην Κύπρο, οι οποίοι κατείχαν πρωταρχική θέση στην αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ του Τάγματος και της τοπικής κοινότητας. Αν και η Κύπρος δεν ανήκε ποτέ στον έλεγχο του Τ.Ι.Ι., ωστόσο γίνεται σκόπιμη αναφορά λόγω της θέσης της στην Ανατολική Μεσόγειο ως δυνητικός χριστιανικός σύμμαχος του Τάγματος, αλλά και για να ανασκευασθεί η ευρέως διαδεδομένη αντίληψη ότι η παρουσία του Τ.Ι.Ι. στην Κύπρο έληξε με την ανάληψη της εξουσίας από τους Ενετούς το 1489. Αντιθέτως, διαπιστώνεται ότι το Τ.Ι.Ι. διατήρησε την παρουσία του στην Κύπρο ακόμη και μετά την πτώση της Ρόδου.

Το Τέταρτο Κεφάλαιο εξετάζει την καθημερινή λειτουργία του Τ.Ι.Ι., όπως αποκαλύπτεται από τα μη δημοσιευμένα έγγραφα. Το περιεχόμενο χωρίζεται σκόπιμα σε γεωγραφικές ενότητες για να σκιαγραφηθεί η εικόνα της ζωής στους οικισμούς έξω από την πόλη της Ρόδου, κάτι που επιχειρείται πρώτη φορά για τη συγκεκριμένη περίοδο. Από την έρευνα τεκμαίρεται ότι οι περισσότεροι οικισμοί ήταν γεωργικής σημασίας, αν και πολλοί χρησίμευαν επίσης ως παρατηρητήρια για εχθρικούς στόλους, όπως για παράδειγμα ο Έμπωνας, ενώ άλλοι οικισμοί, όπως η Λίνδος, λειτουργούσαν ως οχυρά στα οποία ο τοπικός πληθυσμός μπορούσε να συγκεντρωθεί σε περίπτωση επίθεσης. Τα έγγραφα που περιέχονται στο *Partes Citramarine* παρέχουν τα πλέον σχετικά στοιχεία που αφορούν τις σχέσεις του Τ.Ι.Ι. με τις τοπικές κοινότητες της Ρόδου και των άλλων νησιών που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχό τους. Αυτές οι σχέσεις αφορούσαν κυρίως την ιδιοκτησία γης, τους επίσημους διορισμούς σε θέσεις του Τ.Ι.Ι. και σε άλλες θέσεις τοπικής σημασίας, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των θρησκευτικών διορισμών. Τα έγγραφα φανερώνουν ότι, παρόλο που μερικοί Λατίνοι ζούσαν ή εργάζονταν έξω από την πόλη, η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία αυτών που κατοικούσαν στην ύπαιθρο ήταν Έλληνες και το ποσοστό αυξανόταν όσο νοτιότερα βρισκόταν ο οικισμός στο νησί.

Το Τέταρτο Κεφάλαιο εξετάζει επίσης τα στοιχεία που αφορούν την πόλη της Ρόδου τα τελευταία είκοσι χρόνια παρουσίας του Τ.Ι.Ι. Λόγω της ασάφειας των τοποθεσιών που περιγράφονται στα έγγραφα, δεν ήταν δυνατόν να χωριστεί η πόλη γεωγραφικά, όπως έγινε για την ύπαιθρο, αν και όταν οι τοποθεσίες αναφέρονται ρητά, όπως για παράδειγμα μία ενορία ή ένα γνωστό ορόσημο, σε αυτή την περίπτωση παρουσιάζονται ομαδοποιημένες. Αντίθετα, οι επιχορηγούμενες γαίες είναι οργανωμένες ανάλογα με τον τύπο, είτε πρόκειται για γη ή αξίωμα, εκκλησιαστικού ή άλλου χαρακτήρα. Υπήρξαν επίσης ορισμένες εκχωρήσεις διεθνούς σημασίας (όπως είναι η συμφωνία του 1516 με τους Μαμελούκους), οι οποίες αφορούσαν τους εμπόρους και άλλες ομάδες που κατοικούσαν στην πόλη της Ρόδου. Επίσης, κάποια έγγραφα αποκαλύπτουν τη σταδιακή δημιουργία προαστίων, όπως υποδεικνύεται από την παρουσία εκκλησιών και από τα *contrata*. Το συγκεκριμένο φαινόμενο τοποθετείται χρονικά πριν από την οθωμανική απέλαση των Ελλήνων από την πόλη μετά το 1522.

Το Πέμπτο Κεφάλαιο διερευνά τη ζωή στα άλλα νησιά του Ανατολικού Αιγαίου που βρίσκονταν υπό τον έλεγχο του Τ.Ι.Ι., καθώς και στο κάστρο του Αγίου Πέτρου κοντά στην Αρχαία Αλικαρνασσό. Η έρευνα αποκαλύπτει ότι τα διάφορα νησιά, όπως η Κως, η Κάλυμνος και η Λέρος, συνέθεταν στο σύνολό τους τη κομμανταρία της Κω, ένα σπάνιο, αν

όχι μοναδικό παράδειγμα νησιωτικής διοίκησης. Για το νησί της Κω, όπως και για τη Ρόδο, ο σημαντικός αριθμός αναφορών επιτρέπει την οργάνωση των στοιχείων γεωγραφικά, γεγονός το οποίο επιτρέπει την ανασύνθεση της εικόνας των οικισμών που λειτουργούσαν γύρω από τα τέσσερα κύρια κάστρα του νησιού. Διαπιστώνεται ότι υπήρχε μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό ελευθέρων στην Κω, σε σύγκριση με τη Ρόδο, και το γεγονός αυτό επέτρεψε ορισμένες ελληνικές οικογένειες να αποκτήσουν σημαντική επιρροή στην περιοχή. Το συγκεκριμένο κεφάλαιο φανερώνει επίσης ότι το κάστρο του Αγίου Πέτρου αλληλοεπιδρούσε στενά με την Κω, παρόλο που δεν αποτελούσε επίσημα μέρος της κομμανταρίας.

Το συμπερασματικό κεφάλαιο υπογραμμίζει τα στοιχεία της διατριβής που την καθιστούν μία σημαντική συμβολή λόγω της χρήσης μέχρι πρότινος αναξιοποίητων πηγών και της πρωτότυπης μεθοδολογίας που ακολουθήθηκε. Επισημαίνεται επίσης ότι το συγκεκριμένο πόνημα αποτελεί μία σημαντική προσθήκη στις υπάρχουσες ιστορικές γνώσεις της περιόδου, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις συνακόλουθες συνέπειες που απορρέουν από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας. Συγκεκριμένα, το απρόσμενο γεγονός ότι η τοπική ζωή συνεχίστηκε κανονικά και αδιάκοπα στη Ρόδο μέχρι τις παραμονές της πολιορκίας του 1522, μας επιτρέπει να εξηγήσουμε πώς οι ιππότες κατάφεραν να μεταφέρουν το διοικητικό τους μηχανισμό στη Μάλτα διατηρώντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο τη συνέχεια του Τ.Ι.Ι.

## Declaration of Authorship


I, Simon David Phillips, declare that the thesis entitled:

‘Rhodes in the Final Hospitaller Years, 1502 – 1521:

Latin and Greek interaction in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean’

and the work presented in it are my own. I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- none of this work has been published before submission.

Signed: .....  .....

Date: .....14<sup>th</sup> February, 2021.....



## **Acknowledgements**

First, I would like to thank my Supervisor, Professor Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou and the other members of the Advisory Committee, Professor Nikoletta Giantsi-Meletiadi and Professor Konstantinos Gaganakis, for their advice, especially for reading and commenting on this thesis. I would also like to thank Maroma Camilleri and the staff of the National Library of Malta, Valletta, for their help in providing me with the documents on which this thesis was based, both in the archive on Malta and the subsequent digital copies. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Maria, and son, Konstantinos, for their patience while I was involved in this research project and my wife for correcting my Greek translation of the English abstract and providing photographs of Nisyros.

## **Abbreviations**

BL Add. Ms.	British Library, Additional Manuscript
CCR	Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office
L&P HVIII	Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII
Malta Cod.	Valletta, National Library of Malta: Archives of the Order of St. John, codex
Reg. Vat.	Vatican, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Registri Vaticani

## List of Figures

Cover Illustration: Rhodes, from <i>Liber Insularum Archipelagi</i> , Cristoforo Buondelmonti	
Figure 1: The Grand Master and his Council.....	1
Figure 2: Map of Rhodes by Henricus Martellus Germanus.....	3
Figure 3: Rhodes Town and surroundings.....	4
Figure 4: Hospitaller possessions in the South-East Aegean.....	28
Figure 5: View towards Kos from Nisyros Castle.....	144
Figure 6: Coat of Arms of Grand Master Jacques de Milly (1454-1461) on Nisyros Castle.....	145
Figure 7: Aerial view of Kefalos Castle.....	165
Figure 8: Aerial view of Pili Castle.....	166
Figure 9: Aerial view of Antimachia Castle.....	170
Figure 10: Aerial View of Narangia Castle.....	174

## Tables

Table 1: Named Residents of the <i>Casale</i> and Castle of Lindos, 1502.....	90-91
---	-------

## Chapter One: Introduction and Literature Review

Imagine Rhodes in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century: a bustling city, with locals, both Greeks and Latins, pilgrims and merchants from all parts of the world, either passing through or using Rhodes as a base for their operations. At this point, Rhodes had been under Hospitaller rule for nearly two centuries, a well-oiled machine of administration and governance, headed by the grand master (often simply called the master) of the Order. And what a colourful site it must have appeared to those passing through, who went to seek permission or pay respects to the master and his brethren. A version of Caoursin's *Descriptio* contains colour illustrations, one of which shows the Grand Master d'Aubusson holding court.<sup>1</sup>

Figure 1: The Grand Master and his Council



Source: Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 6067, fol. 3v.

---

<sup>1</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Lat. 6067, f. 3v. Guillaume Caoursin was the Vice-chancellor of the Hospitallers. In 1480, he wrote *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* (*Description of the Siege of Rhodes*), as the official record of the Ottoman siege of Rhodes in that year.

The Grand Master is seated in the centre of the room, flanked by senior members of the Order, who offer him advice. He is wearing the Hospitaller habit, yet the seat he sits on and cushion his feet rest on are decorated in eastern colours, an Islamic blue and gold, with a colourful carpet underneath, all of which indicate how the Hospitallers were influenced by their environment in the eastern Mediterranean. There are monkeys, a dog and a bird in the building. Various citizens and merchants, including one from Africa, are in attendance, as Caoursin presents his history of the 1480 siege to Grand Master d'Aubusson. This was multi-ethnic, multi-cultural Rhodes in the twilight of the medieval era.

What else do we know about Rhodes in the late medieval – early modern period? There are some contemporary accounts of Rhodes, mostly from the fifteenth century. The majority are copies or borrow heavily from Cristoforo Buondelmonti's description of Rhodes, which was written in about 1419-1420.<sup>2</sup> Buondelmonti, a priest from Florence, knew Rhodes personally and spent much time there between about 1414 and 1431, when he died. Although his account focuses mainly on the classical History of Rhodes, it does contain important insights into the medieval town, such as that the *collachium* (the walled area of the town reserved for the Hospitallers) was divided into two separate parts. A manuscript in the British Library which describes both Rhodes town and island, accompanied by beautiful maps (see below) drawn by Henricus Martellus Germanus is chronologically closest to the sixteenth century period under study.<sup>3</sup> There are a number of place names on the map of Rhodes, which attest to the main churches and settlements on the island. The churches shown are St. Calmcus, St. Anthony, St. Stephen, St. John of the leppers, St. Mary of Philerimos, Profitis Elias near Afandou, a church on 'Mons Arthanitta' that is probably the other Profitis Elias Church on the mountain of the same name that rises to 762 metres, and St. Nicholas Church on the islet off of Archangelos. The settlements (apart from Rhodes town, shown walled) marked on the map are Trianda, Philerimos, Kremasti, Afandou, Archangelos, Farada (perhaps Malonas), Villanova, Soroni, Salakos, Lindos, Siana, Apollona, Vasilika<sup>4</sup> (Kamiro), Palithia (probably Monolithos), Kattavia, Asklipio and Lachania. All had some sort of fortifications, except Asklipio and Vasilika.<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> *Cristoforo Buondelmonti Liber Insularum Archipelagi (ULBD Ms. G. 13): Transcription des Exemplars Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13*, ed. K. J. Bayer, Wiesbaden, 2007, 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> BL Add. Ms. 15760, f. 12r-13r (See the transcription at the end of this chapter).

<sup>4</sup> Described in 1419 by Buondelmonti as once having been a great and magnificent city that was now reduced to ruins, Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes, 1306-1423: Original Texts and English Summaries*, London, 2019, 75. From this and its positioning on the map, we can gather that it was Ancient Kamiro.

<sup>5</sup> Asklipio Castle was built in the 1470s.

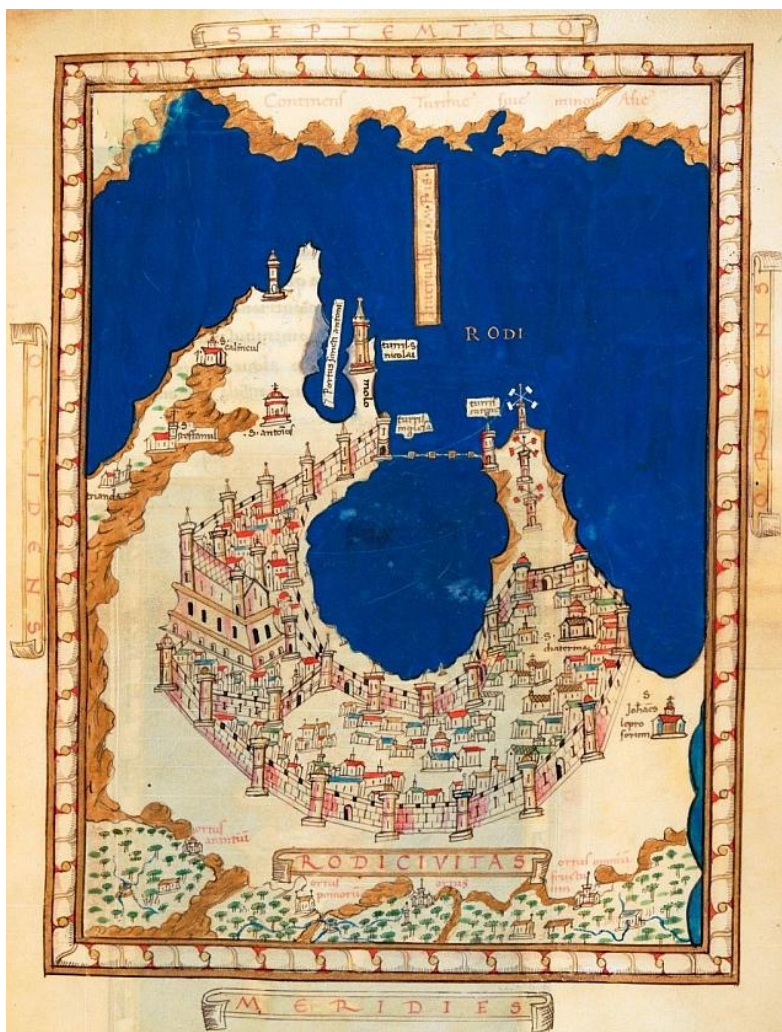
Figure 2: Map of Rhodes by Henricus Martellus Germanus



Source: BL Add. Ms. 15760, f. 12v

There is also an enlarged map of Rhodes town, which is shown walled, with the main harbour protected by two towers, the ‘turris inglesa’ (now known as Naillac Tower) and ‘turris catenae’ (Tower of the chain, now called the Tower of France/Angels). Connecting the two towers is a chain that prevents entry to the harbour. The mole of the mills is shown, as is the mole leading to St. Nicholas Tower. Mandraki Harbour is described as ‘Portus Sancti Antoni’, after the church on its shores. Another unnamed tower is shown to the west of the tip of Rhodes on the coast where today there is a tower at the beginning of G. Papanikolaou St. It would have been in sight of St. Nicholas Tower and there is almost a straight line between them. Interestingly, no dry moat is shown, even though we know there was one. However, the area immediately outside the walls is depicted with no structures or vegetation that might be interpreted as a moat, and indicates that approaching attackers would be clearly seen.

Figure 3: Rhodes Town and surroundings



Source: BL Add. Ms. 15760, f. 13r

In the town itself (*Rodi Civitas*), the only named building is St. Catherine's Church, perhaps because the person stayed at the associated hospice, which might suggest he was Italian, as Buondelmonti was. The division between the burgh and the *collachium* is shown with the wall dividing them. The palace appears to be shown (or St. Johns of the collachium). There are buildings to the west of the palace that could be a second part of the collachium.

The churches shown outside the town are St. Calnicus, St. Anthony, St. Stephen and St. John 'leproforum'. Trianda is the only nearby settlement shown. South of the town are four green areas/plantations, from west to east, the *ortus arantium* (ploughed/oranges), *ortus pomorum* (apples), *ortus* and *ortus omnium fructuum* that perhaps had various fruit in it. All are portrayed with trees in them, so presumably the main produce was fruit or olives. The *ortus arantium* and *ortus omnium fructuum* had their own springs or cisterns that irrigated these areas, while the *Ortus* area had a spring/cistern that irrigated both it and the *ortus pomorum*. Perhaps these springs/wells/cisterns tapped into the river that is shown running through this area on the large map of Rhodes Island. All plantations had other buildings within them. The orange plantation had one building or house inside it and another, more elaborate structure with a tholos at its entrance, but there is no cross on the top, as is the case for the churches shown on the map. The apple plantation has one building. The *ortus* has one large building with what looks like a spire, plus a tower-like structure. Finally the plantation with various produce has a house, a barn and a large building at its entrance. The importance of this is that fresh produce was readily available to the citizens of Rhodes town, being grown nearby outside its walls.

As a preliminary to the detailed study of unpublished documents for Hospitaller Rhodes in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, it is essential to consider the existing historiography. There are many worthy, broader works that mention the Hospitallers on Rhodes, especially the two sieges, but here we will focus on those that specifically cover the period between 1502 and 1522.<sup>6</sup> Almost all the modern histories that mention Hospitaller Rhodes in the period 1500-1522 use the same printed 'primary' sources exclusively, and this explains why they all focus on the same events, which mainly concern the conflict with the Ottoman Empire. 'Primary' is in inverted commas because the main sources universally

---

<sup>6</sup> Diachronic works include Απόστολος Βακαλόπουλος, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, Τομ. Γ, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1968; Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571, Vol. 2: The Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1978, which includes the first siege of Rhodes and Setton's, *The Papacy and the Levant, Vol. 3: The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius III*, Cambridge, 1984, which has a chapter on the fall of Rhodes.



referred to are Giacomo Bosio and Aubert de Vertôt.<sup>7</sup> Yet both of these sources were written long after the Hospitallers left Rhodes: Bosio's three volume history of the Order first appeared between 1594 and 1602 and Vertôt's four volume history in 1726. Historians both past and present have cast doubt on the reliability of these early secondary sources, as Anthony Luttrell illustrates.<sup>8</sup> Luttrell has conducted excellent research on Hospitaller Rhodes, but has devoted most of his research to studies before the mid-fifteenth century, including his latest collection of documents, and has rarely ventured into the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> For the sixteenth century, there is an absence of information on the day-to-day running of Rhodes, as one would find by looking at the unprinted primary sources of the Knights. Kollias translates six documents in his 2005 book, but does not properly cite their origin.<sup>10</sup> However, this work was mainly produced as a tourist guide and not as an academic work. Other aspects (social structure, welfare) are covered only superficially, using pre-sixteenth century sources. One exception is the work of Zacharias Tsirpanlis, who provides an in-depth study of the Hospitallers on Rhodes and other islands under their control between 1421 and 1453 and has then in other works covered up to 1500.<sup>11</sup> He then continues from 1523, but has left a gap in between. His book on sixteenth and seventeenth century Rhodes does not really mention the first two decades of the sixteenth century, but begins with the capitulation of Rhodes and he does not use any unpublished sources.<sup>12</sup> He notes simply that the knights left on 1 January 1523, when Rhodes and much of the Dodecanese passed into the hands of Suleiman and that with the knights went many locals, both Greeks and Latins, numbering three or four thousand.<sup>13</sup> Only Sarnowsky has studied primary material for the Hospitallers on Rhodes in the later period in detail, though his range is broad (from 1421) and his focus is on power and authority, with most of his focus on the fifteenth century.<sup>14</sup> There is no study that focuses exclusively on the period 1500-1522, looking at Rhodes town, the rest of the island and the other islands under the Hospitallers' possession as a whole, using the

---

<sup>7</sup> Giacomo Bosio, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione ... di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, 3 vols., Rome, 1594-1602; Aubert de Vertôt, *Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris, 1726.

<sup>8</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1530-1630' in *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte*, vol. 26, 1968, 57-69.

<sup>9</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*.

<sup>10</sup> Elias Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Athens, 2005, 167-172.

<sup>11</sup> Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλής, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών (1421-1453)*, Ρόδος, 1995 (hereafter, *Anekdotia Engrapha*); Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλής, *Η Ρόδος Και Οι Νότιες Σποράδες Στα Χρόνια Των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών 14 - 16ος Αιώνας*, Ρόδος, 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλής, *Στη Ρόδο του 16ου - 17ου αιώνα: από τους Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες στους Οθωμανούς Τούρκους*, Ρόδος, 2002.

<sup>13</sup> Τσιρπανλής, *Στη Ρόδο του 16ου*, 19.

<sup>14</sup> Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421-1522)*, Münster, 2001.

unpublished sources. This study aims to rectify both the archival dearth and place emphasis on the day-to-day relations between Hospitallers and the local community. The relations, or interaction, between the Hospitallers and the local community, are not explicitly stated in the documents, but they are implicit in the various grants. For example, the appointment of someone to a position of importance indicates a degree of trust that the order had in that person. It also indicates that the Hospitallers allowed a certain amount of autonomy to the local population, which suggests a relationship of cooperation, rather than authoritarianism. Similarly, a grant of land shows the Order was confident the person could manage the property well. In the latter case, such grants could be hereditary, so a relationship with particular families was built up spanning generations.

However sparse, it is useful to consider the existing bibliography that relates to early sixteenth century Rhodes, in order to assess the current state of research. We shall review them in chronological order to consider the development of ideas and knowledge. Recent historical research on sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes, which means relevant works since the Second World War that are still in use, begins with the chapter by Ettore Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421 – 1523' in Setton's *A History of the Crusades*, published in 1975.<sup>15</sup> However, as Rossi died in 1955, his chapter must have been written before then, but it is still widely quoted in contemporary research.<sup>16</sup> Rossi devotes ten pages to the period from 1500 – 1523, most of which is devoted to international relations, that is the Hospitallers' participation in the Christian League and relations with the Ottomans and Egyptians. In 1501, the Hospitallers agreed to participate in the Christian League with Venice, France, Spain, Portugal and the papacy.<sup>17</sup> However, this League was nothing like the crusades of the earlier centuries and there was no hope of ever capturing the Holy Land at this point. Even the thought of capturing Constantinople was a remote dream. The Hospitallers agreed to supply four armed galleys, commanded by the Admiral, the Turcopolier, the prior of St Gilles and the castellan of Amposta, with Grand Master d'Aubusson who was named by the pope as captain-general of the League. The following summer (1502) a great fleet assembled at Cythera, composed of Venetian ships under Benedict Pesaro, seven papal galleys under the bishop of Paphos, James Pesaro (brother of the above), five galleys under the future grand

---

<sup>15</sup> Ettore Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421 – 1523' in *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* ed. Harry W. Hazard (general editor Kenneth M. Setton), Wisconsin, 1975, 314 – 339. Pages 329-339 are on the period from 1500 - 1523.

<sup>16</sup> For example, see Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, Woodbridge, 2001.

<sup>17</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 329.

master, Fr. Fabrizio del Carretto, and three galleys plus the 'great ship' and the 'bark' from Rhodes under the command of the Hospitaller Admiral, Fr. Louis of Scalenghe. The grand master desired that part of the fleet should be sent to Rhodes, as the Turks had raided the island of Chalki, but the Pesaro brothers decided to use the whole fleet to attack Lefkada, which fell to the League on 29 August, after a week long siege in which the Hospitallers played a notable role. Rossi, using the records of the Hospitaller Council, notes that the grand master's contribution to the League clearly had local priorities in mind, as he armed a galley that captured Turkish corsairs in Rhodian waters, some of whom were killed, while others were taken as slaves to work excavating the moats on Rhodes.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the Hospitallers' participation was used in part to supply free labour that was used to improve and extend the defensive structure in the moat of Rhodes town, much as they would do in the annual summer caravan, a campaign against the 'infidel', by which was meant non-Christians and by the sixteenth century especially the Ottomans.

Rossi then mentions that 1503 was somewhat of a crisis year for the Hospitallers, as the Venetians (who controlled Crete and Cyprus) made peace with the Turks, which meant Rhodes was isolated. The same year, on 3 July, d'Aubusson died and Emery d'Amboise, Prior of France, was immediately elected by the Convent, though he did not reach Rhodes until 1504. In the meantime his lieutenant, Guy de Blanchefort, Prior of Auvergne, appointed captains for the three galleys of the Order that were called Petronilla, Victoriosa and Catherineta to chase a squadron of Turkish corsairs that had ravaged Rhodes in August 1503 and then headed towards Makri (modern day Fethiye) on the Turkish coast. Eight Turkish ships were sunk, two captured and much booty was taken at the expense of one galley being burnt. The knights returned the acts of piracy themselves, such as in 1504 when they captured Kemal Beg, a servant of Kurkut Chelebi, who was the son of Sultan Bayazid II and governor of southern Anatolia. This squabbling continued, the Turks attacking Nisyros, Telos and Symi in 1505 and Leros in 1506, but this did not lead to a total breakdown of the truce with the Turks that had existed when Djem was alive. Thus a raid here or there did not signal that a major assault was underway and did not cause undue concern.<sup>19</sup>

It was not just with the Ottomans that the Hospitallers had frayed relations, but also with Mamluk Egypt, though as will be seen in Chapter Four, the Hospitallers made an alliance

---

<sup>18</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 330; Malta Cod. 79, f. 83 (old numbering).

<sup>19</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 330-331.

with Egypt when they realised the increasing threat of an Ottoman attack on Rhodes.<sup>20</sup> Rossi suggests that the Hospitallers' relations with Egypt were ambivalent from about 1505 on when sultan Kansuh al-Ghūrī received provision in preparation for disputes with the Portuguese over the Red Sea.<sup>21</sup> At this point, a son of Djem fled to Rhodes. The Ottoman sultan did not use this as an excuse to break the truce, and Murad did not die until January 1523, along with his two sons. Generally the Hospitallers performed well against the Egyptians, capturing seven of their ships that had come to raid Kos in 1506 and the following year they captured a large merchant ship the 'Gran Nave Mogarbina' that carried spices from Alexandria to Tunis, but it also contained cloths, carpets and travellers who could be ransomed. Also in 1507, three Egyptian ships were captured off of Cyprus.

Rossi continues the theme of the conflict with the forces of Islam when he describes how, in 1510, the Hospitallers, under the command Fr. Andrea do Amaral, the chancellor's lieutenant, and Fr. Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, the seneschal, avoiding Cyprus so as not to be detected, attacked the Egyptian fleet near Alexandretta (Iskenderun), after learning of them coming for supplies.<sup>22</sup> They captured eleven cargo ships and four galleys, sinking the rest.<sup>23</sup> Despite the actions of the Hospitallers and their associates, in Rossi's opinion it was the policies of the Ottoman sultans that determined Rhodes fate in the following years. Bayazid II died on 26 May 1512 and the generally good relations the knights had had with the Ottomans began to disintegrate. His son Selim I (1512-1520) had a more aggressive attitude to the Hospitallers. Emery d'Amboise also died in 1512 and although Guy de Blanchefort was elected grand master while he was in France, he died before he reached Rhodes. Fabrizio del Carretto, Admiral and pilier of the Italian langue, was then elected the new grand master. He had distinguished himself in 1480, defending St Nicholas' tower.<sup>24</sup> Yet Rossi concedes that it was not just the policies of the Ottoman sultans that led to the fall of Rhodes, but also divisions

---

<sup>20</sup> For a broader perspective on the Hospitallers' relations with their Muslim neighbours, see Αλέξιος Σαββίδης, <<Πόλεμος και διπλωματία: Οι σχέσεις των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών της Ρόδου με τον μουσουλμανικό κόσμο (Τουρκομάνους, Μαμελούκους και Οθωμανούς)>> in Σαββίδης Α. Γ. Κ. και Νικολούδης Ν. Γ., Ο Ύστερος Μεσαιωνικός Κόσμος (11ος-16ος αιώνες), Αθήνα, 2007, 353-366

<sup>21</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 331.

<sup>22</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 331-332.

<sup>23</sup> Accounts of the battle can be found in *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall' autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, 58 vols., Venezia, 1879-1903, Tomo 10, ed. Guglielmo Berchet, 1883, cols. 570-571 and in *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta raccolto da varj documenti di quell'archivio, per servire alla storia dello stesso ordine in Soria e illustrato con una serie cronologica de' gran maestri, che lo governarono in quei tempi, con alcune notizie storiche, genealogiche, geografiche, ed altre osservazioni [Sebastiano Pauli]*, tomo 2, ed. Salvatore e Giandomenico Marescandoli, Lucca, 1737, 174. The grand master's instructions are detailed in Malta Cod. 400, f. 224.

<sup>24</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 332.

within Europe. Although Pope Leo X (1513 – 1521) was a supporter of the Order, the struggle between Charles V and Francis I prevented help coming when it was needed. Thus, as there was an expanding Ottoman force, the other powers in the region, including the Hospitallers, started making alliances between themselves. The shah of Persia wanted the Hospitallers to hand over Djem's son Murad in 1515 to use against the Turkish sultan. Meanwhile the Hospitallers cultured relations with Egypt, signing a trade agreement in November 1516, but this had little time to come into effect as Egypt became part of the Ottoman Empire in April 1517.<sup>25</sup> Rhodes had given some artillery towards the Egyptian's defence, but the Hospitallers needed to prepare their own defence.<sup>26</sup> After the defeat of Egypt, Rossi believes that it was clear Rhodes would be the next target and for that reason Carretto had the walls, moat and towers fortified by engineer Basilio della Scala of Vicenza and Matthew Gioeno of Sicily to withstand artillery fire.<sup>27</sup> However, this was actually part of a long-term improvement of the fortifications that had been in process since the 1480 siege.

In the remainder of his Chapter, Rossi details the 1522 siege of Rhodes, which is not the concern of this thesis.<sup>28</sup> Nowhere does he consider life on sixteenth century Rhodes or the interaction of the Hospitallers with the local community. He only comments on the archaeology of the town under the Ottomans, noting that few changes were made, apart from the churches and chapels that were either turned into mosques or demolished. He claims that there was a fusion of Gothic, Byzantine and Renaissance styles and that letters and the arts flourished.<sup>29</sup> Rossi's work covers a period of over a hundred years and was written at a time when political histories were more popular than social histories, so it is not surprising that it focuses on the 'highlights' rather than everyday life on Rhodes.

Another early contribution to the history of Rhodes is Christodulos Papachristodoulou's history of Rhodes, published in 1972, with a second edition appearing posthumously in 1994.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that this book was written as a general history of Rhodes from prehistory until the unification of the Dodecanese with Greece in 1948. Although a whole

---

<sup>25</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 333.

<sup>26</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XXIII, cols. 554, 595.

<sup>27</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 334.

<sup>28</sup> For the sieges of Rhodes, see Eric Brockman, *The Two Sieges of Rhodes: The Knights of St. John at War 1480-1522*, New York, 1969; James Quentin Hughes and Athanasios Migos, <<Η οχυρωματική αρχιτεκτονική των ιπποτών της Ρόδου και οι τουρκικές πολιορκίες>> στο Ρόδος, 2,400 χρόνια, Ρόδος, 1994, 373-407; and Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *Rhodes Besieged: A New History*, Stroud, 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Rossi, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes', 333-334.

<sup>30</sup> Χριστόδουλος Ι. Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους Προϊστορικούς Χρόνους έως την Ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου (1948)*, Αθήνα, 1972, 1994.

section (Section B) is devoted to various aspects of the Hospitallers' rule (1309-1522) on Rhodes, using as his main sources Bosio and Vertot, very little is written on community life. A whole chapter is devoted to the 1480 siege, and another chapter to the 1522 siege. In contrast, only a small chapter of four pages covers other aspects of the period 1480 - 1522 (pages 304-307), of which only two pages cover the 1502 - 1522 period. There is a small section (pages 342-345) of a chapter on community life on Rhodes, but this is general comment on the whole of the Hospitaller period, not on the early sixteenth century. As with Rossi, Papachristodoulou notes the 1503 Ottoman raid on Rhodes with 15 galleys, which specifically targeted the village of Archangelos, from which 100-150 captives were taken.<sup>31</sup> He continues that they went on, in 1505, to raid Tilos, Symi, Kos and Leros. Again like Rossi, he mentions the capture of a Mamluk ship in 1507 and its change of name to Santa Maria. Papachristodoulou further refers to the death of Aubusson in 1503 and how he had done much good for the Order and the laity of Rhodes through difficult years, and for that reason he was generally missed.<sup>32</sup> This is the closest Papachristodoulou comes to a comment on the Hospitallers interaction with the local community. However his observation seems to be accurate, judging it from an account of his death from official Hospitaller documents in the book of the Council that Ann Williams has used.<sup>33</sup> According to the account, the grand master died in the early hours of the morning on 3 July 1503. The body was opened and the entrails embalmed a practice that was always carried out in subsequent magisterial burials, and put in a casket in the church of Our Lady of Victory. His body was then dressed in his cardinal's robes, and the sword which he had carried in the 1480 siege, still stained with the blood of that combat, was placed upon his bier. He was then carried into the Palace where the doors were opened and a great multitude of people appeared. Both sexes showed their grief, the women beating their breasts and tearing their hair, the men tearing their beards. The Greek Metropolitan with all his clergy kept vigil. The Prior of the Church said mass, and on the morning of the 4 July, led the procession to bury Aubusson in the Church of St John of the *Collachium*.<sup>34</sup> While the account may be dramatised somewhat, it seems that there was sorrow at d'Aubusson's death, at least from Latin and Orthodox Christians. After his comment on d'Aubusson's death, Papachristodoulou returns to the conflict with the Hospitallers' Muslim neighbours and the threat to Rhodes, for example, the battle against the

---

<sup>31</sup> Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, 306.

<sup>32</sup> Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, 306.

<sup>33</sup> Ann Williams, 'Sad Stories of the Death of Kings: Last Illnesses and Funerary Rites of the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John from Aubusson to the Cottoners', 55-62, in *The Military Orders, Volume 3: History and Heritage* ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes, Aldershot, 2008, 56-57.

<sup>34</sup> *Liber Conciliorum*, Malta Cod. 80, f. 27r-28r.

Egyptians off Alexandretta and that the icon of Panagia of Apollona was moved in 1513 to Pharaklos Castle for safety from the raids.<sup>35</sup> It is rather strange that the icon should be moved from a village high up in the mountains in the centre of the island, to a castle by the coast, but it is an indication of the confidence the Order had in the strength of the castle. It is also an indication that raids were not just on coastal settlements such as Archangelos, but went deep into the Rhodian countryside. Papachristodoulou comments that the icon from Apollona, along with that of the icon of Philerimos, was revered by Catholics and Orthodox alike as having miraculous powers, and mentions that in the modern church of Apollona there is an icon of the Virgin Mary with the coat-of-arms of Grand Master d'Aubusson.<sup>36</sup> Finally, Papachristodoulou notes the death of Grand Master Blanchefort, the elections of Grand Masters Carretto and Lisle-Adam and the conquests of Selim I and how Suleiman came to power in 1520. Papachristodoulou's book follows in the tradition of political history for the period 1500 to 1522, which is not surprising given that social history was still a new discipline in the early 1970s. The book only has a handful of pages on the period in question, but it was necessary to mention it because it is one of the few works to mention early sixteenth-century Rhodes.

Research on sixteenth-century Rhodes was revived in the late 1980s and early 1990s, when there was also renewed interest in the history of the Crusades and Military Orders. Part of this revival included two works by Elias Kollias, former Ephor of Byzantine Antiquities on Rhodes in 1988 (with a new edition in 2005) and 1991.<sup>37</sup> For the early sixteenth century, the 1991 book repeats almost verbatim what was written in 1988. Therefore, to avoid repetition, all references will be to the revised 2005 edition. As with Rossi and Papachristodoulou, what is written on the sixteenth century focuses on political and military history, though other aspects are considered over the centuries of Hospitaller rule as a whole.

Kollias begins at the familiar starting point of the Ottoman attacks, using Bosio as his main source, on the Rhodian villages of Archangelos, taking 100 – 150 villages as slaves, as well as Pharaklos, Zinodotou, Lachania and Kattavia. He then continues by mentioning the

---

<sup>35</sup> Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, 307.

<sup>36</sup> Παπαχριστοδούλου, *Ιστορία της Ρόδου*, 307; The church referred to is Holy Cross Church, Apollona, and is illustrated in colour in Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-1798*, Farnham, 2013, facing page 74.

<sup>37</sup> Elias Kollias, *The Knights of Rhodes: the Palace and the City*, Athens, 1991; Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*.

Ottoman admiral Kemal Reis' attacks on the islands of Tinos, Symi, Kos and Leros in 1505.<sup>38</sup> He further highlights the Hospitallers' two great military successes of the period: firstly, in 1507, off the coast of Crete, they captured the largest ship of its day and the pride of the Egyptian fleet, the Mogarbina with passengers and merchandise. It was converted into a warship and renamed Santa Maria and later Great Carrack.<sup>39</sup> The second success was the attack on the Mamluk fleet at Alexandretta by the two naval squadrons of the Hospitallers. He next comments on how Selim I laid the groundwork for the attack on Rhodes by first defeating the Persians (1514), conquering Syria in 1516 and annexing Egypt in 1517. Kollias states that in 1516 an Ottoman fleet of 150 ships mounted a display of strength in Rhodian waters and proclaimed the sultan's victories. In response, the grand master sent Fr. l'Isle-Adam to tour the west and drum up support, but the only ones willing to help were the Pope and King of France. Like Luttrell, Kollias notes that the knights had closed the sea route between Syria and Egypt and were thus a threat to the Ottoman state and trade.<sup>40</sup> Kollias then relates, using Bosio, how the Hospitallers learnt from the Venetian envoy in Constantinople at the end of 1521 that large-scale preparations were under way in the naval dockyards and how new ships were being built and crews recruited.<sup>41</sup> This was confirmed by a Ragusan spy of the grand master, but he was unable to ascertain the precise destination of the force. Rumours included Cyprus, Corfu, and Italy, but very few mentioned Rhodes. The knights were supposedly alarmed at these reports and made preparations, deepening the moat, repairing the walls (both of which had been ongoing since 1480) and drew up a fighting plan. Committees under the supervision of senior Hospitallers were established to supply provisions and war materials. Kollias then goes into the details of the siege, again using Bosio as his main source.<sup>42</sup>

Another research work that hails from the early 1990s is Norman Housley's, *The Later Crusades*, which puts the Hospitallers existence into the long-term perspective of crusading.<sup>43</sup> Housley devotes two pages to the early sixteenth century on Rhodes and follows previous research by focussing on conflict with the Egyptians and Ottomans. Housley considers that, after Djem's death in 1495, changes in Ottoman court politics determined the fate of Rhodes,

---

<sup>38</sup> Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*, 26.

<sup>39</sup> Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*, 28.

<sup>40</sup> Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*, 28; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Military Orders, 1312 – 1798' in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995, 342.

<sup>41</sup> Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*, 28-29.

<sup>42</sup> Kollias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes*, 29, 32-34.

<sup>43</sup> Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274 – 1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, 1992.



thus partially agreeing with Rossi.<sup>44</sup> He notes that piracy increased on both sides with official encouragement and that in 1501 the Hospitallers contributed several galleys to the latest Christian naval league, but neither Bayezid II or Selim I attempted a full-scale attack on Rhodes. Indeed, the Hospitallers main enemies in the first decade of the sixteenth century were the Mamluks, whom they decisively defeated at sea off Alexandretta in 1510.<sup>45</sup> The Ottomans themselves ended the Mamluk Sultanate in 1517 and after Selim's death in 1520, Housley believes that another siege was imminent. He states that a hasty attempt to bring the fortifications up to date was made by the Vicenzan engineer Basil della Scala. Suleiman began his reign by conquering Belgrade and, after securing the neutrality of the Venetians in December 1521, he then turned to Rhodes. His siege was prepared and executed much more methodically than the siege of 1480, and his army was very large and commanded by himself. The Hospitallers had a strong garrison of probably more than 7,000 men and the improved fortifications proved their worth by standing up to repeated Turkish attacks in the summer and autumn of 1522. However, with no help coming from the West and the sultan, who Housley states could not afford failure, prepared to winter on Rhodes, the grand master negotiated the terms of a surrender in December. In the first days of January 1523 the Hospitallers left Rhodes and sailed via Crete and Messina to Western Europe, where they arrived in March 1523.<sup>46</sup>

Apart from Rossi's chapter on the Hospitallers on Rhodes, the rest of the above research on early sixteenth-century Rhodes amounts to just a few pages in works with a wider chronological time span and not necessarily exclusively on the Hospitallers. The first modern history of the Order, covering all of its history, was written by Henry Sire and appeared in 1994.<sup>47</sup> However, one has to consider that Sire was a devout Catholic and later became a member of the Order of Malta, and can be overly subjective at times, especially when it comes to Catholic – Orthodox relations. For example, he states that the union of the Catholic and Orthodox churches agreed at the Council of Florence, although accepted by the Greeks of Rhodes town, was never accepted by the peasantry, though he gives no evidence to support this. Similarly, he appears to blame the Greeks for the surrender of Rhodes in 1522, because they had 'not shown the devotion to the fight against the Moslems that was later to

---

<sup>44</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 229.

<sup>45</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 230.

<sup>46</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 230.

<sup>47</sup> Henry Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, London, 1994.

characterise the Maltese', who were Catholics.<sup>48</sup> Apart from this comment, Sire gives no discussion of any interaction between the Hospitallers and local community, limiting himself to comments on the improvements of the town's defences between the 1480 and 1522 sieges.<sup>49</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith's book on the history of the Order continued in a similar vein, though as it covers the whole history of the Hospitallers from its origins to the present, there is little but generalised comment on early sixteenth-century Rhodes.<sup>50</sup>

The new millennium provided a new history of the Hospitallers by one of the most renowned historians of the Military Orders, Helen Nicholson.<sup>51</sup> The book was much more academic than those of Sire or Riley-Smith, both of which were written for general audiences and had very few, if any, annotations to reveal their sources. Generally, Nicholson follows Rossi and other literature that focuses on the conflict with the Muslim world and especially the Ottomans, with a few comments of her own. In particular, she refutes the view suggested by Housley and others that preparations for the 1522 siege were rushed, noting that the building works were begun by Grand Master d'Aubusson and that the coat-of-arms of his successors as grand masters indicates the sections of the walls that they initiated.<sup>52</sup> Thus Nicholson suggests a clear continuation of improved fortifications dating over at least forty years. She also comments that the expected attack after the death of Djem did not materialise and also that the Hospitallers contributed three galleys, a great ship and a bark to the 1501-1503 naval league.<sup>53</sup> The remainder of Nicholson's comments on Hospitaller Rhodes in the sixteenth century are concerned with the 1522 siege. She correctly comments that it is difficult to verify the details of the siege, as the European sources come directly or indirectly from the Hospitallers. She adds that the grand chancellor of the Order, Andrea do Amaral of Portugal and Castile, was accused of sending information to the enemy and was hanged. Nicholson notes that, even under torture, he refused to confess and suggests that Grand Master l'Isle Adam was settling an old rivalry dating back to 1510, if not before, concerning strategy on the attack on the Mamluks, which Amaral won. She comments that Bosio condemned him, but Vertot, from a distance of two centuries, thought he had been unjustly judged.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, 39. The Maltese were Catholic, so he is praising them while criticising the Greeks.

<sup>49</sup> Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, 55.

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John*, London, 1999. Riley-Smith, like Sire was a Catholic and member of the Order, who presents the Hospitallers perhaps in an overly-good light.

<sup>51</sup> Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*.

<sup>52</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 63.

<sup>53</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 65.

<sup>54</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 66.

Up until now, with only minor variations, the research on the Hospitallers that mentions early sixteenth century Rhodes continues in the political-military history tradition of Rossi's pioneering work. One exception to this is Jürgen Sarnowsky's book on power and authority in the fifteenth century Order of St John.<sup>55</sup> As the title suggests, the main focus is on the fifteenth, rather than sixteenth, century, and the aim is to analyse the development of the regulations and structures within the order and especially within its convent at Rhodes. With that aim in mind, he uses mainly the records of the Council (*Liber Conciliorum*), where regulations are recorded, rather than grand masters' bulls (*Liber Bullarum*), which this thesis uses because it is the section of the Hospitallers' archive that contains the grants made to members of the local community.

In summary, Sarnowsky at first defines the concepts of power and authority and gives a short survey on research to date and the sources he used. He notes that power and authority were exercised in two ways: within the Order and as territorial lords in the south-east Aegean.<sup>56</sup> Next he gives a survey of the development of the order's statutes and legislation, which we will consider in detail in Chapter Two, that regulated the administration of Rhodes town in which Latins and Greeks participated alike, and also the organisation of crafts and other professions, taxes jurisdiction and punishments for different crimes and offences.<sup>57</sup> Sarnowsky then comments on what he considers to be the most important structures and institutions within the Order, the master and council (and thus convent), the chapters general, and the tongues in the convent at Rhodes.<sup>58</sup> He states that the grand master and ordinary council dealt with day-to day running and when necessary a complete council was called, which included representatives of the tongues. By necessary was meant if there was any business that the chapters general did not complete within its timeframe. These complete councils were held before, during and after the chapters general as the latter were limited to a certain number of days. It is noted that the chapters general's main task was to pass the order's legislation. Sarnowsky continues in another section to analyse the careers of the brethren and the tasks of the most important officers in the convent.<sup>59</sup> He further discusses the various problems concerning the independent lordship of the order in the Aegean, including relations with the inhabitants.<sup>60</sup> Here there is some complementary material on the theme

---

<sup>55</sup> Jürgen Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*.

<sup>56</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 1-18.

<sup>57</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 19-46.

<sup>58</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 47-196.

<sup>59</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 197-344.

<sup>60</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 345-468.

with this thesis, though the focus is on the fifteenth century, without detailed discussion of the early sixteenth century. In the penultimate section, Sarnowsky examines the Order's economic history, its financial structures and its developments in the fifteenth century.<sup>61</sup> Finally, he summarises the results of his inquiry in respect to the problems of 'power' and 'authority' within the order of St. John.<sup>62</sup>

The above is a summary of those works that mention early sixteenth century Rhodes. However, much more research has been conducted on the earlier periods of the Hospitallers' history, both before they settled on Rhodes and the first 150 years of their existence on the island. The following chapter will present a short overall history of the Hospitallers, as a background to the detailed study of sixteenth century Rhodes and the other islands under Hospitaller control given in Chapters Three, Four and Five.

---

<sup>61</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 469-582.

<sup>62</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 583-609.

## Description of Rhodes in the *Insularium illustratum* by Henricus Martellus Germanus

BL Add. Ms. 15760, f. 12r-v

Original c. 1470, BL copy c. 1489

(f. 12r) Rhodys insula celeberrima a Rosis dicta, quibus vel elegantissimus in primis abundant : ab oriente mari Rhodiensi, a meridie egiptiaco : ab occasu carpathio : aspertentrione asiatico terminator. Contra alexandrium sita a qua distat passuum milia Dxxvii ambitus insule est m.p. cliiii. fuit olim hec insula omnium fere minoris asiem principum tyrannorum quia receptus, hodie vero eam possident fratres quos hierosolimatanos appellamus, qui continenter(is) cum turcis bellum gerunt, habet autem contra asiam, civitatem Rhodum munitissimam : et portum tucissimum, in quo portu colossus illum celeberrimum mire magnitudinis fuisse memorie proditum est. Insula vero omnis signis eneis, marmoreis quia, et infinitis pene columnis referta est, et urnis in quibus cineres mortuorum deponerentur, et nostra etate in quadam vinea reperta sunt, plusquam quingenta signa, sive statue ydolorum. Fuit autem olim ut ferunt multo amplior civitas et munitior, que hodie angustior effecta in quattuor partes est divisa, quarum primam habitat magister fratrum hospiti sancti Ioannis, quem ita appellant prefectum religionis. Secundam universi fratres incolunt, tertia hospitio ipsorum communi occupatur. Quartam vero, que et colossensis a colosso denominator indigene Greci mercatores quia advene habitant. Est ipsius occidentalis pars, plana omnis : et oppidis villis quia referta, sed vasilice civitatis olim maxime extant adhuc parva vestigia. Australis vero ipsius regionis oppida pleraque diruta habet, et non nullas villas in quibus polachia et cathanea oppida apparent, rusticis habitata et apastoribus, quoniam ibi multa armenta greges que pascuntur, ab orientali vero parte iuxta salomonum apparet magnis quadratis lapidibus ductus per mediam insulam. Quo muro quoniam duos tyrannos olim habuisse dicunt determinatam insulam fuisse affirmant : circa medium autem ad orientalem oram lindi civitatis olim maxime munitissime quia vestigia apparent, in qua sacra herculi instituta primum ferunt de inde fandum, mox fandum oppida. In medio fere insulesurgit arathamita mons a quo flumen gadura derivatur et iuxta lindum, mare influit est ad occasum et prope civitatem Rhodon. p.m. v. Filernus oppidum in monte positum est virginis matris Christi templum celeberrimum.

## Chapter Two: Hospitaller Rhodes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries

### The Hospitallers before 1309: History and Organisation

The history of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, variously known as the Knights of St. John, the Knights Hospitaller, the Knights of Rhodes and the Knights of Malta, has been covered in detail elsewhere. What is written here is a summary to explain the history and development of the organisation of the Order for those unfamiliar with it. The various titles above contain the word 'knights' in them, but the order was more than just a military force, nor did it begin as such. This made it distinct from the other main military orders, the Templars and Teutonic Knights, which were created specifically as a permanent fighting force in the Holy Land in the aftermath of the First Crusade.

The origins of the Hospitallers are obscure. Some historians trace their foundation back to the hospice in Jerusalem attached to the monastery of St. Mary of the Latins, which had been set up by merchants from the Italian city of Amalfi.<sup>63</sup> In this scenario, the Hospitallers origins date to the 1070s, well before the First Crusade. Others, including the two foremost historians of the Hospitallers in recent years, consider its creation to be a consequence of the First Crusade, as it 'emerged as a charitable and hospitaller institution in Jerusalem following the first crusade of 1099'.<sup>64</sup> Regardless of the exact date of its foundation, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem had as its original vocation to offer hospitality to pilgrims, and later assumed the role of caring for the poor and sick. On 15 February 1113, the Hospitallers were recognised as a religious order, and given papal protection and privileges by Pope Paschal II's bull *Pie postulation voluntatis* that named the founder of the Hospital as 'Gerard'.<sup>65</sup> In answer to Gerard's request, the pope placed the Hospital under the protection of the Apostolic See, and it was to remain so forever.<sup>66</sup> Furthermore, he granted that all donations, monetary or otherwise that were collected for the benefit of the Hospital, for the support and maintenance of pilgrims, or for helping the poor, were to be kept by the Hospital. Any grants of land past or in the future were to remain the property of the Hospital. It was also to be free of ecclesiastical tithes, regardless of any objections by local bishops. Additionally, on Gerard's

---

<sup>63</sup> Alan Forey, 'The Military Orders, 1120-1312', 184-216 in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995, 186; Sire, *The Knights of Malta*, 3-4; Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 2-3.

<sup>64</sup> Anthony Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306 - 1356*, Rhodes, 2003, 68; Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St. John*, passim.

<sup>65</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 4.

<sup>66</sup> Malta Cod. 6.

death, his successors were to be elected only by the professed brethren within the Order. Apart from the hospital in Jerusalem, the bull also refers to the houses of hospitality/hospices or poor houses of the Order in the Western provinces, known as Hospitals of Jerusalem in the towns of St. Gilles, Asti, Pisa, Bari, Otranto, Taranto and Messina, which were to forever remain in their possession. Interestingly all but one of the original houses were in the Italian city-states, which might support the idea that the hospital was founded by Italian merchants, even though it later came to be dominated by the various French *langues*.

The bull allowed for the creating of an independent religious order that could accumulate wealth and property for the purposes of offering hospitality and caring for the poor. It is clear from Pope Paschal II's bull that the main role of the Hospitallers at that point was to offer hospitality to pilgrims, with care for the poor as an important, but secondary vocation. Nowhere does it refer to any sort of military role for the brethren. Neither does the first known Rule of the Order, those attributed to Gerard's successor Master Raymond du Puy, written in about 1140, provide any indication of martial activity.<sup>67</sup> However, the first article of the Rule did require all those coming into the service of the poor to take vows of chastity, and obedience, and to live without property. Later this rule also applied to knightly brethren, once the Order began to engage in military activities. At the time that the Rule was formulated, the brethren themselves did not take part in any acts of warfare or military activity, although Pope Innocent II's bull *Quam amabilis Deo* (c. 1139-1143) did state that the Hospitallers employed *servientes* to protect pilgrims en route to visit sites in the Holy Land.<sup>68</sup> In the years following the formation of the Rule, more concrete evidence of the Hospitallers involvement in military activities emerges. As Jochen Burgtorf has observed, the wording remained the same whenever *Quam amabilis Deo* was reissued until 1179, when the pope made clear the brethren by this time also were engaged in protecting pilgrims alongside their servants.<sup>69</sup> However it appears that they had become involved over 20 years earlier. Despite the lack of mention of military duties in the confirmation of *Quam amabilis Deo* given in about 1153, contemporary chronicles mention the Hospitallers as defending

---

<sup>67</sup> The Vatican Apostolic Archives (formerly the Vatican Secret Archive), Reg. Vat. 49, f. 372r – 373r. The original was lost during the siege of Acre in 1291, but a copy was presented to and confirmed by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300.

<sup>68</sup> *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, 4 vols., Joseph Delaville le Roulx, Paris, 1894-1906, no. 130.

<sup>69</sup> Jochen Burgtorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars*, Leiden, 2008, 35.

fortresses, fighting in battle, and contributing to the standing army of the Crusader states.<sup>70</sup> Unless the chroniclers confused the Hospitallers with their paid mercenaries, that would mean the Order started to commence military activity soon after the Rule was formed. Furthermore, in 1136 King Fulk of Jerusalem donated Beit Jibrin Castle to the Hospitallers, who put guards in it. As Helen Nicholson has commented, it seems unlikely that the king would have donated the castle to the Order if it had no interest or experience in military affairs.<sup>71</sup> Soon after, between 1142 and 1144, Raymond II, count of Tripoli assigned a number of castles on the border of the county that in effect gave the Hospitallers an ‘independent state within the county of Tripoli’.<sup>72</sup> They were responsible for the defence of these castles and they obviously had the resources and experience to do this by this stage. Yet this does not mean that the brethren themselves took part in battle or shed blood: as with Beit Jibrin Castle, they could have employed non-Hospitaller guards in the castles. As will become apparent later in chapters four and five, the Hospitallers did employ guards on Rhodes and the other islands under their control, but there was usually a Hospitaller brother resident to oversee affairs. What the Hospitallers were interested in with these castles was the land that went with them and the profits that could be gained from them. Out of the Holy Land, in Iberia, the Hospitallers had taken up arms against the enemies of Christendom by the middle of the twelfth century, as part of the *Reconquista*.<sup>73</sup> Within the Holy Land, the Hospitallers were present at the siege of Ascalon in 1153, according to William of Tyre, but it appears they were there to offer spiritual support and advice, not to actively take part in fighting.<sup>74</sup> However, they were definitely involved in military activity by 1168, when Bohemond III of Antioch allowed the Hospitallers to independently wage war and make truces, which he promised to accept.<sup>75</sup> The Hospitallers’ statutes of 1203-1206, that mentioned military officials of the Order for the first time, were but a *fait accompli*.

Whatever the exact date of the Hospitallers change from a purely religious to military-religious order, it is likely the extension of their duties arose from their responsibility to protect pilgrims. The most important consequence of this added duty was that now chaplain brothers were joined by knight brothers and sergeants-at-arms. This change allowed for the

---

<sup>70</sup> Jochen Burgdorf, 'The Military Orders: Templars and Hospitallers', 248-263, in *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism* ed. Bernice M. Kaczynsk, Oxford, 2020, 249.

<sup>71</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 11.

<sup>72</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 11. The castles included were Crac des Chevaliers, Castellum Bochee, Lacum, Felicium and Mardabech.

<sup>73</sup> Forey, 'The Military Orders', 187.

<sup>74</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 21.

<sup>75</sup> Forey, 'The Military Orders', 190.



aristocratisation of the Order, and it was the nobility that came to dominate the Hospitallers by the mid-thirteenth century. The knight-brethren and sergeants were lay-religious, but they were not, as commonly conceived, crusaders. Indeed, they were prohibited from taking the vow that would have made them crusaders.<sup>76</sup> Instead, they provided a continual force to combat the enemies of Christendom.

The Latin kingdoms were gradually forced to recede, once the Muslim forces united, and so it was too for the Hospitallers, at first relocating to Acre on the coast and then, in 1291 taking refuge on Cyprus. Whereas the military brethren in the Holy Land had lived together in one large *auberge* (inn), while on Cyprus they started to live in smaller units called *langues* or ‘tongues’ that were based on linguistic affiliations. These were in existence from at least 1295, when there were seven tongues, which in order of precedence were Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England and Germany.<sup>77</sup> The German *langue* appears to have been quite small and disappeared some time after 1330, although there was still a province in Europe, and it was revived in 1422.

As we have seen, the personnel of the Hospitallers can be broadly divided into chaplains, sergeants-at-arms and knights, but beyond that there was a specific organisational structure based on seniority, that is length of service to the Order, given that the service was good and successful. The most senior Hospitaller was the master. The term grand master began to appear in some documents written in Italian from 1505 onwards, though as late as 1519 Frater Fabrizio del Carretto was titling himself ‘dei gracia sacre domus hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolimitani magister humilis pauperum quia Jesu Christi custos’.<sup>78</sup> In this thesis I will use the term ‘grand master’ for clarity, because the term master could also be used for masters of individual commanderies or priories and thus cause confusion. Grand masters were meant to be based at the Hospitaller headquarters in the East, in the convent, though one notable exception was Grand Master Juan Fernández de Heredia (1377-1396), who spent much time at Avignon during the papal schism. Apart from their role as head of the Order, which encompassed pretty much everything, grand masters were members of the nobility, who indulged in aristocratic pursuits such as hunting. Despite their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, they expected to live a comfortable lifestyle. Apart from the palace in Rhodes town, the grand master also had residences at Rodini, Villanova and Malpasso, all of which

---

<sup>76</sup> Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, 68.

<sup>77</sup> Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 73.

<sup>78</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 219r.

had a viridarium, or pleasure garden that contained beautiful fruit trees. The latter was still in use in 1511, although the Malpasso house was often leased out to senior brethren.<sup>79</sup>

The grand master was advised by a council consisting of the higher-ranking brethren, the conventual bailiffs, who held the great offices within the Order. These conventual bailiffs were based almost permanently in the convent, though as they were attached to a *langue*, which was associated with a province in the West, they would sometimes take part in visitations to the provinces. By the early fourteenth century, the conventual bailiffs' posts were held by the heads of the *langues* in the convent. The grand commander acted as the grand master's lieutenant when the grand master was absent from the convent and from the first half of the fourteenth century he was chosen from the *langue* of Provence.<sup>80</sup> He was responsible for the general administration of the Order in the East and had his own seal by the late thirteenth century. All the non-fighting brothers were under his control, though the grand commander himself had the duty to lead the Hospitallers in the field of battle, if the grand master was not present. The office of marshal is first noted in 1168, but from about 1350 came from the *langue* of Auvergne. He was responsible for the Order's military affairs and was in command of the Hospitallers in battle, although the grand master or grand commander had ultimate authority. Like the grand commander, he had his own seal, which meant he had the power to issue instructions relating to military matters independent of the grand master, although he would be answerable to him. He was also responsible for the arsenal and horses, vital for the cavalry. All the castellans of the castles and the turcopolier were subordinate to him. The turcopolier, who from at least 1330 was a member of the English *langue*, originally commanded the mercenary troops employed by the Order, but was in charge of coastal defences on Rhodes and Malta. The treasurer in the first three decades of the fourteenth century came from the *langue* of Germany, but when that *langue* was demoted to a province, the grand commander became ultimately responsible. He dealt with finances and his main responsibility was for receiving the responsions due from the Order's provinces in the West, keeping account of the arms given to the Order and issuing cash. Like the other great offices in the convent, he had a personal seal. The Hospitaller, from 1340, was a member of the French *langue* and was in charge of the infirmary, the infirmary for sick brethren and other charitable functions such as alms giving. He also had his own seal. The draper from 1350 came from the *langue* of Spain and then later *langue* of Aragon. He was in charge of issuing

---

<sup>79</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 219v.

<sup>80</sup> See Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller*, 73-77 for a more detailed account of the conventual bailiffs.

clothing and bedding and could also distribute alms to the poor. The prior of the Convent dealt with spiritual matters, for which reason he was not assigned to a *langue*. He was responsible for all the priests of the Order, the Order's churches and their contents, which included the conventual church of St. John. The position of admiral developed after the move to Cyprus and is first mentioned in the Hospitallers' records in 1299, a consequence of their transformation from a land-based to a sea-based force. By 1350, he was assigned from the *langue* of Italy. He was accountable for the Hospitallers warships and employing additional ships if needed. He would command the fleet during a naval expedition, assisted by the marshal who would oversee the soldiers on the ships. Finally, from 1461, the office of grand chancellor was created and assigned to the new *langue* of Portugal and Castile, itself created to counteract the dominance of the French-speaking *langues*. His main responsibility was to oversee the grand master's chancery.

Apart from the main brethren of the convent, there were others who held important positions vital for ensuring the convent kept in touch with the brethren all over Europe and as far as the Holy Land, and after 1291 to Cyprus. In the West this role was performed by the priors, sometimes called grand priors, of a province, who resided in the main house of the order in that country. For example, the prior of England was resident at Clerkenwell priory, just outside the medieval city of London. The provincial priors were responsible for ensuring the collection and smooth transfer of the responsions from the commanderies in the province to the Convent and for preparing a report to go with it, such as those done in 1338, after the transfer of most of the Templars' property to the Hospitallers. He would also occasionally perform visitations to the commanderies, as is clear from Prior Philip de Thame of England's report in 1338.<sup>81</sup> However, most of the time he conducted his business at the headquarters of the province, which business included holding an annual provincial chapter that all the leading brethren of the province were meant to attend. It was at the provincial chapter that responsions were collected to be sent to the East, where servants and deputies were appointed and where the leasing of land was confirmed. This sometimes included the temporary leasing, usually for three years, of a whole commandery when a commander was going to the convent to do the expected service. The prior also acted as an ambassador of the Order to the local

---

<sup>81</sup> *The Knights Hospitaller in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, ed. Larking L. B., Camden Society, LXV, London, 1855.

ruler and increasingly throughout the late Middle Ages he would also serve the king in administrative, diplomatic and military capacities.<sup>82</sup>

Below the provincial prior were the commanders of individual commanderies. Although in the early fourteenth century there were a few commanders who were chaplains, as the century progressed their positions were usurped by knight-brethren. Before a brother-knight was allocated a commandery, he had to perform at least five years military service in the east, but many brethren waited much longer for a position, as an incumbent had to resign or die before a commandery became available. A commander had to manage the different estates that made up their commandery, hold manorial courts and lease land and grant privileges that would later be confirmed by the annual provincial chapter. They were also responsible for maintaining churches or hospices within the commandery and ensuring services were continued. As part of their agreement for being granted a commandery, they had to improve its productivity, which is why when they periodically served in the East they would often entrust the running of their estates to a non-Hospitaller relative, that is, someone they trusted.

Under the commanders came ordinary knights, sergeants-at-arms and chaplains. Knights and sergeants-at-arms had similar military duties, but knights had to be of noble birth by both parents, though the definition of nobility was fairly broad, extending down to the squirearchy. As mentioned previously, anyone entering the Order as a knight had to do military training on Rhodes for five years, and then serve in various minor positions until they either were promoted in the East or got a commandery in their province. Some brethren tried to use their powerful secular relatives to acquire a commandery earlier than usual. For example, in July 1515 King Henry VIII of England wrote to Pope Leo X requesting that Richard Neville, a Hospitaller and the brother of Lord Abergavenny, the king's relative, who had recently finished his military education at Rhodes, was given the first vacant dignity (i.e. commandery) of the Order. Henry had written to the grand master three times without effect.<sup>83</sup> In this case, using papal pressure on the grand master seems to have worked, as Neville was granted a minor commandery in May 1519, only ten years after entering the Order.<sup>84</sup> However, most brethren had to wait much longer. Serving in the annual caravan, or in support of one of the senior brethren, was a smart career move for those who wanted

---

<sup>82</sup> See, for example, Simon Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge, 2009, *passim*.

<sup>83</sup> *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII (hereafter L&P HVIII)*, 1515-1516, 195, No.737.

<sup>84</sup> Gregory O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Languge, 1460-1565*, Oxford, 2005, 352-353.

promotion. Turning to the non-military brothers, chaplains cared for the spiritual needs of the brethren, and sisters, in the commanderies, as well as the local population on Hospitaller controlled land. They also had to ensure services were carried out in the churches, distribute alms to the poor and care for the sick in the infirmaries. In the East, chaplains carried out the same duties, but additionally were found attached to churches in castles and would accompany the military forces on campaigns to offer encouragement and if necessary take a final confession. There were also commanderies with commanders in the East, for example the commandery of Kos, which comprised Kos, Kalymnos and Leros, but as their military duties were more prominent than commanders in the west, they often had a lieutenant to perform the administrative duties. Cyprus was a special case. Hospitallers there were in a similar position to those in the West in that they were in a kingdom controlled by a secular ruler, who was often suspicious of the Hospitallers' power and wealth. The Hospitallers land holdings on Cyprus were so great that their wealth came only second to the King. Strangely, the Hospitaller grand commander of Cyprus, based at Kolossi, was not the main Hospitaller on the island. Instead, the chaplain prior of the Hospitaller church of St. John in Nicosia, the capital of the kingdom, fulfilled this role. His close proximity to the royal court meant he was a practical choice, especially as grand commanders could be absent from Cyprus for long periods, using the commandery more as a source of wealth than a permanent base.

Above is a brief outline of the Hospitallers' structure and organisation, but what of their history before they settled on Rhodes? That is explored in the next section.

### The Hospitallers before 1309: Origins and Development

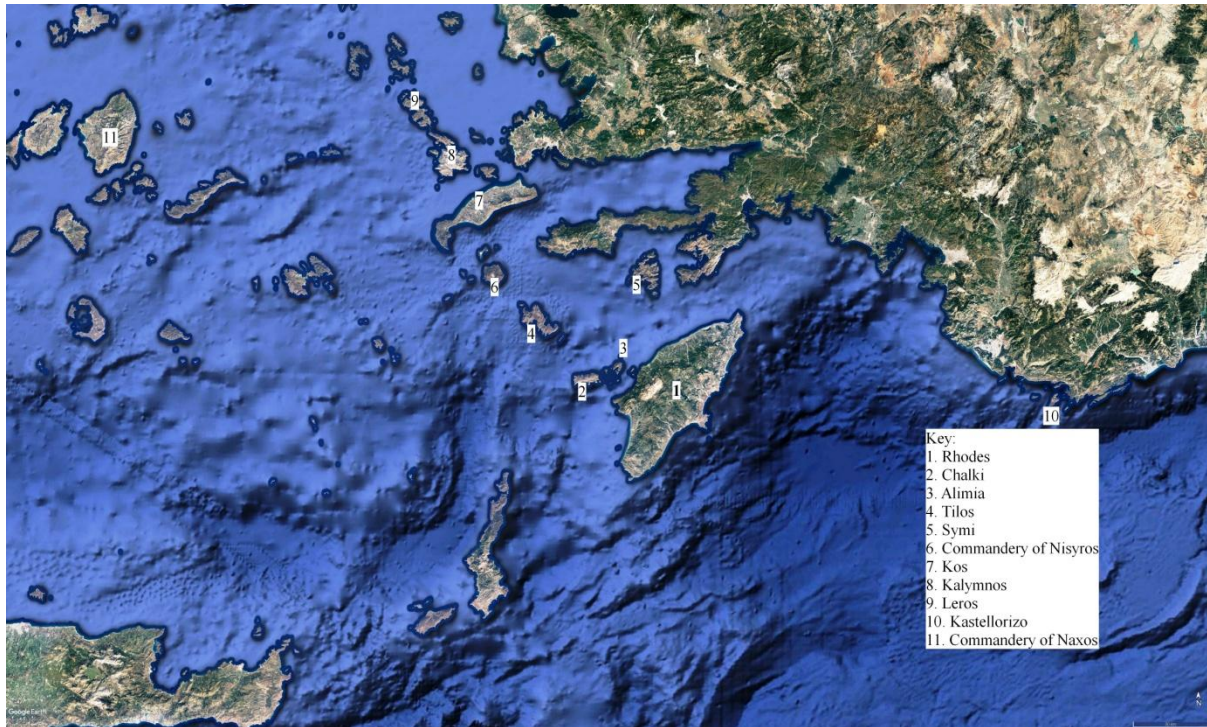
The Hospitallers were originally based in Jerusalem, at first attached to the Benedictine monastery there and then associated with the clergy of the Holy Sepulchre, until in 1113 the pope gave them virtual independence by taking them into his protection. In Jerusalem the Hospitallers' hospital, church and residential buildings were situated within a single, unwallled, complex in an area just south of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1187, with a united Muslim force, Saladin instituted a siege of Jerusalem that led to the surrender of the city in early October the same year and the expulsion of the Christian forces. The Hospitallers moved their headquarters to Acre and, as in Jerusalem, they occupied a section of the city, in this case that adjoined the northern town wall. The exact positioning of buildings is unclear, but the majority of the Hospitaller compound was situated around a great courtyard that had a wide outer stairway that may have lead to the grand master's quarters. In or near the

compound were a chapel, storerooms, stables, baths, ovens and a prison. The infirmary was in all probability situated just to the south of the main quarter. Perhaps due to the changing circumstances after the loss of Jerusalem, the Hospitaller quarter was much more defensive than in Jerusalem, having its own towers and gates and strong enough, in 1241, to withstand a six-month siege.

In 1291, when Acre fell to the Mamluks, the Hospitallers, like the other military orders, took refuge in Cyprus. The Hospitallers were based in Limassol and although they started to build an infirmary, a sign that they intended to settle there, Cyprus proved not to be a suitable base: limited by a lack of sufficient estates, the need to import horses and foodstuffs, and facing hostility from a monarch wary of their power, it was only a matter of time until they sought a new base. The other main military orders came to a similar conclusion. The Teutonic Order almost immediately moved to Venice in 1291 and then in 1309 transferred its convent to Prussia, where they engaged themselves in converting the pagan tribes to Christianity, while creating an Order-state in the process. Meanwhile, in 1300 the Templars, hoping to return to Syria, attempted to establish themselves on Ruad (modern Arwad), an islet located 3km offshore from Tortosa (modern Tartus). However, it was too small a launch pad for a return to the Holy Land and they were forced to surrender in 1302, many of their servants killed and themselves being imprisoned in Egypt where they were held to ransom. The bad publicity from such a disaster and the lack of initiative in showing that they had a *raison d'être* gave Philip IV of France an excuse to arrest them in 1307 on trumped-up charges, probably hoping to sequester their wealth and property. Philip IV put heavy pressure on Pope Clement V, who then put the Templars on trial, which led to their suppression in 1312. However, Clement V did manage to ensure the bulk of Templar possessions went to the Hospitallers the following year, who had by that time successfully installed themselves on Rhodes.

## The Hospitallers on Rhodes in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Source-Based Approach

Figure 4: Hospitaller possessions in the South-East Aegean



Source: Google Earth

This section will outline the development of the Hospitallers on Rhodes from their conquest of the island in 1309 until 1501, from which point this thesis analyses in detail life on Hospitaller Rhodes and the other islands in the south-east Aegean under the Hospitallers' control.

As mentioned previously, the idea of a move to Rhodes originated before the arrest of the Templars, with an alliance made near Limassol in the church of Saint George of the Greeks, on 27 May 1306, between the Hospitallers and Vignolo de Vignoli, citizen of Genoa, in order to acquire islands in *Romania*, that is, islands under the control of the Byzantine Empire.<sup>85</sup> The Hospitallers were to receive two-thirds of the conquered islands' incomes and Vignoli one-third. Excluded from the agreement were the islands of Kos and Leros, which Vignolo claimed he held from the Byzantine Emperor, but agreed to give to the Hospitallers. Rhodes, if conquered, was also to be under the exclusive control of the Hospitallers, though Vignoli was to have the *casale* on Rhodes that the Byzantine emperor had granted him (Lardos) and

<sup>85</sup> Malta Cod. 326, f. 195v –196v, printed in *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 82-84.

another Rhodian *casale* of his choice. The agreement was witnessed by various servants and senior Hospitallers, including the Marshal, the Drapier and the Admiral, as well as a representative of the Peruzzi Company of Florence, Bencivenni di Folco.

The invasion, which Luttrell has described as ‘essentially a piratical Latin assault on a Christian, if schismatic, Greek island’, began the following month.<sup>86</sup> Two Hospitaller galleys and other vessels carrying 35 Hospitaller brethren plus other military personnel left Cyprus and were joined by Vignolo de Vignoli with his two Genoese galleys. Pharaklos Castle on the east coast fell first on 20 September and on 11 November the strategically important Mount Philerimos and castle were captured. In either 1306 or 1307 the Hospitallers gained control of Lindos Castle. Despite these successes, the Hospitallers and their associates were unable to take the well-fortified town of Rhodes, even though they were using siege engines, and they did not have the resources to impose an effective naval blockade. Given this, in March 1307, they proposed to the Byzantine emperor to grant them Rhodes, which the Hospitallers would hold from him in return for military service against the Turks. The emperor rejected their proposal and sent eight galleys to assist the town. Afterwards the Hospitallers mobilized more galleys, while support from Constantinople declined. By the time the grand master had returned from the West in early 1310 with a large fleet, the town had already surrendered on terms, supposedly on 15 August 1309. The terms guaranteed the Greeks a degree of freedom, and the right to keep the majority of their property. Although they formally accepted the supremacy of the Latin Church, they kept their clergy and their churches, except for a few in the castle of Rhodes. They were allowed to worship in their own language and according to the Greek rite. However, the grand master reserved the right to dispose of vacant monasteries and churches.

The Hospitallers respected the surrender agreement, although they partially excluded Greeks from the Byzantine citadel, which became the Hospitaller *collachium*, that is, the area of the town that was meant to be for the exclusive use of the Hospitaller brethren. The Greeks were moved to the ‘bourg’, the part of the town outside the walled castle, although it seems some Greeks still owned property and worked within the *collachium*. The Hospitallers moved their Convent to Rhodes sometime between mid-1309 and April 1311, a clear sign of intended settlement.

---

<sup>86</sup> Anthony Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, 76.



At first, it appears that the Hospitallers intended to encourage Latin settlers, noble or otherwise, to come to Rhodes, alongside the indigenous Greeks. As early as 1313, the Hospitallers were offering favourable terms to Latins who settled on Rhodes, the other islands they had taken control of and parts of mainland Anatolia.<sup>87</sup> Lands would be held in perpetual fief to encourage long-term settlement. They wanted Latins not just for cultivating the fertile land, but to defend the gains that had been made. This is clear from the graduated system of benefits, with knights coming with their wives and household being most favoured by receiving the most valuable land worth up to 65 livres tournois. In return, knights and their successors were to maintain a good horse and either a good packhorse or a mule, plus two men, one of them fit to bear arms. Nobles who were not knights came next in line and would receive land worth up to 40 livres, for which they promised to maintain a horse and either a crossbowman or a lancer. Noble or non-nobles who had a good packhorse worth 200 silver gros were to have land worth 20 livres a year. Foot soldiers or farmers would receive lands and feudal possessions worth 15 and 13 livres respectively. The Hospitallers would cover the settlers' expenses for the first year and provide horses and other animals. On the other hand, settlers were bound to serve in defence of the Hospitallers' lands as often as needed and at their own expense, but if such service lasted more than one day or service was outside these lands, it would be at the Hospitallers expense. This strongly suggests that the main aim was consolidation of the conquests made and military service was mainly seen as short-term, such as fending off raids. Additionally, if a settler provided a galley of 112 to 120 oars, they would receive lands worth 2,000 gros tournois<sup>88</sup> or 1,000 bezants of Rhodes. Sailors also received good payment on Rhodes that was higher when on active service at sea. Thus initially, the main reason for attracting Latin settlers was for military service, with cultivation as a secondary concern.

One example of how this worked in practise is apparent from the connection of the Vignoli family to the *casale* of Lardos, which appears to have predated the Hospitallers conquest of Rhodes and lasted until 1402. As noted above, Vignolo de Vignoli, it appears, held Lardos before 1306 and continued to hold it by agreement with the Hospitallers until his death, which Luttrell says was apparently before 1314, though this is not certain.<sup>89</sup> He was still alive

---

<sup>87</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 85-87. Issued at Rhodes on 14 May 1313.

<sup>88</sup> 12 Deniers = 1 Gros = 1/20 Livre, so 100 livres tournois.

<sup>89</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 21. Luttrell gives no evidence to support that Vignolo was deceased by 1314. Vignolo held Lardos by *feudum nobile*, that is a feud or fee that was held by guard service, fealty, and homage.

in May 1311, when his ship was attacked by another Genoese vessel.<sup>90</sup> It seems that Vignolo's semi-piratical lifestyle did not lend him to settle on Rhodes, but use his holdings there as a source of income. The opposite was true for his brother, Folco de Vignoli, physician and citizen of Genoa, who was also involved in the conquest of Rhodes and who was intending to reside on Rhodes. He and his heirs inherited the *casale* of Lardos in January 1326 by grant of the grand master and the council, who were in Avignon, in return for feudal service.<sup>91</sup> In May 1329, the grand master, still in Avignon, ordered his lieutenant in the East on Rhodes to implement the grant of 1326, adding that the service owed was to be assessed according to the value of the *casale*, the Hospitallers' interests there, and what Folco could afford. He was not allowed to alienate the *casale* without the Hospitallers' licence.<sup>92</sup> The grant of Lardos was implemented on Rhodes by the grand master's lieutenant and the convent in November the same year, by which time Folco was on Rhodes.<sup>93</sup> With the assent of the castellan of Lindos and after the value of the *casale* had been assessed, Lardos was granted in perpetuity to Folco and his heirs, as his brother had wished and given him. Previously Folco, who had come with his wife and children to live on Rhodes, had renounced all other claims that his brother had made by the 1306 alliance with the Hospitallers. Again it was stressed that he and his heirs could not alienate it without licence, and he was not allowed to punish those within the *casale* to the point of drawing blood. Folco had done homage and fidelity to the Hospitallers, committing to give four rolls of wax a year and to provide military service at his own expense of an armed Latin man and a horse to defend Rhodes when required. If service was in 'Turquia' or elsewhere off the island, the Hospitallers would cover the expenses. Thus, the military aspect of Latin settlement was a clear priority.

Folco was deceased before 1365, but it seems his heirs challenged the terms of the grant of Lardos *casale*. For that reason, in that year the grand master ordered an enquiry to determine the obligations of Folco's heirs and the jurisdiction they had over the men of Lardos.<sup>94</sup> Also the commission had to discover the obligations that the men of Lardos had to the Hospitallers and what powers the Order had over them. Finally they were to establish if Folco and his heirs were bound to serve with an armed Latin man and 'armed' packhorse in addition to their own personal service. The commission's findings were that Folco's heirs had

---

<sup>90</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'The Genoese at Rhodes: 1306-1312' in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, Aldershot, 1999, I, 754.

<sup>91</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 88-89.

<sup>92</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 89-90.

<sup>93</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 90-93.

<sup>94</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 162-164.

jurisdiction only in civil and economic actions involving inhabitants of the casale. In criminal cases, they had jurisdiction only over verbal or physical disputes that did not involve bodily injury, and could apply light fines. Upholding the 1329 agreement, the commission found that Folco's heirs had no powers of corporal punishment or imprisonment, which was the reserve of the Hospitallers. Interestingly, as it involved local Greeks, the men of the *casale* did not have any obligations outside the casale. Thus, they were not bound to provide military service. Duties they had to provide out of Lardos were the construction of bridges, roads in daily use and fortification of the castle where they took refuge in times of attack, presumably Lindos.<sup>95</sup> Within the *casale*, the villeins of Lardos castle who did not perform their guard duty were punished by the Hospital, not Folco's heirs. Finally, it was determined that Folco's heirs were to maintain an armed Latin man and an armed horse and to guard the *casale* of Lardos. They also upheld that the armed man was to serve outside the *casale* as stated in the 1329 grant.

The military aspect of service was inherited by the heirs of Vignolo de Vignoli, as is clear from the 1365-1366 ruling. One of those heirs was the illegitimate son of Folco, Ferrando de Vignoli, who was described in 1382 as a *feudatario* of the Hospitallers.<sup>96</sup> In March that year his duties included inquiring into the reported misbehaviours of the turcopolier of Lardos *casale* and replacing him if necessary.<sup>97</sup> The local turcopoliers had military as well as administrative responsibilities. Another duty was to ensure the proper preparation of the accounts for the *casale* and by April 1382 these had been submitted for the wine, grain and other produce collected.<sup>98</sup> It appears, though, that Ferrando did not live permanently in Lardos, if at all, as he is described as a *burgensis et habitator Rodi*, meaning the town, so he must at least have kept a house in the walled town. Ferrando had passed away by November 1391, when his third of the *casale*, vacant through his death, was granted in perpetuity to Nicholas de Lippo, citizen of Rhodes and a member of the Grand Master's household, on the same terms as previously.<sup>99</sup> It was noted that the three co-holders of the *casale* were jointly responsible to provide the four rolls of wax a year and the service owed of one armed Latin man and a packhorse both on and off of Rhodes. It seems that after almost a century the

---

<sup>95</sup> Lardos had its own castle, but it was not one of those that could support those seeking refuge from attack. Lindos Castle was the nearest castle with this function.

<sup>96</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 193. A feudatory was a feudal lord or a person who held land under the conditions of the feudal system.

<sup>97</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 193.

<sup>98</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 193.

<sup>99</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 215-217.

casale was slipping out of the Vignoli family hands, though they were not prepared to forego their association with Lardos yet. In May 1393, Stefano de Vignoli, inhabitant of Rhodes and co-holder of the other two parts of Lardos *casale*, challenged Lippo's right to the other third on the basis that Stefano was the nephew of Ferrando and so had a better claim to Ferrando's third.<sup>100</sup> The grand master ordered an inquiry to ascertain if Stefano's claim was justified. It is not clear if the claim was upheld, but in any case by mid-August 1402 Stefano's son, Simone de Vignoli, asked for and was given permission to alienate the two shares of the *casale* that he inherited from his late father. Although his connection with Lardos was ending, he was still described as a *subditus et habitator* of Rhodes, though not a feudatory, as his ancestors had been.<sup>101</sup> A few days later, on 28 August, the grand master ratified the sale by Simone of the two parts of Lardos that he had held to Dragonetto Clavelli, lord of Nisyros, and on the same day granted him the third part that Ferrando de Vignoli had held.<sup>102</sup> The casale was united again under one feudal lord and with the same conditions as in the previous grants. Thus, the family changed, after a hundred years, but the military service was secured. However, it should be noted, as it has not been commented on previously, that some members of the Vignoli family continued to live in Lardos, even though they did not have control of it. For example, in March 1453, Picoline, the wife of the late Emanuel Vignoli of the *casale* of Lardos, was granted the 20 modiates of land held by her husband in the *casalia* of Lardos and Pilonas for her life.<sup>103</sup>

Although some Latins were successfully persuaded to settle on Rhodes, there were not enough to cultivate all fertile land on the island and perhaps the intention was to allow the indigenous population to perform that task. Thus in 1336, six Greek serfs, who presumably would bring their families, were granted the right to settle and cultivate the uninhabited *casale* of Embonas, some 42km from Rhodes town, near the west coast of the island.<sup>104</sup> For the first five years, they were free of almost all taxes, owing just a portion of their produce. After five years, they were to supply the Hospitallers with a third of their annual produce, had to pay certain, though not all taxes and were to be taxed on their bees. They also had to perform watch duty, though there is no mention of military responsibilities. It appears, then

---

<sup>100</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 225-226.

<sup>101</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 245.

<sup>102</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 246-249.

<sup>103</sup> *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 691. Although Tsirpanlis transcribes the document, he does not associate this Vignoli with those connected to Lardos in the fourteenth century. Neither does Luttrell in his *Countryside* book of documents, even though he was aware of the Tsirpanlis volume.

<sup>104</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 93-94.

that both Latins and Greeks were allowed to hold lands from early on in the Hospitallers' settlement of Rhodes, with Greeks probably outnumbering Latins, especially the further south one journeyed. Thus in 1339, Fr. Déodat de Gozon, the future grand master who at that time was grand commander, granted Niquita Commeno and his heirs three modiates of land, which included a vineyard, at Politi in the *casale* of Kattavia for 13 aspers a year.<sup>105</sup>

The first phase of the Hospitallers' history on Rhodes was concerned with settlement, which was simultaneous with their battle in the West to gain control of the Templars properties that the pope granted to them in 1313. However, not all local rulers were willing to transfer templar assets straight away. Neither were the descendants of the original donors always willing to accept the transfer, claiming the properties should revert to them. The Hospitallers did eventually gain possession of most of the Templars' possessions, though this required the grand master to spend much time at Avignon in the first three decades of the fourteenth century and both lengthy – and expensive – negotiations with the local rulers, who often had to be given a portion of the Templars possessions.<sup>106</sup> On top of the problems of settlement and gaining the Templars' lands, the papacy was pushing the Hospitallers to engage in crusading activity and in the early 1330s grand priors in Europe were preparing for a 'general passage for the brethren of that order to the Holy Land.'<sup>107</sup>

However, on Rhodes, once the process of settlement was in motion, from the 1340s the Hospitallers were concerned with the 'second stage' of improving the cultivation of the land under their control. This was true of all properties that they owned in the East and West, but was applied on Rhodes in the first half of the fourteenth century and continued for all of the Order's existence as a military order, that is, while they held lands Europe before the local rulers sequestered them. The logic behind this approach was both to produce enough supplies to support the population of Rhodes and to create extra income that could be used to combat the enemies of Christendom. In theory, the Hospitallers, like all religious orders, were meant to personally tend to the land themselves. Thus justification was needed, at least in the mid-fourteenth century, for leasing out land to non-brethren. Also, although the Order did keep a large amount of land for itself, there was simply too much land for it to tend to. Therefore

---

<sup>105</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 96.

<sup>106</sup> See, for example, Simon Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England' in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-1314*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf, Paul Crawford and Helen Nicholson, Farnham, 2010, 237-246.

<sup>107</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office* (hereafter *CCR*), 1288-1509, 45 volumes, London, 1904-63, *CCR 1330-1333*, 557. This example from 1332 in England.

leasing out land to others was the only option. Whereas Grand Masters Fulk de Villaret and Helion de Villeneuve had instituted the Order on Rhodes and began the process of Latin settlement respectively, it was Deodat de Gozon who instigated the drive to cultivate the land more efficiently. This began within a year of him taking office as grand master, for in May 1347, ‘Paying attention that our House (i.e. the Order) has some lands and monasteries on our island of Rhodes of which none, or as if none, achieve profit or success’, the Hospitallers granted a monasterium in the *contrata* of Apolakkia together with a garden surrounding it, with beehives and an oil mill to a Greek, papas Janni Macrigeni, the *protos* of Apolakkia, and to his heirs and successors.<sup>108</sup> In return he was to pay 60 aspers a year, look after the monastery’s 20 goats and owe a yearly tithe on them. The implied hope was that the leaser would improve the property. Similarly in July the same year the grand master, ‘paying attention that our House has some lands on Rhodes that it is not able to suitably improve’ granted to Michael Culichi, *protos* of Archangelos, and to Georgios Philipi, his son-in-law, and their heirs, a garden at St. Theodore in the *casale* of Archangelos, with some trees, two springs and seven modiates of land, enclosed and walled on all sides, for 105 aspers a year.<sup>109</sup> Both these grants were to Greeks in places far from Rhodes town where it would be difficult to get Latins to settle, but also due to the Greeks knowledge and experience of the land, they would be most likely to maximise its efficiency.

It may be that this drive to maximise the amount of productive land and improve its harvest was to combat a drought, famine, or other crisis. A possible indication of this is apparent in mid-June 1347, when the grand master prohibited the inhabitants of Rhodes town who had commercial interests abroad to transport their grain anywhere except to Rhodes town, ‘in view of the universal scarcity of provisions’.<sup>110</sup> A similar ruling was made for the island of Kos, where grain had to remain on Kos, or be transported only to Rhodes.<sup>111</sup> The scarcity of provisions was still ongoing in December, when all citizens and inhabitants of Rhodes town who were abroad and had grain, were ordered to bring it to Rhodes.<sup>112</sup> However, it seems to have been a short-term problem and shortages were not mentioned in the following years. It is likely that the shortages may have been caused by the effects of the plague, which had

---

<sup>108</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 98. ‘attendentes quod nos et domus nostra habemus terras aliquas et monasteria in insula nostra Rodi de quibus nullum seu quasi assequitur comodum vel profectum’.

<sup>109</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 101-102. ‘attendentes quod nos et domus nostra habemus terras aliquas in insula nostra Rodi que per domum nostram habiliter excolli non possunt’. In this context, ‘excolli’, ‘improve’, could also mean ‘cultivate’.

<sup>110</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 98-99.

<sup>111</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 99.

<sup>112</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 119.

reached Rhodes by 1347. If there had been a large loss of life, there would not have been enough people to cultivate and harvest the crops. The effects of the plague on Rhodes awaits detailed study.

Another sign that the Hospitallers were increasing their control over Rhodes, especially in the early 1350s, comes through the legalising of ‘unofficial’ holdings. In October 1351, the grand master granted Manolis and Leonis Manglaviti and Maria Mangafadena and their heirs three modiates of vines in the *contrata* of Sanctus Georgius Ycossi for 12 aspers a year, which they had previously held ‘without any just title’ (‘sine aliquo iusto titulo’).<sup>113</sup> The same month, Guillelmus lo Clerc of Lindos and his heirs were granted two modiates of land which he held without any just title in the town beneath Lindos castle for two bezants of Rhodes a year.<sup>114</sup> Then in November that year, the grand master granted to Petrus de Eldiza and his heirs one and a half modiates of vines in the *contrata* of Dyapassadas, which he held without any just title, for a yearly payment of six aspers of Rhodes.<sup>115</sup> It is likely that these lands had been farmed for generations by these families, but they had neglected to get or previously had not required legal documentation, while it was also a chance for the Hospitallers to increase their revenue by charging a fee for them to hold the land. That this is a likely scenario is supported by an example from February 1359. Lodovico Moresco, citizen and inhabitant of Rhodes, was given confirmation of a grant to his father, Pietro Moresco, of a place called Pitharion by the Grand Master Hélon de Villeneuve in exchange for a butcher’s shop in the town. The butchery had been granted to Lodovico’s grandfather, Arnaudus de Fonsarie, by Grand Master Foulques de Villaret without a written document.<sup>116</sup> It appears, then, that the Hospitallers were establishing who owned what and how much income they were owed.

Further to the settlement and improvement of Rhodes, which required clarifying ownership of land and the duties associated, it was necessary to have trusted officers to oversee the smooth running of economic and military matters. This is a theme that will be explored in more detail in Chapters Three, Four and Five, so only a few examples will be given here. At ground level, the officers in the towns and villages were essential to ensure the systems of defence and economy ran smoothly. For instance, in May 1351 Peyrolus de Negrofonte was appointed turcopolier for life of Dyaskoros being paid the standard wage paid for that office

---

<sup>113</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 129.

<sup>114</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 131.

<sup>115</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 133.

<sup>116</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 146-147.

of eight bezants of Rhodes and three modia of wheat and five of barley a month.<sup>117</sup> A more military appointment occurred in August 1393, when the grand master appointed Thomas Astra to the office of the sergeant of Pharaklos, vacant by the death of Rodrigo de Mendoza.<sup>118</sup>

At the other end of the scale, the master needed overseers to ensure that goods and money were collected efficiently and these people were usually members of the grand master's household or close associates. For example, in October 1358, the grand master quit his *familiaris* Jacques Gros of Narbonne for all the cloth, sugar or sugar powder, grain and money he had received in Cyprus and Rhodes and for their sale and shipment that he managed until 31 August 1358.<sup>119</sup> The need for reliable and trustworthy servants and representatives was even more important when the grand master was absent from Rhodes. Two cases when this was apparent was when Grand Master Juan Fernandez de Heredia was in Avignon during the papal schism, and when Grand Master Philibert de Naillac was at the Council of Constance, which had as its main aim the ending of the Schism. In August 1386, the grand master wrote from Avignon to the brethren on Rhodes with detailed instructions after receiving negative reports of how the Hospitallers' affairs were being managed there.<sup>120</sup> Firstly, following complaints from the Hospitallers' subjects and others of injustice and oppression, the brethren were to ensure that justice was done to all. Secondly, since the grand master's departure in 1382, the *commerchium* tax on wine had been farmed out to people in an unaccustomed and damaging way. It was now to be auctioned to the highest bidder. The winner of the bid was bound to maintain the guard galley, the Greek and Latin inhabitants making up the difference if the proceeds should prove insufficient. Thirdly, the maintenance of the guard galley was to be auctioned to whoever will arm and equip it for the lowest price. Fourth, the customs dues on merchandise for sale were to be auctioned to the highest bidder and the proceeds devoted to the 'repair' of the suburbs or other uses, as decided by the Latin and Greek citizens of the town. A further instruction indicates that scribes and officials had imposed overly harsh conditions on the *marinariii* (those who did marine service) many of whom had fled. A new register of all *marinariii* was to be made in a way that each should serve in his turn and if unable to serve, they were to provide a substitute. Furthermore, the castellan of Rhodes and the bailiff of commerce were accused of burdening the Hospitallers'

---

<sup>117</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 127.

<sup>118</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 227-228.

<sup>119</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 142-3.

<sup>120</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 199-202.



subjects and others with taxes and impositions, all penalties were now to be registered and shown each month to the grand master's lieutenant and procurators who should assess the fines. Additionally, since the bailiff of commerce had introduced new regulations prejudicial to the patrons and merchants, both Rhodian subjects and those from abroad, they should now revert to the statutes and the old rules. It also appears that the brethren had harmed the locals' business interests by sealing and selling their own wine. Therefore, the grand master declared that only the grand master's lieutenant was to seal wine and an inquiry was to be made to see how much wine the brethren needed for their own consumption, rather than for them to sell it. The lieutenant was then to seal the wine and deliver it to each of the brethren. Defensive duties seemed to have lapsed too, so that the grand master ordered that turcoples should be posted as needed and should keep watch in person. It was also decided that four trustworthy burgesses, two Latin and two Greek, should supervise expenses on victuals as is customary, and that the officer in charge of weights and measures was not to act without their approval and only act according to the town statutes. Finally, it appears that there were troubles receiving responsions plus cases of embezzlement of funds and goods, as the grand master requested that he be informed of the expenses and of the use made of these goods. Officials, together with Fr. Domenico de Alamania, were to see that the 'goods' are put to the use of the Hospital and not to the private profit of those who were well known to enrich themselves while the Order remained in great debt on account of the sums that the Rhodian officials assign to be repaid in Avignon. Given that loans had to be repaid imminently, all goods of the Treasury were to be inventoried, regardless of where they were stored. The Rhodian officials had to sustain the convent with those goods and the 12,000 florins sent them by the grand master from August until the 'end of the year', which could mean 24 March 1387.

With the possibility of such mismanagement, the grand master needed trusted associates who had far reaching powers. One of these was the financier Dragonetto Clavelli, described as a burgess and inhabitant of Rhodes in 1382, but soon after became the grand master's procurator, noted as such in May 1385.<sup>121</sup> It was probably he that informed the grand master of the situation on Rhodes. As one of those who lent the Hospitallers money, he had an interest in maximising the Hospitallers' profits and stamping out corruption, so his loans could be repaid. Clavelli acquired the lease of substantial property on Rhodes, including the *casale* of Lardos, as well as the incomes from the islands of Tilos and Chalki that he held in

---

<sup>121</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 187, 197.

*appaltum*, perhaps as security and reward for his investments.<sup>122</sup> Nevertheless, he appears to have performed his duties well until his death in 1415. After his death, however, the same problems seem to have returned. In May 1415 the grand master wrote from Constance to the castellan of the castellany of Rhodes, the bailiffs of commerce and of Rhodes, the other castellans, the judges ordinary and of appeal, and other Rhodian judges and officials. He had been informed that following the recent death of Dragonetto Clavelli, these officials had improperly exercised their offices so that the local population had suffered, and many people had left the town and island. Foreign merchants were worried about importing or had been prohibited from importing provisions. The grand master ordered the island's officials to take counsel and to ensure that all inhabitants and foreigners receive justice.<sup>123</sup>

With both Latins and Greeks living side by side, it is not surprising that there was some intermarrying and this brought up the issue of the rights of the offspring. Such inter-marrying was not new: Vignolo de Vignoli, who collaborated in the conquest of Rhodes, had a nephew, Andrea Moresco of Chiavari, who had fought for the Emperor Andronikos II and been appointed imperial Admiral, and married a noble Greek, Zoe Doukaina Philanthropene Mouriskessa.<sup>124</sup> It is likely that cases were dealt with individually, but a precedent was set in February 1366, when the grand master granted the requests of Jamon, Johanot, Guillelm, Déodat, Joya and Margarita, serfs of the Hospital and children of the late Richardon Boeuf and his wife Sofia, serfs of the Hospital in the *casale* of Villanova. Richardon was a Frank from Provence who in the time of Grand Master Fr. Hélon de Villeneuve came to Rhodes where that Master ordered him to reside in the *casale* of Villanova as a sergeant, performing the associated service. It was there that he married Sophia, a Greek serf, with the grand master's permission. Villeneuve had promised that all Richardon's children would be considered as Franks and be baptized as the children of a Frank. However, Richardon failed to get this promise in writing. Thus Grand Master Bérenger confirmed to the children that, as their father was a Frank and a Provençal and as they were baptized according to the custom of the Franks in the Roman church, they were freed from serfdom together with their descendants in perpetuity.<sup>125</sup> Gaining this right and status was important, because although serfs were generally treated well on Rhodes, brethren could have the right to punish them harshly. For example, in February 1382 the grand master granted Fr. Domenico de Alamania,

---

<sup>122</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 197.

<sup>123</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 272-273.

<sup>124</sup> Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, 75.

<sup>125</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 165-167.

Commander of Naples and Cicciano and lieutenant in Italy, the *casale* of Apollona for life. Depending on the crime, he was allowed to imprison, shave or beat the inhabitants.<sup>126</sup>

Dealing with crime and punishment was a natural duty of the grand master and his council on Rhodes and the other islands under the Hospitallers' control. This applied to both brethren and non-brethren. However, having a powerful associate could help one gain a pardon, even for murder or manslaughter. For example, in August 1365, at the request of Fr. Nicolas Soulier, Prior of the Convent, the grand master pardoned Anthonius Rayneri who killed Cali, widow of Nicolas Gripiati of Diopassadas in the Castellany of Rhodes, with a sword. Anthonius had been apprehended and sent into exile to Kos, but the grand master remitted his sentence and allowed him to return to Rhodes.<sup>127</sup> The same month, another Cali was killed by a Georgius Stelee while the latter was riding a horse in the *casale* of Sinodocto at the place called Pollicastro, but he was pardoned by the grand master and allowed to live on Rhodes, presumably because it was an accident.<sup>128</sup>

Another pardon was given for a crime of passion. While at the Council of Pisa in August 1409, the grand master pardoned Rolandus de Lunachicani of Kos of murder at the request of King Louis of Naples. While en route from Rhodes town to the *casale* of Asgourou for the wedding of his brother Anthonius, a newly baptized Jew (that is, he had converted to Christianity), to the daughter of a woman of the *casale*. Two men, a Graciale and a Nicholaus Paquereti, both natives of Rhodes, began quarrelling. Rolandus tried to pacify them and his brother Anthonius came to help him, but was killed by Graciale. Rolandus, moved by brotherly love, struck Graciale so that his brains fell out, killing him. Rolandus then fled and sought pardon.<sup>129</sup> Finally, in November 1421, a Petrus Gracie, son of Michaely Gracie, who killed Nicolaus the Syrian within the *casale* of Embonas with a staff, was allowed to come to Rhodes and reside there, at the request of Jacobo de Pistoia papal collector. Clearly, he had been exiled previously.<sup>130</sup>

Brethren and Hospitaller servants also committed a variety of crimes, though often the records are vague about what their crime was. For instance, in March 1382, the grand master orders Fr. Nicholas de Valle, Castellan of Pharaklos, to guard Pere de Castelsent in the

---

<sup>126</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 186.

<sup>127</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 156.

<sup>128</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 157.

<sup>129</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 258-260.

<sup>130</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 278-279.

castle.<sup>131</sup> He had been deprived of the habit for his crimes, which are not stated, but he must have broken at least one of the statutes in one way or another, and to lose his habit, it must have been serious. In the same month an inquiry into the accusations that Hospitaller servant Bussottus, turcopole of the casale of Lardos, has misbehaved, was commissioned. If he was found guilty, he was to be deprived of his position and someone else from the locality appointed.<sup>132</sup> Again, what he was accused of doing is not stated. One case where the crime is stated is that of embezzlement. In August 1390, the grand master wrote to officials on Rhodes from Avignon that Fr. Guillem Galliners, bailiff of Rhodes, had informed him that Fr. Nicholaus de Valle has defrauded the Order of 400 modia of grain from Rhodes and elsewhere, by daily mis-measuring grain from the granary. Surprisingly, there seems to have been no special punishment for this crime, with Fr. Nicholaus simply ordered to restore the missing grain to Dragonetto Clavelli, the Master's procurator.<sup>133</sup> Perhaps the financial burden of replacing the grain was considered enough punishment.

In another case in February 1411, the Lieutenant of the grand master and the Council sentenced Fr. Guido de Borges, Fr. Guichard de Varenne, Fr. Jean de Clusel and Fr. Jean de Montaigu, to be imprisoned for their crimes. The first three were to be imprisoned in Lindos Castle, and Fr. Montaigu in Pharaklos Castle. The castellans of the two castles were to guard them until instructed otherwise.<sup>134</sup> Again, the exact nature of the crimes is not stated, but it does state that their offences were many, that those offences went against the statutes and customs of the Hospitallers, and that the imprisonment was to set right those offences. However, it wasn't a crime for which they would lose their habit. Finally, a punishment for a senior brother was meted out in December 1413 by the Lieutenant Master and the Council to the former Admiral, Fr. Lodovico Vagnone. He, Fr. Jean Dangeroux of the langue of France and a servant were to be imprisoned within Kattavia Castle and its surroundings. The Castellan of Kattavia was to watch over them.<sup>135</sup> In this case, Vagnone was being punished for adultery, of which he was convicted in February 1412.<sup>136</sup> However, there is no mention that he would lose his habit, even though he lost his position as Admiral, and it is probable that he was sent as far south as possible until the scandal of his indiscretion was forgotten.

---

<sup>131</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 192.

<sup>132</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 193.

<sup>133</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 206.

<sup>134</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 265-267.

<sup>135</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 268.

<sup>136</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 268, n. 1, has the year of conviction as 1411, but although the document states 14 February 1411, as in the medieval period the year did not begin until 25 March, the year in modern reckoning was 1412.

That he was allowed to wander freely in the surrounding area suggests that this was not a harsh punishment.<sup>137</sup>

One of the most important elements of the Hospitallers' first century on Rhodes was the maintenance and building of fortifications.<sup>138</sup> Where possible, the Hospitallers reused and improved Byzantine fortifications, but where they did not exist, they had to be built from scratch. Sometimes this would be done in partnership with non-Hospitallers. For example, in May 1366 Borrello Assanti of Ischia, who was a burgess of Rhodes, was granted the islands of Tilos and Chalki for 200 gold florins a year, though the grand master reserved the right of superior lordship, the islands' falcons and the rights of wreck. In addition to the annual fee, Borrello was to construct a stone tower having a room with a ceiling and having a water cistern on the islet of Alimnia near Chalki and he was to provide three guards and the Hospitallers would find another three.<sup>139</sup> These improvements to the defences came just a year after the joint Cyprus-Rhodes attack on Alexandria, so the Hospitallers were probably expecting reprisals from the Mamluks. In other cases, the villages of Rhodes were responsible themselves to help construct defences against attack. Such was the case in March 1400, when the Lieutenant of the Master and the Convent accepted the request of the inhabitants of the *casale* of Archangelos to postpone building a castle there until the grand master had returned. However, in the meantime they were to prepare the necessary lime and in the event of an attack they were to seek shelter in Pharaklos Castle.<sup>140</sup>

By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Hospitallers had completed their settlement and establishment of Rhodes and the islands that had taken up much of the fourteenth century, though they still took part in some campaigns against the enemies of Christendom and the grand master was deeply involved in solving the papal schism, as indicated by his attendance at both the Councils of Pisa and Constance. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, they could think about progressive military action on one hand, and maintaining the efficiency of their improvements on Rhodes on the other, which combined with the responses from the

---

<sup>137</sup> For more on this case, see Simon Phillips, 'Maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor: Conflicts within the Culture of the Hospitaller Order on Rhodes and Cyprus' in *The Military Orders Volume 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr, London, 2016, 89-99.

<sup>138</sup> Alexandra Stephanidou has outlined, from an archeological perspective, the history of the castles and towers on Rhodes, including the medieval town's fortifications, as well as the other islands under Hospitaller control, in Τροποσκούφη, Άννα και Τσιτούρη, Αμαλία (General Editors), *Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες. Δύκτσα Οχυρωματικής Αρχιτεκτονικής*, Αθήνα, 2001, 184-253.

<sup>139</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 173-4.

<sup>140</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 233.

West funded both the defence of their Aegean possessions as well as their annual ‘caravan’ against the Ottomans and others.

Luttrell provides documentary evidence of life on Rhodes in the fourteenth century, from about 1306 to 1423. However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, it is Zacharias Tsirpanlis and to a lesser extent Jurgen Sarnowsky that inform us about Rhodes in the fifteenth century.<sup>141</sup> Tsirpanlis covers in detail the period between 1421 and 1453 using the *Liber Bullarium* (Grand Masters’ Bulls), which provides information on the Order’s interaction with the local community on Rhodes. It is a short period of 30 years, but necessarily so, given rich material that is available. On the other hand, Sarnowsky’s focus is on power and authority within the Hospitaller Order between 1421 and 1522 and therefore he uses the sources from the Chapters General and the *Libri Conciliorum* (Books of the Council), with occasional reference to the *Liber Bullarium*. However, the history of Hospitaller Rhodes after 1453 needs further research, of which this thesis aims to rectify for the period 1502 to 1522.<sup>142</sup>

Nevertheless, the studies done by Tsirpanlis and Sarnowsky between them provide a competent outline of fifteenth century Rhodes, as background for this study of sixteenth century Hospitaller Rhodes. This applies to Latins, Greeks and the other ethnic and religious groups on Rhodes at this time.

### Government and Communal Participation on Fifteenth Century Rhodes

The foundations of the relationship between the Hospitallers and their secular subjects, whether Latins or otherwise, was established soon after their conquest of Rhodes in 1309. Additionally, there were the regulations in the statutes that were updated in the Roman chapter general of 1446/1447, which were supplemented by the general city and state ordinances on Rhodes.<sup>143</sup> The Hospitallers recognised the need for Rhodian residents and others to express their discontent and find a solution quickly, in order to maintain harmonious relations. For this reason, there were regular meetings where representatives of the community could make requests at least from the time of Grand Master Raymond Berenger (1365-1374). Grand Master Philibert de Naillac (1396-1421) held public audiences assisted

---

<sup>141</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, passim; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, passim.

<sup>142</sup> Tsirpanlis’ sequel, covering the period after 1453, has not materialised, 26 years after the first volume.

<sup>143</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 346.

by his council once a week, which according to Caoursin's statutes took place on Fridays.<sup>144</sup> Apart from the conventual and capitular Bailiffs, representatives of the *langues*, the chancellor or vice-chancellor, the castellan of Rhodes, the Bailiffs of the *commerchium*, who were responsible for the commercial jurisdiction, and two judges, an ordinary judge and a judge of appeals also attended. It was at this audience that 'all complaints and requests should be heard and read' and, after discussion, a decision should be taken 'so that the basis of the complaints is completely eliminated and everyone has their rights'.<sup>145</sup>

A further development, from the time Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson, was the holding of public meetings, which allowed for the participation of individual persons. These were held twice a year on Rhodes. Unlike the other meetings that could be held in the grand master's absence, these could only be convened by the grand master.<sup>146</sup> It was probably at these meetings that the Hospitallers negotiated for additional taxes for the better defence of Rhodes with the Latin and Greek communities. For example, in August 1439, when the 8% tax that had been raised since 1430, was extended for another ten years, it is mentioned that the grand master and the convent called together the citizens and subjects of the city of Rhodes and renewed the levy with their consent.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, in March 1464, there was a gathering of a large number of *jurati*, citizens and subjects of Rhodes in the *commerchium*, where detailed information about the expansion of the ditches and ramparts to fortify the city was discussed. The decision reached was that in future in the port and in the city of Rhodes, except for rye and barley, a further tax of one per hundred over the levy of two per hundred was to be exacted to finance the expansion of the fortifications. The extension of this additional duty in February 1469 and August 1471 for four or six years up to the spring of 1478 again took place with the consent of the abovementioned who were present in the *commerchium*.<sup>148</sup> These meetings were undoubtedly an opportunity to discuss general questions. In addition, regulations were repeatedly made public in the *commerchium*, for example, in January 1491 there was a ban on arms exports.<sup>149</sup>

Community structures of the population did not only exist in the city of Rhodes, but also in some of the larger settlements on Rhodes. For example, in a document of March 1516, the 'community and people of the Lindos Castle' were mentioned on the occasion of the

---

<sup>144</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 346.

<sup>145</sup> Malta Cod. 244, f. 61v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 346.

<sup>146</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 347.

<sup>147</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 357-360.

<sup>148</sup> Malta Cod. 379, f. 236r-237v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 347.

<sup>149</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 347.

confirmation of a document of February 1322 concerning land called 'Stafilia' in that castellany.<sup>150</sup> As will become clear in Chapter 4, local communities would negotiate with the local Hospitaller officials and these agreements would normally be confirmed by the grand master and his council.

These assemblies suggest that there was a degree of representation and that decisions were not just made from above without consultation. The assemblies would be held under the direction of the castellan in the castellany.<sup>151</sup> Two Latins and two Greeks were elected as representatives of the population as *jurati*, with the right to vote. In addition, there were other officials: two *signori* concerned with sanitation, again a Latin and a Greek; the *prothomagestroï*, that is heads of the guilds, specifically two each for the goldsmiths, silversmiths and the millers, three for the tailors and four each for the bricklayers and tanners, again ideally an equal combination of Latins and Greeks; finally, four guardians each of the gardens and two for the vineyards. Election to this assembly was for one year, and the castellan had two votes that he could use for the assembly to reach a decision in case of disagreements.<sup>152</sup>

The process of the election of these officials attempted to be as fair as possible. Firstly, the castellan had to familiarize the assembly with the procedure before the election and to point out the importance of the decision, which should not be influenced by personal interests and inclinations.<sup>153</sup> The *jurati* of last year had the first votes in the election, then the officers of sanitation and the other citizens cast their votes according to their age and position. Finally the officials of the castellany followed according to their rank, the castellan, his deputy, the judges, lawyers and procurators, the sheriffs and others in such a way that the castellan had the last vote. Each decision was recorded by a clerk from the castellany; first the *jurati* were elected, then the officers of sanitation, the *prothomaestri* and the guards. These officials were then sworn in by the castellan and were required to devote themselves for the whole year to their tasks.

Each of the officers of the town had a specific duty. The *jurati* were primarily responsible for the city's food supply. They had to watch over the supplies of grain and other food and to

---

<sup>150</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 226r-v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 348. To judge from the name, presumably grapes were cultivated there.

<sup>151</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 348.

<sup>152</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 349.

<sup>153</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 349.



inform Master if there was any impending shortage.<sup>154</sup> In addition, along with the castellan, the judges and others, they were responsible for observing that the weights and measures were correct and for checking the quality of goods offered by the craftsmen. Once a month they had to carry out an inspection, and report it to the castellan and the judges at least every three months. Particular attention was paid to the quality and weight of the bread. The resources of the pharmacies, which were supposed to serve the well-being of the people, were checked several times a year by them, together with the doctors of the Order's hospital. Finally, in combination with the castellan and the judges, the *jurati* determined the need for certain goods, as well as the criteria for the price and quality of goods, usually on 2 January of each year.

The task of the health officials (*signori de la sanita*) was to prevent epidemics from breaking out and combat the source of diseases through their vigilance.<sup>155</sup> This included examining the crews of arriving ships for possible diseases. Seamen were only allowed to go ashore after this investigation had been carried out. If they broke this regulation, they faced forty days of quarantine in the tower of the castellany and a fine. Goods or individuals that came from ships were only allowed to be accepted after they had been checked by the officials. If an illness broke out in a house, the residents first had to inform the officials, who had to determine how contagious the illness was and which doctor should be called. Also, burials were only possible if the health officials had checked the cause of death beforehand. For pandemics, for example plague that was still quite common in the fifteenth century, the Hospitallers appointed brethren, such as in February 1461 who with the lieutenants of the bailiff of commerce were supposed to control the ships entering Rhodes. On several occasions, as in February 1472, two brothers were appointed to the council, in this case the Treasurer Fr. Emery d'Amboise and the Drapier Fr. Esbert de Villanova, elected to be preservers of health (*conservatores sanitatis*), who had to examine the ships and their crews arriving in the port of Rhodes and, if necessary, take measures against diseases.<sup>156</sup>

Other officials included the *prothomaestri* of various trades, who were responsible for their respective guilds. With the gold and silversmiths they had to make sure that the right materials were used, for example that gold was not replaced by lead or that bad gold and

---

<sup>154</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 349.

<sup>155</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 350.

<sup>156</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 350.

silver were used, and that stolen goods were not offered or melted down.<sup>157</sup> The three *prothomaestri* of the tailors were to determine the origin of clothing in the event of disputes; the four *prothomaestri* of the masons and the tanners were bound to investigate complaints about the work of their colleagues. The latter carried out a quality control of the leather once a week, every Monday, and provided it with an appropriate mark. Abuses always had to be reported to the castellan. If someone disagreed with their decision, they could appeal to the castellan, the judges and the *jurati*.

Another municipal electoral office was that of the *mactasepus*. This official had to make sure that the owners of the shops and taverns did not use the wrong weights. Four times a year they had to present all their weights and measures to the *mactasepus*, the castellan and the judges in the castellany. The *mactasepus* was also required to check the size and quality of the bread every day and, if necessary, to inform the *jurati* of any abuses. The owners of stands and shops had to pay him fees, up to two *gigliati* annually. Others who brought goods into the city and offered them directly at the market paid four to eight *denarii*.<sup>158</sup>

In addition to the officials who ensured the smooth running of the town, there were regulations for the various professions. For example, doctors and surgeons were not allowed to practice unless they could prove to the castellan and the judges that they had studied and been examined by the doctors of the Hospitallers' infirmary. Their wages were also determined in consultation with the castellan and the judges, and should be no more than one *ducat* every four days. They had to visit their patients twice a day. Strict regulations also applied to pharmacists, who, like the doctors had to submit to an examination by the doctors of the hospital and other pharmacists, before the castellan, judges and *jurati*, if they wanted to pursue their trade. Among other things, they were forbidden to change medicines without instructions or to dispense them without a prescription from a doctor.<sup>159</sup>

The rule for merchants was that every craftsman should limit himself to one trade. For example, those who specialized in the cloth trade were not allowed to offer any other goods. All craftsmen and merchants first had to apply to the castellan, the judges, the *jurati* and the heads of the guilds for permission to practice their trade and to set up a shop and were checked for their suitability and sworn in before they began their work.<sup>160</sup> Exchange

---

<sup>157</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 351.

<sup>158</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 351.

<sup>159</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 352.

<sup>160</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 352.

merchants (*bancherii*) also had to gain approval from the city officials. There were limits on the amount of money that could be changed and they had to have their weights checked and sealed by the mint master and use scales. Further regulations concerned goldsmiths, silversmiths, fur traders and tailors, leather-processing craftsmen, cloth cutters and weavers, candle makers, bricklayers and stonemasons, carpenters, the coopers, blacksmiths, millers, fishermen, bakers, butchers, landlords, grocers and others for whom the approval, quality regulations, wages, prices and control measures had been established.<sup>161</sup>

Much of the regulations in the fifteenth century had their roots in the *Capitula Rodi*, the first known statutes of the order governing their relations with the citizens of Rhodes that date to the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>162</sup> It should be noted that these regulations only applied to the town and that those living in the countryside had other rules. It should also be considered that these were the regulations in theory and how they were applied might vary. The *Capitula Rodi* were supplemented by the *Pragmaticae Rhodiae* that dealt with, among other things, the problems of dowry as well as the furnishing and care of wives, the estate of deceased persons and the rental of houses and businesses. They regulated the taking out of loans by widows or unmarried women, the penalties for the soiling of streets with rubbish and for opening or holding back letters from strangers. Material securities for creditors, the question of appropriate clothing for funerals and the ban on card and dice games are also dealt with. Further provisions concern the punishment for the violation of others and for the appropriation of someone else's property or damage to it, the promise of escort that should not be given to debtors of brothers and subjects of the Order or persons suspected of a misdemeanour, and the prohibition without the permission of Masters and *jurati* to export food and import certain goods. The treatment of slaves is also specified in detail.<sup>163</sup>

There were also regulations on how to deal with crimes and misdemeanours. The worst crime was that of high treason, punishable by death, necessary given the endangered position of the Hospitallers on the frontier of Christianity. If someone was denounced or accused of being a spy, traitor or scout for non-Christian opponents of the order, two brothers were commissioned by the master and council together with the castellan and the two judges to

---

<sup>161</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 352.

<sup>162</sup> See Anthony Luttrell. 'The 14th-century Capitula Rodi' in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, Aldershot, 1992, VI, 204-211. An English translation by myself is included at the end of this chapter.

<sup>163</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 353.

conduct an investigation.<sup>164</sup> They were allowed to interrogate the suspect and subject them to torture as they deemed necessary to establish the truth. Correspondence and contact with the Turkish mainland was already forbidden unless the master had given his prior consent. There were also harsh punishments for sexual offenses, for assaulting a person and for murder. If the wounds from an attack resulted in permanent damage, the perpetrator's right hand was cut off. Whoever commissioned a murder had to pay 200 ducats or was mutilated if not paid within eight days.<sup>165</sup> Murderers faced execution by hanging, which took place by the bay of Acandia, perhaps for hygiene reasons, as it was furthest from the town and the winds blew away from the town. The creation of false contracts, false testimony and the production of fake money were punished similarly. In the case of counterfeit money, even the helpers would suffer the deprivation of their property and the death penalty. Thieves had their right hand cut off, and notorious bandits and church robbers were hanged. Heavy punishments were also given for poisoning, the use of magic and black art, and arson. Anyone who cheated or accepted bribes as judges or mediators lost their office and had to pay a fine of 100 ducats and pay double the damage to those affected. The same was true for other officials. Usurers lost the money they invested as soon as they exceeded the normal interest rate in commercial transactions. At the end of the *Capitula Rodi* were some further legal regulations, such as those who reported a crime were to be rewarded with a quarter of the fines or - in the case of corporal punishment - with 5 florins that the convicted person had to raise. The management of the prison was assigned or even leased by the castellan, though a number of conditions had to be met. The prison was to be located in the area of the castellany and had to be well guarded, and the convicted were not allowed to have visitors without the castellan's permission.<sup>166</sup> The castellan and the sheriffs had to check the condition of the prison at least every two days, but it was not to be opened without sufficient personnel to prevent an escape. The leaseholder of the prison was also not allowed to charge the inmates more than the fees that the judges had determined, and only up to 4 aspers.

The final regulations included that anyone active in the town at night always had to have a light with them. Free-born women, like unfree serfs called the *parici*, were not allowed to leave Rhodes and no woman could board a ship without permission.<sup>167</sup> If a man absconded

---

<sup>164</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 354.

<sup>165</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 354.

<sup>166</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 355.

<sup>167</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 355. There were also free serfs called *francomati*.

from a relative for whom he was responsible, he was punished for it with the deprivation of his goods and had to face a punishment of the grand master's design.

### Latins on Fifteenth Century Rhodes

As mentioned earlier for the fourteenth century, the Order had attracted a few, mainly military, Latin settlers from the West. Those that did come were often awarded large areas of land, like the Vignoli in Lardos. In the fifteenth century this continued, for example, in October 1422, the *casale* Salakos was leased to the Genoese Antonio Cattaneo, the son of the knight Ottobono Cattaneo. He and his legitimate descendants of both sexes received the *casale* and other extensive property for three periods of 29 years each.<sup>168</sup> In return, he had to pay an annual fee of 150 (Florentine) florins, while the order could continue to cut and collect the wood that grew on the leased area. The transfer or pledging of the fief was prohibited, as was the relocation of the *casale*. Towers and fortifications could only be erected with permission. Antonio was granted jurisdiction, but he was not allowed to sell the un-free serfs and slaves of the *casale*. However, they needed his consent to marry.

Large awards were the exception rather than the rule, probably to prevent alternative powerbases being formed on the island. Generally in the 1400s, the same pattern continued as in the previous century, with people of all classes from the west welcome to settle on Rhodes or on the other islands of the order, though as we have seen financiers and merchants were particularly desirable in the Hospitallers' eyes, for the funding and trade that they could provide.

It was primarily the grand masters who determined and directed the order's settlement policy, for example, Fr. Antoni Fluvia furnished the Venetian and citizen of Rhodes, Secondo Fescholo, with a plot of land in the borgo near the *commerchium* in March 1433.<sup>169</sup> The grand masters were also primarily responsible for granting civil rights in the city of Rhodes. For instance, Grand Master Lastic in August 1439 granted rights of citizenship to the Catalan Gabriel Martino, who was the representative of Fr. Roberto de Diana during his absence and Martino was still on Rhodes ten years later.<sup>170</sup> Martino's obligations as a citizen was that he had to submit to the law of the town and its customs, pay general and city taxes regardless of

---

<sup>168</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 225-230.

<sup>169</sup> Malta Cod. 349, fol. 78r, curiously missing from Tsirpanlis; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 356.

<sup>170</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 357; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 508.

external threats and commit to the master by a vow of loyalty, though he retained his personal freedom and property.

Occasionally there are also references in the fifteenth century to the sale of land in the town of Rhodes and on the islands. For instance, Grand Master Fluvia granted the Genoese Tommaso Bertulla in January 1437, for the sum of 106 Rhodian florins, a row of houses with a well in the city of Rhodes as a hereditary property, and also the jurisdiction of houses associated with St. Mary's Church.<sup>171</sup> Likewise, Latins in the service of the Order were rewarded with land grants, that is, they were integrated into the Order's rule as landlords. Strangers who wanted to marry on Rhodes or on the other islands under the Hospitallers' control had to commit themselves to the Order by means of an oath of allegiance.<sup>172</sup>

### Greeks and Other Communities on Fifteenth Century Rhodes

The Greeks formed the majority of the population on the islands of the Aegean ruled by the Hospitallers. Thus their cooperation was essential to the successful administration of the Hospitallers and so they had certain rights of property and religion dating back to the Hospitaller conquest of Rhodes. Long before the ecclesiastical union decided on at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439, the Greeks on Rhodes were in effect Uniates, recognising the primacy of the Roman pope, but practicing according to Greek Orthodox rites.

Some Greeks in Rhodes town, called *marinari*, had to do hereditary galley service, the *servitudo marina*, on the Hospitallers' ships. In the first half of the 15th century, there were a number of changes to this galley service before it was abolished in 1462. One problem was outdated lists, so that it was not clear who should serve on the ships. Thus the General Chapter of 1428 decided to have the Admiral and two experienced brothers create two new registers for the *marinari* aged over 17 using existing records.<sup>173</sup> These registers were to be renewed every five years. In 1440 this regulation was modified so that the admiral would keep his own register, in which, in addition to financial matters, the men and women who owed galley service were to be entered. In 1462 the General Chapter abolished the *servitudo marina* in favour of a *gabella* (a type of tax) on the grain ground by the citizens of the city in the mills of the city and castellany of Rhodes. This decision in part appears to be due to

---

<sup>171</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 279-281. Which church of St. Mary being referred to is not clear.

<sup>172</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 358.

<sup>173</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 359.

resistance to doing galley service, with some Greeks, as in 1433, absconding to other islands to evade service, who were requested to return.<sup>174</sup> Furthermore, in August of the same year, at the request of Hospitaller officials, all *marinari* were released from their duties of serving on the ships of the order for ten years.<sup>175</sup> There may have been some resistance to doing galley service, but that must always have been so and does not fully explain why it was abolished. By the mid-fifteenth century, it must have become apparent that it was better to hire professional sailors or mercenaries using the proceeds of the *gabella*. Keeping the Greeks on Rhodes also meant that there would be sufficient manpower in case of attack.

Greeks, at least those who lived in Rhodes town, also had a special status that dated back to the agreement by which they surrendered the town to the Hospitallers in 1309. Even though the *Capitula Rodi* from the beginning of the fourteenth century, referring to the legal status of children from a mixed Latin and a Greek marriage, suggests that Latins were favoured, the Greek inhabitants of Rhodes had a certain amount of influence. In terms of equal rights with the Latins, they were involved in the city's self-government. According to the *Capitula Rodi*, they provided, as far as was possible, half of the officials to be elected by the citizens and the representatives of the Order, two of the four *jurati dala terra*, the representatives of the city and island, one of the officials for public health and half of the heads of the guilds and professional groups.<sup>176</sup> Essentially the same rules applied to the Greek officials and craftsmen as to the Latins. The only exception was the recording of legal transactions. While the judges' decisions in the city of Rhodes were generally recorded by clerks (notaries) in their own registers, the Metropolitan had a Greek clerk who was responsible for recording foundations, wills, last testaments by Greeks and for issuing receipts and had to keep his own register. The officials, like others representatives of the Greek Church, were usually appointed by the grand master, though they may have been recommended by the Greek community representatives themselves. Greek scribes, as we will see in Chapters 4 and 5, were also recorded in Lindos and on other islands and bases of the order, for example Narangia Castle on Kos. Often these positions were, understandably, filled by Orthodox clerics. The equal treatment of Latins and Greeks is also suggested by the appointment of a teacher for the city school in December 1510 who, according to the *Liber Conciliorum*, was paid in equal parts from funds of the Order and the citizens and was supposed to teach equally in Latin and

---

<sup>174</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 360.

<sup>175</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 265-267.

<sup>176</sup> Malta Cod. 153, f. 6r-v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 360.

Greek.<sup>177</sup> However, despite a certain amount of independence, the Hospitallers as overlords were responsible for settling secular disputes between Greeks. For example, in October 1449, when there was an inheritance dispute between Greeks and a commission was made headed by the Prior of Pisa and the General Procurator of the Order at the Curia, with the assistance of the ordinary judge, which later led to a conciliation proposal by the Chancellor, Fr. Melchior Bandini.<sup>178</sup>

Greeks, like Latins, were obliged to pay the usual taxes. Sometimes, due to special circumstances or outstanding service, the taxes of the Greeks were reduced, for instance, in November 1460, on Syri, that most likely had an overwhelmingly Greek population. After an attack on the castle, which was fought off with the active help of the islanders and due to the destruction caused by the attack, the responsions were reduced from 750 to 400 florins.<sup>179</sup> Some of the properties leased to the Greeks only had very low annual fees. For example, a property in the city of Rhodes was leased in December 1446 to Agapitos Tsasses and his wife Erini, for a yearly payment of 1½ aspers.<sup>180</sup> These and similar leases took place in the form of the emphyteusis, adopted from Roman law and widespread in Byzantium and the West. This was a form of inheritance that allowed the leased property to be alienated in return for a fee, and was designed for the long term holding by a person and their heirs. It also obliged the tenant to improve or cultivate the property and, under certain conditions, provided for it to be returned to the owner (the Hospitallers, in this case). The long-term validity of these awards is also shown by an example from the last years of the order's rule, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, when Greeks from Salakos and Villanova had confirmation of their ancestors' rights in Embonas, dating back to 1336.<sup>181</sup> The largely equal treatment of Latins and Greeks can also be explained by the fact that the hoped for Latin settlement of the Hospitallers' Aegean possessions at the beginning of the 14th century basis did not take place in large numbers. Thus the indigenous Greek population became more important to the successful cultivation and improvement (and therefore increased profit) of the Hospitallers' territories.

#### The Jewish Community on fifteenth-century Rhodes

Unlike the Greeks, who formed the majority of the order's subjects on Rhodes, the Jews were more or less tolerated on the island, though in the town they formed a substantial community.

---

<sup>177</sup> Malta Cod. 81, f. 152v.

<sup>178</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 362.

<sup>179</sup> Malta Cod. 370, fol. 217v-218v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 362.

<sup>180</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 459-460.

<sup>181</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 221r-222r.



Several measures were decided against them, which included the collection of taxes. Around 1453 the sum of 50 florins seems to have been raised regularly. There were also special charges. In April 1461, in view of the external threat to the island, the Jews of the city of Rhodes were asked for the sum of 1000 florins to pay for the servicing of captured ships. However, the money was only withdrawn as an 18-month loan, as evidenced by mortgage notes and a simultaneous list of Jewish creditors in the treasury. This list names 23 people, some of whom were related or otherwise connected, but who must certainly include further family members. The largest sum of 500 florins was paid by a Jewish doctor at the Hospital of the order, Leo, who was granted various privileges for doing so.<sup>182</sup> It is interesting that there was a Jewish doctor at the hospital, which in 1461 meant the old hospital, because previously it was uncertain whether the hospital was just for Christian patients. This is no mistake, as Leo was again mentioned in 1464, so it appears the hospital was not exclusive to Christians, either that or a Jewish doctor was treating Christians.<sup>183</sup> If the goods of the order were pledged for the bonds, this was evidently a problem, at least in the case of delayed repayment. Thus the second general chapter in Rome 1466/1467 decreed that the Order's property should not remain in the hands of Jewish moneylenders as a pledge for longer than a year. Afterwards it was to be leased publicly to the highest bidder in order to pay the Jews the debts and the agreed interest.<sup>184</sup>

In about 1450, the Jews lived together in their own quarter next to the eastern and southern walls in an area called the *Judaica inferior*, or lower Jewish district, perhaps called that because it was on flat land. Originally, they had lived in the *Judaica superior* (Upper Jewish district, perhaps due to the hill rising to the south wall), but had to leave under Philibert de Naillac's mastership (1396-1421), when it was destroyed. They returned to the *Judaica superiora*, in about 1422, constructing houses and renovating the synagogue, though the *Judaica inferior* was still inhabited. Together the two areas of the *Judaica* covered an area from what is now called the Square of the Jewish Martyrs near the north wall, directly south down to south wall by the dry moat, and then following the south and east walls up to St. Katherine's Gate.<sup>185</sup> This was an extensive area and made the Jews the second largest community in Rhodes town, after the Greeks. One example of the resettlement of the upper Jewish district is the houses that the grand master sold there for 70 Rhodian florins in July

---

<sup>182</sup> Malta Cod. 371, f. 182v-182r; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 363.

<sup>183</sup> Malta Cod. 73, f. 145v.

<sup>184</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 364.

<sup>185</sup> Luttrell, *Town*, 82.

1427 from the property of the late Dragonetto Clavelli to the Jew Ezekiel Mauristiri, a native of Rhodes.<sup>186</sup> Clavelli, financier and a trusted representative of the previous grand master, Naillac, had acquired them after the Jews had been moved from the area. These houses were in the *borgo* of Rhodes, in the *contrata* of St. Barbara within the upper Jewish district. Mauristiri was an influential person on Rhodes and had the means in November 1437 to loan the Order 1,152 Rhodian florins without interest, so it seems he took over not only Clavelli's properties, but also his financial role for the Hospitallers.<sup>187</sup> It appears that Mauristiri had died by 1453, but his son-in-law and daughter, Ezra and Rebecca, were still residents of Rhodes town.<sup>188</sup> Though some Jews moved back to the upper Jewish district, it seems that the majority of the Jewish population of Rhodes remained in the lower district, for which land lendings to Jews are evidence of their residence and activity. For example, in July 1453 the grand master confirmed the grant of a piece of uncovered land suitable for building made in November 1452, situated on the walls of the city in the lower Jewish district to the physician Samuel, who worked in the Rhodes infirmary.<sup>189</sup>

From the evidence so far reviewed, it appears the fate of the Jews on fifteenth-century Rhodes depended on their relationship with individual grand masters and on their usefulness to the Hospitallers. Philibert de Naillac seems to have been exploitative and even expelled them from the upper Jewish quarter. On the other hand, Antoni Fluvia and Jean de Lastic appeared more favourable to the Jews. In the latter case, in 1444 he took a Jew called Nathan Gratian, his wife and his children under his personal protection, instructing that they should not be harassed by the officials of the Order.<sup>190</sup> In 1470, Grand Master Orsini admitted more Jews to Rhodes with the right to reside and trade in Rhodes town and in 1485, Grand Master d'Aubusson made a similar grant, perhaps to help finance the rebuilding and strengthening of the town's defences after the 1480 siege.<sup>191</sup> Yet it was in the final months of d'Aubusson's tenure, in January 1503, that the grand master and council decided to expel the Jews from Rhodes on the excuse that the expected conversion to Christianity had not occurred and that the presence of a Jewish 'colony' in the town harmed the image of the Order.<sup>192</sup> The Jews were given forty days to sell their property and leave the island for the West (i.e. not go to

---

<sup>186</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 236-237.

<sup>187</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 309-311.

<sup>188</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 686-688.

<sup>189</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 365.

<sup>190</sup> Malta Cod. 356, f. 214r; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 365.

<sup>191</sup> Malta Cod. 384, f. 1v, 33v; Malta Cod. 76, f. 181r.

<sup>192</sup> Malta Cod. 79, f. 111v-114r.

Ottoman controlled territory), after which they were threatened with the seizure of their property and enslavement.

The decision to expel the Jews from Rhodes illustrates the fragility of their status, which as we have seen went back to the last decade of the fourteenth century. Even Jews of great value to the Order, such as the doctors that the Hospitallers depended on to work in their infirmary, faced prejudice. For example, in March 1466 under Grand Master Zacosta, a Council resolution of March 1466 described the work of Jewish doctors at the hospital as ‘the burden of the conscience and religious disgrace’ of the order and they wanted a doctor Leo to be excluded from working there by the coming General Chapter.<sup>193</sup> Although Leo was removed in August 1466, shortly before the Chapter General, he was replaced with the consent of the council by another Jew, Nathan!<sup>194</sup>

The Jewish doctors, especially in the first half of the fifteenth century, repeatedly enjoyed the special attention of the Order. For example, doctor Nathan (it is not clear if it is the same Nathan as in 1466), who had lived in the city of Rhodes for ten years, but had not received any wages from the grand master and therefore had to work temporarily outside of Rhodes, in May 1446 was exempted from future taxes that would be collected from the Jews.<sup>195</sup> Another Jewish doctor Samuel Orfano, who came from Chios and was a burgher of and worked in the city of Rhodes, was also granted special rights in December 1450.<sup>196</sup> He was allowed to answer the call of the sick even at night and to go to their houses with a light, although this was otherwise forbidden, and he was allowed to be accompanied by as many members of his family as was necessary. His privilege also attests to a synagogue which Samuel and his family went to ‘to celebrate the Sabbath at night’. Also mentioned is a public bath (*balneum*) that Samuel, his wife and daughter can visit at night, presumably due to his commitments during daylight hours. He was also allowed to visit at night his mother and father-in-law, who lived in the lower Jewish quarter, perhaps an indication that he himself lived in the upper Jewish quarter. Maybe to allow him to be closer to his relatives, in July 1451, he was sold a house in the *contrata* of the lower Jewish sector, which had on one side the house of a former Jewish doctor, Vitalis, for 200 Rhodian florins.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, in November 1452, for his

---

<sup>193</sup> Malta Cod. 73, f. 188v.

<sup>194</sup> Malta Cod 73, f. 208v.

<sup>195</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 366.

<sup>196</sup> Malta Cod. 362, f. 186v-187r; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 565-577.

<sup>197</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 599-601.

unceasing service to the Order, he was granted a plot of land near Acandia Gate for him to build a house for his children and heirs, for seven aspers a year due in September.<sup>198</sup>

The Order's care for their Jewish doctors extended to their family members in other cases as well. For instance, in March 1452, Kaly, the widow of Vitalis, together with her children, were granted the right to visit the synagogue at night with a light and another house in the lower Jewish district, as well as being exempt from taxes.<sup>199</sup> Another doctor, Moses Gratian, was allowed to have a relative and his parents come to Rhodes in January 1451 under the protection of the Order's members on Crete.<sup>200</sup> Moses Gratian belonged to a family of Jewish doctors who lived on Rhodes for a long time. In February 1427, at the request of the Hospitallers, Vitalis Gratian received papal permission to treat Christians because of his merits.<sup>201</sup> In April 1445, his son, Jacuda Gratian, appeared in front of the grand master, the castellan of Rhodes, the 'ordinary' judge and numerous spiritual and secular men, especially medical scholars. Jacuda asked to be examined by the medical professionals present, as he wished to practice medicine. Since he proved himself to be experienced and learned in medical matters, he was given permission to practice after taking an oath on the Old Testament.<sup>202</sup> Even those of Vitalis Gratian's family who did not practice medicine were given favour, such as in October 1477 when due to the service of Vitalis, his family were taken under the grand master's protection and exempted from the taxes and exit restrictions of the Jewish residents.<sup>203</sup> Then in October 1489 Manuel Gratian and Samuel Gratian were amongst those who received a letter of encouragement from the Grand Master d'Aubusson for the commercial business they planned.<sup>204</sup>

The relationship between the Hospitallers and the Jews had moments of friction as well as more positive relations, depending on the grand master and circumstances. This, however, changed irrevocably once the expulsion of the Jews was decided in January 1503. After this, Jews are only mentioned when they are granted escort by the order, for example in January 1512, when a Jew from Modon who was on Rhodes wanted to buy Jewish slaves, possibly those Jews who neither wished to leave nor were willing to be baptized. A Vitalis Gratian from Alexandria is perhaps a member or relative of the family on Rhodes among the

---

<sup>198</sup> Malta Cod. 364, 189v-190v; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 659-662.

<sup>199</sup> Malta Cod. 363 f. 257r-v; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 618.

<sup>200</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 366.

<sup>201</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 367.

<sup>202</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 367.

<sup>203</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 367.

<sup>204</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 367.

recipients of these letters of introduction.<sup>205</sup> Yet not all the Jews that remained on Rhodes were slaves, as some had converted to Christianity. For instance, in 22 January 1519, Andreas Guille, a German *bombardario*, who was not Jewish, was granted for faithful service, land sited on the hill of the Jews (*Sepulturarum Hebraeorum*) called Eure for 40 denars, sited in the castellany of Rhodes above the area locally called St. Theodore. It was bound by the public road to the north, west and south and the east by the possessions of Joannis Matasippi, Philippi Paza and other Jews who had converted to become faithful Christians.<sup>206</sup> Conversion, at least nominally, allowed Jews to remain free on Rhodes and to retain their property.

### Minority Communities on Rhodes

Apart from the Latins, Greeks and Jews mentioned above, there were those not defined by their religion, but by their social status, such as serfs and slaves. The statutes of the Order contained instructions for dealing with slaves as early as Huge Revel's mastership (1258-1277), such as it was forbidden for bailiffs or brethren of the Order to baptize slaves or emancipate them without the grand master's permission.<sup>207</sup> This continued to be the case up until the final years of the Order on Rhodes, such as in July 1521 when the commander of Kos was granted the right to free 12 *paricos* or *angussatos* or *macchacatos* by the chapter general on Rhodes.<sup>208</sup> Another regulation was that whoever brought slaves to Rhodes first had to present them to the bailiff of commerce in order to have them registered, at which time it was also checked where they came from and whether they could be slaves at all. Also those given permission for corsairing by the Hospitallers were forbidden to enslave Christians under Islamic rule. Whoever bought Christian slaves from Muslims was only allowed to keep them in his service until they had paid off the costs.<sup>209</sup> The provision on the registration of slaves was an established practice since at least the 1470s. For example, in April 1473 the council decided to have the *commerchium* announce that the owners of slaves had to register them with the *commerchium* clerk within three days and brethren were requested by announcement in their inns to register their slaves with the vice chancellor.<sup>210</sup>

The non-Christian slaves generally received worse treatment than the Christians. They had to wear leg irons, and if their masters did not see to it, they were withdrawn from their control

---

<sup>205</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 368.

<sup>206</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 229v.

<sup>207</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 369.

<sup>208</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 178v.

<sup>209</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 369.

<sup>210</sup> Malta Cod. 75, fol. 13v; Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 369-370.

for six months. To prevent the escape of the slaves, all ships in the harbour had to be fastened with iron chains, and no ship was allowed to be left unguarded. Any help in escaping was subject to severe punishment. If a slave was found in the city with weapons or tried to reach a ship, he would be punished, as was his master. No non-Christian slave was allowed to manage a house, shop or warehouse, or sell cloth or other goods in the market, perhaps to prevent them gaining influence or acquiring wealth. They were subject to the jurisdiction of the castellan and his judges, even if their masters were members of the order or other privileged persons. They were threatened with the death penalty if they reviled or blasphemed Mary, the saints, the faith, the cross or other Christian values and symbols. If a non-Christian slave injured a Christian, he was punished with at least 25 blows, depending on the gravity of the offense.<sup>211</sup> Additionally, it was decreed that the Turkish and other non-Christian slaves were not allowed to leave the house without a Christian escort and those living outside the town were not allowed to leave the house when the gate to the port was open.<sup>212</sup>

The Order's concerns about the enslavement of Christians are occasionally reflected in the decisions of the Council. In December 1461, for example, it was decreed that women who had fled Cyprus and were captured could be sold in Rhodes, but only for seven years; then they were to be released. Similarly, Albanian men and women deported to Rhodes could only be sold for a limited period and only in the city of Rhodes.<sup>213</sup> In Rhodes, the Order did not ensure a general abolition of slavery or serfdom, but did help to reduce it through manumissions. One way this occurred was through exemptions from the *servitudo marina* up until 1462, when it was abolished. Another way was through liberation from serfdom. For example, Costis tis Crucis, *paricus* (a type of unfree serf) on the island of Leros, was granted freedom for himself and his son in December 1508, because he had excelled in the defence of the Leros Castle from the Turks.<sup>214</sup> Another *parichus* from Leros, Johannes tu Georgios Quilla, was together with his descendants not only free, but also a Roman citizen (*civis Romanus*).<sup>215</sup> What this meant is made clear by the manumission of Caye in July 1447, probably a Bulgarian woman (*Katarina nacione Burgarorum*), who was bought by one of the friars and passed into the possession of the treasury after his death. She became free and was allowed to have goods, so that she could buy, sell, give, do business, conclude contracts,

---

<sup>211</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 370.

<sup>212</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 370.

<sup>213</sup> Malta Cod. 282, f. 143v.

<sup>214</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 203r-v.

<sup>215</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 212v-213r.

appear in court as a witness, and do all the others things that those who have the status of a Roman could do.<sup>216</sup>

Occasionally the Order seems to have exchanged enslaved Muslim prisoners, undoubtedly for Christians who were held prisoner as a result of the armed conflict in Muslim countries.<sup>217</sup> If Christians were able to escape from Muslim slavery, they would of course find solace in the Order and this caused friction with the Ottomans. Free Muslims were only tolerated in Rhodes during the armistice and peacetime. The order issued letters of safe conduct for Turkish and Egyptian merchants, for example in June 1450 for two Greeks who lived in Ottoman controlled territory, a Papa Georgi and Vasili tu Sevasto and two Turks, Mustapha and Hali coming from Kastellorizo.<sup>218</sup> Again, in February 1511, safe conduct was granted to Jusuf Calilogli and his son Calili who wanted to bring various goods to Rhodes.<sup>219</sup> They were only required to pay the usual duties at the port, which, however, included a separate duty for non-Christians. The letters of safe conduct often also show the various connections in the Mediterranean region. In May 1450, Sidi Galip Ripolli, a Moorish merchant from Valencia who was in Alexandria at the time, was taken under protection. A little over a year earlier, in February 1449, he had been exempted from some of the special tariffs for ‘unbelievers’, and a few years later, in May 1453, the Order even bought a considerable amount of pepper from him. In another case, a Syrian, Antonio Masota, though perhaps an Oriental Christian, even received citizenship of the city of Rhodes.<sup>220</sup>

---

<sup>216</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 372-373; Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 442-443.

<sup>217</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 373-374.

<sup>218</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, 546.

<sup>219</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 226r-v.

<sup>220</sup> Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 374-375.

## Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean on the Eve of the Sixteenth Century

As a prologue to the state of affairs on sixteenth-century Hospitaller Rhodes, it is worth providing a brief synopsis of the situation in the wider context of late-fifteenth century European and eastern Mediterranean History, in particular the role of the other Latin powers in the region and the effect of the Ottoman advance into Europe.

### Latin Settlement and Conquest

The Hospitallers were not the first Latins to settle in the Aegean.<sup>221</sup> With the exception of Latin merchants that had visited the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean since antiquity, the main wave of settlement occurred in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade of 1204. Originally intended as an assault on Egypt so that the Latin East could be more easily restored, the Crusade was diverted to the sacking of Constantinople under Venetian influence.<sup>222</sup> Soon afterwards, the new Latin Emperor of Constantinople granted Venice and the crusaders lands yet to be conquered, as an incentive for settlement, such as the cession of Corfu and its surrounding islets, in July 1207, to ten Venetian nobles, in order that they might conquer and exploit it.<sup>223</sup>

The Venetians extended their influence in March 1209, when one of the Italian triarchs of Euboea, Ravano dalle Carceri, swore allegiance to Venice. This was followed in June the same year by Venetian control of the Peloponnesian ports of Modon and Coron, at that point controlled by the Franks, by their ceding of the rest of the Peloponnese to Geoffrey de Villehardouin.<sup>224</sup> Next, in September 1211, Venice sent an expedition to Crete, intent on the conquest of the island.<sup>225</sup> During the first half of the thirteenth century, the Venetian lords of the Cyclades (the Sanudo family in the Duchy of Naxos, the Ghisi family in the islands of Tenos and Myconos) accepted the Greek local archons as their vassals, and allowed them to keep their land and be integrated in the lower tier of the small Latin feudal class.<sup>226</sup> This helped to gain local support for the new regime and secure their control.

---

<sup>221</sup> See Marina Koumanoudi, 'The Latins in the Aegean after 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests' in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IVe croisade et ses conséquences*, ed A. Laiou, Paris, 2005, 247-267.

<sup>222</sup> Simon Lloyd, 'The Crusading Movement, 1096-1274', 34-65, in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995, 39.

<sup>223</sup> Charalambos Gasparis, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion, 13th-14th Centuries', 73-113, in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Ed. Nickiphoros Tsougarakis and Peter Lock, Leiden, 2015, 75.

<sup>224</sup> Gasparis, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories', 77.

<sup>225</sup> Gasparis, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories', 78.

<sup>226</sup> Gasparis, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories', 110.



Yet the Venetians did not hold a monopoly on conquest and settlement in the eastern Mediterranean. There were two main Frankish dominions in the form of Cyprus and Achaea. The conquest of Cyprus, in 1191, by Richard the Lionheart, took place before the Fourth Crusade. It was at first given to the Knights Templar and then to Guy de Lusignan in mid-1192. The Duchy of Athens and Corfu also came under Frankish control, the Angevins taking command of the latter in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>227</sup> Even in the early fourteenth century, new settlers were coming to the Aegean. The Hospitallers began their campaign to conquest Rhodes in 1306, but others were newly settled or about to increase their influence, such as the Genoese Zaccaria family on Chios (c. 1305) and the Catalan conquest of the Burgundian Duchy of Athens in 1311.<sup>228</sup>

### The Decline of Byzantium and Rise of the Ottomans

The decline of Byzantium and the rise of the Ottomans have to be placed against the background of a divided Western Europe, which increasingly turned its attention to regional squabbles, particularly between England and France. Although there were potential moments of unity, such as the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520 that was meant to discuss a new crusade, at which both the English and French Provincial Hospitaller Priors attended, the general trend was to leave Byzantium and the Latin powers in the east to fend for themselves.<sup>229</sup> It is therefore no surprise that, without help from the West, both Byzantium and the Latin settlements in the Aegean struggled and then fell, at first to the Mamluks and then the Ottomans in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Byzantium was well into decline by the beginning of the fifteenth century. By that time, what remained of the 'empire' was Constantinople itself, a few ports in Thrace, and about half the Peloponnese.<sup>230</sup> The Ottomans had shown their merciless power in the late fourteenth century both in Serbia and during the Battle of Nicopolis.<sup>231</sup> Yet the Byzantine Empire managed to survive, partly because the 1396 crusade of Nicopolis, although a disaster, gave the Empire

---

<sup>227</sup> Gasparis, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories', 101.

<sup>228</sup> See Mike Carr, 'Trade or Crusade? The Zaccaria of Chios and Crusades against the Turks', 115-134, in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*, ed. Nikolaos Chrissis and Mike Carr, Farnham, 2014; Perra, Photeine, <<Ο γενονατικός οίκος των Ζακκαρία (Zaccaria) (13ος-15ος αι. μ.Χ.): προσωπογραφικές σημειώσεις>>, *Βυζαντικά*, 35 (2018-2019), 207-219; Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, 'The Catalan Duchy of Athens and the Other Latin Powers in Greece Especially the Principality of Achaea (1311-1388)' in *Eoa kai Esperia*, Vol. 4, 1999-2000, 87-93 (Originally published in *L'Avenç* 213 (1997) 52-55).

<sup>229</sup> Simon Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, 59, 86; Joycelyne Russell, *The Field of Cloth of Gold. Men and Manners in 1520*, London, 1969, 56, 193.

<sup>230</sup> Warren Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, Basingstoke, 2001, 215.

<sup>231</sup> Αλέξιος Σαββίδης, <<Οι Τούρκοι στα Βαλκάνια. Το θανατικό στη νότια Σερβία (Κόσσοβο, 1389)>>, 85-90, *Βυζάντιο, Μεσαιωνικός Κόσμος, Ισλάμ*, Αλέξιος Σαββίδης, Αθήνα, 2004.

some breathing space, partly through support from the Venetians and Genoese, but mostly due to the Ottomans own divisions after 1402 over succession.<sup>232</sup> This meant the Ottomans wished to avoid friction with the Latins and Byzantium and were prepared to make concessions, for instance Bayezid's eldest son, Suleiman, abandoned his claim to Byzantium and ceded to John VII the whole coast of Thrace.<sup>233</sup>

The Ottomans were not the only Islamic power that posed a threat in the eastern Mediterranean, nor the most powerful in the first half of the fifteenth century, as the Mamluks were still a powerful force. Yet for the Ottomans and Hospitallers another threat existed in the early fifteenth century. In July 1402, the Mongol conqueror, Timur, defeated Sultan Bayezid near Ankara and took him hostage. He then went on to take Hospitaller Smyrna in December the same year, which was never regained.<sup>234</sup> However, the Ottoman assault on Byzantium was only temporarily reprieved. Even though an Ottoman assault on Constantinople in 1422 failed, the real threat they posed meant that Thrace was ceded back to Murad in 1424 in return for peace.<sup>235</sup> Although Emperor John VIII tried to create a possible bulwark against the Ottoman advance in the Peloponnese by entrusting the Byzantine territory there to three of his brothers, and they in turn through warfare and marriage added most of the Latin Peloponnese to their domains, it did not prevent the Turks from conquering Thessalonica, Serbia, Albania and northern Greece.<sup>236</sup>

Although most western powers at this time only paid lipservice to the idea of crusading, the papacy did take seriously the threat to Christian Europe from the forces of Islam. The Union of the Eastern and Western Churches agreed at the Council of Florence (1437-1439) was seen as a prerequisite to a joint crusade against the Ottomans. In 1440, the pope started organising a large crusade force and managed to persuade the major Western powers to take part. The crusaders amassed in Hungary and a fleet assembled at Venice.<sup>237</sup> Serbs, Albanians and Bulgarians rebelled against the Turks as the Byzantine army advanced north from the Peloponnese, led by John VIII's brother Constantine in 1444. However the crusader army was defeated at Varna that year and peace was made with Sultan Murad. Although defeated,

---

<sup>232</sup> Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 216.

<sup>233</sup> Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 217.

<sup>234</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'Timur's Capture of Hospitaller Smyrna (1402)', 337-348, in *Von Hamburg nach Java: Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte. Festschrift zu Ehren von Jürgen Sarnowsky*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf, Christian Hoffarth, Sebastian Kubon, Göttingen, 2020, 339.

<sup>235</sup> Robert Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades, 1096-1699', 217-259, in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995, 253; Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 217.

<sup>236</sup> Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 217.

<sup>237</sup> Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 218.

the crusade made the Ottomans aware of how the West could use Greece as a base from which to attack Turkish lands, and they set about ensuring this would not happen again. In 1446, Sultan Murad II led an army south from Thessaly, but they were not able to take either Patras or Mistra and they realized that Constantinople needed to be taken before they had the resources to sustain a prolonged campaign.<sup>238</sup> On Murad's death in 1451, his son Mehmed II began preparations for an attack on Constantinople. This happened in 1453, and Mehmed's army were able to beat down the once impenetrable walls using cannons. Following the fall of Constantinople, Florentine controlled Athens fell to the Turks in 1456 and in 1460 Mehmed conquered the Byzantine lands in the Peloponnese and the next year he seized the Empire of Trebizond.<sup>239</sup>

Despite the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople and advance into Europe, for most of the fifteenth century the Mamluk sultanate was the greatest power in the eastern Mediterranean. It became especially dangerous after the creation of a successful war fleet under Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay (1422-1437) and his successors. In 1425, an Egyptian fleet raided Cyprus and in 1426 their army invaded the island and captured King Janus. From then on, Cyprus was a tributary of the sultanate, with the Lusignan rulers promising not to harbour pirates.<sup>240</sup> This meant that joint campaigns with the Hospitallers, such as had happened in 1365, when Alexandria was attacked and briefly held, were no longer possible. Hospitaller Rhodes had lost a crucial ally in the eastern Mediterranean. This quickly became apparent in the 1440s, when the Mamluks turned their gaze to Rhodes, aiming to extinguish Christian corsairing. Sultain al-Zahir Jaqmaq's (1438-1453) forces raided Rhodes in 1440, but caused only minor damage. Then in 1443 he attacked Christian possessions on the south coast of Asia Minor, before an attempt to capture Rhodes town the following year, but his troops were easily repelled. No further attack was attempted and peace was made in 1446.<sup>241</sup>

In theory, Mamluks and Ottomans had a common interest in uniting against Latin corsairs, but they were in dispute, supporting rival Turkoman principalities in southern and eastern Anatolia. The Turks were temporarily weakened by their defeats at Rhodes and at Otranto in 1480.<sup>242</sup> This perhaps explains why when disputes with the Mamluks erupted into direct warfare between 1486 and 1491 that the Mamluks won, but not without paying a heavy

---

<sup>238</sup> Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 173.

<sup>239</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 173; Treadgold, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, 219; Λευτέρης Καντζίβος, *Αθήνα 1204-1456: Τα Άγνωστα Χρόνια*, Αθήνα, 2019, 211-223.

<sup>240</sup> Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', 248-249.

<sup>241</sup> Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', 249.

<sup>242</sup> Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', 255.

financial price and at a time of lost revenue, partly due to the Portuguese attempt to usurp their spice trade revenues by blockading the Red Sea.<sup>243</sup> This seriously damaged their ability to maintain power in the region. The Ottomans sensed this and in 1516 Sultan Selim (1512-1520) attacked the sultanate. Ottomans had two critical victories, at Marj Dabiq in northern Syria in 1516 and at Raydaniyya in Egypt in 1517.<sup>244</sup> From this point on, the Hospitallers were almost encircled by Ottoman controlled territory. It was only a matter of time before Rhodes was attacked again.

### Latin Presence in the Aegean

The situation was made worse for the Hospitallers by the erosion of Latin influence in the Aegean. After the subjugation of the last remnants of Byzantium, the Ottomans could focus their resources on expanding into the rest of the Aegean. This pitted them up against a powerful enemy in the Venetians, who had extensive island possessions. This included Euboea, the Duchy of the Archipelago, which comprised almost all of the Cyclades, and Crete.<sup>245</sup> War between Venice and the Ottomans began in 1463.<sup>246</sup> Mehmed first focused on conquering Euboea that required taking the city-stronghold of Negroponte, which he besieged in 1470. The city was taken the same year after a two-month long siege. From this point on the Venetians were on the defensive and losing Lepanto in 1499, and Modon and Coron in 1500 to Bayezid II. However, the Venetians did manage to hold on to their Ionian possessions, with the Ottomans unable to take Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante (Zakynthos) and Cerigo (Kythira).<sup>247</sup> This, however, was of little comfort to Hospitaller Rhodes, who now had only an unreliable potential ally in Venetian Crete. With both Venetian and Hospitaller reluctance to invest resources in mainland Greece for fear of over-stretching their resources, combined with the Western powers dismissal of the papacy's appeal to use Latin Greece as a launch pad from which to commence a crusade<sup>248</sup>, the Ottomans were given time to consolidate their gains in the Aegean before an attack on Rhodes.

This chapter has illustrated how the Hospitallers settled on Rhodes, how they established laws and patterns of tenureship throughout their Aegean possessions. In the following

---

<sup>243</sup> Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', 249-250.

<sup>244</sup> Irwin, 'Islam and the Crusades', 250.

<sup>245</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 174.

<sup>246</sup> See Photeine Perra, Σχέσεις μεταξύ των Ιωαννιτών Ιππότων της Ρόδου και της Βενέτιας κατά τον Α' Βένετο-Οθωμανικό Πόλεμο (1463-1479), *Βυζαντικά*, 27, 2008, 269-285.

<sup>247</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 174-175.

<sup>248</sup> Housley, *The Later Crusades*, 177.

chapters, we will examine if and how these conventions were continued in the early years of the sixteenth century, using the unpublished extant documents in their archives.

### **The Mid-Fourteenth Century *Capitula Rodi*<sup>249</sup>**

First that no patron, *nor marinara*, or any other person throws ballast in Rhodes harbour on penalty of 25 Rhodian bezants.

Likewise, that no person throws ashes from the marine port of Rhodes over 5 *canna*, the penalty for which action is 5 Rhodian bezants.

Also that no butcher, shopkeeper, nor any other person sells, unless weights are stamped with the bull of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, the penalty for such action being 10 Rhodian bezants and the destruction of all their weights, and loss of bezants.

Also that no butcher sells meat beyond the valuation made by means of the valuator of Rhodes, or deputy to the meat evaluators, the penalty for such action being 10 Rhodian bezants and the loss of the said meat sale.

Also that no butcher, nor any other person, sell meat of diseased cattle, nanny-goat, sow nor billy-goat except unless locally regulated, the penalty for such action being 15 Rhodian bezants and the loss of the said meat. Therefore the below article (see \* below) prohibits, neither inflated meat (i.e. made to look bigger and heavier than it is) that this far butchers put, according to this seal.

Also that no fishmonger, nor any other person, sell fish in any other place, except in the fish market of Rhodes, that is to say without the use of weights, the penalty for doing so being 5 Rhodian bezants and the confiscation of the fish.

Also, that no person is able to sell fish, except those who themselves fish from Rhodes, or carry from the sea gate of Rhodes, or themselves take, the penalty for such action being 25 Rhodian bezants.

---

<sup>249</sup> The *Capitula Rodi* (municipal statutes of Rhodes town) has been transcribed in Latin by Anthony Luttrell and is contained in Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, 231-237. It is translated here by myself. Although the exact date that they were written is unknown, Luttrell (*ibid.*, 230) has observed that the handwriting is extremely close to that written by one of the scribes at the 1332 chapter general on Rhodes.

Also, that no innkeeper sells wine except with the said bull of the Hospital, the penalty for such action being 5 Rhodian bezants and for the bull 2 denars.

Also that no bread-maker, or baker sell bread, except that of weight regulated by the castellan of Rhodes, on pain of 5 Rhodian bezants and confiscation of the bread.

Also that no mill-house keep back grain, nor make flour, more than the standard amount (*modium*), except according to weight, on penalty of 5 Rhodian bezants and that the castellan's court has not examined, except that charged by the milling official.

Also, that no mill-house receive grain to be ground for more than 8 denars.

Also that if any mill-house is responsible for the spoiling of grain, that it is responsible to replace the same amount of grain.

Also that no street crier, broker and middleman, hold back anything auctioned, on penalty for which act is 25 Rhodian bezants.

Also, that no retailer buy anything in the market of Rhodes for his trade before the hour of three, the penalty for such action being 5 Rhodian bezants.

Also that if anyone with a sword, or unsheathed dagger strikes, and he wounds anyone in daylight, on the head, face, or hand, and they be injured, on penalty of 200 Rhodian bezants and if other parts of the body, 100 bezants and by one other wound, be to the mercy of the Master (i.e. Grand Master).

Also that if anyone wounds someone at night, or anyone, with an unsheathed sword, or dagger, hurts that is to say the head, face, and hand, on penalty of 400 Rhodian bezants and if other parts of the body 200 bezants.

Also that if anyone commits an attack with weapons against someone else, at his house, with intent, and the same wilfully vexes, or injures, the penalty is 100 Rhodian bezants and if he wounds, that causes bleeding, the penalty is 300 Rhodian bezants and if that person, who is assaulted defends himself, and that same person, who performed the said attack is killed, that person is not to be punished.

Also that he who wounds someone, or anyone with a bulky object, or stone, on the head, the penalty is 100 Rhodian bezants and if on other parts of the body 25 Rhodian bezants.

Also that if an unsheathed sword, or dagger, or other weapon, is used against someone, or anyone, they will appear before a judge in the castellan's court of Rhodes, and be fined double.

Also that if an unsheathed sword, or dagger, or other weapon and with the said sword, dagger, or weapon injures someone, or anyone, they will appear before the judge of the castellan's court and be fined double.

Also that if anyone beats someone, or anyone, that causes bruising, the fine is 25 bezants and if they are not able to pay, the offender is confined in Rhodes town.

Also that if someone, or anyone, is beaten without bruising, or blood, the fine is 15 bezants and if the said beater is poor or deprived, the fine is only 5 bezants.

Also that if anyone slaps, or fights, on the face or head or neck the fine is 50 bezants and if poor or deprived 5 bezants, and if not able to pay, confined in Rhodes town.

Also that if someone, or anyone is wounded in such a manner that damages a limb, the fine is 400 Rhodian bezants, which fine can be half on appeal to the grand master, for other real wounds to the body, or if damaged the same limb, and if the said fine is not settled, that they remain in jail until settled, until he has peace, and agreement with the said master, and injury.

Also that a man, or woman, for a first robbery of a small amount, the fine of one silver mark, and flogged in Rhodes town.

Also that for a second theft of a small amount, the fine of one mark, and branded on the forehead.

Also that for a third theft, in addition to the first theft, on top of one silver mark, they will be hung from the neck until dead.

Also that for speaking ill of God, or his saints, the penalty is 25 Rhodian bezants and that the same blasphemer, is kept separately, and has a third fine, and that if the said fine is not settled, they will stand for half a day in the pillory.

Also that none of those in castellany of Rhodes pawn, nor take other actions without the licence of his superior, for which crime, the penalty is 25 Rhodian bezants and the annulment of his office, and that to the same office no more are able to come to.

Also that if any person opposes an official of the castellany of Rhodes carrying out their duties, the fine for such crime is 5 Rhodian bezants.

Also that if anyone strikes another official of the castellany of Rhodes carrying out official duties, the fine is double.

Also, if it is discovered that anyone commits acts of violence towards women whatever situation exists, they will stand at the mercy of the master.

Also that to pull out a beard, or beard hair, or other angry action, the fine is 50 Rhodian bezants.

\*Also that no butcher, or other for him, puffs up animal meat, the fine being 5 bezants and the confiscation of the inflated meat.

Also, that wounding anyone or someone, and makes peace and agreement with the wounded within eight days, by day, that is made with the said wounded, is held alone until he pays a quarter of damages, or fine introduced, as contained in the statutes.

Also, that if someone causes damage to someone's garden, or land, and they repair the said damage, the fine is 5 bezants.

Also that all such men, with women, also children, also about to be born of Franks and Greeks, are considered and possess the (rights) of Franks.

Additionally, that the known *marinari* are, and stay, in Rhodes town.

Also that those who have slaves, or a slave, that are not on the island of Rhodes, bring them to the said island with the permission of the master.

Also cobblers that sew fur, for their work undertaking, are to follow the regulated price. That is to say that of one pair produced, or lined with fur, to have two and a half Rhodian bezants.



Addition: but on chief feast days to have three, continuing for fifteen days before these festivals.

Also if the said equal garment supports or is covered with silk, with this requiring a large amount of labour, to have three Rhodian bezants.

Also if camel-hair cloth is sewn, and equal cloth, but nevertheless is one, for a large amount of labour they are to have four Rhodian bezants.

Also if three pieces be adorned, and sewn together of cloth, to have four bezants, if of silk five bezants, but if camel-hair is used they are to receive the price of six bezants.

Also all the above said, so much as cobblers are concerned, thus heed responsibilities, except if the client wishes the cloth dignified with adornments, they owe the cobbler the price for the customer's garment as is fairly agreed with the cobbler.

Also, that all positions of tax collectors of Rhodes are nullified, and all tax collectors appointed are to be Franks.<sup>250</sup>

---

<sup>250</sup> Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, 237, suggests this last measure was an ad hoc administrative act rather than permanent legislation. Thus in future it was possible for non-Latins to be appaltators.

### **Chapter Three: Hospitaller brethren and servants on Rhodes and Cyprus, 1500-1522**

Although Hospitaller brethren and servants are mentioned in the course of Chapters Four and Five, they are not the main theme of those chapters, which reconstruct the local communities in the different areas of Rhodes and the other islands under their control. Thus it is worth considering the entries in the *partes citramarine* for what they tell us about those members of the Order or those closely associated with it, while the local communities are still mentioned as a secondary theme. In particular, the personnel and role of chaplain-brothers has received little to no attention in the period after 1500. The chapter will be divided into those who served on Rhodes and a separate section for Cyprus.

#### Rhodes

##### Chaplains

One very interesting grant, though lacking in further information, is the appointment on 4 May 1502 of Fr. Fernando Dies, chaplain of the priory of Castile, to the oratory or chapel of St. Nicholas in the mole next to Mandraki Harbour (*iuxta mandrachium*).<sup>251</sup> It does not state whether the oratory was within or without the fort of St. Nicholas, but presumably it had a close association with it. As part of his duties, Dies was to celebrate one evening mass per day for all the faithful navigating, St. Nicholas being the patron saint of sailors then, as now. The oratory had been part of the fruits of the monastery of St. Augustine in Rhodes town and was vacant due to the death of Fr. Philip of the Augustinian Order.

Some chaplain-brothers had associations and attachments with particular areas such as Fr. Laurentio de Adinau, chaplain of the priory of Germany. On 15 March 1504 it was noted in the chancery, in the presence of Fr. Joanne Parpallia and Thomas de Sancto Martino, that he had been prior of the oratory of St. Mary on Mount Philerimos and that out of devotion and zeal he had performed repairs to the said oratory and castle with the licence of the grand master's lieutenant.<sup>252</sup> However, that was not the limit of his association. Perhaps because of his position as prior of the oratory there, Fr. Laurentio de Adinau had also until recently held a farm called Tavasi, situated at the base of Mount Philerimos in the castellany of Trianda,

---

<sup>251</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 231v-232r.

<sup>252</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 273v.

but had resigned possession, probably for a promotion.<sup>253</sup> Thus on 10 April 1504, Fr. Ludouicus de Schalinghe, Grand Master d'Amboise's lieutenant general in the east, gave a life-grant of the farm to Fr. Nicolaos de Barro, doctor, chaplain of the *langue* of Italy, possibly the same brother found guilty of sodomy in 1494 and confined in Lindos Castle, but if so clearly forgiven ten years later.<sup>254</sup> As part of the conditions of the grant, Fr. de Barro (and presumably Fr. Laurentio de Adinau before him) had to cultivate, maintain and harvest the crops of olives trees, apple trees, or nerangias and old fig trees of the said farm, and enclose it well with hedges and ditches to stop heavy animals from entering. Likewise, it was his obligation to keep the cistern well clean and provide irrigation for the farm and similarly provide an aqueduct, well, and to ensure his deputies enacted these measures.<sup>255</sup>

Priests were also important for administrative and diplomatic duties. For instance, 5 October 1506, Fr. Theobald d'Ambranie, priest of the order of the convent of Rhodes, was to be retained in the church of St. John of the Collachium on Rhodes, perhaps to assist with business remaining after a chapter general.<sup>256</sup> On another occasion, on 19 February 1508, Fr. Iacobus Liro, a priest (*sacerdotium*) in the Order, had licence to go to Crete with the prior of the conventual church of St. John of the Collachium of Rhodes, to see the archbishop of Crete with four priests, subdeacons or deacons.<sup>257</sup> Licence was also given to Fr. Theobaldo Brachomer of the priory of Campanie and Fr. Francisco of the priory of Castile and Leon.

Finally we learn something of the chaplain personnel serving in the south of Rhodes through a dispute between two of the Orders priests. The two who were at odds were Fr. Petro Jazo of the *langue* of Provence, chaplain of the church of Monolithos and Fr. Joannes de Villalobos of the priory of Castile and Leon, chaplain of the church of Kattavia Castle. Fr. Villalobos claimed to be prior of Kattavia, but on 16 April 1504 the Council confirmed to Fr. Jazo that he was the legitimate prior of the church of Kattavia, with all rights and duties.<sup>258</sup> The same day similar letters were issued to Fr. Joannes de Villalobos.

---

<sup>253</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 183v-184r. Possibly Tavasi was a Latin corruption of the Greek Η βάζση, as the farm was at the base of Mount Philerimos.

<sup>254</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 183v-184r; Malta Cod. 77, f. 134v. For more on the case of sodomy, see Simon Phillips, 'Maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor', 89-99.

<sup>255</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 183v-184r.

<sup>256</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 199v.

<sup>257</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 182r.

<sup>258</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 181v.

## Knight-Brethren

Some knights we only know about due to vague references to them without full details, such as Fr. Paulo de Cola, who was a knight of the *langue* of Italy. On 22 December 1505, he was granted a garden (*viridarium* or *hortum*) on Rhodes, but it does not state where or for how long.<sup>259</sup> Other documents relate more to the duties and dues that knight-brethren owe in order to hold their positions, like those specified to the governor and guardian of St. Peter's Castle in 1505 after the chapter at Piedmont, who should write all things in a receiver's journal.<sup>260</sup> In another example, on 31 May 1507, Grand Master d'Amboise set down the conditions for holding offices.<sup>261</sup> Regarding the office of seneschal of Rhodes, there needed to be a book of accounts for the grand master's viewing and the grand master expected 200 ducats per annum for the office. This would be paid to the grand master's deputies Joannis Caloriti and Perot Bigot. From the pillars, the grand master was to get 100 aspers for every 5 florins of their income. On those conditions Petro Buchiero was declared the 'prothomagistro' of the seneschal in the presence of Fr. Emerici de Rochechouart, lieutenant of the seneschal, and Fr. Joannis Donay receiver of the grand master, also in the presence of Andrie Marchesi, Joannis Caloriti, Perot Bigot and Bartholomew Policiano. It was presumably on those terms that, on 29 January 1510, the future grand master, Fr. Philippe de l'Isle Adam, at that point commander of Troyes, Lanoy and Cruce en Brie in the Priory of France and master of the Hospital, was elected to the office of seneschal for life.<sup>262</sup> The bailiffs, castellans and officials of Rhodes were to obey him. L'Isle Adam also took on duties when other senior brethren were away. For instance, on 28 July 1511, when Fr. Andreas d'Amaral, chancellor of the convent was absent from Rhodes in Tripoli and Syria, he sent the sum of 500 gold ducats from the town of Tripoli via his slave named Bubach.<sup>263</sup> This was acknowledged by the bailiff of the Morea, Fr. Philippe de l'Isle Adam, seneschal of the grand master and Fr. Joannis Parpallis, conservator general of the order.

Knight-brethren are better known than chaplains, but their interaction with Rhodes itself through aspects such as land tenure is not so well known. Through the details given in the documents we discover how the knight-brethren interacted with their environment and learn more about the others who lived on Rhodes from the incidental details. One such example is

---

<sup>259</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 201v-202r. No date is given, but it was between 10 July and 26 September 1505.

<sup>260</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 194r-197r.

<sup>261</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 177r-178r.

<sup>262</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 217r-v.

<sup>263</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 238r-v.

given on 4 October 1503, after the death of Pierre d'Aubusson and before Emery d'Amboise arrived on Rhodes, when Fr. Guy de Blanchefort was lieutenant general of the grand master on Rhodes. On that day the Council confirmed to Blanchefort a life-grant by d'Aubusson of his (the grand master's) garden (*viridarium*) situated in the *contrata* of Livada (between Malona and Archangelos) on Rhodes, situated to the west the public road, to the north certain fields, to the east partly the public road and partly other gardens, and to the south the road leading to St Michael's Church, possibly the church in Archangelos.<sup>264</sup> Blanchefort certainly had factors that took care of business and servants were definitely employed to tend to the garden, which was granted to increase his income as the document states he was to have all profits from it. Still, the implication is that this was land reserved for the grand master himself that was leased to favoured senior brethren.

Another favoured knight-brother in the early 1500s was Fr. Andrea d'Amaral, at that time commander of Vereituris in the priory of Portugal and conservator general of the common treasury. On 17 December 1504, at his request he was granted a house situated in the castle of Rhodes before the old infirmary, which had to the east the tholos of the munitions treasury, to the south the road to the door of the infirmary, to the west the way leading to house of the sometime Fr. Raymond Fluvian, and to the north the *coheunt* of the said house with the sometime garden (*jardino*) of the treasury and others.<sup>265</sup> Grants of property within the *collachium* were reserved for those most senior or most favoured.

Another grant to a senior member of the order, the Castellan of Amposta Fr. Diomedes de Villaragut, gives details not only of a number of properties granted to him, but also shows clearly a decision made at a lower level that was later confirmed by the chapter general, a clear sign that the Hospitallers were not such a centrally controlled organisation as they have sometimes been portrayed. This is because the document was dated on Rhodes in the auberge of Italy on 4 November 1504 and then confirmed in the chapter general on 17 December 1504.<sup>266</sup> It is clear from this document that Fr. Villaragut had control of many possessions within the 'castle', that is the *collachium*. It is also apparent that non-brethren lived, worked and owned property within the *collachium*. The details of the grant are as follows. Firstly, he was granted a house, which to the north had a garden (*viridarium*) and to the west a similar garden, to the south the house of Catherine (surname blanked out) and to the east the house of

---

<sup>264</sup> Malta Cod. 394 f. 270r-v.

<sup>265</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 21v. Possibly the *coheunt/coeunt* was some structure that was part of the house.

<sup>266</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 190r-191v.

Philippi (surname blanked out). Villaragut was further granted another house situated in the castle that had to the north a garden, to the east the public road and the house of St. Augustine's, to the south the house of St. Mary and to the west a garden of the grand master. He was also given a house or shop that had to the east the apothecary of Chiriaci, the wife of Nicolai Anapulus, surgeon of Rhodes infirmary, to the north the field of Macelli that was in between a tholos and Rhodes Castle, to the west a tholos that he held as Castellan of Amposta, and to the south the public road. Finally he was granted a chapel that used to be in the patrimony of Viverer the wife of Mendagne Bistayni that was in the castle in the *contrata* of St. Demetris, which had a tholos to the east of the old hospital, to the south the garden (*jardinus*) of the old hospital, to the west the public road and to the north the house of Catherine, former servant of Fr. Francisco de Bossolx, which was to go to the church of St. Demetris after her death. The house and tholos, cup, dish and ecclesiastical ornaments were also given to the oratory or chapel of St. Demetris for the priest to celebrate mass in the said chapel. Like other chapels in the church of St. John, mass was to be celebrated against the 'infidels' every two weeks, one for the dead and another for the Virgin Mary. It was noted that the chaplain of the chapel was absent from Rhodes serving on the trireme going to Kos and St. Peter's Castle as part of the caravan. This document was repeated virtually word for word on 1 February 1510, though with a few more details. So will be detailed here to ensure the context is not lost.<sup>267</sup> Fr. Ludovico de Scalinghe the grand master's lieutenant and prior of Lombardy was conceded two tholoi in Rhodes town in the area of St. Sebastian and two houses in the castle of Rhodes, with the oratories or chapels St. Mary and St. Demetri within the castle of Rhodes by letters to Fr. Scalinghe, Admiral, from the time when d'Aubusson granted the shrine (*sacellum*) or chapel next to the garden of the Admiral in the castle of Rhodes in the neighbourhood (*vicina*, later called *contrata*) of Tersenalis, which to the honour of the said named saints Mary and Demetris the churches were dedicated, and the proceeds of the chapel was for the priest to celebrate, which two houses within the castle of Rhodes in the *contrata* of Tersenalis were bordered to the north by the garden (*viridarium*) of the Admiral next to Tersenalis, to the west similarly the said garden, to the south the house of Catherine Suriane, and to the east the house of Philippi de Mediolano and the public road. Likewise another house situated within the said castle in the *contrata* of St. Demetris, within the boundaries to the north the garden of the Admiral, to the east the public road and the house of St. Augustine, to the south the house of St. Mary, and to the west the grand master's

---

<sup>267</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 206v-209r.

garden (*viridarium*) and cistern, which title was purchased and acquired by Nicolaos Cathelano. The two ovens or tholoi or shops were in the area St. Sebastian in Rhodes town and near the house of the sometime Dragonetti Clavelli within the confines, to the east the storehouse of Chiriaccii the wife of Nicolaos Anaple surgeon of the Rhodes infirmary, to the north the provision-market field, which was in between the said tholos and the castle, to the west the tholos of the Castellan of Amposta, Fr. Diomedis de Villarugut, and to the south the public road. Likewise the said chapel that had lately been under the jurisdiction of the sometime Annuza Cotissa, the wife of Fr. Mendagut Biscayni, acquired the house in the castle sited in the *contrata* of St. Demetris bordered by to the east the tholos of the old hospital, to the west the public road, to the north the house Catherine formerly servant of the sometime Fr. Franciscus de Bossolx, which indeed was the house of the said Annuza, which she willed to the said church after her death. In the said church for the future remembrance (i.e. services) were given from the house and tholos the cup, dish and ecclesiastical ornaments to the said oratory or chapel of St. Demetris out of which a wage for a priest to say mass had to be found. Fr. Joannes Begiome, commander of Placentie Suse and Pontus of the priory of Lombardy when on Rhodes, and in his absence a brother of the convent, and in his absence the Count of Polsasco would nominate the Admiral of the langue of Italy. There is also mention of the chapels in the church of St. John, where with the previously detailed chapel masses should be celebrated for the success of the Order against the 'infidels' and the dead on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday at St Mary the virgin, and the priests to say psalms in deep commemoration for all the faithful deceased. Four masses a week were to be celebrated. It seems the buildings and the services were neglected, and the procurators of the *langue* of Italy had licence to ensure the buildings and the tholos of the castellan of Amposta were repaired. Again it was noted that the said chaplains who celebrate mass are absent from Rhodes serving on the triremes going to Kos and St. Peter's Castle on the caravan, so other priests are to take their place. This last point is worth stressing, because it is often overlooked that those pursuing a spiritual profession in the Hospitallers also served in conflict zones. Castles, forts, towers and knight-brethren on the caravan would have a chaplain with them, for solace, but also to take their last confession should they be fatally wounded.

Knight-brethren were also granted property outside of the town, which created a nominal link with the countryside. For example, Fr. Petros Marmo, knight of the priory of Castile and Leon, was granted for life the vineyard of the late Fr. Alfonsus Soltero, wine bailiff of the

island, on 10 July 1505 for 10 gold florins.<sup>268</sup> Fr. Soltero had planted vines in the castellany of Castelli Novi (near Embonas) and due to his death the vineyard was in the grand master's hands. The vineyard was situated having to the north with the vineyard of Demetris Platitero and the grand master's own vineyard, to the east the vineyard of Pannis Forsa, and to the west the public road that went to the castle of the town. Fr. Soltero initiated the cultivation of vines in the castellany, though it was his vocation to do so. In another case we learn that a previous senior brother had been granted land in the countryside. On 28 October 1506 Grand Master d'Amboise issued a general proclamation that recalled a previous confirmation by Grand Master d'Aubusson of a grant by a previous grand master to Fr. Louis de Magnac commander of Cyprus (1451-1461), who had title and right to land situated in the area of Rhodes commonly called St. Alexia within that castellany of Herime.<sup>269</sup> It was bordered to the east by the hill of the mills up to the rivers and streams (*aquis pendentibus*) of Chioti, to the south the area commonly known as 'tis trippes', to the west the area called 'Cochino coma', and to the north with 'garedella tonono' and its *aquis pendentibus*, which had been diverted to the north to the farm and other residences and farms that the sometime Fr. Ludovicus Ascripsit held. Fr. Donycardo de Cardona, former commander of Fanibre in the castellany of Amposta, appropriated the above land with a tholos next to the church for the defence against the incursions of the Turks. The same Fr. Donycardo had requested from d'Aubusson in 1500 to dwell and live in the *casale* of Herime, on the major part of the said farm with tower and other appurtenances for 15 Rhodian florins a year. However, excepted from the grant was the garden that was after the church and next to the tower to the south, which was reserved for the recreation and sustaining of priests who celebrated mass in the church of St. Alexei, and a priest who celebrated mass for Fr. Magnac in the church of St. Anthony. Here we have a case of a knight-brother who lived on the land he leased from the grand master.

### Servants

Information on servants is of great value, as they are generally not mentioned as often as brethren, yet they were the ones who formed part of the local communities on Rhodes, the other islands under Hospitaller control, and on Cyprus. Sometimes brethren could come into dispute with the Hospitallers' servants, when it came to the latter performing their duties. At

---

<sup>268</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 193v-194r.

<sup>269</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 197v-198v.



that point the grand master and the council would step in. *Discreti viri* Ioannis Exarchos, citizen of Rhodes and tax collector (*publicani et appaltatoris*), in the city of Rhodes, had noticed some infringements of the statutes on 25 October 1503. As appaltator of the *gabella*, Exarchos claimed that Fr. Yuyegus de Ayalla, Fr. Johannus Ycart who lived in the red castle (*castelli rubei*), which could be a reference to Kastellorizo, had possession of certain commodities and a slave, for which taxes were due. Fr. Yuyegus answered that they were not obliged by the statutes to pay and Fr. Ycart answered similarly adding that the captain of the *castelli rubei*, Fr. Berengary de Requesens, had bought and lived with the said good slave. After some deliberation, the council decided on 29 November 1503 that the *gabella* was not binding on brethren. However, there was another statute forbidding the purchase of merchandise for sale, and the council pronounced that Frs. Yugegus Ayalla and Joannes Ycart should release the said property.<sup>270</sup> Both Exarchos and the brethren were partly right in this case.

In other cases we know of servants and their neighbours because these servants were rewarded for their service to the Order. On 17 December 1504, Grand Master d'Amboise confirmed to the skilled and learned (*perito et litterato*) honorable Rhaphaole de Penclienat, the grand master's secretary, a house situated in the parish of St. Cozi Church, that Grand Master d'Aubusson had originally granted.<sup>271</sup> It had to the east a garden (*viridario*) of the house of sometime Rerondo, acquired lately by Amarietta Costaromena, widow of the said Rerondo, and to the south the house of Damiani Argentero, to the west the public road to the herb market of Capreo Polixene, and to the north the house of Mariette and Charles Carralenas. Another skilled servant was *dilectus nobilis in Christo* Joanni, a scribe literate in the Turkish language.<sup>272</sup> Grand Master d'Aubusson had granted him the legitimate title to an atrium situated in the *contrata* of St. Demetris, which atrium consisted of two residences. In front of the atrium and one residence there was land, to the south there was a garden (*viridario*) and to the east a house. Also to the east there was a public road and to the north a house. On 20 May 1506 the grant was confirmed for the annual sum of 10 Rhodian aspers, with the first payment to be made in the festival of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. The value of having a scribe who could read Turkish, for example to translate messages that were

---

<sup>270</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 270v-271r.

<sup>271</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 23v-24r.

<sup>272</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 196v.

intercepted, fully warranted the reward given to him.<sup>273</sup> It should be noted that normally correspondence with the Ottomans was conducted in Greek, so that knowledge of Turkish was valuable for other reasons, either for espionage or for communication with Turkish merchants.<sup>274</sup>

A final grant was to an influential and long-standing servant, *speciali viro* Bartholomew Policiano the Order's vice-chancellor and secretary *nobis charissimo*, who had taken over from Caoursin in the former post. On 1 February 1510, Grand Master d'Amboise, the bailiffs and brethren in the chapter general then being celebrated, granted Policiano for diligent service, that is 20 years as secretary and ten years as vice-chancellor, an annual pension of 100 gold scudi for life from the spolia of the six priories in the kingdom of France, vacant due to deaths, and so the revenues came to the communal treasury.<sup>275</sup> He was also reconfirmed in his office as vice-chancellor from 1 February 1511 and his pension was to start on the same date. The fruits from the six priories were to be deposited with *speciali viro* Claudio Laurensia, citizen of Lyon, his deputy or future deputies. This was not the only privilege that Policiano was granted, as will become apparent in Chapter 4.

### Cyprus

Cyprus after 1500 is an interesting case in Hospitaller terms. The kingdom had become a Venetian possession in 1489 and it is widely believed that the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, based at Kolossi, also came under Venetian control around the same date. There was, of course, the Petit Commandery, yet we still find references after 1489 to those connected to the Grand Commandery, Hospitaller knights, chaplains and servants up until the eve of the siege of Rhodes, when this study ends. Clearly Hospitaller influence and interest in Cyprus continued after 1489 and a study of the personnel on Cyprus might help establish what relationship the Order had with the Venetian colony, as well as informing us on the continuing links between the two islands.

---

<sup>273</sup> Hospitaller-Ottoman correspondence was normally conducted in Greek, which makes it more likely the scribe was used for the grand master's intelligence service.

<sup>274</sup> For correspondence, see Malta Cod. 391, f. 172r-173r, from 1493.

<sup>275</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 206r-v.

## Chaplains

The main Hospitaller administrator in the early years of the sixteenth century was the chaplain-brother Fr. Francisco de Constanza. He was the prior of their house and church of St. John in Lefkosia (Nicosia), the capital of the island. It was to him that the grand master wrote with news of appointments and instructions, not the head of the grand commandery based at Kolossi. For example, the grand master wrote to him on 12 August 1512, after information provided by the governor of the grand commandery, Master John Antony Odoaxius, knight. Apparently Tristan of Jerusalem, bailiff of the *casalia* of Chera (Geri?), Mora and Angastina, dependants of the Grand Commandery, had not been maintaining these *casalia* or paying responsions, despite being urged to by Master John. Thus he was neglecting his duties and preventing the auditors from doing theirs. Fr. Constanza was to rectify the situation.<sup>276</sup> This was not the only problem the Hospitallers had with their possessions on Cyprus, especially concerning responsions. The grand master and council again wrote to Fr. Constanza on 12 August 1512 because master John Antonius Odoaxius, *eques auratus* and governor of the grand commandery of Cyprus informed them that there were 'nullum emolumentum' from the commandery and that Fr. Andreas Maripetro, commander for life of Kolossi in the grand commandery (perhaps a relative of Marcus, the previous commander), did not follow up on the dues.<sup>277</sup> After deliberation, the council required Master John Antonius Odoaxius to give testimony in writing by a public notary and Fr. Andreas to apply pressure to allow responsions to be sent to Rhodes. Yet not all was problematic in the early sixteenth century. For instance, Grand Master Carretto wrote to Fr. Constanza and Fr. Andreas Maripetro, the commander of Kolossi on 25 May 1514, informing them that Fr. Mutius Constantino, commander of Temple, was confirmed in that possession for taking good care of the land.<sup>278</sup>

As if financial worries and struggles to maintain the Hospitallers' possessions were not enough, Fr. Constanza also had to deal with unruly brethren who damaged the reputation of the Order. One such case concerned Fr. Petrus de Julliolis, *Cyprius*, who was elected a brother of the Order on 9 December 1508, after a period as a novice.<sup>279</sup> At first Julliolis' career seemed to progress quickly, and by 12 October 1511 the grand master and council

---

<sup>276</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 238v-239r.

<sup>277</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 239r-v.

<sup>278</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 235r-v.

<sup>279</sup> Malta Cod 81, f. 113r.

were addressing him as 'Cyprio nostri ordinis professo' in connection with administrative duties.<sup>280</sup> In this case Fr. Ioannes Parpallia, procurator of Cardinal Corneli grand commander of Cyprus, had ignored three subpoenas to attend the council and explain to an enquiry why the *casale* of Agrokipia in the bailiwick of Chiera (Tseri or Geri), part of the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, returned a value of 'nulla et nullius valoris'. Julliolis was given a mandate to terminate the collation, that is, separate Agrokipia from the grand commandery. However, by 12 August 1512, he was in trouble being described by the grand master to Fr. Constanza as 'maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor'.<sup>281</sup> Fr. Julliolis was accused of 'deflowering the virginity' of a certain Magdalene, the young daughter of a certain Zachus a resident of Aracapas, in such a violent manner that the said Zachus went to the Lord of Cyprus for justice, asking for the incident not to go unpunished. The council required Zachus, Magdalene and relations to appear and speak in the court and on the part of the Order for Fr. Petrus to appear before a notary public and give an account in writing. If he was found guilty, Fr. Constanza was to punish Julliolis accordingly.

There are no more references to Fr. Julliolis' case in the Hospitallers' records, though he is mentioned again three years later, on 22 June 1515. He is referred to as Fr. Petro de Juliolis, Cyprio, 'nostram ordinem professo'.<sup>282</sup> It is strange that someone who had been in the Order for seven years should be described as thus, but all becomes clear later. The document states that after six months probation on Rhodes, he could now go for instruction in weapons under the Order's supervision. The likely scenario is that he was found guilty of rape, lost his habit, and after two years was readmitted to the Order, but this time to train as a knight-brother, as clearly a wholly spiritual life was not in his character. The next reference we have to Fr. Julliolis is just over a year later, on 25 July 1516, where again he is described as a 'Cyprio' and knight of the Order.<sup>283</sup> If he really was a Cypriot, it would be a rare example of a local being allowed to join the Order, which was forbidden in the Hospitaller statutes. It is more likely he was from a Latin family that had long-standing links, or were even settled, on Cyprus. Perhaps because of what happened in 1512, the Hospitallers were not keen for him to stay long on Cyprus: he was allowed to leave the convent on Rhodes to go to Cyprus to take part in negotiations on behalf of the Order, but had to return by the end of the following March (1517). On 28 February 1517, his absence from the convent was extended until the

---

<sup>280</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 232r-v.

<sup>281</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 239v-240r. The phrase translates as 'led by a wicked soul and heedless of his profession'.

<sup>282</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 222v.

<sup>283</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 212v; Ibid. f. 213v.

last day of September 1517.<sup>284</sup> The following year, it seems it was considered safe for him to return. On 30 May 1518, *dilectus nobilis in Christo* Paraschenas, son of Leondi Clorie Earia, of the *casale* of Agrokippia in the grand commandery of Cyprus, was to pay 10 bezants for the right of tenancy to Fr. Petros de Julliolis, administrator of the said *casale*.<sup>285</sup> The following day, Fr. Juliolis had licence to leave the convent to go to said *casale* and manage its affairs.<sup>286</sup> His link with his homeland had been restored.

### Knight Brethren

Knight-brethren were usually more prominent in the records than chaplains or servants, though in the sixteenth century on Cyprus only a few are mentioned. In 1505 Fr. Marcus Maripetro is noted as being commander of the Grand Commandery, and as noted above, the position appears to have been passed on to a relative, Fr. Andreas Maripetro.<sup>287</sup> This trend for relatives to ‘inherit’ commanderies was noticeable in other parts of Europe, for example Dinmore commandery in England was passed on from Prior Thomas Docwra to Fr. Lancelot Docwra. Often agreements on who was to be granted a commandery were made prior to the vacation of the incumbent. Thus on 30 July 1506, Fr. Antonio Constancio, knight of the *langue* of Italy, was to be granted the position of bailiff of Temple Cyprus commandery after the death of Fr. Nicolas de Utina of the same *langue*, the current legitimate commander and keeper. This was due to the death of Fr. Baptiste de Coronia, the previous commander. It was to be held for life under the same terms that Fr. Coronia had held it, that is, for the annual sum as decided at the 1498 chapter general to be paid into the common treasury of 35 gold ducats. A note of 1 August 1506 detailed that the grant was an agreement between Fr. Nicholas and Fr. Antonio and that it did not come into effect until the death of Fr. Nicholas.<sup>288</sup> Another brother granted possession of several estates was Fr. Gregorio Morgati, the commander of Villefranche (Villefranche-de-Conflent) and La Pachea in the Priory of Navarre. Firstly on 20 April 1510 Grand Master d'Amboise and those from the complete council retained from the chapter general recently celebrated granted to him the fruits of the *casale* of Gastria, a dependency of the Grand Commandery.<sup>289</sup> It had been occupied illegitimately by a secular person, had been recovered and was granted to Fr. Morgati to

---

<sup>284</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 222r.

<sup>285</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 224v.

<sup>286</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 225r.

<sup>287</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 193r, 20 May 1505.

<sup>288</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 197r.

<sup>289</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224r.

defend it. The residents of the *casale* were to give homage to him. The following year, on 20 August 1511, he was given confirmation of a grant of the *casalia* of Ega (Emba?) and La Cruso (Akoursos), members of the Grand Commandery, who the former commander Fr. Marcus Maripetro had granted him.<sup>290</sup>

Some brethren took on the role of messengers between Cyprus and Rhodes. For example, it was noted that on 24 July 1506 Fr. Joannis Argensola, captain of the barge armada, brought letters from the lieutenant of Cyprus dated at Lefkosia on 28 May about the intercepting and sequestration of goods from Saracens to the disadvantage of the Latins on Cyprus. The Order was to send as commissioners Fr. Jacobo Aymer and Fr. Cenrardino de Grimaldi to the Doge of Venice to resolve the issue.<sup>291</sup>

### Servants

Servants were the grass roots representatives of the Hospitallers and as such they were the most important elements to ensure the smooth running of the estates, even if they had the least status. However, securing a position as a servant meant a secure future and as we have seen elsewhere, the Hospitallers took care of their servants, even in their twilight years.

One of the most important offices was that of the scribe, as they recorded all the business of their commandery. A long-standing servant in this capacity on Cyprus was *delecto nobilis in Christo* Dominic Falcone, scribe of Kolossi Castle in the Grand Commandery. On 20 May 1505, on his supplication, he was given confirmation of his previous appointment by Fr. Marcus Maripetro, the commander of the Grand Commandery, and was to have the fruits of the office.<sup>292</sup> Again at his request, he was confirmed as scribe of Kolossi on 5 January 1510.<sup>293</sup> This time he is described as *discreto viro* Dominico Falconi, which indicated he was held in higher esteem than five years previously, perhaps due to his good service. Grand Master d'Amboise and the brethren retained from the complete council of the chapter general, referring to the 1505 confirmation, reconfirmed his office to him that the sometime commander Fr. Marcus Maripetro had granted him, with all privileges, duties and salary for life that commanders of the Grand Commandery present and future were to respect. The 1505

---

<sup>290</sup> Malta Cod. 400 f. 237v-238r.

<sup>291</sup> Malta Cod. 397 f. 198v-199r.

<sup>292</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 193r.

<sup>293</sup> Malta Cod. 400, ff. 209v-210r.

document did not state that the appointment was for life, so it appears that servants had to undergo a period of probation before they were granted tenure.

However Falcone was not the only scribe in the grand commandery of Cyprus, nor was he the senior administrator. On 13 August 1507, *nobilis viris* Ianos Symritico, *Cyprio*, the head scribe of the Grand Commandery of Cyprus present on Rhodes and Marcos his son, absent from Rhodes were confirmed in that office for life.<sup>294</sup> It was noted that Grand Master d'Aubusson had granted Ianos the post for life in a bull dated on Rhodes on 5 October 1495 and after many years of service, the council confirmed the post to Ianos, after him, to Marcos. Here we have an example of a post that was inherited, just as land could be passed on to relations, and indicates how an appointment could secure the future not only of the office holder, but his descendants. It was also possible for scribes to be given other administrative duties. For instance, on 21 March 1512, *speciali viro* Andretto Xero, *Cyprio*, general scribe for 14 years in the Grand Commandery of Cyprus, was granted the post of general bailiff for life of Germasogia with its pertinences and all *casalia*, being paid 50 ducats annual wages.<sup>295</sup> His appointment was on the recommendation of the lords John Antonius Odoaxius, cavalryman (*equitis*) and Jacobo Cornelii, nobleman of Venice, governors (*gubernatorum*) of the Grand Commandery, after the death of Polini de Jerusalem. As with Ianos Symritico, Andretto Xero appears to have passed on his positions to his son and perhaps they served concurrently. Marco Antonio Xero was noted as a scribe of the Grand Commandery of Cyprus on 13 May 1519.<sup>296</sup> Then, on 1 October 1519, Marco Antonio, son of Andretto Xero general scribe of the Grand Commandery, was made bailiff of the *casale* of Germasogia.<sup>297</sup> From these examples it becomes clear how indigenous Cypriots came to gain influence of certain local areas. This was a trend that was apparent on Hospitaller properties in other parts of Europe as well.<sup>298</sup>

However, the Hospitallers did try to ensure that not all their servants were local. For example, on 14 April 1519 Grand Master Carretto wrote to Alfonso Doria and his wife, who was part of the master's Rhodian household, living in Cyprus.<sup>299</sup> He was granted the office of bailiff and treasurer of the hospice of St. John in Lefkosia, part of the Grand Commandery of

---

<sup>294</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 178r-v.

<sup>295</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 235v-236r.

<sup>296</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 210r-v.

<sup>297</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 203v.

<sup>298</sup> See Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, Chapter Six, 'The Prior and the Secularisation of the Order in England', *passim*.

<sup>299</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 212v.

Cyprus, to hold with its possessions as did other holders of the office, on either the cession or death of Tristan de Jerusalem, the present legitimate bailiff and treasurer in Cyprus. The grant was confirmed by Grand Master Philippe de Villiers de L'Isle-Adam on 11 October 1521.<sup>300</sup>

### Possession of the Grand Commandery

Finally, for Cyprus, the status of the Grand Commandery needs to be clarified, with reference to the documentation available: clarification is needed because histories of the Hospitallers and of Cyprus suggest that the Order lost control of many of their possessions on Cyprus in the later fifteenth century. George Hill says that the appointment of Fr. Mark Crispo (commander of Verona), Queen Catherine's uncle, as grand commander in 1475 'was the first step in the process which ended in the permanent attachment of the Grand Commandery to the Cornaro family' and that this was done in order to expediate the full payment of responsions.<sup>301</sup> He elaborates that Crispo was followed by Fr. Marco Malipiero, who died on 9 January 1508 and at that point the grand master granted the Grand Commandery to George Conaro's son (the nephew of the queen), Cardinal Marco Conaro. However, the Pope and Council of Ten objected because Conaro did not bear the cross, and the Pope granted the Grand Commandery to Fr. Peter Grimani.<sup>302</sup> More recently Ekaterini Aristidou has argued that in 1488, 'with the consent of the Order, Kolossi passed into the possession of the Cornaro family' and that the first owner was George Cornaro, brother of Queen Catherine Cornaro.<sup>303</sup> What light do the documents in the Hospitallers' archives shed on the status of the Hospitallers on Cyprus in the sixteenth century?

Firstly, there is no question that the Hospitallers granted the Grand Commandery of Cyprus to the Cornaro family and did so by consent. On 17 November 1507 Grand Master d'Amboise confirmed a bull of Grand Master d'Aubusson on 20 February 1489 concerning the granting of the Grand Commandery of Cyprus to the noble Cornaro family.<sup>304</sup> By the 1489 agreement, Marco Cornaro was granted the lease of the Grand Commandery, but Fr. Marcus Maripero was to continue as grand commander for life. Cornaro was to pay to the treasury on Rhodes the annual pension of 2000 Venetian ducats at the festival of St John the Baptist in June.<sup>305</sup> Thus, from the Hospitallers' viewpoint, the Grand Commandery did not pass into the

---

<sup>300</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 180v-181v.

<sup>301</sup> George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1948, 698.

<sup>302</sup> Hill, 792-793.

<sup>303</sup> Ekaterini Aristidou, *Kolossi Castle through the Ages*, 5th edition, Nicosia, 2004, 31-32.

<sup>304</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 180r. The 1489 document referred to is Malta Cod. 390, f. 190v-191r.

<sup>305</sup> Malta Cod. 390, f. 190v-191r.



possession of the Cornaro family forever, as Aristidou implies, but was leased to Marco, not George, as Aristidou states, although as Marco was in his minority in 1489, his father may have had influence in the commandery. The document does not state that the commandery was sold and Hospitaller Fr. Maripiero was there to oversee the commandery.

Further details were given on 17 March 1508, after the death of Fr. Maripiero, when Grand Master d'Amboise wrote to Marco Cornaro, cardinal deacon of St. Mary in portico Church.<sup>306</sup> In Marco's minority, the commandery was granted to the Cornaro family of Venice by Grand Master d'Aubusson and the convent, for the good of the Order, by a bull dated on Rhodes in the Convent on 20 February 1489. Due to his minority, bailiffs were appointed and there was the question of the 'anciatis' or rights of service in the Grand Commandery of Cyprus and its members. This meant that Fr. Marcus Maripiero, head bailiff and grand commander, who had been confirmed by Pope Alexander VI in Rome in St. Peter's on 9 January 1498 and again on 4 October 1500, continued to be commander, which the grand master confirmed by a bull of 17 November 1507. However, due to the death of Fr. Malipiero the Grand Commandery was vacant, and Fr. Andreas de Martinis, Prior of Hungary and receiver in Venice, was confirmed to the commandery as noted by Pasimum de Gratarolis in Venice on 11 January 1508 in the presence of John Andrea and Dominico de Arboribus, Venetians. Fr. Martinis was confirmed as the ultimate legitimate commander, to have all members, *casalia*, buildings, waters, woods, cultivated and uncultivated land, as all previous commanders had, for the annual payment in gold of 2000 Venetian ducats into the communal treasury on Rhodes, to be paid at the festival of St. John the Baptist in June, vacant in the said festival for 1509. Similarly, the Order's deputies in Cyprus at the same festival were to be paid the sum of 80 Cypriot bezants. For those two sums, as was agreed originally with Grand Master d'Aubusson, the Hospitallers confirmed to Marco Cornaro the commandery. This was further confirmed on 4 November 1510, after letters in the register of bulls for 1493 and 1494 and a concord and pact between Grand Master d'Aubusson and the procurators of the said Fr. Maripiero in the registers for 1496 and 1497 and in the year 1507 were scrutinised by the vice-chancellor, Bartholomew Policiano.<sup>307</sup> In conclusion, even though the Grand Commandery was under control of the Cornaro family, it was a lease subject to the payment of responsions and the Hospitallers' bailiffs on Cyprus. A commander was still appointed to run the commandery

---

<sup>306</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 182v-184v.

<sup>307</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 209r-v.

and as we have seen above the Hospitallers had a considerable presence on Cyprus up until their departure from Rhodes.

As far as interaction with the local community is concerned, the situation was different to that in the Aegean, as Cyprus was a separate kingdom. Most of the interaction was with the local Latin rulers, so it is difficult to discern the relations with the local Greek population. If the case of Fr. Julliolis is anything to go by, then relations were frayed, though as has been noted, Julliolis may have been a Latin-Cypriot and his actions may be more of an indication of how the Latin rulers on Cyprus treated their Greek subjects, as much as Hospitaller - Greek Cypriot relations. Nevertheless, the Hospitallers took this case seriously and followed the same policy as they did in the Aegean trying to settle the dispute quickly by holding an inquiry and then, it seems, punishing the guilty party. Additionally, they employed Cypriots in their administration, which shows a level of trust and gave at least some of the local population a reason to desire their presence on the island.

List of Properties from a Sixteenth Century Manuscript, 1533<sup>308</sup>

La gran comandaria de Cypro:

casal Mora	casal Giromasogia (crossed out)
casal Angustina	casal Chiglinchia (crossed out)
casal de S. Zorzi	casal Chiglinchia
casal Achira	casal Eftagogna
casal Agro Chipia	casal Vigla
casal Mincero (Mitsero)	casal Closiari (Klonari)
casal Mavro Vunos	casal Glossa
casal Cato Moni	casal Agrio Clada
san Tarse	casal Sanida
casal Messorini	casal Vassa
casal Cognsa	casal Monagrulli
casal Ville	casal Armenochori
casal S. Constantino	casal Chierochitia
casal S. Paulo	casal Latieri

---

<sup>308</sup> This list is from an unnumbered manuscript in the library of the Archaeological Museum in Nicosia. It is dated 14 December 1533. It has been compared with the list in Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1855, 502-503. Both agree on the value of the Hospitaller properties and all but two of the casalia have the same name.

casal Rucapa  
casal Apisuos  
casal Mathi Coloni  
casal Paramali  
casal Gierasia  
casal Maramenos  
casal Gieromasogia

casal Acursos  
casal Igna  
casal Colosso  
casal Traconi  
casal Asomato  
casal Fasuri  
casal Crinra  
casal Nostra Dona de Logara

suma in tutto casali No 41 val pro stimo  
ogni anno ducatis 8000

---

Sa ducatis 8600

La comandaria de la Finicha:

casal Finicha  
casal Santo Erini  
casal Anaira                    } casali No 5  
casal Platanisso  
casal Calo Iannachia

val pro stimo ogni anno - - - ducatis 1600

La comandaria del Tempio val pro stimo – ducatis 200

## Chapter Four: The Greek and Latin communities on Rhodes, 1502-1522

A large part of the Order's records in the early sixteenth century deal with their day-to-day dealings with those who were resident on the island, essential both to avoid discontent as well as to ensure the smooth running of their purpose there. This interaction must have taken place all over Rhodes, not just in Rhodes town, though the extant records tend to concentrate on the city of Rhodes itself. However, there is mention of other areas where the populous were gathered, that is, the villages and countryside around them, on the eastern side from Rhodes town down to Lardos and on the western side of the island down to Embonas, on, or near to the coast. This is not surprising as the local communities tended to gather round the castles that were mainly built near the coast for protection, though it is also possible that castles, whether Hospitaller built or earlier, while having a mainly defensive function, were also positioned in places where they could be easily supplied by local produce.<sup>309</sup> The sixteenth-century Hospitaller records of the southern and central parts of the island are virtually non-existent. This could be because the local 'manorial' records, that is, those of the various *casalia*, were never copied into the records of the convent, and there was no time to retrieve them in the ten days between the surrender of the town to Suleiman and the Hospitallers' departure from Rhodes. Before looking at the bulk of the information, which is on Rhodes town, it is worth exploring life outside the main urban area, as it is still relatively unresearched despite Luttrell and O'Malley's book on the countryside (mentioned in Chapters One and Two), and for the sixteenth century hardly at all. Not all the places of habitation on Rhodes are mentioned in this chapter, but only those mentioned in the Hospitallers' archive relating to the sixteenth century.

### East Coast Settlements

#### Lindos

One main centre outside of Rhodes town was Lindos Castle, the town below it and the lands that it controlled within the castellany of the same name. A bull of 10 April 1502 clearly identifies the function of land grants and how the order relied heavily on the local population.<sup>310</sup> On that date, an agreement was reached with certain residents in the castle and

---

<sup>309</sup> Michael Heslop has looked at the defensive system of Rhodes and the islands of the south-east Aegean in various articles, now available in a collected edition: *Medieval Greece Encounters Between Latins, Greeks and Others in the Dodecanese and the Mani*, London, 2021.

<sup>310</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 228r-v.

*casale* of Lindos, that they deliver to the deputies or their assignees of the castle 630 Rhodian *modios* (1 *modio* = 2 gallons of dry measure) of their crops to provide provisions for the castle, and also they were responsible for the repairs to the castle. In return, Grand Master d'Aubusson granted them 192 modiates of land situated and positioned in the castellany of Lindos commonly called Staphilia (there is an area called Staphilia today, south-west of Lardos). It is significant that the thirty-eight people named were, according to the document, all Greek, some of whom had the same surname and were probably related. They also appear to be listed, at least at first, in order of seniority, first the priests, two of whom might have been related, and then a senior administrator. For the rest no distinction is made between them.

Table 1: Named Residents of the *Casale* and Castle of Lindos, April 1502<sup>311</sup>

<b>Surname</b>	<b>First name</b>	<b>Title (where given)</b>
tu Agnasta	Anthonius	
tu Athumy	Michael	
tu Callan	Georgius	
Calomeus	Manolii Theodonis	
Capsuta	Georgius	Papas
Catasambas	Nicolaus	
Cuiatas	Georgius	
Diachos	Achumis	Logochetio (logothetis-senior administrator)
Diamitianos	Michael	
Falcos	Manolius	
Gandis	Anthonius	
Icalonitus	Anthonius	
Leochis	Georgius	
Logothetis	Michael	
Mallolas	Johannes	
tu Mielliu	Anthonius	
tu Mielliu	Georgius	
tu Mielliu	Theodonis	
Miscos	Manolius	
Molinos	Georgius	
Molinos	Stephanus	
Molinos	Manolius	
Nichos	Manolius	
Papas	Constantinus	Papas
tu Papatis	Michael	
Papatis	Anthonius	

<sup>311</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 228r-v. In the table, they are not listed in order of seniority, but in alphabetical order, so that possible family relations can be more easily identified.

tu Paticun	Nicolaus	
Pithias	Johannes	
Pithias	Scignis	
Pithias	Anthonius	
Preculis	Michael	
tu Protopapatis	Manolius	
Samathitis	Anthonius	
Spechidelli	Johannes	Papas
Spechidelli	Georgius	Papas
Tangeis	Manolius	
Tissophios	Anthonius	
Zinos	Georgius	Papas

The people listed, of course, were not the only residents of the Lindos area, but those who oversaw the administration of affairs of the Greek community if not more, plus the cultivation of crops and the delivery of supplies to the castle. That there was a senior administrator suggests that the others listed here were also administrators, some of whom may have been based outside the castle or even in the Staphilia locality.

From the occurrence of the surnames, we can conclude that certain families were predominant in Lindos, including three people with the family names tu Mielliu, Molinos and Pithias, as well as the two priests named Spechidelli. One of those priests, Georgius Spechidelli, Greek notary and protopapati, was still a resident of the castellany of Lindos in February 1510, when Grand Master d'Amboise in the Chapter General confirmed on him the said office in that castellany for life that Grand Master d'Aubusson had granted him.<sup>312</sup> Certainly in the case of the Molinos family, it appears that they were long-term residents of the area who could gain favour with the Order, such as the bull of 4 August 1515, in which Grand Master Carretto exempted Jacobus to Molinos of Lindos from doing service in the Hospitallers' galleys.<sup>313</sup>

The Hospitallers began their administration of Lindos, and in particular Staphilia, early on in their occupation of Rhodes, as is clear from two confirmation bulls dating from 13 March 1516. In the first Grand Master Carretto recalls a deed of Fulk de Villaret on 4 November 1314 concerning 10 modiates of land called Staphilia belonging to Lindos Castle.<sup>314</sup> The second document refers to a bull issued by Grand Master Héliion de Villeneuve on 26

<sup>312</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 220v, 1 February 1510.

<sup>313</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 222v.

<sup>314</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 225r-226r.

February 1322 and addressed to the community of Lindos castle confirming that the land called Staphilia was a possession of the said castle.<sup>315</sup>

Such a long administration of lands, in the above case of Staphilia dating back 200 years, was bound to form strong links to local families. For example on 15 January 1510, Grand Master d'Amboise confirmed to Florentina to Podara of Lindos Castle a grant of 20 August 1473 by his predecessor, Grand Master Orsini, of an enclosure in the castellany of Lindos for good service to the sometime Fr. Paulo Seguro, castellan of Lindos Castle.<sup>316</sup> The grant applied to her, her heirs and successors. Locals, also, had a strong attachment to their area, as was also the case for Michaelis Bombara 'protholatomo' (protholatomos = Chief quarryman) of Lindos Castle, who was resident in the Order's service at Narangia Castle, Kos. On 6 July 1512 he requested that his wife, son and descendants be able to live in Lindos Castle, noting that his mother and father were from Lindos. Letters in Greek were examined pertaining to a concord regarding his rights in Lindos castle and nothing was found that was against the interests of the Order, so his rights were confirmed.<sup>317</sup>

Further evidence of the predominantly Greek population of the Lindos region comes from a confirmation of 3 November 1510 of a mill to Antonio Iatumi alias to Sophies, inhabitant, which Fr. Guillemo de Lestano, castellan of Lindos Castle, was to ensure remained in his possession.<sup>318</sup> Furthermore, on 20 July 1514, Grand Master Carretto confirmed Georgio Chioti and Sevasti tu Sapilla, parishioners of the *casale* of Lardos, possession of a piece of land that was part vineyard and part 'corafi' (field) in the said *casale*, bordered by the vineyard of the 'proto papa' of the *casale* on one side and the property of the castellan of the *casale* of Lindos on the other side.<sup>319</sup>

With such a large Greek population, the Hospitallers made sure that they kept on good terms with their spiritual leaders, the clergy. On 18 January 1511, Grand Master d'Amboise granted 'papati' Constantino Exarco, inhabitant of Lindos Castle, and other priests who were nominated his heirs, the church of St. Nicholas within the limits of the *casale* of the castle, in the area ('loco', later called *casale*) known as Armeno. They had the right to celebrate mass

---

<sup>315</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 226r-v404, f. 226r-v.

<sup>316</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 217r.

<sup>317</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 238r-v.

<sup>318</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 204v.

<sup>319</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 238r.

according to the Greek rite forever.<sup>320</sup> On 14 March the same year the priest Michael tu Protopapa was confirmed in possession of St. Stephen's Church in Lindos Castle to serve the Greek community there.<sup>321</sup>

Although Greeks comprised the bulk of the population of Lindos, there were others who lived or traded there, apart from the brethren of the Order. For example, on 12 January 1504 Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, Grand Master d'Amboise's lieutenant general, instructed Fr. Guillelmo Listan, the castellan of Lindos, to allow Dominic Turrino, his officials and men to sell the cargo of their caravel.<sup>322</sup> Turrino must have arrived at Rhodes town and then gained permission to trade at Lindos as well. That Lindos was singled out for a special licence indicates that it was the second most important coastal settlement on Rhodes. Turrino also had a general licence granted the same day to sell goods on Rhodes for services he has given the Order.<sup>323</sup> However, there was also a resident Latin population at Lindos, as a document of 1 February 1510 expresses concern for the Latin ex-patriots and ecclesiastical Latin rites of the inhabitants of Lindos Castle, perhaps because they were becoming Grecified.<sup>324</sup>

### **Archangelos and Surroundings**

Another area that had a sizable population outside of Rhodes town was the town of Archangelos and the villages surrounding it, such as Malonas and Masari. There was also an important monastery in the vicinity and two castles, that at Archangelos itself and at Pharaklos (modern Charaki).

As with Lindos, the links with locals in Archangelos went back generations. In a document of 17 May 1504 Stephano Arfara, inhabitant of the *casale* of Archangelos, requested a confirmation of a grant by Grand Master Pierre de Corneillan (1353-1355) dating to 15 October 1354 that had become illegible and had lacerations, concerning land that was leased for 32 denari and 2 aspers a year.<sup>325</sup> The grant recalled how Guillelme, widow of Petri Ademarii, held lands in the *casalia* of Melissina and Masari. Fr. Guinetti Arnandi, bailiff of Rhodes (in 1354), was aware she held 9 modiates of land in the area called Melissina that had to the west the road to Masari, to the east the road to Archangelos and to the south land of the

---

<sup>320</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 210r-v.

<sup>321</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224v; Malta Cod. 400, f. 215r.

<sup>322</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 272r.

<sup>323</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 272r.

<sup>324</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 218r-v.

<sup>325</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 181v-182v,



Hospitallers. Likewise in the *casale* of Masari she held 2 modiates of land with land of the Hospitallers surrounding it on all sides and another six modiates of land in Masari. This grant that also applied to the heirs and successors was given in the presence of Fr. Petrus de Mayronis of the Council (1354) and reconfirmed in 1504 by the grand master's lieutenant general. Apart from offering an example of land tenure by one family dating back 150 years, the reference to the torn document that Arfara wanted replacing, plus the above case in Lindos where Bombara had letters in Greek suggests that there were always two copies of documents: one kept in the Hospitallers' records and one issued to the leaser of land, or other purposes.

Most of the documents on the Archangelos area concern either ecclesiastical or military matters. Four entries concern the monastery of St. Nicholas. On 16 October 1509 Grand Master d'Amboise granted to the venerable Climi, Rhodiot, of the order of St. Basil, a church on the small island next to the *casale* of Archangelos on Rhodes, which was a possession of the monastery of St. Nicholas, of which he was abbot.<sup>326</sup> He was granted the spiritualities and temporalities for life and to diligently ensure the celebration of mass in the church according to the Greek rite. On his death, control would then revert to the Metropolitan of Rhodes. The partial remains of the church, 13.6 metres in length and 7 metres wide, still exist on the islet near Archangelos, opposite the coastal village of Stegna. The next mention of the church was on 11 May 1518, when it was granted for life to the venerable papatis Iacobos Goffo, Rhodiot. It must have been in a rundown state by then, as part of the condition of the grant was that he should revive and cultivate its spiritualities and temporalities. The church was still under control of the monastery of St. Nicholas, which followed the rule and habit of St. Basil (Vasilis). He was to find a good priest or monk for the order of St. Vasilis to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite.<sup>327</sup> A month later, on 18 June 1518, Fr. Schefferes, knight of the priory of Catalonia and castellan of Archangelos, was ordered by Grand Master Carretto, at the request of the Metropolitan of Rhodes, to collate the monastery and church land under the control of Iacovos, who was the 'protho papa' of Archangelos.<sup>328</sup> A final mention of the church/monastery of St. Nicholas comes with a confirmation of rights over it of 22 November 1521 by the new Grand Master Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, to the venerable Machairo Hieromonacho Esevli 'calogero' (monk) of the order of St. Basil, Rhodiot, and other

---

<sup>326</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 215r-v. There was a connection between this monastery and St Katherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.

<sup>327</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 223r-v.

<sup>328</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 225r.

monks.<sup>329</sup> It had not always been under the control of a monk or priest, such as in 1452 when the patronage was granted to Johannes Josephi, burgess of Rhodes, who was to make any necessary repairs to it, ensure an abbot and at least four monks were maintained there and that divine service was practiced.<sup>330</sup>

There was one more important monastery in the Archangelos castellany, that of St. Theodore, which was situated on the mountain between Archangelos and Malonas.<sup>331</sup> On 13 February 1515, Grand Master Carretto, because of the affection he had for the monastery, confirmed to Arsenios Xisti of Rhodes, monk of the order of St. Basil, a grant by Grand Master d'Amboise of a vineyard and field to the monastery and associated church for 5 florins a year. The bailiff of Rhodes and castellan of Archangelos were ordered to allow possession to Arsenos of the associated church and its appurtenances and to celebrate divine service. The Metropolitan of Rhodes was informed.

A final grant on a religious theme, to a monk, though not associated with the above monasteries, dates to 30 May 1511, with the donation of the church of Our Lady of Calisteni in the vicinity of Archangelos with appurtenances to Moysi Comita, 'Calogiero' and Rhodiot, our vassal.<sup>332</sup> The bailiff of Rhodes and the castellan of Archangelos, present and future, were informed and were to ensure he enjoyed quiet possession.

It is clear from the above examples that Archangelos, as its name suggests, was a place of religious significance and that the Hospitallers respected and upheld the rights of Greeks to worship according to their customs. It is also of interest that the head monk or priest was in each case a local Rhodiot and both monasteries followed the rule of St. Basil. Additionally the Metropolitan of Rhodes was consulted and it appears made suggestions on appointments.

The remaining documents on the Archangelos area all concern Pharaklos castle. Archangelos had its own castle in the period under study, plans for which had been in the making since 1400.<sup>333</sup> However it was Pharaklos Castle that was traditionally the place of refuge in times of attack, and from the fourteenth century onwards was also used as a prison for wayward

---

<sup>329</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 186v-188v

<sup>330</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'Monkless *Monasteria* on Hospitaller Rhodes' 259-270 in *Studi di onore del Prof. Giorgio Fedalto*, Istituto Ellenico di studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Biblioteca, No. 32, Athens and Venice 2016, 266.

<sup>331</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 241v-242r.

<sup>332</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 217r.

<sup>333</sup> Malta Cod. 330, f. 120.

knights.<sup>334</sup> In the sixteenth century, one such case occurred on 2 April 1510.<sup>335</sup> Acting on letters from Pope Julius II from St. Peter's in Rome on 5 August 1509, Grand Master d'Amboise instructed Fr. Guillemo le Grung, commander of Fines in the priory of Alverne, castellan of Pharaklos castle and bailiff of the island, to keep Fr. Georgius Arera, knight of the priory of Portugal, in prison due to the murder of Edoardi de Acunia. He is to be punished in accordance with the Order's statutes.

The other entries relate to the appointments to Pharaklos Castle. On 13 July 1514, Grand Master Carretto appointed Fr. Perino de Ponte, commander of Panealerii in the Priory of Lombardy, as bailiff of Rhodes and castellan of Pharaklos Castle, for his long service, with all the rights of previous holders.<sup>336</sup> However, appointments were not just military in nature. As with all castles or towers of significance, the spiritual needs of the community there needed to be met, so there was a resident chaplain. On 12 September 1515, Fr. Juliano Sicardi chaplain of the *langue* of Provence, was granted the position of prior of Pharaklos Castle, vacant due to the resignation of Fr. Petro Mose, who took up Sicardi's old position on Mount Philerimos.<sup>337</sup> Sicardi was to celebrate divine service and offer spiritual solace to Christ's faithful. As there is no mention of celebrating mass according to the Greek rite, as is common when the Greek Church is involved, one presumes he was serving the needs of Catholics within the castle. Yet he did not serve long in that position, as on 20 November 1515 Fr. Joannis de Morandis, chaplain of the *langue* of Italy, was appointed prior of Pharaklos due to Fr. Sicardi's resignation, with the same benefits and responsibilities.<sup>338</sup> Presumably a more advantageous position became available for Sicardi.

### **West Coast Settlements**

The main areas of settlement according to the extant records were Trianda, Philerimos, Kremasti, Villanova and Embonas. These were fertile lands that were ideal for farming, in particular for vines, but also other produce such as various fruit and olives.

---

<sup>334</sup> Ibid; Malta Cod. 321, f. 226.

<sup>335</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224v.

<sup>336</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 237v.

<sup>337</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 223v.

<sup>338</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 223v.

## **Trianda and Kremasti**

Trianda was a castellany that was between the sea to the west and Mount Philerimos to the East. It was also bordered by the outer limits of the castellany of Rhodes in the area known as Malpasso to the north, and the casale of Kremasti to the south. The entries tell us not only who leased land, but the produce that was grown and what was used to cultivate it. We also gather information on the religious personnel in the area.

It was very important to the Hospitallers that their lands were cultivated and improved. For that reason, if land was neglected, it was granted to someone who had proved their efficiency. Such was the case in Trianda on 26 August 1502 when Grand Master d'Aubusson granted to Georgios Zangaropoulos, who was not a member of the Order, but was the castellan of Trianda, his heirs and successors forever a garden (*viridarium*) consisting of four modiates of land.<sup>339</sup> The farmers had neglected the lands and the trees planted had gone wild, but Zangaropoulos restored them. The garden was positioned to the south the public road leading to the castle of Trianda, to the west was the vineyard of the heirs of Baltassaria Pasquino, to the north the vineyard of Bartholomew de Recho, and to the east the public road beside the vineyard.<sup>340</sup> He was to hold the associated appurtenances, including a water channel (*aqua fluminis*) and an ancient aqueduct (*aqueductu antique*) that with the water channel leads to a cistern that serves the garden, all for an annual payment of ten Rhodian florins due annually in September. A *viridarium* can be variously translated as tree plantation, tree-garden or pleasure garden, though in this case it was probably a plantation of fruit trees. Clearly this garden had a very good irrigation system, so good that others tried to tap into it, for on 1 February 1504 Zangaropoulos had his rights upheld by the grand master's lieutenant general, Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, because the water channel (*aqua fluminis*) had been interfered with by some of the inhabitants of the castellany in May 1503, which affected the capacity of the aqueduct.<sup>341</sup>

Although the above grant was of an orchard of some sort, most of the land leased in Trianda was for the cultivation of vines, sometimes to locals, sometimes to the Church and also to Hospitaller servants and brethren. Land tenure could be quite fluid. For example, an undated document in the 1507 *Liber Bullarum* concerns the late Nicholai Chavaro, 'vineret', whose

---

<sup>339</sup> Malta Cod. 394 f. 233r-v.

<sup>340</sup> Exactly where the castle of Trianda was situated is not know, nor whether it was the same as one of the two castles at the top of Mount Philerimos.

<sup>341</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 273r.

legitimate and natural daughter Marietta, under the wardship of papatis Nicolai Zazali of Rhodes had for her life a vineyard with a house within the castellany of Trianda, her mother Maria having passed on.<sup>342</sup> After her death and that of any heirs, the vineyard was to pass to the church of St. Mary Hecteriotisse in the Castellany of Rhodes and *contrata* of Cellures as given in a testament of Chavaro dated in the Hospitallers' house in Montpellier on 9 April 1504, noted and signed by Chadrum Manelli, bailiff of that town. The 1504 testament, which is repeated word-for-word, reiterates that after the death of any heirs the vineyard would go to the said church, for which one weekly mass will be said for Chavaro. The previous holdings of the vineyard are recanted, having been held by Georgii to Pardopulo, then Antony, first son after the death of Georgii had, then Tareny relict of Georgii, then a Georgii Votza and his son Stephan, who had vacated possession. The vineyard, field or farm not being cultivated was given to the church. The Hospitallers' Council note that papatis Censonergy Grero, monk, and papatis Fotis Conomo, factor (*tabellario*) of the Greeks of Rhodes, with Andrea Marchesy and Nicolao Vergonti were to cultivate with the consent of the said Marietta and Antonio Zazali, surgeon and public notary, who alienate the vineyard to the said church. In return, six masses per month were to be celebrated according to the Greek rite forever in the said church for Nicolai Chavaro. This was agreed on 21 July 1506, in the presence of Nicolaos Anapla, Georgio Meltelluno to Antimastoro and Johanne Capsica, inhabitants of Rhodes. A confirmation of 1 February 1510 to Marietta suggests that the church was carrying out its duties, mentioning the six masses.<sup>343</sup> We can tell from the names the Greek origin of many inhabitants of Trianda, especially with Tareny making her agreement 'et sibi lingua greca declaratis'.

However, not all people who leased land necessarily lived in Trianda. For example in early February 1514, esteemed justice Doctor Laurentio Domingo, citizen of Rhodes and judge of the castellany of Rhodes was granted the vineyard commonly called 'de dragono' situated in the castellany of Trianda and *contrata* or neighbourhood (*vicinia*) of Megaliqui, vacant by the resignation of the factor of the sometime Costas Calomeli, who Grand Master Baptista de Orsini had granted to him in 1467, his heirs and successors. Domingo was to have and hold the vineyard as did Calomeli and his successors in perpetual emphyteusis for the annual payment of 120 bottles of wine.<sup>344</sup> As an important official in the castellany of Rhodes, Domingo would not have lived in Trianda and the vineyard for him was a source of income.

---

<sup>342</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 234r-235v.

<sup>343</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 226r-v.

<sup>344</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 202r-203r (3 February 1514), f. 206r-v (8 February 1514).

Similarly, on 10 May 1514, 'Spectabili Viro' Bartholomew Policiano, vice-chancellor and secretary of the Order, for 22 years service, was granted a vineyard consisting of 12 modiates of land in the castellany of Trianda and *contrata* of Mixi situated to the west the vineyard of Bernardini Ros, to the north the public road that leads to Trianda, to the east other land of theirs, and to the south the public road that leads to Philerimos, for 12 aspers per year, to be paid at the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in the month of September.<sup>345</sup> This was further confirmed to him on 11 July 1517 with instructions to the castellan of Trianda to ensure he had possession.<sup>346</sup> It is also unlikely that *speciali viro* Franchesco Quiromo alias Stampalea, *justicia* of Rhodes, actually lived there, given his duties. On 8 June 1517, he was confirmed in possession of 50 modiates of land in the *contrata* known as Canalishema in the *casale* and castellany of Trianda, originally granted on 4 March 1511.<sup>347</sup> We cannot be certain that Francisco de Corson who was granted a vineyard in Trianda at the discretion of Joanni de Guarie, castellan, on 8 July 1517, lived there, as he is not described as a resident there.<sup>348</sup>

Sometimes people who were not even resident on Rhodes were granted land. Similar to the case in Lindos mentioned earlier, on 14 April 1515 a Johannis de Lastico 'catapusino' of Narangia castle on Kos, his inheritors and successors were granted forever 17 modiates of land on Rhodes in the *contrata* of Mixi, sited between two vineyards, one towards Philerimos and the other towards Trianda not being cultivated. The land was situated within the boundaries to the west the vineyard of Bartholemew Policiani, vice-chancellor of the Order, to the south the public road to Philerimos, to the east land of the Metropolitan Church of Rhodes and to the north the road to Trianda. The 17 modiates were given in recompensation for 20 modiates yielded to Fr. Philippe de Villiers (the future grand master), Hospitaller and Seneschal, Andole Gentili receptor of the commandery of Bergony, Theodone de Salivero castellan of Trianda, in the said castellany, locally called 'de viedessino'. Sixteen of the modiates lately held by Arnaldo Berlino citizen of Rhodes, were within the confines, to the east and north by 'statemena civis' neighbours, to the west Murbassia and to the south Constantinus Pollici and Carborius Restantes. In front (*antem*) of the four remaining modiates

---

<sup>345</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 236r-v.

<sup>346</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 233v-234r.

<sup>347</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 235r-v.

<sup>348</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 232v-233v/406, f. 232v-233v.

bought by Nicolas tu Murbassia, in the *contrata* of Radio, had in the area to the north 'fracinelli', to the west Georgius Anagusa and to the south the public road and a waterway.<sup>349</sup>

Nevertheless, most people mentioned appear to live in Trianda or the surrounding area, either because it is stated or through implication. For example, on 28 January 1504, Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, the grand master's lieutenant general, confirmed to Loysa, little daughter of Augustino Zaverra, parishioner of the *casale* of Trianda and Angelina tu Marulla, parishioner of the *casale* of Kremasti (which is next to Trianda), for the faithful service of Zaverra to the late Grand Master d'Aubusson in his palace, that she was born in a legitimate marriage and was the legitimate heir of his possessions in Koskinou.<sup>350</sup>

Clergy, due to their vocation had to be resident in their local areas and grants of churches tell us not only about them, but confirm that there was an active community in that area. On 29 May 1504, the grand master's lieutenant general confirmed to 'papati' Stavriano of the *casale* of Kremasti on Rhodes a grant by d'Aubusson concerning the church of St. George situated within the boundaries of the *casale*, with his right to perform divine service and hold an associated vineyard.<sup>351</sup> On 22 August 1513 the grand master's lieutenant confirmed to papati Ioanni Sophyano of Rhodes and the *casale* of Kremasti for his life, the parochial church of Sancte Marie Catholichi (the present day Panagia Katholiki) in the *casale* of Kremasti.<sup>352</sup> Sophyano had repaired it at his own expense and erected necessary works in honour of God and Christ's faithful, and was allowed to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite. All officials were to ensure this and mandate to the reverend master Metropolitiss or his substitute to allow this. Returning to Trianda, on 17 June 1514, Grand Master Carretto confirmed to papati Johanniss Marmara, Rhodiot, that he was the legitimate priest of the church of St. George Manglana, situated in the castellany of Trianda, and he was allowed to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite. The Metropolitan of Rhodes had a mandate to present him.<sup>353</sup> Less than a month later, on 10 July 1514, the grand master confirmed to papati Joannis, son of papati Antony de Ionca of the *casale* of Trianda, the church of St. Michael called Aios Straticos, situated in the area called 'tis mimuries', to have, hold and possess as previous priests, with the right to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite. The Metropolitan of

---

<sup>349</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 220r-v.

<sup>350</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 272r-v.

<sup>351</sup> Malta Cod. 395 f. 182v.

<sup>352</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 199v-200r.

<sup>353</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 235r.

Rhodes was to see that he came into possession.<sup>354</sup> Also on the west coast, not far from Trianda and Kremasti, papati Stavriano tu Papatis of Rhodes was granted the liberties of St. Nicholas Church in the *casale* of Villanova on 23 August 1514, with permission to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite.<sup>355</sup>

Priests of the Order were also granted churches in the area, either due to resignations or death. On 8 August 1515 Fr. Petro Mose, chaplain from the *Langue* of France, was appointed to the priory church of Our Lady on Mount Philerimos on the resignation of Fr. Juliano Sicardi who exchanged churches with Mose.<sup>356</sup> Sicardi resigned positions twice between August and November, clearly intent on quick promotion within the Order. Then, on 26 October 1516, Fr. Anthonio de Corogua chaplain of the *langue* of Italy was granted the priory church of St. Katherine de Villanova after the death of Fr. Bartholomew Bonetri.<sup>357</sup> These two cases appear to be appointments to special churches, only for the Order's use and not granted out to regular Greek or Latin clergy.

### **Villanova**

Villanova was a village on the west coast, south of Kremasti, which grew up around the palace and castle instituted by Grand Master Helion de Villeneuve, approximately where the modern village of Paradissi is situated. However, historically, even as late as the 1930s, the village was known as Villanova and the hill that it was at the foot of was called Mount Paradiso.<sup>358</sup> Apart from the references made to the village earlier in the chapter, there was one document that mentioned a court hearing in Villanova, concerning land held in the area of Archangelos. On 4 November 1505, the sons and heirs of the sometime Andronicus Procathumeno, citizen of Rhodes, had requested confirmation from Grand Master d'Aubusson, now asked Grand Master d'Amboise for confirmation of land leased in the castellany and *casale* of Rhodes and other areas on Rhodes.<sup>359</sup> They also requested confirmation of land that the sometime Johanne Irosillio alias Papadopulo had leased, which

---

<sup>354</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 237r-v.

<sup>355</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 241r.

<sup>356</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 223r.

<sup>357</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 214r.

<sup>358</sup> BL MOD DR 47. This is a Ministry of Defence copy of a 1935 map of Rhodes, from the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese, which was captured by the British and Allied forces and is now held in the British Library.

<sup>359</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 198v-201v.



land called Valani situated in the castellany.<sup>360</sup> Joannis Atimii and Angelina, the children and heirs of Andronicus, claimed the land in Valani and also land called Stimelissa. The council in the chapter general on 17 December 1504 commissioned Fr. Philip de l'Isle Adam, alias de Villers of Troyes and Croys en Brye in the priory of France, master of the hospice and Nicolao de la Tisane castellan of Archangelos and the commander of Blarso and Trani in the priory of Baroli, to investigate.<sup>361</sup> The findings were presented to the bailiff of the island Fr. Bertrando Corali commander of Bellechassagne and Fr. Raymund de Rogeriis, castellan of that area, to 'spectabilis viris' Roberto de Perutiis doctor and judge ordinary in the Castellany of Rhodes and Bartholomew Policiano vice-chancellor and secretary of the Order with Francisco Giberti, notary, who all say is senior in the castellany of Rhodes, though the presentation took place in Villanova in the grand master's court there. It was stated that the sometime Laurencio Sebassi, notary in the year 1374, recorded that the keeper of the castle was Raymund de Ungula who held land called Stimelissa. This was later stipulated by the sometime Michael Rolandi in 1462, where it appears the sometime Joanne Crosilio alias Papadopoulo sold to the sometime Andronico the said land. This was witnessed by the then scribe of the island Francisco, who had been proposed by the vice-chancellor Nicolao de Fourtetis replacing the late Petro de Guichart and Bartholomew de Recco former scribes. The land of Valani was sold for 20 florins and Andronicum gained it for 36 florins. Grand Master d'Amboise and the council confirmed his heirs in control of the said lands on 31 October 1505, and they were to pay 300 aspers per year due at the nativity of the Virgin Mary each year starting in 1506. Although the document is mainly about land in Archangelos, it is important in the context of Villanova, as it illustrates how the grand master was still using his country residence there and holding court there as well. We know that the grand masters had residences outside of Rhodes town at Rodini, Malpasso and Villanova that they would retire to in the summer and at times of plague. The above case, though, was in November, which suggests there was another reason for his visit. It may be that he was touring the island, surveying the land and defences, as documents appear to suggest from the fifteenth century, when in January 1421 he was out of the town, as far south as Kattavia and then at Villanova.<sup>362</sup> His court would go with him, so that the everyday business could continue.

---

<sup>360</sup> Levalani, Luttrell says possibly the no longer extant village of Valanidi, some three kilometres north-east of Archipolis, Luttrell, *Countryside*, 152, n. 4. However, in 1365 it was a *casale* in the castellany of Pheraklos. Clearly they are not referring to the castellany of Rhodes.

<sup>361</sup> Given that the castellan of Archangelos was involved, it is likely that Stimelissa was in that castellany, and perhaps was the same as Melissonas, an area south of Archangelos Castle.

<sup>362</sup> Luttrell, *Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 274-275.

## Embonas

Another place that had a sizeable population, still on the western side of the island, but much further south than the above-mentioned and slightly inland, tucked away in the foothills of Attavyros Mountain, was the village of Embonas. Embonas today is famous for its wine, but at the beginning of the sixteenth century its produce was varied. For example, on 6 June 1503, Grand Master d'Aubusson granted Nicolaos Pelicarchi, freeman, his sons and heirs a farm in the area of Embonas on Rhodes, which has to the north the end of the *casale* of Castelli Novi, to the west the castle of St. Marte, to the south with Mount Attavyros and to the east the confines of the *casale* of Palone, to cultivate and have animals and stalls/pens, for a quarter measure of the fruits which the inhabitants of the *casale* of Polone (or Palone) gave.<sup>363</sup> Others combined landholding with other duties, such as Nicolas Aspro Xenii who on 14 November 1514 held lands in the castellany of Embonas, including at Mandriko, as well as being appointed guard of the locality due to the death of the grand master's servant and vassal Bernardino de lo Salto, inhabitant of Monolithos.<sup>364</sup> Here Grand Master Carretto was fulfilling a promise made by Grand Master d'Aubusson to Nicolas that he would be the next guard of Embonas.

As with Lindos, the Hospitallers' links with the inhabitants of Embonas go right back to the first half of the fourteenth century. Thanks to the custom of repeating documents verbatim when a confirmation was made, we can trace the date of settlement of Embonas to 1 December 1336. On that date, Grand Master Helion de Villeneuve granted Johannes, Nicola, Georgius and Manolis Zenede, brothers, and Michalis Mandeos and Jannis Perpinias, their heirs and successors licence to live in the *casale* of Embonas, as it lay in waste and was not inhabited.<sup>365</sup> They were given various incentives to move there, such as for the first five years they were not to be charged services, taxes and dues or the tenth on their animals. Nevertheless they still owed a proportion (*mortirum*) of their produce, and after five years had ended, they were to pay a third of their annual produce, plus other taxes and dues including a tax on their bees as do other serfs. However, they were free forever from the service (*angaria*) and requisitions (*perangaria*) associated with villeinage. They also had to do watch duty, similar to the duties of the guard of the locality that Nicolas Aspro Xenii owed in 1514. These rights were confirmed and renewed to the inhabitants of Embonas by Grand

---

<sup>363</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 241v.

<sup>364</sup> Malta cod. 403, f. 242v-243r.

<sup>365</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 221r-222r.

Master Roger de Pins on 1 October 1364, and Grand Master Carretto confirmed them to Antonius Capsica, inhabitant of the casale of Salakos, Constantinus Vulacho inhabitant of the casale of Villana on Rhodes, Michael Thiliaco and Demetrius Thiliaco and others on 8 May 1515, who held land in the vicinity of Embonas.

The final entry for Embonas, on 5 October 1519, links events in the wider Aegean with Rhodes, tracing the Ottoman advance. On that date Grand Master Carretto granted Scharra Chelmi, Pullmierro Chelmi, Joanni Chelmi, Petro Chelmi, Theodoro Chelmi, Anne and Nicolai Chelmi, Chira Diaco Pascalopulo, Nicolas Corfiati, Georgio tu Cachi, Georgio Theopia, Anni Chelmi, Anne Chira, Antonio Massali, Nicolao tu Scharra Chelmi and Georgio tu Cachi, Albanians living on Rhodes, the right to stay in the casale of Aros, outside the castle in the castellany of Castelli Novi.<sup>366</sup> They had come to Rhodes during the time of Grand Master d'Amboise (1503-1512), fleeing from the Ottoman army that came to the island of Negroponte (Chalcis on Euboea) where they were living, and went to live in the castellany of Embonas. They were granted the right to move and cultivate land in Aros on the same terms as other free men and women (*franchi* and *angussati*). In return, amongst other things, they had to provide to the Grand Master's palace two goats, two chickens and two pairs of partridges at the festival of the Nativity of Jesus Christ. A confirmation of this grant, on 9 November 1520, indicates that they were already inhabitants of Aros with the right to live there.<sup>367</sup>

Finally, down near the southern tip of Rhodes, a confirmation made on 2 May 1521 by the Grand master's lieutenant after the death of Carretto recalls how Georgio tou Mangasa, Georgio tis Atomissas and Nicolao Cotti, *francomati*, of the *casale* of Kattavia, were granted a mediate of land in the said *casale*, by Carretto, verified by Fr. Conrado de Grimaldis.<sup>368</sup> Fr. Nicolas Cernere, castellan of Kattavia was to uphold their rights.

---

<sup>366</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 213v-215v.

<sup>367</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 179v-180v.

<sup>368</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 177v-178r

## Rhodes Town

By far the most detailed information we have concerns Rhodes town or those passing through Rhodes en route to somewhere else. The subject matter can be divided into leases of land and buildings, grants of churches, trade, diplomacy, naval service, grants of official positions and taxes of various kinds. Although the town was much more cosmopolitan than the countryside, there were still a sizable number of Greeks living or working in and around the town. We know also that there was a large Jewish community in Rhodes town, but very few documents in the early sixteenth century reflect their contribution to life on Rhodes. This might be due to their expulsion, though some stayed on either as slaves or Christian converts. A few grants worth mentioning lie outside the above categorisations, such as the bull of 3 October 1507 refunding to Franciscus Gibati, scribe and official in the castellany of Rhodes and official of fish in Rhodes town with other duties in the locality, of the 4 florins is owed to him, as on 7 September 1507 he had fed Raymond de Printiis as a favour to Bartholomew de Bona.<sup>369</sup> Another such grant of 13 June 1511 was the manumission of the grand master's beloved slave Cussei Giardinero of the Master's garden, for laudable service in the garden.<sup>370</sup> A further entry from the chapter general of 16 March 1516, notwithstanding the decision in the book for 1505, concerns the terms for the creation of an office of the Mount of Piety in the city of Rhodes, which details various terms including a governor who was to receive 100 Rhodian Florins a year.<sup>371</sup> This entry indicates the Hospitallers involvement at an early stage in the anti-usury movement spearheaded by the Franciscans.

Other entries that lie outside the above categorisations concern members of the Order, such as the appointment of Fr. Conrardo de Grimaldis, commander of Milan and Boteliera in the priory of Lombardy, as Seneschal of Rhodes on 1 October 1519.<sup>372</sup> Such appointments were normally recorded in the books of the Council, but those relating to Rhodes also were entered in the *partes citramarine*. A grand master's bull of 6 February 1520, addressed to all, concerned the 'venerabilis sacerdos' Fr. Pantus de Navarra, professed in the said sacred order, bachelor of theology, who had permission to visit the Holy Land and the Holy Sepulchre of Christ in Jerusalem, that right given to him by papal grant dated at St. Peter's, Rome, on 3

---

<sup>369</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 179v.

<sup>370</sup> Malta Cod. 400 f. 217v-218r.

<sup>371</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 228r-229r. The two relevant documents are published in Ζαχαρίας Ν Τσιρπανλής, <<Το Monte di Pietà των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών στη Μεσαιωνική Ρόδο (1505, 1516)>>, Δωδώνη: Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία, τ. 28, Ιωαννίνα, 1999, 219-256.

<sup>372</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 213r, f. 218r.

September 1519.<sup>373</sup> On 27 May 1521, the grand master's lieutenant (Fr. Gabriel) entrusted the public road situated on Rhodes in the place commonly called Diapasadis within the limits of the *casale* of Scourous, to William de Vigne, Rhodiot, a servant in the armoury.<sup>374</sup> Finally, on 4 June 1521, the same lieutenant instructed 'discreto viro' Iacobo Protomagistro, 'latomo' (perhaps a stone mason), who was in charge of public housing in Rhodes, to arrange accommodation for the bailiffs of the Morea, Majorca and Manoaste or their deputies, in the *contrata* of the church of Paramithia in Rhodes town, that was granted to these officials imperpetuity, the house sited within the limits, to the north the public road up to the door of Joannis tu Georgi and to the west the house of Polocenis.<sup>375</sup>

### **Leases of land and buildings**

Leases of land and buildings tell us what property was used for, the people who leased or owned it, their profession as well as how the city was divided up into different administrative areas. We get a very good idea of the people who lived and worked in Rhodes town in the early sixteenth century.

#### Hereditary

There could be many reasons why land or buildings were granted. As with property in the countryside, grants were made to the heirs or successors of holders, or to someone new, if there were no issue to inherit. Grants could be given as a reward for service or for performing a particularly important task and quite often it is clear that certain people were favoured over others. The first example we have is from 14 May 1502, when Grand Master d'Aubusson granted Nicolas Scolodi, citizen of Rhodes, a vaulted tholos and shop situated in the parish of St. Nicholas and in the vicinity of the Red Gate (St. John's Gate), which had to the east the house of the heirs of the 'macrinarii', to the west the house of 'zographi', to the south the public road and to the north the house of the said Nicolas.<sup>376</sup> This property was in the grand master's hands due to the death of Antony Soma. It was leased for an annual fee of four Rhodian florins and was to pass to his son and heirs imperpetuity. Mandates were given to the Order's brethren and officials in Rhodes town present and future to action this grant. Scolodi was acquiring property next to where he already held a house and it seems other

---

<sup>373</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 217r-v.

<sup>374</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 180v.

<sup>375</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 179r-v.

<sup>376</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 230r-v.

houses in the area were hereditary. The grant of the tholos was related to the church of Our Lady of the Victory, indeed it may have been the church itself, which is detailed below under ecclesiastical grants. Another hereditary grant was that confirmed by Grand Master d'Amboise on 23 December 1504 to *delectis nobis in Christo* Claudio de Boys, shoemaker (*sutorui*), resident on Rhodes.<sup>377</sup> Grand Master d'Aubusson had granted him legitimate title to a house sited in Rhodes town in the parish of St. Vouone, of which Zaidie his daughter was to get half and the son of Thomas Foscoli was to get the other half, facing to the east the public road, to the north the houses of Braymi Gabatteri, to the west the houses of Bartholomew de Recho and to the south the house of Thomas Foscoli and other confraters of the Order. Claudio, his heirs and legitimate successors were confirmed in possession of the house for an annual sum of one gold ducat due at the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in September. Further confirmation was given on 30 January 1510, although in this later document the house is described as being in the *contrata* of St. Yconome, though the referral to the 1504 date clearly verifies it is the same house.<sup>378</sup> Not only is this further evidence of hereditary grants, but also that much property was granted to confraters of the Hospitallers, that is, associates who paid a donation to be granted certain Hospitaller privileges. It also confirms that when it comes to the terminology of areas, *contrata* and parish were interchangeable.

As in the countryside, leases in the town could go back many years, such as the store house granted by the grand master on 1 September 1507 to Gianni Berzonasco 'calafato' (a person who seals the joints on ships), who was resident on Rhodes.<sup>379</sup> The grant refers back to a previous grant by Grand Master Fluvian (1421-37), who on 4 October 1430 granted a store-house or house to Stephano Asappi, 'botario', next to the door of Rhodes town for 3 aspers a year, which title past to Chiri Chiri and after him to his wife, two sons and heirs. It remained in their family until Grand Master d'Aubusson granted the said store-house or house, which was next to and extended south of the store house of Theodori Carpentari, to Stylianos Sellario. It was granted to Gianni forever for the same annual fee as in 1430 to be paid starting on the 1 September 1508.

In the above case, the annual fee had not been raised in over 70 years. However other properties were more expensive. Panio Spata, citizen of Rhodes town, his heirs and

---

<sup>377</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 22r-v.

<sup>378</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 225v-226r.

<sup>379</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 179r-v.

successors, in a grant of 20 September 1509, paid 6 aspers a year for a shop and new building situated in the *contrata* of St. George next to the house formally of Dragonetti Clavelli (alive ca. 1412) on one side and on the other the door to the castle of Rhodes commonly called 'de mezo', that is to say, to the east it faced the shop of Marco Patao, to the north the castle and west the field or public area and to the south the public road that goes towards the *Commerchium* of Rhodes.<sup>380</sup> The first payment was due in September 1510.

Another hereditary grant was that conceded by Grand Master d'Amboise to Antonio Montao 'caravanerio' of the magisterial palace on 1 February 1510.<sup>381</sup> For his faithful and diligent service for many years, he was granted a house situated in the *contrata* of St. George in Rhodes town confronted on the east side with the house of the sometime Dragonetti Clavelli and partly with the house of Sanxonis Phisici now under the infirmary of Rhodes, and to the north with the said house of Sanxonis Phisici and to the west and south with the public roads, previously forming a chapel that Grand Master Antony de Fluvian had granted by letters dated 20 January 1425, which d'Aubusson leased with the chaplains agreement, namely Fr. Martini de Villamar, Fr. Jacobi Perandceo, Fr. Jacobi Nomeo and Fr. Joannis Cherron, with the assent of the prior of the church of St. John of the *Collachium*.<sup>382</sup> The grand master in the chapter general confirmed the grant to him, his wife, daughters and descendants for 3 Rhodian florins per annum, as long as it is repaired and maintained.

One complicated hereditary grant involved the case of Antonio tu Iannizi alias Gallant, citizen of Rhodes, which dated back to 1504, but was only settled in 1510. On 10 August 1507, it was noted that Maria, daughter of Polyti and Floren tu Iannizi, and granddaughter of Antonio tu Iannizi alias Gallant, had come into possession of certain property situated in the town of Rhodes in the *contrata* of Our Lady of Damascus after the death of her mother.<sup>383</sup> Specifically, this was a house with an oven that had to the east the public road, to the south with other houses of the said Maria, to the west with the house of Mosco Candinity, and to the north with a house of Nicholere to Athanasy tis Barbarolas, which was the gift in the final will of Styliani. After Styliani's death, the said house came under the control of the church of

---

<sup>380</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 213v-214r.

<sup>381</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224v-225v.

<sup>382</sup> This document is not in Tsirpanlis, *Anekdoti Engrapha*, who jumps from 1423 to 1427, with no entries for 1425.

<sup>383</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 200r-201r. Presumably, it was in the parish church that the icon of Our Lady of Damascus was kept, which is said to have originated in Damascus, was moved to Rhodes and then to Malta, see Emanuel Buttigieg, 'The Hospitallers and the Grand Harbour of Malta: culture and conflict', 177-186 in *The Military Orders Volume 6.1: culture and conflict in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr, Abingdon, 2017.

Sotira for two masses a year, the house and oven were not maintained by Maria and fell into ruin. Antony Galant, the son of Styliani repaired and maintained the said house, but Maria appealed to Grand Master d'Amboise and the re-writing of her hereditary title was done as thus: Dated in the chapter general of 10 December 1504 as repairs had not been done within one year of 19 January 1506, Antony appealed to have the house with oven, which the court of the castellany dealt with on 14 November 1505, under the castellan Fr. Gabriel de Pommerols, doctor of law and judge ordinary Roberto de Perveiis and Laurentio Domingo judge of appeals, and present was Stephanos, the brother of Antony, who ceded and renounced all rights to the said house and oven in favour of Antony and the grand master accepted this, dated 23 July 1507. And on 13 August 1507 the castellan of Rhodes, Fr. Joannes d'Annoy receptor, with Roberto de Perveiis judge ordinary, confirmed Antony and his heirs in possession in the presence of Fr. Jemilberto de la Forest, commander of Chambertan and Fr. Jeanne Marrinio and 'discreto viro' Stephano Ussity. And Franciscus Gilberti the scribe of the imperial court of Rhodes confirmed the validity of the script. This was further confirmed on 8 April 1508 by Fr. Gabriel de Pomerols, castellan of Rhodes and Fr. Johannes d'Amoy receptor of the grand master of Rhodes, with Robertus de Perveiis, doctor of law and judge ordinary of the castellany of Rhodes, commissioners and deputies of the grand master, in the presence of Stephanos, Anthony's brother and Catherina the wife of the said Antony, attested to by Raphaelae Dander and Hatesta de Via notaries, Franciscus Gilberti notary, Joannes de Sancto Georgio notary and scribe of the court of the castellany of Rhodes. It was noted that Anthony would pay 10 florins of Rhodes to his brother each year.<sup>384</sup> On 1 February 1510, the council in the chapter general found in favour of Anthony having the annex.<sup>385</sup>

The above case is of interest, as it illustrates clearly the hereditary lease through four generations, and how if one member of a family did not fulfil their responsibilities, another could appeal to take control of the property: in this case property held by Styliani Jannizi was granted to her granddaughter Floren, then on to Maria, then back to Maria's grandfather, Anthony. It is also interesting because it reveals that the extant Hospitaller archives are not complete, because the grand master's bulls of 10 December 1504 and 23 July 1507 that are

---

<sup>384</sup> Malta Cod. 400, 199v-200r.

<sup>385</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 199r-v, 202v-203r.



mentioned are no longer in the *Libri Bullarum*. This confirms Anthony Luttrell's suspicion that much is missing, even from the volumes that survive.<sup>386</sup>

Members of the Order, if they had relatives who were also members of the Order, could inherit property until their line expired, when it would often be leased out to a trusted servant. Such was the case on 8 October 1510 when Grand Master d'Amboise granted 'spectabili viro' Bartholomew Policiano, secretary and vice-chancellor of our Order, his heirs and successors, a garden commonly called Calamona that was situated in the castellany of Rhodes and *contrata* of Sivito.<sup>387</sup> It had become vacant due to the death of Fr. Ludovici de Gireme and his heir Fr. Nicolai de Gireme of the priory of France. The garden was partly derelict, two *tholoi* in the garden were in ruin, and the cistern of the water system was in need of repair. Without the irrigation system it has become dry, except figs and narangi fruit. Policiano was to plant trees in lines and nourish them in December in that year, paying 28 florins a year, 10 florins to the church of St. John of the *Collachium* so that the lights are continually burning and 18 florins for the garden of the Master. The members of the household of Gireme were to be compensated. It would appear that this garden did not have a pleasure function, but the serious purpose of providing fruit. It is no surprise that Policiano was granted this prime property, given his high position as a servant of the Order and that he was later granted property in Trianda.

Other servants of the Order gained hereditary property through their association. One example is the confirmation given on 11 March 1511 by Grand Master d'Amboise to Nicolaos Haasmeno cook (*coquo*) of the palace, his heirs and successors.<sup>388</sup> The original grant by Grand Master d'Aubusson was of a field<sup>389</sup> in the *contrata*<sup>390</sup> which was situated where there used to exist the church of St. Catherine next to Rhodes town, to the east the field of Petrani, to the north the field of Joannis Centurinei, to the west the possessions of Musse Qangari, and to the south the vineyard of Joannis Calsari, for the annual fee. A few days later, on 17 March 1511, Antonio Perdico, cross-bowman (*balestario*), was granted a shop in the *contrata* of the middle gate of the castle of Rhodes and another shop in the same *contrata*, to have forever for his descendants for six aspers per annum due on 1 September.<sup>391</sup>

---

<sup>386</sup> Communicated to me by Anthony Luttrell in conversation.

<sup>387</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 205r-v.

<sup>388</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 218r.

<sup>389</sup> It is described both as a *coraphium* and *campo* in the document.

<sup>390</sup> This could refer to the *contrata* of Rhodes or to a *contrata* of St. Catherine.

<sup>391</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 213v-214r.

Sometime improvements to the town defences required the acquisition of a property and compensation to the leaser. On 1 April 1511, it was noted that former Grand Master d'Aubusson had raised the wall of Rhodes town from the sea gate in the area Bottariorum up to the gate of the Castellany where Antonio Calili, broadsword maker and citizen of Rhodes town, had a store house. In compensation Antonio was to be given a shop in the *contrata* of Rhodes town next to the middle door of the castle, for him and his successors for 6 aspers per annum.<sup>392</sup> Those leasing property near to Antonio included to the east the shop lately belonging to Antonio Perdico, cross-bowman, to the north the ditch/moat of the castle, to the west the platea of the said middle gate and to the south the public road. Later the same month, on 24 April 1511, the shop appears to have changed hands as it was granted to Andrey Alumno, freeman, living on Rhodes and his successors forever.<sup>393</sup> Alumno was a servant of Fr. Andrey d'Amaral chancellor of Rhodes convent and commander of Crucis, Chavara and St. Marta in the Priory of Portugal and the shop was granted at d'Amaral's request after being conceded by Antonio Calili, for the same annual payment due on 1 September.

The next entry also mentions a property bordering the castle, but in a different area and leased at a cheaper price. On 29 July 1511, Nicolette, daughter of Antony de Brissia, resident on Rhodes, was granted a shop in Rhodes town in the neighbourhood of St. Sebastian or Upper Marcelli situated within the boundaries of the tholi of the said Antony to the east, to the north the public road or ditch of Rhodes castle, to the west and south a field of the said Marcelli area.<sup>394</sup> It was granted to her and her heirs forever for an annual payment of three Rhodian aspers a year and four denars. However, another grant of property in the same area from 1 April the previous year was of a higher value. Antonine Calomerine, Rhodiot, on his supplication, was leased an open space or courtyard and shop or house situated in the *contrata* of St. George next to the house of the sometime Dragonetti to the east, adjoining the place given to Bernardino Justiciano to the north, the field of Marcelli to the west, and the place given to Marco Patao to the south with the public road in between the said locality and church of St. George, with all appurtenances.<sup>395</sup> It was granted to him, his heirs and successors for an annual fee of six aspers, to be paid into the communal treasury during the festival of St. Mary in September. Another property in the same area was granted to one of the grand master's servants at a much reduced rate. On 4 May 1519, Grand Master Carretto

---

<sup>392</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 214r-v.

<sup>393</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 214v.

<sup>394</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 238v. 'Castle' is referring here to the *collachium* as a whole.

<sup>395</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224r.

granted Antonio Cherguet, cook and continual member of his household, the fruits of working the land called 'Marcelli' in Rhodes town and in the castle and castellany of Rhodes, by the house of the brother of Antony de Brissia for one asper a year, from September of the present year to have and hold by him and his successors.<sup>396</sup>

The final purely hereditary lease also went to a member of the grand master's household. On 1 July 1516, Bartholomew de Roschon was granted a house sited in the town of Rhodes in the parish of St. Anthony, bordered to the south by the house of Stavriani tu Mono, to the east against the road and the house of Stephani Savona and the same road, to the north with the house of Maria tu Diaco, and to the west with the public road, by the death of the sometime Petri Memona of the *casale* of Trianda, to have on the same terms as the previous holders.<sup>397</sup> Another possible lease of this type was that granted on 2 January 1520 to Joannis Parugo, also of the *casale* of Trianda, of two modiates and a house in Rhodes town, but the exact terms are not stated.<sup>398</sup>

Hereditary leases are a clear sign of interaction between the Hospitallers and the local community and both had something to gain from this relationship. For both sides it provided consistency, the Hospitallers knowing they had proven trustworthy tenants, while the leasholders had the security of knowing that they had that land 'forever', as many of the documents state.

### **Life Grants**

Apart from hereditary grants, life grants of property were made, normally to members of the Order, or other religious orders, who could not bequeath possessions to relatives. For example, on 1 February 1510 Fr. Philip de Guidone, commander of Rendaci in the priory of Messina had confirmation of a grant for life by Grand Master d'Aubusson of a tholos within the castle of Rhodes in the *contrata* of St. Demetris within the confines to the west the house of the venerable Tongue of Italy, to the north the house of St. Anthony, and to the east and south by the public road, held for a year by Joannis Phillipus de Girgento.<sup>399</sup> Grand Master d'Amboise and the chapter general granted it to Phillipus for life for one Rhodian florin a year due at the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in September, though Fr. Philip was

---

<sup>396</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 211v-212r.

<sup>397</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 211v, f. 219r.

<sup>398</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 216v.

<sup>399</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 223r-v.

recognised as the legitimate possessor of the tholos with rights to its proceeds during his lifetime. By another grant of 21 January 1511, Grand Master d'Amboise leased to Fr. Martino Pasquera, commander of Irisarii and Cugulii in the priory of Navarre, a garden (*viridarium*) or fruit/kitchen garden (*hortum*), situated in the castellany of Rhodes and area of Chippurie in the *contrata* of St. Michael alias 'tu Ayu Straticu Megala Crichellia', within the boundaries to the east the public road, to the south the garden or property of Costas Syropoulos, to the west the fruit/kitchen garden (*horto*) of Michaelis Ayaipsichi, and to the north partly by the public road and partly by the garden (*viridario: jardino* is crossed out) of Georgius Magna.<sup>400</sup> It was given with all rights and pertinences as given by previous grand masters, to cultivate and repair, as it was in a bad state, as if it was desolate, for the annual sum of one florin of Rhodes. It was also noted that it was in an area where weapons of war were kept, as there were other storage spaces for wells of mangonels, that is, stone-casting machines of war.

A final life grant, on 20 November 1521, over a disputed property concerned Hospitaller brethren Fr. Anthony de Colonia, Fr. Bartholomew de Missio and Fr. Anthony de Colonia, who held a mill on Mount Advent in the town of Rhodes that had been in the hands of seculars since the time of Grand Master Carretto and then in hands of sometime Fr. Paulo de Cola, admiral.<sup>401</sup> It was declared that Fr. Bartholomew de Missio, chaplain of the chapel of St. Dominic of the *langue* of Italy near the mill, was the legitimate chaplain. He was to hold the mill for life and was responsible for its maintenance. He was to pay to Fr. Anthony 4 florins from the last day of April following (1522), when it reverted back to in case of his death. The agreement was witnessed in the chancellery of Rhodes by Fr. Thomas de Grigorio, knight of the priory of Messine and Thomas de Bosus, chaplain of the priory of Alverne, with 'discreto viro' Francisco Leoisie notary present.

Although many properties appear to have been reserved for brethren, some were leased temporarily to the grand master's favourites. Such was the case on 26 May 1519, Tristano Impuleri, son of Joannis son of Antoni Coti citizen of Rhodes, was leased a vineyard in the suburbs (*suburbiis civitatis*) of Rhodes town in the *contrata* of Helemonitis, confined to the east by the vineyard of Mugari Nicellarii, to the north by the public road, and to the west by the vineyard of Camnaphi and others.<sup>402</sup> It was in the grand master's hands due to the death of Fr. Ludovicus de Loisea as part of his *spolia* (possessions he held at his death), which he

---

<sup>400</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 211r.

<sup>401</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 185r-186r.

<sup>402</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 211r.

himself had as a grant for life. As in the countryside, members of other religious orders could be granted land. On 23 October 1519, Danieli Gatana Hiero, monk of Rhodes, was granted a house in Rhodes town in the *contrata* of Euf, in front the house of Michaelis Comeno alias Nicoletti.<sup>403</sup> Most likely the house would be sublet and the proceeds go to the monk and his order.

### Uses for Specific Purposes

Perhaps one property granted for a specific purpose was that given to Nicolaos Anapla, surgeon (*chyrurgo*) of Rhodes infirmary, on 20 April 1503 by Grand Master d'Aubusson. Anapla and his legitimate heirs were granted a tholos or shop in the *contrata* of St. George, which had to the east a shop that the grand master granted outside the shops of St. Sebastian to the marshal of Rhodes town, to the west an area near the public road leading from St. Sebastian to the 'cruce[m] mensuratam' for 10 aspers annually.<sup>404</sup> Further details were given in a confirmation of 2 December 1505 by Grand Master d'Amboise, who also granted him a house called Galliar, so he could have suitable and appropriate accommodation in Rhodes town.<sup>405</sup> The house was next to the house of Dragonetti in the *contrata* of St. George within the confines as given in d'Aubusson's testimony for one florin and two shops, for 10 aspers a year. A further entry for 1 February 1510 indicates the house was sold and alienated to Anapla for 2000 Rhodian florins, though he still had to pay the annual eight florin census, due in the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in September, and he also held two shops to the east of the house.<sup>406</sup> Like Scolodi, it seems as if Anapla and his family were acquiring property in the town at that time, his wife Kyriaki having been granted an apothecary on 17 December 1504.<sup>407</sup>

Merchants also leased property for specific purposes. One such merchant with considerable business interest on Rhodes was the Catalan Marco Patao, described as 'speciali viro', who was resident (*domiciliato*) on the island. On 2 April 1505, he gained a confirmation of a grant made by the late grand master of a house situated in the *contrata* of St. James in Rhodes town that had to the west the hereditary house of sometime Master Berart le Gros, to the east the roundhouse and house of sometime Vasilachi Romano, to the south the hereditary house of

---

<sup>403</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 215v-216r.

<sup>404</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 241r.

<sup>405</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 197v.

<sup>406</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 222r-v.

<sup>407</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 190r-191v.

the sometime Demetri Calodi, and to the north the public road. It had been leased in d'Aubusson's time for the annual fee of 8 Rhodian florins, but it was agreed to lease it for the previous sum of 4 florins.<sup>408</sup> However, this is not the only interest he had on Rhodes: indeed he had extensive grazing rights in Trianda and Villanova. On 3 June 1503, Grand Master d'Aubusson granted to Marco Patao, here described as Aragonese but elsewhere as a Catalan merchant resident on Rhodes, the right to graze sheep and goats within the castellanies of Trianda and Villanova.<sup>409</sup> Back in Rhodes town, on 31 March 1506, now described as a citizen of Rhodes, he was granted a building extending from east to west between the castle of Rhodes and the garden (*viridarium*) of the castellan of Amposta next to the gate for an annual payment of three Rhodian Aspers.<sup>410</sup> By 20 September 1509, he also had a shop in the *contrata* of St. George.<sup>411</sup> Yet Patao was not simply involved for economic interest and seems to have been involved in the local community as well. For example, on 3 December 1507 he was granted patronage of the parish church of St. James in Rhodes town for life, the building of which was much deteriorated and in need of repairs, on condition that it was restored and that he ensured that the Greek rites were maintained and that a priest was to perform mass.<sup>412</sup> This is evidence of him taking an interest in the spiritual wellbeing of those in the *contrata*/parish in which he lived, the church of which he was still in charge of on 1 April 1510 and had further confirmation of on 24 November 1518.<sup>413</sup> Patao's involvement in the life of Rhodes town goes further, as he was one of those involved in collecting taxes to repair the fortifications of the town on 16 August 1514.<sup>414</sup> Finally, on 22 June 1518 Grand Master Carretto, describing him as a member of his household (*domestico nostro*), granted Patao the office of 'scampe' in Rhodes town vacant through the death of previous holder, Gasparis Fierando, with the house that went with the office.<sup>415</sup> Patao is an example of a long-term resident of Rhodes who, apart from his economic interests, played a full part in the daily life of Rhodes town and in particular in the parish in which he lived. Of course, his many roles would present him with plenty of opportunities to increase his income in indirect ways.

### **Rewards for service**

---

<sup>408</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 192r-v.

<sup>409</sup> Malta Cod. AOM 394, f. 267r.

<sup>410</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 196r-v.

<sup>411</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 213v-214r.

<sup>412</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 180v.

<sup>413</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 224r; Malta Cod. 407, f. 229r.

<sup>414</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 238v-240r.

<sup>415</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 223v.

Grants could also be as rewards for good service, such as that to Stephano Varda, master of the navy on Rhodes, written on the day Grand Master d'Aubusson's fatal illness started (22 June 1503).<sup>416</sup> The Chapter General granted to him and his successors a small storehouse situated and positioned in a Broadway of Rhodes town under a vaulted dormitory used by commercial bailiffs, with the storehouse of the reverend lord archbishop of Rhodes to the west, to the east the storehouse known as that of the chaplains of former Grand Master Antony Fluvian, to the south the public Broadway commercial 'ladder', and to the north shops and commercial houses, for one asper a year. This was a reward for building the city wall surrounding Rhodes, from the gate to the sea out of the Broadway (*platea*) to the gate entering the castle of Rhodes next to the castellany for many years. Grifono de Tornay, master bombardier, was also rewarded for his good service on 27 February 1507 with a house in the *contrata* of Setim that was formerly held by Georgi Farvesti from the time of Grand Master d'Aubusson.<sup>417</sup> It was bordered to the south and west by the public road, to the north by the hereditary house of Busar Blefara and to the east with the tavern of Joannis Synguri, for the annual sum of one gold ducat and 9 aspers due at the Nativity of the Virgin Mary. It was granted to him, his heirs and successors, forever.

Another grant was that to Antonio Montao, 'caravanerio' of the Master's palace, for faithful and diligent service for over twenty years. On 1 February 1510 he was given a house in the *contrata* of St George 'Schinopolochia' in Rhodes town, situated with part of the house of the former Dragonetti Clavelli to the east and part of the house of Sanxonis Phisici with the Infirmary of Rhodes, and to the north with the house of Sanxonis Phisici, and to the west and south the public road.<sup>418</sup> It was to be held in perpetuity by him and his successors on the same terms as those granted by in the time of Grand Master Antony Fluvia on 20 January 1425, in an agreement with a chaplain for three Rhodian florins per year due on 1 September. A final grant on 22 January 1519, for faithful service, was given to Andreas Guille, a German bombardier.<sup>419</sup> He was given land for 40 denars per annum sited in the former Jewish section of the town, on the mount *Sepulturarum Hebraeorum* called Eure in the castellany of Rhodes, above the area locally called St. Theodore, which was surrounded on three sides by the public road to the north, west and south and to the east by the possessions of Joannis Matasippi and Philippi Paza, Jews who had converted to Christianity.

---

<sup>416</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 267r-v.

<sup>417</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 232r.

<sup>418</sup> Malta Cod. 400 216r-v.

<sup>419</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 229v.

A final grant for service, on 24 January 1522, was to ‘speciali viro’ Joanni Mario de Bugolo merchant and sometime of the household of lord Antony Janususys, who was made a citizen of Rhodes town where he was resident and given a house there for the zeal he had for the religion (that is, for the Hospitallers).<sup>420</sup> Even in the early months of 1522, not long before the siege, grants and administration continued as usual.

### Compensation

Sometimes grants could be made in compensation for losses necessary for the development of Rhodes. Such was the case on 12 January 1508 when Grand Master d'Amboise granted Bernardo Justini, citizen of Rhodes, a store-house or house situated in St. George's parish and in the area of the former house of Dragonetti Clavelli (alive ca. 1412) on one side, to the east Gianni Berzonasco ‘calafato’, to the north Platta Marcelli, which was turned away from the castle of Rhodes north pillar, and to the south the public road between the church of St George and the place of the said Joannis, given to him, his heirs and successors forever for 6 Rhodian aspers a year, due at the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in September (8 September) starting in 1508 and every year afterwards.<sup>421</sup> This was in compensation for the loss of a house in the *contrata* of St. Nicholas, adjacent to the public road, that was a rough track, with the church of St. Panthoratore, the house being demolished for the new road that was built in the time of Grand Master d'Aubusson. Another case of compensation was that granted on 12 April 1521, when Fr. Gabriel de Pomerolx, lieutenant after Grand Master Carretto died, confirmed to Constantino Marquesi, citizen of Rhodes, a vineyard and windmill (*molendino ad ventum*) situated in the suburbs of Rhodes in the *contrata* of St. Anastasis, held by a bull of 1518 by Carretto.<sup>422</sup> This was in recompense for land in the *casale* of Archipoli on Rhodes taken by the grand master.

### Grants of Churches

Apart from property, the other main form of grant was that of churches in Rhodes town. In addition to informing us about priests who had livings and those who had the right of presentation, churches also give us an indication of administrative districts, because a church parish was often used as a *contrata*, which was a subdistrict of a castellany or *casale*. There could be more than one church in a *contrata*, but the *contrata* usually took its name from the

---

<sup>420</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 189r-v.

<sup>421</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 180v-181r.

<sup>422</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 177r-v.



most important church in the area. The following section in particular informs us of Greek churches within the town and its suburbs. There were, of course other churches and places of worship in the town and those mentioned below are the ones specifically mentioned between 1502 and 1522.

The first church mentioned is the parochial church of St. Savva in the neighbourhood of the silversmiths in the city, which was granted on 28 May 1502 by Grand Master d'Aubusson to papatis Alexandros, son of the sometime Joannis Veluto, vacant and in the grand master's hands due to the death of papatis Petri Cuca.<sup>423</sup> Alexandros was to hold it for life on the same terms as the previous holders, with permission to celebrate according to the Greek rite. Another church of the Greek right was that granted to Franchino Ponchy, Greek deacon and citizen of Rhodes, on 2 September 1502.<sup>424</sup> He was given the church of St. Athanasios, situated beside the gate of Rhodes town of the same name, to hold as previously held and to ensure that missals and divine service were performed according to the Greek rite by one of his Greek priests. Seven years later, on 14 December, 1509, the same church was granted to papatis Ioanni Prepiano de Lapuzi, due to the resignation of papatis Michaele Prothopsalti, again with the stipulation that divine service were to be celebrated according to the Greek rite. It was also noted that it was under the control of the reverend archbishop of Rhodes town.<sup>425</sup>

Two very important religious sites were those associated with the 1480 siege of Rhodes. On 15 December 1502 Grand Master d'Aubusson, who was grand master during the siege, noted that the church of St. Mary of the Victory (Our Lady of the Victory) and shrine of St. Pantaleon had been built in celebration of the repelling of the attack of the Ottomans on the sixty-fifth day of the siege, that is 27 July 1480. The grand master himself had been active in the fighting that day, being wounded five times. Presentation to the shrine had been granted to Nicholas Scolodi on 13 May 1502 for 4 Rhodian florins and 9 aspers annually, due at the festival of St Panteleon.<sup>426</sup> Scolodi was to ensure that there were both priests and papati to celebrate mass both on the festival and on eight other occasions each year, which implies it was a shared church. From the festival of the nativity of the Virgin Mary in September 1503, he was to start paying 4 florins and 10 aspers, which was the usual amount. The location of

---

<sup>423</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 231r-v.

<sup>424</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 232v-233r.

<sup>425</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 216v-217r.

<sup>426</sup> Malta Cod. 394 . ff. 238v-239v.

the shrine is given, being in the parish of St. Nicholas and *contrata* of Coquino, having to the east the hereditary house of the Macrinarii, to the west the house of Zografu, to the south by the public road and to the north the house of Nicolas Scolodi himself, which perhaps explains why he was put in charge. Recent archaeological research has suggested that Our Lady of the Victory Church was not where it is currently marked, in the north-east corner of the town, but was actually the church now marked as the ‘unidentified’ church on Kisthiniou Street, next to Acandia Gate.<sup>427</sup> This concurs with the information in the description above, as the ‘Coquino’ above refers to the area near the Red Gate (St. John’s Gate), which is only about 369 metres from the church by Acandia Gate.

Some churches were clearly for Greek use only, such as a string of churches granted in 1504, just before or linked to the accession of the new grand master. On 1 June 1504, Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, the grand master's lieutenant general in his absence granted to papatis Fanurio Triselle, citizen of Rhodes, St. Mary's ‘Paramitia’ Church within the boundaries of Rhodes town after the death of papatis Diafilacti tu Zulli, on the same terms as previous priests, for his life, with permission to celebrate according to the Greek rite.<sup>428</sup> On 15 October 1504, Grand Master d'Amboise granted papatis Joanni Palamidi, citizen of Rhodes town, having been honest and faithful, St. Constantini parish church in Rhodes town for life, which was vacant due to the death of papatis Joannis Phalerii, holding it on the same terms as previous priests.<sup>429</sup> Again, he had permission to celebrate according to the Greek rite. Then, on 17 December 1504, three churches were granted, in all of which mass was celebrated according to the Greek rite. The first was a grant of the patronage for life to Stephano Macrinari, citizen of Rhodes, of a church commonly called Vlacherna in Rhodes town, which is noted as being richly adorned.<sup>430</sup> Macrinari was to find a priest (*papatem* or *sacerdotem*) to perform divine service, though the priest had to be confirmed by the archbishop of Rhodes. The second church granted on that day was a confirmation of a grant by Grand Master d'Aubusson given in 1501. This concerned the church commonly called ‘Chyre Damaschini’ (Our lady of Damascus, mentioned earlier), the patronage of which was granted to papatis Nicolao Calamia, ‘dikaios’, son of a Rhodian Greek and Joanne daughter of sometime Raymond Jaxi, citizens of Rhodes.<sup>431</sup> The final church granted on 17 December 1504 was again a

---

<sup>427</sup> Γιώργος Ντέλλας, ‘Συγκρότημα «ανώνυμης» εκκλησίας οδού Κισθινίου’, 125-127, *Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου: Έργα αποκατάστασης 2000-2008*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ρόδος, 2008.

<sup>428</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 183r.

<sup>429</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 185r.

<sup>430</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 187v-188r.

<sup>431</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 188r-v.

confirmation. Grand Master d'Amboise affirmed the right of 'spectabili viro' Johanni Eraico alias Centurus, citizen of Rhodes, at his supplication, the church of St. John 'agaliano', which was situated in Rhodes town, not far from the church or monastery of St. Theodore (both still exist), which d'Aubusson had granted to him and his heirs in gratitude, the patronage of both the church and monastery and monks within.<sup>432</sup> Permission was given for Greek eulogy to be performed by a monk. A few years later, on 20 July 1507, the patronage of another Greek church was granted for life by Grand Master d'Amboise to Iacobos Anarthrestos, deacon of Rhodes, being the parish church of St. Parasqueni in Rhodes town, vacant due to the death of papatis Dramidari. He was to find an honest Greek priest to serve the church and celebrate mass according to the Greek rite.<sup>433</sup>

Apart from the church of Our Lady of the Victory and St. Pantaleon shrine, a couple of other churches are known to have been granted within close range of each other, though it is possible that they are one and the same church. On 1 February 1510, Grand Master d'Amboise granted for life the office of papatis to Joannis tu Banquieri, who had been the Order's receiver and scribe for two years in the chapel commonly called Corton in the 'platea herbarium' of Rhodes town, where the image of St. Mary the Virgin was venerated.<sup>434</sup> He had licence to celebrate mass according to the Greek rite, and held the church in 'helemosinis'. Five years later, on 6 June 1515, Grand Master Carretto granted the chapel of St. Mary situated in the 'platea herbarium' in Rhodes town to Nicolao, son of papatis Joannis, both of whom were Rhodiots.<sup>435</sup> The Archbishop and metropolitan of Rhodes had to approve the appointments. The evidence points to these two entries concerning the same church, due to the location in the Platea Herbarium, a papatis in both documents called Joannis, that both entries refer to the building as a chapel and that one entry specifically named it as St. Mary's Chapel, while the other says the image of St. Mary was venerated there (despite being commonly called Corton).

Other churches of religious appointments related directly to the Hospitallers and their possessions. For example, on 7 March 1515 the grand master granted the venerable Papatis Mine, Rhodiot, for many years service, to be the legitimate Greek chaplain of the infirmary to

---

<sup>432</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 189r-190r.

<sup>433</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 181v-182r.

<sup>434</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 218v.

<sup>435</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 222r-v.

hear the confessions of the Greeks, on the recommendation of Fr. Philippe de L'Isle Adam Villiers, the hospitaller and seneschal of Rhodes.<sup>436</sup>

Sometimes churches could be reallocated for failure to maintain the buildings of services. Such was the case on 18 January 1516, when the grand master granted the church of St. Nicholas 'Costo' situated next to the mount of the mill of Rhodes into the patronage of Chaterine tu Antonio Patela of Rhodes and his relation the venerable Dubis Saber, Rhodiot and judge ordinary, who he lived with. This was due to the failure of the Friars Minor to carry out repairs on the church.<sup>437</sup> In another instance, on 25 January 1516 in the chancellery court with the vice-chancellor, it was noted that Fr. Antonius Castellana chaplain of the *langue* of Provence has not celebrated missals in the priory church for a year, as witnessed by ordinary priests (*sacerdoti*) Fr. Hieronimus Gaugiam and Petrus Sibert. However, the outcome, if any, of this is not stated.<sup>438</sup> Whereas the Franciscans were sanctioned for not maintaining a church in their care, other religious orders were rewarded. On 10 March 1517, the brothers of the monastery of St. Augustine in Rhodes town were confirmed in possession of the oratory of St. Nicholas in the mole of Rhodes town, granted in the time of Grand Master d'Aubusson, for four florins a year.<sup>439</sup>

Other individuals and laymen were granted churches within the town. On 10 July 1514, 'devoto viro' Ione Calogero, Rhodiot, was granted for annual fee for life the administration of the celebration of the divinity in the monastery of St. George situated within the limits of the castellany of Laderine, Rhodes town, and the Metropolitan of Rhodes was to be informed.<sup>440</sup> On 13 May 1519, another religious, deacon Antonio Sarandino, citizen of Rhodes his heirs and successors was granted the church of St. Vasilis in Rhodes town within the confines of the public road to north and south, and with the house of Antony Puramgno to the east, on the same terms as the sometime Georgius Gatana for one asper a year, to be paid to Fr. Conrad de Grimaldis of the commandery of Mediolani and Fr. Petro Galin of the commandery of Police, our receptor.<sup>441</sup> Both the above appear to have been local Greeks who were treated with respect. Indeed, it was necessary for the proper working of the town that there was no friction with the local community, and for that reason on 28 March 1516 the grand master ordered

---

<sup>436</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 243r.

<sup>437</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 225r.

<sup>438</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 224v.

<sup>439</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 223r-v.

<sup>440</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 237v-238r.

<sup>441</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 210r-v.

that Achachius Orecus, the Metropolitan, with Archbishop of Castorie and his officials should be allowed to go about their business uninhibited.<sup>442</sup>

Although priests were presented to churches, the patronage of these churches was often granted to laymen. On 27 February 1516, Due to their great devotion, Petro Buche and his son, Ioannis Buche, citizens of Rhodes were granted the patronage of the church of St. George, commonly called Candroti, in Rhodes town situated next to the church of St. Katherine, the church of St. George being under the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan.<sup>443</sup> Some of those granted the patronage of churches were very important people on Rhodes. On 4 May 1519, in the chancellery of Rhodes, Fr. Andreas d'Amaral, chancellor of the convent on Rhodes, nominated *spectabili viro* Marco Patao patronage of St. James' Church in the gate of Rhodes, with a note that Fr. Jannoble Ferrier had been paid 468 ducats, the chancellor 244 ducats, 344 to the scribe and 56 to the 'cavallaritio'. It further stated that Bartholomew Policiano had been granted the licence for the next vacancy.<sup>444</sup> Policiano was the vice chancellor and secretary of the Order and Patao was an influential Catalan or Aragonese merchant on the island.

### **Churches in the Suburbs of the Castellany of Rhodes**

Occasionally there were grants of churches outside the walls of the old town, indicating suburban settlements under the Knights. For example, on 17 September 1512 Nicolaos Zinguris, citizen of Rhodes, was officially confirmed as patron of the church of St. Demetris, which he had built at his own cost in the vineyard he possessed in the *contrata* of Sellurus (also called Cellures) in the castellany of Rhodes, which followed the Greek rite.<sup>445</sup> He was to find a priest or monk to celebrate mass and to present him. That he had built the chapel on private land might indicate the practice of building chantry chapels in the west was also popular in the eastern Mediterranean. Another case of a suburban grant occurs on 8 February 1514 and like the previous grant, the church was inside a garden. Fr. Theobaldo Brardiner, chaplain of the Priory of Campanie, on his supplication was granted the chapel of St. John commonly called 'de fonte' in the suburbs of Rhodes within a tree plantation (*viridarium*) in

---

<sup>442</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 227r.

<sup>443</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 227v.

<sup>444</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 212r.

<sup>445</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 240v.

the *contrata* of Chippacia.<sup>446</sup> He was to have for life the collation of the chapel where ‘our patron’ St. John the Baptist was venerated, with houses and a tree plantation for the sum of 100 florins. It was his duty to maintain the property and maintain services for which reason he had to pay 10 florins for a chaplain to perform services there. The chapel was ultimately under the control of the church of St. John of the *Collachium*. It is almost certain that this is the current subterranean church of St. John ‘o Prodomos’, which lies about 450m south of Acandia Gate. A similar conclusion on the location of the church has recently been reached by Sofia Zoitou, based on fifteenth-century printed sources.<sup>447</sup>

Outside of the town, grants of churches were also made. On 13 April 1511 Fr. Leonardo de Balestrinis, Archbishop of Colossen was granted the church of Colossen on Rhodes and the *casalia* of Katholichi Plantagna, Loros, Dimilia (on the west coast) and Soblepio with pertinences.<sup>448</sup> On 30 May 1511, Fr. Alexander Baldwin was granted the oratory of St. Mary of Mount Philerimos for 50 Rhodian florins, which had been held by Fr. Ludovicus Rigolet, chaplain of the chapel of St. Antony who in the time of d'Aubusson served in the oratory, but had now resigned to go to the West.<sup>449</sup>

### **International Relations and Commerce**

Many of the entries concerning Rhodes town refer to appointments for the collection of various taxes, dealings with foreign merchants and occasionally diplomatic issues. Indeed, merchants could act as envoys for the Order when required. Such was the case in the spring/summer of 1502 when a fair amount of activity in different parts of the Eastern Mediterranean was taking place. On 23 May 1502, Grand Master d'Aubusson wrote to the magistrates of Venice, referring to a certificate of the Hospitallers’ officials and merchants dated 10 March 1499 for ‘dilecto nostro’ Iacomo Sisti of Rhodes city who had received the Order’s captain Fr. Gregorio Morguti and patron Bernadino Castaldo, asking that they be allowed to transport goods to Venice and that they be given protection while there.<sup>450</sup> The following day, the grand master wrote a general letter of protection for Moses de Habraam, a Jew of Rhodes and his companion of the same nation, who were negotiating in Candia for the

---

<sup>446</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 203v-204r. In personal communication, Anthony Luttrell suggests this is perhaps the *contrata* of Quipa Rissi, which he says is variously spelt.

<sup>447</sup> Sofia Zoitou, *Staging Holiness: The Case of Hospitaller Rhodes (ca. 1309–1522)*, Leiden, 2021, 177.

<sup>448</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 218r-219r.

<sup>449</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 219r.

<sup>450</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 230v-231r.

Order, and requested that they be allowed to do their business uninhibited.<sup>451</sup> Just over a month later, on 27 June 1502, Grand Master d'Aubusson wrote to all the Hospitallers' legates resident in the East that Bernadino Cypello de Lodi, who was patron of a merchant ship that transported negotiators to Cyprus and to similar simultaneous negotiations in Egypt, had a licence to trade.<sup>452</sup> This entry indicates that the Hospitallers had permanent diplomatic staff in the east at this time and probably before. The same day, Cypello, described as a patron of the navy, for the affection he had shown for their religion (i.e. the Hospitallers) and the city of Rhodes, was granted the right to fly the Hospitallers' flag on his ship, whether in the service of the navy or as a merchant and also that it could be used when attacking the 'infidel', a clear indication of the Order's encouragement of corsairing and wish to be associated with it.<sup>453</sup>

Hospitaller servants often needed protection when travelling abroad. For example on 20 April 1503 Grand Master d'Aubusson granted safe conduct to a servant of his household, Laurencio Dominico, citizen of Rhodes, scribe of the castellany of Rhodes and public notary, given the violence in the cities of Italy where he was negotiating on the orders behalf.<sup>454</sup> On the 18 November 1503, Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, Grand Master d'Amboise's lieutenant general issued letters to all that Antonio de Sarembo, stipendary of the gallery and servant of the Order, presently on Rhodes, was going to Sicily with his household, with their special commendation.<sup>455</sup> A few months later, on 26 February 1504, Scalinghe again wrote general letters with a special commendation for Deiphobo del Borgo of the vice-chancellor's household, going to Italy on important business.<sup>456</sup>

However it was not only Hospitaller servants who needed safe conduct. Many merchants trading in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean would ask for protection, often backed up by powerful patrons. On 12 July 1503, two days after the election of Emery d'Amboise as grand master following the death of d'Aubusson, Fr. Guy de Blanchefort, lieutenant general of the grand master in his absence approved letters in favour Constantino Noto da Corone, presently an inhabitant of Chania in Crete, patron of a grippo carrack, to trade various victuals of olive oil, cheese and wine of Cyprus, as he was going to Syria or Egypt, and not to

---

<sup>451</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 231r. An odd entry, as the Jews were meant to have been expelled by this date.

<sup>452</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 232r.

<sup>453</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 232r-v.

<sup>454</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 239v-240v.

<sup>455</sup> Malta Cod, 394, f. 271v.

<sup>456</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 272v.

be inhibited. This was approved at the request of the doge of Venice.<sup>457</sup> On 24 July Blanchefort confirmed a licence that d'Aubusson had given for Pero Calleti, Rhodiot, to transport from Egypt and thereabouts within the territory of the serine sultan and in Alexandria, Turkish wood, furniture and plate to Rhodes. This was to their benefit, because the shipments concerned Rhodes and its fortification against the continuing attacks and war with the Turks (*Turcheschi*).<sup>458</sup>

One has to remember that in times of war or attack, merchant ships visiting Rhodes would be expected to contribute their vessel in defence of the island, so in return the Hospitallers would grant them the right to trade. On 27 July 1503, Fr. Guy de Blanchefort, prior of Alverne and lieutenant general of GM Emericus d'Amboise who was absent from the convent, granted the right to trade on Rhodes to Dominico Turrini, patron of a caravel (a small, fast ship) and Antonio Tationi, patron of a 'grippare', who were both citizens of Rhodes.<sup>459</sup> In another example from 20 March 1504, Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, the Grand Master's new lieutenant general, issued letters of protection to Papa Georgio Soriano, Cypriot, and one of his servants in Egypt there on his business and granted that he may sell his goods on Rhodes unhindered.<sup>460</sup> Some years later, on 7 February 1517, licence was granted for Leonardo Malanoti to go to Syria with Rhodian merchants concerning trade.<sup>461</sup>

The Hospitallers would also issue letters for those going on religious journeys, such as on 7 December 1503, when Fr. Scalinghe gave letters of special commendation to Joanni Francho, Christiano of Chaero (Cairo), devoted Christians of the Catholic faith at present on Rhodes, going with their son Georgio to the monastery of St Catherine on Mt. Sinai.<sup>462</sup> Going in the opposite direction, on 5 October 1510 Grand Master d'Amboise gave general letters to the venerable Hieromonachis Clemens of the Order of St. Basil, procurator of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, passing through Rhodes with letters for those in the west from the abbot of the monastery asking for sustenance. He had licence to take the funds in the hands of the Venetian Claudii Laures in their depositary in Lyons.<sup>463</sup> A similar confirmation, referring back to a bull of Grand Master Orsini on 30 October 1475, was granted to 'spectabili viro' Iacobo de Campo, procurator of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai on 25

---

<sup>457</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 268v-269r. Aubusson died on 3 July 1503 and Amboise was elected on 10 July 1503.

<sup>458</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 269r.

<sup>459</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 268r.

<sup>460</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 273v-274r.

<sup>461</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 221v.

<sup>462</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 271v-272r.

<sup>463</sup> Malta Cod. 400 f. 201v.



October 1521, at his request.<sup>464</sup> The Hospitallers had a close relationship with this monastery and even included their safety in negotiations, such as those with Egypt, as is detailed later in this chapter.

### **Appointments to financial and other positions**

Many of the entries concerning the town of Rhodes pertained to appointments to various positions, especially those that were related to the collection of taxes. Again, like grants of land and other grants, most of these positions were held by trusted servants or those who held important positions in the community and most were described as *dilecto nobis in christo* (our beloved in Christ), both Greeks and Latins. Some minor appointments defy categorisation, such as that granted on 16 June 1512 to Ioannis Sarlo, resident of Rhodes, who due to his excelling in tending to trees was made custodian of trees, with this right to pass through the male line to his successors.<sup>465</sup> The bailiff of Rhodes and the castellan of Salakos Castle (north-west of Apollona), in which area he was presumably working, were mandated to ensure he was allowed to practice this role.

One important category of appointment was that to do with ensuring that commercial standards were maintained. For example, on 1 July 1504, Gaspari Ferando, citizen of Rhodes, was granted the office of stamp and measurer of wine in the city of Rhodes after the death of Raymond Vosino, with all rights and associated privileges for life, on condition that 50 Rhodian florins were paid for the privilege.<sup>466</sup> In another case, on 1 February 1510, confirmation was given by the council in the chapter general to Joannis de Colonia of the grant for life of the post of officer in charge of weights and measures in Rhodes town, originally granted by the grand master on 12 February 1509 and bearing his lead seal and then confirmed in the Rhodes convent on 15 February.<sup>467</sup> It is interesting that it was not enough for the grand master to grant a position, but it had to be agreed by the regular meetings of the convent and then confirmed by a future chapter general, even though in practice it was unlikely they would overturn the grand master's decisions.

Other appointments concerned the administration or representation of the local communities on Rhodes. On 15 October 1504 papatis Foti tu Conomo, citizen of Rhodes, was granted the

---

<sup>464</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 181v-182r.

<sup>465</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 237r-v.

<sup>466</sup> Malta Cod. 395 f. 183r-v.

<sup>467</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 222v.

office of *tabularium Grecorum* (Greek record-keeper) of Rhodes for life, due to the death of papatis Joannis Phalerii.<sup>468</sup> Another Greek, papatis Calamie Prepiano, citizen of Rhodes, was confirmed in the office of 'dicheo' of the Rhodian Greeks for life on 4 January 1505, having been originally appointed to that post by Grand Master d'Aubusson.<sup>469</sup>

Another type of appointment related to the holding of posts of responsibility. On 27 April 1505, Grand Master d'Amboise granted for life to Nicolao Graliano, citizen of Rhodes and dispenser/steward in the grand master's palace, the office of doorkeeper and guardian of the key for the door of Rhodes town next to the sea (i.e. Marine Gate) under the administration of the communal treasury.<sup>470</sup> It is no coincidence that this important security post was given to a servant in the grand master's household. Greeks in the service of the Order could also hold positions of responsibility and would have them renewed, if they worked well. On 1 February 1510, the council in the general chapter confirmed to the 'venerabili papati' Fotis Conomo the office of Greek scribe in the communal treasury for life, which he was already practicing writing Greek letters concerning the Order's diplomatic negotiations (presumably with the Ottomans), with all emoluments and stipends associated with the office.<sup>471</sup> Another appointment confirmed or renewed on 15 July 1513 that was more of a reward concerned a bull of Grand Master d'Amboise issued on 8 March 1507 to 'egregio artium et medicine doctori' master Liberalis de Thomasis 'medico physico' in the Rhodes infirmary (hospital), one of two ordinary medics. He was to have a stipend that master Jacob de Ferreris, late medic of the infirmary had for four years, amounting to 600 Rhodian florins and an annual stipend on the island of Crete worth 226 Venetian ducats, plus a house to live in, for good and faithful service to the Order in the infirmary for eight years.<sup>472</sup> His successor in this post was the distinguished and skilled medical doctor Baldassari Odena, Rhodiot. On 22 February 1514, following deliberations in the recent general chapter concerning the nomination of one out of three medics of natural science in the Sacred Infirmary of Rhodes (i.e. the hospital), Odena was appointed for good service with the wages, stipends and other prerogatives that the late Liberalis de Thomasis had for life, from 1 May 1514 until 30 April 1515.<sup>473</sup> This was an initial appointment that might be subject to renewal.

---

<sup>468</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 185r.

<sup>469</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 188v-189r.

<sup>470</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 192v.

<sup>471</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 223r.

<sup>472</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 199r-v.

<sup>473</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 205v.

Other posts of responsibility include a reconfirmation of 8 February 1514 to ‘discreto viro’ Petro Benes, citizen of Rhodes, on his supplication to Grand Masters d'Aubusson and d'Amboise of the office of deputy scribe of Montis Pictatis for life with an annual stipend of 100 Rhodian florins, which had been confirmed in the chapter general on Rhodes on 5 February 1510.<sup>474</sup> The same day, ‘esteemed Justice’ Doctor Laurentio Domingo, citizen of Rhodes and judge of the Castellany of Rhodes, was confirmed in that office for life by the General Chapter, with wages, honours and duties associated.<sup>475</sup> On 30 May 1514, 'discreto viro' Jann Cetino de Recho, citizen of Rhodes, was appointed a scribe of Rhodes on the resignation of Petro Guizardo, for good and faithful service.<sup>476</sup> Another interesting appointment was the reconfirmation on 29 March 1519 in the retention of the chapter general to Joannis Lazaro of his position as Turkish interpreter. For his faithful service, he was to receive a stipend from the common treasury sufficient to sustain him and his sons for life. This amounted to the sum of 50 Rhodian florins a year, which Grand Master d'Aubusson had originally granted for that office.<sup>477</sup> Other sums mentioned in the document concerned the remaining grant to Fr. Admiario de Podio of the commandery of St. Paul and Marshall of the convent on Rhodes, his successors and lieutenants from the *arrendatum* of 1370 florins, of which 50 florins for the month of August 1519 was to be taken from the *appaltatori*. Although Joannis Lazaro is mentioned as an interpreter of Turkish, as negotiations with the Ottomans were usually written in Greek, it is likely that Lazaro was a Greek speaker, if not Greek himself. This seems an even more feasible hypothesis when one looks at how members of the Greek community took advantage of his important position to gain access to the grand master. For example, the following month, on 15 April 1519, Grand Master Carretto gave a confirmation to papatis Joannis Sacalaris through his procurator ‘spectabilis viri’ Joannis de Lazaro alias Caluaisino of a bull Jacques de Milly in 1455 to the brothers Joannis and Michalis, concerning the selling of wine.<sup>478</sup> Sacalaris’ association with Lazaro almost certainly speeded up the process of confirmation needed to ensure uninterrupted business.

By far the most numerous of appointments are those to do with the collection of taxes, of which there were many. Along with responsions and leases of property, it was taxes that funded the maintenance and improvement of defences and other activities. On 31 August

---

<sup>474</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 205r.

<sup>475</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 206v, 8 February 1514.

<sup>476</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 236v.

<sup>477</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 209r.

<sup>478</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 209v.

1507, Georgio Pasquino, Pero Snicoitico, Andrea Scafidi, Antonio Zanghi, Joanni Traudi, Stephano Marecciari and Matheo Davia, citizens of Rhodes, were appointed as receivers of the 'dretti' (tax) of two and one per hundred on the city of Rhodes for the reparation and fortification of the city, for its defence (some of the money going to the navy) and guarding for the term of four years from 1 September in the present year until the last day of August 1511.<sup>479</sup> They were to collect the sum of 5650 Rhodian florins and 20 aspers per year, for the four years amounting to 22,600 florins.

Another lucrative tax was the 'gabella' (an indirect tax on commercial goods) on wine and biscuit (biscoti) on the city of Rhodes. On 28 June 1509, Joannis Pasquino (perhaps a relation of George above) is noted as the appaltator of the gabella on wine, at the expense of Nicolas Agnioforiti.<sup>480</sup> Following a decision dated 1 June 1426 under Grand Master Fluvian, when the young Fr. Petrus Raymund Zacosta (future grand master) was master of the gabella, those who sold wine in the castellany of Rhodes, and those in taverns that sold a bottle of wine were to pay 1 florin per bottle. Other various fines and charges are given to those selling wine, with in many cases half the tax revenue going to the appaltator. Chapter generals on 5 September 1483 and 6 August 1488 confirmed these measures, and were renewed in the chapter generals of 6 August 1499 and 27 April 1504. Although Pasquino had benefitted to the detriment of a Greek, he still had a Greek overseer, as on 14 July 1509 it was noted that Grand Master d'Amboise had granted the administration of the gabella on wine and biscuit in the city of Rhodes to Joannis Caloriti, citizen of Rhodes, on 27 June that year.<sup>481</sup> 11,600 Rhodian florins were to be collected for the year beginning on 18 August 1509 until 17 August 1510, which were to be delivered in chancery to either Fr. Constantio di Opertis, lieutenant of the Grand Master, Fr. Joannis Donay receiver of the Grand Master, Fr. Joannis Parpillia 'prodhomo' of the 'consovatona' or Bartholomew Policiano, the vice-chancellor. The tax was charged on all, both ecclesiastics and secular, except the Grand Master. If someone was ill or died, the arrendator was to pay pro rata. Further to this, on 15 May 1511, Fr. Joannis Parpillia is noted as conservator general of the *gabella* on wine and biscuit in the city of Rhodes, with *speciali citadini Rhodiani* Joanni Caloriti, Rhodian, and Baptista de Recardo, scribe of the common treasury, appointed as arrendators from 18 August 1511 until 17 August 1519 to collect the annual sum of 11,600 Rhodian florins.<sup>482</sup> Again on 16 August

---

<sup>479</sup> Malta Cod. 398, 185r-v.

<sup>480</sup> Malta Cod. 399, ff. 209r-212v.

<sup>481</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 212v-213v.

<sup>482</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 215v.

1514, the *gabella* on wine is mentioned, the proceeds from the common treasury of 18,500 Rhodian Florins to be used for the repairing of the fortifications of the city of Rhodes, its defence and guarding and armaments for the galley.<sup>483</sup> Arrendator Joannis Caloriti was elected governor of the *gabella*, with the other tax collectors being Constantinos Marchese Ioannis di Casata, Iacobo de Campo, Marco Patao, Georgi Marchesi, Pero Finnestro, Georgio Paschino, Pero di Campo, Matheo Dabia, Ianettino de Vincentio, Iacobo Anthonio de Marchettis and Stephano Visiti. Joannis Caloriti must have been doing a good job, as in June 1519, he was confirmed as governor of the *gabella* on wine and biscuit, with Constantinos Marchese, one of the collectors mentioned above, being elected governor of the *dretti*.<sup>484</sup>

Finally, on 14 August 1521, concerning the *gabella* on wine and biscuits of the two and one per hundred on the city of Rhodes due to the common treasury for the repairs and fortifications to the said city for defence and guarding against the enemies of the catholic faith, a new appaltum was permitted.<sup>485</sup> There follows a breakdown of the tax, its collectors and its uses. The *gabella* on wine and biscuit was to go for the maintaining of the armaments of the galley from the time of Grand Master Carretto. From the records found in the book for 1514 (folios 238, 239 and 240), the governor of the said *gabella* was Joannis Caloriti and the governor of the *dretti* was Constantinos Marquese (the same as Marchese above). The total amount for that year for the *gabella* and *dretti* combined was 18,500 Rhodian florins, of which 11,600 florins was from the *gabella* on wine and biscuit and 6,900 florins from the *dretti*. There was also an apaltum of 1 asper per floren on wine that raised 3,500 florins, which gave a total of 22,000 florins. Of this, 3,500 florins were distributed pro rata by the governors as noted by Fr. Gabriel de Pomerolx, lieutenant of the grand master, to Fr. John Bouth, Turcopolier and Fr. Andreas d'Amaral, Chancellor. The 22,000 florins *gabella* was to run from August 1521 until the end of September 1522 and the *dretti* from the first day of September 1521 for 7 years, though given the 1522 siege, it is unlikely that anything was collected after May 1522. The lieutenant of the grand master and procurator of the common treasury, in consultation with the counsel, commissioned Joannis Caloriti governor of the *gabella* and his deputy to work out the exact appaltum and he was made responsible to appoint suitable people and as in previous times these persons were to be ecclesiastics or those in the service of the grand master and common treasury. Those involved in the *gabella* and *dretti* and who had 'shares' (chirati) were, first, Joannis Caloriti and Constantinos

---

<sup>483</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 238v-240r.

<sup>484</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 216r-v.

<sup>485</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 182v-184v.

Marchese, then Bartholomew Policiano vice-chancellor, Baptista de Recho scribe of the treasury, Marco Patao, Petro de Campo, Janettino de Recho, Georgio Pasquino, Petro Syniritico, Georgio Marchese, Benet Rogier, Matheo de Via, Francisco Zurra, Joannis de Moneoliffa, Castrofilaca Merimiati, Andrea Scafidi, Marco Manso, Loiso Manso, Constantinos Manizacha, Iacobo Xisi, Theodoro Blessara, Evangelista Caldezoni and Fenitino Cigrino di Compagnia. The chancellor had reserved one *chirato* each for Constantinos Rodichio, Castrofilaca Mersimati (mentioned above) and Angelo Verghisi. The council had deliberated on the *gabella* and *dretti* and decided that the said appaltum or *arrendamento* was to come into effect. Those involved, especially Johannis Caloriti, had the same responsibilities as those dictated in 1509. The same day another bull qualifies that, as in the past, the *chirati* for the *gabella* was four per hundred and the *dretti* three per hundred. The governor of all this appaltum was Constantinos Marchese.<sup>486</sup> Given the large amount of money that was being raised, and for the purpose of defensive improvements, it is likely that the Hospitallers were aware of the increased likelihood of an Ottoman attack. Yet the fact that the *dretti* was envisaged to run for seven years implies that they were not aware, at least in the summer of 1521, of an imminent assault on Rhodes.

Another form of revenue was the ‘Appaltum’, a monopoly of a tax granted to a person in exchange for a set sum of money paid to the treasury. On 22 December 1509, Gabriele Taragona was granted the office of arrendator of soap, pots and fire in the city of Rhodes for six years from the first day of September 1510 until the last day of August 1516.<sup>487</sup> In return he was required to provide 1500 Rhodian florins and 20 aspers a year for the ‘apalto’ for the war with the Turks. As with the above *gabella* and *dretti*, this tax was for a specific military use. In accordance with a bull of 1488, Taragona also had other privileges and was exempt from work in the moat, or trebuchet or bombardier against the Turks. The following year, on 1 February 1510, 'egregio et viro' Raphaeli de Penchenat, the grand master’s secretary, had confirmation of a grant for life in the ongoing chapter general of the proceeds of the office of appaltator on markets or baskets in Rhodes, with the right to appoint up to sixteen deputies.<sup>488</sup> Appointments of tax collectors were not always aimed at maximising the Order’s profits, but could also be granted as a reward. Such was the case on 1 February 1510, when Gerardino de Bonaire, tender of horses of the master's palace, ‘for faithful and diligent service’ was granted for life by the chapter general the office of appaltator for the appaltum on pitch/tar within

---

<sup>486</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 185r, 14 August 1521.

<sup>487</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 216r-v.

<sup>488</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 218v-219r.

Rhodes town.<sup>489</sup> Normally the holder of this position had to pay the annual sum of 60 florins, but it was decided to offer him the post at 30 Rhodian florins, the other 30 florins to be for his wage in that office. The same day, Christo Ludovico Scalinghe alias Vasia, citizen of Rhodes, was granted for life the revenues from the appaltum on wood, herbs and stakes in the town of Rhodes, for 60 Rhodian florins annually on same terms as those of his predecessor, Stephano Visiti.<sup>490</sup> Scalinghe had the same surname as a senior brother in the Order and was probably a relative.

A final comment on the theme of money is that it appears that the Hospitallers were also involved in international financial transactions, not just for themselves, but as a medium for others. On 5 October 1512, the abovementioned Gabriele Taragona, Catalan merchant resident on Rhodes, was quit of the 100 gold ducats he had received by the hands of Danislas Hiero, monk of the Order of St Vasilis, abbot of the monastery of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai that the king of Portugal gave to the said monastery. This was placed with Michael Ferrier, citizen and merchant of the Bardi, the Hospitallers' depositor. Contrary to popular belief, the Bardi did not completely collapse in the 1340s; they were still in business in the early sixteenth century. The Hospitallers seem to have had a role in transferring the money safely to the monastery.<sup>491</sup> They had become very skilled at this for centuries after various monarchs tried to restrict the flow of money out of their countries. For example in England 17 March 1376 a Lombardian merchant, John Crede, was licensed to receive this 1000 marks from Prior Hales and to 'make letters of exchange for that sum' to be paid to the grand master by Crede's associates abroad, the Florentine societies of the Strozzi and Passinus.<sup>492</sup>

### **Safe Conducts and Diplomacy**

Given that Rhodes was on the main route between Europe and the Middle East, there were a multitude of merchants, pilgrims and others passing through. Many of these needed to stay on Rhodes temporarily and needed secure passage once they left. Therefore it is not surprising to find in the records of the *partes citramarine* (on this side of the sea) the issuing of safe conducts, in addition to those found in the specific section of the Hospitallers' records devoted to that function, the *Salvorum Conductuum et Diversarum Scripturarum*. As with financial transactions, offering safe conduct was a role they had performed since their

---

<sup>489</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 223v-224r.

<sup>490</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 201v-202r, 1 February 1510.

<sup>491</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 240v.

<sup>492</sup> CCR 1374-1377, 333.

residence in the Holy Land. However, the fact that these safe conducts were issued in the second decade of the period under study might suggest that travel in the eastern Mediterranean in the years immediately prior to the 1522 Siege of Rhodes was becoming more precarious. Some safe conducts were issued to brethren, but were usually noted in the section of the records devoted to their *langue*. An exception was the safe conduct issued on 28 March 1517, when captains, patrons, officials and men of the navy were informed that a knight of the English *langue*, Fr. Edward Hills, had safe-conduct on his journey to London, England.<sup>493</sup> Most safe conducts however were issued to merchants, particularly those who owned vessels. The first of these letters of protection was issued on 14 January 1514 to Jacobo Lomelio, Genoese and citizen of Rhodes.<sup>494</sup> The fact that he was a citizen of Rhodes and therefore presumably resident on the island, might explain why the letters of protection appeared in the *partes citramarine* and not in the *Salvorum Conductuum*. Another safe conduct both within and without Rhodes town was issued to the merchant Joannis de Zeraigne of Bisacquino (Sicily), on 14 April 1519 at his request.<sup>495</sup>

The safe conducts above appear to relate to merchant activities, but others were for military purposes. On 11 September 1515, Master Ioannis de Biasia, captain of a trireme, had safe conduct for his galley which was warring against the Turks.<sup>496</sup> Then, on 5 November 1515, ‘speciali viro’ Joannis Michaelis of Ysurola Biscoryno captain of a barge, had safe conduct and various exemptions in Rhodes town due to his barge serving in the Hospitaller navy.<sup>497</sup> It was not uncommon for the Hospitallers to supplement their navy by persuading merchant ships to join them, when the need required. In return merchants expected privileges. Again on 28 March 1516 Giovanni Ruis and Cuimino Biscaini, presently resident on Rhodes, had safe conduct and rights to be in the city for serving in the war, by which was meant the ongoing conflict with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>498</sup> The same year, on 22 August 1516, three Genoese merchants had separate safe conducts in Rhodes town for serving in the navy in the war: Laurentio Cherio, patron of a merchant caravel, had special commendation from the grand master. Both he and his men were not to be molested or impeded.<sup>499</sup> The same was granted to

---

<sup>493</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 230r.

<sup>494</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 201v-202r.

<sup>495</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 219r.

<sup>496</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 223r. The name of the ship has been abbreviated to St. D-.

<sup>497</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 224r-v.

<sup>498</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 227r.

<sup>499</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 219v-220r.



Pantaleo Barra and Francisco Justiniano.<sup>500</sup> The following year, on 26 January 1517, Mosso Politis and ‘discreto viro’ Nicolao Dandalo had separate safe conducts and were not to be molested in the city of Rhodes for service in the navy.<sup>501</sup> A similar grant of non-molestation was given to Matheo Sophiano on 11 March 1517 concerning naval service.<sup>502</sup> A clear case of reward for service was granted on 1 April 1519 to Angelo Villioni, a Florentine merchant resident on Rhodes, whose trade dealings with Egypt were not to be inhibited due to his service in the navy.<sup>503</sup>

## Diplomatic

One curious entry, because it appears in the *partes citramarine* and not in the council proceedings, concerns the agreement concluded between the Hospitallers and the sultan of Egypt. It was perhaps reproduced here as it was of relevance for the residents and merchants on Rhodes. The Hospitallers’ ambassador had gone to Alexandria with a copy of a previous agreement made between Sultan Cayti Bey and Grand Master Pierre d’Aubusson, which he had the power to reconfirm.<sup>504</sup> On 3 November 1516, the details of twelve-point agreement were related:

The Signor Tuman Bey Melech Axaraf, the grand sultan of Cairo<sup>505</sup>, Syria and Egypt and Fr. Fabricio de Carreto, grand master of Rhodes through his ambassador the knight Fr. Diego de Lorensana, commander of Castrillo (de Villavega) and Castrofort of the Priory of Castile, made an agreement and pact of good friendship as outlined below:

1. That they will respect their respective sovereign territories both on land and sea and not interfere with towns or castles. There will be no corsairing.
2. No interference with each others’ merchant shipping.
3. The grand master with respect to Alexandria, Syria and Egypt, their consuls or vice consuls maintain their privileges for admirals or governors.

---

<sup>500</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 220r.

<sup>501</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 220v-221r; *Ibid*, f. 221r-v.

<sup>502</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 222r-v.

<sup>503</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 219r.

<sup>504</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 217v-218v.

<sup>505</sup> For more on the sultan in 1516-1517, see Nicholas Vatin, 'Les Chevaliers de Rhodes face à la conquête de l'Égypte', in *Conquête ottomane de l'Égypte (1517): Arrière-plan, impact, échos* ed. Benjamin Lellouch, Nicolas Michel, Leiden, 2013, 154-155.

4. The brethren of the Order in Jerusalem and of St. Catherine of Mount Sinai and in Egypt should not face any impediment or molestation.
5. They will mediate over any impediments that occur.
6. Guarantees the safety of Muslims on Rhodes and of the Sultan's navy in port.
7. Neither nation's merchants or subjects will be subject to corsairing on land or sea by the navy of either side.
8. All officers of both sides shall not have their work interfered with.
9. Neither side shall impose tariffs on the navy or inhibit navigation.
10. The Order will keep their lands in Alexandria, Syria and Egypt and the same for the Egyptian consul and vice consul on Rhodes.
11. Agreements were to continue to be made as under Sultan Cart Bey by the ambassador of the grand master.
12. Both the grand master and Sultan command their officials, governors and regents to keep and observe the peace.<sup>506</sup>

Fr. Diego de Lorensana ambassador on behalf of the grand master confirmed the agreement. It was then ratified on 19 December 1516 by the grand master and the council in the presence of Amyr Mamay ambassador of the Sultan Tuman Bey Melech Axaraf of Egypt and Syria, who was on Rhodes with letters of the said sultan to conclude the peace made with the Order's ambassador.<sup>507</sup> With the Ottomans advancing north of Rhodes, it was all the more important to have neutrality with the Mamluks to avoid encirclement, though in this case the agreement came too late, as the Ottoman conquest of Egypt took place in the spring of 1517. It is interesting that the Hospitallers maintained a diplomatic presence in Muslim controlled territories at this time even, if the document is correct, in Jerusalem. This is an area that needs further research.

---

<sup>506</sup> Malta Cod. 405 f. 215r-217r.

<sup>507</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 217r-v.

The grand master would also write to states whose citizens were resident on Rhodes on a number of themes, normally concerning their status on Rhodes or when they were in transit for some purpose. For example, on 22 December 1518 Grand Master Carretto wrote to the governor and officials of the city of Drepani (modern Trapani) on Sicily concerning Andreas de Lia, citizen of Caqustuo resident on Rhodes, who had joined service in the Hospitallers' navy, his oath being taken by Francisco de Procub, scribe of the navy.<sup>508</sup> Then on 19 October 1519 the grand master wrote to the Count of Antwerp and Lord Scabinis, citizen of the same place that Jodnes Natunis, living on Rhodes and currently in the navy, had been given permission to leave the navy and take up the office of bombardier as a reward for his exploits in the east in defence of the Catholic faith.<sup>509</sup>

We have learnt above about the organisation, people and places on Hospitaller Rhodes in the sixteenth century and seen that there were distinct communities both within the town and in the countryside. The documents express an interaction between both Latins and Greeks with the Hospitallers that in many cases span many generations and in some cases centuries. In the case of the Greek communities that made up the majority of the population on Rhodes, and especially in the countryside, they were entrusted to run their own affairs through the *protos* (head man) and practice their religion according to the Greek rights through the local priest, who may also have been the *protos*. What contrasts and comparisons were there with the other islands under Hospitaller control? That is the subject of the next chapter.

---

<sup>508</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 230r.

<sup>509</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 213v.

## Chapter Five: The other islands of the SE Aegean under Hospitaller control,

### 1500-1522

Rhodes was the headquarters of the Knights Hospitaller between 1309 and 1522, but other islands in the south-east Aegean came under their control during that time. Additionally, the Hospitallers also held land on other islands and in mainland Greece that was controlled by other Latin powers. Apart from Rhodes, the main possession was the commandery of Kos, which consisted of the islands of Kos, Kalymnos and Leros. These three islands were far enough away from Rhodes that the local commander would need to make decisions without consulting the grand master and the council first, so they needed to work as one unit, the northern defence of the Hospitallers' Aegean Empire. Independent of this was St. Peter's Castle, the Hospitallers' foothold on mainland Anatolia. In the last years of the Hospitallers presence in the Aegean, St. Peter's Castle was much more than a propaganda tool to whip up support in the West, as has been suggested for the earlier period of its existence, as will become apparent below.<sup>510</sup> Although independent of the commandery of Kos, it did work in collaboration with that commandery and was an important part of the defensive system. Also in the south-east Aegean was the commandery of Nisyros: although the Genoese held the island as feudal vassals of the Hospitallers, their reward for supporting the Hospitaller conquest of Rhodes, the Hospitallers still held land on the island and had a castle there. The Hospitallers also held land on islands outside what is now the Dodecanese. For example, in 1519 the commandery of Naxos was held by Fr. Antonius de Cezonia.<sup>511</sup>

### Anomalies

Most entries in the *partes citramarine* (i.e. the Eastern Mediterranean) concern the islands of the south-east Aegean that were under Hospitaller control, or Cyprus where they held extensive property. However, it appears from a couple of the entries that 'this side of the sea' extended as far as the eastern coast of the Adriatic, into area under the rule of other Latin powers. Lands held by the Hospitallers were organised in the same way that they were in Western Europe, in commanderies, sometimes also called preceptories. For example, on 30 May 1506 Grand Master d'Amboise wrote general letters to confirm that, due to the death of Fr. Nicole de Monmiral, Fr. John Briolus was now Bailiff of the Morea for life and that the

---

<sup>510</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'The Building of the Castle of the Hospitallers at Bodrum', VI, 143-161 in Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, Aldershot, 1999, 145.

<sup>511</sup> Malta Cod. 407, 231r.

venerable *langue* of France has control of the bailiwick.<sup>512</sup> This included the commanderies of Zakynthos and Kefalonia, dependent members of the bailiwick of the Morea. Thirty Venetian ducats in two instalments, 15 ducats now and the rest at the festival of the nativity of St John the Baptist, were to be paid to the prior of Aquitaine and Fr. John was to have the commanderies of Zakynthos and Kefalonia for 200 ducats. He had the usual responsibilities that any commander had, including upkeep of the two churches, presumably one on each of the islands. Just as on Cyprus, a commandery on an island controlled by another Latin power encompassed a certain amount of land, but not the whole island. Another example from 10 July 1510 illustrates the Hospitallers' links with the Greek mainland. Grand Master d'Amboise wrote general letters that Fr. Petri de Lanta, knight of the Order, had agreed with Jacob Ciprius, patron of the armada against the Turks, that Nicolas Turcarum an adolescent of 17 years be allowed to serve for one asper, in defence of the Christians of the Peloponnese / Morea and area of Mystras (west of Sparta), alias Sparta.<sup>513</sup>

### **Common concerns**

Most of the entries, however, concern the islands under Hospitaller control in what roughly equates to the modern Dodecanese. There were, of course, common concerns between islands when it came to administration that the following examples of visitations illustrate. All commanderies in countries where the Hospitallers held lands and possessions would undergo visitations by a representative of the central Convent that had its headquarters on Rhodes. This also applied to the island-commanderies of the Aegean. For example, on 4 March 1507, Grand Master d'Amboise wrote to Fr. Emmanuel de Arauca, knight of the order and castellan of Leros, the head judge and inhabitants of the castle instructing them to cooperate with his commissioner, Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, commander of Tortosa, who was coming on a visitation there, amongst other things to raise men for a caravan.<sup>514</sup> The same day the grand master wrote to Fr. Jacobo Aymer, captain of St. Peter's Castle, concerning Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, commander of Tortosa and Corbins in the Priory of Catalonia, and governor of the commandery of Kos, who had been commissioned to the castle to evaluate necessary repairs. Fr. Aymer was instructed to make the recommended repairs.<sup>515</sup> Finally, on 6 March

---

<sup>512</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 195v-196r. See also Photeine Perra, 'The Hospitallers' Activities in Mainland Greece: Acquiring Political Influence in the Peloponnesus', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 92, 2010, N.S. 21, 35-41, for an overview of the Hospitallers activities in the Morea.

<sup>513</sup> Malta Cod. AOM 399, f. 220v.

<sup>514</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 232v.

<sup>515</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 232v-233r.

1507, the grand master wrote to Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino himself, who was both commissioner to the island of Kos and its governor.<sup>516</sup> Concerning the castle of Kefalos and the faithful populace within, and the sterility of the land around it, the council in the chapter general had decided that for two years beginning immediately the dues on the two *moggia* and *angaria* (service) were to be relaxed for 1507 and 1508 to a third. The above examples show a concern both for military and commercial matters, as well as pre-empting any unrest among the local population by temporarily reducing the taxes paid in times of hardship.

We will now look at the islands individually, although those of Kos, Kalymnos and Leros are discussed in succession, as they were all part of the commandery of Kos. St. Peter's Castle on mainland Anatolia was independent of the commandery, so is considered separately, though as it was in close proximity to Kos, it is not surprising that they worked together for defensive purposes.

## Leros

### Castellans and Captains

The island of Leros was the most northerly of the Hospitallers Aegean possessions, being about 140km from Rhodes. It was therefore too far away to be ruled from Rhodes directly and this explains why it was part of the commandery of Kos, which was only 40km from Leros. Although subservient to the commander of Kos, who was based (or his lieutenant) at Narangia Castle on Kos, there were castellans on both Leros and Kalymnos, who dealt with day-to-day matters, along with the captains of individual castles. For example, on 13 April 1502, Grand Master d'Aubusson instructed Fr. Roderico de Vivona, commander of Pomerue in the priory of Aquitaine and captain of Leros Castle, that 'papa' Dimitri Palatiano, inhabitant and justicier of Leros, and lieutenant of the castellan of the castle, should be given a house and 'pagatada' for the office.<sup>517</sup> Here we have an example of an important local that was the representative of the Castellan, the latter perhaps resident elsewhere or who was conveying the bulk of his duties to a capable administrator. Although the island was officially under Hospitaller control, members of the local community were in effect administering the island on a day-to-day basis. While this was convenient for the Hospitallers, it may also

---

<sup>516</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 233r-v.

<sup>517</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 228v – 229r.

explain why the Hospitallers had less friction with the locals than other Latin powers in the Aegean, as the locals were involved in decisions on a micro level that affected them the most.

### Movement within the Commandery

There was also movement of personnel within the Commandery of Kos between the islands. On 3 February 1503, the stone mason George Tiliacos (perhaps originally from Tilos) living on Kalymnos was on Leros on business of the commandery of Kos, Leros and Kalymnos, no doubt concerned with repairs.<sup>518</sup> The actual entry is to do with inheritance rights of his relation Eudokia Tilliaco, which were confirmed years later on 23 September 1516<sup>519</sup>, but it indicates how skilled local craftsmen were utilised within the commandery and probably on all the islands under Hospitaller control.

### General Grants

As on Rhodes most information we have about the other islands comes from grants of various sorts that tell us about the brethren, those working for the Hospitallers and others living on the islands. One such entry on 8 March 1503 concerned the *spolia* of the late Fr. Mario Gascom, castellan of Leros castle, part of which was a house that was granted to Joannis cousin of Constancias, son of Theodora tu Janni tu Symone of Leros, on condition he swear obedience to Fr. Hieronimo de Hombellier and other successors in the office of castellan.<sup>520</sup> On their death, the brethren's personal and other possessions were meant to revert to the order. Here we see an example of how possessions were broken up, so that there could be no accumulation of personal wealth and in this case a local of the island was the beneficiary. Locals would seek favours to ensure their rights and safety. On 15 March 1508, Antonio Storin 'larbitousori', on his supplication, was granted for life the right to live in Leros Castle and his marriage to his wife was recognised in the church of the castle.<sup>521</sup> On 27 February 1511 Joannis to Georgio of Leros castle was freed from servitude forever, and to have the same liberties as Francs and Roman citizens.<sup>522</sup>

Others who held specific office were rewarded for their service. On 23 September 1510 Grand Master d'Amboise instructed Fr. Emanuel de Ayrascasa commander of Bottileca in the

---

<sup>518</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 274r.

<sup>519</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 213r.

<sup>520</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 237v.

<sup>521</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 182v.

<sup>522</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 212v-213r.

priory of Lombardy and castellan of Leros castle and to other brethren who might deputise for him that 'dilecto a noi in Christo' Ferrendo de Preciolosa, gate-keeper of the castle, who had exercised his office with vigilance, was granted as a special favour 4 florins per year and a house for life for his good service. His role in the office of gate-keeper was extended and the castellan was to ensure this.<sup>523</sup> The new castellan of Leros castle, Fr. Ponzeito Doure, was also informed on 3 April 1511 that Ferrendo de Preciolosa for his diligence and faithfulness to the religion was granted the office of porter of the castle for his life, the original grant of 23 September 1510 being referred to.<sup>524</sup> It was quite common to have grants renewed or reissued when a new post holder replaced the previous holder, including grand masters, to ensure the rights of office holders. Indeed this was a common practice all over Europe on the accession of a new monarch. Another servant, Antonio the barber of Leros castle, for his continual and diligent service in the castle, was rewarded with a hereditary grant of a field and vine plantation on 8 October 1511 in the *contrata* of Istalinda of Leros island which he already held from Diaco Eloronomou, Georgi Maluasiotti and companions, for 5 Rhodian aspers per annum.<sup>525</sup> The castellan of the castle was to ensure his quiet possession. The two examples above inform us of everyday people and their activities, in the second case a barber who probably also worked the land, as well as the subletting of land on the island by both those with Greek and Italian names.

Just as on Rhodes, the local Greeks had a representative to interact with the Order on the island and would be rewarded for doing their job well. For example, on 9 October 1511 the castellan of the castle, Fr. Ponzeito Doure, was informed that Michalis Temeli 'protho del nostro castello del Lerro', that is the 'first' Greek who was responsible for Greek community, was granted a mill for laudable service.<sup>526</sup> His position as head of the Greek community for the whole of Leros island was reaffirmed to the new Castellan of Leros, Fr. Francisco Xarre, commander of Ceramera and also lieutenant of Kos, on 5 September 1514.<sup>527</sup> This time his full name, Michalis tu Temeli Zaccaria, was used, which might mean he was a distant relative

---

<sup>523</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 203r, 210v-211r.

<sup>524</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 213r-v.

<sup>525</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 231r-v.

<sup>526</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 231v.

<sup>527</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 240v.



of the Zaccaria family of Genoa who had controlled Chios in the first three decades of the fourteenth century, perhaps from a branch that had intermarried and become Grecified.<sup>528</sup>

The above entry also reveals how brethren had multiple positions and almost certainly Fr. Xarre would have resided on Kos and had a lieutenant on Leros. Brethren would hold these positions on a short-term basis, using them to help gain promotion to a more senior position on Rhodes or in their own priory on the European mainland. Thus on 20 March 1512 Fr. Ponzeito Doure, knight of the *langue* of Provence and castellan of Leros castle, other brethren, bombardiers, companions, the ‘proto’ and other men of the castle were informed that Fr. Folchetto Charite, also knight of the *langue* of Provence, had been nominated as captain of castle.<sup>529</sup>

The final mention of Leros is given on 8 October 1518 and is addressed to all the population of the island. After deliberation the Council gave a mandate to the population of Leros concerning the prohibition on the right to sell the produce native to the island. Usually the navy was to convey the produce to Rhodes, which consisted of olives, almond oil, sesame, carob and wine. Some of these products, such as almond oil and chirata, had medical applications, chirata, for example being used for the stomach and other internal organs, so could be used in the hospital. At the petition of the people of Leros, they were allowed to sell some produce to provide for the needs of the island, that is 300 moggia of the produce was to be used for the edification of the church in the castle, 1000 moggia of the produce for munitions and provisions of the castle.<sup>530</sup> Here we have an example of how the Hospitallers listened and agreed to the wishes of the local inhabitants, though the implication is that previously so much of the produce was going to Rhodes that there was not enough to provide for the needs of Leros.

### **Kalymnos**

There is very little information between 1502 and 1522 on Kalymnos, partly because as it was part of the commandery of Kos, it was covered by decisions relating to the commandery. Indeed, Kalymnos is not mentioned in the primary material for 1306-1423 published in Luttrell and O’Malley’s *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, and while the focus is on

---

<sup>528</sup> On the Zaccaria of Chios, see Mike Carr, ‘Trade or Crusade? The Zaccaria of Chios and Crusades against the Turks’.

<sup>529</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 235r-v.

<sup>530</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 225v-226r. A moggio was the sufficient land area for sowing a bushel of wheat.

Rhodes, the book does mention other islands.<sup>531</sup> Tsirpanlis' publication of documents from 1421-1453 has some mention of Kalymnos, but usually relating to the business of the commandery of Kos or islands under the Order's control in general.<sup>532</sup> Very few are exclusively concerned with Kalymnos. Finally, none of the 31 documents published by Sarnowsky for the period 1421-1522 concern Kalymnos, though his focus is on the power and authority of the Hospitallers, not on the interaction between the Order and the inhabitants of the islands.<sup>533</sup> We can say with confidence, then, that information related to Kalymnos is a rarity for the whole of the Knights Hospitaller's stay on Rhodes, not just the early sixteenth century.

Two short entries exist for the period under study. The first dating to 5 October 1511 was addressed to papatis Georgio Scheno, 'philacha', and Nomico tu Janni tu Tucari Diacono of Kalymnos. Temelina tis Castrophilacas, inhabitant of Kalymnos had been granted the church of St. Nicholas situated on the said island in the area commonly called Istomauro Spillio with all pertaining to it by Grand Master d'Aubusson. Temelina then renounced her rights and papatis Georgio and Joannis Diacono were given the church forever, on condition that the structure was repaired and that the Commandery of Kos, of which it was part, received the annual payment.<sup>534</sup> It is interesting that a woman could hold the patronage of a church. All those involved had Greek names, as is the site of the church, in the area of the Black Cave though the way the name is written, Istomauro Spillio (when it should have been εις στο Μαύρο Σπίλιο), suggests the scribe writing the document did not know Greek and had written down what they heard. This information together is evidence that the population of Kalymnos were mainly Greek as opposed to those who might have settled there. On the other hand, the other entry of 2 March 1513 indicates that on this occasion a member of the Order, Fr. Theodoro de Salucio, was appointed to what was presumably the highest office on the island, castellan of the castle of Kalymnos and was responsible for its and its inhabitants protection.<sup>535</sup>

---

<sup>531</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*.

<sup>532</sup> Tsirpanlis, *Anekdotia Engrapha*, passim.

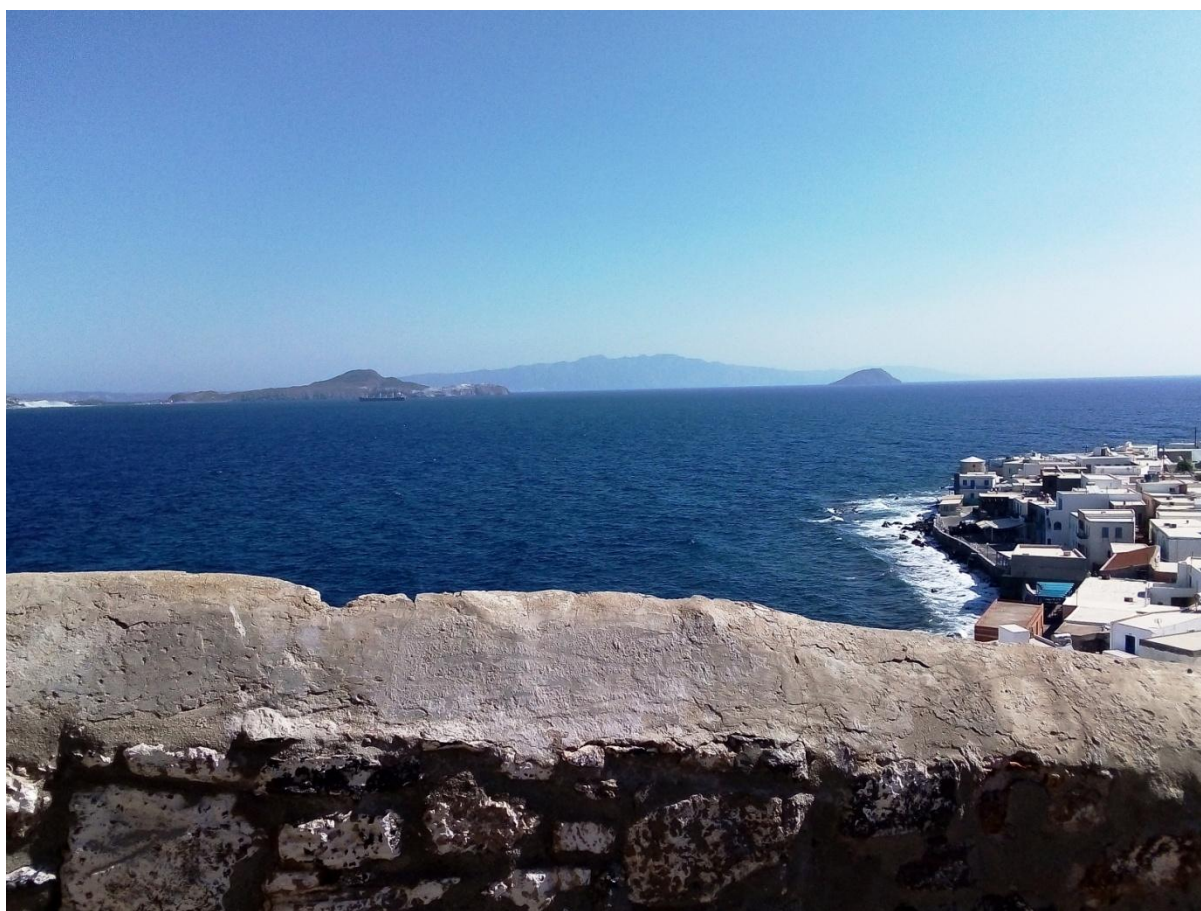
<sup>533</sup> Sarnowsky, Jürgen, *Macht und Herrschaft*.

<sup>534</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 230r-v.

<sup>535</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 197r.

## Nisyros

Figure 5: View towards Kos from Nisyros Castle



Photograph courtesy of Maria Mina

As with Kalymnos, there is little information about the island of Nisyros, one assumes because it was under the lordship of the Genoese, as part of the agreement for the joint-conquest of Rhodes, but as with Kalymnos there are two instances mentioned in the extant records for the sixteenth century. The first, on 6 July 1518, records how the grand master, bailiffs, priors, commanders and brothers of the Council who were currently sitting in the general chapter granted to Fr. Italiano Patherio commander of Savoni in the priory of Lombardy, the commandery Nisyros, vacant due to the death of Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe.<sup>536</sup> The general chapter had granted the castle of Nisyros to Fr. Ludovicus on 20 July 1517 for six years for the sum of 3000 Rhodian Florins and 20 aspers in responsions. Fr. Patherio was to hold it for his life on the same terms. So despite the Genoese possession, the Hospitallers considered themselves to be overlords of the island. Nisyros is next mentioned on 15 June 1521, with Fr. Patherio still the commander. He and other officials of the island

---

<sup>536</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 224r-v.

were instructed concerning Michali tu Georgi Tsangari who was accused of murdering Felio di Papajani of Leros. Michali was to appear before Fr. Criso de Scaliensha, who was investigating the matter.<sup>537</sup> Again, it is clear that the Hospitallers were responsible for keeping order on the island, whatever the Genoese involvement.

Figure 6: Coat of Arms of Grand Master Jacques de Milly (1454-1461) on Nisyros Castle



Photograph courtesy of Maria Mina

---

<sup>537</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 178v.

## St. Peter's Castle

Apart from those relating to Kos, the most numerous entries relate to St. Peter's Castle, near the ancient settlement of Halicarnassus, on the coast of Asia Minor and opposite Kos. Although it was not part of the commandery of Kos, it appears to have worked in close association with it, as several entries indicate.

### Brethren & Seculars

St. Peter's Castle was remote from the headquarters on Rhodes and independent of the commander of Kos. It was also on the mainland, in close proximity to the enemy. Both these factors meant that there were more chances that rules and regulations might be disregarded. One such case was discussed in the council on 20 May 1502, after which Grand Master d'Aubusson issued a bull addressed to Fr. Francisco de Bossolx, prior of Catalonia and captain of St. Peter's Castle, noting a 'detestable blasphemy' had been discovered concerning the habitation of brethren with seculars and companions in the castle.<sup>538</sup> This was against the statutes and Fr. Bossolx was to ensure the statutes were upheld. Amongst other things, the implication is that the brethren were not keeping their vows of chastity.

Another lapse at the castle concerned commercial dealings with the enemy. On 22 October 1503 Fr. Ludovicus de Scalinghe, lieutenant general in the east of the new Grand Master Emery d'Amboise, wrote to Fr. Iacobo Aymer, captain of St. Peter's Castle (1502-1505) and the four constables of the castle. For the protection of the Christians against the many 'infidelias', it was requested that victuals were not sold to Turks on pain of papal excommunication, as it had been noted that this was happening. As with Kos, such action would be seen as rebellion. The captain and constables job was to prevent this occurring on pain of losing their positions.<sup>539</sup> This incident did not affect the career of Fr. Aymer, who served a second term as captain from 1507-1510, and on 30 June 1514 was acting as a constable of St. Peter's Castle, when Grand Master Carretto wrote to him concerning the personnel appointed to collect the *dretti* on commerce in the castle.<sup>540</sup>

---

<sup>538</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 230r.

<sup>539</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 269v-270r.

<sup>540</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 238r-v. He is not mentioned in Sarnowsky's list, p. 675. Indeed Sarnowsky seems not to have consulted Malta Cod. 403 for either the captains or constables of the castle.

Most people at the castle would either be there for trade or because they were employed by the Hospitallers and they were allowed to stay there for that reason. For example, on 16 June 1517, Catherine tu Sinadenu, widow and inhabitant of St. Peter's Castle, was granted confirmation of right to live there by the grand master because she had seven sons in service of the religion.<sup>541</sup>

### **Grants of Possessions**

As with Rhodes and on other islands, most information pertains to grants of various sorts. For example, on 17 December 1504 Ferando de Ribeia, Portuguese, associate (*socio*) of the Hospitallers, was give a life-grant of a stipend for his many years of faithful and obedient service in St Peter's Castle.<sup>542</sup> On Rhodes, the grants were mainly of land, but at St. Peter's Castle, where land was limited, the majority of information correlates to churches. There were two churches inside St. Peter's Castle, St. George's Church and St. Mary's Church, of which the latter had a chapel inside it.

### **Churches**

The first grant illustrates how family networks influenced proceedings. On 6 December 1502 at the supplication of his relative, Fr. Francisco de Bossolx, the previous captain of the castle (March-October 1502), Antonio Bossolx, 'compagnono' and inhabitant of St. Peter's Castle, was granted patronage of the chapel in the said castle for himself and his heirs on payment of three Rhodian florins per annum.<sup>543</sup> He had to ensure mass was celebrated and was responsible for the upkeep and repair of the chapel. The previous patron, Marucha the widow of Antony Maltes, and her heirs were to have a house in compensation.

Two years later, the same chapel came under scrutiny concerning the upkeep of the conditions of patronage. On 17 December 1504 Grand Master d'Amboise issued general letters informing all concerning a report by Frs. Geraus Marchet and Johannes Ycart, knights of the castellany of Amposta and priory of Catalonia, under Fr. Francisco de Bossolx, prior of Catalonia and captain of St. Peter's Castle.<sup>544</sup> It concerned the chapel inside the church of St. Mary in the said castle where ecclesiastical utensils are kept for the masses celebrated in the

---

<sup>541</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 232r.

<sup>542</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 22v-23r.

<sup>543</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 237r-v.

<sup>544</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 24v-25v.

week of April, that is, Easter. It also noted that the two houses adjacent related to the church and were worth 13 florins annually and that for the same chapel Antonius de Bossolx paid three florins annually for the celebrations of the Eucharist at Corpus Christi in the same chapel. It was observed that these celebrations were not upkept. The Council ruled the celebration of the Eucharist must be upkept by the prior and chaplain of the church. Of the 16 florins, ten were to celebrate mass and six florins to go for the upkeep of the church for six years. Apart from informing us about the churches, we can also learn that there was a concentration of Catalan knights and other personnel at the castle at this time. This implies that when a new captain was appointed, he brought with him members of his entourage, which could include his extended family.

One might wonder why, within one castle, two churches were necessary. An entry of 3 February 1505 partially answers this question. At the request of Fr. Vincentio Lopes, constable of St. Peter's Castle and procurator of the church of St. Mary in the said castle, Fr. Joanni Heczer, Grand Bailiff, and Fr. Constancio de Operatis the next captain of the said castle, the grand master informed all and sundry about the statutes on the lower and higher Greeks and lower Franks that frequented St. Mary and St. George's churches.<sup>545</sup> The Franks and Greeks should be dispensing two gilliati (a currency), one for each church. St Mary's Church was to have as its gilliato 18 florins and St George's Church 18 florins, for the infirmary. The lighting of candles by Franks and Greeks was to happen on alternate days and the Frankish parishioners were to go to St Mary church, while the Greeks were to go to St George's Church. Each church was to have one house assigned to it which was to be kept in good condition. The reference to a second church, that of St. George, is not an error, as it is mentioned again on 16 March 1513, when Fr. Jacobo Gaitineo, commander of Bella Cassagna in the priory of Alverne, took over as captain of the castle in place of Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, Bailiff of Majorca.<sup>546</sup> Apart from informing us that there were two churches, when previously we knew only of one chapel, the possibility also arises that there was an infirmary in the castle, even if moderate in size. A note was made that the treasury dispensed 140 florins in arms for the maintenance of the brethren in the castle, the distribution of medicine, etc.<sup>547</sup> This is highly likely, given that that castle was isolated and some form of medical care would be needed both for brethren and local inhabitants.

---

<sup>545</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 20r-21r.

<sup>546</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 234, 234r-v (two entries).

<sup>547</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 20r-21r.

## Land

Despite the lack of space in a castle that spanned at the most 137m from north to south and 134m from east to west, there are still a few land grants, though not in the castle itself. The first, from 6 July 1514, would seem to emphasise the lack of land at the castle, as it concerned 1500 moggia of the fruits of the fields and houses in the ville of Andimachia on Kos that were allocated to the captain of St. Peter's Castle, in the care of the castellan of Andimachia.<sup>548</sup> Then, on 28 September 1516, Antonio Peregrino inhabitant of the castle was granted two moggia of the fruits, which Fr. Michaelis Malares constable of St. Peter's Castle and treasurer of the same, was to ensure that he received.<sup>549</sup> This implies that there was some local agriculture taking place somewhere outside the castle. A final grant again emphasises the need for those associated with the castle to be granted lands elsewhere. On 12 March 1519 the grand master informed Fr. Theodore de Saluce castellan of St. Peter's Castle that Nicolas tu Cauchia their vassal of Leros, on Rhodes, was to have 4 modiates of land in the area of Staphilia (near Lardos). His representative in St. Peter's Castle, Georgi Catsaras, nominated Theodoros Calogrea to act on his behalf.<sup>550</sup> So, while he was away, there was a network of people looking after his possessions. Notwithstanding these land grants, the fact that most of them concerned property on other islands, including Rhodes, emphasises the lack of available land in and around the castle of St. Peter, which was built on a barren rock. However, despite the hills surrounding the castle, there is some cultivatable land near the modern settlements of Bitez, three and a half kilometres to the west, and at Yali, four kilometres to the east, so it is possible the castle got supplies locally, either from lands it possessed or through trade.

## Visitations

Although St. Peter's Castle was isolated, it was still subject to visitations as were all Hospitaller properties whether in the east or west. Indeed, perhaps its remoteness meant there was more need to prevent infringements of the rules.

There were a number of visitations we know about in the first decade of the sixteenth century, though less in the second decade. This may be due to lost records. The first visitation in the period under study was due to happen in 1503. On 10 March of that year Grand Master

---

<sup>548</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 237r.

<sup>549</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 212v. He was son of the turcomano of the castle.

<sup>550</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 230v-231r.



d'Aubusson wrote a directive to the captain and brethren of St. Peter's Castle, informing them that the grand bailiff of Germany was to carry out a visitation to the castle and instructing them to comply.<sup>551</sup> Despite d'Aubusson's death, it appears that the visitation went ahead, as on 11 September 1504 the new grand master, Emery d'Amboise wrote to Fr. Jacobo Aymer, commander of La Rochella and captain of St. Peter's Castle, and other future captains of the castle. There was a commission into things that went against the rules of the castle by the grand bailiff of Germany, the Prior of England and the Prior of Aquitaine. The soldiers in the castle were ordered to do as they instructed. Items to be investigated concerned the curate Georgio Furiano, a Brigantine ship and victuals and also the brethren and bombardiers of the castle.<sup>552</sup> A further communication of 15 November 1504 to Fr. Aymer, Fr. Joanni instructed him that the commission of the council made up of Fr. Bernardino de Ayrascha, Fr. John Tonge and Fr. Petro de Henglespergh that were coming to the castle concerning Turkish persons in the castle, were not to be obstructed in their business.<sup>553</sup> By 28 January 1505, the castle had a new captain, Fr. Constancio de Opertis, commander of Yuree in the priory of Lombardy. He and other religious officials and those holding positions in the castle were informed that the Grand Bailiff, captain of their galley, was to pay a visitation. The order also noted that the guard of the castle did not accept the appointment of the deputy guard and he was commanded to comply with Order's decisions.<sup>554</sup> The final mention for the first decade of the sixteenth century, on 1 March 1507, was addressed to all constables, companions and stipends of St. Peter's Castle. They were instructed to obey the new captain of the castle, Fr. Porchet, lieutenant of the grand bailiff of Germany, who will pay a visitation to the castle.<sup>555</sup>

For the period 1510-1522, only one record is extant for a visitation. On 15 March 1519 Grand Master Carretto wrote to Fr. Emerico du Mesuil, commander of Bignes in the priory of Auvergne and captain of St. Peter's Castle. He was informed that the lieutenant of the Grand Bailiff of Dalmatia, Fr. Georgio de la Casa, was to visit the castle to check all was correct according to the statutes of the Order. Fr. Mesuil was to ensure he was allowed to do his job.<sup>556</sup>

---

<sup>551</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 237V – 238r.

<sup>552</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 184r-v.

<sup>553</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 185v-186r. Fr. Tonge was not the prior of England, but the commander of Carbrooke at this point. The prior of England was Fr. Thomas Docwra.

<sup>554</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 23r-v.

<sup>555</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 232r-v.

<sup>556</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 231v.

## **Appointments and Duties**

The most numerous entries concerning St. Peter's Castle are those that relate to appointments and duties of various sorts. Significant posts at St. Peter's Castle were much sort after by knight-brethren. Service there counted towards active service against the perceived enemies of Christianity and therefore was considered both prestigious and something that could further one's career. Many brethren would go there to serve in the yearly caravan. For example, on 7 February 1517 Fr. James de Villasan was given permission to leave the convent to serve at St. Peter's Castle against the Turks and a Patrus Libeu was to transport him there via Kos.<sup>557</sup>

It has been suggested, as mentioned earlier, that the castle had no real defensive use and that its main function was to raise funds from the West and justify the existence of the Order through having a base on mainland Anatolia. Certainly it was off the sea route from which an enemy fleet might approach. However, in the sixteenth century at least, it was a good 'listening post' from which to gather information about the enemy from Ottoman merchants who came to the castle for trade. It was also not far from one of the north-south routes from Constantinople to Marmaris. Conversely, if the Hospitallers wanted to attack into Ottoman territory, St. Peter's Castle was the place to launch it from. Supplies and troops could be sent from Kos and the harbour is large and sheltered for a fleet of ships to bring soldiers in large numbers. Finally, from the personnel and money spent on the castle, it must have had more than a symbolic function. A variety of posts was held at the castle and are categorised below.

## **Captains of the Castle**

The most senior position at St. Peter's Castle was that of captain. The captain, or his lieutenant, had to oversee the smooth running of the castle and this included introducing new personnel that had been granted positions by the council on Rhodes. In the first entry in the period under study, on 16 March 1502, Grand Master d'Aubusson informed Fr. Francisco de Bossolx, the Prior of Catalonia and captain of St. Peter's Castle and the religious and constables of the same castle, that Fr. George de la Casa, lieutenant of the grand bailiff, was to be given favour, that is a position at the castle, at the next opportunity.<sup>558</sup> When the captaincy changed hands, due to death or resignation, a list of possessions or the *spolia*

---

<sup>557</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 221v.

<sup>558</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 288r.

needed to be drawn up. This was written into the statutes, as all officials at the castle were reminded of on 19 March 1512, after the captaincy had just changed hands.<sup>559</sup>

The Hospitallers' archive tells us not only about the appointment of captains, but the kinds of duties and dues personnel at the castle owed. On 9 December 1502, the captain of St. Peter's Castle, Fr. Franchesco de Bossolx, was informed that the chapter general had granted Fr. Jacobo Emer, commander of Temple Rochella, the captaincy of the castle on certain conditions.<sup>560</sup> Firstly, that Fr. Emer could use the title of captain immediately, and Fr. Bossolx from the first day of March 1504 until 1 March 1506. In practice, Fr. Emer's captaincy was to start from the 1 September passed (1502) and finish on the last day of April 1503. Secondly, the *spolia* in the castle that Fr. Bossolx has to account for was 6248 florins. Of this amount, 4800 florins must be paid to the common treasury, with 1448 florins to be deducted for good uses. In other words, more than two-thirds of the castle's revenue was to go to the common treasury on Rhodes. The castle was also to pay a subvention to the common treasury for the protection of the city of Rhodes. Here we can see the castle had a very practical monetary value for the Hospitallers and was not just a symbolic foothold on Asia Minor. It further appears to have had a military value, as a third point gives permission for Fr. Gerald Marchet to anchor off the castle for the purposes of attacking the Turks. Marchet was also responsible for providing provisions to the castle and protecting it against the Turks. He was also to escort the merchants residing in the castle when they travelled to Rhodes, which they had permission to do. Marchet was further empowered to negotiate with the Turks for the liberation of Christian captives. The above conditions were agreed by the Grand Master d'Aubusson in the presence of the Prior of England (Fr. Docwra), the said captain (Fr. Emer), Fr. Gerald Marchet, Joannis Parpallia, Nicolas Marcelli and confirmed by Bartholemew Policiano, the vice-chancellor and secretary of the grand master. In summary, the castle was far more in the sixteenth century than a symbolic justification of the Hospitallers' existence: just from this one entry, we can see it was a trading post for merchants, it raised a substantial amount of money for the common treasury and was a base from which to both attack the Turks and also defend from them.

Despite the appointment of Fr. Bossolx until 1 March 1506, two other captains were appointed before that deadline was reached. On 27 February 1505 the grand master wrote to

---

<sup>559</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 233v.

<sup>560</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 233v-235r.

Fr. Jacobo Aymer of the commandery of Le Rochelle in the Priory of Aquitaine and recently captain of St. Peter's Castle, and to the brethren and sisters of St. Pendaris in the said castle. They were ordered to obey Fr. Constancio de Operatis, commander of Yuree, the captain of the said castle.<sup>561</sup> The same day it was noted that there had been some opposition within the castle to Fr. Operatis' appointment, which explains the order to obey him. It was also noted that some of the regulations were not being followed and they were restated. The grand bailiffs and captains of St. Peter's Castle present and future were reminded that grand bailiffs were allowed to have a maximum of four companions. Those in turn could have ten to sixteen companions to help in their duties.<sup>562</sup> That such action was taken suggests that appointments by grand bailiffs were being generously distributed as a form of patronage. Apart from being a potential drain on the income of the Order, such a reallocation of duties allowed experienced personnel to be absent and that compromised the efficient running of the castle, a point that was addressed later. Fr. Constantio de Opertis was himself to be replaced two years later (27 February 1507) by none other than Fr. Jacobo Aymer, whom Operatis had usurped in 1505.<sup>563</sup>

By 1510 there was a new captain and the castle was in trouble. On 1 February of that year Grand Master d'Amboise wrote to Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, bailiff of the bailiwick of Majorca and the existing captain of St Peter's Castle. Due to the continued absence of deputies that frustrated the authority of the Order, the chapter general decreed that brethren be resident in the castle for four years from the next caravan that the captain must be resident in the castle.<sup>564</sup> Clearly, it was not just deputies that were absent, but the main post-holders themselves. Fr. Antonio had only recently been appointed, and a directive of 12 March 1510 to the brethren of St. Peter's Castle who made up the caravan, their secular companions and all the inhabitants there were ordered to obey the grand master's mandate, that is to accept Fr. Antonio as the new captain of the castle, after election by the Council, for a period of two years.<sup>565</sup> During his time as captain, military activities continued, further contesting the view that the castle had only a symbolic role, as is clear from the reference to the brethren in the castle taking part in the caravan of 8 October 1511.<sup>566</sup> Again, as in 1510, they were reminded of the importance of remaining at the castle, exactly to ensure that military operations could

---

<sup>561</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 24r.

<sup>562</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 24r-v.

<sup>563</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 231r-v.

<sup>564</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 221r-v.

<sup>565</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 221r.

<sup>566</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 237v.

run efficiently. By early January 1512, thoughts were turning to a replacement for Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, whose appointment was nearing its end.<sup>567</sup> On 16 March he was informed that, for good service, his successor as captain of the castle has been granted to Fr. Jacobo Gaitineo, commander of Mascon, Limoges and Bella Cassagna in the Priory of Alvergne.<sup>568</sup> The same day, both Fr. Sancto Martino, the former captain, and Fr. Gaitineo, the present captain, were instructed to assist Fr. Conrade de Sinualbacs, lieutenant of the grand bailiff in the castle, concerning the observations of the guards, fortifications and security of the castle against the 'infidels'.<sup>569</sup> Religious and seculars in the castle were to cooperate with him.

Gaitineo remained captain until the end of February 1514, though by mid-February his successor had been elected, as indicated by a bull of 13 February. That bull was addressed to both the captain and the captain elect, which suggests that the new captain was already serving at the castle at that time, perhaps learning the ropes of the job.<sup>570</sup> Other captains were appointed up until the 1522 siege of Rhodes, mentioned in the appointments of others. For example, Fr. Thomas Sheffield, commander of Beverley in England, was captain from 1 March 1514 and was still addressed as captain on 27 March 1515 and 14 January 1516 when constables were appointed.<sup>571</sup> He was still captain on 13 June 1517, at which point he was overseas, when there was an expense account for the maintenance of bombardiers and other items relating to the castle.<sup>572</sup> The last captain, as far as we know, was Fr. Bernardino de Errascha, was in office on 4 January 1522.<sup>573</sup>

### **Constables**

Often the appointment of one person could lead to that appointment of another member of the same extended family. Hence on 7 November 1502, Grand Master d'Aubusson assigned to Fr. Joannis de Spillez of the priory of Catalonia, 'armorum servienti', for his diligence the position of second constable of St. Peter's Castle. However, it was also mentioned that the appointment was influenced by the grand master's 'love of Fr. Berenghiere Spillez', who had

---

<sup>567</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 233r-v.

<sup>568</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 234r.

<sup>569</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 234v-235r.

<sup>570</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 236r, 27 April 1512; Ibid. 402, f. 197v, 27 May 1513; ibid. 402, f. 205r-v, 13 February 1514; Ibid. 402, f. 203r, 15 February 1514.

<sup>571</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 205r-v; Ibid. 404, f. 222r, 224v-225r.

<sup>572</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 231v-232r.

<sup>573</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 189r.

been constable of the castle for two years.<sup>574</sup> There was more than one constable, however. On 2 August 1503, after the death of Grand Master d'Aubusson, Fr. Guy de Blanchefort, lieutenant-general of grand master, informed the captain that Vincentio Lopez, 'armorum servienti' of the Castellany of Amposta, had been granted the post of constable of St. Peter's Castle, vacant due to the death of Fr. Joannis Barchiera. The captain was to ensure he was instituted into that position.<sup>575</sup> On Rhodes, these armed servants, sometimes simply referred to as *serviens* or *armatum*, were local constables that were attached to a castle and often held associated hereditable lands.<sup>576</sup>

The position(s) of constable seem to have remained constant until the second decade of the sixteenth century. Then on 16 March 1512, Captain Fr. Gaitineo and his successors in that post were informed that the Marshal of Rhodes convent, procurator of Fr. Francesco d'Agant, recently constable of the castle, granted the post of constable to Fr. Juliano Vignano of the *langue* of Provence.<sup>577</sup> It would appear that previous constables, with the backing of a powerful member of the Order, could nominate their successors, subject to the approval of the Council, though in this case it seems that he was appointing a deputy in his absence (see below). Two months later, on 8 May 1512 another constable was appointed. The 'courageous' brethren servants in arms in the Priory of Alverne were informed that Fr. Joanne Alemano, 'armorum servienti' of their *langue*, was to have the vacant position of constable of St. Peter's Castle.<sup>578</sup> Another constable, Fr. Dennis de Achenille, armed-servant of the Priory of France, was appointed on 22 February 1514 after the resignation of Fr. Francisco d'Agant, who no doubt had gained a promotion.<sup>579</sup> Yet another constable was appointed on 27 March 1515, when Fr. Thomas Sheffield, commander of Beverley in England and captain of the castle, was given notice of the election of Fr. Michael de Malaret of the *langue* of Castile, and Fr. Sheffield was to ensure that he gained possession of that position.<sup>580</sup>

One might justifiably ask: how many constables of St. Peter's Castle were there? The answer becomes apparent from an entry of 14 January 1516, when Fr. Joannis de Maduch, knight of the priory of Aquitaine, was appointed as one of the four constables of St. Peter's Castle,

---

<sup>574</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 236r.

<sup>575</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 268r-v.

<sup>576</sup> See Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 11, 178.

<sup>577</sup> Malta Cod. 401 f. 235r.

<sup>578</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 236v.

<sup>579</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 206r.

<sup>580</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 222r.

replacing Fr. Dennis (de Achenille).<sup>581</sup> Again Captain Thomas Sheffield was to institute him in that office. The same year, on 15 March, Fr. Michael Lonalanoes, *armorum*, gained confirmation of his promotion to the office constable of St. Peter's Castle.<sup>582</sup> Constables continued to be appointed up until the Hospitallers were forced to leave their Aegean possessions. On 4 January 1522, Grand Master Villers Lisle Adam wrote to Fr. Bernardino de Errascha, captain of St. Peter's Castle and Fr. Robert de Roch Martino, lieutenant of the castle, to inform them that the chapter general had appointed Fr. Diego Geris (or Peris), 'servientem armorum' of the Priory of Portugal, to the office of constable of the said castle with the rights and duties associated with the post.<sup>583</sup> The last ever entry in *partes citramarine* of 29 January 1522 also concerned St. Peter's Castle. Fr. Joannis de Montero, 'armorum servienti' of Priory of Castile and Legionis, was appointed one of the constables of the castle for diligence and obedience to the religion, a post being vacant due to the resignation of Fr. Joanne Grauet (or Granet).<sup>584</sup> The lack of entries in the *partes citramarine* on any subject after January 1522 suggests that priorities turned to preparations for the siege, which the Hospitallers had heard that Suleiman was planning.

### **Minor Positions**

Apart from the captain, his lieutenants and the constables, there were a number of minor positions held at the castle. Positions could be inherited, as a reward for a predecessor's good service. Thus Petro di Perdica, inhabitant of St Peter's Castle, was granted the position of janitor of the castle with all rights and stipends for life on 17 December 1504, because Nicolaus di Perdica had faithfully served as janitor of the said castle for life.<sup>585</sup> Some long-serving staff had the right to suggest others to positions within the castle. Thus on 15 February 1514, Antonio Bossolx, *turcimanno* of the castle, nominated Jacomo Carelo of Rhodes to have the 'tabula' of the balasterio of the castle for good service to their religion.<sup>586</sup>

Another position that was held at the castle, as mentioned above, was that of *turcimanno* (interpreter). That there was such a position at the castle again suggests St. Peter's had a practical role, perhaps in diplomacy or in intercepting and deciphering enemy messages. Like the janitor, this was often a hereditary position. For example, on 27 April 1512 the captain Fr.

---

<sup>581</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 224v-225r.

<sup>582</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 226v-227r.

<sup>583</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 189r.

<sup>584</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 189v.

<sup>585</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 21r-v.

<sup>586</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 203r.

Jacobo Gattineo and his successors were informed that, for diligence in commissions Demetri, *turcimanno* of the said castle, was to have sustenance for life including a house of Antonio Bossolx, a former *turcimanno*. His son (figlio) Antonio Pellegrino, being an expert in many languages, was to succeed Demetri in the office of *turcimanno* and have the fruits of the *turcimanía* of Antonio Bossolx.<sup>587</sup> The next month, on 14 May 1512, Antonio Pellegrino received confirmation of his appointment at the castle, considering the long and faithful service of his father in that office.<sup>588</sup> The following year, on 27 May 1513, captain Gattineo was informed of the wages Antonio Pellegrino was to receive in the office of *turcimanno*, that being 10 florins and 16 aspers.<sup>589</sup> However it appears that Antonio de Bossolx, inhabitant of the castle, was the main *turcimanno*, and gained confirmation from Grand Master Carretto on 13 February 1514 of this, which the captain and his successor were informed about. Bossolx had his letters of appointment by Grand Master d'Amboise dated 31 March 1506 to be *turcimanno* of the castle for life, in place of the previous *turcimanno* Demetri de Serres, who had held it for life.<sup>590</sup> Bossolx seems to have felt insecure in his position, requesting and being granted further confirmations on 20 July 1517 and 24 November 1519.<sup>591</sup>

The case of St. Peter's Castle indicates that there was a community living in the castle that went back a few generations, suggested by the inheritance of posts and the right to live in the castle of relatives serving. Both Latins and Greeks lived and worked in the castle, which we can say for the early sixteenth century had a number of practical purposes, whatever was the case a century before on its foundation. The castle had a close relationship with the commandery of Kos, which we will look at in the next section.

---

<sup>587</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 236r. The term *turcimanno*, is an adaptation of the Arabic-Persian word tarajomaan and the Ottoman word tercumani, both signifying interpreter. It entered into medieval Italian notarial documents in the thirteenth century with various spellings, such as turchimanus, torcimano, turcimano, dragumano and drogumano: *Florence's Embassy to the Sultan of Egypt: An English Translation of Felice Brancacci's Diary*, ed. Mahnaz Yousefzadeh, Basingstoke, 2018, 49. The embassy took place in 1422.

<sup>588</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 236v-237r.

<sup>589</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 197v.

<sup>590</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 205r-v.

<sup>591</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 237v, Malta Cod. 408, f. 216r.



## Kos

It is interesting to note that the most detailed survey of medieval Kos so far, that on the castles and fortifications of Kos by Nikos Kondogiannis, does not consult Hospitallers' archival documents in Malta, relying on published primary and secondary sources. Some documents are reproduced from Tsirpanlis in the appendix for the period up to 1453, but none for the period after 1500.<sup>592</sup> Thus the Hospitallers' records held in the National Library of Malta used in this current study bring to life the buildings and give a sense of the communities that were built up around, and in some cases in, the castles on the island.

### General: Commandery and Various

Each of the four known castles on Kos was the centre of a castellany of the same name, that is, Narangia (Kos town and surroundings), Pili, Antimachia and Kephalos. With the exception of Narangia Castle, the other castles face the south coast of the island, protecting the approach towards Rhodes. Kefalos Castle is opposite the castle on Nisyros and together with Antimachia Castle, which can also be seen from Nisyros, they protected the strait between the two islands. Entries relevant to individual castles are dealt with in the relevant sections below. In the following section we will deal with information relating to the island and commandery in general, plus anomalous documents that don't easily fit into any category.

### Appointments, Pensions and New Recruits

General appointments for the whole commandery are included here. The first, on 20 April 1502 was a grant to a Fr. Bartholomew (hole in paper, so the surname is missing) of the priory of Lombardy of the prioral church with Latin rights, temporal and spiritual. Fr. Bartholomew was appointed to the commandery of Kos to be lieutenant or vice-prior to console the population, especially the *angussati* or *francomati*, that is, free men and women, and was to receive the emoluments of that office of vice-prior. The lieutenant and castellan of the commandery of Kos were to ensure his appointment.<sup>593</sup>

Another spiritual appointment concerned Johannes Gaizia of the island, 'for God, Our Lady and St. John the Baptist', who had the Hospitallers' regular habit and desired the position of

---

<sup>592</sup> Νίκος Κοντογιάννης, *Μεσαιωνικά Κάστρα και Οχυρώσεις της Κω*, Αθήνα, 2002.

<sup>593</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 229r-v.

chaplain servant. On 31 August 1507, Fr. Antonio se Sancto Martino, commander of Tortosa in the priory of Catalonia and lieutenant of Kos was instructed to receive him into the order in a position under that of chaplain-brother and confer on him the right to wear the habit of the Order as stated in the statutes.<sup>594</sup> John Gaizia was presumably of Latin origin because local Greeks were not permitted to enter the Order. The other appointments concerned the granting of offices, with the exception of that on 23 December 1502 when Grand Master d'Aubusson, in agreement with Fr. Andrea d'Amara, commander of Venerrutis in the priory of Portugal, granted a pension Nicholas Instiriari of Kos and receptor on the island at his supplication.<sup>595</sup>

As mentioned above, the other appointments were those to official duties, from commander of the commandery to more menial offices. Not all the higher-office appointments were mentioned in the *partes citramarine*, and are perhaps apparent only when disputes or some objection was raised and the local population needed to know the legitimate post holder. Thus on 23 August 1516 the burgesses and population of the island of Kos were informed that Fr. Jaum Pibert (aka Jacobo Pibert below, 17 September) was elected lieutenant of the commandery.<sup>596</sup> Then on 23 February 1518, the faithful *francomati* on Kos in the parishes of Narangia, Pili, Antimachia and Kefalo, and those on Leros and Kalymnos (i.e. the commandery of Kos) were informed that Fr. Petro Ioannis de Vidony, Prior of St Giles, was to be commander and bailiff of the isles.<sup>597</sup>

One other anomalous entry that appears to refer to military duties is that of 12 November 1511.<sup>598</sup> The grand master wrote to Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, commander of Aquis and lieutenant of Kos to inform him that Fr. Joannes Bonifacii, through their procurator Fr. Joannes de Villanova, who had replaced the former procurator, Fr. Martini Pasquera, had permission to leave Kos and depart on a journey (*passagio*) into *partes adversam* on the ship St. Christopher. It is likely that he was going to take part in some sort of military activity against the Turks, or this permission was granted in preparation for his participation in the annual caravan the following summer.

The other appointments for the whole commandery concern minor military and administrative positions. Apart from brethren who held military appointments in the

---

<sup>594</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 179r.

<sup>595</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 235r-v.

<sup>596</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 212r-v.

<sup>597</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 230r-v.

<sup>598</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 231v-232r.

commandery of Kos, there were also other faithful servants, such as the bombardiers. They were in charge of the cannons used to bombard enemy attackers. On 26 November 1505, Joannis de la Mare, master *bombardiero* of Kos, was granted the office of conservator of the munitions and artillery of Kos, for life. The post also came with the right for him or his lieutenant to present to the church of St. Mary, which must have provided some extra income for him.<sup>599</sup> Concerning income, we know from a document dated 15 April 1506 that bombardiers received 3 ducats per annum. The document does not state if these were ducats of Venice or Rhodes, but as the Order minted its own currency, it was probably the latter. This amount, with reference to previous appointments, was awarded to Angelino Castiatore, civilian and good servant of the Order and bombardier and Fr. Berenghano de Monsalez, commander of Cobin and lieutenant on Kos was to ensure he received it from the common treasury and that he was provided with a house and land.<sup>600</sup> Other appointments include that of 5 October 1512 granted to Master Leonardo, bombardier, German soldier of their religion, which Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, lieutenant of Kos, was informed about on the above date.<sup>601</sup> Then on 1 April 1516, the lieutenant of Kos was to help the captain of the galley *Negroponte*, Alonso Saranno, to find men to serve in war.<sup>602</sup> Lastly, on 8 January 1519 Fr. Jacobo Jubati, bailiff of Majorca and lieutenant of Kos, was informed that Nicolaus Zappalino of Rhodes, was granted the office of lieutenant of the armoury for 8 florins.<sup>603</sup>

The other appointments to the commandery in general were administrative. The first of these was on 5 June 1505, when the lieutenant of Kos, Raymund Luleymur alias Monsalez, commander of Robrius in the priory of Toulouse, was informed that after the Order's consent to the marriage of Alexander de Vintumtia to the daughter of the sometime Petri Vordon, who had been scribe of the island, Alexander was to hold the office of scribe.<sup>604</sup> As noted elsewhere in this study, this suggests that positions, like some land holdings, were hereditary. Another curious appointment was that on 20 October 1511. Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, commander of Aquis and lieutenant of Kos, was informed that Georgio tu Lollia had confirmation of the post of 'botiglieri' (bottler) for life on Kos.<sup>605</sup> What a bottler did exactly is not clear. What is clearer is the granting of the right to Fr. Thomas della Porta, to appoint the

---

<sup>599</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 197v.

<sup>600</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 195r.

<sup>601</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 241r.

<sup>602</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 210r

<sup>603</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 229v.

<sup>604</sup> Malta Cod. 396 f. 193v.

<sup>605</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 232v.

'tabula' on 16 March 1512.<sup>606</sup> This was normally an administrative office held by and relating to the Greeks and their organisation. In this case, the same lieutenant was informed and presumably had to ensure he was put into possession of the post.

### **Work conditions/rights/manumissions/punishment/muster of men**

Some of the most interesting documents are those concerned with relations with the local community on a variety of matters. For example, on 8 April 1503, the lieutenant of Kos commandery and island, Fr. Constancio de Opertis, who was also commander of Yueree in the priory of Lombardy, was given instructions concerning the women servants in the castles of Andimachia and Narangia on Kos. It was instructed that they labour with humility and live in auxiliary buildings and that they are not vexed or troubled.<sup>607</sup> The implication is that the opposite was happening, either involving brethren or lay male servants. A firm case of less than chaste behaviour involved Chidonena of Kos, the wife of Antonio Ardacta, who was accused and convicted of adultery and was now pregnant. On 24 October 1511, Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, the commander of Palliers and lieutenant of Kos, was instructed to put her in prison and fine her 25 ducats.<sup>608</sup> Despite this, Chidonena is mentioned again in a bull of 19 January 1520 upholding the rights of the *francomati*, or freemen and women of Kos.<sup>609</sup> Fr. Petro Joanni de Vedone of the priory of St Giles, commander of the bailiwick of Kos, was informed that the council had granted Constantinos Foliu, son of Zacchalari Amstatini tou Protopsalti and Duchene, the daughter of a *francomati*, the right of marriage of Chidonena, daughter of Leonis Parssino of Nizari and Astradene tu Joannis Tsangrera of Antimachia, *francomati*.<sup>610</sup> She had been promised in marriage, but copulated with Fr. Edoardus de Normadino. According to the statutes of 1473, Constantinus and Chidonena can be legitimately married and accordingly have the rights of *francomati* for themselves and their heirs.

Marriage rights and the rights of offspring were very much on the minds of the people of Kos. On 4 March 1517 Fr. Edoardus de Carmis, commander of Kos, was informed that Sevasti, the daughter of Zacchala Conomo and Andrina Chia of Kos, *angussati*, was granted

---

<sup>606</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 234v.

<sup>607</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 240v-241r.

<sup>608</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 231r.

<sup>609</sup> Malta Cod. 408, f. 218r-v.

<sup>610</sup> It seems Chidonena was a popular name on Kos.

the right to marry.<sup>611</sup> Then on 14 August 1521 the Greek priests (*sacerdoti greci*) of the island were given licence to perform marriages, with the permission of the archbishop and Metropolitan of Rhodes.<sup>612</sup>

Other rights concerned one's status as a free person or not and this also affected marriage rights. On 20 July 1517, Cosme Angelo of Kos had the status of a freeman (*francomato*), as did many on Kos.<sup>613</sup> Then on 10 July 1521, Fr. Petro Joanni de Vedone, prior of St Giles and commander of Kos, was informed that the chapter general on Rhodes lately celebrated authorised the freeing of twelve serfs (*paricos*) or *angussatos* or *macchucatos*.<sup>614</sup>

### **Commerce and Corso**

With the Ottoman controlled mainland so close, many locals on Kos, and as we have seen also at St. Peter's Castle, were tempted to trade with those seen as the enemies of Christendom. Thus on 22 October 1503, Fr. Ludovicus de Schalinghe, lieutenant general in the east of Grand Master d'Amboise, wrote to Fr. Constatio de Operatis, lieutenant of Kos commandery. As the Christians in the vicinity of the 'infidels', except Cyprus, had given the fruits of their labour to the Order, the inhabitants of Kos were asked not to sell their victuals to 'the other' (i.e. the Turks), or it would be seen as disobedience and rebellion.<sup>615</sup> On the other hand, those who helped the Hospitallers were granted favours, such as the letters patent issued on 19 November 1518 to Francisco Bottero, patron of a grippi.<sup>616</sup> A grippi was a small cargo and transport ship, so it is very likely the grant was intended for trading purposes.<sup>617</sup>

The other entries concern the Hospitaller Corso, or licenced attacks on non-Christian ships in the region under Hospitaller control, the origins of which Anthony Luttrell has explored.<sup>618</sup> For the commandery as a whole, there is only one corso, that in 1504, which concerned the brethren only. On 1 April that year, with Grand Master d'Amboise still absent from Rhodes, Fr. Ludovicus de Schalinghe and the Council wrote to the 'Religiosis in Christo nobis

---

<sup>611</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 230v.

<sup>612</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 186r.

<sup>613</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 235v.

<sup>614</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 178v.

<sup>615</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 269r-v.

<sup>616</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 227v.

<sup>617</sup> Lillian Ray Martin, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats*, College Station, Texas, 2001, 178.

<sup>618</sup> Anthony Luttrell, 'The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller *Corso* at Rhodes: 1413 and 1416' in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306 – 1462*, ed. Anthony Luttrell, Aldershot, 1999, VIII, 177-188.

charissimis fratribus' of the Order of the caravan on Kos. With reference to the maritime armada against the Turks, the captain of the commandery of Kos, Fr Gonsalvo de Ribardenera, was to be the head of the *corso* and Fr. Bernardino de Arauca lieutenant in the said island.<sup>619</sup> The same day, Schalinghe wrote to the brethren of the caravan in St. Peter's Castle. Fr. Petro of the commandery of Espalles was to be the captain of the armada with Jacobo Aymer captain of the said castle.<sup>620</sup> We can see here how the defensive, or perhaps attacking, system worked, with the brethren of Kos commandery and St. Peter's Castle working together, though in different units.

### **Responsions**

Only a couple of documents for the commandery in general mention the dues, known as responsions, but they provide us with useful information about the state of the soil and the way the Hospitallers' administration worked. Firstly, on 29 November 1504, Grand Master d'Amboise wrote to Fr. Bernardino de Arauca lieutenant in the commandery of Kos concerning the land that was very sterile. The commandery was to offer two parts (*mogia*) of the fruits for two years, and the treasury will be content with 12 aspers per *mogia*, as written in the book of the commandery ('la presente litera in lo libro di la commandaria'). Apart from showing how the responsions changed according to the fertility of the land, it also indicates that the commanderies on the islands had their own record books (now sadly lost), just as they had in Western Europe. Moreover, the central records on Rhodes were just confirming decisions made at a local level. This counters the argument that the Order was authoritarian and top-down structured.<sup>621</sup> The other document of 18 November 1518 was a receipt to the factor of Constantino of Antonio Sagato, 'parico' of Kos, for 26 aspers for the said year and indicates the method by which dues were collected.<sup>622</sup>

### **Land and Church Grants**

A few general grants not related to any castellany were made. The first shows that churchmen on Kos might be granted the fruits of churches elsewhere, which implies that livings on Kos lacked proper funding. On 4 March 1508, Fr. Petro Paillart, chaplain of the priory of France, had confirmation of a chapel in the church of St. John of the Collachium on Rhodes, which

---

<sup>619</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 181r.

<sup>620</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 181r.

<sup>621</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 186r-v.

<sup>622</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 227v.

Grand Master Anthony Fluvia (1421-1437) had granted to the ecclesiastics of Kos who followed the Latin rite.<sup>623</sup> It was granted to the priory of France, and the lieutenant of Kos was ordered to ensure it was enacted.

The other two documents concern land grants. The first was a reward for good service, when on 4 September 1510, Fr. Ludowico de Altarescia, commander of the priory of Alverne, was granted a vineyard for good service on Kos, which the lieutenants of the island present and future were to ensure he held in quiet possession until his death.<sup>624</sup> The other concerned a dispute over the 'papadia' between papa Antoni tu Cyprioti and Joanni de Lazaro, which the latter demanded by virtue of a bull of Grand Master d'Amboise. On 4 March 1513, the council found in favour of Cyprioti and Lazaro was to have an old vineyard and a house in recompense.<sup>625</sup> Fr. Francino Sanx of the commandery of Cheramela, the lieutenant of Kos, was to enact the decision.

We now come to the documents relating to the individual castles and castellanies of Kos. While, as we would expect, the majority concern Narangia Castle, which was the main castle of Kos, a sizable number of documents allow us to comprehend life at the castles at Pili and Antimachia. Only Kefalos Castle gives us only a glimpse.

---

<sup>623</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 182r-v.

<sup>624</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 199r.

<sup>625</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 197r-v.

## Kefalos

Figure 7: Aerial view of Kefalos Castle



Source: Google Earth

All the documents relate to the appointment of brethren in the castle and castellany and cover a limited time period. On 10 August 1513, the grand master's lieutenant in the East wrote to Fr. Francino Sanx, commander of Cheramela and Lieutenant of Kos, concerning the governing of the castellania on the island. The grand commander and procurator of the common treasury nominated and elected Fr. Honorato de Torretes as the castellan of Kefalos.<sup>626</sup> The following month, on 28 September, Fr. Gonsalvo de la Fuzre of Narangia Castle and Fr. Petro de la Mota, knight of the Priory of Aquitaine, were asked to take an audit of Kefalos Castle, of which Fr. Bernardo de Camont was lately the castellan.<sup>627</sup> Whenever personnel were changed, the incoming officer, in this case Fr. Torretes, needed to know what possessions belonged to the post and to make sure nothing had been removed from the Order's ownership. The position changed three years later, when on 17 September 1516, when Fr. Jacobo Pibert, commander of Barbens in the priory of Catalonia and Lieutenant of Kos, was informed that Fr. Bertrando de la Prelea had been granted the office of castellan of

---

<sup>626</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 198v-199r.

<sup>627</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 200r.



Kefalos from 1 October.<sup>628</sup> A few days later, on 25 September 1516, Fr. Pilbert was asked to allocated modiates of land, that is the next available field, associated with the position in the parish of Papheno.<sup>629</sup>

Kefalos was a very small castle and we should not expect a multitude of documents relating to it. Its main purpose was to guard the strait between Kos and Nisyros, in combination with the Hospitaller Castle on Nisyros, which lay directly opposite.

### **Pili (Paleo Pili)**

Figure 8: Aerial view of Pili Castle



Source: Google Earth

The documents are more plentiful for Pili castle and castellany. The castle, near to the modern village of Amaniou, covered quite a large area and there were structures both within and outside the walls, indicating that a community existed around it. Although it is near the south coast of Kos, at an altitude of about 285 metres, it does not have a view over the mountains that rise to over 580 metres. Conversely, it does have a view of the north coast towards the small island of Pserimos, as well as in the direction of Kalymnos. However, it is

---

<sup>628</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 212v-213r.

<sup>629</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 213v-214r.

likely that its main purpose was as a point for the collection of agricultural produce from the surrounding valleys, and secondly as a place of refuge from attack.

### **Church and Land**

As Pili Castle had a large community of both Latins and Greeks, it had to provide for the spiritual needs of both, and there was a church inside and without the castle. We know, from a document of 17 December 1504, when Fr. Francisco Sanx, commander of Temple Dosca in the Castellany of Amposta, was the castellan of the castle that the church inside the castle was dedicated to St. John the Baptist.<sup>630</sup> It had Latin rites, but in the same church a Greek priest gave one mass a week, celebrating with Greek rights. The wine for the Greek-rite mass was to come from a vineyard in the castellany situated in the area called Calludi, which had to the north the vineyard of Petros de Thomassi, to the east the land of Antony Thomassi, to the south the public road and to the west a river. The land was leased for an annual payment. Further details of the same church and those associated with it are given in a document of 20 April 1510, after a decision in the complete council retained from the chapter general.<sup>631</sup> It repeats much of the previous grant, but clarifies that the vineyard is leased to 'discreto viro' Petros de Thomassi, who is an inhabitant of Pili castle. He cultivated this vineyard after its desertion at his own expense, for which he and his heirs could have the vineyard for one mass in St. John the Baptist Church, which was situated in the munitions of the castle, and an annual sum of 4 aspers. Thomassi thus became the hereditary patron of the church, as well as gaining rights over the vineyard in an area where he, and it seems other family members, already held land. The documents illustrate how the Hospitallers transferred the spiritual responsibilities for the local Greek population to those local to the area.

### **Rights and Marriage**

Further to the observation in general about Kos and the large number of *francomati* on the island, Pili Castle provides some evidence of the emancipation of the local population. For example, at the request of Manolios Diaco the son of Paparoda of Pili Castle on Kos, described as a *franco*, Chidonena (not the same as the two women called Chidonena previously mentioned), serf, who lives in Pili Castle and is the daughter of Nicholas Varda, serf of Andimachia, were granted the status of free Franks and Roman citizens (*francos*

---

<sup>630</sup> Malta Cod. 395, f. 187r-v.

<sup>631</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 204r.

*liberos et cives romanos*) on 20 November 1506.<sup>632</sup> Diaco has the right as her ward to marry her according to the Greek rite in church. As with land and spiritual rights, we see here how local influential Greeks, such as the Paparoda family, came to have influence over other members of their local community. The other case concerning rights at Pili dates to 6 March 1517 when Georgios tu Lolodia Parice of Pili Castle and *naturali* Joannis Protopsalti, *francomati*, were confirmed of the right to hold lands in the commandery of Kos according to the conditions of *francomati*.<sup>633</sup>

### **Appointments**

Apart from the positions implicit, such as the castellan of the castle, there is only one mention of an appointment in the period under study. This was when Sevastos pan Sevastos, citizen of Pili Castle on Kos, was made the 'protho' (head of the Greek community) of the locality on 1 July 1510, Ioanni Pasqno having vacated his post.<sup>634</sup>

### **Land and Housing Grants**

All the grants concern the Paparoda family, who appear to have been influential in the local community, though not always united amongst themselves. On 8 November 1510, Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, commander of Aquis in the priory of St. Giles and the lieutenant on Kos was informed of a dispute between Costa tu Paparoda of Kos and Pili Castle on the one part, and Diaco tu Paparoda, *francomati*, on the other part, concerning lodgings. Costa wanted superior housing to the disadvantage of Diaco, but the Council found in favour of Diaco to have the better lodging.<sup>635</sup>

Diacο seems to have been in favour with the Order, as almost all the land grants are to him. The exception was the mediate of land granted to Michalis tu Paparoda of Pili on 19 July 1514, which Fr. Francino Sanx commander of Ceramera and lieutenant of Kos, was to action.<sup>636</sup> Apart from the lodgings he was awarded in 1510, the first grant to Diaco was on 31 March 1511 of various lands in the castellany of Pili. After a commission presented on 28 March by Fr. Constatio de Opertis, it was decided that Diaco and his descendants were to have three modiates of land situated in a place named *tu manchasa*, four modiates in *ta milla*

---

<sup>632</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 199r-v.

<sup>633</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 230v.

<sup>634</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 219v.

<sup>635</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 211v.

<sup>636</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 241r-v.

and five modiates in *sea philippata*. Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, lieutenant of Kos, was to ensure he gained possession.<sup>637</sup> A few days later, on 2 April, Diaco, inhabitant of Pili Castle, was granted confirmation of various lands as a result of the same commission, which Fr. Bernardino de Arauca, former lieutenant of Kos, had granted him, with the exception of two pertinences, one in a place called *Pollopiastes* and the other in the place called *tu Cassam*.<sup>638</sup> They had been granted to Diacos to the detriment of Constantinos tu Paparoda, a relative from the same place, and were then granted to Constantinos on condition that he did not transport elsewhere any people who were *angussati*, *francomati*, or serfs. Apart from indicating the rivalry between members of the same family and the Hospitallers attempts to satisfy both sides through a commission, it is interesting to note that the status of the *francomati*, or freemen, did not mean that they were free to leave the area where they lived and worked. It also suggests that agricultural workers were allocated to specific lands, in order to ensure all property was utilised. Yet Diaco tu Paparoda of Pili continued to be favoured, having confirmation on 28 March 1515 of the nine modiates of land situated in the *contrata* of the castle. If the Hospitaller modiate was roughly equivalent to the Byzantine modiate, then that was quite a lot of land for one person to hold.<sup>639</sup>

### **Public Order**

In general, it seems that Pili was a fairly peaceful place, though there are a couple of cases of murder, one of which did not take place locally. On 20 February 1513, Georgio Inssi, a serf from Pili Castle, was pardoned of homicide in the city of Rhodes.<sup>640</sup> No further details are given, but presumably he was there doing marine or other service. The other case was local and a little more complicated. It seems that wives of the castle were worshipping in the church of St. Marina of the castle, when a certain Nicolaus Mavromati harassed them and was killed. Diaco tu Cartofilaco and Nicolao Cartofilaco confessed to the homicide, perhaps their wives were amongst those who were harassed. As penance, it was decided on 7 April 1516 that the Cartofilaco brothers were to do service on the Hospitaller triremes, which Nicolli Vadari of Pili Castle was to arrange.<sup>641</sup> Marine service might seem like a light punishment for murder, but the Hospitallers generally had less harsh punishments than other states, just as the punishments of ecclesiastical courts were less severe than lay courts. Furthermore, as was

---

<sup>637</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 213r.

<sup>638</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 215v-216r.

<sup>639</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 220r.

<sup>640</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f.229r.

<sup>641</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 210r-v.

mentioned in Chapter Two, the Capitula Rodi condemned that harassment of women, so if the murder was committed to protect the honour of the women, the punishment would be lighter.

### **Payment of Dues**

The final mention of Pili in the documents concerns the payment of dues to Rhodes. On 17 October 1514, the commissioners from Pili castle, Papa Georgio and Papa Antonio, came to Rhodes and were acquitted of a large (though unspecified) sum of money.<sup>642</sup>

### **Antimachia**

Figure 9: Aerial view of Antimachia Castle



Source: Google Earth

In contrast to Pili Castle, Antimachia Castle has a clear view over the south coast of Kos and no view of the Anatolian mainland. The castle inhabits the whole of a hill plateau and has steep drops on three sides. Inside the castle there are two churches and the eastern sector has the remains of numerous buildings, which were probably lodgings for the residents. The

---

<sup>642</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 241v.

entrance on the north-west side is protected by a bastion. Much of the area is rocky and barren, but there is cultivatable land in the valley to the east of the castle, leading down to the coast.

### **Repairs**

Maintenance of castles was vital and where possible was funded locally. Thus on 28 April 1505 Fr. Raymundo Balagnera, alias Monsales, commander of Robyn and captain on Kos, was informed that the maintenance of the members of the commandery, that is Kalymnos and Leros and the fortification of their castles, was to be paid for two years out of the fruits of Antimachia Castle, as ordered by the general chapter.<sup>643</sup> The castellany of Antimachia, then, must have had a good income to support such repairs.

### **Rights**

The documents mention work on Antimachia itself only in passing when, on 8 February 1514, *dilecto nobis in Christo* Antonio tu Guillelmo Arnaldo, *francomati* of Antimachia castle on Kos, was granted as a special favour for his work done on the castle, to be united in marriage with Maria Ioannis Lambo of Pili castle, *angussata*.<sup>644</sup> Their children were to be freed of the status of *angussati*, notwithstanding the statutes that stated the contrary.

Other rights related to permission to live in the castle, such as that granted on 9 August 1511 to Catherine tu Guillelmo Arnando, *francomati*, inhabitant of Andimachia Castle, who had confirmation of the right to stay there for life, which had been given to her by the lieutenant of Andimachia, Fr. Constanzo Aperto, on 10 April 1510.<sup>645</sup> The only other document relating to rights dates to 16 December 1518, when Georgio tu Chizilli, serf of Antimachia Castle, for his good service was freed.<sup>646</sup>

---

<sup>643</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 192r.

<sup>644</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 204v.

<sup>645</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 219v & 237r-v.

<sup>646</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 227v-228r.

## Appointments

A number of appointments and commissions were made concerning the castle, some of which applied to the whole commandery of Kos. For example, on 27 February 1507 the guards of the castles, brethren, inhabitants and vassals of the commandery of Kos, that is to say the islands of Kos, Leros and Kalymnos, were informed of the instructions given to the castellan of Antimachia Castle, that Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, commander of Tortosa, needed to muster men for the caravan from the castle.<sup>647</sup> He was not to be obstructed in his task. There must, then, have been a sizable community in and around the castle, as well as the castellany in general. That there was a community inside the castle is verified by the next appointment, when it is noted on 1 July 1510 that Diaco Castrophilaca was a burgess of Andimachia Castle.<sup>648</sup> At that moment he was granted precedence in the office of *cogliacomì* in the castellany. Clearly there was a Greek community resident at the castle and this is further confirmed as there was the office of *protho* of Antimachia, who had some responsibility for organising repairs and the selling of wine, as at Pili and Narangia Castles.<sup>649</sup> A Bernardini Fenol, bombardier of Leros castle, also appears to have been involved, perhaps giving his advice on the repairs needed. The same day, 5 July 1510, Grand Master d'Amboise wrote to Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, lieutenant of Kos and Fr. Cornelio de Amburgh, castellan of Andimachia Castle, confirming that the office of *Protho* of Andimachia Castle had been granted to Diaco Caforzi for his services to the Order.<sup>650</sup> One of his duties was to collect a tax of 1 ducat per barrel of wine. Taxes were also to be collected from Narangia and Pili Castles, with Fr. Cabrera in the company of the castellan of Pili responsible for collecting it. For its part, the Order was content to receive 20 florins a year.

Other Greeks held, and disputed, important positions in the castle. On 2 September 1512, the right of Antonio Ierarchi, inhabitant of Antimachia Castle to hold the position of notary public of the said castle for life was upheld.<sup>651</sup> Antonio Zangria, who had been performing that role, was to work in a support role for this position. The lieutenant of Kos and castellan of Antimachia and other officials were to recognise this decision. Finally for appointments, on 9 March 1519 Grand Master Carretto wrote to Fr. Christopher de Bonasere, castellan of Antimachia Castle and his deputy, to inform them that *Francomata et libera* Catacali, the

---

<sup>647</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 231r.

<sup>648</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 219v. A burgess was a freeman of a borough.

<sup>649</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 220r.

<sup>650</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 202r.

<sup>651</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 240r.

daughter of Papa Nichita Sacellari, who had been a serf of the castle, had confirmation of bulls of 10 April 1502 and 1517 by which Catacali secured for her son by the hand of sometime Carthofilaca Pansruastro, *tabulario*, the right to be the *tabulario* of Antimachia, with associated fields, and to marry according to the rights of *francomati*.<sup>652</sup> As seen previously on Kos, we have here not just an appointment, but an example of rising social mobility, with serfs being granted the status of freemen and women through good service to the Hospitallers.

### **Land grants**

A few land grants exist within the castellany of Antimachia that are of interest as they inform us of the local population and place names in the area. On 29 February 1516 (a leap year), Fr. Jean Valette alias Parisot (the future grand master, 1557-1568), commander of Espalion in the Priory of St. Giles and lieutenant of the commandery of Kos, was informed that Pero Berault, bombardier, was granted 30 modiates of land and a house in the castellany of Andimachia, the house being near the castle.<sup>653</sup> Certainly a bombardier would need to live near the castle, in case of attack, but the amount of land he was granted – part of which one presumes he leased out – was quite large. Yet others in the castellany were also granted sizable amounts of land. On 5 July 1516, Diaco tu Manoli Papa Zirminghi and Deaconesse tu Ganni Nichita, inhabitants of Antimachia Castle, were informed that the previous grand master allowed the matrimony of Papatis Ioannis Axorias and his wife Papadia tu Axioti and granted them 12 modiates of land, divided into three parcels of 4 modiates each in Mixlidiarci, Laxcuhi, Cafchala and in other places, that is, in the area of Agio Yianni 5 modiates, 6 modiates in Dafni, 9 modiates in Zalos, 5 modiates in Agaii Chiriachi<sup>654</sup>, and 2 modiates in Syncathalmiata. After her husband's death, the said Papadia Axioti had confirmation of her holdings and was to be left in quiet possession.<sup>655</sup> In total she was granted 39 modiates of land. Others had more modest grants such as Ioannis Sinademo of the castellany of Antimachia, *frangomatis*, and his wife, who in July 1517 were given a house in the parish of Parperrima and a house in the castle.<sup>656</sup>

---

<sup>652</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 231v.

<sup>653</sup> Malta Cod. 404, f. 227v-228r.

<sup>654</sup> Clearly this is Agia Kyriaki, but here and elsewhere I have left the spelling as it is in the document, as it gives an indication of the then local accent.

<sup>655</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 210v-211r.

<sup>656</sup> Malta Cod. 406, f. 234r-v. The exact date is not given, but the preceding document in the same hand was dated 11 July 1517.



## Narangia

Figure 10: Aerial View of Narangia Castle



Source: Google Earth

Finally, for Kos, we come to Narangia Castle and castellany, the headquarters of the commandery of Kos. The castle itself is about the same size as that at Antimachia, but logistically it was better placed for transport to the other islands of the commandery, as well as St. Peter's Castle and Rhodes. The majority of bulls are concerned with appointments and land grants, but a few relate to money due and the rights of the local community.

## Dues

It appears that the first two decades of the sixteenth century were hard on Kos, perhaps because of bad harvests or drought. That would partly explain the freeing of serfs, in order to

give them more incentive to increase production and avoid discontent. Further to that, there were reductions of dues owed to the Order. For instance, on 1 March 1508 Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, commander of Tortosa and Corbius in the Priory of Catalonia and governor of Kos and other deputies within the commandery were informed that Sevastos tu Manghaniti, inhabitant of Narangia had a slave for which owed 50 ducats to the communal treasury. Due to poverty, the sum was reduced to 15 ducats in two instalments, 10 ducats due on 1 March next (1509) and the other 5 ducats due on the nativity 1509.<sup>657</sup> In another case dating to 25 June 1512, Sevasto Viro and Calothetinas, the young legitimate and natural son of the sometime Nemici Sacellarii and Zacaladena tu Sevasta tu Papa Cenoma of Narangia Castle, were granted a reduction of the service due to 10 aspers, with additionally the right of being free in perpetuum.<sup>658</sup> Still concerning dues, but what was due to people, and on 27 November 1513, the populace of the city of Narangia were informed that Antonio Bonerano, a donat in St. Peter's Castle, was to be given 14 aspers annually for life, presumably from the revenues of the castellany.<sup>659</sup>

### **Rights**

As with elsewhere on Kos, the upholding of rights, both personal and commercial, was important. On 22 October 1509, Isabelle, the daughter of sometime Jotti Musselli, *francomati* of Narangia Castle, was informed that a commission had established that Andreas Mallas, who had been an obedient of her father in St. Peter's Castle for 40 years as scribe, was the son of free and *francomati* parents and had the status of a *francomati*.<sup>660</sup> Presumably Isabelle had been trying to enforce service on him that was not due. Women could be quite powerful and have influence on Kos, as was the case with the 'honorable dona' Sevasti Gramatico of Narangia city, who was granted for life the right for one of her servants to sell in the parish up to 26 aspers worth of goods. Constantino tu Antonio Sangato, serf of Narangia Castle, was informed of this on 20 December 1518 and the lieutenant, castellan and other officials were to ensure this was allowed.<sup>661</sup>

---

<sup>657</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 231v.

<sup>658</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 238r.

<sup>659</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 200v-201v.

<sup>660</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 215v-216r.

<sup>661</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 227v.

## **Public Order**

Commissioners, especially if not from the island, might not always have the cooperation of the locals. On 5 October 1512, the lieutenant of Kos, Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa of the commandery of Aquis was informed that the commissioners, Antonio d'Agrasca, Antonio Bonano and Diaco tu Mestrogeorgi, procurator of the people of Narangia, should not be disturbed in their duties by the populous as recently happened.<sup>662</sup> This could indicate the people of Kos were restless, either due to harsh conditions, or because they were used to more freedom than those on Rhodes, or that strangers were viewed with suspicion, especially if they were on their property.

## **Appointments**

The bulk of grants were either of appointments to various positions or property leases. Of the appointments, they pertain to brethren or lay, non-members of the Order.

## **Brethren**

The main appointments of brethren are well known and listed in the appendices of other works.<sup>663</sup> Here I will focus on the more minor, yet vital appointments that appear in the *partes citramarine*. Most brethren held temporary appointments, because service on an island was a step on the career ladder, either to a commandery or priorship in the West or a high position in the east. Once they had a post, they often deputised it and other brethren were willing to substitute hoping it would count in their favour. Others, though, assumed duties for more altruistic reasons. For example, sometime between late October 1511 and early January 1512, Fr. Filippo de Pulsasco of the Italian *langue* was allowed to take over duties of the gate of Narangia from Fr. Giaume August captain of the gate of Narangia, so that August could attend the chapter on Rhodes.<sup>664</sup>

Gaining a post could be quite lucrative and brethren would compete for these positions. For instance, on 2 March 1513, Fr. Francino Sanx, commander of Charamela in the Castellany of Amposta, was nominated to be the lieutenant of the commandery of Kos for a term of two years, as decided at the chapter general celebrated in 1504 and was to receive a salary of 300

---

<sup>662</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 241r.

<sup>663</sup> See Sarnowsky, *Macht und Herrschaft*, 670-671.

<sup>664</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 233r. There is no date on the document, but it was after 20 October 1511 and before 10 January 1512, the dates of the preceding and following documents.

Rhodian florins. The claim of Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa was to be overlooked.<sup>665</sup> The same day, the population of the commandery of Kos, and principally the population of the castle and city of Narangia, were informed of his appointment.<sup>666</sup> Immediately he was allocated his first task, as on the same day he was to ensure that Fr. Conradino de Grimaldis and Jacobo Mazzades and one nominated companion were to guard the gate of Narangia Castle. The nominated companion was Oddo Balbo, citizen of Rhodes.<sup>667</sup> Sometime a favoured person could hold more than one post as was the case with Fr. Augustino Carbone of the priory of Catalonia, *armorum servienti*. On 20 January 1515, he was appointed as the head porter of Narangia Castle, due to the death of Fr. Antony Oluge, but also the scribe of the artillery of that castle and scribe of *borelli* house of the commandery of Kos, in consideration of his diligent and faithful service.<sup>668</sup> He was granted these positions on the same terms as the previous holder.

The final entry for brethren appointed in this section was in a spiritual capacity, but gives us an idea of the number of Latins living in the castle. On 1 September 1518, due to the death of Fr. Guidonis de la Cappella, Fr. Ludovico Bodi, venerable chaplain of the Castellany of Amposta, was confirmed as the legitimate prior of the priory church in Narangia Castle, where he presently resides, to serve the twenty-one faithful.<sup>669</sup> To this number one must add the number of Greeks and others living in the castle, which is incalculable.

### **Lay Appointments**

The vast majority of lay appointments were either military or administrative.

#### **Military**

The first appointment had both military and administrative aspects. On 23 December 1502, Baltassar Tuguni, inhabitant of Narangia Castle, was confirmed as the turcopolier of Laganda area in the castellany of Narangia. Baltassar, his son and his male descendants would hold that office. In return, they were to provide a quarter-measure of the fruits of that area.<sup>670</sup> In this context, a turcopolier was a local officer, apparently mounted, who had charge over an

---

<sup>665</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 196r-v.

<sup>666</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 196v-197r.

<sup>667</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 196r.

<sup>668</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 242r.

<sup>669</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 225r-v.

<sup>670</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 236v.

area, including supervising those who kept watch for enemies, but also they were responsible for the collection of the produce in that area.<sup>671</sup>

One clear military appointment was that granted to Constantinos Zangrea, citizen of Rhodes and ballister (cross-bowman) of Kos commandery on 1 February 1510.<sup>672</sup> At his supplication, he was to continue in the post granted to him by Grand Master d'Aubusson, as ballister in the Commandery of Kos and Narangia Castle with a stipend of one ducat, plus the daily accustomed board in the castle.<sup>673</sup> The Council in the Chapter General then in session confirmed him in this post for life. It was noted that he was also to serve in St. Peter's Castle, Leros and Kalymnos Castles or elsewhere on Kos where he might be needed. Thus it is clear personnel could be allocated anywhere in the commandery of Kos, as well as nearby St. Peter's Castle, which depended on supplies from Kos. This allocation of military personnel is further confirmed by a grant for life of 12 March 1510 to Joannis de la Niare, bombardier, of land on Kos, for good service to the Order working on Kos, Kalymnos and Leros.<sup>674</sup> Another bombardier, Leonardo Alemano, also for good and faithful service, was awarded on 8 February 1515 the vacant office of master bombardier in Narangia Castle, due to the death of Joannis della Marra, with stipend and all benefits pertaining to the office.<sup>675</sup>

The other appointments concerned the guards of the gates of the castle in the second decade of the sixteenth century. On 10 October 1511, due to a vacancy, Machino Biscaino, resident of Narangia Castle, was appointed for life as one of the guards of the gate of the castle with a stipend.<sup>676</sup> He still held that position on 7 July 1513, when he is mentioned as the current guard.<sup>677</sup> A second guard was appointed on 25 February 1512, when Odo Balbo, citizen of Rhodes (mentioned earlier), for good service was granted the first vacant post of the guard of the gate of Narangia Castle on the same terms as his companion Machino Biscaino.<sup>678</sup> This seems to have materialised the following year, as on 2 April 1513, Fr. Francino Sanz, the

---

<sup>671</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 11.

<sup>672</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 219r-v.

<sup>673</sup> A gold Rhodian ducat was worth about 32 Rhodian aspers or 1.6 Rhodian florins, Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 7.

<sup>674</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 221v.

<sup>675</sup> Malta Cod. 403, f. 242r-v.

<sup>676</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 230v.

<sup>677</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 198v.

<sup>678</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 234r.

lieutenant of Kos, was informed that on the recommendation of Fr. Conradino de Grimaldis and Jacobo Mazzades, Odo Balbo was to be a guard of the gate of Narangia Castle.<sup>679</sup>

It seems quite a lot of guards were needed, presumably to cover shift of duty and illness. On 22 October 1518, Fr. Jacobo Giberti, lieutenant of Kos, was reminded by the grand master that there needed to be four deputy guards and it was also mentioned that there was a need for a guard of the door of St. Peter's Castle, presumably as the personnel were to be provided from Kos.<sup>680</sup> Finally, on 4 November 1518, Fr. Jacobo Juberti de Appori, lieutenant of Kos, was notified of Guidato tu Alfaca's appointment as a guard of the door of Narangia Castle.<sup>681</sup>

### Administrative

All of the administrative appointments were lay appointments. However, the first document of 26 September 1505 informs Fr. Reymund de Monsalez, commander of Robin and lieutenant in Kos, that the grand commander, Fr. Edward de Carmedin, has the right to appoint the *proto* of the Greeks in Narangia.<sup>682</sup> What kind of tasks did a *proto* perform? One entry of 5 October 1512 indicates that they had to help settle disputes at a local level. On that date Fr. Consalvo de la Torre, castellan of Narangia, was informed that after hearing various testimonies and examining the Order's letters, concerning a complaint (unspecified) by Jannis tu Paschi against Philonissa, wife of Georgio tu Calamia, from Rhodes, the Order found in favour of Philonissa. The *protho* of Narangia, Antimachia and Pili were to enact this decision.<sup>683</sup>

Apart from the *protho*, there were a number of other administrative posts at Narangia Castle. They included the office of communal treasurer and controller of the commandery of Kos, which Guillelmo Rey, resident of the castle, had confirmation of on 16 March 1507.<sup>684</sup> He had been granted the post by the recent lieutenant of the island, Fr. Raymundo de Monsalez, and was to continue to hold it with the same emoluments. Another post that was specifically for the indigenous population was the office of register of the Greeks (*tabularii Greci*) in Narangia Castle. This position was granted for life to the 'venerabili presbitero' papatis Georgio Fogiano, inhabitant of Narangia Castle, the adopted son of 'nobilis' Perini Ciprii

---

<sup>679</sup> Malta Cod. 402, f. 196r.

<sup>680</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 226v-227r.

<sup>681</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 228r.

<sup>682</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 198r-v.

<sup>683</sup> Malta Cod. 401, f. 241r.

<sup>684</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 233v-234r.

citizen.<sup>685</sup> It was granted to him on 21 October 1510, for his faithful and honest service, according to the commander's testimony, after the death of the previous holder, with all rights and salary associated. A further office often awarded to Greeks was that of notary public. Two examples of this survive for Narangia, one on 12 February 1517, when Fr. Jacobo Gubrot, lieutenant of Kos, was informed that the office of notary had been awarded to Diaco Dastca of Narangia.<sup>686</sup> Then on 18 September 1518, Dimitri de Lazaro de Servia, inhabitant of Narangia Castle, was informed that his first cousin, Joannis Lazaro, was to have the office of notary of Kos.<sup>687</sup> With Greeks holding the offices of *proto*, *tabulari* and notary, the picture emerges of a Greek community that was nominally under Hospitaller control, but for everyday purposes they were autonomous.

A final non-military appointment was that of surgeon (*chirurgo*) of Narangia Castle, which was confirmed on 26 March 1516 by Grand Master Carretto to *discreto viro* Ioannis Navarro for life, in the absence of Petro Guillemo, to whom Grand Master Emerico d'Amboise had granted the position to for life.<sup>688</sup> It is not surprising that an important strategic island such as Kos would need a surgeon in case of casualties in battle, and that must mean there was also an infirmary of some sort in the castle.

### Property Grants

Property grants fall into those concerning land, houses, and in some cases both. The grants continued up until the eve of the 1522 siege, which suggests that there was no conception that there was an imminent danger from the Ottomans until the last moment.

### Land

The first grant was a confirmation on 24 December 1502 to Joannis tu Ieracari, Constantinos tu Nerocamena and Antonio tu Ziuidi, inhabitants of Narangia Castle, of twenty-two *ergatem di vigna*, which they already possessed in the area called Laganda tu Pappa, as confirmed by the local turcopolier.<sup>689</sup> There is still a place called Langada tou Pappa (Λαγγάδα του Παππά,

---

<sup>685</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 203v.

<sup>686</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 221v.

<sup>687</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 227r.

<sup>688</sup> Malta Cod. 405, f. 211v-212r.

<sup>689</sup> Malta Cod. 394, ff. 235v-236r.

from the Greek word for a glen or dale) on Kos today, near the port and castle.<sup>690</sup> The grant was to them, their heirs and successors of the male line forever with the division being 8 *ergate* (perhaps virgates) to Joannis tu Ieracari, 8 *ergate* to Constantinos tu Nerocameno and 6 *ergate* to Antonio Ziuidi, giving a quarter-measure of the fruits to the commandery.

Hereditary land grants indicate not just a close association of the locals with the soil, but also the relationship between particular Hospitaller brethren and the native population. For example, on 13 March 1503 Fr. Constancio de Operatis lieutenant of Kos commandery presented letters dated 15 November 1488 of sometime commander Fr. Eduardo de Carmedino. They stated that Fr. Carmedino, for the benefit of the castellan of Narangia, who was the same Fr. Constancio Operatis, granted Alucia daughter of Isabella de Solto Morselli and their heirs land to work amounting to 30 modiates in the area of Corna, near the land of Michali tis Mammis and St. George Church, and another 30 modiates in the area of Mirtidda, plus 8 modiates in Alepotripi.<sup>691</sup> We see here how Operatis, fifteen years later, after he had been promoted, was still looking after the interests of certain locals. One has to wonder just how close his connection with these particular locals was. Although sworn to celibacy, it was quite common for these lay-brethren to unofficially father children and to secure their future.

Another grant of a sizable amount of land was that made on 21 July 1506 by Grand Master d'Amboise to Joannis de Lazaro, citizen of Narangia Castle, his sons and descendants who had confirmation of a grant of 32 modiates of land *paricatorum*, situated in the area called ta l'Archisla, previously held by papas Antonio to Ciprioti. Likewise in the area commonly called 'ston Sarachinon' six modiates of land *paricatorum*. In return they were to ensure the land was cultivated and pay an unspecified annual fee.<sup>692</sup> Lazaro must have been a favoured tenant, because he also held other lands, as on 23 August 1518 he gained a confirmation of a bull of 25 September 1500 by which Grand Master d'Aubusson granted him his heirs and successors a field of 40 modiates of land in the castellany of Narangia and in the *contrata* of Iuarum church of the said castellany. It was situated in front of the land of Argin tu Enudo, with the public road to the north and the said church, and to the east a *magnam oriam*.<sup>693</sup>

---

<sup>690</sup> I am indebted to Emeritus Professor Konstantinos Minas of the University of the Aegean and to the late Michalis Skandalidis of Kos for their local knowledge that they kindly shared with me.

<sup>691</sup> Malta Cod. 394, f. 238r-v.

<sup>692</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 197v.

<sup>693</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 226r-v.



The amount of land granted depended on how well a person was favoured, but 30 modiates was not uncommon. The majority of grants were made to those described as *delectis nobis in Christo*, which in addition to identifying them as Christians usually indicated that they were Hospitaller servants or vassals, that latter status of which was held at least nominally by all subjects in Hospitaller-controlled lands. Just how much a Rhodian modiate was is not known for certain. Luttrell has commented that the Rhodian modiata/mediate is incalculable, but that it was the area needed to produce a moggio/modium of grain, which varied.<sup>694</sup> If it was similar to the Byzantine mediate, which is possible because the Hospitallers would often continue the traditions of land tenure prevalent in Byzantium, it was about 850-1000 square metres. Eight hundred and fifty square metres is about 29m x 29m and Narangia Castle was 232m N-S & 134m E-W, so 31,000m square. That was about 36.5 modiates.

Even more favoured were *papatis* Georgio and his adopted son Perino Ciprii alias Fogiano, citizens and inhabitants of Narangia Castle. On 1 October 1509, because Perinus had for many years served the Order on the island diligently and faithfully, they were given confirmation of a hereditary grant dated on Rhodes on 17 November 1490 that had been conceded by the previous commander Fr. Edwardus de Carmedino and had the consent of the current commander through his lieutenant, Fr. Constantis de Operatis. Perino was granted 50 modiates of land near the two churches (which two churches is not clear) and another 62 modiates in the castellany of Narangia. Fr. Operatis had permission (in 1490) to put papa Georgio Fogiano into possession of the said land to, and then to Perino after the death of his father. This occurred on 15 May 1503, and the 112 modiates of land were duly transferred.<sup>695</sup>

The final two entries for land grants only, both dated 30 December 1518, concern the sizable estate of Sevastos Calamis and how it was to be divided between his children. In the first grant, Grand Master Carretto awarded to Diasinudene Miniple, natural and legitimate son of sometime Sevastos Calamis of Narangia Castle, land, recounting a bull of Grand Master d'Aubusson in 1496.<sup>696</sup> That bull relates that Janis Calamis of the castellany of Pili in the chapter general on 5 August 1496 was granted land totalling 133 modiates, of which 61.5 modiates were for Sevastos Calamis his father as granted by d'Aubusson's predecessors, and after his death the stated land was to revert to the commandery of Kos. A further 71.5 modiates were conceded by the general chapter to be divided between Janis Calamis and the

---

<sup>694</sup> Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 8.

<sup>695</sup> Malta Cod. 399, f. 214r-215r.

<sup>696</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 228r-v. The document states the grant was in the book for 1496, f. 197 (old foliation).

commander. The second grant was addressed to Janis Calamis and Sevastos Calamis, his son, of Narangia Castle.<sup>697</sup> Again a bull of 1496 is quoted, though a different one on a previous folio. On his supplication, Janis Calamis had gained confirmation of 140 modiates of earth, and that on his death his son David would receive 61.5 modiates and rest would go to Sevastos, to pass to his son Simon. However, in 1518, due to David's death, all was to go to Simon. Apart from the clear link between the Hospitallers and local Greek families that went back generations, we also learn that the Greek tradition on naming the children after the grandparents was already prevalent in the early sixteenth century.

### Land and Houses

A couple of the grants were of both land and houses. On 3 November 1510, in consideration of his poverty, Ioanni tu Papisapho was to have a house in Narangia Castle and to have the fruits of two modiates, being respected and for good and faithful service. The lieutenant of Kos, Fr. Guidoni de Ragusa, was to arrange this.<sup>698</sup> As he was to be given the fruits of, and not work, the land, it is likely that he was an old servant that the Hospitallers were providing for in his final years. The second grant, for life, on 30 May 1511, of eight modiates of land in the castellany of Narangia was to Thomaso Sanitate Fabro di Syracuse, for his continual good and faithful service in the Levant and on Kos. The lieutenant of Kos was to find a house for him to inhabit and a shop ('bottega') where he could work.<sup>699</sup> Both grants provide further evidence of how the Hospitallers continued to look after their long-term servants who had been faithful and hardworking.

### Houses

Finally for Narangia and Kos, are grants of houses. Sometimes grants were made in compensation for property that was commandeered. Such was the case on 2 December 1505, when Papa Dimitris Palatiano, the *protopappas* of Kos, gained a confirmation of a grant by Grand Master d'Aubusson of a house situated in the centre of the *collachio* of Narangia Castle where he was living, but was necessary for the artillery.<sup>700</sup> Fr. Hieronymo Hombelien,

---

<sup>697</sup> Malta Cod. 407, f. 228v-229r. From f. 196 (old foliation) of the 1496 register.

<sup>698</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 204v.

<sup>699</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 217r-v.

<sup>700</sup> Malta Cod. 396, f. 202r-v.

former castellan of the castle, had confirmed the said papas to be the legitimate holder. In compensation, d'Aubusson had granted a house near the gate of the castle with a communal oven for the *protopappas* and his scribe to live, but this too was commandeered, as for the security of the castle the castellan of munitions occupied it. Fr. Emanuel de Arauca, knight of the langue of Italy and castellan of Narangia Castle was to arrange the restoration of the original house to Palatiano. The above was a grant related to an official position held by non-brethren, but Hospitallers could also be granted houses for practical uses. For example, on 21 October 1507, Fr. Constantio de Opertis, commander of Yinee in the priory of Lombardy and captain of the triremes, had a life-grant of a large tholos in Narangia Castle, with another smaller tholos adjacent and attached to it, which was attached on one side to the tholos of Lucie the daughter of Nicolai Perdice and on the other side by the house of Isabelle the wife of Constantin de Serres and on another side the public way.<sup>701</sup>

The other house grants were for long-standing service. Firstly, Bartholomew Ghibano, from Provence, was granted a house in Narangia Castle on 17 April 1506 for his services on the galley.<sup>702</sup> A year later, on 24 April 1507, on the recommendation of Fr. Raymundo de Monsales, Hania Ben, a servant for many years on Rhodes, was to get a house to live in that Guillemo Rey had inhabited in Narangia Castle, due to the death of Guillemo.<sup>703</sup> Fr. Monsales had also granted Guillemo 30 modiates of land in the parish of St. Solca and another 30 modiates in Pili, which the lieutenant of Kos, Fr. Antonio de Sancto Martino, was to ensure came into Ben's possession. Finally, on 31 October 1510 Ioanni Sapsu tu Papa Iorgi of Kos, the Hospitallers' cook on the island, had confirmation of what was granted to him by sometime Fr. Raymond de Belliger, commander of Cobia and lieutenant of Kos, that is a house in Narangia Castle to him, his heirs and successors forever, as described by the scribe of Kos, Alexandro delli Conte di Vintimiglia, dated in Narangia 16 September 1506 in the scribe's presence and signed by Fr. Monsales. This was now confirmed by the grand master.<sup>704</sup> This and the previous entry are further examples of how the grand master and Council on Rhodes rubber-stamped decisions made locally. This, along with examples from other chapters, completely dispels the myth that the Hospitallers were a centrally controlled organisation.

---

<sup>701</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 180r.

<sup>702</sup> Malta Cod. 397, f. 195r-v.

<sup>703</sup> Malta Cod. 398, f. 181r-v.

<sup>704</sup> Malta Cod. 400, f. 205v-206r.

It is clear that Kos and the other islands forming the commandery of Kos had many similarities with Rhodes when it came to interaction with the local population, such as the right to organise their own community and practice according to the Greek right. The difference on Kos is that the proportion of Greeks to Latins was much larger and it appears that their freedom was consequently much greater, having a larger number of *francomati*. It is clear they needed the cooperation of the Greek population much more than on Rhodes and consequently tried to keep them happy, granting them more rights, with the Hospitallers there as overseers. It is interesting to note from the previous chapter that a number of *francomati* on Rhodes were found in the south, near Kattavia, again where the proportion of Greeks to Latins was greater. In the case of Kos, there was a further incentive to keep the local population happy, so that they remained on the island and did not abscond to Ottoman-controlled territory.<sup>705</sup>

---

<sup>705</sup> I acknowledge Dr. Marina Koumanoudi, who suggested this last possibility to me in conversation.

## Chapter Six: Conclusion

This thesis is the first in-depth survey of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem's final years on Rhodes that uses unpublished documents in the Hospitallers' archive, kept in the National Library of Malta, Valletta. Other research has focused on the political-military aspects of the Hospitallers rule on Rhodes mainly using the early published works, in particular the history by the Hospitallers' historian Giacomo Bosio (1544–1627), who published *Dell'istoria della Sacra Religione, Giovanni di Santo dell'illustrissima milizia Gierosolimitano* between 1594 and 1602. This work was written by Giacomo in Rome using copies of documents from Malta, as Giacomo himself only visited Malta briefly in 1577.<sup>706</sup> In contrast, this thesis focuses not on the occasional highlights of conflict with the Ottomans and others, but the everyday interaction between the Hospitallers and the local community, whether Greek, Latin, Jewish or otherwise using the *partes citramarine* in the *Liber Bullarum*. This is the section of the archives that mentions grants to the local community 'on this side of the sea', that is, mostly in the eastern Mediterranean, which for the Hospitallers spanned from the Ionian islands, through mainland Greece, the South East Aegean islands and Cyprus.

Secondly, the thesis combines into one work research on the Rhodian countryside and the town of Rhodes, which has surprisingly never been done before. Simultaneously, this study systematically reconstructs the different areas of Rhodes over a period of twenty years to create a detailed picture of life on early modern Rhodes from the documents, also never attempted before. The most renowned historian of Hospitaller Rhodes, Anthony Luttrell, has divided up research into that on the town or the countryside, but has never assimilated his research into a single volume or history.<sup>707</sup> Additionally, Luttrell has mainly covered the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and only occasionally ventured with short articles into the later period of Hospitaller Rhodes.

Thirdly, this thesis applies the same methodological approach to community life on the other islands under Hospitaller control as it does to Rhodes. The Hospitallers' were not just masters of Rhodes, but had a modest Aegean 'empire', so it is important to take an holistic approach by studying Rhodes and the other Hospitaller islands together, so that comparisons and contrasts with Rhodes can be made. In particular, it is fascinating to see how a commandery

---

<sup>706</sup> See Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities'.

<sup>707</sup> See, for example, Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes*, which covers only half of the fourteenth century history of the town, and Luttrell, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*.

within the Hospitallers central convent's sphere of influence, the Commandery of Kos, worked. It was comprised of three islands, that of Kos, Kalymnos and Leros, but it acted in close association with St. Peter's Castle on the Anatolian mainland. Although there is not much documentary evidence in this period, the geographical position of the castle on Nisyros, which was directly opposite Kefalos Castle on Kos, suggests that it was also part of the Hospitaller defensive system of the commandery. Another notable feature is that the commandery appears to have had a certain amount of autonomy, with the documents suggesting that decisions made locally by the commander of Kos or his lieutenant were later approved by the council and chapter general. This, for local matters, was sensible, and it dispels the perception that the Order was centrally controlled. While the Convent might make the ultimate decision, in practise it depended on the good judgement of commanders and officials to deal with local matters.

'Apud Candidam primariam urbem insule Crete post lamentabilem Rhodi deditionem.' This is the opening statement of the first meeting of the Hospitaller council at Heraklion on Crete on 20 January 1523, after the loss of Rhodes.<sup>708</sup> Yet this simple but emotive statement is indicative of the Hospitallers pragmatic approach: there was no time for tears, as either Rhodes needed to be retaken, or a new base found.<sup>709</sup> When it became clear that a return to Rhodes was not an immediate option, the Hospitallers began to settle on Malta, but they successfully transferred their island-order state structure from the former to the latter. The message was clear: it was business as usual and their role as defenders of the Faith had not diminished. This is clear from the first items of business of the Council on Crete, such as the appointment of Fr. Thomas Guichard, skilled legal doctor, to administer and manage the office of vice-chancellor, in place of Bartholomew Policiano who 'remained on Rhodes'.<sup>710</sup> Other practical business on the same day was the procurators of the lord treasurer and the allocation of the control of diverse triremes to various brethren, including the Admiral, Fr. Bernard de Arauca.<sup>711</sup> Still on Crete a few days later, on 28 January 1523, The grand master and council commissioned Frs. Francisco Relis and Lodovicus Lull to examine the records with regard to a dispute between Frs. Johannes Antonium and Johannes Maria on one side

---

<sup>708</sup> Malta Cod. 84, f. 14r. Tr. 'At Candia (Heraklion), the first city of the island of Crete, after the lamentable surrender of Rhodes'. Policiano, the long serving vice-chancellor, had died just before the siege.

<sup>709</sup> Photeine Perra, 'The Hospitaller Knights in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Mediterranean World: Notes on the Order's Presence and Impact on Populations in the Greek Lands', discusses Hospitaller plans in the period after the fall of Rhodes in 1522 in *The Struggle for Supremacy. The Mediterranean World in 1453 and Beyond*, (ed.) G. Cassar, D. Munro, N. Buttigieg, Malta, 2018, 101-108.

<sup>710</sup> Malta Cod. 84, f. 14r.

<sup>711</sup> Malta Cod. 84, f. 14r.

and Fr. Aurelium de Borigellis on the other.<sup>712</sup> This was routine business and without the opening reference to the surrender, one would not understand that they were no longer on Rhodes.

It is interesting to note here that the records had been organised so that they could be consulted, even en route to a new base. Special space must have been allocated in the ship(s) and clearly in their last few days on Rhodes there was not just a random scramble to gather whatever could be saved. Instead, it seems that records were carefully selected for their relevance to the present, which explains why they are more plentiful for the later period, for example the extant *Libri Conciliorum* dating from 1459. It is also significant that they took not just the records of the Council and Chapters General, but also the Grand Masters' bulls of grants to brethren and others relating to positions and landholdings on Rhodes and the other Aegean islands. It may suggest that they had not abandoned the idea of a return to Rhodes. This is further indicated by their hesitance to build a new capital, Valletta, on an obvious defensive point until after the 1565 siege of Malta, when they repelled the Ottoman navy. It must have given Grand Master Jean Parisot de la Valette some satisfaction to defeat Suleiman's forces, having taken part in the 1522 siege of Rhodes himself as a young man. Yet it also marked the end of any realistic chance of a return to the eastern Mediterranean.

A number of conclusions can be reached resulting from the current research. Perhaps the most important finding is that, for the people of Rhodes and the islands, life continued as normal up until the eve of the siege. The last entry in *partes citramarine* was not until 29 January 1522, a sign of the uninterrupted way of life spanning over two centuries.<sup>713</sup> This is essential to note because all previous research has focussed on the conflict with the Ottomans in the Hospitallers final years on Rhodes. That undoubtedly was an aspect of the early sixteenth century, as attested by the Council records and archaeological evidence of defensive improvements to Rhodes town. However, it was a concern of the grand master and his Council, not the majority of people of the town, countryside and other islands under Hospitaller control. For most people, life in the early modern period had not changed substantially from what it had been a hundred years earlier. Most of these people, on both Rhodes and the islands under their control were Greek and it seems that the Hospitallers were keen to keep on good terms with them. This was done by allowing them to practice according

---

<sup>712</sup> Malta Cod. 84, f. 14r.

<sup>713</sup> Malta Cod. 409, f. 189v.

to the Greek rite, involving the important members of the Greek community in the administrative process, as allowing them a certain amount of autonomy, and granting them lands to give them a vested interest in supporting the Hospitaller state on Rhodes and elsewhere. This was, in essence, the interaction between them and the Hospitallers.

Rhodes was not in a continual state of crisis, as one would think from reading other histories of Rhodes for this period. Furthermore, that the Hospitallers were still assigning offices and granting lands under hereditary tenure until a few months before the siege suggests that they were not aware of the seriousness of the situation. The Hospitallers first 130 years on Rhodes were relatively unthreatened by enemy forces. Yet their vulnerability must have become apparent during the Mamluk raids of 1440 and 1444. Their only ally in the region was Cyprus, but that was subdued after the kingdom was invaded by the Mamluks in 1426, during which many Hospitaller possessions were damaged: Choirokitia, where the main battle took place, was close to the Hospitaller commandery of the same name. If the Mamluk raids were not enough warning, the Ottoman siege of Rhodes in 1480 and the subsequent Ottoman advance into mainland Europe in the 40 years following must have caused considerable concern. In effect, there was a gradual encirclement of Rhodes. Certainly, all grand masters from d'Aubusson onwards went to great lengths to reinforce the town's defences. The Hospitallers might have been aware of a potential attack on Rhodes, which was in mind from the 1480 siege, if not before, but the idea of an actual all-out assault on the island was not under consideration. This viewpoint is further supported in at least one contemporary account of the siege from 1523, which relates that the reports of a proposed Turkish attack were not generally believed on Rhodes, even though preparations were made as a precaution.<sup>714</sup>

Another conclusion is that the Hospitallers were an undying corporation, capable of surviving the loss of their headquarters and damage to their prestige. When the Hospitallers moved from Acre to Rhodes via Cyprus, a gap of seventeen to eighteen years, they were already an organisation that had existed for nearly two hundred years, with well-established rules, organisation and procedures that helped them overcome severe setbacks. By the time they arrived on Rhodes, they had already suffered expulsion from Jerusalem and Acre. In comparison, the transfer to Malta, via Crete, Messina (Sicily) and the Papal States such as Viterbo, an eight-year process, was comparatively smooth. Despite the loss of some records,

---

<sup>714</sup> *L&P HVIII 1521-1523*, 1191-1193, No.2841. This was a reproduction in English of Fr. Jacques de Bourbon's eye witness account of the siege, reproduced below.



the Hospitaller administrative machine remained intact through the years without a permanent base. It continued to serve them well for a further 268 years when, in 1798, their expulsion from Malta by Napoleon signalled their end as a military order, but not their end.

## Account of 1522 siege of Rhodes

20 Feb 1523<sup>715</sup>

Rhodes was the only place in Levant that warred against the Turk. Selim, father of Suleiman, left an injunction in his will to his son, to attack Belgrade first, and Rhodes afterwards. He had sent thither a Jewish physician as a spy, who remained after his death, and gave word of all that happened to Suleiman. The Chancellor, Andrew d'Amaral, a Portuguese, also endeavoured to betray the town, from envy at the election of Philip de Villiers Lisle Adam as Grand Master, after the death of Fabricius de Caretto, and sent a message to Constantinople, to say that part of the wall was taken down, that they had a new Grand Master, and were in trouble by reason of some Italian knights, so that he had the best possible opportunity for attacking the island. The reports of the army which the Turk was preparing against Rhodes were not believed in the island, but the Grand Master diligently repaired the defences, and laid in provisions, although the Great Commander, Gabriel de Pommerolles, the Turcoplier, Sir John Bourgh, an Englishman, and the Chancellor, told him to take no thought about it, for the town was well stored. Wine was obtained with great difficulty from Candia (Crete), and the corn in the island was cut when half-ripe. The captains of several ships which passed were induced to come in for the defence of the town. Musters were held in May. The men of the town were 3,000 or 4,000, besides 1,500 or 2,000 villagers.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> May, a letter was received from Suleiman, announcing his intention to take the town and offering to protect the knights, and receive them into his service, if they would surrender; to which they would give no answer, but that he should be received with good strokes of artillery. On the 14<sup>th</sup> June, the Turks, with 30 galleys, landed on the isle of Kos, belonging to the religion, and were driven back to their ships by the prior of St. Giles, Messire Pre John de Bidoux. The fleet consisted of 30 galliasses, 103 galleys, 15 taffours, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, 6 or 7 galleons and 30 galleres. The Turks landed on the island on the 24<sup>th</sup>, and on the same day the Great Master sent Sir Claude Dansoyville, called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia, a Spaniard, in a brigantine, to the Pope and the Emperor, to ask for succour. After the celebration of Pontifical Mass in the church of St. John Baptist, the Great Master presented the keys of the town to St. John, beseeching him to take it in his keeping.

---

<sup>715</sup> *L&P HVIII 1521-1523*, ed. J S Brewer, London, 1867, 1191-1193, No.2841. This is a brief account of the 1522 siege and surrender of Rhodes, written less than two months after the siege ended. It was translated from French into English, at the request of Thomas Docwra, the Hospitaller prior of the English province, in 1524.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> July the Turkish women slaves were discovered in a plot to set fire to the town at the first assault. The Turkish artillery consisted of 6 cannons perriers, shooting a stone of 3½ feet, 15 pieces of iron, for stones, of 5 or 6 spans, 14 great bombards, for stones of 11 spans, and a great number of smaller pieces and handguns, including 12 potguns, that shot stones upwards 'to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhuman and fearful,' and little used amongst Christians. The same guns shot sometimes bullets of brass or copper, full of wild fire, which flamed forth in the air, and broke when they fell on the ground. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, Gabriel Martinengo and two other captains came to their assistance. The trenches were worked by 1,500 Turkish slaves, who did great service. The Great Turk arrived in person on the 25<sup>th</sup>. On the 15<sup>th</sup> August the Jewish physician, John Baptista, was executed for his treason. The besiegers constructed mounds of earth against the gates of Auvergne and Spain, and the gate of Italy, 10 or 12 feet higher than the walls. The steeple of St. John's church was beat down, but the guns on St. Nicholas' tower shot so well that the mantlets against them did not remain whole for an hour, and the Turks durst only shoot at night. Within a month the wall of England and Spain was beat down even with the barbican. Martinengo, who had been received into the order, and made first ancient of the Italian nation, made traverses upon the walls, and set guns to defend the breaches. The Turks trusted chiefly to their mines, of which it is said there were sixty. Many were met and destroyed, but on the 4<sup>th</sup> September two were fired, at the postern of Spain and Auvergne, and at the bulwark of England. The latter was cast down, and the enemies made an assault with handguns, but were repulsed with the loss of 1,000 or more. Another breach was made in the wall of Spain, and the same day Gabriel de Pommerolles died from a fall off the wall. On the 9<sup>th</sup> September another attack was made on the bulwark of England, and a mine fired: about 2,000 Turks were slain. And on the 17<sup>th</sup> they made another assault, in which Sir John Bourgh was killed with a handgun, while taking a standard from the enemy. Pre John was also shot through the neck, but recovered. On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the bulwark of Spain was lost, and won again. Sir Francis de Trenolz was killed, and Messire John de la Touz and Sir William Weston were wounded.

After this assault, the Turk thought to put his captain, Mustapha Basha, to death, but was dissuaded, and sent him to Cairo. The janissaries refused to fight any more, and almost all the captains advised the Turk to go away, but Merall wrote to them of the state of the town, which induced them to continue the siege. On the 17<sup>th</sup> October they got into the barbican, at the bulwark of England, and won the foot of the wall. The plain of ground of Spain was won, for lack of gunshot, at the end of November. A few days after, a Genoese came to speak with

a merchant of the town, and said he had a letter from the Grand Signor for the Lord Master, who refused to receive it, and forbade any one to speak with him. The people of the town, however, heard of it, and they sent in a petition to the Grand Master to surrender, which it was agreed to do, if possible, as provisions and men were failing. Soon after, a letter was sent by the Turk, offering to let all the people go with their goods and jewels, if the town was yielded; in answer to which Sir Passin and Robert de Perruse, judge ordinary, were sent to him, and a truce was taken for three days, during which the enemy came to our repairs, and spoke and drank with our folk. The Turk denied having written to the Grand Master, but made similar offers to those in the letter. Sir Passin was entertained that day and the next by Acmek Basha, who told him that 64,000 men had been slain, and 40,000 or 50,000 died of sickness. On their return the commons refused to yield, as they had not been consulted. Other ambassadors were sent to ask for longer delay, but the Turk immediately broke the truce by ordering a fresh assault; and as the people of the town, after a day or two, refused to serve at the trenches, the Great Master finally determined to yield, on the 28<sup>th</sup> December, the Turk promising free leave to all to go away or stay, as they chose, the latter not to pay tribute for five years, and offering them ships to carry them away. Twenty-four knights were given as hostages, and a band of janissaries sent into the town to keep it, who plundered houses, took all the silver vessels with which the sick were served in the hospital called the Fermorie (infirmery), destroyed all the tombs and images in the churches, etc. The Great Master himself went to the Turk the day after Christmas, and was well treated, and assured that the promises should be kept.

### **Selected Documents of interest from the Malta Archives**

The sample of documents transcribed here aim to give a brief indication of the usefulness of the archive of the Knights of St. John on Malta for the History of Rhodes and the eastern Mediterranean. As Chapters Three, Four and Five are based almost solely on summaries made of the Malta archive, it is not considered necessary to transcribe more.

Malta Cod. 394, f. 230r-v, 14 May 1502

This is a typical hereditary grant of a building, in this case a vaulted or arched shop, in Rhodes town to one its citizens. It was situated in the parish of St. Nicholas and in the vicinity of the Red Gate (St. John's Gate). It was in the grand master's hands due to the death of the previous owner and was granted to someone who lived near the shop in the parish.

Frater petrus etc. dilecto nobis in christo nicola scolodi civi rhodio salutem etc. promptus alius quem in obsequiis religionis nostre et nostris hanc dignosceris pro mereture ut tibi ad gracias redi damur liberales tholum itaque sive fornecem vel magazenum situm in parochia sancti nicolai et vicinia porte de coquinon ad nos de volutum jure selimatia per obitum quondam antonii soma cuius confines sunt aparte orientis domus heredum macrinarii aparte occidentis domus zographi a meridiei via publica ab aquelonis sive tramontane domus tua nicolai prefati et aliis suis confinibus si qui sunt veriotes nostre dispositioni spectans et pertinens cum omnibus et singulis suis juribus et pertinentiis universis ad ipsum spectantibus et pertinentibus tam supra qui infra se sub anno censu et canone florenorum quatuor rhodi currencium et asperorum decem parte tuosque filios et successores ineodem nobis et futuris magistris anno quolibus infallibilur exolvendo alias indefectu solucionis huiusmodi et eo ipsum dictum tholum ad magisterium reverti ceriseatur de nostra certa scientia et speciali gracia serie presentium tibi tuisque filiis et successoribus per imperpetuum damus concedimus et donamus ut de eodem ad tuum tuorum quia successorum implacition disponere possitis et valeatis dicto censu et canone semper salvo et reservato ad ipsum habendum tenendum et habitandum pro ut tibi videbitur mandantes universis et singulis dicte domus nostre fratribus et urbis rhodi officialibus et presentibus et futuris ut huiusmodi nostras literas secundam earum tenorem executioni de mandent et contra eas venire non presumant. In cuius etc. bulla nostra magistralis plumbea etc. datum etc. die xiiii mensis maii anno M CCCCC secundo.

Malta Cod. 400, f. 210v-211r, 23 September 1510

This is an example of a reappointment of a servant of the Order on Leros, for good service, this time for life. Quite often, both brethren and Hospitaller servants would be appointed for an initial period that was later confirmed for life, subject to the performance of their duties.

Frater Emericus Damboyse etc Religiosis etc. Fratris Emanuelli de Ayrasca preceptorie nostre de Bottileca prioratum Lombardie preceptoris atque insule nostre Lerri castellano et cuicumque alteri fratri officio dicte castellanie deputato salutem in domino et diligentiam in commissis. Noi havemo relazione chel dilecto a noi in Christo Ferrando de Preciolosa portero del nostro castello di quella insula de Lerro exercita suo officio cum summa vigilancia fede et solitudine cum quietem riposo et securita di quello nostro populo unde semo inclinati a lui fare gratia speciale tanto per recompensa de soi boni servitii quanto per farlo perseverare di bene in meglio et anebona per dare exemplo et allio alli altri de bene et fidelmente operarse in aute cose sano in proficto utile et honore di nostra Religione pertanto comandemo et ordinemo a noi castellano il qual per il tempo seria in dicto castello che della vivenute di quella insula specialti in particolari alla religione nostra da questo giorno in auanti donati a ragioni di quarto floreni il mese per salavio et solda al dicto Ferrando in pecunia nune rata et questo ultra le sue regallie acostumati quali piglia dalli huiusmodi et habitatori del loco secondo e stato ordino per il passato cioe uno cafiso di frumento pro ciascuna famiglia che tesse casa a parte quali donaram del loro proprio frumento itendendo sempre che questa nostra gratia duri sua vita durante quos que in dicto officio benefecerit eo declaramo che lofficio suo si extenda alle cose sequenti et non ad altro croe sara obligato dicto portero serrare la porta del dicto castello et portare le chiaui o al capitano di soccorso o al castellano dil loco o a quello che tenera lo loco loro et comandara lome rouigli et sera obligato andare a ricognascere li nauilii capitanano a liasida quen alii sera comandato dal capitano o castellano o altri in suo loco et similiter apri la porta et sera libero da ogni altra angaria et parangaria et udemo et comandemo et le cose sopraseritte siano mandate ad executione remossa ogni contradictione et dilatione. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra magistralis plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datum etc. die vigesima tertia Septembris M. CCCCC. X.

This document is of interest because it is a reissue of rights in the casale of Embona to those who would settle there, the casale at that point being uninhabited, dating back to 1336 and a further confirmation of 1364. It indicates how the heirs and successors were still in existence nearly 200 years later, though they no longer lived in the casale. The reason for the reissue was because the copy of the document held by the heirs and successors had become illegible and they had requested a new copy. This was produced using the Order's registers (*Libri Bullarum*) for 1336 and 1364. These two registers, in existence in 1515, are not extant in the Malta archive, which might suggest they were lost or left behind after the 1522 siege.

Frater fabricus etc universis etc salutem etc. Notum facimus et manifestum qualiter Antonius Capsica habitator casalis nostri de Salacho Constantinus Vulacho habitator casalis de Villana insule Rhodi Michael Thiliaco et Demitrius Thiliaco pro si et aliis quibus infrascriptum negocium spectat et pertinet presentaverunt nobis literas sub plumbo bone memoris fratris Helioni de Villanova predecessoris nostri in magisterio veuistate consumptas datas die prima decembris 1336, etiam presentaverunt nobis literas sub plumbo bone memorie fratris Rogerii de Pinibus similiter predecessoris nostri renovationis litarum prefati fratris Helionis datas prima mensis octobris 1364 que similiter adeo suat veuistate consumptis quia ex iis nerus sensus percipi non potest quare humiliter supplicarunt dignaremur committere ut ex registris nostre cancellarie prefate litare retrahecentur et de verbo ad verbum renouarentur ut earum lectio omnibus sit facilis et de earum sensu nulla ambigiutor oriatur quaproper nos eorum honestis petitionibus inclinat ex registris prefatorum annorum per nostrum vicecancellarie antedictas literas de verbum extralti et in hanc autentica formam renovari iusfimus quarune tenor de verbum sequitur et est talis. Universis visinis et auditoris presentes nos frater Rogerius de Pinibus dei gracia sacre domus hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis et pauperum Cristi Custos facimus tenore presentum manifestum quia habitantes casalis nostri de Lembona nobis presentauerunt quasdam parga minas literas bone memorie fratris Helion de Villanova dicte sacre domus hospitalis Sancti Joannis Hierosolymitani magistri predecessoris nostri eius vera et nota bulla plumbea eo munita per omnia tenoris et continentis sequentis Universis et singulis presentes nostras litteras valituras perpetuo inspecturis frater Elionus de Villanova Dei gratia sacre domus Hospitalis Sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos salutem et fidem indubiam presentibus adhibere. Censuit ab evo humane providentie iudicium sub iuris regula

homines et familias unitos in unum que compactas fortiores fieri urbes et fortalicias condi per que fortiores fierent et mutuis suffragiis et consiliis suffulti et hostium vires et iniurias propelli. Hoc etenim spiritu prophetico cecinit Psalmista dicens fratres habitare in unum bonum existere et iocundum. Quapropter considerantes casale nostrum de Lembona depopulatum et inhabitatum fore quodque illud habitare et ad eum sua transferre domicilia Ioannes, Nicola, Georgius et Manoli Zenede fratres et Michalis Mandeos et Iannis Perpinias perpetuo desiderent et affectant, nos autem volentes eos favoribus prosequi gratiosis ut ad habitandum dictum casale animantiores reddantur dictis Ioanni, Nicole, Georgio, Manoli Zenede fratribus et Michali Mandeos et Ianny Perpinas eorum et cuilibet eorum heredibus et successoribus tenore presentium licentiam et potestatem concedimus habitandi casale memoratum ac laborandi et colendi terras illius sub pactis et conditionibus infrascriptis, videlicet quod homines supradicti per spacium quinque annorum computandorum a data presentium inantea a prestatione angarie et perangarie personarum suarum, testagio et encennio seu presente liberi sint et franchi. Item quod anno quolibet dictorum quinque annorum omnium fructuum teneantur dicte domui nostre mortirum solvere et suorum averiorum decatiam, et finito quinquennio supradicto premissi et nominati homines eorumque heredes et successores tenentur et debent ex pacto expresso omnium fructuum suorum nostre domui tertium anno quolibet exhibere prestareque, et dare testagium suarum personarum et encennium sive presentem et de apibus illud ius quod nostre domui solvunt et exhibent alii servi nostre insule Rhodi. Item tenentur et debent facere gaytam a qua eos nolumus excusari. Item debent esse perpetuo a prestatione angarie et perangarie liberi et immunes. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa. Data Rhodo sub signo nostro die prima Decembris anno incarnationis Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo sexto. Sane quia predictae litere erant veiustate consumpte contamonate et perforate habitatores prefati nobis humiliter supplicarunt ut ad eorum cautelam predictas literas sub eodem nove refici et bulla nostra plumbea in illarum certum et ficerum testimonium communiri facere facere dignaremur nos ipsorum supplicationibus deflexi premissas literas predecessoris prefati de verbo ad verbum refici fecimus et nostra bulla plumbea communiri in restinonium et certitudinem premissorum. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra plumbea presentibus est appensa. Datum Rhodi die prima mensis octobris anno incarnationis domini 1364, et quia facta collatione inueatum est has nostras literas cum predictis duabus bullis ad verbum concordare ideo renove putius volumus et mandamus ut presentibus ea fides adhibeatur que adhiberetur antidictis literas bone memorie fratrum Helioni et Rogerii magistrarum si essent integre et legi posseat. In cuius etc. magistrilis plumbea etc. datum etc die viii maii mccccxv.



This document is of interest as it illustrates how the most senior administrative position on Cyprus, the bailiff and treasurer of the hospice of St John in Lefkosa, was granted to a Rhodiot and servant of the grand Master's household, who was living in Cyprus with his wife. Instructions for the administration of the Hospitallers' property on Cyprus generally were sent to the Hospitallers' house in Lefkosa, not to the grand commander of Cyprus or his deputies, unless it specifically concerned Kolossi or the other members of the grand preceptory. It clearly illustrates how the Hospitallers still had a presence on Cyprus long after the Venetians took control of the island in 1489.

Frater Fabritus de Carretto etc. Dilecto nobis in Christo Alfonso Doria Rhodio familiari nostro domestico Cipri domiciliato et uxorato salutem etc. Fidelia eaundem quia laudabilia obsequia pro te hactenus nostre religioni prescita atque zelus quem in perseuerando in dictis obsequiis habere dignosceris nos inducunt ut gubernationi rerum religionis ipsius te ascribere non vereamur cum itaque in nostra magna preceptoria cipri sit officium siue exercitium baiuliatus et thesaurariatus hospitalis sancti Joannis Leucosie ad quod nos tamque in nostro ordine superior ius disponendi habemus tenore presentium damus tibi prenominato Alfonso iusque situm et expectatiuam ante alios quoscumque ad dictum officium quandocumque et quomodocumque per cessum vel decessum spectabilis viri Tristam de Hierusalem presentis legitimi baiulii et thesaurarii affirmum ipsum vacare contigerit et non alias nec alio modo ordinantes quia tu dictum officium baiulii et thesaurarii bene fideliter diligenter et legaliter exerceas prout in omnibus aliis rebus tibi commissis facere consueuisti ad utilitatem dicte preceptorie et honorem religionis nostre et venerandi magni preceptoris presentis et pro tempore existentis assignamus quia tibi pro tuis guagiis salario et emolumentis ea omnia et singula que dictus Tristanus a prefata preceptoria capere hactenus consuevit et de presenti capit domino quolibet pro tua sustentatione et econtra volumus ut tu supportes omnia onera que dicto officio incumbunt rogantes reverendi divissimum dominum cardinalem Cornelium dicte preceptorie magne Cipri modernum preceptorem et hortantes suos ad regimem dicte preceptorie commissiones et deputatos atque precipientes futuro preceptori ut presentes nostras literas ratas habentes te casu vacationis antidicte contingente in possessionem

pacificam et quietam dicti officii cum honoribus emolumentis et oneribus consuetis indicant et inductum conservant omni contradictione remota. In cuius etc magistralis plumbea etc. datum etc. die 14 mensis Aprilis 1519.

## **Bibliography**

### Manuscript Sources

#### ***London, British Library***

Additional Manuscript 15760, *Insularium illustratum* by Henricus Martellus Germanus, c. 1470-1490

Arundel 93, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, c. 1420

MOD DR 47, Map of Rhodes, 1940, Copy of Italian map of 1935

#### ***Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de la France***

Ms. Latin 6067, Guillaume Caoursin, Gestorum Rhodie obsidionis commentarii, Oratio de morte magni Turci, De casu regis Zizimi, c. 1483

#### ***Valletta, National Library of Malta: Archives of the Order of St. John***

Codex 6, *Pie postulatio voluntatis*, 1113, and other papal bulls

*Sacra Capitula Generalia*, Chapters-General

Codex 282 (1454-1459, 1462)

Codex 284 (1498-1504)

Codex 285 (1513)

*Liber Conciliorum*, Books of the Council

Codex 75 (1473-1478)

Codex 79 (1501-1502)

Codex 80 (1503-1505)

Codex 81 (1505-1511)

Codex 82 (1512-1516)

Codex 83 (1520-1522)

Codex 84 (1522-1526)

*Liber Bullarum*, Grand Master's Bulls

Codex 394 (1502-1504)

Codex 395 (1504-1505)

Codex 396 (1505-1506)

Codex 397 (1506-1507)

Codex 398 (1507-1508)

Codex 399 (1508-1510)

Codex 400 (1510-1511)

Codex 401 (1511-1512)

Codex 402 (1512-1514)

Codex 403 (1514-1515)

Codex 404 (1515-1516)

Codex 405 (1516-1517)

Codex 406 (1517-1518)

Codex 407 (1518-1519)

Codex 408 (1519-1520)

Codex 409 (1520-1522)

***Vatican, Archivio Apostolico Vaticano***

Registri Vaticani 49, Rule of Master Raymond du Puy, c. 1140

Printed Primary Sources

*Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το Αρχείο των Ιωαννιτών Ιπποτών (1421-1453)*, Ζαχαρίας Τσιρπανλής, Ρόδος, 1995

*Calendar of Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, 1288-1509*, 45 volumes, London, 1904-63

*Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, 4 vols., Joseph Delaville le Roulx, Paris, 1894-1906

*The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes, 1306-1423: Original Texts and English Summaries*, ed. Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley, London, 2019

*Cristoforo Buondelmonti Liber Insularum Archipelagi (ULBD Ms. G. 13): Transcription des Exemplars Universitäts und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13*, ed. K. J. Bayer, Wiesbaden, 2007

*I Diarii di Marino Sanuto (MCCCCXCVI-MDXXXIII) dall' autografo Marciano ital. cl. VII codd. CDXIX-CDLXXVII*, 58 vols., Venezia, 1879-1903

*Florence's Embassy to the Sultan of Egypt: An English Translation of Felice Brancacci's Diary*, ed. Mahnaz Yousefzadeh, Basingstoke, 2018

*The Knights Hospitaller in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD 1338*, ed. Larking L. B., Camden Society, LXV, London, 1855

*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 22 vols., London, 1864-1929

Secondary Sources

Aristidou, Ekaterini, *Kolossi Castle through the Ages*, 5th edition, Nicosia, 2004

Βακαλόπουλος, Απόστολος, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, Τομ. Γ, Θεσσαλονίκη, 1968

Bosio, Giacomo, *Dell'Istoria della Sacra Religione ... di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano*, 3 vols., Rome, 1594-1602

Brockman, Eric, *The Two Sieges of Rhodes: The Knights of St. John at War 1480-1522*, New York, 1969

Burgtorf, Jochen, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars*, Leiden, 2008

Burgtorf, Jochen, 'The Military Orders: Templars and Hospitallers', in *The Oxford Handbook of Christian Monasticism* ed. Bernice M. Kaczynsk, Oxford, 2020

Buttigieg, Emanuel and Phillips, Simon, *Islands and Military Orders, c. 1291-1798*, Farnham, 2013

Buttigieg, Emanuel, 'The Hospitallers and the Grand Harbour of Malta: culture and conflict', in *The Military Orders Volume 6.1: culture and conflict in the Mediterranean World*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr, Abingdon, 2017

Carr, Mike, 'Trade or Crusade? The Zaccaria of Chios and Crusades against the Turks', in *Contact and Conflict in Frankish Greece and the Aegean, 1204-1453*, ed. Nikolaos Chrissis and Mike Carr, Farnham, 2014

Douglas Smith, Robert and DeVries, Kelly, *Rhodes Besieged: A New History*, Stroud, 2011

Dourou-Eliopoulou, Maria, 'The Catalan Duchy of Athens and the Other Latin Powers in Greece Especially the Principality of Achaia (1311-1388)' in *Eoa kai Esperia*, Vol. 4, 1999-2000

Forey, Alan, 'The Military Orders, 1120-1312', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995

Gasparis, Charalambos, 'Land and Landowners in the Greek Territories under Latin Dominion, 13th–14th Centuries', in *A Companion to Latin Greece*, Ed. Nickiphoros Tsougarakis and Peter Lock, Leiden, 2015

Heslop, Michael, *Medieval Greece: Encounters Between Latins, Greeks and Others in the Dodecanese and the Mani*, London, 2021

Hill, George, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. III, Cambridge, 1948

- Housley, Norman, *The Later Crusades, 1274 – 1580: from Lyons to Alcazar*, Oxford, 1992.
- Irwin, Robert, 'Islam and the Crusades, 1096-1699', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995
- Καντζίνος, Λευτέρης, *Αθήνα 1204-1456: Τα Άγνωστα Χρόνια*, Αθήνα, 2019
- Kollias, Elias, *The Knights of Rhodes: the Palace and the City*, Athens, 1991
- Kollias, Elias, *The Medieval City of Rhodes and the Palace of the Grand Master*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Athens, 2005
- Κοντογιάννης, Νίκος, *Μεσαιωνικά Κάστρα και Οχυρώσεις της Κω*, Αθήνα, 2002
- Koumanoudi, Marina, 'The Latins in the Aegean after 1204: Interdependence and Interwoven Interests' in *Urbs capta: The Fourth Crusade and its Consequences. La IVe croisade et ses conséquences*, ed A. Laiou, Paris, 2005, 247-267
- Lloyd, Simon, 'The Crusading Movement, 1096-1274', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995
- Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: 1530-1630' in *Annales de l'Ordre Souverain de Malte*, vol. 26, 1968
- Luttrell, Anthony. 'The 14th-century Capitula Rodi' in, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, ed. Anthony Luttrell, Aldershot, 1992
- Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Military Orders, 1312 – 1798' in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* ed. Jonathan Riley-Smith, Oxford, 1995
- Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Building of the Castle of the Hospitallers at Bodrum' in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, ed. Anthony Luttrell, Aldershot, 1999
- Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller Corso at Rhodes: 1413 and 1416' in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306 – 1462*, ed. Anthony Luttrell, Aldershot, 1999
- Luttrell, Anthony, 'The Genoese at Rhodes: 1306-1312' in *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, ed. Anthony Luttrell, Aldershot, 1999

Luttrell, Anthony, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306 - 1356*, Rhodes, 2003

Luttrell, Anthony, 'Monkless *Monasteria* on Hospitaller Rhodes' 259-270 in *Studi di onore del Prof. Giorgio Fedalto*, Istituto Ellenico di studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Biblioteca, No. 32, Athens and Venice 2016

Luttrell, Anthony, 'Timur's Capture of Hospitaller Smyrna (1402)', in *Von Hamburg nach Java: Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte. Festschrift zu Ehren von Jürgen Sarnowsky*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf, Christian Hoffarth, Sebastian Kubon, Göttingen, 2020

Martin, Lillian Ray, *The Art and Archaeology of Venetian Ships and Boats*, College Station, Texas, 2001

Mas Latrie, Louis de, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, Paris, 1855

Nicholson, Helen, *The Knights Hospitaller*, Woodbridge, 2001

Γιώργος Ντέλλας, 'Συγκρότημα «ανώνυμης» εκκλησίας οδού Κισθινίου', *Μεσαιωνική Πόλη Ρόδου: Έργα αποκατάστασης 2000-2008*, Υπουργείο Πολιτισμού, Ρόδος, 2008

Gregory O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460-1565*, Oxford, 2005

Παπαχριστοδούλου, Χριστόδουλος Ι., *Ιστορία της Ρόδου από τους Προϊστορικούς Χρόνους έως την Ενσωμάτωση της Δωδεκανήσου (1948)*, Αθήνα, 1972, 1994.

Pauli, Sebastiano, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano oggi di Malta raccolto da varj documenti di quell'archivio, per servire alla storia dello stesso ordine in Soria e illustrato con una serie cronologica de' gran maestri, che lo governarono in quei tempi, con alcune notizie storiche, genealogiche, geografiche, ed altre osservazioni*, 2 vols. Lucca, 1733-1737, vol. 2, ed. Salvatore e Giandomenico Marescandoli, 1737

Perra, Photeine, Σχέσεις μεταξύ των Ιωαννιτών Ιππότων της Ρόδου και της Βενέτίας κατά τον Α' Βένετο-Οθωμανικό Πόλεμο (1463-1479), *Βυζαντικά*, 27, 2008, 269-285

Perra, Photeine, 'The Hospitallers' Activities in Mainland Greece: Acquiring Political Influence in the Peloponnesus', *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*, 92, 2010, N.S. 21, 35-41



Perra, Photeine, <<Ο γενουατικός οίκος των Ζακκαρία (Zaccaria) (13ος-15ος αι. μ.Χ.): προσωπογραφικές σημειώσεις>>, *Βυζαντικά*, 35 (2018-2019), 207-219

Perra, Photeine, 'The Hospitaller Knights in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Mediterranean World: Notes on the Order's Presence and Impact on Populations in the Greek Lands', in *The Struggle for Supremacy. The Mediterranean World in 1453 and Beyond*, ed. G. Cassar, D. Munro, N. Buttigieg, Malta, 2018, 101-108

Phillips, Simon, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge, 2009

Phillips, Simon, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England' in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars, 1307-1314*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf, Paul Crawford and Helen Nicholson, Farnham, 2010

Phillips, Simon, 'Maligno spiritu ductus et sue professionis immemor: Conflicts within the Culture of the Hospitaller Order on Rhodes and Cyprus' in *The Military Orders Volume 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr, London, 2016

Quentin Hughes, James and Migos, Athanasios, <<Η οχυρωματική αρχιτεκτονική των ιπποτών της Ρόδου και οι τουρκικές πολιορκίες>> στο *Ρόδος, 2,400 χρόνια*, Ρόδος, 1994, 373-407

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *Hospitallers: The History of the Order of St John*, London, 1999

Rossi, Ettore, 'The Hospitallers at Rhodes, 1421 – 1523' in *A History of the Crusades, Volume III: The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* ed. Harry W. Hazard (general editor Kenneth M. Setton), Wisconsin, 1975

Russell, Joycelyne, *The Field of Cloth of Gold. Men and Manners in 1520*, London, 1969

Σαββίδης, Αλέξιος, <<Οι Τούρκοι στα Βαλκάνια. Το θανατικό στη νότια Σερβία (Κόσσοβο, 1389)>>, *Βυζάντιο, Μεσαιωνικός Κόσμος, Ισλάμ*, Αλέξιος Σαββίδης, Αθήνα, 2004

Σαββίδης, Αλέξιος, <<Πόλεμος και διπλωματία: Οι σχέσεις των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών της Ρόδου με τον μουσουλμανικό κόσμο (Τουρκομάνους, Μαμελούκους και Οθωμανούς)>> in Σαββίδης Α. Γ. Κ. και Νικολούδης Ν. Γ., *Ο Υστερος Μεσαιωνικός Κόσμος (11ος-16ος αιώνας)*, Αθήνα, 2007, 353-366

Sarnowsky, Jürgen, *Macht und Herrschaft im Johanniterorden des 15. Jahrhunderts: Verfassung und Verwaltung der Johanniter auf Rhodos (1421-1522)*, Münster, 2001

Setton, Kenneth M., *The Papacy and the Levant, (1204-1571)*, Vol. 2: The Fifteenth Century, Cambridge, 1978

Setton, Kenneth M., *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, Vol. 3: The Sixteenth Century to the Reign of Julius III, Cambridge, 1984

Sire, Henry, *The Knights of Malta*, London, 1994

Treadgold, Warren, *A Concise History of Byzantium*, Basingstoke, 2001

Τρυποσκούφη, Άννα και Τσιτούρη, Αμαλία (General Editors), *Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες. Δύκτυα Οχρωματικής Αρχιτεκτονικής*, Αθήνα, 2001

Τσιρπανλής, Ζαχαρίας, *Η Ρόδος Και Οι Νότιες Σποράδες Στα Χρόνια Των Ιωαννίτων Ιπποτών 14 - 16ος Αιώνας*, Ρόδος, 1991

Τσιρπανλής, Ζαχαρίας, <<Το Monte di Pietà των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών στη Μεσαιωνική Ρόδο (1505, 1516)>>, *Δωδώνη: Ιστορία και Αρχαιολογία*, τ. 28, Ιωαννίνα, 1999

Τσιρπανλής, Ζαχαρίας, *Στη Ρόδο του 16ου - 17ου αιώνα: από τους Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες στους Οθωμανούς Τούρκους*, Ρόδος, 2002

Vatin, Nicholas, 'Les Chevaliers de Rhodes face à la conquête de l'Égypte', in *Conquête ottomane de l'Égypte (1517): Arrière-plan, impact, échos* ed. Benjamin Lellouch, Nicolas Michel, Leiden, 2013

Vertôt, Aubert de, *Histoire des chevaliers hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols., Paris, 1726

Williams, Ann, 'Sad Stories of the Death of Kings: Last Illnesses and Funerary Rites of the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John from Aubusson to the Cottoners', in *The Military Orders, Volume 3: History and Heritage* ed. Victor Mallia-Milanes, Aldershot, 2008

Zoitou, Sofia, *Staging Holiness: The Case of Hospitaller Rhodes (ca. 1309–1522)*, Leiden, 2021