

NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION  
INSTITUTE FOR BYZANTINE RESEARCH

SOURCES 14

Anthony Luttrell and Elizabeth A. Zachariadou

**SOURCES FOR TURKISH HISTORY  
IN THE HOSPITALLERS' RHODIAN ARCHIVE  
1389-1422**



ATHENS 2008

Hospitaller Galleys confront Turkish Galleys  
ca. 1460 (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library,  
Glazier Ms. G. 55, f. 140v).



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1389-1422

ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ  
ΙΝΣΤΙΤΟΥΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΩΝ

ΠΗΓΕΣ 14

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ΠΗΓΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΡΚΙΚΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ  
ΣΤΑ ΑΡΧΕΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΙΠΠΟΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΟΥ  
1389-1422

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## PREFACE

For the period after 1389, and in particular for the years of Ottoman strife which followed the battle near Ankara in 1402, the sources for Turkish history are comparatively scarce. It seems useful, therefore, to publish documents in the Hospitallers' Rhodian archives which are now in the National Library of Malta. The introductory sections are intended to present the texts within a comprehensible context rather than to rewrite in detail the general history of the period.

The authors are most grateful to Karl Borchardt for his palaeographical expertise; to Margaret Luttrell for endless typing and retyping; to our colleague Kriton Chrysochoïdes, co-ordinator of the Programme 'Archival, Palaeographic and Diplomatic Research' in the Institute for Byzantine Research at Athens for his interest in our work and for his help; to Nigel Nicholson for preparing the map; and to the director of the Institute, Professor Taxiarchis Kolias, who kindly agreed to include this work in the Institute's series.



## ABBREVIATIONS

### Sources

London, British Library.

Malta, National Library of Malta: Archives of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, Codex.

Vatican, Archivio Vaticano.

Venice, Archivio di Stato.

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- ZR: *Zbornik Radova*.

## INTRODUCTION





## INTRODUCTION

### 1. *The Sources*

In 1306 when the military-religious Order of the Hospital of Saint John began its occupation of Rhodes and other islands nearby, all of which still formed part of the Byzantine empire, Islamic Asia Minor was experiencing a period of transformation. The old Seljuk state of Rum, defeated by the Mongols in 1243 and annexed by them in 1278, finally disappeared in about 1310. During these tumultuous developments important demographic changes took place as the result of Mongol advances which provoked a great migration of nomadic peoples from Central Asia and Iran into Anatolia as well as lesser movements of urban population. The Seljuk state was gradually replaced by several Turkish principalities or emirates<sup>1</sup>. These emirates began to extend their territories at the expense of the last Byzantine possessions on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor; in fact this expansion brought an end to Byzantine rule there. The newly emergent lords or emirs struck their own coinages, established religious foundations, formed their own armies and, if near the sea, constructed their own fleets which were often manned by Greek sailors. They fought against their neighbouring states, especially if they were Christian ones, or concluded alliances, mainly for commercial reasons, with Western powers and with Westerners operating within the emirates. There were clashes among the emirs, some of whom aspired to a leading role in Asia Minor or even hoped to unite it under their sole rule. Eventually one of

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1. The term emirate, of Arabic origin, is gradually being replaced in international scholarship by its Turkish equivalent, beylik.

these principalities, that of Osman in Bithynia, annexed many other emirates or reduced them to vassal status<sup>2</sup>. Within less than a hundred years this Ottoman principality was to overrun the Byzantine empire and to become a great power. The transformation of so small a lordship into a major world force undeniably grew out of developments which took place during the fourteenth century.

The events of that crucial century are insufficiently understood owing to the paucity of sources. For the Mongol overlords of Asia Minor this region was remote from their political homelands so that only limited information concerning Anatolia, usually connected with campaigns against turbulent Turcomans, is to be found in Mongol sources. Few chronicles or historical works were produced in Turkish Anatolia in the fourteenth century. In 1323 Mahmud ibn Mehemmed, a native of Ak-Seray and a high official in the service of Timurtash, the Mongol commander in Anatolia, finished an account in Persian reporting the main events of Timurtash's life<sup>3</sup>. At the end of the fourteenth century ibn-Ardashir, who was the court historian of Burhaneddin Ahmed Sultan of Sivas (Sebastia), composed in Persian a biography of his lord which included some information on the Turkish emirates<sup>4</sup>. The Turks of the newly established emirates produced even less historical writing. Only one chronicle in Turkish survives, the work of an anonymous poet who narrated in verse the exploits of Umur Aydinoglu, the prominent ruler of Smyrna who was killed in 1348. This epic has been preserved through its incorporation by the Ottoman scholar Enveri into a larger chronicle which was written at the end of the fifteenth century but the original epic was evidently composed in the middle of the fourteenth century<sup>5</sup>.

As the Ottomans became the leading Turkish power and especially as they gradually became the successors of the Byzantine emperors, they began to study their past in order to understand their own origins. As a result several histories were composed in the second half of the fifteenth

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2. H. Inalcik, The Rise of the Turcoman Maritime Principalities in Anatolia, Byzantium and the Crusades, *BF*, 9 (1985), 179-217; Zachariadou, *Studies*, XVII.
  3. This work was written in Persian, the official language of Islamic Anatolia at that time; an extensive summary in German was published by F. İslitan, *Die Seldschuken-geschichte des Akserayi*, Leipzig 1943.
  4. German translation by H. Giesecke, *Das Werk des 'Aziz Ibn Ardašir Astābādi: Eine Quelle zur Geschichte des Spätmittelalters in Kleinasien*, Leipzig 1940.
  5. Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha (Düsturname-i Enveri)*, Paris 1954.

century to narrate the humble beginnings of the Ottoman emirate during the first half of the fourteenth century and its subsequent impressive achievements<sup>6</sup>. However, these histories were not the work of contemporary observers; they included dynastic myths, their chronology was inaccurate and consequently they are not always trustworthy. Some of these histories did repeat earlier written sources. The chronicle of Ashik Pashazade, though composed in the second half of the fifteenth century, included a chronicle written in the time of Bayezid I who died in 1403<sup>7</sup> and an anonymous chronicle covering part of the reign of Mehmed I from 1413 to 1421 which survives both in the history written by Neshri and in the so-called Oxford Anonymous Chronicle<sup>8</sup>.

For the history of Anatolia in the fourteenth century there are, in addition to the narrative sources, some official documents which are also extremely limited in number and all of which concern religious foundations. Secular documents, including mandates of Seljuk administrators or of Turkish emirs or their officials, naturally failed to survive, because after the dissolution of those powers which had produced them such documents lost their validity and their preservation became pointless. Nevertheless, there was religious continuity in Anatolia and some documents issued by Seljuk sultans, Turkish emirs or other persons which concerned the establishment of religious foundations or recorded donations to them have been preserved<sup>9</sup>. A few other surviving Turkish texts, coins and inscriptions are also relevant to the period following 1389 studied below.

Substantial information regarding fourteenth-century Islamic Anatolia is rather to be found in Byzantine and Western sources. The Byzantine narrative sources are the richer in information because they reported the progress of Turkish expansion which afflicted the empire directly. Furthermore, the Byzantines were in continuous contact with the Turks, both during wars and in periods of peace in which the emperors

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6. H. Inalcik, *The Rise of Ottoman Historiography*, and V. L. Ménage, *The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography*, both in *Historians of the Middle East*, eds. B. Lewis - P. M. Holt, London 1963, 152-167, 168-179.
  7. V. L. Ménage, *The Menaqib of Yakhshi Fakih*, *BSOAS*, 26 (1963), 50-54.
  8. This text is partly translated and is discussed in great detail in Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*.
  9. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, *Records of the Turkish Anatolian States*, in *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330*, ed. R. Britnell, Woodbridge 1997, 199-205.

recruited mercenaries among the Turks or even concluded alliances with them, as in the case of John VI Kantakouzenos who maintained close relations with the Turks. Nevertheless, this rich Byzantine information is limited geographically because historians and chroniclers focused their attention on those emirates which bordered on Byzantine lands and so constituted a danger for them. For instance, at the end of the thirteenth century when the Byzantine frontier was still in the Maiandros region, two Byzantine sources, the history of Georgios Pachymeres and the letters of the scholar Maximos Planoudes, shed much light on the foundation of the Emirate of Mentеше. Scarcely any information survives for this region at the very beginning of the fourteenth century when the Greeks lost it to the Turks for ever.

By the end of the fourteenth century Byzantine sources regarding the Turks were limited to information concerning the Ottomans and only occasionally did they mention other Turks who were in some way connected with the Ottomans. The major Greek sources for the period from 1389 to 1422 documented below are the chronicle of Doukas; the funeral oration for the Despot Theodore by his brother Manuel II who knew and understood the Hospitallers well<sup>10</sup>; and various short chronicles<sup>11</sup>. Doukas, whose account broke off in 1462, was born and grew up in the region of Smyrna and Altoluogo. He was in the service of the Genoese of Phocaea from some point before 1421 and he later served the Gattiluso family of Lesbos. He was a close observer of political developments on the Anatolian coast of the Aegean and provided much information which, while reliable in its detail, was sometimes seriously confused in its chronology<sup>12</sup>. Also in Greek was the Chronicle of the Cypriot Leontios Machairas who died in 1432. He served the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus who were attracted by the harbours situated on the Mediterranean coasts of Asia Minor, and particularly by that at Antalya, and who eventually came into contact with the rulers of the Emirates of Teke and Hamid which were in the southernmost parts of Anatolia<sup>13</sup>. Use

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10. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*.

11. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*; some of Schreiner's dates, not always given in the texts themselves, should be treated with caution.

12. Doukas, *Historia*.

13. The valuable information in Leontios Machairas, *Recital concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled Chronicle*, ed. with translation, R. M. Dawkins, I-II, Oxford 1932, is analyzed in Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*.

is also made of the Chronicle of Galaxidi of 1703 which appears to contain reliable information<sup>14</sup>. Further material is given in many Western narratives, the most notable of which is the laudatory biography of Jean de Boucicaut, the *Livre des Fais*, which was probably written by his chaplain<sup>15</sup>.

The gaps in the Byzantine sources may partially be filled by Italian materials. The Italians, especially the Venetians and the Genoese, frequented the emirates during the fourteenth century not as political observers but predominantly for commercial purposes. For this reason their writings contain information connected with merchandise, customs dues, prices, contracts, commercial treaties and the freedom and safety of trade. The Genoese, who more often sailed to the Black Sea regions, were well informed about the Turkish emirates around Trebizond, especially that of Sinope, while the Venetians were familiar with the Aegean coastal emirates as a consequence of the contacts of the Turks with Venice's main colony on Crete. Venetian and Genoese narrative sources and, more importantly, their official documents therefore provide substantial information concerning certain aspects of the emirates' history.

In addition to the Italian sources there are the surviving archive materials of the Hospitallers, who were established on Rhodes just off the coast of Asia Minor and, more specifically, opposite one of the most important emirates, that of Mentеше. These documents, many of them published or cited below, contribute information of considerable significance for the period from 1389 to 1422. A final appendix publishes a very detailed report made from Rhodes in April 1403 by the Cretan Vice Chancellor Buonacorso Grimani following an interview with the Master of the Hospital<sup>16</sup>.

## 2. *The Rhodian Documents in Malta*

Shortly before the fall of Latin Acre to the Mamluks in 1291 the brethren of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem sent part of their Syrian archive to Provence, but when in about 1310 they moved their headquarters to

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14. Sathas, *Chronicle*.

15. Boucicaut, *Livre*; Lalande, *Jean II*, a modern biography which follows the *Livre* closely without entering into all the detail of Levantine affairs.

16. A letter of 15 July 1403 from the Venetian consul at Rhodes reporting news from Aleppo to the Cretan authorities is in Morosini, III, 60.

Rhodes either they took no archive with them or, if they did, none of it survived<sup>17</sup>. On Rhodes the Hospitallers were slow to organize their chancery practice, partly because the Master Fr. Héliion de Villeneuve was in the West from 1319 until 1332, and much of whatever materials were kept on Rhodes was somehow lost before or during the fall of the island in 1522. The Hospitallers surrendered to the Ottomans on terms so that they were able to depart for Italy in January 1523, taking with them some part of their archives which eventually reached Malta in 1530. The great bulk of the Order's central archives was lost but almost all of the 115 registers which survived in 1527, when they were counted at Viterbo, are still in Malta<sup>18</sup>.

The Rhodian materials now in Malta include papal bulls, the Hospitallers' statutes, their accounts and other miscellaneous items, but the most important archive series, now usually known as the 'Libri Bullarum', consists of 94 surviving registers (Malta, 316-410) which run, with some gaps, from 1346 to 1522. Much of the material from Malta relating to the Turkish emirates down to 1389 is indicated in Luttrell's survey of Hospitaller-Turkish relations<sup>19</sup> and almost all the documents relating to Smyrna from 1344 down to 1402 have been published and discussed by Jürgen Sarnowsky<sup>20</sup>; these pre-1389 materials are not, therefore, presented here. It should be noted that Sarnowsky's transcriptions have been published with considerable *omissis*, and that three of his texts which seem especially relevant [I, III, V] are republished in full below. Numerous Malta documents concerning the Morea were published by Julian Chrysostomides in 1995. All but two of the texts here calendared come from the 'Libri Bullarum'; these registered documents, or sometimes brief summaries of them, which were issued under the seal or *bull*a of the Master or under that of the Master and Convent known as the Conventual seal, but the registers occasionally included financial accounts, items of diplomatic correspondence, miscellaneous annotations and so forth which were not sealed with a bull.

Only five 'Libri Bullarum' survive for the period between 1346 and 1381 but thereafter there are only a few gaps. The Master Fr. Juan

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17. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, XVIII 7 n. 37.

18. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, III 65-67; Tsirpanlis, *Pódos*, 11-21.

19. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II.

20. Sarnowsky, *Johanniter* (1992).



Fernández de Heredia was at Avignon from 1382 to 1396; he had the 'Libri Bullarum' for those years with him and they contain comparatively little of Turkish interest. On his death in 1396 the registers then in Avignon were presumably taken to Rhodes and the original parchments of 1390 and 1391 issued by Pope Clement VII [3] may have gone with them. The next Master, Fr. Philibert de Naillac, was in the West with his 'Libri Bullarum' from 1409 to 1420, but during those years successive Lieutenant Masters kept a separate register of documents issued in the Convent on Rhodes (Malta, 339) which is of great interest. The magistral registers were normally divided into sections separated by blank pages. Each of the sections in the front part of the registers concerned individual Western priories or groups of priories and only occasionally did they contain matter relevant to Turkish affairs, while later sections were devoted to Rhodian matters, with accounts, mandates for payments, property grants, manumissions, procurations, safe conducts and other documents<sup>21</sup>. The entries in Malta, 339, dated from 1409 to 1416. Only to some extent were these entered according to their content; they are often difficult to read and many are not in chronological order, a point creating difficulties since in many cases the year was omitted when the document was copied or summarized. The register Malta, 339, contained many texts of types which were not normally entered in the Master's 'Libri Bullarum', including diplomatic correspondence, decisions taken in council, legal judgements, licences and other documents which are of interest precisely because such texts have not in general survived.

The Hospitallers did not develop a historiographical tradition of their own until the late-sixteenth century<sup>22</sup>. The first and only full and continuous history of the Order based on archive materials is still Giacomo Bosio's three-volume *Istoria*. The much amplified second edition of the second volume which covered the years 1389-1422 was published in 1629<sup>23</sup>. Despite its unreliabilities, it remains an important point of departure. Bosio worked in Rome where he used the papal registers while his brother, who was the Order's Vice Chancellor at Malta, sent him numerous copies from the archives there<sup>24</sup>. Some documents from Malta

21. Cf. Tsirpanlis, *Pódos*, plate 4.

22. Cf. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, II, III.

23. Bosio, *Istoria*.

24. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XVII; Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, II, III, V; cf. G. de Caro, Bosio, Giacomo, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 13, Rome 1971, 261-264.

were published in 1733 and 1737 by Sebastiano Paoli<sup>25</sup>. The German scholar Karl Hopf worked in Malta and made use of some of the materials published below, but he presented them in an inaccurate manner<sup>26</sup>. For the period from 1306 to 1421, however, Bosio has been replaced by Joseph Delaville le Roulx, who worked extensively at Malta<sup>27</sup>, and by the studies of Anthony Luttrell, many of them reproduced in five volumes of reprints<sup>28</sup>. Almost all information from Malta on Turkish history down to 1389 is, therefore, utilized in Delaville, in Luttrell and in Sarnowsky's article of 1991 and 1992 which provides much detail, especially on the administration of Smyrna and the financing of its defence. Luttrell's monograph of 1986 on Bodrum castle made use of some documents from Malta for the period from 1407 to 1422<sup>29</sup>. Some 38 texts from Malta relating to the Hospital's interventions at Corinth and elsewhere in mainland Greece between 1397 and 1408 were published in 1995 by Julian Chrysostomides<sup>30</sup>; much detail contained in her publications is not reported below. The Malta registers do contain a few texts and some information relating to Greece which were not used by Chrysostomides; these include details of Hospitaller journeys between Rhodes and mainland Greece and documents concerning the administration of the Order's commanderies there, though these are noted only occasionally in the present work. Furthermore the meticulous edition and discussion by Zacharias Tsirpanlis of 342 documents from Malta dating between 1421 and 1453 is of great general significance and value<sup>31</sup>, as is Jürgen Sarnowsky's history of the Order's government on Rhodes from 1421 to 1522 published in 2001<sup>32</sup>.

While the year 1389 constitutes an obvious starting point, because it

25. Paoli, *Codice*.

26. The difficulties and inaccuracies in Hopf's notes are exemplified in the reproduction of his transcriptions from Malta for the year 1400 given in E. Gerland, *Bericht über Carl Hopfs litterarischen Nachlass und die darin vorhandene fränkisch-griechische Regestensammlung*, *BZ*, 8 (1899), 370-384; Hopf's work is so confused that references to it are not included below.

27. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*.

28. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*; Luttrell, *Latin Greece*; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*; Luttrell, *Studies*.

29. The relevant chapter is reprinted in Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI; certain chronological and other matters are here revised.

30. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*.

31. Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*.

32. Sarnowsky, *Macht*.

was the moment at which the Ottomans' advance into coastal Anatolia first brought them into direct confrontation with the Hospitallers at Smyrna, 1422 is a convenient closing date, not only because, while the Master's register for 1421/2 (Malta, 346) contains four relevant texts, the next surviving register is for 1427/8. The Sultan Mehemmed I and the Hospitaller Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac both died in 1421.

### 3. *The Presentation of the Materials*

The general survey of relations between the Hospitallers and the Turks which is given below provides an outline background and a narrative interpretation. The summaries and discussions of the published documents which are given in the Register of Documents from Malta are largely confined to information directly, or occasionally indirectly, related to Turkish matters or to affairs on mainland Greece which were closely connected with its defence against the Turks. Many details of diplomatic, military or financial activity among Latins, Greeks, Mamluks or others are not included. Twenty-six documents from Malta and one from Venice are reproduced *in extenso* and they give an idea of the nature of the different types of document involved; in some cases they seem especially important or in others the difficulties of their interpretation suggest that publication would be helpful. Relevant information may appear in unexpected places in the archive and some relevant materials may well have been missed. Even if dated, documents in Malta, 339, were not entered in chronological order and some have no date or at least no year; in such cases a probable or approximate date can sometimes be established by examining adjacent documents. In interpreting the Hospitallers' procurations empowering envoys to reach agreements, it may have been the case that the powers were never used; that a procuration may have been issued as a response to an approach by another party rather than as a Hospitaller initiative; or that, since future events could not securely be anticipated, it may have been necessary to envisage a variety of possible eventualities rather than to issue powers for a single outcome.

The Hospital's chancery practice on Rhodes has scarcely been studied, apart from a preliminary note on the initial period from 1314 to 1332<sup>33</sup>.

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33. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XV.

Documents of the Master or of the Master and Convent validated with their bull are here termed bulls. On Rhodes, the Master used his seal or, as in 1422, his *signetum* [XXVI], or his leaden Magistral bull (*bullā plumbea nostra*) or the leaden bull of the Master and Convent (*bullā nostra comunis plumbea*). While he was in the West, the Master used his Magistral bull in the absence of the Conventual bull. In the Master's absence, his Lieutenant on Rhodes used his own personal wax seal which was sometimes described, as in 1412, as green<sup>34</sup>. The Master had his own personal incomes, managed by his own procurator, while the Treasury received dues known as responsions together with other incomes sent by the priories in the West. The Convent on Rhodes was the Hospital's headquarters and consisted of all the brethren resident on that island or elsewhere in the East, on Kos or at Bodrum for example. The form of abbreviation used in the registration of bulls, usually with the word 'etc', often left it uncertain whether a text was a Magistral or Conventual bull<sup>35</sup>.

Documents of the Rhodian chancery were mostly dated by the Incarnation year, often simply called *anno domini*, which commenced on 25 March<sup>36</sup>; sometimes it used the year *a nativitate* beginning on 25 December. The chancery usually began a new Magistral register on 25 March of each year. The Byzantine Indiction, which began on 1 September, was not used in Hospitaller documents. Occasionally a document included dating by the Western Indiction, that is by a year commencing on 24 September<sup>37</sup>, but this use of the Indiction was frequently carried over from a notarial document issued on Rhodes where

34. The *bullā nostra cera virida*: Malta, 339, f. 150v [175v]. However, in 1395 the Lieutenant and Marshal used his *sigillum nostri mareschallie officii*: Malta, 329, f. 139v [139v].

35. María Bonet Donato, *La Orden del Hospital en la Corona de Aragón: Poder y Gobierno en la Castellania de Amposta (ss. XII-XV)*, Madrid 1994, 85, attributes the suppression of the words *et Conventus* in the registers of Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia to his 'personalismo', but while on Rhodes he systematically used the form *et Conventus* (Malta, 321); from 1382 to 1396 he was in Avignon while the Convent was in Rhodes and he was therefore unable to use the Conventual bull or the words *et Conventus*. The same was true for Fr. Philibert de Naillac while he was in the West from 1409 to 1420 [XIX and throughout (Malta, 335-338, 340-344)].

36. E.g. Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 31: *Die 26a mensis Marcii anno incarnationis etc octogesimo secundo* (26 March 1382).

37. E.g. *infra* [XV]; Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*, no. 43; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 274, 277, 289.

notaries did use the Indiction. The Indiction used was normally the standard 'Bedian' Indiction which began on 24 September of the year previous to the year of which the first nine months were indicated by the Indiction number. Confusingly, however, some notaries on Rhodes used the Genoese Indiction which began the year on 24 September of the year indicated by the Indiction and continued into the first nine months of the following year. Thus the year of the normal 'Bedian' Indiction XIII commenced on 24 September 1375, but Nicolas Villanucii, notary imperial and scribe of the Rhodian *curia* or civil court, dated a document *anno Dominice nativitatis millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indictione tercia decima secundum cursum Ianue, die sextodecimo februarii in Castro Rodi*; for him February of Indiction XIII fell not in 1375 but a year later<sup>38</sup>.

Monies arriving from the West or due for payment there were often calculated in florins, often florins of Florence, but local transactions frequently used florins of Rhodes (*monete nostre currentis Rhodi*) which were different in value; other sums might be expressed in the Venetian gold ducat which in 1410 was worth 1.6 florins of Rhodes [IX]. Much earlier, in about 1332/1336, the merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti reported that one silver asper of Rhodes was worth 16 *denari* or 8 carats or one third of a besant, while the gold florin, presumably that of Florence, was worth  $6\frac{2}{3}$  besants or 20 aspers<sup>39</sup>. The coinage of Rhodes may scarcely have circulated outside that island and the mainland emirates nearby. Some sums were given in gold ducats *de Turquia* [31, 39] which probably came from Altoluogo (Ephesus); a text of 1396/1416 circa stated *Duchati d'Altoluogho da Rodi sono di carati 23 1/6*<sup>40</sup>. In 1423 the Venetians complained that false Venetian ducats were being struck on Rhodes<sup>41</sup>. The measure of grain used at Rhodes was the *moggio*: in about 1332/1336 Pegolotti gave 870 *moggia* of Rhodes as equivalent to 100 *salme* of Sicily and 775 *moggia* of Rhodes as equivalent to 100 *salme* of Manfredonia in Puglia<sup>42</sup>.

38. Gasparis, *Catastici*, II, 323.

39. Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 54-56, 206; Schreiner, *Texte*, 75-76, 355.

40. Antonia Borlandi, *Il Manuale di Mercatura di Saminiato de' Ricci*, Genoa 1963, 110; cf. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 140-143.

41. Iorga, *Notes*, V, 146.

42. Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 204.

Contemporaries often distinguished between galleys, galliots and a range of vessels with varying names. The main naval weapon was the armed, oared galley; 'disarmed' or lightly defended merchant galleys carried goods and sometimes pilgrims. The galliot was a lighter vessel also armed and oared. Galleys and galliots used sails as well as oars<sup>43</sup>. A *fusta de galea* was a small galley.

The texts from Malta published below are presented in chronological order, each with a number in majuscule Roman numerals, reference to the texts being made in square brackets; all but two of the published texts are in Latin. Other Malta documents are presented in the Register of Documents, and references to these are given in square brackets in Arabic numerals. The Malta registers are cited as Malta, with their modern numeration. Delaville and others referred to them as 'Lib. Bull.' and used a different set of numbers for them, but the modern numbering can be calculated on the basis that 'Lib. Bull. i' is Malta, 316, and so on. Delaville cited the early and usually original ink folio numbers, and these are used below. However, there were originally some unnumbered folios, and in more recent times alternative numbers have confusingly been added in pencil; these have sometimes been used in publications and so the modern pencil foliations are also given below in square brackets. Existing publication or citation of a text is normally, though not exhaustively, noted. Hospitallers are indicated by 'Fr.' for *frater*, and their names are as far as possible given in the language of their own country. Place names, especially Turkish ones, are sometimes given in the registers in the form provided in the text with the modern name in brackets. Potentially ambiguous terms such as Hospital, Order, Convent, Master, Lieutenant and so on are capitalized. The published documents are transcribed *in extenso* with a minimum of editorial intervention. The registered copies of the texts are frequently worn and sometime illegible; the language is often obscure or scarcely grammatical and so heavily contracted that the version offered is sometimes unavoidably arbitrary. The gemipunctus, two dots placed before an impersonal reference to an office rather than to a named individual, is retained. Capitals and punctuation are supplied as sparingly as seems reasonable. The letter 'u' is not changed to 'v' but 'j' is often reproduced as 'i'.

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43. Pryor, *Logistics of Warfare*, *passim*.

THE HOSPITALLERS AND THE TURKS:  
1389-1422





## THE HOSPITALLERS AND THE TURKS: 1389-1422

### 1. *Rhodes and the Turks before 1389*<sup>44</sup>

When the Hospitallers occupied Rhodes between 1306 and 1309 they had previously experienced only limited direct contact with any Turks, except to a marginal extent in Cilician Armenia<sup>45</sup>. The military-religious Order of Saint John had originated as a Latin community which was serving the poor and the sick in Jerusalem at the time of its capture in 1099. Subsequently it acquired a predominantly military character, and during the thirteenth century it played a leading role in the government and defence of Latin Syria. On the fall of Acre in 1291 the Hospitallers moved their headquarters to Cyprus, but there they found themselves seriously obstructed by a weak and hostile crown, so that the Order was unable to justify through effective military action the role of holy warfare against the infidel for which it had been so richly endowed throughout the West. The occupation of Rhodes gave the Hospital a virtually independent base on which it was technically dependent only upon the pope and where it had the enduring military function of opposition to the nearby Turks.

A variety of Turkish rulers had set up lordships or emirates along the Western Anatolian seaboard late in the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth; they included those of Menteshe, in the region facing Rhodes with the port of Palatia (Miletus) as its main centre, and of Aydin, which was based on Ephesus (later Altoluogo or Theologo) and on Smyrna further to the north. These Turks attacked the Christians

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44. Much of this section summarizes Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II.

45. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, V 119-123.

on Rhodes and other Aegean islands; they also fought each other and Sasa, the forerunner of the Aydinoglus, captured Ephesus apparently in October 1304<sup>46</sup>. There were some Turkish mercenaries in Greek service on Rhodes in 1306 and that enabled the Hospitaller invasion of the island to be presented as part of a general attack on infidels. The town of Rhodes eventually surrendered on terms, apparently on 15 August 1309<sup>47</sup>. The Hospitallers led a formal papal crusade to Rhodes in 1310 and, by allying with one set of Turks against another, they acquired, at least briefly, territories and castles on the mainland. They also defeated Turkish fleets, probably from Mentеше, in 1312 and again in about 1319, and they partially contained the maritime aggression of Mentеше, helping to force the centre of Turkish piracy and naval aggression northwards to Altoluogo and Smyrna. At the same time the Hospitallers were attracted by the rich agricultural produce, especially in cereals, of the territories of Mentеше and Aydin as well as by the markets in their ports, in which merchants found valuable merchandise, including alum which was then in great demand in Western Europe. As far as possible, therefore, they encouraged trade with the emirates. Between 1336 and 1341 the pilgrim Ludolf of Sudheim reported, almost certainly with exaggeration, that its Turkish neighbours, presumably those of Mentеше, paid the Hospital a tribute of one third of their income and produce, while with other Turks, possibly those of Aydin, the Hospitallers had a truce on land but not at sea, nor in those places where the Turks inflicted damage on Christians<sup>48</sup>. If correct, Ludolf's remarks perhaps referred to a situation in or before 1320, since by the time of his pilgrimage the Hospitallers were among those Latins attacking the Turks and in 1337 the Cretan treaty with Mentеше showed various Venetian dependencies in the Aegean paying tribute to the Turks of Mentеше<sup>49</sup>.

However, by about 1325 the Western powers were realizing that it was more important to organize resistance to the Turks and to exploit Latin naval superiority against them than to seek the overthrow of schismatic Byzantium. Although diplomatic contacts, truces, treaties and alliances

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46. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 6-7; A. Failler, Ephèse fut-elle prise en 1304 par les Turcs de Sasan?, *REB*, 54 (1996), 245-248, dates the capture of Ephesus to October 1305.

47. For the probable date, Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 172-173.

48. Luttrell, *Town of Rhodes*, 214-219, with Ludolf's text.

49. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 21-24, 195-200.

with a variety of Turkish rulers were a perennial feature of Venetian, Genoese and even Hospitaller policy, there was also a series of anti-Turkish Christian leagues in which the Hospitallers took part. They participated in the league of 1334 which inflicted defeat on a Turkish fleet which came mainly from the Emirate of Karasi in the north-west corner of Anatolia, and in the expedition in which the lower castle by the sea at Smyrna was captured, somewhat luckily, in 1344; subsequently the Hospital's forces were mobilized for its defence, but the league soon fell apart under the pressures resulting from the general economic crisis, from the Black Death and from Venetian-Genoese conflicts<sup>50</sup>.

The Venetians evolved a system by which their Aegean dependencies paid tribute to the coastal emirates and secured trading advantages in them. Canonically it was difficult for the Hospital to make a peace or a truce with the Muslims but probably there was an arrangement with Aydin in and after 1346<sup>51</sup>. A subsequent truce with Aydin, negotiated in 1348 in order to end the Smyrna crusade, was made with papal consent<sup>52</sup>. By then bankruptcy, plague and warfare throughout both West and East had halted Latin resistance to the Turks, and the Ottoman Turks occupied Gallipoli on the European shore of the Dardanelles in 1354. Hospitaller galleys participated in a victory against a Turkish fleet at sea off Megara between Athens and Corinth in about 1359, and in that year some fifty Hospitaller brethren took part in an attack on the Turks at Lampsakos opposite Gallipoli. Between 1361 and 1369 the Hospitallers were active in Cypriot campaigns against the southern emirates along the Cilician coast and against Alexandria in Egypt. Throughout this period the Hospital had to defend the Rhodian islands and to assist in the garrisoning of the castle at Smyrna, but the Order's outright opposition to the Turks had to be tempered in part by the need to import foodstuffs and horses from the mainland.

Following the Ottoman victory on the Maritza River in Thrace in 1371, after which the Byzantine emperor became a tribute-paying vassal of the sultan<sup>53</sup>, the Turkish threat in the Balkans became increasingly alarming. Pope Gregory XI, unable or perhaps unwilling to organize any effective

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50. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 21-54; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 88-93.

51. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 53.

52. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 55-56, 205-210; Setton, *Papacy*, I, 216-217.

53. G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzance état tributaire de l'Empire turc*, *ZR*, 5 (1958), 49-58.

Latin military response, turned to the Hospital. In 1373 the pope initiated preparations for an armed Hospitaller *passagium* to the East and in 1374 he confided the entire responsibility for the defence of the sea-castle at Smyrna to the Order. In the same year two Hospitaller brethren formed part of a mission to Constantinople which returned with an offer by which the pope would hold and the Hospitallers would garrison two Byzantine cities, Thessaloniki and another, which was most probably Gallipoli which had been recaptured in 1366 and returned to Byzantine rule. The Hospital's resources scarcely allowed it to defend Rhodes and Smyrna and this offer was not accepted, but preparations for the *passagium* went ahead. Most of the Morea was divided between the Latin Principality of Achaia and the Byzantine Despotate of the Morea. The Hospital took a five-year lease on the principality, which it began to administer; it also acquired rights to Vonitza in Epiros from Maddalena Bondelmonti who was acting on behalf of her young son Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leucadia. In 1378 a pitifully small expedition of Hospitallers sailed to Vonitza, conceivably intending to oppose the Turks somewhere in Northern Greece<sup>54</sup>. The *passagium* was defeated near Arta in August 1378 by a Christian ruler, the Albanian Ghin Bua Spata Lord of Arta, and the Hospitaller Master, Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, was captured and had to be ransomed. The Order surrendered its lease of the principality and evacuated the Morea in 1381, and from that point there was for some fifteen years little or no significant Hospitaller activity against the Turks<sup>55</sup>. None the less Fernández de Heredia continued to acquire for the Hospital a variety of claims and pretensions in the Morea, and on 26 September 1389 he empowered Fr. Domenico de Alamania to take possession of the principality: *pro adipiscenda reali et corporali possessioni principatus Achaye*<sup>56</sup>.

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54. No Turkish raids are recorded in Epirus before 1380: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XII. Possibly, however, there were earlier incursions, perhaps during the general alarm which followed the Ottoman victory at the Maritza river in 1371.

55. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, I 302-306; D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267-1479*, Cambridge 1984, 148, wrongly repeats the story that the Master was sold to the Turks.

56. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XI 237-248.

## 2. *Christian Leagues against the Turks after 1389*

The Christian naval unions had since about 1334 been directed primarily against the Aegean emirates, and the Lusignan Kings of Cyprus joined the leagues and provided ships for them even though their island lay opposite the southern rather than the western Anatolian coast. The Cypriot kingdom was a major power in the Latin East and its chief port at Famagusta was an important emporium and staging point for Italian and other Western merchants trading in the Mamluk area. Cyprus lay on the sea route linking the Black Sea and the Western Anatolian ports to Syria and Egypt; furthermore, papal taxes raised in Cyprus were devoted to the infidel war and the defence of Smyrna<sup>57</sup>. The Lusignan kings were naturally concerned for the nearby Christian kingdom in Cilician Armenia and worried by threats from the southern emirates. The strongest of these was the extensive Emirate of Karaman which included Konya (Ikonion), formerly the prestigious capital of the Seljuk state. Karaman controlled the roads leading out of Anatolia into the domains of the Mamluks, with whom the emirate was often allied. The main target of the Emirs of Karaman was the Kingdom of Armenia which was devastated by continuous raids and eventually disappeared when the Mamluks completed its conquest in 1375. In the same years the Karamanoglus were in conflict with the Kings of Cyprus over the Cilician ports, especially that of Korykos (Curco). For some years from 1361 onwards the Hospital participated in Cypriot campaigns against the Turks of southern Anatolia and it took part in the major Cypriot assault which sacked Alexandria in 1365, when a large crusading fleet assembled at Rhodes and sailed from there to Egypt<sup>58</sup>. In 1373 Pierre II of Cyprus, faced with a Genoese threat to the Cypriot position at Antalya on the mainland, even handed the town over to his former enemy the Emir of Teke, who took oaths to the king and promised to pay tribute for it<sup>59</sup>. The revenues collected at Antalya were certainly significant since it was the most convenient port for trade with Egypt, the most important export being the timber which Egypt badly needed<sup>60</sup>.

57. N. Coureas, *Cyprus and the Naval Leagues: 1333-1358*, in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas – J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia 1995, 107-124; Zachariadou, *Trade*, 31, 58, 66-67, 205-210.

58. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 95.

59. Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 88-89.

60. Piloti, 139, 156-157.

During the 1380s the situation was changing. Shortly after 1381 Murad annexed the Emirate of Hamid, which was situated across one of the main roads connecting the Mediterranean with the hinterland of Asia Minor, and one outlet of this route was the harbour city of Antalya. The Ottomans did not seize Antalya from the Emir of Teke but they could exert pressure upon its ruler and possibly they secured some revenues from its commerce<sup>61</sup>. By 1387 at the latest the Ottoman Sultan Murad I had galleys and other vessels which were disrupting Venetian navigation<sup>62</sup>. In November 1388, even before Murad's death in 1389 and the beginning of his son Bayezid's renewal of Ottoman expansion into Anatolia, the Latin naval powers, Rhodes, Cyprus and the Genoese of Pera, Chios and Lesbos, agreed on a ten-year anti-Ottoman league; the Venetians, who had come closer to the Ottomans during their war against Genoa which ended in 1381, wished to maintain peaceful relations with Murad and did not join the league. This naval alliance, concluded at Rhodes on 1 December, was directed against 'all infidel Turks' including those to the east of Palatia, that is against the Emirates of Teke, Hamid and Karaman which in the 1380s had become vassal states of the Ottomans, but not against the Emir of Mentеше who was still independent and was to be left in peace. Each member was to provide one galley and the fleet was to visit Chios, Lesbos, Pera and Constantinople, then Rhodes and then Cyprus and the Anatolian coast to its north<sup>63</sup>. This league was at least in part a response to Murad's conquest in Eastern Anatolia and his threat to the Cilician coast<sup>64</sup>.

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61. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XIII 230-231. Note also that in 1384 Leo V of Armenia, by then in France, reportedly stated that Murad I had compelled the Emirs of Aydin, Mentеше and *Satalie* (Antalya) to pay homage and tribute in return for his protection: Froissart, XI, 237.
  62. ... *apparatu quem fecit in terra et in mari*: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 34 and n. 2, 36. Kate Fleet, Early Turkish Naval Activities, *The Ottomans and the Sea = OM*, 20 (LXXXI/1) (2001), 133, refers to a fleet armed by the Emperor John V and Murad in 1374, but probably, since John V was Murad's vassal, that was essentially a Byzantine fleet in Murad's service.
  63. Belgrano, *Seconda serie*, 953-965. The league envisaged a naval visit to Korykos in the territory of Karaman; cf. Hill, *Cyprus*, II, 440, who correctly amended *Ad Turchum to ad Curchum*, i.e. Korykos.
  64. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XIII 231; S. W. Reinert, From Niš to Kosovo Polje. Reflections on Murad I's Final Years, in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, ed. Elizabeth Zachariadou, Rethymnon 1993, 199-200, tentatively connected the league with Murad's

In October 1389 the Hospital was participating in the naval league agreed a year earlier [1]. On 26 and 30 April 1392, after Bayezid had conquered the Emirates of Aydin and Mentеше, the Venetians, who had thus lost their assured access to the ports of Altoluogo and Palatia, gave their captain permission to collaborate with any galleys of Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos and Cyprus he might find at sea<sup>65</sup>. While sometimes prepared to fight at sea, the Genoese and the Venetians were making treaties with the Ottomans<sup>66</sup>. The achievements of these naval leagues must have been limited, though a league of Rhodes, Chios and Lesbos had galleys at sea in mid-1396<sup>67</sup>. The Hospital collaborated with other Christian powers: at Nikopolis on the Danube in 1396, in the Bosphoros and the Morea during and after 1397, in Southern Anatolia in 1403 following Bayezid's defeat near Ankara in 1402, as also in the broad Christian alliance made in December 1402 or early in 1403 with Bayezid's son Suleyman. The Hospitallers supported the Byzantine emperor not only through a succession of leagues but in other ways as well. In 1390 they sent a force of two galleys which assisted in the restoration to power at Constantinople of Manuel II who had fled to Rhodes<sup>68</sup>, while in 1400 and 1401 the Prior of Ireland, Fr. Peter Holt, accompanied Manuel on a fund-raising mission to London where he lodged in the Order's house at Clerkenwell<sup>69</sup>.

### 3. *The Defence of Smyrna to 1402*

The Hospitallers had participated in the Latin campaign which captured the castle by the sea at Smyrna in 1344 and in its subsequent defence. This success deprived the Turks of Aydin of a major base from which to attack Latin shipping and helped to contain Turkish expansion in the Aegean. In 1374 Pope Gregory XI confided the defence of Smyrna castle entirely

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military operations in the Bulgarian territories, though these never attracted the attention of the Hospitallers or of the King of Cyprus.

65. Loenertz, *Cydonès*, II, 446-449.

66. Balard, *Romanie*, I, 92-98.

67. Ljubić, *Monumenta*, IV, 378.

68. Reinert, *Palaiologoi*, 315-319, 324-327, 351-354, 359-360. A Rhodian galley was at Pera in May 1392: Belgrano, *Prima serie*, 170.

69. Setton, *Papacy*, I, 373-374; Julian Chrysostomides, The Visit of the Emperor Manuel II Palaeologus at the Priory of St. John in 1401, in *The Military Orders, 3: History and Heritage*, ed. V. Mallia-Milanes, Aldershot 2008, 241-243.

to the Hospital which faced considerable difficulties and expenditures in that task; these problems were aggravated both by the non-payment of the dues or responsions from the Order's Western provinces, by the papal schism after 1378 and, from 1389, by Bayezid's expansion in Anatolia which ultimately led to the Hospital's confrontation with Ottoman power on land.<sup>70</sup> Late in 1389 Bayezid was in Anatolia commencing the subjugation of those emirs who were opposing him<sup>71</sup>; news of the conquest of Altoluogo and Palatia reached Venice before 6 March 1390<sup>72</sup>. The Hospitallers were soon worried that Bayezid would attempt to take Smyrna<sup>73</sup>.

Serious damage to the walls of Smyrna in an earthquake on 20 March 1389 caused the Hospitallers further difficulties [1] and on 12 April 1390 they complained from Rhodes of Bayezid's power and of the Ottoman threat to the town [2]. In that same month Pope Clement VII at Avignon granted an indulgence which brought the Order considerable sums for the defence of Smyrna; the pope declared, inaccurately however since Bayezid controlled Gallipoli, Thessaloniki, Altoluogo and Palatia, that the sultan needed to take Smyrna because he had no port from which to attack the Christians [3]. Two years later Bayezid was, with Byzantine help, preparing a fleet which, though destined for the Black Sea, was by April 1392 causing anxiety to the Venetians<sup>74</sup>; the Hospitallers were also concerned and they tried to strengthen the defences of Smyrna. From Avignon in July 1392 the Master of the Hospital allotted 4,000 florins from

70. Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1991), *passim*, with much financial detail.

71. Reinert, Palaiologoi, 293-294, 298-303, 336-342.

72. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 68.

73. A variety of authors repeated a tradition that Murad attempted to take Smyrna, though some may have copied each other or simply have exaggerated. Beltramo Mignanelli, 139, long based in Damascus, wrote that in 1403 Timur taunted Bayezid that neither he, nor Murad nor their forebears had been able to take Smyrna. Andrea de Reduciis, 801, repeated a similar story. In a confused passage, Doukas, XVII 2, said that Bayezid attacked Smyrna annually and blockaded it but he made no mention of Murad. The historian of Timur, the Persian Sharif-al-Din, who had reason to exaggerate his ruler's achievements, reported that Timur heard that Smyrna had never been taken by a Muslim or paid tribute, and that Murad and Bayezid repeatedly failed to take the Hospitaller castle, Bayezid besieging it for seven years: passage translated in Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 44-45 n. 16. Though it was reported (*supra*, 40 n. 61) that Murad forced the Emir of Aydin to pay tribute, that Murad attacked Smyrna is not otherwise confirmed and seems unlikely since Murad's attentions were focused mainly in the Balkans.

74. Loenertz, *Cydonès*, II, 446-449; cf. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 78.



his Magistral incomes for fortifications and repairs at Smyrna which, he wrote, faced a threat from Bayezid; the town walls were to be contracted in order to reduce expenses [4]. Murad had already attempted in 1387 to prevent the movement of foodstuffs from Anatolia to Rhodes and in 1392 Bayezid forbade such exports from his domains [5]. Late in 1392 or early in 1393 the Hospital refused an offer from Bayezid to make a peace on both land and sea because, given their ecclesiastical status, the Hospitallers were not free to agree that all slaves who escaped either to Smyrna or to Rhodes should be returned to the Turks and that Bayezid's subjects should be able to trade in slaves on Rhodes and to sell them elsewhere [6].

Shortly before September 1394 the Hospitaller captain of the sea castle at Smyrna who held captive two sons of Ibrahim, the Ottoman *subaşı* or governor of Smyrna city, agreed a seven-year local truce with the *subaşı*, who guaranteed it with a pledge of 10,000 gold ducats<sup>75</sup>. The effects were limited. In 1395 various Turks were thought to be cruising among the islands to the north-west of Rhodes. Some way to the east, on the route to Cyprus, the Hospital held the small island of Kastellorizzo which lay just off the Anatolian coast; it was populated, wrote the pilgrim Niccolò da Martoni, by some 200 families who cultivated vineyards on the mainland where they went to secure grapes since in 1395 they had a truce with the Turks there<sup>76</sup>. Kastellorizzo depended on its Turkish contacts; in the same year it had a small ship which took salt produced on the island by 60 Greeks, to the Turks<sup>77</sup>. During 1395 Bayezid was forbidding grain exports to Rhodes and the Hospitallers were calling for money not only to arm galleys and other shipping but also to purchase foodstuffs [8].

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75. Texts, with complicated financial arrangements, in Balard, *Notai*, 211-222, repeated in Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 161-169; the rulers of Chios and Lesbos were involved in the truce. Fleet, *Turkish-Latin Relations*, discusses the texts, arguing that there had been an earlier truce which was being confirmed and that it is not clear that the truce was the result of the sons' capture. Fr. Domenico de Alamania, who had been at Smyrna, where he possibly played a leading part in the arrangements, and his *cancellarius* were at Chios on 1 September 1394: Pistarino, *Tra Rodi*, 49-51, but without evidence, describing the captain of Smyrna castle as Genoese; his article details financial and commercial relations between Chios and Rhodes, as does Balletto, *Chio dei Genovesi*, *passim*.

76. Martoni, 120-122; 200 families was probably an over-estimate.

77. *Le Saint Voyage de Jérusalem du Seigneur d'Anglure*, eds. F. Bonnardot - A. Longnon, Paris 1878, 89-90; correct Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 97, XIX 146, where Stampalia is wrongly described as a Hospitaller island.

In 1397, following the Ottoman victory at Nikopolis in 1396, the Hospital intervened to defend the Morea against the Turks but Smyrna remained the Order's principal responsibility. Some considerable way north of Rhodes, Smyrna was a strategic port and since it was a papal possession it was politically important for the Hospital to hold it. Its population included Greeks; for example, in 1399 *papas* Janni de Sinapigue held the offices of the Greek *nomichus* or notary and of the *diquio*, the senior Greek cleric<sup>78</sup>. By 1392 the special papal indulgences collected in the West for Smyrna had brought in more than 25,000 florins in two years<sup>79</sup>, an important source of income when between 1378 and 1399 the average annual responsions and other taxes sent from the Western priories amounted to 38,500 florins<sup>80</sup>. The monies allotted for the defence of Smyrna castle constituted a considerable proportion of the Convent's incomes so that its retention was extremely important. In February 1402 Naillac wanted to raise, in addition to the usual responsions and other Western dues, a further 20,000 florins for the defence of the East, to which he himself was to add 5000 florins; in the same month he also borrowed 11,200 florins for the defence of Smyrna<sup>81</sup>. In 1398 the commanders of the Priory of Catalunya declared that 'the city of Smyrna is the key of Turkey' and that neither of the rival popes was making any contribution to its defence; they also complained that only nine of the Order's 21 priories were sending responsions to Rhodes and that the Catalan priory had to pay a disproportionate 3600 of the 25,000 florins which they claimed were being spent each year on resistance to the Turks<sup>82</sup>. By February 1402 the Hospital's Admiral, Fr. Buffilo Pannizati, had travelled twice to Smyrna where a palisade had been built [12]. Bayezid's defeat near Ankara in July 1402 and the resulting threat from Timur were known at Rhodes by September [13]. Late in October the Council at Rhodes decided that the defence of Rhodes and Smyrna should have priority over the Order's projects in Greece [14] but in December 1402 the Hospitallers surrendered Smyrna to Timur, apparently on terms<sup>83</sup>.

78. Malta, 330, f. 119v [118v]; on the *dicheus*, Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, III 212-213.

79. Malta, 326, f. 68v-70 [76v-78]: excerpt in Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 53.

80. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, I 258-259.

81. Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), nos. 79, 81.

82. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, I 259; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 96.

83. *Infra*, 53.

#### 4. *The Hospitallers and the Nikopolis Campaign of 1396*

The Hospital was obliged to take part in any expedition which had formally been designated by the pope as a crusade, provided that it was directed against the infidel. On 4 April 1395, at the request of the King of France and of the Duke of Burgundy who were among the principal organizers of the Nikopolis crusade, Fr. Philibert de Naillac, Prior of Aquitaine, was licensed by the Master to leave France for Eastern parts; two other French Hospitallers were licensed to accompany him on 18 June 1395 [7]. English brethren were involved; Fr. John Raddington, Prior of England, who had dined with the Duke of Orleans and received precious gifts from him on 11 January 1394<sup>84</sup>, secured a royal licence to travel from England to Rhodes in July 1395<sup>85</sup>. The Master Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia died at Avignon on 20 March 1396<sup>86</sup> and by 2 August at the latest Fr. Philibert de Naillac, then at Rhodes, had been elected there as his successor<sup>87</sup>. The Hospital's participation in the crusade may have been coordinated with the Hungarians, since on 10 and 15 November 1395 Hungarian ambassadors at Dubrovnik were offered a small ship and 100 ducats for their journey to Lesbos, Rhodes and possibly Chios<sup>88</sup>.

The crusading forces, mainly Hungarian and Franco-Burgundian, which reached Nikopolis far up the Danube in September 1396 had few, if any, long-term strategic objectives, though they naturally hoped to defeat Bayezid and relieve Ottoman pressure on Hungary and the Balkans, and on Constantinople which had been under siege since 1394. The

84. London, Add. Charter 2909 (kindly communicated by Michael Bennett).

85. Tipton, *English Hospitallers*, 113.

86. Malta, 329, f. 14 [14], 74 [74], 144 [144].

87. Malta, 329, f. 91 [91], overlooked in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 235 n. 3, 271. Naillac was elected on 6 May 1396, according to an Italian version of the Hospital's Chronicle of the Deceased Masters (datable 1457/1476) in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. cl. xxii 37, f. 348v; and, also in Italian (datable 1467 circa), in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Lat. 3323, f. 10 (erroneously as *vj. di marzo*); or simply in May 1396, according to a French version in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Ms. franç. 1079 (datable 1437/1440), f. 188. Naillac left Rhodes after 2 August, when he was there: Malta, 329, f. 91 [91]. Delaville, *France*, I, 249, wrongly dates to 1396 an act of Fr. Pierre de Culant, the Lieutenant, which was actually of 31 August 1395: Malta, 329, f. 143v [143v]. Barker, *Byzantium*, 52 n. 27, wrongly states that Naillac was elected during the Nikopolis campaign.

88. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, 240.

Latins were disastrously defeated by Bayezid and his Christian vassals, chief among whom were the Serbs under Stefan Lazarević. A contingent of Hospitallers, led by their Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac, sailed through the Black Sea and up the Danube to be present at the battle. They seem to have kept close to Sigismund of Hungary and not to have joined in the hopelessly undisciplined French assault on Bayezid's positions; they were probably quite near the river and may not have fought in the main initial phases of the battle and they were, therefore, able to help Sigismund escape down the Danube on a small Hospitaller vessel<sup>89</sup>. The Hospitaller Fr. John Raddington is not heard of after July 1395, when he was due to leave England for Rhodes, and he may well have died at Nikopolis on 25 September 1396<sup>90</sup>. Another English Hospitaller Fr. John Ingilby, who was

89. Atiya, *Crusade*, 54-55, 86, 93-94; Setton, *Papacy*, I, 356. Froissart, XV, 316-317, 320-321, stated that Sigismund and five other persons escaped with Naillac on a Hospitaller barge (*une petite barge* or *batel*) carrying provisions. An addition to Theodoric de Nyem, *De Scismate libri tres*, ed. G. Erler, Leipzig 1890, 330, stated that he escaped *in quibusdam galeis* of the Hospital. He could later have changed ship, since a brief chronicle stated that he reached Constantinople on a ship of Manuel II: E. Mioni, Una inedita cronaca bizantina (dal Marc. gr. 595), *Miscellanea Agostino Pertusi = Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 1 (1980), 75. That is possible as the Hospitaller ship was small and when Sigismund reached Constantinople he sent a letter to Naillac who was evidently not there, having apparently already left for Rhodes: Barker, *Manuel II*, 136-137 n. 22, 482-485. According to Morosini, II, 196, and others, Sigismund escaped on the Venetian galley of Tommaso Mocenigo, but Pall, *Considerazioni*, 190-192, 197, shows that the Venetian fleet did not enter the Black Sea; Sigismund may have boarded a Venetian ship in the Bosphoros. In 1415 the Venetian senate developed an apparent myth by reminding Sigismund that the Venetians had rescued him *dum enim victus fugatusque ... errabundus et pavens versus Bizantium perveniret*: Ljubić, *Monumenta*, VII, 210. The list of Hospitallers at Nikopolis supposedly given in Poutiers, *Chevaliers*, is often unreliable; it presents (pp.109-113) the curious case of the Norman Hospitaller *miles* Fr. Gilles Guiton who was wounded at Nikopolis and fathered with a Bulgarian or Hungarian named Maria Yscra a son, Jean de Carnet, whom on 13 April 1403 he legitimized.

90. The battle is commonly dated to 25 September. By 14 October 1400 the Master at Rhodes had received from Raddington's successor, Fr. Walter Grendon, the monies due on Raddington's death: Malta, 330, f. 75 [74]. Grendon was acting as prior by 19 June 1397: Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, 51-52. On 22 October 1400 the Master had recently (*nuper*) confirmed Grendon's appointment to his priory for ten years *de anno preterito nonagesimo sexto et die vicesima quinta mensis septembris incepto*: Malta, 330, f. 76 [75]. This suggests that Raddington was killed at Nikopolis, and perhaps that the battle did occur on 25 September; other sources, e.g. Morosini, II, 196, gave 24 September. Naillac in 1400 was back-dating Grendon's appointment, presumably for

at Pera and bound for Rhodes in November 1396, was probably on his way back from Nikopolis<sup>91</sup>; he was licensed to leave Rhodes for the West on 19 October 1400<sup>92</sup>. Sigismund wrote to Naillac from Constantinople on 11 November 1396 claiming to have arrived there, early in October perhaps, just in time to prevent the capital falling to the Turks; Sigismund called on the Master to send envoys to discuss the renewal of the naval league which the Hospital had with the Byzantine emperor and the Genoese of Pera to defend Constantinople<sup>93</sup>. Many Westerners were taken prisoner at Nikopolis and their ransoms were enormous; there was no Hospitaller among the surviving captives. Subsequently the Hospitallers did much to ransom Jean de Nevers, the future Duke of Burgundy, and other Christians, assistance which must have improved the Order's standing in the West; in 1397 and 1398 Fr. Domenico de Alamania and others lent 44,261 ducats or their value in jewels and plate to Nevers alone. In September 1398 the Venetians, fearful of the Ottoman fleet at Gallipoli, were proposing an Aegean naval league which was to include Rhodes and Cyprus, and in 1399 two Hospitaller galleys fought alongside the Venetians and the French Marshal, Jean de Boucicaud, in land and sea attacks on the Turks in and around the Bosphoros and beyond it on the shores of the Black Sea<sup>94</sup>. Early in 1400 the Emperor Manuel II was

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financial reasons. Tipton, *English Hospitallers*, 113-114, wrongly states that Grendon was actually appointed on 25 September 1396, presumably the day of the battle at Nikopolis; he holds that Raddington did not die at Nikopolis, since J. Stow, *A Survey of London*, London 1603, 438, recorded that he was buried at Clerkenwell; it seems unlikely that his body could have been brought back from Nikopolis, and Stow may well have recorded a memorial rather than a burial.

91. Siegrid Düll – A. Luttrell – M. Keen, *Faithful unto Death: The Tomb Slab of Sir William Neville and Sir John Clanvowe, Constantinople 1391*, *Antiquaries Journal*, 71 (1991), 181-182, 187 nn. 88-89.
92. Malta, 330, f. 75v [74v]. Ingilby died on Rhodes before 7 January 1409: Malta, 334, f. 107 [108].
93. Barker, *Manuel II*, 482-483; cf. Barker, *Byzantium*, 52. Sigismund was sending messages to Naillac through the Hospital's unnamed admiral (*admiratus vester*), translated in Barker, *Manuel II*, 483, as 'your admirable representative'; probably, therefore, some Hospitallers, including the Admiral Fr. Palamedo di Giovanni, were still at Constantinople in November 1396. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 236-237, incorrectly holds that Sigismund went to Rhodes. Naillac was at Rhodes by 12 January 1397: Malta, 329, f. 140v [140v].
94. Boucicaud, *Livre*, 138-147; Thiriet, *Sénat*, I, no. 949; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 235-237, 271-276; Setton, *Papacy*, I, 360-366, 371; Lalande, *Jean II*, 71-73, 87-91; Richard, *Prison-*

discussing with the Genoese and the Hospitallers proposals that they should help in defending Constantinople, and in February 1402 the Venetian senate decided to negotiate with the Hospitallers and others for a naval league<sup>95</sup>. Earlier, on 22 April 1401, it was known in Venice that the Despot of the Morea, the Emperor Manuel's brother Theodore Palaiologos, and the Hospitallers were concerned about the defence of Corinth, that they were sending messages about it to the Master on Rhodes, and that an embassy from them would soon reach Venice<sup>96</sup>. By 20 May, while Bayezid was distracted by Timur's presence in Anatolia, there was a Venetian proposal, rejected in the senate, to assault Gallipoli and, more generally, to attack the Turks with help from Chios, Naxos and Rhodes<sup>97</sup>. In May and July the Venetians permitted the export of two bombards and other munitions for the Hospitaller galleys which, they said, were permanently on guard against the Turks<sup>98</sup>; on 20 August they authorized the Master of the Hospital to take 13,000 ducats to Rhodes on Venetian galleys<sup>99</sup>. After receiving news of Bayezid's defeat, the Venetian senate did in September and October 1402 agree, with reservations, to consider the acquisition of Gallipoli<sup>100</sup>.

The defeat at Nikopolis was a calamity for the crusading movement in the West. Bayezid's blockade, while not completely successful in cutting off Constantinople by sea, was very effective by land<sup>101</sup>, yet at a crucial moment the campaign compelled him to move troops away from their siege of the capital<sup>102</sup>. The crusade did not entirely interrupt the siege but

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iers; Paviot, *Ducs de Bourgogne*, 40-51, but wrongly placing a voyage of Fr. Pierre de Bauffremont to Lesbos with two Hospitaller galleys to 10 August 1403 rather than 1397. Fr. Domenico de Alamania was owed 5000 florins of expenses for a journey to the West for the ransoming of Jean de Nevers: Malta, 332, f. 168 [166].

95. Barker, *Manuel II*, 204-205.

96. Sathas, *Documents*, II, nos 239, 241.

97. Noiret, *Documents*, 129-131.

98. Sathas, *Documents*, II, no. 301; Surdich, *Genova*, 165.

99. Venice, Misti, xlvi, f. 38v.

100. Thiriet, *Sénat*, II, nos. 1070-1071, 1078.

101. Nevra Necipoğlu, Economic Conditions in Constantinople during the Siege of Bayezid I (1394-1402), in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, eds. C. Mango - G. Dagron, Aldershot 1995, 157-167.

102. Doukas, XIII 8. Morosini, II, 194, claimed that the Venetian and Genoese galleys forced Bayezid to disband his whole fleet, but Pall, *Considerazioni*, 192, shows that the Venetians reached Constantinople on 2 September.

it killed many of Bayezid's men in the battle; it brought Sigismund to the Byzantine capital at a moment, he wrote, when it was about to fall; and it encouraged Boucicaut and others to take aid to Constantinople in the years following 1396. Bayezid resumed his strong pressure on Constantinople soon after Nikopolis<sup>103</sup>. However, the Christian campaign may well have saved the capital<sup>104</sup>.

### 5. *Hospitaller Interventions in the Morea before 1402*

Turks had long been active, often at the invitation or instigation of Christian rulers, in mainland Greece where the decline of the ruling Frankish nobility left a growing vacuum in Latin power which was gradually filled by the Turks<sup>105</sup>. When in 1356 Pope Innocent VI launched secret negotiations for a *negotium principatus Achaye*, which probably lay behind the establishment of the powerful Niccolò Acciaiuoli as lord of Corinth in 1358, the Hospital was involved in the discussions. In 1343 and 1355 successive popes had accused the Hospitallers of inactivity on Rhodes and had threatened to move them to the Turkish mainland and even to use part of their possessions to found a new order<sup>106</sup>. There was apparently a party among the Hospitallers which found Rhodes too distant, too exposed or too limited in its resources and opportunities. In the years following the establishment of Turks in Gallipoli in 1354 there would have been some justification for a policy designed to defend mainland Greece, and Western Europe itself, against the infidel. The Latin Morea suffered from warfare, plague and weakening Western political control, but it offered a relatively prosperous agrarian economy and some manufacturing capacity; its extensive territories were closer to Italy and the West and their attractions may have seemed to compare favourably with the situation on Rhodes. The easily defended 'island order state' on Rhodes offered many advantages, but some Hospitallers

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103. Barker, *Manuel II*, 138-144.

104. As claimed from Constantinople by Sigismund and as argued in A. Luttrell, *The Crisis in the Bosphorus following the Battle near Ankara in 1402*, in *Controllo degli Stretti et insediamenti militari nel Mediterraneo*, Bari 2002, 155-166.

105. W. Haberstumpf, *La dissoluzione delle Signorie latine in Morea di fronte alla turcocrazia (secolo XIV-1432 c.)*, *Studi Veneziani*, ns. 33 (1997-1998), 61-81.

106. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XXIV 9-11.

may have looked to the formation of an independent and extensive Greek *Ordensstaat* or order state with its own more substantial resources which they might establish somewhat in the manner of the powerful regime built up by the Teutonic Order in Prussia.

When in 1377 the Hospital took a five-year lease on that part of the Morea which constituted the Principality of Achaia, that could have been an initial step towards establishing control of the Byzantine part of the peninsula, the Despotate of the Morea, but the feeble expedition the Order sent to Epiros in 1378 provided clear proof that it lacked the resources for effective intervention in Greek lands. The Hospitallers' Greek activities were disrupted by the campaigns of the so-called Nav-arrese companies. The Hospital had engaged these unemployed mercenaries to serve in the region to the north of the Gulf of Corinth, but it soon lost control of them and in 1381 the Order evacuated the Morea<sup>107</sup>. Even thereafter the Hospital, under the direction of its Master Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, continued to seek the acquisition of various dynastic claims in mainland Greece<sup>108</sup>. In 1387 Thessaloniki surrendered to the Ottomans on terms and their general Evrenos launched raids into the Morea. The protection of mainland Greece increasingly formed part of the general defence of Christian Europe, but the Hospital's projects there came to a temporary halt in 1389; the Master was very old; there were political and financial crises in the West; and in Anatolia the garrison at Smyrna came under serious threat.

After Bayezid's victory at Nikopolis in 1396 the Morea lay open to Turkish devastations. Following the Turkish attack on Argos by Yakub Pasha in June 1397, the Hospitallers purchased Corinth from the emperor's brother, Theodore Despot of the Morea, who had secured control of it in 1394/5; they then occupied and defended that key position on the isthmus. The Byzantine emperor, Manuel II, was familiar with the Hospitallers in the West as well as in the East, and his funeral oration for his brother Theodore delivered in about 1409 emphasized the ambiguities of the despot's situation, caught as he was between the Latins, the Turks and the anti-Latin Greek populace. Manuel represented Theodore's sale of the

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107. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, VIII.

108. Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, I 296-297, XXIV 9-13; Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XI 237-248, XV; Luttrell, *Studies*, XVIII 159-160.



despotate to the Hospital as an unavoidable lesser evil, while he referred admiringly to the Hospitallers who had done so much to save Corinth and the Morea after 1396. Manuel wrote of their enthusiasm, strength and reliability, and of their desire both to control the whole of the Morea and to attract major Western support for resistance to the Turks; he claimed that Bayezid was more afraid of the Hospitallers than of any other power. In July 1399 the Hospitallers were prepared to acquire the castle at Megara, perhaps to defend it against Turkish pirates or possibly to serve as a base for operations elsewhere in Greece, but they failed to obtain it. In 1400 the Hospital purchased the whole despotate and began to administer as well as to defend it, but an uprising at Mistra led by the Greek clergy against the Latin Hospitallers compelled Theodore to intervene. Theodore had sold the despotate with the right to repurchase it, and on 7 November 1400 the Hospitallers were prepared to renegotiate the return of the territories they held in the Despotate of the Morea while simultaneously empowering their representative to borrow 12,000 ducats for negotiations both in the despotate and in the Principality of Achaia. When late in 1401 or early in 1402 Bayezid sought to safeguard his European rear through a truce with Theodore, Bayezid's main condition, according at least to Manuel II, was that the Hospitallers, whom Bayezid evidently feared, should leave the Morea, and in May 1402 the Hospital again empowered representatives to negotiate the retrocession of the Despotate of the Morea and the Castellany of Corinth<sup>109</sup>.

#### 6. *Timur Captures Smyrna: 1402*<sup>110</sup>

At the end of 1393 or the beginning of 1394 the armies of the great Mongol ruler Timur had begun to occupy Ottoman territories on their eastern Anatolian frontiers. Bayezid I's supremacy ended with his defeat by

109. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 18-23, 166-211; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta, passim*; additional detail in Barker, *Byzantium*, 58-63; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 98-99; *infra* [9, 14]. Julian Chrysostomides, *Corinth 1394-1397: Some New Facts, Byzantina*, 7 (1975), 93, 95-96, discusses the possibility that Carlo Tocco offered Corinth and Megara to the Hospital even before the battle at Nikopolis in September 1396, possibly through the Hospitaller Fr. Lorenzo Davizi of Florence who had represented Nerio Acciaiuoli and who governed Corinth for the Tocco in 1394: cf. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 144 and n. 3, 211 and nn. 10, 19.

110. A forthcoming study by Anthony Luttrell will examine this topic in detail.

Timur in July 1402. In the decisive battle near Ankara a number of Anatolian emirs recently dispossessed by Bayezid fought against him while others went over to Timur during the fighting. Bayezid was captured and died as a prisoner on 8 March 1403. The Ottoman territories were divided among some of his sons, not according to any Ottoman law but as a result of the circumstances arising from the defeat and of the opportunities it created. Bayezid had many sons but only three of them, Suleyman, Musa and Mehemmed, claimed the succession with any permanent or even temporary success. Suleyman, together with Bayezid's grand vizir Djandarlı, crossed to Thrace and settled in the Ottomans' European capital at Adrianople (Edirne), where he retained control of what became for some years the principal centre of Ottoman survival and continuity<sup>111</sup>; many Turks afraid of Timur followed him there. Mehemmed escaped eastwards to Amasya (Amaseia), a town which had been a residence of earlier Ottoman princes and he centred his rule there, but Ottoman power in Anatolia was largely, if only temporarily, dismantled and Timur reestablished the former Turkish emirates which had been conquered by the Ottomans, mostly in the time of Bayezid. The most prominent of these emirates was that of Karaman which was particularly favoured by Timur's policy.

During the period of political instability inaugurated by the defeat near Ankara the Christian states proved unable or unwilling further to mount any serious military operation designed to weaken the Turks; they merely supported one or other of the Ottoman pretenders against another in order to prolong their internal conflicts. This situation lasted until 1413 when the Ottoman state was reunified under Mehemmed I who emerged victorious at the expense of his two brothers. Nevertheless, dynastic clashes resumed when in 1416 another son of Bayezid named Mustafa appeared on the scene with Byzantine support. Only in 1425 did Mehemmed's son, Sultan Murad II, become the indisputable ruler of the Ottomans. Nevertheless, during this crucial period of disintegration and fratricidal struggle it became clear how deeply rooted was the tradition among the Ottomans that one family, that of Osman, was destined to rule over them; not one of the high military officials or lords of the marches disputed the throne or grasped an opportunity to establish his own state. The only separatist movement was that of Djunayd, the son of an Ottoman

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111. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 269-271.

official, who repeatedly attempted to establish control of the region of Smyrna, yet even he felt the need to recognize the overlordship of some member of the Ottoman dynasty.

As the decisive clash between Bayezid and Timur became imminent the Hospitallers were making efforts to collaborate in Aegean alliances with Venice, Chios and Naxos. A Rhodian galley reached Chios on 30 August 1402. There it met Venetian galleys hoping to join with those of Chios and Rhodes in an attack on the Turks, with the Venetians presumably still thinking in terms of opposition to the Ottomans; the Hospitaller galley was, however, to be employed at some other unnamed destination but it reported that another galley was being armed at Rhodes for action against the Turks. On the following day the Latin galleys, including that from Rhodes, sailed to Altoluogo where they heard news of Bayezid's defeat at Ankara; they also met a messenger from a certain Mehemmed, one of Timur's officers whom he had named to govern Altoluogo 'and its provinces'. On 3 September the Venetians left Altoluogo for Kos to seek two more Rhodian galleys in order to 'do damage to the Turks', but there was no Hospitaller galley at Kos and so they sailed to find others at Rhodes<sup>112</sup>. The emphasis was on attacking the Ottomans who were in disarray after their defeat by Timur.

The Hospital was affected by the aftermath of the battle near Ankara in several ways and above all by Timur's advances on Smyrna. In October 1402 the ruling Council at Rhodes decided that the castle's defence had first priority on the Hospital's resources, though it would devote any surplus monies to the maintenance of its position in mainland Greece [14]. As Christians, the Hospitallers could not convert to Islam and, as brethren of a religious order, they were constitutionally unable to pay tribute to an infidel as Timur demanded, but their limited forces at Smyrna could scarcely resist the overwhelming Mongol assault; in December 1402, after a siege of about two weeks, the Latin garrison escaped by sea, leaving many Greeks and others who had taken refuge in Smyrna to be slaughtered<sup>113</sup>. The Hospitallers apparently agreed to surrender the *castrum* on terms, *ad pacta*<sup>114</sup>. Timur largely destroyed the sea-castle.

112. Morosini, III, 66-70, misleadingly as 1403.

113. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 284-286; Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Campagne*, 87-90; Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1991), 232-233, employing the major sources.

114. According to Beltramo Mignanelli, 139.

The Hospitallers, who must have been alarmed, joined the other Christian powers in concluding a treaty with Suleyman, datable between December 1402 and 20 February 1403, which contained a general agreement on joint measures to resist Timur should he decide to invade 'Greece'. It also contained detailed bilateral arrangements between Suleyman, who was in a weak position, and a number of Christian powers which acquired territories and secured the abolition of those annual tributes previously due to the Ottomans<sup>115</sup>; the Hospitallers consistently refused tribute to the Turks and so there could in their case have been no question of Suleyman abolishing any such dues, but the treaty included a clause by which Suleyman 'gave' the Hospital the County of Salona to the north of the Gulf of Corinth<sup>116</sup>. The Despot Theodore was not a party to the treaty which made no provision for any territories in the Morea, perhaps because they were still a matter of dispute between Theodore and the Hospital.

Timur's victory did not destroy Ottoman sea power. By the treaty of December 1402 or early 1403 Suleyman agreed that he would not, without the permission of the Christian powers, move oared ships out of the Straits at each end of the Dardanelles<sup>117</sup>. This would not have prevented him using non-oared ships, and he may eventually have been able to disregard the clause; in coming years the Turks regularly moved between the two continents and the Byzantines did not control the sea crossing between Anatolia and Rumili. Suleyman had evidently promised to hand over eight of his *fusti di galie* to Manuel II, but at the time of the treaty he was allowed to keep them<sup>118</sup>; he may have had more than eight. Bayezid was reported, probably with some exaggeration, to have had 17 galleys in

115. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI; cf. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 274-283.

116. *Item. la Salona cum quele confine che manzava la Contessa le ho dade a lo Hospedal de Rudo franche et libere*: Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 80. Anthony Luttrell will propose in a forthcoming work that the 'son of Lazar' in the treaty was not, as normally held, the Serbian prince Stefan Lazarević but his brother Vuk.

117. *Item. che algun mio navilio che vuoga remi non possa insir fuora de le boche ni di sora ni de soto....*: Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 79 item 14. Barker, *Manuel II*, 225, gives 'sova' for 'sora' and interprets the clause as meaning that Suleyman would not enter the Dardanelles, but 'insir' means 'leave'. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 283, does not distinguish between oared and non-oared ships.

118. *... l'imperador li lassa alcuni confini e lassa li viij fusti de galie che li doveva esser dadi*: Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 83.

1399<sup>119</sup>. By April 1403 Elyas, the Emir of Palatia, was already afraid of an attack by Suleyman with 'a strong armada of galleys'<sup>120</sup>. In October 1403 González de Clavijo claimed to have seen up to 40 galleys at Gallipoli<sup>121</sup>, and in 1407 six galleys and fourteen *ligne* and galliots were reported to be leaving Gallipoli to attack Altoluogo and Palatia<sup>122</sup>.

The Hospitallers were certainly concerned about Timur's movements. As early as September 1402 Fr. Domenico de Alamania had sailed to Chios, reportedly to prevent the Genoese there allying with Timur; two Hospitaller galleys were sent to Samos, to which a number of Turkish families from the region of Palatia and Altoluogo had earlier fled from Timur with seven ships [13]. These Turks claimed that they had burnt the vessels which Timur had prepared at Altoluogo in order that none would be available to him; they themselves wanted to ally with the Venetians. Alamania was intending to persuade the Turks on Samos not to reach any agreement with Timur so as to prevent him securing their ships. By 25 March 1403 news of these events had reached Venice by way of Crete<sup>123</sup>.

On 5 March 1403 at Valencia Martin of Aragon had news from Constantinople, Rhodes and elsewhere of Timur's destructions and of a continuing threat to the Christian East; he was partly misinformed since he wrote of damage to various Hospitaller towns and mentioned dangers from Timur at sea<sup>124</sup>. In April 1403 the Hospitallers had three *noncii*, possibly Greek or Turkish agents, who were following Timur who was by then leaving Anatolia with his army, and were reporting to Rhodes on his movements. The Hospital renewed with Elyas, the new Emir of Mentеше, the commercial treaty it had made with that emirate in 1390 or 1391, and by April 1403 merchants from Palatia were trading in Rhodes, especially in foodstuffs, while merchants from Rhodes were active on the mainland. It was also reported that Elyas was expecting Suleyman to attack him with a powerful fleet of galleys with which he intended to subjugate

119. Boucicaut, *Livre*, 137.

120. *Infra*, 160.

121. González de Clavijo, 33.

122. Venice, Misti, xlvii, f. 138v.

123. Iorga, Notes, IV, 267, giving *da viij fin .x.<sup>m</sup> massarie*; Thiriet, *Duca di Candia*, 36-37, giving *da VIII fin .X.<sup>m</sup> massarie*. Cf. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 81-82. 8,000 or more families would seem an unlikely figure; 80 families seems more probable; 800 might be possible.

124. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, 695.

Elyas' lands; Elyas was guarding Palatia with seven armed vessels and many men<sup>125</sup>. In September 1403 Ruy González de Clavijo reached Kos where there was a Hospitaller garrison; he found that the Hospital's island of Kalymnos was populated and produced much grain, while in that year the Order's island of Leros had suffered attacks by Turks from Palatia who had seized many animals and the men who harvested the wheat there<sup>126</sup>; in all probability these were small piratical raids. After the treaty between Suleyman and the Christian powers the Ottoman threat in the Balkans was greatly reduced, and in September 1403 the Hospitallers once again appointed representatives to return the despotate; after selling their claims in the Morea back to Theodore, they finally evacuated the peninsula in 1404<sup>127</sup>.

### 7. *The Cypriot Diversion: 1403*

In mid-1403 the Hospitallers were negotiating with al-Nasir Faraj, the Mamluk sultan of Egypt and Syria, for the renewal of a treaty made in 1370 which would give them rights to maintain consuls in Mamluk ports and to control the extremely lucrative pilgrim traffic to Syria [16]. In February 1401 this sultan had been heavily defeated by Timur who captured and pillaged Damascus, the main city of Syria; for this reason Faraj was initially willing to conclude a treaty with the Hospital. These policies were disrupted by Jean de Boucicaut who was determined to impose Genoese supremacy in Cyprus where King Janus was besieging the Genoese who were in control of Famagusta. Boucicaut was a distin-

125. *Infra*, 156-163. The Hospital reportedly had *splorati* in Egypt or Syria in 1399: *Le Croniche di Giovanni Sercambi Lucchesi*, ed. S. Bongi, II, Lucca 1892, 345-347, dated in R. Lerner, *Refreshment of the Saints: the Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought*, *Traditio*, 32 (1976), 139.

126. González de Clavijo, 22-24, with the reading *Viejo*, but London, Add. Ms. 16.613, f. 11, gives *Lejo*, presumably Leros. González de Clavijo, 23, reported 100 *fraires* on Kos, but that figure presumably included mercenaries. In 1391 the Commander of Kos was supposed to maintain 15 *milites*, two chaplains, six sergeants *armorum* and two sergeants *de officij*, all Hospitaller brethren, and their servants, and an unspecified number of Hospitaller donats, together with 10 Latin men-at-arms born in the East, 100 secular *turcopoli* and *sergentes* who were Levantine mercenaries, and a ship of 20 benches of rowers: Malta, 325, f. 186-187 [180-181].

127. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 23-24, 208-211; *infra* [9, 17-18].

guished and bellicose French noble who was Marshal of France, had been captured at Nikopolis, had been imprisoned in Anatolia, had been liberated with Hospitaller assistance and had then defended Constantinople against the Turks in the Bosphoros; in 1401 he was appointed governor of Genoa. His naval preparations for an expedition to Cyprus aroused the suspicions of the Venetians who kept his fleet under close surveillance; their admiral, Carlo Zeno, discovered Boucicaut's plans and conveyed them to the Venetian consul at Alexandria; the Venetians also forewarned the Mamluks of Boucicaut's attack on Beirut<sup>128</sup>.

Cyprus functioned as a forward base in any project to recover Jerusalem, and Boucicaut was imbued with a rash instinct to attack the domains of infidel Turks and Mamluks. Early in June 1403 the French marshal and his Genoese forces reached Rhodes where the Master Naillac had to dissuade him from an assault on Cyprus. On about 12 June Naillac himself set sail for Cyprus where he negotiated and financed a settlement with King Janus which was concluded on 7 July thus avoiding a full-scale war between the Genoese and the king; with Naillac were Fr. Walter Grendon, Prior of England, Fr. Raymond de Lescure, Prior of Toulouse, Fr. Pierre de Bauffremont, who held the office of Hospitaller, and others. Boucicaut, after consulting the Hospitallers, left Rhodes late in June and attacked Alaya in Southern Anatolia on 29 June, burning and sacking parts of the town. The local emir, who was five days' march away fighting against his own brother, returned to Alaya and begged for peace, promising to be faithful to the Genoese and to aid Boucicaut against the King of Cyprus; Boucicaut agreed<sup>129</sup>. Following Timur's victory this southern region was largely controlled by two Karamanoglus, Mehemed and Ali, who extended their influence along the coast as far as the Mamluk frontier in Cilicia at the expense of various petty dynasties, one of them that of Teke. The local ruler who submitted to Boucicaut may have been the Emir of Teke, whose family had formerly ruled Alaya<sup>130</sup>. Some

128. Setton, *Papacy*, I, 382-387; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 217-221.

129. Boucicaut, *Livre*, 217-229; Setton, *Papacy*, I, 385-386; Lalande, *Jean II*, 107-110; González de Clavijo, 20, and Morosini, III, 16, reported that Boucicaut suffered considerable losses at Alaya. Amend Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 7-10, wrongly giving Alexandria for Alaya (Alanya).

130. Less probably the ruler may have been Savji of Karaman or his son named Karaman who were members of the Karamanoglu dynasty: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 112-114.

twenty years later the sometimes inaccurate Cretan author Emmanuele Piloti, who had spent many years in Egypt, wrote that Boucicaut had, before leaving Rhodes for Alaya, agreed to hand the town over to the Hospital for 40,000 ducats<sup>131</sup>. Given the Hospitallers' recent loss of Smyrna and their attempts to replace it, for example with Tenedos in 1405<sup>132</sup> and with Bodrum in about 1407 [23], they may have considered purchasing Alaya in 1403.

Boucicaut next sailed to Pendayia on the north coast of Cyprus where he met Naillac. There he planned a naval assault on Alexandria which was foiled by extremely bad weather. Instead he sailed from Rhodes and during August 1403 he pillaged the Mamluks' Syrian coastal towns of Tripoli, Botrun, Beirut, Sidon and Lattakia. Naillac, Lescure and Bauffremont with two Hospitaller galleys and a *huissier* or transport vessel took part in the campaign during which the Hospitallers seized Venetian property at Beirut and elsewhere, an assault which led to a protracted dispute which was further aggravated when a Hospitaller galley fought with Boucicaut against the Venetians in a major battle off Modon in October 1403<sup>133</sup>. The Marshal's attitudes to the infidel could be ambivalent. Thus in 1388 he had stayed for three months with Murad I and had offered to fight for him against his infidel enemies, and in 1403 when Boucicaut made a pact with the Emir of Alaya and the emir then offered to assist Boucicaut against the King of Cyprus, Boucicaut was reported to have been attracted by the idea of using Alaya, which was under Turkish control, as a base from which to attack Cyprus<sup>134</sup>. In 1407, with the support of Fr. Raymond de Lescure, Boucicaut sent a Hospitaller as an envoy to the Cypriot king with a further proposal for an assault on Alexandria [21]. In 1409 a Genoese declaration even accused Boucicaut of intending to usurp the crown of Cyprus<sup>135</sup>. Though the shrewd observer

131. Piloti, 193-194, assuming here that Piloti meant Alaya when he wrote *Sattalie* (Antalya); cf. Coulon, *Du nouveau sur Emmanuele Piloti*; Piloti's work survives only in translation.

132. Sathas, *Documents*, I, no. 11.

133. Boucicaut, *Livre*, 218-267; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 293-301; Surdich, *Genova*, 49-72; Setton, *Papacy*, I, 382-390; Lalande, *Jean II*, 107-117. Morosini, III, 14-18, reported that two or more Hospitaller galleys took part in Boucicaut's campaign and that most of the horses and many men on the ships off Alexandria died. González de Clavijo, 19-21, reported from Rhodes, where he was at the time, that the Hospital had *ciertas galeas* and that the horses off Alexandria died from lack of water.

134. Boucicaut, *Livre*, 61-62, 226-229.

135. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, III, 345.



Emmanuele Piloti judged that Boucicaut and the Hospitallers could, if given the advantage of surprise, quite easily have taken Alexandria in 1403<sup>136</sup>. Boucicaut's projects had no sensible long-term strategic aim; they diverted considerable Latin naval power from the Aegean at the very moment in 1403 when it could have been applied decisively against the fractured and seriously weakened Ottoman regime; they expended the Hospital's resources on ineffectual razzias on the Southern Anatolian and Syrian coasts; they enfeebled the Cypriot kingdom<sup>137</sup>; and they provoked the great battle between the Venetians and Genoese off Modon.

Boucicaut's schemes also sabotaged the Hospital's treaty with the Mamluk sultan. In about 1403 Rhodian galleys captured a *grande chocha* from the Mamluks at Damietta in Egypt, and in about April 1403 Mamluk envoys at Rhodes, possibly influenced by threats of an attack by Timur, agreed a peace by which they would recover their ship with its goods and prisoners while the Hospital was to have rights to rebuild churches in Jerusalem and elsewhere, to control the pilgrim traffic in Syria, and so forth. Inhabitants of Rhodes were to pay a four per cent tax on their trade with Mamluks to raise the value of the goods seized from the *chocha*. The treaty was not ratified by the sultan, possibly because of the Hospitallers' participation in Boucicaut's attacks on Syrian ports and conceivably because the news that Timur was returning to Samarkand encouraged the Mamluk government to feel that it no longer needed a Rhodian alliance<sup>138</sup>. On 9 August 1404 the Master had to request the European merchants and consuls at Alexandria to lend 6000 ducats for the ransom of his envoy Fr. Raymond de Lescure and his followers who had been sent to secure ratification of the treaty but had been detained as prisoners<sup>139</sup>. Lescure was taken to Cairo and reportedly had to pay a ransom of 25,000 ducats<sup>140</sup>; he was free by 17 December 1404<sup>141</sup>. A consul for Rhodian merchants at Alexandria was named in 1381 and others foll-

136. Piloti, 201.

137. Cf. N. Housley, Cyprus and the Crusades, 1271-1571, in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, eds. N. Coureas – J. Riley-Smith, Nicosia 1995, 199-200; N. Housley, Emmanuele Piloti and Crusading in the Latin East, in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchart et al., Aldershot 2007, 139-150.

138. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 195 n. 25, 200-207; *infra*, 158.

139. Malta, 333, f. 120v [120v].

140. According to Boucicaut, *Livre*, 359; the figure seems exaggerated.

141. Malta, 333, f. 121 [121].

owed<sup>142</sup>. Between 1397 and 1414 a group of Rhodian or other Greek merchants based at Rhodes was trading extensively between Dubrovnik, Constantinople, Rhodes, Beirut and Alexandria<sup>143</sup>. With the exception of Gostancius Cardami in 1409 [38], these merchants at Dubrovnik were not recorded at Rhodes and they may have moved their base there from Constantinople or elsewhere while maintaining a wide range of activities; they were especially likely to have done so during the Ottoman blockade of Constantinople between 1394 and 1402.

### 8. *The Hospitaller Occupation of Galaxidi: 1402-1404*

On the Greek mainland, the Hospital was eventually frustrated in the despotate, as it had been earlier in Epiros and in the Principality of Achaia, but it very briefly found, probably late in 1402 or early 1403, a new objective in the lands to the north of the Gulf of Corinth at Salona which was the ancient Amphissa, at Lidoriki to the west of Salona, at Galaxidi the natural port of Salona, and in neighbouring Vitrintiza<sup>144</sup>. Salona, and apparently its harbour Galaxidi, were territories which passed under Latin rule after the Fourth Crusade and eventually formed part of the Catalan Duchy of Athens. Early in 1394 Bayezid took the County of Salona and placed in his harem Helena Kantakouzena, the widow of its late count Luis Fadrique de Aragón who had died in 1382, and her daughter Maria Fadrique; by 1395 both were dead<sup>145</sup>. These events took place in an atmosphere of hostility to the Latins on the part of the Greek clergy and populace. In fact, at this time one Greek metro-

142. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 196 n. 27; on Rhodian traders and consuls at Alexandria and Beirut from 1400 onwards, Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 234-235, 365, 536, 540-541; Verlinden, *Marchands*, 43-46, 67, 81-82; Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 234-235, wrongly assumes that the treaty of 1403 went into effect and that it was by virtue of that treaty that the Hospital appointed consuls at Alexandria.

143. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 480, 496, 506, 524, 537, 544-545, 547, 549, 553, 556-558, 564-578, 581, 583.

144. On these places, Setton, *Catalanes*, 25, 33-37, 51 n. 121, 52 n. 132, 72, 80-81; J. Koder - F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, Vienna 1976, 135-136, 160, 205, 254; Rosser, *Byzantine 'Isles of Refuge'*. Galaxidi was an important harbour in the nineteenth century but its earlier history is obscure.

145. Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XI 233, 250-251; Setton, *Catalanes*, 143, 162 n. 123; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 133 and n. 1; Martoni, 154; *infra* [17].

politian was accused of collaborating with the Ottomans against the Latins and of inviting Bayezid to make various conquests in the region of Athens and Zetounion<sup>146</sup>. Subsequently Salona was reportedly in the hands of an unknown Turk named Murad who aspired to independence there, but he was captured and killed by Bayezid. Probably following Bayezid's defeat near Ankara in July 1402, the Despot Theodore left Corinth, defeated the Turks and captured Salona, Lidoriki, Galaxidi and Vitrinizta; thereupon the Turkish Bey of Zetounion, most probably the general Evrenos, marched to attack him. Theodore retreated to Corinth and sold all four places to the Hospitallers<sup>147</sup>.

The Despot Theodore had escaped from Bayezid's camp in 1394 and Manuel II later declared that his exploit had saved the Morea, Thebes, Athens, Megara and other places from 'impending bondage', though he did not claim that Theodore had occupied Athens and Megara in or just after that same year<sup>148</sup>. In the spring of 1401 Pedro de San Superan, Prince of Achaia, invited certain Turks to raid the country<sup>149</sup>. Later, possibly in the winter of 1401/2 as Timur advanced into Anatolia, Bayezid offered Theodore peace on condition that the Hospitallers left the Morea<sup>150</sup>. Theodore, who must by then have felt less threatened by Bayezid, approached the Hospitallers who on 26 and 31 May 1402 authorized negotiations for the resale to Theodore of Corinth and the despotate<sup>151</sup>. It was probably Bayezid's defeat in July 1402 as well as the despot's lack of the necessary funds which delayed the repurchase of the despotate<sup>152</sup>. The comparative weakness of the Turks could have allowed Theodore to invade Salona after mid-1402 and before the treaty agreed between December 1402 and February 1403, to which Theodore was not a party; it was in that treaty that Suleyman confirmed the County of Salona to the Hospitallers stating that he gave it to them<sup>153</sup>. Despite Theodore's con-

146. Miklosich - Müller, *Acta*, II, 165-166; Predelli, *Commemoriali*, III, 238; Chalkondyles, I, 61-62; cf. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XXI 54.

147. According to Sathas, *Chronicle*, 212-213, but see *infra* [17]; at this time Corinth was held by the Hospitallers.

148. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 18, 152-153.

149. Sathas, *Documents*, II, nos 239, 241.

150. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 22, 206-207 and n.127.

151. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 257, 259.

152. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 23, 208-209 and n. 130.

153. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 80 item 29. Sathas, *Chronicle*, 213, stated that

quests and his subsequent sale of these lands to the Hospital, Suleyman must at that time still have considered himself as their ruler. Meanwhile Evrenos, who was in control of the area around Boudonitza, was displeased at the concessions Suleyman was making to the Christian powers. Early in 1403 Giacomo Zorzi, Marquis of Boudonitza, had occupied some land at Zetounion; Zorzi's Turkish neighbours had attacked him, and Evrenos, who was in command in the area of Zetounion, had decided to attack and destroy him but that attack was bought off<sup>154</sup>. Probably early in 1403 Antonio Acciaiuoli, Lord of Thebes and an Ottoman vassal, took Athens from the Venetians<sup>155</sup>, and later, on 7 June 1403, the Turks together with the men of Athens, Thebes and Megara attacked Corinth<sup>156</sup>. The defenders of Corinth must have been the Hospitallers who retained it until 1404 [17].

The Hospitallers held recognized claims to Salona and they may have been aware of threats from the Albanians who were vassals of the Turks and were established to the west of Corinth. In 1401 Franco Foscarei, the son-in-law of Muriki Bua Spata who was the Albanian lord of Lepanto, was negotiating with the Turks, presumably Ottomans based in Thessaly<sup>157</sup>. In April 1402 Muriki made an alliance with the Turks<sup>158</sup>. In August 1403 certain Turks who were raiding in the 'Gulf of Patras' were using Lepanto as a base, though in the same month Muriki was offering to marry his sister, with Lepanto as her dowry, to one of the sons of the late Assani Zaccaria whose family effectively controlled the Principality of Achaia<sup>159</sup>. A few months earlier the Hospitallers apparently went with three armed 'galliot' to Galadixi on the mainland and occupied the islands of Ayios Konstantinos and Ayios Demetrios which the inhabitants of Galaxidi 'gave' them; these inhabitants promised to rebel against the

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it was from Theodore that the Hospital purchased Salona: *infra* [35]. Amend Zakythinos, *Despotat*, I, 160-161, and Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 282, which state that Zetounion and Salona were conquered by Theodore with Hospitaller help; amend Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 57, which states that the Hospitallers conquered the two places with assistance from Theodore.

154. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 83-84.

155. Setton, *Catalanes*, 171, 191 n. 34.

156. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 345.

157. Sathas, *Documents*, II, no. 276.

158. ... *in concordio et fecit parentelam cum Turchis*: Sathas, *Documents*, I, no. 1.

159. Valentini, *Acta*, III, no. 1048.

Turks and take Salona and other places which, according to the chronicle, had been purchased from Theodore. The Hospitallers stayed on the islands for three months and, at their own expense, built a church dedicated to Saint John of 'Jerusalem' at Galaxidi, but they could not take any places on the mainland. They paid much money to the Greeks of Lidoriki who swore to pay the men of Vitrintiza and recruit the neighbouring villages to fight the Turks, but the men of Lidoriki then refused to do so on the grounds that they were not bound by an oath to serve 'Frankish *papades*' who were 'anti-Christ'<sup>160</sup>. Greek hostility to Latins frustrated the Hospitallers at Galaxidi as it had at Mistra and Corinth.

### 9. *The Hospitallers and Mainland Greece after 1403*

The death in 1402 of Pedro de San Superan, Prince of Achaia, was followed by succession disputes there, and early in 1403 the Hospital, by then free of its obligations at Smyrna, was tempted to renew its long-standing ambitions in the principality. It was reported by an authoritative source, the Cretan envoy Buonacorso Grimani who was at Rhodes on 20 April 1403, that a force of three ships, a *chocha*, an *uscerio* and a *galea*, had just left for Clarenza, capital of the principality, to subjugate and acquire the Morea 'and those parts', and to attack Theodore who was said at Rhodes in some way to have broken his agreements with the Hospital; various galleys were due to follow, while it was also rumoured that the Master's brother had been 'created' Prince of Achaia and was about to leave for Clarenza<sup>161</sup>. On 13 September 1403 there were reports at Venice of an imminent attack on the Morea by the Genoese and the Hospitallers *ad acquirendum et subjugandum sibi Amoream*<sup>162</sup>. That may have involved the three Hospitaller 'galliot', which could have been at Galaxidi from about May to August 1403, though Galaxidi was not actually in the

160. As recounted in Sathas, *Chronicle*, 214: *infra* [17].

161. *Infra*, 161-163. Though Naillac's eldest brother Guillaume was a distinguished figure known as 'le Preux Chevalier', the supposed new prince may have been Héliion de Naillac, who was at Nikopolis in 1396 and who accompanied Boucicaut to Cyprus and Alaya in June 1403: Boucicaut, *Livre*, 223, but saying it was Guillaume at Alaya; Delaville, *France*, I, 429, followed the *Livre*; cf. Delaville, *Hospitalliers*, 266-268, 356-357.

162. Sathas, *Documents*, I, no. 6.

Morea. The Master claimed that the Hospitaller galley which participated with Boucicaut at the battle with the Venetians off Modon in October 1403 was engaged at Boucicaut's command and also that it had been sent 'for certain necessities for the said Order in the regions of the Morea for the lands and places which the said Order held there'<sup>163</sup>.

The Hospitallers progressively abandoned mainland Greece. Late in 1403 or early in 1404 Theodore agreed with Fr. Elie de Fossat, the Grand Commander, and Fr. Johanni de Octone, that Fr. Domenico de Alamania would come to complete the handover of the lands which had been purchased and would in return receive hostages as well as the money owed. At Rhodes on 5 April 1404 Alamania was empowered to negotiate the retrocession of the despotate, of the Castellany of Corinth and of the County of Salona, the *comitatus de la Sole*, to which the Hospital had a claim [17]. On 5 May Alamania, at the time captain of the Hospital's galleys at Constantinople, agreed with Manuel II on the return of the Castellanies of Corinth and Kalavryta<sup>164</sup>. The Hospitallers then evacuated most of mainland Greece, Theodore's men occupying Corinth on 14 June<sup>165</sup>. On 14 August 1404 Fr. Nicolas Séguin was empowered to negotiate with Manuel II, his nephew John VII and their kinsman Jacopo Gattilusio of Lesbos either to secure possession of Salona and Zetounion or, alternatively, to accept 5000 ducats for them; Séguin's procuration did not mention Theodore, presumably because he had not been a party to the general treaty with Suleyman who had 'given' the Hospital his rights to Salona [18]. Though the Galaxidi Chronicle claimed that the Hospitallers had paid Theodore for Salona and Zetounion, apparently they never occupied any part of the county except briefly at Galadixi and evidently they did not consider Theodore to have any claim or influence there. Late in 1403 or early in 1404 Byzantine influence may have been extended into the coastlands opposite Negroponte and perhaps to Zetounion and possibly further west to Salona<sup>166</sup>. In the autumn of 1403 John VII went

163. ... *pro aliquibus necessarijs pro dicta religione in partibus Amoree pro terris et locis que dicta religione tenebat ibidem*: Venice, Misti, xlvi, f. 159v.

164. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 269-271, 289.

165. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 23-24, 208-211; the date was not 4 June as in Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, I 309.

166. According to the treaty of late 1402 or early 1403, Suleyman granted the Venetians territory opposite the island of Negroponte up to five miles inland: Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 80; cf. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 280-281. Doukas, XVIII

southwards from Thessaloniki which Suleyman had surrendered, and by 4 April 1404 the Venetians were protesting that the Byzantines were occupying the lands opposite Negroponte, that is around Zetounion, granted to Venice by Suleyman<sup>167</sup>. More than a year later, on 28 November 1405, Fr. Peter Holt, the Turcopolier, was empowered to request Manuel II and the Despot Theodore to observe existing agreements about payments, evidently those involving the despotate, to the Hospital<sup>168</sup>. At the same time the Hospitallers were also seeking a thirty-year league against the Turks with Theodore and with Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leucadia [19]. Their general objective in November 1405 may still have been to oppose the Turks to the north of the Gulf of Corinth, in the Adriatic and perhaps in the Aegean as well; in particular they may have looked to Carlo Tocco and Theodore for support for claims they still had in the County of Salona.

After the loss of Smyrna at the end of 1402, the Hospital was concerned with developments in the coastal regions of Anatolia and, more generally, with continued proposals for Christian alliances in the wider Aegean area; projects for interventions in mainland Greece were occasionally revived but they were scarcely realistic. Following the proposals of November 1405, a similar league was being proposed to the Emperor Manuel and his family in December 1406 [20], while in November 1408 an envoy from Rhodes was empowered to conclude a league with Centurione Zaccaria, Prince of Achaia, possibly in the hope of exploiting his difficulties with the Turks in order to relaunch the Hospital's claims in mainland Greece; the envoy was even given powers to acquire or lease the principality [24-25]. There was no indication that the initiative of 1408 came from Centurione; the Hospitallers possibly knew that Centurione had difficulties in resisting Suleyman and in paying him the tributes which Centurione owed for the principality<sup>169</sup>.

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1. wrote that Suleyman had, following the battle near Ankara, promised Manuel II to surrender lands 'as far as Zetounion', but perhaps Doukas was referring to a different place near the river Strymon: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 279 n. 45.

167. Sathas, *Documents*, II, no. 340; cf. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 279 n. 45, 282.

168. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 277. Shortly after 28 November 1405 Fr. Peter Holt received monies from Theodore at Monemvasia; the text is obscure but Theodore seems to have paid 400 ducats to ransom Séguin from some unknown captor: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 279, 289 (p. 549).

169. Sathas, *Documents*, I, nos. 25-26.

Hospitaller interests in mainland Greece did not disappear entirely. On 25 October 1405 the Order owed 315 ducats to Fr. Aymon de *Monteaurum*, Commander of La Romagne and Mormans, on account of his rule in the castle of *Mayno*, which was probably the fortress at the southern end of the Mani promontory; that would indicate a considerable extent of Hospitaller occupation of the despotate<sup>170</sup>. On the following 6 November the Order owed Fr. Jean de *Commiers*, Commander of Espinas in the Priory of Toulouse, 38 gold francs and 5 gros for his services in the Morea<sup>171</sup>. On 24 June 1401 Fr. Martín d'Aynar was to leave Rhodes to rule his Commandery of the Duchy of Athens, the Negroponte and Karystos; in 1404 he was replaced as commander by Fr. Gil de Lihori, who years later on 7 October 1420 renounced the Commandery of Sykaminon and Negroponte but was confirmed as its commander on 12 March 1421<sup>172</sup>. On 10 October 1414 Fr. Foucaud de Rochechoart was granted the Commandery of the Morea, vacant following the inefficient rule of Fr. Aymon de *Monteaurum*, and was licensed to leave Rhodes to go and govern it<sup>173</sup>. The Hospital's commanderies in Greece had been active institutions which paid small sums as responsions to Rhodes during the fourteenth century<sup>174</sup> but thereafter they became titular appointments providing Hospitallers on Rhodes with seniority and a seat on the Order's Council<sup>175</sup>. How far they functioned as commanderies in the two troubled decades of Turkish incursions after 1396 is uncertain. The Order possibly retained some possessions in the Latin parts of the Morea after its evacuation of Corinth and the Despotate in 1404. Sykaminon, to the north of Athens, had a Hospitaller commander in residence in 1395 [33]. The Venetians of Negroponte wanted Sykaminon and its castle in 1403, which probably meant that they were no longer in Hospitaller hands<sup>176</sup>, and after 1405 the castle there was under the control of Antonio Acciaiuoli, Duke of

170. Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 276; Bon, *Morée*, I, 502-504, discusses various castles named Mayna. Fr. Aymon de *Monteaurum* alias Oyselás was Commander of the Morea in May 1403; Malta, 336, f. 105-106 [105-106]. *Monteaurum* may have been *Mont-d'or* or *Montdoré*.

171. Malta, 333, f. 135v [135 v].

172. Malta, 331, f. 159v [159v]; 333, f. 48v [48v]; 345, f. 94-94v [93-93v], 96-96v [95-95v].

173. Malta, 339, f. 21v [21v], 185 [219].

174. Luttrell, *Studies*, XXI.

175. Bonneaud, *Catalogne*, 126, 133, 165-166; Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 671, 688-689.

176. Dennis, *Byzantium and the Franks*, VI 85.



Athens, who held it, in 1412 for example [33]; the castle was later granted to Antonio's cousin Francesco Acciaiuoli, whose wife Margarita was there in May 1421<sup>177</sup>. The Hospital may have retained possessions or claims at Karystos on Negroponte, but on 30 March 1402 the Venetians granted it to Michele Giustiniani and in 1408 it was held as a Venetian fief by Niccolò Zorzi<sup>178</sup>.

The possibility of Hospitaller intervention in mainland Greece arose once again in 1422. On Sultan Mehemmed's death in May 1421, his son Murad II reinvigorated Ottoman expansive pressures with the result that the Prince of Achaia, Centurione Zaccaria, and the Despot Theodore II, who had been fighting each other, were threatened with Venetian intervention which would impose peace on the conflicting parties<sup>179</sup>. The Despot Theodore, Centurione Zaccaria and the Archbishop of Patras, who was Centurione's brother Stefano Zaccaria, apparently sought some sort of aid from the Hospitallers who eventually, through a mission authorized on 10 May 1422, sought to evade any involvement there [52-54]<sup>180</sup>. On 26 August 1422 the Venetians advised Constantinople, which was under Ottoman siege, to seek Genoese and Hospitaller help<sup>181</sup>. On 8 October Pope Martin V wrote informing the emperor that he had requested the Hospitallers, among others, to assist him<sup>182</sup>. On 31 March 1423 the Venetians were ready to collaborate with Genoa, Rhodes and other powers<sup>183</sup>. On 8 June 1423 the Venetian senate agreed to discuss a proposal, which had been presented by an inhabitant of Rhodes acting as an intermediary, that Rhodes and its dependencies, which may have included Bodrum castle, should be given, without delay considering the situation of that

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177. [J. A.] Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté française de Morée*, II, Paris 1845, 292-296; cf. Setton, *Catalanes*, 180, 194 n. 77.

178. Sathas, *Documents*, II, 295, 445.

179. Setton, *Papacy*, II, 11-15.

180. Zakythinios, *Despotat*, I, 193, considers that the negotiations envisaged opposition to Turkish attacks, but the text did not say so. Setton, *Papacy*, II, 14, states that the archbishop was apparently trying to secure Hospitaller interest in the Morea; the original message had, however, come from the prince [52]. P. Topping, *The Morea, 1364-1460*, in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. Setton, III, Wisconsin 1975, 163, suggests that 'perhaps Stephen hoped that the papacy would allow him to alienate his ecclesiastical barony' to the Hospital.

181. Valentini, *Acta*, XI, no. 2619.

182. Setton, *Papacy*, II, 42.

183. Valentini, *Acta*, XI, no. 2708.

island, to Venice in exchange for the Negroponte or for some other possession of equal value which the Venetians held or might hope to acquire in the Morea. The senate made it clear that there was no question of Venice surrendering the Negroponte<sup>184</sup>.

#### 10. *The Hospital's Castle at Bodrum: 1407-1422*<sup>185</sup>

While the loss in 1402 of the sea castle at Smyrna had important strategic implications in the region, it also affected the Hospital's prestige and financial capacities in the West, since the castle was the only point at which the Order directly confronted the Turks on land and the Hospitallers repeatedly proclaimed that they were expending men and money there; Smyrna had been the one place where the Hospital could be seen by Western European rulers and their public continuously to be fulfilling its mission of holy war. After 1404 the Hospital's attempts to conduct some form of warfare on the Greek mainland amounted to little more than diplomatic proposals [19-20, 24-25]; a separate suggestion that the Order should at its own expense occupy and defend the island of Tenedos at the entrance to the Dardanelles was rejected by the Venetians on 21 September 1405.<sup>186</sup> The recovery of the castle at Smyrna or the acquisition of a new mainland bridgehead was evidently attractive to the Hospitallers.

Timur's army left Anatolia in the spring of 1403 and by that time the region of Aydin with its harbour city of Altoluogo had passed to Isa and Umuur, two members of the Aydinoglu family. They were opposed by Djunayd, a politically agile Turk with separatist tendencies who originated from the region of Smyrna, hence his family name Izmiroglu. Djunayd's father Ibrahim had been in the service of the Ottomans and in the 1390s had been Bayezid's *subaşı* or governor of Smyrna where he was

184. Iorga, *Notes*, V, 139.

185. Information on the castle's fortification and internal affairs is largely excluded here: some details in Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI, a study now requiring considerable revision; Luttrell, *Studies*, IX 165-167; *infra* [23, 26-28, 37], with much later material in Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 429-444. The name Bodrum was not used at that time and it was not realized that the site was that of ancient Halikarnassos; it was known as the Castle of Saint Peter or, occasionally, of Saint Peter and Saint Paul [26].

186. Sathas, *Documents*, I, no. 11.

known as *karasubaşı*<sup>187</sup>. Djunayd was possibly one of the sons of the *subaşı* captured by the Hospitallers in 1394. For two decades following 1402 the region was repeatedly disrupted, with Djunayd siding with one or another Ottoman prince while his main objective, to rule over the region of Smyrna, never changed. Umur and Isa were soon expelled by Djunayd who governed Aydin in the name of the Ottoman prince Suleyman; by March 1404 Suleyman was back in Anatolia seeking to impose his rule there but he then returned to Europe. Presumably seeking to re-establish their position in Suleyman's absence, Umur and Isa reappeared and recaptured part of their possessions. Then in the spring of 1405 they again lost control of these places to Djunayd who killed Isa, whereupon Umur appealed for help to his uncle Elyas, Emir of Mentеше. Elyas recaptured Altoluogo, but not Smyrna, from Djunayd in the autumn of 1405. Djunayd in turn sought assistance from Suleyman who late in the summer of 1405 had again left Rumili for Anatolia in order to extend his domination there by attacking his brother and rival Mehemmed<sup>188</sup>. By 23 July news had in fact reached Milos on 'the galley from Rhodes' that Suleyman was intending to leave Greece to attack Mehemmed in Aydin<sup>189</sup>; possibly with Suleyman's support, Djunayd recaptured Altoluogo during the winter of 1405<sup>190</sup>.

Despite the peace treaty of December 1402 or early 1403 Suleyman's departure from Europe may have encouraged the Christians to organize a league against the 'infidels', presumably Suleyman in particular. In November 1405 the Hospitallers were prepared to negotiate with the Byzantines at Constantinople, with the Despot of the Morea and with Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leucadia [19]; they may also have hoped to secure Greek territories bordering those of their various prospective allies. In the Gulf of Corinth Carlo Tocco was in conflict with the Albanian lords of the region and especially with Paolo Spata, the ruler of Lepanto, who had lost

187. *Supra*, 43. Doukas, XVIII 5, said that Djunayd was 'the son of *karasubaşı*', Bayezid's governor of Smyrna. A coin of Djunayd described him as a son of Ibrahim: Artuk - Artuk, *Istanbul Kataloğu*, I, 436.

188. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 83-86, 116; Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 291; much of this depends on Doukas, XVIII 5-11.

189. Thiriet, *Duca di Candia*, 187-190; the manuscript has extensive lacunae and is not fully comprehensible; Zachariadou, *Trade*, 86, and Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 119, interpret it somewhat differently.

190. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 86.

many of his possessions by 1406 when he appealed to the Ottomans for help, but prospects for any Hospitaller intervention in the Gulf of Corinth would have become slender after the Venetians occupied Lepanto in June 1407<sup>191</sup>. The Hospital's proposals of November 1405, renewed in 1406, for a league against 'all infidels' [19-20] were probably provoked by Suleyman's return to Anatolia where he remained until 1410.

The Hospitallers reached an understanding with Mehemmed who went to Smyrna, presumably in 1406. According to the contemporary chronicler Doukas, who was possibly in or near Altoluogo at the time, Mehemmed surrounded the city of Smyrna and found that the Master of the Hospital, whom Doukas did not name but who was Fr. Philibert de Naillac, was there with three galleys and was, contrary to Djunayd's wishes, rebuilding part of the castle by the sea which Timur had destroyed in 1402. Presumably Djunayd was established in the main city a little way inland and was unable to control the sea castle which the Master Naillac was partly constructing under the protection of his galleys. Mehemmed secured the surrender of Smyrna, evidently of the main city, in ten days and dismantled its defences. Doukas wrote that the Master had half completed an enormous new tower at the harbour mouth, but that Mehemmed had it razed; the Master at once protested that the castle had been built at the Order's expense and threatened that unless Mehemmed allowed its reconstruction 'there would be resentment between Mehemmed's dominion and the most blessed pope; a great force would be despatched from the nations of the West which would destroy his realm'. Mehemmed replied that the destruction of Christian Smyrna was Timur's one good deed, since the castle had allowed the slaves of Ionia to escape to the Hospitallers who were implacable enemies of the Turks on land and sea. However, he agreed that, without annoying the other Turks, he would offer the Hospital some land for a fortress on the borders of Lycia and Karia. The Master asked instead for a site within Mehemmed's domains; Mehemmed maintained that the site was within his domains, since it was he who had awarded the province to Menteshoglu and that he could therefore claim jurisdiction over it. The Master requested and received a written decree and the Hospitallers then built the castle at Bodrum opposite Kos.

The new castle was an annoyance to the local Turks. Although he was

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191. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 291-293.

a vassal of Mehemmed, Elyas Emir of Menteshe, in whose lands Bodrum stood, went there with a large army but he 'accomplished nothing', perhaps because the Master showed him Mehemmed's document. Doukas wrote that, in the same year as Mehemmed's grant which was apparently made in 1406, the Master went with three biremes or galleys and with several other ships and building materials to construct the castle. When it was completed he returned to Rhodes leaving instructions that prisoners escaping to the castle be considered as free and be issued with a written certificate of emancipation<sup>192</sup>. Doukas wrote that the Master named the castle *Petronion* after Saint Peter, that he built walls and towers, and that he established a garrison of Hospitaller brethren who were to follow their Order's laws and customs<sup>193</sup>. Doukas may have heard of something like the *comestabilius* and *omotidi* or senior members of the garrison who by 1450 at the latest had their own regulations and *consuetudines*<sup>194</sup>. The castle's dedication may have repeated that of Smyrna which had technically been a papal possession and whose walls carried shields, datable between 1381 and 1402, bearing the papal keys of Saint Peter<sup>195</sup>.

The castle may have been begun in 1406 but seems largely to have been built during 1407 [23]. On 30 July 1409 the newly-elected pope, Alexander V, granted an indulgence to finance the castle at Bodrum which his privilege said had been built 'two years ago'; that would have been in 1407. From July to September 1409 Naillac was himself at Pisa with the new pope, and the date was probably correct. There seems initially to have been some opposition from Elyas of Menteshe; the Hosp-

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192. Doukas, XXI 4-5, XXII 1. Doukas knew the area well and his information, reported speech evidently apart, is often demonstrably accurate, but his chronology is unreliable and his dating for the events at Smyrna is confusing; Zachariadou, *Trade*, 85-86; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 144-147, 159 n. 29. Doukas' confusion was not inexplicable, since Mehemmed did seek Hospitaller assistance, which the Order sought to evade, in 1415 [48]. Many authors have placed these events in about 1414. Doukas stated that the Latin rulers of Old and New Phocaea, Lesbos and Chios, and the Turkish emirs of Germiyan and Menteshe, together with the Master, went to greet Mehemmed and assist him against Djunayd whom they considered 'a sly and rapacious tyrant', and that they gave Mehemmed their support and then left; these details may perhaps be placed in 1415 rather than in 1406 [49].

193. Doukas, XXII 1.

194. Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*, 10, and no. 223; Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 434-439.

195. F. Hasluck, Heraldry of the Rhodian Knights formerly in Smyrna Castle, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 15 (1910-1911), 147-150 figs. 2-3.

itallers claimed, probably with considerable exaggeration, to have lost much blood and much money at Bodrum, *in acie Teucrorum* according to their standard phrase. The castle scarcely troubled the Turks on land but it did serve as a naval base, it did allow slaves and captives to escape to a Latin refuge and it did facilitate the export of provisions from the mainland to Rhodes. Its propaganda and fund-raising value in the West was considerable; it was expensive to build and to maintain, and in 1409 its captain was being instructed to avoid skirmishing with the Turks and to avoid provoking them into military action; Bodrum was, however, used as a base for attacks on Turkish and even Latin shipping<sup>196</sup>.

### 11. *The Hospital, the Anatolian Emirates and the Ottomans: 1407-1422*

The construction of Bodrum castle, though important to the Hospitallers, had little effect on the general balance of Aegean power. In the territories of the former Emirate of Aydin and, especially, in Smyrna Djunayd repeatedly sought opportunities to establish his own rule. Meanwhile the conflict between Suleyman and Mehemed for control of the Ottoman state continued. Some time before June 1407 Suleyman, having defeated his brother Mehemed apparently somewhere near Smyrna, sought to regain full control of Aydin from Djunayd, who had allied himself with the Emirs of Germiyan and Karaman and perhaps also with Elyas of Mentеше<sup>197</sup>. These emirs had before 1402 been subjugated or exiled by Bayezid I and they naturally resisted any re-establishment of Ottoman power in their region. In June 1407 the Venetians of Crete renewed their treaty with Elyas Mentешеoglu<sup>198</sup> but by 2 September news, perhaps only a rumour, had reached Venice that Suleyman's fleet of twenty vessels had left Gallipoli intending both to attack Altoluogo and Palatia, and also to build a walled fortress at Smyrna<sup>199</sup>. Whatever ensued, Djunayd was soon compelled by Suleyman to accept his overlordship<sup>200</sup>.

196. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 144-147, 150; *infra* [23, 26-28, 32-37].

197. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 86-87.

198. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 234-237.

199. ... *pro acquirendo loca de Altoloco et Palathia, et etiam debent ire ad Smirnas, ubi Zalapinus dominus turchorum vult facere fabricari quoddam fortilicium de muro:* Venice, Misti, xlvi, f. 138v.

200. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 87.

In January 1409 the Byzantines were aware that two Ottoman princes with a claim to the throne were preparing for war against each other<sup>201</sup>. Mehmed confronted Suleyman and alongside Mehmed was their younger brother Musa whom Mehmed probably sent to govern Rumili, presumably as his vassal. With the support of Mircea Voyvoda of Wallachia, Musa crossed the Danube to invade Ottoman lands, and was enabled, apparently by Suleyman's long absence in Anatolia from 1405 onwards<sup>202</sup>, to establish himself at Adrianople in the spring of 1410. The Christian powers mobilized to take advantage of the imminent dynastic war, especially as Musa was not bound by the peace treaty concluded by Suleyman after Bayezid's defeat in 1402 and the traditional Ottoman policy of raids against neighbouring Christian territories had been resumed<sup>203</sup>. By 7 February 1409 Sigismund of Hungary had invited the Venetians to join a league he was forming to oppose the Turks, who were preparing a large army to invade Hungary; he wanted the Venetians to prevent the Turks of Anatolia crossing to join the forces of Rumili<sup>204</sup>. In March 1409 the Venetians were considering an alliance with Mehmed against Suleyman but instead in about June they made a new treaty with Suleyman<sup>205</sup>. A proposal which the Hospital made to Manuel II in April 1409 [25] conceivably envisaged a league designed to exploit Suleyman's coming conflict with his brother Musa, of which the Hospitallers would have been aware. War among the Ottomans was renewed late in 1409. Some time before 10 January 1410 Manuel II sent proposals to Venice for an anti-Turkish naval league which was intended to include other Christian powers and to profit from renewed Ottoman dynastic strife; since Venice had allied with Suleyman, it was presumably to be directed against Mehmed and Musa who was his representative in Rumili<sup>206</sup>. Anxious about Musa's activities, Suleyman was obliged to return to Rumili<sup>207</sup>. At certain unknown dates before October 1410, when the relevant expenses were accounted for, the Hospitallers sent embassies to Manuel II, to the Emir of Karaman who was probably Mehmed son of

201. Chortasmenos, 219; cf. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 135 n.1.

202. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 291 and n. 102.

203. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 140-144.

204. Ljubić, *Monumenta*, V, 160.

205. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 294.

206. Valentini, *Acta*, VI, no. 1504; cf. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 145.

207. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 146-147.

Emir Alaeddin, and to Suleyman at a time when he was *in partibus Turquie* [29]; this third embassy obviously took place before mid-June, by which time Suleyman had crossed from Turkey to Rumili. Conceivably, the Hospitallers were worried by developments in Mentеше and Aydin and so turned, perhaps at different moments, both to Karaman and to Suleyman for some kind of support.

When Suleyman returned to Europe, Mehmed became the master of Ottoman Anatolia, including the territory of Aydin<sup>208</sup>. There was apparently some turmoil in the coastal emirates, because in July 1410 the government in Venice was prepared to send a fleet either to compel the Turks of Aydin and Mentеше to make peace or to destroy them; it was suggested that a Rhodian galley should take part but the whole proposal was rejected<sup>209</sup>. The Emir of Mentеше was still Elyas; the region of Aydin was being ruled by a lieutenant left there by Suleyman<sup>210</sup>. The Hospital may have wanted once again to activate an anti-Turkish league with Manuel II. Late in May 1410 Manuel II refused to help Suleyman cross to Europe to attack his brother Musa, yet in mid-June the emperor changed his policy and renewed the alliance with Suleyman which allowed him to cross to Europe and fight against Musa<sup>211</sup>. After a series of military operations Suleyman was defeated by Musa and finally on 17 February 1411 he lost his life. His death did not bring an end to the Ottomans' dynastic wars because Musa began to rule over Suleyman's territories as an independent lord. For the following two years Musa and Mehmed struggled for control of the Ottoman state.

When Suleyman returned to Rumili in June 1410 he had removed Djunayd from Aydin by appointing him to the region of Ohrid<sup>212</sup>; he appointed a new governor of Aydin who at some point went over to Mehmed. Suleyman was killed in 1411 and when war began between Musa and Mehmed the opportunistic Djunayd saw a chance to return to Anatolia in a new attempt to establish his rule in Smyrna. First he established control there and then he went to Altoluogo, where he killed the governor originally appointed by Suleyman. Doukas claimed that

208. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 183-184.

209. Sathas, *Documents*, II, no. 506.

210. Doukas, XIX 14.

211. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 142-143, 145-147.

212. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 151 and n. 57.



soon after that 'Djunayd became lord of all Asia', by which he meant the whole region of Smyrna<sup>213</sup>. It was possibly then Djunayd struck a coin showing himself as ruler of Altoluogo but as recognizing Mehemmed as his overlord<sup>214</sup>. These events presumably occurred in the autumn of 1411 and it was apparently in the following winter that Mehemmed began to be worried by Djunayd's successes and subsequently took an army to Smyrna. Djunayd escaped, but Mehemmed was forced to cross over to Thrace to confront Musa there; Mehemmed, therefore, had to reach a compromise with Djunayd who submitted to him<sup>215</sup>. After various military operations, which lasted for more than a year and which involved the Byzantines and the Serbs, Mehemmed prevailed. Musa was killed on 5 July 1413 and the Ottomans were reunited under one sultan<sup>216</sup>.

During this last phase of the Ottoman interregnum Djunayd's opportunistic tactics created confusion in the coastal emirates. In about March 1412 the Hospitaller Prior of Toulouse attacked the Turks at Makri (Fethiye) in Southern Menteshe [30], while late in that year there were repeated piratical assaults at sea, with the Hospitallers from Bodrum attacking various Turks with whom the Hospital was supposedly at peace [33-36, 42]. Troubled times on land were matched by violence at sea, where the understanding between the parties was a curious one. In 1412 and 1414, for example, the Hospitallers were bound to peace with the Turks on land but not at sea where some kind of piracy against armed ships was evidently accepted [6, 33-34, 36, 42, 46, 48]. In January 1412 the Hospitallers were afraid that Elyas of Menteshe had an army near Bodrum and was intending to attack the castle, while they considered themselves at peace with the Turks of Altoluogo [34]; by that date

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213. Doukas, XIX 14: Asia was the classical Greek name for the region of Smyrna and the name survived in the ecclesiastical administration.

214. The coin cannot be dated: G. Miles, Note on Islamic Coins, in appendix to G. Hanfmann, The Fifth Campaign at Sardis: 1962, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 170 (1963), 33-35 and Fig. 23; H. Akın, *Aydınoğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, Ankara 1968, 123, is also aware that the coin has no date.

215. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 180, 183-184, 190, places Mehemmed's intervention in Aydin after the battle of Inceğiz fought between Musa and Mehemmed (autumn 1411); after this battle the defeated Mehemmed took refuge with the emperor in Constantinople. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 183, does not distinguish between the main upper citadel and the fortress by the sea destroyed by Timur; there is no need, therefore, to propose a confusion with Altoluogo.

216. Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 188-194.

Altoluogo may have been subject to Mehemmed, or more probably it had already been taken by Djunayd. The Order's position could be two-faced. On 8 January 1413 *dominus Georgius*, an envoy from Rhodes, was at Chios where he offered to attempt to secure the intercession of the pasha *Turchus*, presumably Mehemmed's vizir Bayezid, in the war between Chios and Djunayd<sup>217</sup>. Though Mehemmed's brother Musa was much occupied in Rumili early in 1413, in that February the Hospitallers were alarmed by credible news sent from Chios that Musa was preparing nine galleys and some 21 other vessels at Gallipoli and they sought help from Cyprus; they also wanted to renew the old league with Chios, Lesbos, Crete, Naxos and probably Pera, and they offered to provide two galleys for it [40-41]. Musa's target was not clear; perhaps he intended to attack, not the Latins, but Djunayd who was ruling independently at Smyrna; alternatively, he merely wanted to force Mehemmed to return to Anatolia. Once he had defeated Musa, Mehemmed's fleet threatened the Latins in the Aegean<sup>218</sup>. Djunayd remained in charge of Aydin; in August 1413 Djunayd, described as *dominus* of Smyrna, sent a Turk of Altoluogo as an envoy to Chios on financial business<sup>219</sup>.

Furthermore during 1413, while Mehemmed was confronting Musa in Europe, his major opponent in Anatolia, the Emir of Karaman, pillaged and burned the Ottomans' old capital, Bursa<sup>220</sup>. Mehemmed was unable to move against him, firstly because of his operations against Musa and later because, as a new sultan, he needed to establish diplomatic relations with his neighbouring states. He apparently concluded a treaty with Byzantium immediately after Musa's death<sup>221</sup> but an arrangement with Venice seemed not to be possible, since the Venetians wished to abolish the annual tribute they paid for their Albanian possessions and Mehemmed's negotiations with them continued until summer 1414<sup>222</sup>. In May 1414

217. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 169; Kate Fleet, Law and Trade in the Early Fifteenth-Century: The Case of Cagi Sati oğlu, *The Ottomans and Trade = OM*, 25/1 (2006), 190, identifies the pasha as Musa but it is highly unlikely that a Genoese document would have referred to a *çelebi*, that is an Ottoman prince, as 'pasha'.

218. Sathas, *Documents*, III, 624, 633, 639, 649, 672.

219. Fleet, *European and Islamic Trade*, 170; Doukas, XIX 14, placed Djunayd's return to Aydin before Mehemmed's return to Thrace, that is by July 1412.

220. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 75-76.

221. Barker, *Manuel II*, 228-229.

222. Valentini, *Acta*, VII, no. 1889.

the Master of the Hospital had heard at Bologna that the Turks were arming a fleet to attack certain unspecified Christians who lacked money and whose resistance was weak [46]. On 27 May 1414 the authorities at Chios wrote to Fr. Luce de Vallins, the Lieutenant at Rhodes, and also to Negroponte, Crete and Lesbos, that the Duke of Naxos and Pietro Zeno of Andros had recently been on Chios discussing a league against the Turks<sup>223</sup>. On 19 July 1414 the Venetian senate, having been informed that the Emirs of Palatia and Altoluogo, that is Elyas of Monteshe and Djunayd of Aydin, had requested Mehemmed to make peace, issued instructions that if Mehemmed agreed to that request he was to be asked to order the two emirs not to molest Venetians in port at Altoluogo or Palatia; the Venetians wanted peace, the end of piracy and the return of captives, otherwise they would pillage the coasts of the two emirates<sup>224</sup>. In the case of Monteshe, the Venetians succeeded, concluding a treaty with the Emir Elyas on 17 October 1414<sup>225</sup>. By August a league had been formed by the rulers of Venice, Chios, Lesbos, Rhodes and others, possibly including Constantinople, who all agreed to resist the Turks at sea outside the Dardanelles<sup>226</sup>.

Early in 1415 Sultan Mehemmed I was back in Anatolia retaliating against attacks by the Emir of Karaman. The sultan's successful siege of Konya apparently lasted from 13 March to 11 April<sup>227</sup>; possibly it was Mehemmed's vizier Bayezid rather than the sultan in person who led the army to Konya<sup>228</sup>. Karamanoglu begged for peace and Mehemmed was able to reimpose his overlordship upon the Turkish emirs of Western Anatolia. Meanwhile Djunayd was continuing to revive his separatist ambitions; he was ruling in Smyrna and throughout Aydin and was annexing further territories<sup>229</sup>. In or shortly before April 1415 Sultan Mehemmed sent an envoy to Rhodes requesting two galleys to assist against 'Djunayd of Altoluogo' and other Turkish enemies. The Hospitallers instructed their captain to reply evasively by saying that the galleys were

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223. Laura Balletto, *L'Isola di Andros in atti notarili genovesi redatti a Chio nel XV secolo*, *Ankyra, Deltio tes Kairiou Bibliothekes*, 2 (2004), 91-92, 97-100.

224. Iorga, *Notes*, IV, 534-536.

225. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 88, 238-239.

226. Valentini, *Acta*, VII, no. 1982.

227. H. Inalcik, 'Mehemmed I', *EI*, VI, 975.

228. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 78.

229. Doukas, XXI 2, 6, 10.

needed elsewhere and that their guard galley was near Chios; they suggested that Mehemmed's envoy could travel on a Hospitaller galliot and request the collaboration of the galleys from their captain, but the captain was to remember that while Chios was at peace with 'the Turks', presumably with Djunayd and others, on both land and sea, the Hospital was at peace with them only on land [48].

Mehemmed attacked Djunayd first in the plains of Menemen and Nif, and then at Smyrna. Djunayd escaped to Altoluogo and Mehemmed laid siege to Smyrna, which surrendered after ten days. Djunayd must have enjoyed considerable local support for, on the intercession of his mother, he was forgiven by Mehemmed who sent him to the region of Nikopolis in Rumili<sup>230</sup>. On 26 April 1415 the Hospitallers at Rhodes, aware of Mehemmed's power, sent news to the Master at Constance of what Fr. Giacomo de Alamania had achieved on a visit to Constantinople, and they reported that Mehemmed had subjugated all Turkey and Greece except for the Emirate of Mentеше. They suggested that since the Hospital was at peace with the Emir of Mentеше and with all other Oriental infidels, it would be a good moment to attack Syria and other places subject to the Mamluk sultan [49]. That somewhat curious proposal came to nothing. The Hospitallers must have kept themselves informed about events in Western Anatolia. They would have known that Mehemmed had apparently established control there by mid-April 1415<sup>231</sup>, and they were aware that Mentеше was at least semi independent; during the year 13 March 1415 - 1 March 1416 Elyas Mentешеoglu struck a coin recognizing Mehemmed's overlordship<sup>232</sup>.

230. Doukas, XXI 10; amend the dating of this event in Zachariadou, *Trade*, 88 n. 388.

231. Though document [49] is important for the chronology of the defeats of both Karaman and Djunayd, some doubt remains. The date of April 1415 for the surrender of Konya depends on only one of various conflicting Turkish sources; shortly before 28 June 1415 news reached Dubrovnik from Pera that Mehemmed was fighting *cum Carmiano* in the region of Bursa: J. Gelcich - L. Thallóczy, *Diplomatarium relationum Reipublicae Ragusanae cum regno Hungariae*, Budapest 1887, no. 167. A text of 1403 clearly distinguished *Carmiano* (Germiyan) and *Caramano* (Karaman): Alexandrescu-Dersca, *Campagne*, 138-140. After 1403 the Emir of Germiyan opposed the reestablishment of Ottoman control and supported Djunayd: Doukas, XVIII 9. Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 78, interprets *Carmiano* as Karaman, which he proposes was subjugated in the late summer and autumn.

232. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentеше, Studie zur Geschichte Westkleinasiens im 13.-15. Jh.*, Istanbul 1934, 161, but with the year A. H. 817 rather than 818.

On 5 March 1415 a galley from Rhodes reached Lesbos<sup>233</sup>. The Hospitallers had probably been negotiating at Constantinople, perhaps for a naval league designed to take advantage of the divisions among the Turks in order to curb Mehemmed's power, possibly hoping that the other Latin powers and the Byzantine emperor would organize an expedition to the region of Chios and Smyrna. By 31 August 1415 news had reached Venice of negotiations between Rhodes, Chios and Lesbos for an anti-Turkish league which Venice was not, however, ready to join; Rhodes, Chios and Lesbos had agreed to provide a galley each and the Venetian galleys were authorized to participate but were to serve only outside the Straits<sup>234</sup>. On 25 March 1416 the *Podestà* of Phocaea Giovanni Adorno reached Lesbos with some small ships and after six days he left for Rhodes, possibly in connection with the proposed league<sup>235</sup>. On 26 July 1416, far away in Paris, King Charles VI still spoke of a great fleet with which Mehemmed was ravaging the Aegean and which was expected to attack Rhodes or Bodrum<sup>236</sup>. He was unaware that in May 1416 the Venetians had destroyed the Ottoman fleet in the Straits off Gallipoli<sup>237</sup>.

When the Ottomans suffered this catastrophe, their sultan was fighting against another pretender, Mustafa, who it seems was also a son of Bayezid I. The new pretender was supported by the Wallachians and by the Byzantines who tried to revive internal strife among the Ottomans, and as early as February 1416 he invited the Venetians to join an alliance against Mehemmed. The Serbs as well as the Karamanoglus intended to participate in the alliance<sup>238</sup>. Djunayd saw another opportunity to secure control of Smyrna and he abandoned his post at Nikopolis to fight alongside Mustafa. A few months later Mehemmed was able to defeat the new pretender who, together with Djunayd, took refuge with the Byzantines in Thessaloniki<sup>239</sup>. In the following year the sultan changed his policy of peace. First he launched a large-scale attack on the territories

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233. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 223.

234. Sathas, *Documents*, III, nos. 671-672.

235. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, I, 223; II, 405; however, the *Podestà* of Phocaea was not Dorino Gattilusio but probably Giovanni Adorno *podestà* in New Phocaea circa 1414-1415: E. Basso, *Genova: un impero sul mare*, Cagliari 1994, 77 n. 187.

236. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147.

237. Manfroni, Gallipoli, 129-169.

238. Valentini, *Acta*, VIII, no. 2007.

239. Barker, *Manuel II*, 340-343.

of the Wallachian Voyvoda Mircea, who had supported Mustafa; then he raided the Venetian possessions in Albania and in June 1417 he captured the most important of them, the strategically valuable harbour of Avlona<sup>240</sup>.

Earlier, in January 1417, the Venetians had agreed to join a league, to which the Hospital would contribute one galley, to fight the Turks within the Straits and the Aegean if no peace were reached with the sultan, or only in the Aegean outside the Straits if a peace were concluded<sup>241</sup>. Nothing came of these proposals<sup>242</sup>. On 11 June 1418 the Venetians were claiming to the Byzantine emperor that they had never been responsible for Genoese, Hospitaller or other interventions in the Morea<sup>243</sup>. The Christian naval powers repeatedly made plans for naval collaboration yet their alliances provided only sporadic cooperation against the Turks, and the years which followed were comparatively peaceful in Anatolia, especially because the Ottoman fleet had been badly defeated in 1416 and because the troublemaker Djunayd had been taken by the Byzantines to Constantinople and detained in the monastery of Pammakaristos<sup>244</sup>.

Mehemmed died on 21 May 1421, whereupon the pretender Mustafa and the indefatigable Djunayd were released by the Byzantines to counter the new sultan, Murad II. On 20 January 1422 the two crossed from Rumeli to Anatolia where Djunayd secretly abandoned Mustafa and, aspiring yet again to control Smyrna, he reached Aydin and established his rule there<sup>245</sup>. In August 1419 the Venetians had been worried by certain Turkish ships 'armed in the region of Alaya and Antalya'<sup>246</sup>. On 10 May 1422 the Hospitallers wrote that Djunayd had taken Altoluogo and several large 'lordships' in Anatolia; that he bore ill will to the Hospital, to Chios and to Lesbos; and that he had armed many ships to threaten the Hospital's islands. The Hospital also faced a threat further south from two Turkish ships at Marmaris immediately opposite Rhodes, while five large galleys armed by Ottomans who controlled Antalya had taken a Venetian vessel and burnt the ship of a burgess of Rhodes [54].

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240. Zachariadou, *Studies* XIV, 681-682.

241. Valentini, *Acta*, VIII, no. 2055.

242. Details in Barker, *Manuel II*, 336-337.

243. Valentini, *Acta*, X, no. 2251.

244. Doukas, XXII 5; cf. Zachariadou, *Trade*, 84.

245. Doukas, XXV 10, XXVI 4; cf. Barker, *Manuel II*, 359 n. 106.

246. Iorga, *Notes*, IV, 610.

In 1423, two years after his accession, Murad II, having concluded treaties with his neighbouring states, became the undisputed master of the reunited Ottoman empire. Only Djunayd was resisting him in the territory of Aydin; in June 1424 that experienced conspirator proposed to the Venetians a new revolt against Murad with yet another Ottoman pretender<sup>247</sup>. The sultan despatched troops to Aydin to put an end to Djunayd's life. Djunayd retired to the impregnable fortress of Hypsile on the coast opposite Samos but eventually he had to surrender; he was killed together with all the males of his family, including infants. In 1425 Murad II went to Altoluogo where he received representatives of several Christian states, among them an envoy from Rhodes with whom he exchanged mutual protestations of peace<sup>248</sup>.

## 12. *Pirates and Corsairs: 1389-1422*

By 1306 when the Hospitallers invaded Rhodes, Greek and Latin piracy had long been endemic in the Aegean, the situation being exacerbated in the late-thirteenth century by the growing naval activity of the Turkish coastal emirs. Turkish fleets could not withstand Latin galleys in formal battle, but their raids could be extremely damaging<sup>249</sup>. Rhodes remained a pivotal point for maritime violence, partly because of its use as a base by Catalan and other corsairs from whom the Hospitallers were prepared to profit through the receipt of their booty, and partly because the Hospital licensed a Rhodian *corso* in which the Order's own brethren themselves participated. Much of this violence involved Latins attacking other Latins or Greeks. For example, in 1402 two Genoese galleys seized the goods of

247. Sathas, *Documents*, I, nos. 103-105, 109-111.

248. Doukas, XXIX 3. A treaty of 1451 mentioned an earlier treaty with Murad II: Miklosich - Müller, *Acta*, III, 286-287 (wrongly as of 1450), republished, with the original Italian translation, in Tsirpanlis, *Ρόδος*, 50-53. In about February 1439 a Hospitaller envoy was sent to confirm a previous truce (*concordiam et treguas stabilire et noviter confirmare*): Malta, 353, f. 193-194 [195-196]. In March 1428 expenses were owed to a Hospitaller *ratione ambaxiate quam fecit ... magno turchorum domino*: Malta, 347, f. 174 [186]. A largely commercial arrangement made with Murad was proclaimed on 20 July 1450: Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*, no. 207. Possibly the Hospitaller envoy of 1425 made a formal arrangement with Murad.

249. On Turkish fleets and pirates, Pryor, *Geography*, 165-175; Zachariadou, *Studies*, XVII 213-220. Latin piracy in Rhodian waters is not catalogued here.

Venetian merchants at Rhodes itself<sup>250</sup> and in 1403 Catalan galleys attacked a Genoese galliot there<sup>251</sup>. In November 1406 the Hospitallers complained that four *naves* and three galliots of the pirate named Petrus de Rende had, with the assent of the rulers of Lesbos and Chios, taken much booty from the Order<sup>252</sup>. The Catalans operated especially in Mamluk rather than Turkish waters; not only was Rhodes a chief base for Catalan pirates but from about 1416 the island's port was replacing Beirut and Alexandria as the major centre for Catalans trading with Syria and Egypt<sup>253</sup>. Rhodian merchants took Western cloth together with honey, nuts, figs, raisins and cheese to the Mamluks and brought back large quantities of spices<sup>254</sup>, while the Hospital appointed Rhodian consuls at Alexandria and Antalya<sup>255</sup>. It was the capture by the galleys of Rhodes in 1403 of a *grande chocha* from the Muslims of Damietta with its goods and Muslim passengers held in prison on Rhodes which led to the negotiation of a treaty which would have been highly advantageous to the Hospitallers and their subjects had the sultan not abandoned it, probably as a result of the attacks on Mamluk ports by Boucicaut and the Hospitallers<sup>256</sup>.

Trade with the Mamluks was repeatedly interrupted by acts of violence. In about 1411/1412 the Hospital had seized goods belonging to the sultan from the ship of a Rhodian burgess [32-33]. In 1416, for example, the Catalans attacked Alexandria, ravaged the Mamluk coasts, took four Egyptian vessels, killed 20 men and captured 60 youths, taking another ship and decapitating its crew; they then sailed to Rhodes where they sold their booty and destroyed one Venetian and two Genoese ships<sup>257</sup>. In 1419 the Catalan pirate Moncoffa took a Rhodian ship transporting Muslim merchandise at Beirut, and in 1421 another Catalan pirate, Guillem de

250. Predelli, *Commemoriali*, III, 290, 292.

251. *Infra*, 160.

252. Malta, 333, f. 128v [129v].

253. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 222-226; Coulon, *Barcelone*, 54-56, 193, 200-213; see also Piloti, 229-236; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XIII 385-390.

254. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 365; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XIII 385-390; Verlinden, *Marchands*, 67, 81-82.

255. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 235, 365, 536, 540; *infra* [16, 43-45].

256. *Infra*, 158.

257. Piloti, 232-236, with correction of the date in Coulon, Piloti, 163-166; see also A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay, 825-841/1422-1438*, Damascus 1961, 334-335, using Latin and Muslim sources.



Montagna, captured off Rhodes a French ship bound for Egypt<sup>258</sup>. In 1419 a Tunisian Jew at Damascus undertook to ransom eleven Muslim captives at Rhodes from the Catalan Berenger of Barcelona<sup>259</sup>. Earlier, in 1409, in a curious scandal which linked Syria with the Black Sea, a powerful Genoese captain, Gregorio Cigala, took aboard a group of some twelve Turks and other Muslims who were leaving Syria, but he then refused to let them land at Alaya; some disembarked at Kastellorizzo, but two 'sarraceni' merchants from Solghat in the Crimea, presumably Muslim Tatars, and their goods, together with the ambassador of their ruler Edigu, were taken to Rhodes where they were robbed, detained in the Hospital's prison and almost starved, allegedly for evading customs duties there. The Master's powerful procurator, Dragonetto Clavelli, took part of their goods with the Master's connivance. Cigala had a storehouse at Rhodes where he had influential connections, but other Genoese merchants there correctly foresaw reprisals in the Crimea while some Muslim merchants on Rhodes advanced money for the prisoners<sup>260</sup>.

The Hospital itself sometimes suffered when the distinction between unlicensed piracy and the legalized *corso* became blurred. In 1397 Sologro de Nigro of Genoa seized off Sardinia the *spinaça* of the Catalan Francesc Colomer which was bound for Rhodes carrying the Prior of France, Fr. Renaud de Giresme, and numerous Hospitallers and *familiars*, many of them youths or boys who were unfit for combat; it was also taking supplies of grain for Rhodes. Sologro de Nigro towed the ship to Sapienza off the south-west of the Morea and there Fr. Renaud de Giresme purchased the ship and the grain remaining for 600 ducats and sailed it to Rhodes where he returned the ship, without reimbursement for himself, to Francesc Colomer. Subsequently, since Sologro was a pirate though he pretended to be a corsair, more than 28 plaintiffs claimed damages from the Hospital on the grounds that French Hospitallers had been on board. King Martin of Aragon pursued the case against the Order's possessions within his kingdom, and in 1401 a Hospitaller vessel

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258. Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 226, 364-365.

259. Verlinden, *Marchands*, 42.

260. A. Ducellier, *Du Levant à Rhodes, Chio, Gallipoli et Palerme: Démêlés et connivences entre Chrétiens et Musulmans à bord d'un vaisseau génois (octobre-décembre 1408-avril 1411)*, in *Chemins d'Outre mer: Etudes sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, I, Paris 2004, 247-283; the introduction should be treated with much caution.

carrying Fr. Renaud de Giresme with a valuable cargo was seized at San Feliu de Guixols in Catalunya<sup>261</sup>.

Violence at sea resulted in many ambiguities. In 1390 the Hospitaller galleys carrying Manuel II on his return to Constantinople captured a Christian galliot from Chios<sup>262</sup>. There were frequent complications when the goods of a third party were seized, as for example when the Venetians protested in 1395 that the Hospitallers had acted illegally in the case of the Venetian Andrea Quirini who had been on the ship of Gabriele de Ciano, a Genoese inhabitant of Rhodes, which captured a Muslim vessel; Ciano had taken the Muslim vessel to Rhodes and allegedly seized Quirini's possessions<sup>263</sup>. In 1412 the Hospital's galliot from Bodrum took the goods of friendly Turks from two ships of Chios [33]. With the Turks there was sometimes war at sea but not on land or not in certain waters. In 1412, 1414 and 1415, for example, the Hospitallers were bound to maintain peace with the Turks on land but not at sea where piracy against armed ships was evidently accepted [33-36, 46, 48]. There were no impassable boundaries; thus in about 1420 Cristoforo Bondelmonti, who knew the area well, remarked that the inhabitants of the Order's island of Symi lived by carrying goods on their own ships to Rhodian and Turkish towns<sup>264</sup>. The construction of the Hospital's castle on the mainland at Bodrum in 1407 seems to have created a base from which, despite protests from headquarters at Rhodes, the Hospitallers and others indulged in piratical attacks on Latins such as those of Chios and Lesbos [33-34, 36-

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261. Emily Sohmer Tai, *Restitution and the Definition of a Pirate: The Case of Sologrus de Nigro*, *MHR*, 19/2 (2004), 34-70; with useful recent bibliography, but the grasp of Hospitaller affairs is weak; on Sologrus, that is Salagioso di Nero, who after the battle near Ankara entered the service of the Ottoman prince Suleyman: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XX 204 and n.14; K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz*, Weimar 1981, 49-50. Giresme was leaving Rhodes for the West specifically to fight this case on 1 September 1400: Malta, 330, f. 16v [16v]. The 'prior' named 'Gualterio Trassi' in the text (Sohmer Tai, 51-52) was presumably Fr. Gautier le Gras, Prior of the Convent of Rhodes. The document spoke of 300 Hospitallers and youths but that seems an unlikely figure. By April 1401 Martin had seized more than 10,000 florins from the Hospital but in June 1402, at the request of the Master and of the Duke of Burgundy, he suspended these reprisals: Malta, Cod. 331, f. 42-42v [42-42v], 158-158v [158-158v]; 332, f. 90 [90].

262. Balard, *Romanie*, I, 95.

263. Venice, Misti, xlili, f. 52v-53.

264. Bondelmonti, 74.

37], perhaps because the garrison's pay was often in arrears. The threat from Bodrum worried the Emir of Monteshe in whose territory the castle lay; he marched with some force to prevent the castle being built, but then he refrained from making any attack, either to avoid a clash with his overlord, the Ottoman Mehemmed who had permitted the castle's construction, or because he feared the Hospital's naval power<sup>265</sup>. The castle was used as a base for attacks on the Turks, in December 1409 for example [27], and the Montesheoglus continued to plan its destruction. The Hospitaller attack at Makri (Fethiye) in Southern Monteshe in spring 1412 may have been a response [30]. In 1412, while Mehemmed was fighting his brother Musa in Rumili, the Emir of Monteshe felt free to attack Bodrum [34].

On occasions Hospitaller brethren themselves acted piratically, even in the Western Mediterranean as in the case of Fr. Adhémar de Broutin alias Guillaume de Talabart in about 1392<sup>266</sup>. The Genoese Hospitaller Fr. Antonio Grimaldi, Commander of Genoa, sailed as captain of a Genoese fleet which went to intervene in Cyprus and attacked Venetian ships on 3 September 1402<sup>267</sup>. The Hospital had meanwhile evolved its own licensed *corso*<sup>268</sup>. Thus in April 1413 two Hospitallers, Fr. Jean de Pietris and Fr. Richard Pontailler, were licensed to arm their galliot in *corso* against the shipping of 'infidel enemies of the Order' and of the subjects of these infidels, presumably on land as well as at sea; they might retain the men and booty they took [42]. Yet by the following August Fr. Richard Pontailler had with his galliot unlawfully attacked the ship of Antonio Ruffin, a *burgensis* of Rhodes, in the waters off Cyprus<sup>269</sup>. The licence of 1413 specifically excluded any attack on ships of the monks of Mount Athos; although the monks were under the protection of the sultans, their monasteries were universally regarded as sacred. There was a long established practice of respect for such highly venerated institutions; for example, in 1308 Jaume II of Aragon had ordered the Catalan company in Thrace not to damage Mount Athos<sup>270</sup>. In 1415 the monks of Saint

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265. *Supra*, 71.

266. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VIII 181.

267. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 7-8.

268. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VIII; the evolution of the Hospitaller *corso* before 1413 is not documented.

269. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VIII 184.

270. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, 50.

George on Skyros issued a document addressed to the Hospital asking for protection for their ship<sup>271</sup>. The Greek monastery on Patmos, just north of the Hospitallers' islands, paid tribute to the Emirs of Menteshe during the fourteenth century<sup>272</sup>. In 1402, at the time of Timur's victory, the emir's envoys went there on the monks' own ships. The monastery maintained relations with the Hospitallers on Rhodes and with their islands of Kos and Leros where the monks had possessions; in about 1420 the monastery was said to suffer 'no molestation' from the Turks with whom it traded<sup>273</sup>.

### 13. Hospitaller Policies: 1389-1422

After 1389 the Hospital faced formidable difficulties, caused most notably by the continuing papal schism which resulted in divisions within the Order and the consequent problems in providing manpower and resources for Rhodes, by the earthquake of 1389 at Smyrna and by the loss of the castle at Smyrna in 1402. Yet the Order maintained its position on Rhodes and provided a measure of opposition to the Turks; it intervened occasionally to assist the imperial rulers at Constantinople; it successfully defended Corinth and other parts of mainland Greece for several years after 1396; it established a new mainland bridgehead at Bodrum in about 1407; and from 1409 onwards it gradually healed the schism within the Order itself. The Hospitallers were at times obliged to operate in places as far apart as Nikopolis far up the Danube and Beirut in Syria.

Until his death in 1396 the Master Fernández de Heredia was active at Avignon and the Convent received considerable financial remittances<sup>274</sup> but thereafter the situation deteriorated and Bodrum castle was

271. P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, III, Paris 1979, 216. In 1439, however, there were complaints about some *novitas* committed against the monks of Patmos: Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*, no. 97.

272. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, Historical Memory in an Aegean Monastery: St John of Patmos and the Emirate of Menteshe, in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borhardt et al., Aldershot 2007, 131-137.

273. G. Saint-Guillain, L'Apocalypse et le sens des affaires: les moines de Saint-Jean de Patmos, leurs activités économiques et leurs relations avec les Latins (XIIIe et XIVe siècles), in *Chemins d'Outre-mer, Etudes sur la Méditerranée médiévale offertes à Michel Balard*, II, Paris 2004, 776-780, 788-790; amend Zachariadou, *Studies*, XIX 143, incorrectly stating that the envoys' ship sailed from Rhodes.

274. *Supra*, 42-44.

a major expense, even though it benefitted from papal indulgences<sup>275</sup>. Until the occupation of the mainland site at Bodrum in about 1406 the Convent at Rhodes had continued to envisage new initiatives: in mainland Greece, on Tenedos, at Alaya, at Smyrna. The shortage of money at Rhodes became increasingly desperate and by 1410 many brethren were threatening to abandon the island [28]. The Master Naillac, who ruled the Order for 25 years, realized that, notwithstanding the fratricidal strife among the Ottoman rulers, resistance to the Turks had come to depend on his presence in the West where he needed to raise money and also to press for solutions to the schism in the papacy and within the Order. He served as guardian of the conclave at the papal elections of 1409 and 1417, and in 1415, together with his old acquaintance from Nikopolis the Emperor Sigismund, he travelled to Perpignan in an unsuccessful attempt to secure the resignation of the rival pope, Benedict XIII<sup>276</sup>.

While for the greater part of the period from 1382 to 1420, except only between 1396 and 1409, the Master was in the West seeking to raise men and money for Rhodes, in the East government, defence and diplomatic affairs were conducted by an oligarchy of experienced senior officers, French, Catalan, Italian, English and, in one case, German. Smyrna, Corinth and Bodrum were never taken by or handed over to the Ottomans. The heavily fortified inner *castrum* or *collachium* in the town of Rhodes itself was strengthened with two towers during the time of the Master Fernández de Heredia and with another under the Master Naillac<sup>277</sup>, but it was only after about 1422 with the development of more serious threats to the island from both Turks and Mamluks, that further extensions to the landward walls of the outer, commercial part of the town, the *borgo*, were made during the Mastership of Fr. Antoni de Fluvià<sup>278</sup>. There were other fortifications at Lindos and elsewhere around the island of Rhodes itself, on Kos, at Smyrna<sup>279</sup> and, from 1407, at

275. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 146.

276. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 303-350.

277. Spiteri, *Fortresses*, 29, 108-110.

278. Anna-Maria Kasdagli – Katerina Manoussou-Della, *The Defences of Rhodes and the Tower of Saint-John, Fort*, 24 (1996), 19, 21-22, 26-31.

279. Spiteri, *Fortresses*, 23-27, 35-44, 126-218; *infra* [10]. *Venetians and Knights Hospitallers: Military Architecture Networks*, eds. Anna Triposkoufi – Amalia Tsitouri, Athens 2002, 165-253, provides plans and illustrations but the texts contain numerous inaccuracies.

Bodrum where new towers and walls were constructed<sup>280</sup>. The Hospitallers had gunpowder bombards by 1381<sup>281</sup> and they may have constructed a gun-platform in the great castle at Akrocorinth in or soon after 1397<sup>282</sup>. Danger came from Mamluk Egypt as well as from the Turks, and the Hospitallers had to intervene in 1426 when the Mamluks invaded Cyprus, not only because of the destruction of the Order's rich possessions there but also because of the threat to Rhodes itself<sup>283</sup>. In the event, no major Mamluk attack on Rhodes came until 1440 and not until 1480 was there an Ottoman siege of the town.

Ottoman expansion after 1389 in both Anatolia and the Balkans was rapid, but Smyrna was held until it succumbed to Timur's overwhelming force in 1402 while the Nikopolis crusade of 1396, though disastrous for the Latins, arguably saved Constantinople. Bayezid's defeat by Timur in 1402 eased the pressure on Christian Europe, yet the Turkish establishment in Europe remained largely intact even though it took more than two decades fully to re-establish Ottoman unity. Meanwhile, in the shared coexistence of a frontier society many perennial ambiguities remained. Christians fought Christians or made truces with Muslims, often serving them as vassals or paying them tribute. Turks fought each other and traded with Christians while slaves and foodstuffs, some from parts as distant as Ethiopia or the Caucasus, were carried across ideological frontiers. Pirates and mercenaries of every race often disregarded distinctions of origin or religion, Greeks and Turks frequently intermingling in seafaring and many other affairs<sup>284</sup>. Rhodes, which was well within sight of the Anatolian coast, was situated on an east-west and north-south maritime crossroads in a world of overlapping diffusions within which flexibility and compromise were unavoidable. The Western Hospitallers, few in number but Christian and Roman by profession, had no alternative but to operate alongside Greek peasants, clerics and merchants, in an uncertain milieu of mixed marriages and multilingual exchanges. Turkish advances and extensive conversions depleted the

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280. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 149-156.

281. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, XIX 145, 152 n. 102.

282. K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, revised ed., Princeton 2006, 141 and Fig. 159, noting the 'uniform, slightly battering wall face, unmarked by scaffold holes, unique among the castle's ramparts'.

283. Hill, *Cyprus*, II, 487-489; Bonneaud, *Prieuré*, 277-279; Coulon, *Barcelone*, 54-59.

284. Zachariadou, *Studies*, XX 208-212.

Greek church and its Hellenistic culture in Anatolia; for their part, the Turks had their own heresies and dervish fringes, and their own political divisions in which the Hospital was sometimes compelled to take sides.

For the Turks the Hospitallers presented obstacles. The brethren operated against Turkish shipping as pirates or corsairs and they protected Christians who were escaping from Turkish captivity. The Hospitallers caused problems at Smyrna and, later, at Bodrum. The brethren would have been well known to Djunayd who grew up alongside with them at Smyrna and had probably been their prisoner there in 1394; years later Djunayd was displeased when they began in about 1407 to build a tower at Smyrna. In 1401 or 1402 Bayezid made promises to the Despot Theodore which were conditional on the departure from the Morea of the Hospitallers, whom he clearly feared. The Greeks recognized the Hospital's value, as Manuel II explicitly declared at some length; he had visited the Order's Western provinces and he understood how they raised men and money for the defence of the Christian East. There were contacts across a wide spectrum. Fr. Peter Holt accompanied Manuel II to Paris and London; he was active diplomatically at Constantinople and he served as captain at Bodrum [34-35, 37]. The Marshal Boucicaut, the future Duke of Burgundy and Henry IV of England before he became king, were among many distinguished visitors to Rhodes. The English crown and nobility supported the English tower at Bodrum on which they displayed their own arms<sup>285</sup>. The castle at Bodrum was in various ways a successor to that of Smyrna which was lost in 1402; for example in its role in assisting escaping Christians, a point which was much emphasized in the West<sup>286</sup>.

The Hospitallers' 'island order state' was heavily dependent on their Rhodian subjects whose rights and religion they largely respected and whose economic activities it was vital to foster. The Hospital made treaties with Muslims but never paid them tribute, though they did build their castle at Bodrum after receiving a written decree from the Ottoman prince Mehemmed. There might be peace on land and war at sea, or peace in some seas and war on others. The Hospitallers maintained Rhodian consuls in various Egyptian, Syrian and Southern Anatolian towns,

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285. Luttrell, *Studies*, IX 171-172; a forthcoming study by Lawrence Butler suggests a date of 1413-1416 for these arms.

286. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 145-146, 158 n. 26.

and they negotiated with the Mamluks in Egypt and with various Turkish rulers; while they did at one stage prohibit the export of timber to the Mamluks, trade and commercial relations between Rhodes and various Anatolian coastal regions were never permanently interrupted. Timur's campaign of 1402 relieved Constantinople but destroyed Hospitaller Smyrna, and it led to a rapprochement between the Ottomans in Europe and the Christian powers; the Hospital participated in the pact with Suleyman concluded in December 1402 or early in 1403. It was Suleyman's brother Mehmed who in about 1407 gave the Hospital permission to build a mainland castle at Bodrum, and for many years there was no serious attack on Rhodes and no major clash between Ottomans and Hospitallers; in 1409 the Order's forces at Bodrum were instructed not to provoke war and slaughter by attacking the Turks [27]. In the long term, Ottoman power was reasserted and its expansion continued, bringing its opponents, including the Hospital, under increasing pressure. Emmanuele Piloti was more interested in the recovery of Jerusalem than in the defence of the Balkans; he did visit Rhodes but he was unfair in his criticism of the Hospitallers for failing to use their alleged wealth to maintain more than one galley or occasionally a few more. It was scarcely realistic for him to claim that with five galleys the Hospital could have kept the Turks and Mamluks off the seas and out of Europe, and could even have compelled them to pay tribute<sup>287</sup>. Yet it was true that in the two decades following Bayezid's downfall in 1402 the Christian powers through their strategic failures and their own divisions missed their opportunity seriously to weaken the Ottomans.

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287. Piloti, 217; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XXIV.



REGISTER OF DOCUMENTS



## REGISTER OF DOCUMENTS

[1] 13 October 1389: Avignon

The Master at Avignon has received reports of financial distress from the Lieutenant on Rhodes [Fr. Pierre de Culant], especially on account of repairs to damage from an earthquake to the walls at Smyrna and of the expense of the galleys which the Hospital has maintained and is maintaining through the league with the King of Cyprus and other Eastern lords to defend their lands: *et in expensis et missionibus galarum unionis facte inter regem Cypri, eos et alios dominos parcium orientis pro defentione suarum terrarum quas tenuerunt et tenent.*

Malta, 324, f. 80-80v [89-89v] = Sarnowsky, *Johanniter* (1992), no. 43; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 138; cf. *supra*, 42. The earthquake, which struck all the south-western coastlands of Anatolia, occurred on 20 March 1389: Evangelatou-Notara, *Σεισμοί*, 83-92. The treaty bound the Hospital to maintain only one galley: *supra*, 40. Culant was Lieutenant on Rhodes from 1382 to 1396.

[2] 12 April 1390: Rhodes

The Lieutenant Fr. Pierre de Culant and 'all the brethren of the Convent of Rhodes' send envoys to complain urgently to the pope [Clement VII] at Avignon, to his cardinals, to the French king and to the Hospitallers in the West of the increasing danger from the *potencia duplicata* of Bayezid (*Bassita*) son of Murad (*Morabei*), of the Convent's lack of money and of the threat to Smyrna.

Malta, 324, f. 187-188v [192-193v] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 44; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 138-139; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 225-226; cf. *supra*, 42. The envoys reached Avignon on 20 June, after some 79 days: Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 46. On the measures at Avignon in response during 1390 and 1391, Sarnowsky (1992), nos. 46, 48-51. The Hospitallers emphasized their responsibilities for Smyrna since they held it from the papacy.

[3] 19 April 1390: Avignon

Pope Clement VII grants an indulgence to finance repairs to the walls at Smyrna, mentioning its capture from the Turks [in 1344], its desperate need of men and money, the financial effects of the papal schism, Smyrna's function as a safe refuge for Christian fugitives from the Turks, and the danger from Bayezid (*Baysata, nefandi quondam Amorati filius*) who wishes to secure a good harbour from which to attack the Christians: *cum nullum sub sua potestate maritimum portum habeat, civitatem eandem propter bonum portum ipsius, in quo nauigia ad impugnandum Christianos facere et tenere posset totis uiribus sibi subiugare conatur et ad legem trahere perfidi Machometi, ...*

Contemporary parchment copy of 18 August 1390 in Malta, II no. 10 = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 45; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 139, 144; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 231, incorrectly as of 1391; Luttrell, *Hospitalier State*, VI 158 n. 11; cf. *supra*, 42. The text was repeated on 10 March 1391 when Clement VII renewed the indulgence, stating that Smyrna's walls had largely (*pro maiori parte*) collapsed; the 1391 parchment is Malta, II no. 17 = Vatican, Reg. Aven. 269, f. 326-327 = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 49; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 144; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 231. Muslims did not normally convert Christians to Islam by force, and the pope's comment presumably had propaganda intent.

[4] 17 July 1392: Avignon

The Master grants 4,000 florins of Rhodes, from his Magistral incomes, for the fortification and repair of Smyrna, the Hospitaller assembly at Avignon having decided in April that the walls of the *civitas*, under threat from Bayezid, should be contracted in order to reduce expenses:

*quod ambitus seu circuitus ciuitatis Smirnarum restringatur et fortificetur ciuitas ad hunc finem quod tueri et deffendi tuitius valeat et cum minoribus expensis, pro qua re vidente pericula que inminentur dicte ciuitati attenda potencia Basite, ...*

Malta, 326, f. 147v [155v] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 55; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 145; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 232; Luttrell, *Hospitaliers of Rhodes*, II 96; cf. *supra*, 42. This was a personal donation *sig[nat]a manu domini magistri*, from the Master; his letter was addressed to his procurator, Dragonetto Clavelli. The text suggests that the *ciuitas*, evidently the *borgo* outside the *castrum*, as well as the *castrum* was fortified: plans in W. Müller-Wiener, *Die Stadtbefestigungen von Ismir, Siğacik und Çandarli: Bemerkungen zur mittelalterlichen Topographie des nördlichen Jonien*, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, XII (1962), 68, 91, 93, Beilage 1.

[5] 19 November 1392: Avignon

The Master, following an appeal for help at Smyrna sent from Rhodes in September, instructs Hospitalier brethren to leave for Rhodes in April 1393; several (*plures*) brethren at Rhodes have died of plague and Bayezid (*Basita*) has forbidden the export of foodstuffs from his domains, compelling the Hospital to make expensive purchases elsewhere; the Lieutenant and Convent at Rhodes have written describing the miserable state, the poverty and the danger at Smyrna, as Bayezid seeks to damage and subdue it: *miserabilem ipsorum et ciuitatis Smirnarum statum incredibiles paupertates ac ipsius et dicte ciuitatis inminencia periculosa discrimina propter potentiam Basite hostis fidei qui toto posse eos dampnificare et dictam ciuitatem suo dominio subiugare conatur et a suis extirpare confinibus*.

Malta, 326, f. 6v-7 [14v-15] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 57; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 143-144; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 232-233; cf. *supra*, 42. Bayezid's prohibition was made in June 1390: Zachariadou, *Trade*, 78. There was plague and dearth in Constantinople in 1392: Paola Massa, *Alcuni lettere mercantili toscane da colonie genovesi alla fine del Trecento*, *ASLSP*, n.s.11/ii (1971), 356. On grain imports from Altoluogo, Luttrell, *Hospitaliers of Rhodes*, II 96. There was serious plague on Cyprus in 1392-1393: Congourdeau, *Peste noire*, 157.

On 6 August 1382 the Master ordered payment to Jacopo de Nigro of 59 ducats *pro nauo frumenta* (sic) *certe quantitatis delate de Altoloco Rodum*: Malta, 322, f. 310 [320]. On 25 October 1377 and 6 August 1379 successive popes, on account of plagues and frequent Turkish incursions on Rhodes and the Order's other islands which had led to their depopulation, licensed the Hospitallers to import foodstuffs from infidel parts, but there was to be no trade in war materials and no *conversatio vel amicitia*: Vatican, Reg. Aven. 201, f. 409; 215, f. 260-260v. However in May 1387 neighbouring Turkish rulers, fearful of Murad I who had just annexed Thessaloniki, had forbidden exports of foodstuffs to Rhodes so that grain had to be shipped from the West: Malta, 48, f. 223v-224.

[6] 18 April 1393: Avignon

The Master has on 15 April received news from Rhodes that Smyrna is in danger from Bayezid (*Basita filius Amorati*) who has refused to make peace with the Hospitallers unless they agreed freely to return all fugitive slaves reaching Rhodes and Smyrna, to allow Turkish and other merchants subject to Bayezid to take for sale at Rhodes and to export from Rhodes Christian and infidel slaves of both sexes for sale elsewhere, and to make peace at sea and on land (*habeant pacem in mari et in terra*); these terms were rejected as unlawful.

Doc. I: Malta, 327, f. 25 [34] = Sarnowsky, *Johanniter* (1992), no. 61, with extensive omissions; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 147; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 233, as 15 April; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 96-97; cf. *supra*, 43. Most of this information is not known from other sources.

[7] 4 April 1395: Avignon

The Master, at the request of the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy, licenses Fr. Philibert de Naillac, Prior of Aquitaine, to leave for Eastern parts and to return.

Doc II: Malta, 329, f. 80 [80]; cit. Delaville, *France*, I, 245 n.1; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 235; *supra*, 45. On 18 June 1395 Fr. Jean de Senne (or Senue) and Fr. Jean Guilloton (or Guilleton?) were licensed to accompany Naillac: Malta, 329, f. 80 [80].

[8] 12 January 1396: Avignon

The Master has in December 1395 received news of serious financial difficulties at Rhodes, of the danger to Smyrna and other Hospitaller places from Bayezid (*Basita*), and of his embargo on food exports (*tam vi armata quam vittualium subtractione*); money is required at Rhodes for the Hospital's galleys, for other armed shipping (*galias et alia navigia armata*) and to secure foodstuffs.

Doc. III: Malta, 329, f. 37-38 [37-38] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 70; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 234. The local seven-year truce made with the *subaşı* of Smyrna in 1394 (*supra*, 43) was apparently not being observed. The very large sums demanded from the priories totalled 33,500 florins: Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1991), 247. For detailed information on the defence and government of Smyrna from 1396 to 1402, Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1991), 231-233, 237-240, 244-248. The Master was very old and did not leave Avignon for Rhodes as proposed in this document; he died in Avignon on 20 March 1396: *supra*, 45.

[9] 5 July 1399: Rhodes

The Master empowers Fr. Elie de Fossat, Commander of Argentens and Castellan of Corinth and its castellany, to treat with Theodore [Palaialogos], Despot of the Morea, or with others (*et cum aliis quos tangere poterit*) to acquire the castle of Megara.

Malta, 330, f. 118v-119 [117v-118] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 204; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 277. Following a devastating raid against Argos, the Turks had controlled much of the Morea since June 1397; their vassal Antonio Acciaiuoli, lord of Thebes, made frequent raids on Athens and the Turks also exerted pressure on Negroponte: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 197-199. Between mid-1397 and 1404 the Hospitallers occupied first Corinth, and then the whole despotate, and defended them against the Turks; from Rhodes they issued numerous grants to Greeks of the despotate and other documents concerning the Morea (Malta, 330-334), many but not all of which are published: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 206, 210, 213, 223-224, 232-235, 242-259, 265, 269-279, 283, 289-290, with further

detail in Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 182-183 nn. 110-111; Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken*, II, 360-361, 381-382, 384-385. In November 1400 Fr. Raymond de Lescure was Captain of Corinth and Fr. Tommaso de Trani was Treasurer of the Castellany of Corinth: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 225 (p. 441), 226. A Hospitaller seal of this period was found at Corinth: Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, IX 381-382. On 21 November 1398 Manuel II at Constantinople acknowledged, in a letter addressed to Naillac, the return of the imperial jewels which had been held on Rhodes: Malta, 330, f. 121v [120v] = Loenertz, *Byzantina*, I, 264-265. The jewels might have been deposited there in return for Hospitaller assistance in 1390 or they may have been returned in payment or part payment for Corinth: extensive discussion in Reinert, *Palaiologoi*, 315-327, 351-354, 359-360. Many of these texts are cited and Hospitaller policy in Greece is discussed in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 277-282, with errors; Loenertz, *Byzantina*, I, 248 n. 5, 254-264, correcting errors of Carl Hopf; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, I 307-310; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 98-101; Barker, *Byzantium*, 53-56, 59-62; and, in fullest detail, Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 20-24, 166-211. On 7 November 1400 Fr. Raymond de Lescure and Fr. Elie de Fossat were empowered to return lands in both the despotate and the principality, and Fossat was empowered to borrow and spend 12,000 ducats for the negotiations: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 223-224. A marginal note (*Monacensis gr.* 307), giving correctly the names and titles of Lescure and Fossat, stated that Theodore handed them Troizene, that is Damala, in August 1401: H. Wurm, Die Übergabe Phanarions/Argolis durch den Despoten Theodoros I. an die Johanniter im August 1401, *JÖB*, 29 (1989), 201-208; Troizene is the medieval Damala, a bishopric in Argolid: Voula Konti, Αργολικά σημειώματα, *Symmeikta*, 9 (1994), 249-258; cf. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 182-183 n. 111; apparently the castle of Phanarion belonged to the Bishopric of Damala. The Hospital presumably secured both places since it enfeoffed them to Alioto Caupena in 1403 [15]. It seems unclear who was in effect lord of Megara after Nerio Acciaiuoli's death in 1394. Technically, Megara belonged to Francesca Acciaiuoli and her husband Carlo Tocco, and Theodore seems to have been acting as their representative; he had purchased Corinth, but not Megara, from Tocco between September 1395 and January 1396, and Tocco still held Megara in July 1401; the



Hospitallers' proposals reflected an interest in defending the Saronic Gulf against Turkish piratical attacks, but they failed to secure Megara: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 204 n. 4. Fr. Eustace Haste was Commander of the Morea in 1389: Malta, 324, f. 141v [149v].

[10] 8 March 1400: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Council, at the request of the inhabitants of the Rhodian *casale* of Archangelos, postpone until the Master's return the execution of his orders that the inhabitants build a castle there; meanwhile the inhabitants are to prepare the necessary lime and, in the event of danger from *inimici*, they are to withdraw to the castle of Pheraklos with their families and goods in the same way as other inhabitants of Rhodes are bound to withdraw to other castles.

Doc. IV: Malta, 330, f. 121 [120]; cit. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, XIX 136-137, 148 n. 17. The Master being away on an otherwise unknown mission, the Marshal Fr. Jean de Pennevere is acting as Lieutenant. The *inimici* might have included Venetian or Catalan pirates, but more probably they were the Turks who were devastating the islands north-west of Rhodes at least since 1395: *supra*, 43. This is apparently the earliest reference to the defensive system by which the island's inhabitants were to withdraw into the stronger castles in the event of attack: cf. Lock, *Freestanding Towers*; M. Heslop, *The Search for the Defensive System of the Knights in Southern Rhodes*, in *The Military Orders, 4: On Land and by Sea*, ed. J. Upton-Ward, Aldershot 2008, 189-200. Before 1457 there was an undated donjon and an undated corner tower of the earlier fortress; in 1457 the castle was too weak to withstand a Turkish *razzia* and in 1479 the inhabitants of Archangelos were still to retreat to Pheraklos in case of danger: Spiteri, *Fortresses*, 136-137. The documents do not support the supposition in Lock, *Freestanding Towers*, 376, that there were Greek *archontes* with landed estates on Rhodes.

[11] 26 February 1402: Rhodes

The Master and the Convent demand from twelve of the Hospital's Western priors an extraordinary subsidy of 20,000 florins over and above

the annual responsions to pay and maintain 200 *fratres* at 100 florins a year each for the defence of Smyrna and other lands and islands of the Hospital which are in great danger, given the bad weather and growing Turkish power: *malicia temporis causante et turcorum infidelium plus solito crescente potentia*; the Master will himself provide 5000 florins.

Malta, 331, f. 11v-12v [11v-12v] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 81 (omitting much detail); cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 284-285; *supra*, 44. 200 *fratres* may have been roughly the total number of brethren present in the East; cf. A. Luttrell, Papauté et Hôpital: l'enquête de 1373, in Anne-Marie Legras, *L'Enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, I, Paris 1987, 40.

[12] 5 June 1402: Rhodes

The Admiral, Fr. Buffilo Panizzati Prior of Barletta, has incurred expenses for the upkeep of Hospitallers (*pro mensa fratrum*) at Smyrna, for making a palisade there (*facione palisade dicti loci Smirnarum*) and for travelling there twice by galley.

Malta, 332, f. 174v-175 [172v-173] = Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 86; cit Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 157, erroneously and as 1398; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 284 n. 1; *supra*, 44. The palisade may have surrounded the *civitas* or even a suburb outside it.

[13] 10 September 1402: Rhodes

The Master is sending Fr. Domenico de Alamania with several Rhodian galleys (*cum nostris galeis*) to Chios and other places taking 2000 ducats.

Malta, 332, f. 175 [173]; cit. Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 87; cf. *supra*, 44. The 2000 ducats may have been those due to be sent to Chios for Fr. Iñigo de Alfaro, Captain of Smyrna, on 2 May 1402; Sarnowsky, Johanniter (1992), no. 85. It was known at Venice on 25 March 1403 that, following Bayezid's defeat near Ankara, Alamania had gone with two galleys to persuade the Turks on Samos not to collaborate with Timur: *supra*, 55. Alamania had been at Pera with two or more galleys at some point before 18 May 1403; Genoa, Archivio di Stato, Perae Massaria Communis Januae 1402/3 (Sala 34, 509 n. g. 1305), f. 56, 108, 193v. In 1403 Gonzáles de Clavijo, 104, reported

that Samos was 'populated by Turks'. As late as about 1420 it was reported that *Turci innumerabiles* had fled from Timur to Samos: Bondelmonti, 109. Early in September 1402 the Latins themselves embarked Turks at Altoluogo for Samos: Morosini, III, 66-67, misleadingly as 1403 and with questionable translation.

[14] [20/30 October 1402]: Rhodes

A record recounts a lengthy debate in the Hospital's Council as to whether the Order should defend or abandon its rights in the Despotate of *Romania*, which has been acquired by purchase from the Despot [Theodore]; the brethren agree to pursue their rights in the despotate where they have made and are making great expenditures; they have written to the pope and cardinals, to the French king and his uncles and to other princes and lords; they declare that the situation in the despotate is daily improving and that success there would make it easier to secure the Hospital's just claims to the Principality of Achaia; they wish that, before all else, the Hospital's incomes should sustain the defence of Rhodes, of the other islands and of Smyrna, any surplus monies being expended on the despotate.

Doc.V: Malta, 332 (frontispiece) = Sarnowsky, *Johanniter* (1992), no. 88, with extensive omissions; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 281-282, with significant errors; *supra*, 44, 53. The survival of a text recording a debate in Council is unusual. The Master or the Master and Council convened *in nostro hospicio* (presumably the Master's residence), sent a letter from the Council to an unknown addressee (...*issime vestre*). The document being damaged, it is unclear to whom it was addressed; a financial appeal to the King of England is a possibility. The pope was presumably Benedict XIII. A disputed claim to the Principality of Achaia had been purchased in 1386: Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XI 245-246. This is apparently the last mention in the Malta documents of the Hospitaller occupation of Smyrna, before it fell to Timur in December 1402.

[15] 20 September 1403: Rhodes

The Master grants the two Hospitaller's castles and places of Damala and

Phanarion [in the north-east of the Morea] in perpetual fief to Alioto Caupena.

Doc. VI: Malta, 332, f. 146 [145] = Luttrell, *Studies*, XVIII 160, incorrectly reading *Fanat* and locating both castles on Rhodes; cf. Bon, *La Morée*, I, 490-491; Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 182-183 n. 111. The Catalan Alioto I Caupena was the father of Antonello who had possibly married an unknown daughter of the Sicilian-Catalan Joan Fadrique de Aragón who seems to have been Lord of the island of Aegina from 1382 to perhaps 1394; Antonello might have inherited the island from her; in 1418 his son Alioto II inherited Aegina from him; Alioto held Aegina in 1402 and, in 1409 at least, Piada in the Argolid on the mainland: Setton, *Catalanes*, 192-193; Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XI 251. The detailed text concerning Dragonetto Clavelli and Lardos, which was held on the same terms, was dated 28 August 1402; it is in Malta, 332, f. 165-166v [163v-164v]. The Hospital had received Damala in August 1401 [9]. At a difficult time the Caupena may have sought protection against Turkish attacks from the Hospitallers who were still seeking influence in the area [17] and who might have been interested in Aegina or Piada.

[16] 27 October 1403: Rhodes

The Master and Convent conclude with representatives of the Sultan of Babylon (Cairo) [the Mamluk al-Nasir Faraj] a treaty granting them rights to take pilgrims to Syria and to maintain consuls in various Mamluk ports and towns; on 4 November 1403 Fr. Raymond de Lescure, Prior of Toulouse, is empowered to ratify the treaty with the sultan.

Malta, 332, f. 170-171 [168-169] = Paoli, *Codice*, II, 108-110, with numerous errors = Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 201-207; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 163-164; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 291-293; *supra*, 56.

[17] 5 April 1404: Rhodes

The Master and Convent empower Fr. Domenico de Alamania and Fr. Elie de Fossat, the Grand Commander, to go to the Despotate of the Morea and to the Principality of Achaia in order to treat with the Despot Theodore and to ratify earlier agreements negotiated with him, and also to neg-

otiate the retrocession of the despotate and of the Castellany of Corinth; Alamania alone is to brief Manuel [II] concerning the negotiations for Corinth and the County of Salona.

Malta, 333, f. 115-115v [115-115v], 116-117 [116-117], 117-117v [117-117v], 117v-118 [117v-118] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 269-272; cit. Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 23, 208 n. 130; *supra*, 64. The text of 6 April is at f. 117-117v = Paoli, *Codice*, II, 110-111, cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 165; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 302, with errors. Alamania was at Constantinople with two galleys on 5 May 1404 when he agreed upon the retrocession with Manuel II; of the large sum of 46,500 ducats still owing, Alamania received 16,000 ducats on 14 June 1404: Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 23-24, 208-211; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 269-279, 289-290. Events around Salona (Amphissa) following its conquest by Bayezid I in 1394 (*supra*, 60) are described in Sathas, *Chronikon*, 211-214. This account, written in 1703 by the uneducated monk Euthymios who stated that he was using ancient documents in the monastery of Christ the Saviour at Galaxidi, has an authentic flavour; Euthymios was more interested in Galaxidi, an important port in his own time, than in Salona. His account described the wicked Frankish count (Luis Fadrique de Aragón) being killed by certain Turks called in by the Greek Metropolitan of Salona named Seraphim; but Luis Fadrique de Aragón actually died in 1382. According to Sathas, *Chronikon*, the count's widow (Helena Kantakouzena) was given to a Turkish officer. These Turks left and an unidentified Turk named Murad attempted to make himself independent at Salona, so that the sultan (Bayezid I) captured and killed him; if this Murad really did exist he would have been appointed by Evrenos, the Ottoman general in that region. Thereafter, the 'Lord of the Morea Kyr Palaiologos', obviously the Despot Theodore, wanted to expel the Turks; he left Corinth, defeated the Turks at Salona and became master of Salona, Lidoriki, Galaxidi and other smaller castles, whereupon the Turkish Beg of Zetounion (Lamia), most probably Evrenos, marched against Theodore who retreated to the well-fortified Hexamilion at Corinth but, unable to retain Salona, Lidoriki, Galaxidi and Vitrinizta, he sold them to the Hospital. In a confused account, Niccolò da Martoni, 154 (Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 166, p. 329), partially corroborated this; he was near Vitrinizta in April 1395

when, he wrote, it was held by Bayezid who had married Helena Kantakouzena's daughter (Maria) and used her lands to attack the Despot Theodore; Bayezid then had Maria killed. The chronicle twice mentioned Theodore at the Hexamilion on the isthmus of Corinth which was in Hospitaller hands. The chronicle continued by saying that the Hospitallers, who were well armed and had a fleet, went with three armed 'galliot's to Galaxidi and were given the islands of Ayios Konstantinos and Ayios Demetrios by the inhabitants of Galaxidi. They stayed for three months on the islands and built a church dedicated to Saint John 'of Jerusalem' in Galaxidi but could not take any places on the mainland. They then left, having lost many ducats paid to the Greeks of Lidoriki and Vitrinitza who swore to recruit men from the neighbouring villages to fight the Turks but then did nothing, saying that they were not bound to oaths made to the 'Frankish *papades*' who were 'anti-Christ's'.

[18] 14 August 1404: Rhodes

The Master and Convent empower Fr. Nicholas Séguin, Commander of la Guerche and *baillivus* of Rhodes, to treat with Manuel [II], John [VII] and Jacopo Gattilusio Lord of Mytilini (Lesbos), to secure possession of the *comitatus seu baronie* of Salona and Zetounion; they also empower him to receive from them 5000 ducats owed to the Hospital.

Doc. VII: Malta, 333, f. 120v, 121 [120v, 121]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 165; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 303, as concerning Zonklon; Chrysostomides, *Manuel II*, 208; *supra*, 64.

[19] 28 November 1405: Rhodes

The Master and [Council] empower Fr. Peter Holt, Turcopolier and Prior of Ireland, and Fr. Nicolas Séguin, *baillivus* of Rhodes, to negotiate with the Despot Theodore for a thirty-year league against the infidel (*omnes infideles et Christicolarum inimicos*).

Malta, 333, f. 125-125v [125-125v] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 278; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 167; *supra*, 65. On 7 December 1405 the powers for Holt and Séguin were amended to allow them to treat also with Manuel II and his son John and his other unnamed sons, and

with Theodore and others: Malta, 333, f. 126v [126v]. On 28 November Séguin was empowered to treat for a thirty-year league with Manuel II, his *primogenitus* John, his other sons, and an unnamed brother and nephew possibly of an Emperor John, evidently of John VII (*cum illustribus et potentibus dominis Johannis illustrissimi imperatoris fratre et nepote*): Malta, 333, f. 125v [125v] = Paoli, *Codice*, II, 112. The Rhodian chancery was evidently unsure of the names of Manuel's relations. On 28 November 1405 Holt and Séguin were empowered to complete such a league with Carlo Tocco, Duke of Leucadia: Malta, 333, f. 126 [126] = Paoli, *Codice*, II, 111, wrongly as 6 April 1404; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 167; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 303.

[20] 6 December 1406: Rhodes

The Master empowers Fr. Peter Holt, Turcopolier and Prior of Ireland, to conclude a league (*confederatio, colligacio, unio et liga*) with Manuel [II], with his son John, with other sons of Manuel, with the Despot Theodore and with others.

Malta, 333, f. 129 [129] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 283; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 303; *supra*, 65. Neither the Turks nor the object of the league were mentioned.

[21] 7 November 1407: Rhodes

The Master licenses Fr. Jean de Vogon, Commander of Belleville, to leave Rhodes for the West.

Malta, 334, f. 56 [57]; cit. Delaville, *France*, I, 510 n. 1; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 13; *supra*, 58. In mid-1407 Fr. Jean de Vogon (or de Vigne or de Vigon) had been sent from Genoa by Jean de Boucicaut and Fr. Raymond de Lescure, Prior of Toulouse and Commander of Cyprus, with detailed plans for a new campaign against Alexandria which the Hospitallers of Rhodes may have been prepared to accept but which King Janus of Cyprus rejected: Boucicaut, *Livre*, 344-363; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 12-13; Lalande, *Jean II*, 140-142. The licence was repeated at Lescure's request on 22 November 1407: Malta, 334, f. 56v [57v].

## [22] 15 February 1408: Rhodes

The Master and Convent empower Jacopo Crispo, Duke of the Archipelago, and Pietro Zeno, Lord of Andros, to request the Emperor Manuel [II], or the heir or heirs of the deceased Despot Theodore, to pay 5000 ducats still owing of the 46,500 ducats originally owed for the repurchase of the despotate and the Castellanies of Corinth and Kalavryta.

Malta, 334, f. 146v-149v [148v-151v] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 289. The debt of 5000 ducats was still outstanding on 3 November and 2 December 1408 when Janoto Besasce and Branco Spinola, two Genoese of Pera, were empowered to collect it: Malta, 334, f. 153v [155v] = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 290.

## [23] 17 March 1408: Bodrum

The Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac dates a magistral bull *in castro nostro sancti Petri in Turquia*.

Malta, 334, f. 150 [152]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 289 n. 3; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 144; *supra*, 58, 71. This is the earliest dated reference to the castle. Naillac issued documents on Rhodes at many dates in 1406 and 1407: Malta, 333-334. He was also there on 15 February 1408: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 289. Doukas, XXII 1, said that 'the Master' returned to Rhodes when the original castle had been completed, in which case that would have been before 15 February 1408 [22] at the very latest. On 17 October 1415 the castle was said to have been *nouiter acquisitum in acie turcorum domini de Pallatia*, i.e. of Elyas Menteshoglu: Malta, 339, f. 267v [301v]. In 1413 the castle's towers and walls already required repair: Malta, 339, f. 251v [285v].

## [24] 23 November 1408: Rhodes

The Master empowers *Magister* Egidio de Lyonissa, doctor in medicine, to negotiate and conclude a league (*unio et liga*) with Centurione Zaccaria, Prince of Achaia; he has powers to acquire or lease the *principatum Aquaye*.



Cod. 337, f. 125-125v [74-74v]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 303; *supra*, 65. Egidio de Lyonissa was a distinguished physician from Patras: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, 227, 316, 448, 451. There is no indication that the initiative came from Centurione; the Hospitallers may have been continuing their long-standing attempts to acquire all or part of the principality and to defend the Morea against the Turks, perhaps through the proposed alliance with the prince. They may have been acting on news of Centurione's difficulties in resisting Suleyman and in paying the tributes from the Morea for which Centurione was responsible to Suleyman, problems which became more serious after Patras passed under Venetian control early in 1408: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 293-295; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 306 and n. 1, 308 n. 2. By 1409 Centurione was able to pay the tribute, that is *ipse princeps det et solvat ipsos denarios insimul cum residuo tributi quod dare tenetur omni anno ditto domino turcho pro toto principatu*: Valentini, *Acta*, V, no. 1419 (p. 220); VI, no. 1673 (p. 156).

[25] 12 April 1409: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Council inform the Emperor Manuel at Constantinople that Stefano Torturella, *judex ordinarius* of the city of Rhodes, is coming to seek the fulfilment of pacts already (*jam dudum*) made between Manuel and the Hospital but not put into effect.

Malta, 339, f. 193v [227v]; *supra*, 73. Letters of recommendation for Torturella were sent on the same day to Nicholoso Gattilusio, Lord of Ainos (*Eney*); Janoto Besasce and Brancho de Spinola (of Pera); Ottobono and Battista Giustiniani and *socii* on Chios; the unnamed *podestà* and captain of the Genoese *in toto imperio Romanie*, probably at Pera; and Jacopo Gattilusio, Lord of Lesbos: f. 193v-194v [227v-228v]. This embassy took place and there was an imperial embassy in return [29]. The unfulfilled pacts may have concerned the repayments for the Despotate of Morea or they may have involved the leagues proposed in November 1405, December 1406 and November 1408 [19-20, 24], but there is no evidence that any such proposal was actually agreed. On 16 January 1411 the Rhodian authorities were sending to Venice to secure 10,000 ducats from the procurators of San Marco, but these were monies belonging to the late Fr. Domenico de Alamania:

G. Luzzato, *I Prestiti pubblici della Repubblica di Venezia (sec. XIII-XV)*, Padua 1929, 249-251. On 16 June 1412 Torturella was in Venice with powers, dated at Rhodes on 12 May, to receive from the camera of *Imprestiti* monies belonging to Caterina Palaiologina, widow of Theodore Despot of the Morea who had died in 1407. Caterina, probably a Latin, is otherwise unknown; why she was on Rhodes and had money deposited in Venice is not clear: text and extended discussion in Angeliki Tzavara – T. Ganchou, *La principissa Caterina Paleologina: à propos de Βασίλισσαι de Morée (fin XVe-début XVe siècle)*, *Εἶσα και Εσπέρια*, 4 (1999-2000), 67-85, who suggest that she could have been a daughter of Niccolò I Zorzi or of some of the other Latin families from Greece which deposited money with the *Imprestiti*; the authors did not know the document used here or realize that Torturella had been sent as an official agent of the Hospital to negotiate at Constantinople. Caterina might have gone to Rhodes to seek a safe retreat there and have wanted her money from Venice; conceivably, but hypothetically, the Hospital was seeking to secure, perhaps from her dowry, the 5000 ducats still owed them by Theodore in December 1408 [22] by holding his widow responsible for them. In 1410 and 1411 Torturella was being sent to Naillac in the West, and in 1413 to Venice to seek compensation for the alleged seizure of Hospitaller sugar on Cyprus: Malta, 339, f. 217v-219v [251-253v], 240v-241 [274v-275], 254-254v [288-288v]. In 1411 Stefano Torturella was a judge of appeals and Vice Chancellor of the Convent at Rhodes: Malta, 339, f. 229v-230 [263v-264].

[26] 18 October 1409: Rhodes

The Lieutenant Fr. Domenico de Alamania and Council are sending by galley to the Castle of Saints Peter and Paul [Bodrum], 1000 ducats for the mercenaries there and 600 florins for barley to be purchased for the Hospital.

Malta, 339, f. 196v-197, 197-197v [230v-231, 231-231v]. The first letter was sent to Fr. Nicolas Séguin as Captain of Bodrum: the future captain Fr. Antoni Fluvià, lieutenant of the Commander of Kos, is ill and may die; if he is already dead Séguin is to continue to govern the castle until a new captain is named by the Lieutenant and Council, but if Fluvià has appointed someone else in his place then that *frater*

is to govern it; the captain of the galley is taking 1000 ducats to Bodrum for its *stipendarij*. The second letter was addressed to Fluvia as lieutenant of the Commander of Kos and as Captain of Bodrum: if he is too ill to go to govern the castle he should appoint another Hospitaller from among those going there to govern it in his place while he convalesces; the captain of the galley is taking 1000 ducats for the mercenaries and 600 florins for Fluvia to purchase barley (*ordeum*) for the Hospital which Fluvia should send to Rhodes as soon as possible. Accounts passed at Rhodes in November 1409 circa show 1000 ducats were sent for the *stipendarij* at Bodrum apparently for payments for August and September (*pro mensibus agusti et setebris proxime elapsis*); 700 ducats for the *mensa fratrum* at Bodrum for one year; and 300 ducats *pro stipendijs* of Hospitallers at Bodrum: Malta, 339, f. 206v-207 [240v-241]. On Fluvia's early career, Bonneaud, *Prieuré*, 134-136.

[27] 14 December 1409: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Council have learned that certain Hospitallers and mercenaries at Bodrum have been attacking the Turks (*sepe ad belum seu ad scarmucam cum turcis*); this is forbidden as dangerous and likely to provoke damaging warfare and slaughter.

Doc. VIII: Malta, 339, f. 211v [245v]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 327; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 103; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 146; Luttrell, *Studies*, IX 166; *supra*, 72, 85. The letter had no formal address but was sent to the lieutenant of the captain at Bodrum and, to judge by the form *in Christo nobis carissimis*, to other brethren there. Also on 14 December the Lieutenant and Council have heard that the Captain of Bodrum, Fr. Antoni Fluvia who is not named, is too ill to go to govern the castle; he has asserted that Fr. Bonifacio de Airasca is unfit to govern it as his lieutenant and has requested the Lieutenant and Council at Rhodes to appoint a new lieutenant; they instruct the captain to make his own choice, naming Fr. *Lucha* or another as he may see fit: Malta, 339, f. 211-211v [245-245v].

[28] 18 August 1410: Poitiers

The Master is concerned about the defences of the Rhodian islands and has heard of the deadly plague on Rhodes; he summons brethren to serve in the East.

Malta, 336, f. 244 [241]. The plague of 1409-1410 is documented throughout the Levant though not previously at Rhodes: Congourdeau, *Peste noire*, 158. At Paris on 14 July 1410 the Master had received desperate complaints from Rhodes of the lack of money: Malta, 336, f. 11-11v [11-11v]. In fact, after Naillac's departure, and from 1409 to 1412 in particular, the Lieutenant and Convent at Rhodes were complaining in despair about shortages of grain and of money to support the brethren, the mercenaries, the Conventual hospital at Rhodes and Bodrum castle, while they were so incensed that benefices they might have expected in return for their service and seniority in the East were being granted to others in the West by both Master and pope that they were threatening to abandon Rhodes: Malta, 339, f. 204v, 205-205v, 206-207v, 212, 214-214v, 215, 217v-221, 222v (= Paoli, *Codice*, II, 115-116), 247-247v [238v, 239-239v, 240-241v, 246, 248-248v, 249, 251v-255, 281-281v]; cf. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 316, 319-325.

[29] 17 October 1410: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent order the Hospital's Treasurer in the West to pay the Master 17,795 florins advanced in Rhodes by Dragonetto Clavelli, the Master's procurator general there; the monies advanced by Clavelli include those owing to Fr. Jean Chambon as envoy to the Emir of Karaman and for expenditures on presents of silver and cloth; to Fr. Estolon de Lescure as envoy to Suleyman (*in partibus Turquie apud Mossolmanum zalabi*) and for presents of silver and cloth; for the embassy of Stefano Torturella to the Emperor of Constantinople [25]; for the envoy of that emperor; for the Hospitaller castellan at Kastellorizzo; for a gilded silver cup and other silver as presents for the Emir of Karaman; for arrows and armour for Kastellorizzo; for paying Hospitaller brethren who had served on the guard galley (*galea gardie*); and for various other expenditures and *stipendia* at the Castle of Saint Peter (Bodrum).

Doc. IX: Malta, 339, f. 143v-145 [168v-170]; cit. Luttrell, *Hospitaliers of Rhodes*, II 115 n. 103. After Bayezid's defeat in 1402 two Karaman-

oglu brothers, Mehemmed and Ali, were restored to the territories of their father Alaeddin: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 112-114. The emir who received the gifts was probably Mehemmed. Lescure presumably visited the Ottoman Suleyman before May 1410 when, after almost five years in Asia Minor, his brother Musa's activities compelled him to return to Europe: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XI 291. His departure may have led the Hospitallers to try to improve their relations with the Karamanoglus who remained influential in Anatolia. Separate payments suggest an embassy to Karaman by Chambon, who may have travelled overland or by sea by way of Kastellorizzo, and another by the Castellan of Kastellorizzo.

[30] 25 September 1411: Nicosia

A privilege of King Janus of Cyprus exempts the Hospitallers from the payment of royal tenths; this exemption will come into force after the death of Fr. Raymond de Lescure.

Malta, 339, f. 232v [266v] = Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, II, 495-499; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 278-279 n. 7; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 35, and others, mistakenly placing Lescure's death before 25 September 1411. On 9 March 1412 the chancery at Rhodes considered Lescure to be alive but he was dead by 18 April 1412: Malta, 339, f. 110 [120], 173-173v [206-206v]. Lescure died at Makri in Mentеше. The text of 18 April 1412 stated that Lescure was killed cruelly *in bello quod gerebat contra teucros pro tocuis fidei christiane honore et utilitate una cum suis militibus socijs ac fratribus nostre religionis crudeliter extitit interfectus*: Malta, 339, f. 239v [273v]. A text, dated Rhodes 11 November 1412 (Indiction V), stated that Lescure and various Hospitallers and laymen had been killed *in Macri in partibus Turchie, aliorumque nostrorum fratrum et secularium heu prohdolor strages infelix*: Malta, 339, f. 247 [281]; text, wrongly dated to 1413, in Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 15 n. 73. Killed with Lescure was an unidentified Viscount d'Acy; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 15; VI 147. Lescure was close to King Janus and was said to have accompanied Charlotte de Bourbon to Cyprus where she married Janus on 25 August 1411: Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, V 13-14. In 1407 Lescure had, with Boucicaud, planned an attack on Alexandria [21]. There was no indication that Cypriots were involved at Makri. Lescure may have

decided to neutralize a piratical base or simply have seen an opportunity for action and booty while returning from Cyprus to attack the lands of the Emir of Mentеше who had opposed the establishment of the castle at Bodrum; possibly the emir had attacked the castle.

[31] 16 October 1411: Rhodes

The Lieutenant Fr. Hesso Schlegelholz and Convent instruct the Receiver of responsions in the Priory of France and other receivers in the West to pay 100 French francs to Fr. Louis de Mauregart, Commander of Saint-Étienne de Renneville, in recompense for 100 gold ducats *auri de Turchia* which Fr. Louis had expended in the name of the Common Treasury while he was captain of the guard galley, as recorded in the Treasury registers (*in officio capitinerie galee nostre guardie nomine nostri comunis thesauri expendiderat prout in cartularijs dicti comunis thesauri latius continetur*).

Original in Malta, 25 no. 9, marked 'cor' and 'rega' (corrected and registered) and copied, with slight variations, into the register Malta, 339, f. 148v [173v]. On counterfeit ducats from Altoluogo, *supra*, 31.

[32] 10 December 1411: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and others protest to the Sultan of Babylon (Cairo) [al-Nasir Faraj] who has imprisoned Rhodian *burgenses* and seized their goods at Alexandria, alleging that soap and other goods of the sultan being carried for him by Manoli Sagodini, son of Georgius Sagodini *burgensis* of Rhodes, in his ship were sold by Manoli for his own profit; the truth is that while Manoli's ship was in *Silodo[nie] partibus* [near Cape Chelidoni near Alanya in Southern Anatolia] it was taken by Desirino Strizol of Genoa who sold Sagodini and the ship; Strizol on his ship went to Bodrum and sought a safe conduct from the Hospitaller captain there; there his ship was seized by 'our subjects' and taken to Rhodes; the sultan's goods are being returned to him by some Genoese merchants; the Hospitallers request the release of the Rhodian *burgenses* and their goods, and affirm that they are in peace with the sultan; a similar letter is sent to the *Vil[...]*us, possibly *Wali*, of Alexandria.

Malta, 339, f. 227v [261v]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 327; further detail in [34]. On 5 June 1402 Georgius Sagodini was to be paid for the hire of his *navis*: Malta, 332, f. 174v [172v]. Manoli Sagodini was at Alexandria with his ship from Rhodes in May and June 1405: Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 540. Before 25 February 1412 Georgius Sagodini, *burgensis et habitator* of Rhodes, and his *navis* were attacked by Catalans off Southern Italy: Malta, 339, f. 236-236v [270-270v]. The Sagodini were apparently Rhodian merchants, probably Greeks; cf. Schreiner, *Texte*, 2/47. *Silodo[nie]*: Ms. reads *Silodos*?

[33] 8 January 1412: Rhodes

The Lieutenant [and Council] inform the *Podestà* of Chios, Pietro de Franchis, that they have written to the Captain [of Bodrum] whose *galiota* has despoiled two *barche* of Chios; the Turks on the *barche* are in truce with Chios and Rhodes (*aliquos turchos vbi habetis pacem et nos similiter*); the captain has been ordered to return any goods which may have been taken from the men of Chios together with any captured Turks; the Hospitallers will punish Giovanni Italiani of Chios, *burgensis* of Rhodes, who has falsely given the Sultan of Babylon [al-Nasir Faraj] to believe that the Hospitallers had seized him and his goods; the Hospital complains that Manoli [Sagodini], a *burgensis* of Rhodes and his ship and goods, including soap belonging to the Sultan of Babylon, and a number of Rhodian sailors, were captured piratically near Cape Chelidoni by the Genoese Desirino Strigol and taken to Sykaminon some way north of Athens, a place held by Antonio de *Lanceliolo* (Acciaiuoli), and Manoli was there tortured and forced by Strigol to pay more than 1000 ducats in ransom.

Doc. X: Malta, 339, f. 233v-234 [267v-268]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 327. The Turks involved may have been from Altoluogo [34]. The Italiani were a Genoese family established on Chios. Giovanni Italiani was married to a daughter of a *burgensis* of Rhodes. *Manolius* was evidently Sagodini [32]. A Hospitaller commander held Sykaminon castle three *milearia* inland in 1395: Martoni, 143 = Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 166. On 14 February 1411 Fr. Gil de Lihori, then on Rhodes, held the title of Commander of Sykaminon: Malta, 339, f. 229v [263v].

[34] 8 January 1412: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and [Convent] inform Fr. Peter Holt, Turcopolier and Captain [of Bodrum], that the *podestà* and council of Chios have complained that a Hospitaller galliot robbed certain ships of their goods and took certain Turks with whom the Hospital is at peace; the Hospital wants to maintain peace with its friends and with the Turks of Altoluogo (*de jurisdictione Altologi*) with whom the Hospital has peace; if the Bodrum *galiota* did seize such goods, full restitution and satisfaction is to be made; there is news that some Turks are near [Bodrum] where there is an army which is thought to be that of the Emir of Palatia intending to attack the castle.

Doc. XI: Malta, 339, f. 234 [268]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 328; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147, 159 n. 40; *supra*, 75, 84-85. The Emir of Palatia was Elyas; it is not clear who were the Turks of Altoluogo with whom the Hospital had a peace which they wished to maintain. When Suleyman left Anatolia in June 1410, Mehemmed compelled the Anatolian emirs to recognize his overlordship; when Suleyman was killed in February 1411, Mehemmed and Musa confronted each other, allowing Djunayd to return from Ohrid to Aydin and subjugate the region: *supra*, 74-75. If this occurred before January 1412, the Turks of Altoluogo would have been subject to Djunayd who might himself have reached some agreement with the Hospital.

[35] 15 January 1412: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent send two letters informing Fr. Peter Holt, Captain [of Bodrum], and the other Hospitallers there that a *gripparia* is being sent with supplies for Bodrum and that a Hospitaller galley is being sent to defend Symi (*Symia*) and other Hospitaller islands from which Turkish ships (*igna*) have seized men.

Doc. XII: Malta, 339, f. 235v [269v]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 328; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147, 159 n. 41.

[36] [circa late February? 1412]: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and [Council] complain to Jacopo Gattilusio, Lord of Mytilini (Lesbos): Fr. Lodovico de Asinari, *miles*, and the two other



Hospitaller *fratres* of noble birth on a *galiotta* manned at [Bodrum] castle, together with their *consocij* and *marinarij* found a Turkish *galiotta* near Mytilini and, since armed Hospitaller galleys may justly attack armed Turkish shipping (*ligna armata*) found outside the Dardanelles (*extra strictum Romanum*), they defeated the *galiotta*, from which some Turks landed and loaded many goods onto a *galiotta* of Jacopo Gattilusio; the latter's men then wrecked the Hospital's *galiotta* by breaking the main hawser, and they seized, imprisoned and personally tortured and injured Asinari and the others.

Doc. XIII: Malta, 339, f. 236v-237 [270v-271]; cit. Delaville, *Hospitalliers*, 327; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147, 159 n. 42, VIII 183. The text follows a document of 25 February 1412, the next dated document being of 1 July 1412: Malta, 339, f. 236-236v, 238 [270-270v, 272]. The Gattilusio repeatedly collaborated with the Turks of whom they were vassals: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XVI 65-66.

[37] [circa late February? 1412]: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and [Council] inform Pietro de Franchis, Captain of Chios, and his council that, following complaints that the *galiotta* [of Bodrum] had seized cloth from a *grippum* of Chios, they have ordered the Captain [of Bodrum] and the lieutenant on Lango (Kos) to return the stolen goods if the accusation is correct; they declare that the castle had not been built to rob other Christians but to attack the infidel.

Doc. XIV: Malta, 339, f. 237 [271]; cit. Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147, VIII 183. Undated but as for [36]. The Lieutenant and *baliui* wrote in this sense to Fr. Peter Holt, Captain of Bodrum, and to the lieutenant on Kos; the goods had belonged to Bernardo Paterio and *socii* and to others from Chios: Malta, 339, f. 237v [271v] (also undated). This was presumably the same *galiotta* manned quasi-piratically by Fr. Lodovico de Asinari and others at Bodrum [36].

[38] 20 April 1412: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent depose *Quir* Vachi Cardami, consul in Antalya (Satalia) and throughout the lands of the Lord of Karaman, on

account of his crimes, and appoint Raymundus de Sancto Maurichio, *burgensis* of Rhodes in his place.

Doc. XV: Malta, 339, f. 151 [176]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 182, as of 1411. On the same day they appoint Bernardo Odoardi de Recho, *burgensis* and inhabitant of Rhodes, as consul at Alexandria in Egypt and in all the Mamluk domains, his unnamed predecessor being deposed on account of his crimes: Malta, 339, f. 151v [176v]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 182. In 1394 the same Bernardo di Recho was a *burgensis* of Rhodes and *dominus et patronus* of a Castilian *coca*: Balard, *Notai*, 81-88. On 30 June 1409 a Gostancius Cardami of Rhodes was one of a group of Rhodians established in Dubrovnik: Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 572. *Quir*, obviously *Κυρ*, was the usual shorter form of the Greek title *Κύριος*. Cardami was deposed and Sancto Maurichio restored in 1412 [45]. Following Timur's victory in 1402, the Southern Anatolian coast came under the control of Mehemmed Karamanoglu: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 112. This text and that of 1414 [45] now show that Antalya still belonged to Karaman during the period from spring 1412 to spring 1414. In 1413 the Ottoman Mehemmed was fighting Musa in Thrace: he apparently annexed Antalya after spring 1414, perhaps in 1415 when he defeated the Karamanoglus: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 115; Imber, *Ottoman Empire*, 71-73, 78.

[39] 26 April 1412: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent quit the Master's procurator, Dragonetto Clavelli, for 3375 ducats *auri de Turquia* or their equivalent.

Malta, 339, f.150 [175].

[40] 1 February 1413: Rhodes

The [Lieutenant] Fr. Luce de Vallins sends Thoma Grille, *burgensis* of Rhodes, with a war-horse as a present, to the King of Cyprus to request help against an expected Ottoman attack on Rhodes; Bernardo Paterio, *mahonensis* of Chios, has warned that Musa has at Gallipoli 30 galleys and *ligna*, nine of the galleys newly armed, and is feinting to go to Constantinople or Thessaloniki: *qualiter in partibus Galipoli ille perfidus Mossy Sāp* [çelebi], *qui nimium christianos habet exosus galeas et ligna*

*usque ad numerum xxx, ex quibus extant galee ix nititur armare, se suum ducere iter usque Constantinopolim uel Saloniquium fingendo, ...*

Doc. XVI: Malta, 339, f. 249v [283v]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 184-185; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 328; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147; *supra*, 76. The date is *die j mense febr' m iiij xiiij*; the entries in this section of the register are not entirely in chronological order. Fr. Luce de Vallins became Lieutenant only after the death of Fr. Hesso Schlegelholz on 20 May 1412: Malta, 339, f. 242 [276]. 1414 is not a possible date since Musa died on 5 July 1413. In June 1411 Musa was thought in Venice to have only 'some' galleys and two *coche*: Iorga, *Notes*, IV, 511. In June 1414 six Turkish galleys with 18 *fuste* and numerous light craft helped to take Boudonitza castle: Setton, *Papacy*, II, 6 n. 12. In May 1416 Mehemmed apparently had eight galleys, 24 galliots and many other vessels: Manfroni, Gallipoli, 138, 143, 145. The *equus passagij*, which had belonged to Fr. Raymond de Lescure, was the war-horse which each Hospitaller knight-brother had to take to Rhodes from the West [50]. Musa's preparation of a considerable fleet at Gallipoli and its objectives are not otherwise reported, though they might seem to have been known to the neighbouring Latin powers [41]. Gallipoli was in Musa's hands just before July 1413: Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 189.

[41] 13 February [1413]: Rhodes

The [Lieutenant] replies to a proposal for a renewal of the former league with Chios, Mytilini (Lesbos) and others, since the Turks are proposing to attack and delay is dangerous; the Hospital is ready at once to arm two galleys to go wherever the recipient may think best; the [Lieutenant] has sought aid from Cyprus, Candia (Crete) and the Archipelago (Naxos).

Doc. XVII: Malta, 339, f. 249v-250 [283v-284]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 185; Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 328; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147; *supra*, 76. The year is presumably as for [40] since it immediately follows Doc. XVI. The intention must have been to renew an earlier league, on this occasion apparently against Musa [40]. The letter was addressed to *Spectabilis vir et Amice*, possibly the ruler of Pera which the document did not mention. In September 1413 a Rhodian ambassador was at Dubrovnik: Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, no. 606.

[42] 14 April 1413: Rhodes

The Lieutenant Fr. Luce de Vallins licenses Fr. Jean de Pietris and Fr. Richard de Pontaillier of the *langue* of France to arm their *galiotta* against those infidels who are enemies of the Hospital and the subjects of those infidels, excepting the monks of the *mons sanctus* [Ἁγίου Ὄρους: Mount Athos] and their goods; they are also licensed to dispose of captured persons and goods as booty.

Doc. XVIII: Malta, 339, f. 179v [213v] = Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VIII 186-187. This is apparently the earliest surviving Hospitaller licence for the *corso* which, in theory at least, was restricted to action against infidels and their subjects.

[43] 19 May 1413: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent appoint Antonio Minerbetti, *burgensis* and inhabitant of Rhodes, as consul in Alexandria and in all the Egyptian sultan's lands; they revoke the appointment of Bernardo de Recho [38].

Malta, 339, f. 115 [125]; cit. Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 199 n. 40. In 1409 Antonio Minerbetti was *commorans* at Rhodes: Malta, 335, f. 160v [160v]. The family was Florentine: Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, no. 72.

[44] 3 June 1413: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent appoint Johannes *Boquin[ini]* as consul in Antalya (Satalia).

Malta, 339, f. 115 [125]; the reading *Boquin[ini]* or *Boquin[iu]* is uncertain.

[45] 2 April 1414: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent appoint *Quir* Vachi Cardami, *burgensis* of Rhodes, as consul in Antalya (Satalia) and in all the territory of the Lord of Karaman; they depose Raymundus de Santo Maurichio or anyone else from that office.

Malta, 339, f. 257v [291v]. Cardami had already been deposed in 1412 [38]. Antalya was still controlled by the Karamanoglus.

[46] 25 May 1414: Bologna

The Master calls upon Fr. Priamo de Gambacurti, Prior of Pisa, and Fr. Andrea de Caponis, Preceptor of Poggibonsi and receiver in the Priory of Pisa, rapidly to pay monies due, since Mehemmed (*Quirichi*) and other Turks are arming many vessels (*per plurima navigia*) to attack the Christians and have taken many Christian captives from Chios, Mytilini (Lesbos) and other islands; the Christians' resistance is weak and money lacking, especially on account of the papal schism, and the Hospital is compelled to arm shipping at great expense in winter and summer.

Doc. XIX: Malta, 338, f. 156-156v [156-156v]; cf. *supra*, 77. *Quirici* was a distortion of the Greek term Κυρίτζης, which meant young master, the equivalent of the Turkish title *çelebi*; the prince Mehemmed was mentioned in several sources merely with this title: P. Wittek, Der 'Beiname' des osmanischen Sultans Mehemmed I, in *L. A. Mayer Memorial Volume = Eretz-Israel*, 7 (1963), 144-153. *Lingonis* (Kos) was included in the list of islands but then crossed out. A document dated at Venice in August 1414 referred to a *magnus apparatus lignorum turchorum* being assembled in *partibus Turchie*: Sathas, *Documents*, III, no. 624.

[47] 19 April 1415: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and Convent, at the request of Jacopo Crispo Duke of Archipelago, pardon Georgius Syrianus *Tislusoiaques*(?), a Hospitaller subject, who had taken iron or other prohibited goods from the island of Syros in the Archipelago *ad partes infidelium*, contrary to the Hospital's edict of a year earlier; he may return to Rhodes and reside there; a similar pardon is granted to Sabbani E[u]gardiaquo.

Malta, 339, f. 262 [296]. Georgius was apparently a Greek from Syros, and Sabbani may have been too. They were subjects of the Hospital and had some connection with Rhodes; Greek merchants from outside Rhodes may have sought Hospitaller protection. There were papal prohibitions against traffick in war materials with the Mamluks and

other infidels: Coulon, *Barcelone*, 26-37. The popes originally had in mind trade with the Mamluks and their prohibitions had been ignored almost completely with respect to the emirates, though they may have been enforced with the rise of Ottoman power; papal decrees of 1363 and 1381 had permitted the Hospital to trade with the Turks in foodstuffs but not in war materials such as wood or iron: Zachariadou, *Trade*, 132-134. This text does not indicate whom the Hospitaller decree concerned, but Piloti, 156-157, wrote that the Rhodians had become rich taking timber in their ships from Sinj in Dalmatia and from Turkey to Alexandria; the Hospital had then forbidden the trade so that the merchants died in poverty on Rhodes. The Rhodian merchants at Dubrovnik (*supra*, 60) may have been sending Dalmatian timber to Alexandria.

[48] [circa 16/26 April 1415]: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and [Council] inform Fr. Pierre de Balma, Captain of the Hospital's galley, that *Soldanus Salibi* (çelebi) *Quirici* [Mehemmed] recently (*de nouo*) sent an ambassador to Rhodes requesting two galleys to assist him against *Jannici de Alto loco* (Djunayd of Altoluogo) and Mehemmed's other Turkish enemies; the Hospitallers have excused themselves by saying that they needed their galleys in the near future and that their guard galley was near Chios; they have suggested that the envoy could travel to those parts on a Hospitaller *galiotta* and that if [Mehemmed] needed the Hospital's galleys he could request them from the captain; the captain is to consult with those of Chios and act as they do; he should remember that Chios has peace with 'the Turks' on land and sea but that the Hospital has peace with them only on land; the Lieutenant is displeased that the captain killed various Turks from a *barcha*, instructing him to excuse himself by saying that he was there to guard the seas and that he had thought that the dead Turks were enemies of Mehemmed.

Doc. XX: Malta, 339, f. 263 [297] (undated: registered between documents of 16 and 26 April 1415); cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 188 (as of 1418 and misinterpreting *Salibi* as the Mamluk sultan); Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 328-329; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 105; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147; *supra*, 77-78. A letter on the same subject was sent to the *Podestà* and council at Chios. An armed vessel

from Rhodes reached Lesbos on 5 March 1415: *supra*, 79. Many authors have placed in 1415 the story of Doukas, XXI 4-5, that Mehemmed found the Master of the Hospital (who in 1415 was then actually in France) rebuilding a tower at Smyrna and granted him the right to construct a castle at Bodrum (apparently in 1406: *supra*, 71). After the construction of the castle the Hospital had friendly relations with the Ottoman Mehemmed (*Quirici*) who in April 1415 was requesting their support against Djunayd. According to Doukas, XXI 4, Mehemmed assumed that the Hospitallers would help him since they considered Djunayd a dangerous neighbour. Mehemmed possibly concluded peace with Chios in or after the summer of 1415, granting the *Mahonesi* of Chios freedom of trade in all Ottoman territories in return for an annual payment of 4000 golden *ducats*. This possibility derives from a copy of an anonymous document of c.1566 which placed the arrangement in 1407: text in P. Argenti, *Chius Vincta, 1566*, Cambridge 1941, 117-125.

[49] 26 April [1415]: Rhodes

The Lieutenant and [Council] send news to the Master: Fr. Giacomo de Alamania went on 4 April to Chios with the guard galley, taking a report of what the Hospital's procurators have achieved in Constantinople (*Cip'o*); Sultan *Querici* [Mehemmed] has subjugated all Turkey and Greece except the Emirate of Palatia (*Soldanus Querici totam Turquiam et Greciam nisi dumtaxat territorium admirati Palatie subiugavit*); since the Hospital is at peace with the Emir of Palatia and with all other Oriental infidels, it seems convenient to make war on Syria and other places subject to the Sultan of Babylon [al-Nasir Faraj]; Fr. Peter Holt, the Turcopolier, on his return from Constantinople (*Cip'o*), is dying.

Doc. XXI: Malta, 339, f. 263-263v [297-297v]; cit. Bosio, *Istoria*, II, 188 (as of 1418 and misinterpreting *Querici* as Sultan of Egypt); Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, II 105; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, VI 147; *supra*, 78. The text was registered after Doc. XVII [48] and was followed by a text of 3 [month blank] 1415; the year must have been 1415. Furthermore, Holt died between 26 April [XXI] and 12 June 1415: Malta, 339, f. 130v [145v]. The Master was at Constance: Delaville, *Hospitalliers*, 385. The Hospital had apparently negotiated in

Constantinople for an anti-Turkish league, which was certainly aimed at Mehemmed; despite his treaty with the sultan, the Byzantine emperor went to the Morea and in 1415 he fortified the isthmus at Corinth by reconstructing the Hexamilion there: Barker, *Manuel II*, 310-315. Cyprus was never mentioned as joining such a league and *Cip'ò* was presumably Constantinople rather than Cyprus; note that Holt was repeatedly used as an envoy to Manuel II to whom he was closely connected: Barker, *Manuel II*, 177-178; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 274-275, 277-279, 283, 289.

[50] 28 September 1415: Rhodes

The Hospital's council orders that the obligation on each Hospitaller to bring horses on his passage from the West was not to be evaded by substituting Turkish or Levantine horses (*equi turquemani vel cismarini*).

Doc. XXII: Malta, 339, f. 267v [301v]. A statute of 1347 confirmed that brethren reaching Rhodes without the required horses and arms should pay a *passagium* fee of 2000 silver *tournois* for a knight and 1500 for a sergeant: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Ms. A 30, f. 98v-99. A decree of 1408 reasserted this requirement: Malta, 334, f. 154 [156]. An unconfirmed statute of 1446 would have decreed a payment of 100 ducats in lieu of an *equus passagij*: Malta, 1698, f. 81. In 1384-1385 65 francs worth 75 florins were paid as *passagium* money: Malta, 48, f. 111v [-]. In 1413 a sergeant owed 60 francs or ducats, and in 1414 a knight-brother owed 100 ducats: Malta, 338, f. 34v [34v], 114v [114v]. In 1417 a Hospitaller at Constance composed for his *passagium* at 52 Rhodian florins: Malta, 341, f. 22v [-]. In 1390 the Order contracted with a merchant of Avignon to ship to Rhodes 60 Hospitallers or others at 10 florins a person and 25 or 30 florins a horse: Malta, 324, f. 175-175v [180-180v]. In 1413 the Prior of Toulouse's *equus passagij* was a suitable gift for the King of Cyprus [XVI].

[51] 2 June/1 July [1421]: Rhodes

The Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac dies on 2 June and Fr. Antoni Fluvià is elected Master on 1 July.

Doc. XXIII: Malta, 346, verso of parchment cover.



[52] [Before 10 May 1422]: Rhodes

The [Master Fr. Antoni Fluvià and Council] inform the Prince [of Achaia, Centurione Zaccaria,] that they have received the message he sent with Fr. Foucaud de Rochechoart, Commander of the Morea and of Flanders, and that they have sent a reply with a certain Hospitaller; they are now sending a Hospitaller *galiota* with Fr. Sanche de Lissardois to announce a change of plan [53-54].

Doc. XXIV: Cod. 346, f. 168v [-]; *supra*, 67. On 16 April 1422 Rochechoart was licensed to return to his commanderies, but on 26 April he was instructed then to return to Rhodes as he was needed for future business: Malta, 346, f. 21 [-], 23 [-]. On 7 August 1421 Lissardois was on Rhodes: Malta, 346, f. 53 [-].

[53] [10 May 1422: Rhodes]

The Master and Council have commissioned Fr. Archanbaut de Rame, Commander of Aix and lieutenant of the Grand Commander of the Convent, as ambassador to the Despot of the Morea [Theodore II], to the Prince of Achaia [Centurione Zaccaria] and to the Archbishop of Patras [Stefano Zaccaria].

Doc. XXV: Cod. 346, f. 169 [-](incomplete and cancelled). The next document in the register [54] is of 10 May 1422. Centurione and Stefano Zaccaria were brothers.

[54] 10 May 1422: Rhodes

The Master excuses himself for a delay in sending an envoy, Fr. Sancho de Lissardois, to the Despot of the Morea, the Prince of Achaia and the Archbishop of Patras to answer their letters sent with the Commander of the Morea; however, the Hospital's galley and subsequently its galliot were detained because two Turkish vessels (*jaings*) were at Marmaris (*Flisco*) and five large galleys armed by the Turks of *Sattalie* (Antalya) and *l'Escandalor* (Alaya) have burned the vessel (*nave*) of a *bourgeois* of Rhodes and also a Venetian ship; the Turk Djunayd (*Genaiti*) has taken Altoluogo and several other large *seignories* in Turkey and has armed many *fustes* to threaten the Hospital's islands because he bears great ill will against the Hospital and those of Chios and Mytilini (Lesbos) who

had attacked him at the capture of Smyrna (*fuismes ala prince de Lisse-miere a lencontre de luy*).

Doc. XXVI: Cod. 346, f. 169v = Gerland, *Patras*, 171-173 (with variations: from Carl Hopf's transcript); cit. Bosio, II, 194-195; Bon, *La Morée*, I, 288 (referring incorrectly to the Hospital's defence of Smyrna); Sarnowsky, Johanniter (2001), 79 n. 179; *supra*, 67, 80. The past opposition to Djunayd at Smyrna was presumably that of 1415: *supra*, 77-78. The Turks of Antalya were the Ottomans since an Ottoman governor was established there in 1415 and a final attempt by Mehemed Karamanoglu to retake Antalya ended in his death before the town walls in 1423: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 119-121, 130-133. The Turks of Alaya were possibly the descendants of the old dynasty of Teke who profitted from the conflict between Mehemed I and the Karamanoglus of 1415 to restore their small emirate: Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte*, 115-116, 118-119. A coin struck by Djunayd in 825 (26 December 1421-14 December 1422) showed him as independent: Artuk - Artuk, *Istanbul Kataloğu*, I, no. 1327. The large *seignories* mentioned in May 1422 may have been Aydin and Monteshe since in 1424 Venetian documents described Djunayd as *dominus Theologi et Palatie*: Sathas, *Documents*, I, nos. 103-105.

SELECTED TEXTS



## SELECTED TEXTS<sup>288</sup>

I. Malta, 327, f. 25 [34] (18 April 1393)

Frater Johannes [Ferdinandi d'Eredia dei gratia sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos] religioso in Christo fratri Raymundo de Casilhaco priori Sancti Egidij,<sup>289</sup> domus eiusdem salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem, vestre deducimus noticie quoniam nos die decima quinta mensis subscripti recepimus litteras a dicte domus fratribus .. nostrum locuntenente bailiuis prioribus et proceribus nostri Rodi conuentum nobis allatas per dicte domus fratrem Arnaudum Ronulphi preceptorem de Salabrunello et Monte Rubeo<sup>290</sup>, tenore quarum fratres ipsi nobis innotescere fecerunt eorum statum miserabilem paupertates intollerabiles iminentia ipsis et ciuitati Smirnarum pericula propter potenciam Basite filij Amorati turchi infidelis recusantis habere pacem cum religione nostra nisi sub pactis illicitis videlicet quod omnes sclauu Rodum et Smirnas fugientes sibi libere reddantur, et quod turchi et mercatores alij sui subdicti possint Rodum secure nauigare et illuc ducere sclauos sexus vtriusque fideles et infideles et illos libere vendere uel reducirere quo voluerint absque ullo impedimento et quod ipse et sui habeant pacem in mari et in terra que

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288. Summaries, references and discussions of each text are provided, in chronological order, in the Register above.

289. Fr. Raymond de Caylus was named Prior of Saint Gilles (that is of Provence) on 6 October 1384: Malta, 322, f. 123bis-123bis v [133-133v].

290. Fr. Arnaud Ranoul, Preceptor of Sallebruneau (Gironde), was among those who were due in November 1390 to leave for Rhodes in April 1391: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 229 n.3, 233 n. 2, 278 n. 7.

omnia sibi et merito fuerunt denegata ex quibus aliisque expensis et oneribus que dictus conventus substinuit et omni die opus est supportare instanter nos proinde requisierunt sibi fratribus peccunijs rebus et bonis in continente absque deffectu subueniri. Horum consideratione decreuit et censuit nostra et fratrum et procerum nobis assistencium consulta deliberatione quod priores plus solito accelerent sua celebrare capitula sibi que super hoc scribimus et proinde vobis scribendum duximus et tenore presentium sub virtute sancte obedientie mandamus quatenus vestrum prouinciale capitulum mandetis teneri ipsumque celebretis dominica secunda mensis maij instante, precipientes sub dicta virtute sancte obedientie fratribus .. preceptoribus dicti prioratus ut ad ipsum capitulum veniant et intersint cum responsionibus suarum baiularum, peccunijs alijs per eos debitis comuni thesauro religionis alias recusantes venire et soluere suas responsiones et alia eidem thesauro debita per captionem et venditionem bonorum suorum et priuationem baiularum suarum iuxta ordinationes per nos nuper in assembleia Auinione tenta edictas<sup>291</sup> compellatis. Nosque de presentatione presentium vobis facta certificetis per ipsarum latorem, alias relationi ipsius stabimus scituri quod nisi parueritis nostris huiusmodi mandatis contra vos duce iustitia procedemus. Data Auinione die decima octaua mensis aprilis Anno Incarnationis domini m<sup>mo</sup> ccc<sup>mo</sup> nonagesimo tertio.

Anno mense et die quibus supra mandatum fuit priori Tholose<sup>292</sup>.

## II. Malta, 329, f. 80 [80]: Avignon (4 April 1395)

Frater Johannes etc. Religioso in Christo nobis carissimo fratri Philiberto de Naillaco priori Acquitantie domus eiusdem. Salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem. Cum illustrissimus princeps et dominus Karolus dei gratia rex Francorum ex certis arduis causis ipsum mouentibus vos ad nostrum Rodi conuentum et partes alias orientales mittere decreuit prout ipse et pariter serenissimus princeps et dominus dux Burgundie comes Flandrie Artesii et Burgundie<sup>293</sup> nobis scripserunt, proinde nos instanter requirerentes ut uobis de prioratu predicto recedendi et eundi ad partes

291. The Avignon assembly of April 1392: details in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 232.

292. Details of reinforcements to be sent to Rhodes by individual priories are given in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 233.

293. Philippe Duke of Burgundy.

predictas necnon de dictis partibus ad has partes redeundi auctoritatem et licenciam largiamur. Nos itaque huiusmodi votis regiis et eiusdem domini ducis et comitis prefati ex debito annuentes vobis tenore presentium prius per uos in dicto prioratu dicte domus fratre aliquo sufficienti locum uestrum tenenti constituto licenciam de nostra certa scientia concedimus superius postulatam. data Auinione die quarta mensis aprilis anno incarnationis etc. nonagesimo quinto.

### III. Malta, 329, f. 37-38 [37-38] (12 January 1396)

Frater Johannes etc. Religiosis in Christo nobis carissimis fratribus Raymundo de Casilhaco priori Sancti Egidij et preceptoribus dicti prioratus domus eiusdem salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem. Vestre sinceritati tenore presencium deducimus nos de mense decembris preteriti recepisse litteras ab eiusdem domus fratribus .. nostrum locumtenente bailliuis prioribus et proceribus nostri Rodi conuentus nos allatas per dicte domus fratrem Arnardum de Castillione<sup>294</sup> quas legi fecimus presentibus fratribus Roberto de Castronouo priore Aluernie<sup>295</sup> Petro de Prouinis thesaurario<sup>296</sup> alijsque nobis assistentibus, quarum litterarum tenore etiam dicti fratris Arnardi relatibus huiusmodi fratres nostrum locumtenens bailliui priores et proceres nobis innotescere fecerunt ipsorum debilem et miserabilem statum perplexas et intollerabiles paupertates ac inminenciam ipsius et terris alijs nostris et religionis nostre et ciuitati Smirnarum dampnosa et inreparabilia pericula propter potentiam illius infidelis Basite turchi qui sua potencia nephanda tam vi armata quam virtualium subtractione ipsos subiugare et suo dominio submittere totis viribus indesinanter conatur, et ob hoc ad resistendum nequam proposito dicti Basite ip[s]os oportuit eciam de presenti expedit galleas et alia nauigia armata tenere plus solito et hinc inde virtualia contrahere non sine magnis expensis et missionibus, proinde supplicantes a nobis cum instantia vehementi fratribus prioribus preceptoribus et alijs

294. Fr. Arnaud de Châtillon was Commander of Rayssac in 1382: Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, VI 97.

295. Fr. Robert de Châteauneuf, Prior of Auvergne, 1378-1401, the Master's Lieutenant in the West, 1381-1396, and Master *ad interim*, 1396: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 207, 265.

296. Fr. Pierre de Provins, Treasurer, 1382-1410/1411, and also Receiver-General in the West, 1381-1410/1411: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 314 n. 2.

consilio maturis in armis strenuis labilibus ad sibi incumbentibus supportanda onera quoque peccunis rebus et bonis alijs sibi necessarijs quibus indigent in proxime vere eisdem absque defectu subueniri, quibus perlectis<sup>297</sup> litteris et consulta deliberatione prehabita cum predictis fratribus opportunum et debitum in premissis volentes quod posse apponere remedium nullo respectu habito ad antiquitatem nostram spectis maris et itinerum periculis deliberavimus deo duce ad dictum conuentum accedere iter et boigium<sup>298</sup> nostrum accipere cum priore predicto alijsque de singulis prioratibus sub nostra constitutis obedientia fratribus duobus saltem vno preceptore quos seu quem priores in suis prioratibus duxerint eligendos de proximo vere super vna naui nostra bona et forti que in portu Aquarum Mortuarum erit parata per totum mensem aprilis instantem quodque subsequenter accedente quod graue et sumptuosum foret vobis ceterisque prioribus et preceptoribus propter breuitatem temporis locorum distancias ac graves expensas et missiones huc Auinione vos euocari ad ouendum premissis ac de vobis alijsque confidentes vos et eosdem ea tenere et adimplere velle que per nos et predictos ordinata fuerint pro dict[i] conuentus subuentione ordinauimus quod vos et alij priores et prioratus qui sub nostra obedientia consistunt semel dum taxat pro anno presenti in proximo prouinciali capitulo futuro tam pro responcionibus quam subsidio soluant peccuniarum sumas sibi impositas videlicet fratres prior et prioratus Sancti Egidij florenorum sex millia et ceteri priores et prioratus prout sibi impositum extitit et quibus sub simili tenore scribimus et damus in mandatis. Quocirca vos fratres priorem et preceptores prefatos ortandum duximus vobisque sub virtute sancte obediencie mandamus quatenus taliter vos interponere habeatis quod huiusmodi quantitas sex millia florenorum in ipso instante capitulo pro subsidio et responcione soluatur ac fratres preceptores duo saltem vnus loco et tempore predictis intersint ut prescribitur ad ipsum conuentum parati proficisci in statu decenti deo et religioni seruituri. Data Auinione die duodecima mensis Januarij anno incarnationis domini millesimo trescentesimo nonagesimo quinto.

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297. Ms: *perplexis*?

298. Sic: *viagium*?



## IV. Malta, 330, f. 121 [120] (8 March 1400)

Anno quo supra nonagesimo nono die octaua mensis marcij per honorabilem virum dominum locumtenentem domini magistri fratrem Johannem de Penneure marescalum<sup>299</sup> de consilio et assensu dominorum fratrum .. prioris ecclesie, magni commendatoris, Francie, Lombardie et Ibernice<sup>300</sup> priorum et pileriorum linguarum Prouincie<sup>301</sup> existentium in ecclesia Colacen[se]<sup>302</sup>, visis et intellectis supplicatione et requisicione incolarum et habitatorum casalis de Archangelo et causis seu rationibus per eos expositis extitit ordinacio ne ipsi incole et habitatores dicti casalis compellantur fieri seu construi facere castrum seu fortalitium in dicto loco edificari fieri per dictum magistrum usque ad ipsius domini magistri regressum, ita tamen quod pendenti tempore aduentus ipsius domini magistri faciant dicti habitatores fieri calcem necessariam proinde, et se vxores liberos res et bona sua retrahant in castro de Feraclio pro ipsorum conseruatione ab inimicis, et ad hoc faciendum ipsi et alij incole et habitatores insule Rodi per baillium insule Rodi compellantur pro tuicione suarum personarum et bonorum se retrahere in fortalitijis prout prouisum et ordinatum fuit.

## V. Malta, 332, paper sheet bound upside down as frontispiece (damaged) (21/29 October [1402])

[...]issime vestre sinceritati [...]ferimus et tenore presencium facimus manifestum quomodo [...] domus nostre fratres .. baillui priores et proceres et fratres duo de qualibet lingua [conuoc]ati ad consilium in nostro hospicio pro certis nostre religionis negociis die vicesima [...]<sup>303</sup> mensis octobris in eodem consilio inter cetera fuit expositum et quesitum ab omnibus ibidem presentibus quid sibi videatur expediens et fieri debitum de despotatu Romanie<sup>304</sup> et de iure et titulo nobis et religioni

299. Fr. Jean de Penneure, the Marshal, was named Prior of Auvergne on 20 August 1401: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 207 n. 1.

300. Ms *Ibanelli?*: read *Ibernice* (Ireland).

301. The *Langue* of Provence had two *auberges* and two *pilieri* to represent it.

302. In the church in the *collachium*, that section of Rhodes town occupied by the Hospitaliers.

303. Possibly *septima*.

304. The Byzantine Despotate of the Morea.

nostre debito et compectenti in eodem despotatu, videlicet an debeamus ius nostrum prosequi an illud desistere, super quo extitit diucius discussum inter nos hinc inde tandem nos omnes pro honore et utilitate nostris et religioni nostre in hoc fuimus concordēs, et conuenimus quod nos et religio nostra prosequamur omni modo ius nostrum et titulum dicti despotatus pluribus veris causis nos mouentibus, est quippe verum nos habere ius et titulum in ipso despotatu ex causa vendicionis de eodem nobis facte per despotum et pro assecucione iuris nostri accessimus ad dictum despotatum cum g[ra]ndis expensis et missionibus factis et quas facimus cotidie, nec non super hoc scri[psimus] domino nostro pape<sup>305</sup> et dominis cardinalibus etiam dominis regi Francie<sup>306</sup> et eius aduunculis et [plu]ribus alijs principibus et dominis proinde cederet in dedecus [et] dampnum nostrum desistere a prosecutione iuris nostri in quo pendet honor et comodum [nostri] et religionis, prospecto etiam quod illa patria sub vmbra et velamine nostris meliorata est et sit omni die melior propter occurrēcia negocia et maxime adepto ipso despotatu leuius assequemur principatum Achaye nobis iusto titulo perti[nentem]. Ita tamen volumus quod primitus et ante omnia de omnibus responsionibus et peccunijs et bonis alijs comunis thesauri an[ni proximi] venientis substineatur conuentus Rodi in statu debito et satisfiat [nostr]is fratribus donatis stipendiarijs et alijs officialibus suis stipendijs et supportantur arma-menta et alia necessaria pro custodia insule Rodi et aliarum religionis et deffensione civitatis Smir[narum] tam pro fratribus quam secularibus et supportatis premissis et id quod supererit de annuis responsionibus bonis et rebus alijs religionis pro dicti sui despotatus adēpcione et acquisitione appona[tur] ...

VI. Malta, 332, f. 146 [145] (20 September 1403)<sup>307</sup>

Anno ccc.<sup>mo</sup> tertio et die xx. septembris dominus magister contulit in feudum nobilem et infeudauit nobili viro Alyoto de Caupene pro se et heredibus suis sexus utriusque natis et nascituris ex legitima coniuge per imperpetuum castra et loca de Damarla et de Fanar<sup>308</sup> cum omnibus etc.

305. Presumably the Avignon Pope, Benedict XIII.

306. Charles VI.

307. Recently torn and partly illegible.

308. Damala and Phanarion in the Morea.

sub tenore et forma subscriptis in folio inmediate precedenti quibus ipse dominus magister in feodum dedit nobili viro Dragono Clauelli casale de Lardo pro jure competendo eidem.

VII. Malta, 333, f. 120v,121 [120v, 121] (14 August 1404)<sup>309</sup>

die xiiij mensis augusti anno quo supra constitutus fuit per dominos magistrum et conuentum procurator frater Nycholaus Seguini preceptor de la Guerche bailliuus insule Rodi<sup>310</sup> ad se presentandum in conspectu illustrissimorum principum et dominorum quir Manoli Paleologo et quir Johannis Paleologo imperatorum Romeorum ac magnifici et potentis domini Jacobi Cathelucij domini Metelini<sup>311</sup> et quorumlibet aliorum<sup>312</sup> de quibus sibi vibeb[it]ur faciendum et a[d] petendum requirendum intrandum na[n]tiscendum et adipiscendum libere possessionem etc comitatus seu baronie Solensis et Zetonensis cum suis juribus etc fructus que exitus etc leuandum etc litteras quictantie etc dandi etc dantes et promicentes etc.

Anno die quibus supra constitutus fuit procurator per magistrum et conuentum predictus frater Nycholaus etc ad se presentandum in conspectu predictorum principum et domini Jacobi et ad petendum ab ipsis et eorum quolibet quinque milia ducatorum debita<sup>313</sup> et solui promissa per p[re]fat[os], certis rationibus quibus solutis litteras quictatas dandum etc dantes etc promicentes etc.

VIII. Malta, 339, f. 211v [245v] (14 December 1409)

In Christo nobis carissimis salutem et si[n]ceram in domino caritatem cum multifaria intelessimus aliquos ex fratribus nostris ac etiam ex

309. Badly scrawled in places and with evident grammatical faults, these are annotations in the Master's register rather than Conventual bulls.

310. Fr. Nicolas Séguin, Commander of la Guerche (Priory of Aquitaine) and *bailliuus* of Rhodes, Captain of Bodrum in 1409, Commander of La Rochelle and lieutenant of the Hospitaller in 1410, and *p[re]s[er]uus* of the *langue* of France in 1411: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 302; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 278, 289; Malta, 339, f. 142 [167], 196v-197 [230v-231], 229v [263v].

311. Jacopo Gattiluso apparently became Lord of Lesbos in 1403.

312. *aliorum* is repeated.

313. Ms: *debitam*.

stipendarijs nostris degentibus ad custodiam castrī sanctorum Petri et Pauli<sup>314</sup> existere sepe ad belum seu ad scarmucam cum turcis ostibus nostris ex quo iminet et incurit periculum tam dicti castrī quam personarum e[t] propter dubium euentum belli et propter insidias et casus infelices qui posent occurrere, vigilantes ad tutam gubernationem dicti castrī et ipsius securitatem et personarum in eo degencium cum ex supradicto bello modica utilitas posit venire et maximum danum et excidium, ideo tenore presentium vobis et cuilibet vestrum sub virtute sancte obedientie precipimus et districte ma[n]damus quatenus deinceps nulatinus exeatis seu exire permitatis aliquos uel aliquem ad bellum seu scarmucam cum dictis turcis ostibus nostris sed solum vacare debeatis ad diligentem custodiam dicti castrī et si aliquis fuerit inobediens seu transgressor ma[n]datorum nostrorum in eseundo ad dictum bellum contra predictam inibitionem nostram celeriter nobis vos locumtenens intimare studeatis sientes quod cuntra inobedientes procedetur pro eius inobediencia rigorose taliter quod ceteris tradetur exe[m]plum. In Christo valete. Dada Rodi die. xiiij. mensis decembris anno domini .M<sup>o</sup>.cccc<sup>o</sup>. ix.

Frater Dominicus de Alamania<sup>315</sup> locumtenens etc. et consilium bayliuorum et procerum Conuentus Rodi

IX. Malta, 339, f. 143v-145 [168v-170]: 17 October 1410<sup>316</sup>

Frater Dominicus de Alamania sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherusalem humilis preceptor sancti Stephani de Monopoli locumtenens reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini fratris Philiberti de Neilhaco dei gratia dicte sacre domus dignissimi magistri et pauperum Christi custodis et nos conuentus Rodi domus eiusdem religioso in Christo nobis fratri Petro de Prouins dicte domus thesaurario et generali receptori

314. Bodrum castle.

315. Fr. Domenico de Alamania, Commander of Santo Stefano Monopoli and Lieutenant at Rhodes from February 1409 until his death between 6 March and May 1411, was repeatedly involved in Greek and Rhodian affairs from 1379 onwards: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 190 n.3 *et passim*; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XXIII 34, 48 *et passim*; Luttrell, *Latin Greece*, XII 281-291 *et passim*; Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 199-200 *et passim*; Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, IV 161, 163, 165, V *passim*; Luttrell, *Studies*, XIII 119 n. 83, XIV 94-100.

316. The forms *flor'* and *asper'* are arbitrarily expanded, though it is doubtful whether the scribe himself knew precisely what was intended.

nostro in partibus occidentalibus<sup>317</sup> seu eius thesaurarie et receptorie officio fungenti Salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem, tenore presentium ad uestram deducimus notitiam qualiter thesaurus noster conuentualis comunis tenetur et est obligatus eidem reuerendissimo domino magistro in florenorum decem et septem millibus et septingentis nonaginta quinque ac asperorum decem monete nostre currentis Rodi quos ipse reuerendissimus dominus magister habere et reperi debet a dicto thesauro pro rebus et peccuniarum summis et quantitibus per dictum thesaurum pro subtentatione et gubernatione ac necessitatibus dicti conuentus et thesauri realiter et cum effectu habitis et receptis ab egregio et magnifico domino Dragonono Clauelli domino insulle Nizariensis et de Lardo procuratore generali ipsius reuerendissimi domini magistri<sup>318</sup>, dante et mutuante dictas res et peccuniarum summas et quantitates nomine et vice ipsius domini magistri in modum que sequitur infrascriptum videlicet. Primo pro resta ducatorum auri mille trecentorum in piperum datum et consignatum Nicolao de Lippo quondam<sup>319</sup> pro emendo granum in Cicilia<sup>320</sup> ducatos trecentos qui valent florinorum quatuor centum octuaginta dicte nostre monete. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit dicto thesauro pro expensis factis per fratrem Johannem Chambonum<sup>321</sup> tunc ambassiatorem et nuntium transmissum in partibus Turquie apud Caramanum ducatos ducentos et pro exenijs argenti et pannorum missis et presentatis eidem Caramano ducatos centum quinquaginta qui sunt in suma ducatos trecentos quinquaginta valent florinos quingenti sexaginta dicte nostre monete. Item pro vino et alijs victualijs mutuatis per ipsum dominum Drag-

317. Fr. Pierre de Provins: *supra*, 129 n. 296.

318. Dragonetto Clavelli, lord of the island of Nisyros from 1401 and of the Rhodian *casale* of Lardos from 1402, became wealthy and powerful as the Master's procurator from 1382 until his death in January 1415 circa: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 224, n. 1, 272, 294; Luttrell, *Hospitaliers in Cyprus*, III 764-766, XXIII 38-41; Luttrell, *Hospitalier State*, III 218, V 6-9, VI 151; Luttrell, *Studies*, XX 140; Tsirpanlis, *Πόδος*, 331-335. The Master's incomes, mainly from Rhodes and the lesser islands, were separate from those of the Conventual Treasury, which came mainly from the West.

319. Niccolino de Lippo, an Italian of Rhodes, became lord of Nisyros in 1391 and in 1392 was appointed to manage the Hospital's financial *chartulaires*: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 383; Luttrell, *Hospitalier State*, III 195-196.

320. Sicily.

321. Fr. Jean Chambon, Commander of Le Fouilloux (Priory of Aquitaine), 1409: Malta, 359, f. 165v [198v].

ononum quo supra nomine eidem thesauro pro substentatione apothecae castris sancti Petri quam tenet Anthonius Ruffinus<sup>322</sup> florinos quatuorcentum viginti dicte nostre monete. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro expensis factis per fratrem Stolonum de Lescura<sup>323</sup> tunc ambasiatorem et nuntium transmissum in partibus Turquie apud Mossolmanum zalabi tam pro se quam pro exenijs argenti et pannorum presentatis eidem Mossolmano zalabi florinos ducentos sexdecim asperos decem dicte nostre monete. Item quo[s] ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro expensis factis per Stephanum Tortorella olim iudicem ordinarium et criminum curie nostre Rodi et nunc iudicem appellationum dicte curie nostre<sup>324</sup> pro tunc ambasiatorem transmissum apud dominum imperatorem Constantinopolitanum ducatos centum sexaginta quinque qui valent florinos ducentos sexaginta quatuor dicte monete nostre. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro expensis factis ambasiatori dicti domini imperatoris ducatos quindecim valent florenos viginti quatuor dicte nostre monete. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro septuaginta duobus remis galearum et alijs expensis factis pro galeis in volta<sup>325</sup> florenos quinquaginta tres dicte monete nostre. Item quos dictus dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro vna capsia sagitarum et capsia vna verotonum transmissis in castro Rubeo<sup>326</sup> florenos decem dicte monete nostre. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine mutuauit eidem thesauro pro vna taceae argenti deaurata quam vna cum alijs vasibus argenteis dicti thesauri castellanus castris Rubei apportauit pro exenijs supra dicto Caramano florenos quinquaginta tres dicte nostre monete. Item quos dictus dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine recipere et habere debet a dicto thesauro de dispolia quondam fratris Abloti<sup>327</sup> respondendos pro

322. Anthonius Ruffinus holds the *apotheca*, or shop or tavern, in the castle at Bodrum.

323. Fr. Estolon de Lescure held a succession of commanderies in the Priory of Toulouse: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 319-320.

324. Stefano Tortorella, Rhodian judge; he was being sent to Constantinople and elsewhere on 12 April 1409 [25].

325. Storehouse of arsenal; cf. *volte arsenalis* in Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα*, no. 127.

326. Kastellorizzo, Hospitaller island: *supra*, 43.

327. *Ablotus*: unidentified.

mutuo per ipsum dominum Dragononum illi fratri Abloto tempore sue vite facto florenos triginta sex dicte nostre monete. Item pro mozetis septingentis ordeï ad nostram mensuram que dictus dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro dedit fratri Nicolao de Vals preceptorï granerij<sup>328</sup> nostri prouïxionis unius mensis pro equis nostrorum fratrum florenos centum septuaginta quinque dicte nostre monete. Item quos dictus dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine ex causa mutui dicto thesauro dedit fratri Johanni de la Paise locumtenenti thesaurarij<sup>329</sup> pro soluendo fratribus nostris euntibus in galea gardie cuius capitanus pro tunc erat supradictus frater Stolonus de Lascura florenos centum decem et septem dicte nostre monete. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro soluit domino Johanni Crispo domino insule de Millo<sup>330</sup> pro mozetis duobus millibus ordeï ad nostram mensuram receptis per supra dictum fratrem Nicolaum de Vals preceptorem granerij nostri florenos quingentos vinginti tres dicte nostre monete. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine habere et recipere debet a dicto thesauro de dispolia quondam fratris Guillermi Fornerij<sup>331</sup> pro mutuo per ipsum dominum Dragononum illi fratri Guilermo facto tempore sue vite florenos vinginti quinque dicte nostre monete. Item pro ducatis centum quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro dedit supra dicto Stephano Tortorella pro expensis suis tempore quo transmissus fuit nuntius et ambassiator apud dictum reuerendissimum dominum magistrum florenos centum sexaginta dicte nostre monete. Item pro ducatis quingentis quos ipse dominus Dragononus quo supra nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro dedit in stipendijs castri sancti Petri pro mensibus octobris et nouembris elapsis de anno millesimo quadringentesimo nono florenos octingentos dicte nostre monete. Item pro menssa fratrum nostrorum et aliorum in hospicio ipsius domini magistri

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328. A Fr. Nicholas de Valle was Castellan of Pheraklos on Rhodes in 1382 and in command of the granaries in 1390: Malta, 321, f. 218 [226]; 324, f. 143-143v [151-151v]. Fr. Nicholas de Valle, Commander of Perrot (La Rochelle: Priory of Aquitaine) was summoned to Rhodes in 1407: Malta, 334, f. 5 [5].
329. Fr. Jean de la Paise (Patria) of the Priory of Aquitaine, lieutenant Treasurer, 1410; Treasurer from 1416 to 1434: Malta, 340, f. 31-31v [-]; 345, f. 6-6v [6-6v]; 351, f. 34v-35 [34v-35].
330. Giovanni Crispo, Lord of Melos, of the family of the Dukes of Naxos (Archipelago).
331. Fr. Guillelmus Forneri: unidentified.

existentium quos ipsi domino Dragonono quo supra nomine computauimus pro vno anno elapso diffiniente per totum mensem augusti proxime preteritum de anno presenti millesimo quadringentesimo decimo florenos quingentos viginti dicte monete nostre. Item quos ipse dominus Dragononus dicto nomine habere et recipere debet a dicto thesauro de dispolia quondam fratris Petri Manzo olim locumtenentis marescalli<sup>332</sup> pro mutuo per ipsum dominum Dragononum eidem quondam fratri Petro tempore sue uite facto pro substentatione fratrum albergie lingue Aluernie<sup>333</sup> florenos trecentum triginta dicte monete nostre. Item pro septingentis mozetis frumenti ad nostram mensuram quos ipsi domino Dragonono quo supra nomine computauimus et quos habuit de peccunijs dicti domini magistri reverendus frater Ludouicus Vagnoni admiratus<sup>334</sup> pro expensis fratrum nostrorum et aliorum existentium in castro sancti Petri per dictum admiratum factis pro tunc capitaneo dicti castri ad rationem asperorum decem pro mozeto quolibet florenos trecentum quinquaginta dicte nostre monete. Item pro stipendijs fratris Johannis de Sancta Cruce<sup>335</sup> quos ipse dominus Dragononus dicto nomine pro dicto thesauro soluit ipsi fratri Johanni pro duabus annatis elapsis videlicet millesimi quadringentesimi octaui et millesimi quadringentesimi noni florenos octuaginta dicte nostre monete. Item pro stipendijs duarum annatarum videlicet millesimi quadringentesimi octaui et millesimi quadringentesimi noni solutis per ipsum dominum Dragononum quo supra nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro fratri Hugoni de Montargui<sup>336</sup> florenos quadraginta dicte nostre monete. Item pro mozetis nouem millibus octogentis octuaginta quinque frumenti ad nostram mensuram et mozetis mille quingentis septuaginta ordeï ad dictam nostram mensuram que ipse dominus Dragononus ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro dedit supra dicto fratri Nicolao de Vals preceptorï granerij nostri pro annata

332. Fr. Pierre Manze, lieutenant Marshal, 1410: Malta, 339, f. 212v [246v].

333. The Marshal and his lieutenant normally belonged to the *Langue* of Auvergne; Fr. Pierre Manze had borrowed money to support the brethren of the *auberge* or hostel of that *langue*.

334. Fr. Lodovico Vagnone, Admiral and formerly Prior of Venice: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 253, 321 n. 2; Luttrell, *Hospitallers in Cyprus*, XXIII 44, 47.

335. Fr. Jean de Sainte Croix, envoy from the Master Naillac to the Convent in Rhodes in 1410, Commander of Poucharramet (Priory of Toulouse) in 1416, and Captain of Bodrum in 1429: Malta, 339, f. 175bis [209], 214 [248], 214v [248v]; 348, f. 163 [166].

336. Fr. Hughes de Montargui: unidentified.



que incipit prima die septembris millesimi quadringentesimi nouem et diffinit per totum agustum proximum preteritum de anno presenti millesimo quadringentesimo decimo ad rationem asperorum vndecim pro mozeto quolibet frumenti valet dictum frumentum florenos quinque milibus quatuor centum trigintasex et asperis quindecim et ad rationem asperorum quinque cum dimidio pro mozeto ordei predicti valent ordeum predictum florenos quatuorcentum triginta vno et asperis quinque et sumant precia dictorum frumenti et ordei florenos quinque millia octingenti sexaginta octo dicte nostre monete.<sup>337</sup> Item pro mozetis decem millibus frumenti et mozetis duobus millibus ordei ad dictam nostram mensuram que ipse dominus Dragononus dicto nomine ex causa mutui pro dicto thesauro dedit eidem fratri Nicolao de Vals preceptori granerij nostri in insula Rodi pro annata que incipit prima die septembris proximi elapsi de anno presenti millesimo quadringentesimo decimo et diffinit per totum mensem agusti proximum futurum de anno millesimo quadringentesimo vndecim ad rationem asperorum decem pro quolibet mozeto frumenti valet dictum frumentum florenorum quinque millibus et ad rationem asperorum quinque pro quolibet mozeto ordei predicti valet dictum ordeum florenos quingentis et sumant precia dictorum frumenti et ordei florenos quinquemillia et quingenti dicte nostre monete. Item pro marchis centum vinginti quatuor et vncia media vasselaminum argenti albi ipsius domini magistri habitis ex causa mutui per ipsum thesaurum que ipse domino Dragonono quo supra nomine computauimus ad rationem ducatorum sex pro marco quolibet valent ducatos sextingentos quadraginta quatuor et asperos duodecim qui sunt florenorum mille centum nonaginta vnus dicte nostre monete. Que omnes [quantitates] supradicte ascendunt ad supra dictam sumam florenorum .xvij<sup>m</sup> .vij<sup>c</sup> .lxxxv et asperorum x. dicte nostre monete currentis Rodi ad quequidem .xvij<sup>m</sup> .vij<sup>c</sup> .lxxxv. florenorum et asperorum x recuperando eidem domino Dragonono quo supra nomine sibi assignauimus et per presentes literas nichilominus assignauimus de responsionibus quorumcumque prioratuum nostrorum et pecuniarum quarumcumque aliarum de dictis prioratibus qualitercumque vobis et dicto thesauro in partibus occidentalibus pertinentibus et pertinere debentibus. Ideo vobis sub virtute sancte obediencie districte precepimus et mandamus quatenus de peccunijs responsionum prescriptorum prioratuum nostrorum preteriti temporis et presentis ac

337. Margin: *no[n]* or *u[er]o*?

futuri et etiam de omnibus alijs peccunijs dictorum prioratuum nobis et dicto thesauro venire debentibus et pertinentibus quouis modo pre-tacta<sup>338</sup> reverendissimo domino magistro seu eius nuncio uel procuri aut cui uel quibus mandabit ad eius omnem requisitionem visis presentibus infra tempus et terminum consuetum sine contradictione et difficultate dicta decem et septem millia septingenta nonaginta quinque florenorum et asperorum decem dicte monete nostre Rodi detis soluatis et realiter cum effectu consignetis et in signum solutionis huiusmodi recipiatis ab ipso domino magistro seu nuncio uel procuratore quitantiam publicam et opportunam recognitionem que domini nostri et eius thesauro ac vobis sufficiat pro cauthella, presentes que literas etiam penes vos retineatis irritas et incissas facta dicta solutione primo ut est dictum. In cuius rei testimonium sigillum nostri dicti locumtenentis quo vtimur ob deffectum comunis dicti conuentus bulle plumbee in cera viridi presentibus est appensum. Datum Rodi in prefato conuentu die decima septima mensis octobris anno incarnationis domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo.

X. Malta, 339, f. 233v-234 [267v-268] (8 January 1412)

*in margin:* potestati Chij

Egregie potens et amice carissime. Salutem in domino vestras duas recepimus literas quarum tenores bene intelleximus. In una enim continebatur quod quadam galiota nostra cepit duas barchas vestras eas depredando et similiter aliquos turchos vbi habetis pacem et nos similiter et aliter prout in dicta litera continebatur. Et cum de nostra ciuitate Rodi nulla galiota defuit hoc fore per galiotam castri sancti Petri perpetrandum hesitando existimamus. Et statim decruimus scribere et mandare capitaneo dicti castri districte precipiendo ut si aliqua bona a dictis grippis vestris seu barchis extorserat seu aliquos turchos ceperat sicut scribitis statim restituere cum effectu faciet. Item in alia continebatur conquerendo pro parte Johannis Ytaliani qui est burgensis noster coniugatus cum filia burgensis nostri possidens bona mobilia et immobilia in insula nostra Rodi gaudens priuilegijs et munitatibus nostris seu nostre ciuitatis et ausus fuit scribere contra nostros subditos minus veridice propter culpum ipsius Johannis nostri subditi a saracenis infidelibus in

338. *Sic.*

Egypto capti et detracti fuerunt tam in personis quam in bonis contra formam iuris tacendo veritatem et expressando falsitatem. Cum dictus Manolius<sup>339</sup> burgensis noster fuit agressus et captus violenter a Desirino Strigol januense vestro in partibus Cilidonie cum naui sua patronizata cum saponibus soldani Babilonie et cum alijs rebus et mercibus suis ac aliorum nostrorum marinariorum de Rodo et ductus piratice ad locum de Siccamino<sup>340</sup> Anthonio de Lanceliol[o]<sup>341</sup> et ibidem fuit in vinculis detentus et positus in aculeo et tortus pluries, et ad huc idem Emanuel est in illis partibus et ipsum redimi fecerunt dictus Strizol et complices pro mille ducatis et ultra scilicet in pecunia numerata, non obstantibus alijs bonis suis et marinariorum depredatis ut preferitur. Et cum intendimus in nostra ciuitate quoscumque culpabiles repertos puniri et condampnari ad hoc ne maleficia remaneant impunita et vnicique jus suum tribuere. Quapropter dicto Johanni iusticiam intendimus ministrare similiter. Valeatis in Christo Rodi die viij januarij m iiiij<sup>c</sup> xij<sup>o</sup> a natiuitate.

Frater Hesso Sleg[elholtz] locumtenens  
domini nostri magistri  
ceteri que fratres etc.

Egregio et potenti viro  
domino Petro de  
Francie potestati  
insulle Chij<sup>342</sup> in Christo  
nobis carissimo

XI. Malta, 339, f. 234 [268] (8 January 1412)

*In margin:* Capitaneo castri sancti Petri

Venerabilis religiose salutem in domino cum hic sit quod potestas et consilium ciuitatis Chij nobis intimando per eorum literas scripserunt qualiter quedam galiota nostra depredauerat aliquas barchas cum eorum bonis et non nullos turchos vbi pacem habemus nimis conquerendo ut in literis ipsius potestatis et concilij latius continetur quas uobis mittimus interclusas. Item religiose in Christo nobis carissime cum nostra intencio sit cum effectu amicos nostros indempnes conseruare et similiter turchos

339. Manoli Sagodini : *supra*, 112-113.

340. Sykaminon, north of Athens.

341. *Lanceliolo*: Antonio Acciaiuoli, Duke of Athens (1403-1435).

342. Pietro de Franchis, *Podestà* of Chios.

de jurisdictione Altologi vbi pacem habemus, vos in domino hortamur et mandamus ut si galiota uestra hic comiserat de dictis bonis ut superius specificatur integram satisfactionem et restitutionem cum effectu faciatis. Item ex auditu percepimus qualiter non nulli turchi fuerunt circa castrum sancti Petri vbi putatur quod sit exercitus admirati Palatie pro expugnando dictum castrum. Verum speramus quod vestris virtutibus me[morabili]bus taliter facietis quod vobis erit honor et eis scandalum incumbet, et si alijsdem pro vobis facere indigetis nos sumus parati iuxta posse sicut nobis scripseritis. Rodi die viij januarij m<sup>o</sup> iiii<sup>c</sup> xij a natiuitate.

Fr. Hesso etc.

Ceterique fratres

Venerabili Religioso fratri  
Petro Holt turcopeliero  
conuentus nostri Rodi et  
nostri castrum sancti Petri  
Capitaneo in Christo nobis  
carissimo<sup>343</sup>

## XII. Malta, 339, f. 235v [269v] (15 January 1412)

Venerabilis religiose in Christo nobis carissime salutem in domino, nuperime ex non nullorum auditu percepimus aliqua verba contumeliosa orta fuisse inter vos et non nullos fratres in castro sancti Petri conmorantes de quo non modicum admirati fuimus, considerantes prudenciam et amicitiam vestram in tali loco vbi pro tocuis fidei christiane nostrequam religionis augmento debetis cogitare die noctuque contra emules nostrosque hostes ad ipsorum destructionem et damnificationem, tamen in vestris virtutibus cogitamus ut taliter prouidebitur in hijs et alijs quod erit honor nostre religioni et vestri. Item vestras recepimus literas et similiter relatio religiosi in Christo nobis carissimi .. preceptoris Burdegalensis<sup>344</sup> pro custodia et saluatione dicti nostri castrum de quibus decreuimus et onerare fecimus in quadam gripparia illus<sup>345</sup> que uobis necesse

343. Fr. Peter Holt, Turcopolier and Prior of Ireland from about 1396 until his death in 1415; Captain of Bodrum in 1412; long active in Rhodian affairs: in addition to Tipton, English Hospitallers, 119-121, see Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 301-302, 307; Barker, *Manuel II*, 177-180; Chrysostomides, *Monumenta*, nos. 274-275, 277-279, 283, 289; *supra*, [49].

344. The Commander of Bordeaux on 15 March 1412 was Fr. Gaillot de Montet: Malta, 339, f. 122-122v [132-132v].

345. *Sic*.

videbuntur. Similiter expedire fecimus galeam nostram gardie et cum aliqua dampna passi fuimus a turchis cum eorum lignis depredati fuerunt aliquos homines de Symia<sup>346</sup> et de alijs insulis nostris quare velitis expedire galeam, cum intendimus ipsam mittere in gardia pro custodia et saluatione aliarum nostrarum insularum. Alia ad presens non scribimus quia per prefatus preceptor Burdegalensis eritis plenius informatus. Conservet vos altissimus. Scriptum Rodi die xv. mensis Januarij m<sup>o</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xij<sup>o</sup> a natiuitate.

Venerabili religioso fratri  
Petro Holt Tricoplerio conuentus  
nostri Rodi et capitaneo  
castris nostri sancti Petri  
in Christo nobis carissimo

Fr. Hesso Sleg[elholtz]  
locumtenens  
et ceterique  
bailliui priores et proceres  
conuentus Rodi

XIII. Malta, 339, f. 236v-237 [270v-271] (circa late February? 1412)<sup>347</sup>

Cum hoc sit quod religio nostra vt vobis clare constat fundata et incepta fuit ad debellandum deuastandum pariter et deprimendum hostes et inimicos fidei orthodoxe pro honore tocius fidei christiane, et cum istis diebus preteritis quidam noster frater nuncupatus frater Ludouicus Asinerijs miles<sup>348</sup> cum duobus alijs fratribus nobilis generis cum quadam sua galiotta armata in castro nostro sancti Petri cum suis consocijs et marinarijs<sup>349</sup> in contractibus vestris de Methelino obuiaverit quandam galiottam turchorum infidelium et cum notorium sit quod galee nostre armate quando reperiuntur in mari extra strictum Romanum<sup>350</sup> cum aliquibus lignis turchorum armatis iuste posse capere et lucrari, et econuerso quam galiottam turchorum bellum dederunt victoriam obtinendo, de quibus turcis aliqui in insula et terra vestra descenderunt

346. Symi.

347. It follows a document of 25 February 1412: Malta, 339, f. 236-236v [270-270v].

348. Fr. Lodovico de Asinari held the Commandery of Alessandria (Priory of Lombardy) on 22 October 1411: Malta, 339, f. 137 [162].

349. *consocijs et marinarijs*: apparently the partners and crew on the galiot acting piratically or by *corso*, according to some established contract. Doukas used the term *kontostaulos*, which usually designated an officer in charge of Latin mercenaries: Zachariadou, *Studies*, XVI 63.

350. The Dardanelles.

et iam de dicto ligno turchorum magnam quantitatem bonorum in eadem existentem exonerauerunt in uestra galiotta onerando vos que debebatis auxilium consilium et fauorem prestare mercatoribus contrarium perpetrastis, de quo non modicum admirati fuimus et per aliquos uestrorum fratrum galiotte nostre gamma<sup>351</sup> fregerunt, ob quorum culpam naufragium passum fuit, in magnum dampnum grauamen dedecus iniuriam lesionem ac vilipendium fidei orthodoxe domini nostri magistri et tocius nostre religionis dictos fratres capere fecistis, manus retro sicut dampnati ad mortem ligando et ipsos ducendo taliter ligatos usque ad castrum uestrum, et ibidem in uestro pelerino<sup>352</sup> vbi malefactores puniuntur dictum fratrem Ludouicum ligari ibidem fecistis manu propria ipsum acriter verberando et offendendo demum par magnum interuallum dictos fratres nostros cum aliquibus socijs eorum in carceribus uestris includere fecistis et de socijs suis aliqui in carceribus alij in vinculis ferreis, obmissa antiqua amicitia que continue vigebat inter nos et parentes uestros, multas alias iniurias perpetrando et faciendo quas silemus pro presenti prolixitate scripture, quas non solum reputamus fuisse factas illis fratribus militibus ymo reputamus factas fuisse superiori nostro nobis omnibus ac cunctis Christi fidelibus, reuerentes vobis ut talem congruam satisfactionem et emendam facere velitis prout de iure tenemini, alias quod absit si neglexeritis prouid[e]bitur<sup>353</sup> de remedio oportuno. Scriptum Rodi die ...<sup>354</sup>

Jacobo Gathelusio  
domino Methelini

detur

fr. Hesso Sleg[elholtz]  
locumtenens etc.  
Ceterique baliui  
prios et proceres

XIV. Malta, 339, f. 237 [271] (February – 20 May 1412)<sup>355</sup>

Egredie vir et amice dilecte, uestras recepimus literas per quemdam

351. *gamma*: main hawser.

352. *pelerinum*: pillory.

353. Ms: *prouidebimus?* replaced by *prouidebi detur* (for *prouidebitur?*).

354. Left blank.

355. This letter was registered between documents of 25 February and 1 July 1412: Malta, 339, f. 236-236v, 238 [270-270v, 272]. However, Schlegelholz died on 20 May 1412: Malta, 339, f. 242 [276], wrongly given as 10 May in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 319.

grippum continentes quatenus certam quantitatem chamelottorum quaedam galiotta armata in castro nostro sancti Petri de quodam grippo vestro abstraxit et depredauit, et quia sumus ignari de tali facinore mox scripsimus districte capitaneo dicti nostri castris precipiendo, et in Langon[e]<sup>356</sup>, vt visis literis nostris, si ita est, dictam galiottam cum suis socijs illico detinere faciant, vna cum dictis chamelottis et alijs rebus et hominibus, quia intentio nostra non est ut aliquis nostratum vos seu vestros damnificabit ymo custodiat, ut continuo facere consueuimus, dictumque castrum non construximus causa depredandi aliquos christianos, sed deuastandi Christi emulos et impugnandi, verum quod aliquis in ciuitate nostra dicunt quod sunt aliqui de Methelino qui hoc delictum perpetrauerunt. Valeatis feliciter et longue.

Egregio viro domino Petro de Franchis, honorabili Capiteo Ciuitatis et Insule Chij et suo honorabili Consilio

Frater Hesso Sleg[elholtz] etc.  
Ceterique baliui priores etc.

XV. Malta, 339, f. 151 [176] (20 April 1412)

Frater Hessonus Slegelholtz sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Ierosolimitani preceptor Langonensis etc. ac locumtenens reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini fratris Philiberti de Naylhaco dei gratia eiusdem sacre domus magistri dignissimi et pauperum Christi custodis et nos conuentus Rodi domus eiusdem, dilecto Raymondo de Sancto Maurichio burgensi Rodi salutem in domino, tuis supplicationibus intuitis attendentes quod fuit preconizatum in ciuitate nostra Rodi et nullus conqueritur constituimus et ordinamus te consullem in Satalia et in toto destrictu illustri domini magni Caramani ad voluntatem nostram, cum suis oneribus et honoribus auarijs comerchijs arboragijs iuribus et rationibus prout alij consules nostri preteriti consueuerunt facere et habere et non aliter nec alio modo, dantes et tribuentes tibi Raymondo potestatem et actoritatem in et super hominibus burgensibus et vassalibus nostris in dicto loco pronunciandi mandandi cognosendi et determinandi in eorum litigijs differencijs et altricationibus dum tamen formam iuris et equitatis non excedas, quod si feceris quod non credimus pro irrito

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356. Kos.

et nullo declaramus ex nunc pro ut ex tunc et ex tunc pro ut ex nunc mandantes etiam vniuersis et singulis subditis nostris in dicto loco et hominibus quatenus tibi Raymundo consulo nostro eaque tangunt ad honorem nostre religionis consilium auxilium et fauorem prebere valeas et mandata tua inpremissis et alijs debitis et opportunis parere et obedire, amouentes et cassantes a dicto officio Quiruathi<sup>357</sup> Cardami pro suis culpis et excesibus. In cuius rey testimonium bulla nostra in cera qua vtimur loco bulle comunis plumbee dicti nostri conuentus presentibus est appensa. Data Rodi die vigesima aprillis millesimo quatuorcentesimo duodecimo Indictione V<sup>a</sup>.

XVI. Malta, 339, f. 249v [283v] (1 February 1413)

Serenissime Princeps et domine inclitissime humilima et subiectiua recommendatione cum omni promptitudine obsequendi, quequidem cum absit possint in tocius christianitatis dedecus et diminutionem redundare, maiestati vestre tamquam principali defensatrici eiusdem in orientalibus partibus cupimus literaliter reserare. Sane cum nouissime in Christo nobis dilectus prouidus vir Bernardus Patherij mahonensis Chij per suas fiducialiter nobis literas auizando qualiter in partibus Galipoli ille perfidus Mossy Sâp<sup>358</sup>, qui nimium christianos habet exosos, galeas et ligna usque ad numerum xxx ex quibus extant galee ix nititur armare, se suum ducere iter uersus Constantinopolim uel Saloniquium fingendo, et quia timendum est ut patrizando sacram religionem christianitatis calumpniare velit decet imminentibus periculis preuidere, minus enim jacula ferunt que preudentur, vestram igitur tamquam finale tutamen fidei christianitatis obsecremus maiestatem, quatenus preuidere placeat quod casu quo ad istas venirent partes quod subditi vestre magestati vna nobiscum sint parati eis obstare. Ceterum maiestati vestre equum quendam passagij quem condam prior Tholose<sup>359</sup> de partibus ponentis secum adduxit per in Christo nobis dilectum Thomam Grille burgensem nostrum destinamus, cui placeat vestra maiestas circa hoc plenariam credentialiter adhibere fidem. Alia non scribimus nisi si qua valerimus pro vestra maiestate

357. Quir Uathi or Uachi, a Greek; Quir, i.e. *Kup*, shorter form of *Kύριος*, sir.

358. Sic: Musa çelevi.

359. Fr. Raymond de Lescure [30].



offerimus nos paratos. Quam altissimus conseruare dignetur feliciter et longeuē. Rodi die j mensis februaryj m iiij xiiij.

Serenissimo et inclitissimo etc Regi Jherusalem Cipri et Armenie domino nostro metuendo.<sup>360</sup>

Frater Lucius de Vallinis etc.<sup>361</sup>

XVII. Malta, 339, f. 249v-250 [283v-284] (13 February 1413?)

Spectabilis vir et amice<sup>362</sup> dilecte Salutem in domino, noueritis nos sane vestras intellexisse literas amicabiles nobis nuperime transmissas, per quarum tenorem grandem comprehendimus affectionem quam erga nos et nostram immense geritis religionem, vobis tamquam amico nostro singulari et intrinseco ob hoc regraciando, verum quia in eisdem scribitis esse vtile ligam quam hactenus habuimus cum dominis insularum Chij et Methelini et aliorum dominorum renouare, quod nobis fore consonum et necessarium videtur et maxime pro presenti contra perfidos infideles hostes et inimicos fidei orthodoxe qui christianos nituntur opprimere, et quia bonum est periculis obuiare, vos tamquam amicum nostrum singularem, et precipue in presenti materia que tangit honorem christianitatis, vos rogamus si placeat dictis dominis ligam renouare, ut huc mittere faciatis ex eorum parte quasdam personas notabiles ipsam ligam nobiscum renouantes, aut si eis vel vobis videtur quod periculum sit in mora et tempus non instat de renouando dictam ligam, quod tunc placeat eis nobis intimare quam cicius poterint, sumus enim prompti duas incontinenti armare galeas quas illuc destinabimus pro eundo vbi vobis expediens videatur. Ceterum scripsimus serenissimo regi Cypri, illustribus ducibus Candie et Archipelagi de dicta materia ut nobiscum suas pro honore sancte fidei christianitatis vellent interponere vires. Alia non scribimus nisi quod rogamus vos ut nobis quam cicius poteritis rescribatis quid de predictis dicti domini sentiunt faciendum et de alijs ibidem occurrentibus et occurrentibus. Valeat vestra amicitia feliciter et longeuē. Rodi die xiiij februaryj.

360. King Janus of Cyprus.

361. Fr. Luce de Vallins, Marshal from 1407 and Lieutenant from mid-1412 until his death before 24 May 1419: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 304.

362. Probably addressed to the *Podestà* of Pera: *supra*, 117.

XVIII. Malta, 339, f.179v [213v] (14 April 1413).

*In margin:* pro f. Johanne de Pietris et al[io]

Frater Lucius de Vallinis [sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani humilis marescallus et locumtenens reuerendissimi in Christo patris et domini domini fratris Philiberti de Naylhaco dei gratia eiusdem sacre domus magistri dignissimi et pauperum Christi custodis]<sup>363</sup> religiosus in Christo nobis carissimis fratribus Johanni de Pietris et Richardo de Pontaillier preceptorum d'Ansigny<sup>364</sup> lingue nostre Francie Salutem in domino. Sperantes quod per strenuitates vestras, dei et patroni nostri iuvamine mediante, viriliter gerere debeatis contra infideles inimicos religionis nostre aduersus quos magni feruore affectu adire pro honore sancte fidei orthodoxe et nostre religionis, idcirco licentiam vobis assensum pariter et consensum, armandi quandam galiottam vestram et cum ea nauigandi et remigandi ac guerram contra infideles inimicos religionis nostre ac eorum subiectos et subditos, detractis calogeris montis sancti<sup>365</sup> et eorum bonis quibus in aliquo non intendimus agrauare seu dampnificare per vos seu aliquem vestrum, et quidquid de ipsis seu eorum rebus ceperitis ad vestrum beneplacitum faciendi de voluntate consilio et assensu religiosorum in Christo nobis carissimorum dominorum fratrum baluorum et procerum nostri conuentus Rodi concedimus et impertimur. Cum tali prerogatiua ut in consequendo muneribus et beneficijs nostre religionis habeamini ac si essetis personaliter in conuentu Rodi residentes de voluntate et assensu pillerij ceterorumque fratrum lingue Francie in conuentu Rodi degentium,<sup>366</sup> mandantes vniuersis et singulis subditis nostris ac non subditos sed amicos nostros obsecremus ut in hijs vobis nostri contemplatione, auxilium consilium probeatis et iuvamen. datum Rodi sub sigillo nostro quo in talibus vtimur<sup>367</sup> die xiiij mensis aprilis anno a natiuitate domini m<sup>o</sup> iiij<sup>c</sup> xiiij<sup>o</sup>.

363. The full title is taken from Malta, 339, f. 179 [213].

364. Fr. Jean de Pietris and Fr. Richard de Pontaillier, Commander of Ensigné (Priory of Aquitaine).

365. Mount Athos.

366. *residentes* crossed out; the brethren involved are for purposes of seniority and promotion by their *langue*, that of France, to be considered as resident in the Convent even when at sea in *corso*.

367. In the absence of the Master who had the Conventual seal with him, the Lieutenant used his personal seal.

## XIX. Malta, 338, f. 156-156v [156-156v] (25 May 1414)

Frater Philibertus de Nailhaco dei gratia sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jherosolimitani magister humilis et pauperum Christi custos Religiosis in Christo nobis carissimis fratribus Priamo de Gambacurtis priori prioratus nostri Pisarum<sup>368</sup> et Andree de Caponibus preceptori Podij Boni receptori responsionum in dicto prioratu domus eiusdem<sup>369</sup> salutem et sinceram in domino caritatem. Cum prout vos ignorare non credimus ille turchus dei et catholice fidei ac religionis nostre perfidus inimicus Quirichi nuncupatus<sup>370</sup> ipsius et aliorum perfidorum turchorum Christi nominis blasphemorum plus solito peccatis exigentibus semente proteruia ad debellandum et destruendum chisticolas quamplurima nauigia armauerit seu armari fecerit et jam realiter et de facto multos christianos de insulis<sup>371</sup> Scij et Metelini et aliarum partium insularum orientis dicti turchi ceperint et secum captiuos duxerint nitentes seuiore<sup>372</sup> perpetrare, nisi dei auxilio suffragante christiani viriliter et potenter resistere valeant. Ex quo factum est quod licet noster Rodi conuentus causantibus scismate prothdolor quod diutius in ecclesia sancta dei viguit guerris mortalibus terrarumque sterelitat[ibus] necnon et sancte matris ecclesie et nostre religionis in varijs partibus mundi rebellibus inobedientibus propter onera hactenus per eum supportata pluribus fuerit et sit debitis paupertatibus et erumpnis irretitus et ipsum inantea peramplius irretiri compellitur nisi de responsionibus arreragijs responsionum mortuarijs et vacantibus et alijs suis iuribus satisfactum extiterit. Cum ad resistendum turchorum potencie nauigia solito estate pariter et hieme armare compellatur non sine magnis sumptibus et expensis importabilibus. Sane cum in dicto prioratu Pisarum a tempore unionis sancte matris ecclesie in Pisis per dei gratiam facte citra multe tam responsionum arreragiorum ipsarum mortuariorum et vaccantium nostro comuni thesauro debeantur pecuniarum summe. Cupientes de premissis eidem conuentui ad deffensionem fidei catholice pauperum

368. Fr. Priamo de Gambacurti, Prior of Pisa from 1410 to 1448: Luttrell, *Hospitaller State*, XVII 127, 134.

369. Fr. Andrea de Caponis, Commander of Poggibonsi and Receiver in the Priory of Pisa: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 335, 351 n. 1.

370. Sultan Mehemmed I.

371. *Lingonis*: crossed out.

372. *Sic*.

Christi et ipsius conuentus sustentacionem, ad quorum vsus et non alios omnia et singula domus nostre bona sunt specialiter dedicata satisfieri, vobis et vestrum cuilibet prout quemlibet tangit tenore presentium sub virtute sancte obediencie et sub penis priuationis prioratus et baiuliarum vestrarum districtius iniungentes precipiendo, mandamus quatenus omnia et singula per vos et quemlibet vestrum comuni nostro thesauro debita indilate detis et realiter consignetis omni contradictione remota, necnon omnes et singulos domus eiusdem prioratus predicti fratres preceptores et alios quoscumque premissorum debitores, etiam si ad manus nostras sint retenti quorum retentiones quo ad hoc de certa sciencia eis in aliquo nolumus suffragare ad per eos debita indilate et statim soluenda, omnibus cohercionibus vijsque et modis possibilibus, inuocato ad hoc si opus fuerit auxilio brachij secularis, ac etiam per priuationem baiuliarum preceptoriarum et administrationum sibi comisarum iuxta et secundum religionis nostre statuta compellatis seu compelli faciatis, omnibus appellationibus oppositionibus et contradictionibus cessantibus penitus et remotis. Scituri quod si in premissis negligentes vel remissi fueritis omnia et singula debita supradicta propter vestri negligentiam vel incuriam non soluta super vos recuperari faciemus et nichilominus ad priuacionem prioratus et baiuliarum vestrarum contra vos cum consilio domus nostre fratrum iuxta et secundum domus nostre statuta procedemus vt fuerit rationis, taliter uos habentes in premissis quod inobediencie macula vos non culpet. In cuius rei testimonium bulla nostra presentibus est appensa. Data Bononie die vicesimaquinta mensis maij anno incarnationis domini millesimo cccc<sup>mo</sup> decimaquarto.

XX. Malta, 339, f. 263 [297] (circa 16/26 April 1415)<sup>373</sup>

Venerabilis frater carissime salutatione premissa scire velitis quod de nouo Soldanus Salibi Quirici<sup>374</sup> huc transmisit ambassiatorem suum nobis supplicando ut sibi duas galeas nostras in suo adiutorio contra et aduersus Jannici de Alto Loco<sup>375</sup> et suos alios inimicos turchos transmittere dignaremur. Super quo nos fortiter excusamus sibi tamen propter futura imminencia tale prebuimus responsum quod galea nostra gardie est versus

373. Registered between documents of 16 and 26 April 1415.

374. Sultan Mehemmed Çelebi.

375. Djunayd of Altoluogo.

partes Chij, et quod ipse ambassiator cum galiotta fratris Guidonis de Reche<sup>376</sup> quam armare fecimus se transferre potest versus illas partes et si ipse Quirici indigeat galeis nostris quod ipse potest transmutare ad vos et quod facietis omne debitum versus eum sibi seruiendo. Quare sitis diligenter auizatus et consultus vobis cum illis de Chio et<sup>377</sup> faciunt etiam faciatis et vos quibus etiam scribimus super premissis. Auizamus tamen vobis quod illi de Chio tam per mare quam per terram habent pacem cum turchis et nos vero per terram tantum, quare sitis diligenter auizatus ne fraudulentur vos apprehendentur quod absit de barcha illorum turchorum interfectorum per vos nobis valde displicet sed ipsum casum conuertatis in melius desuper vos excusando quod estis ibi ad custodiendum mare ne inimici Quirici fugerent, et quod ipsi de barca cum deuelare uolent putabatis ipsos esse suos inimicos Quirici et alias etiam prout vobis melius videbitur. Prefatam galiottam volumus quod sit sub vestro regimine et ipsam ducatis vobiscum ad portum Rodi etc. Valeat in domino etc.

Frater Lucius et  
Ceterique balii

Venerabili religioso  
fratri Petro de Balma<sup>378</sup>  
capitaneo galee nostre  
in Christo nobis carissimo

Item fuit scripta litera potestati Chij et eius consilio super premissis.

XXI. Malta, 339, f. 263-263v [297-297v] (26 April [1415])

Reverendissime pater et domine deuota recommendationi premissa cum omni promptitudine obsequendi vestra noscat dominatio quod die iiij<sup>a</sup> presentis mensis frater Jacobus de Alamania<sup>379</sup> secum galea nostra gardie transfretauit versus partes Chij ad reperiendum passagium ad partes illas, cui quoddam memoriale continens facta et agitata in Constanti-nopolo<sup>380</sup> per procuratores nostros, vestrique conuentus statum ac etiam literas credentie ut valeatis de omnibus plenarie informati tradidimus. Verum hijs diebus preteritis quod dolenter vobis scribimus reperte

376. Fr. Guido de Reche: unidentified.

377. *quid illi* cancelled.

378. Fr. Pierre de Balma of the Priory of Auvergne, 1414: Malta, 339, f. 91v [101v].

379. Fr. Giacomo de Alamania, Commander of Naples, 1413, and Admiral, 1420-1427: Malta, 345, f. 194v-195 [191v-192]; Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 655.

380. Ms: *Cip'o*: Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 302 n. 1, reads *Cipro* (Cyprus).

fuerunt fraudes et spoliationes prohdolor in marinarijs vestris per regentes officium admiratus et scribam ipsius comisse, ob cuius rei causam fratrem Bonifacium de Arasca<sup>381</sup> et eius scribam et non immerito deposuimus, fratrem vero Ferlinam Malespine<sup>382</sup> in rectorem et gubernatorem ipsius officij tantum, et Anthonium Belluque filium Nicolai Belluque<sup>383</sup> ob vestre paternitatis contemplationem, quem alias ut fertur vestra dominatio ad ipsum officium deputauit ponendum. Obsecramus igitur paternitatem vestram ut de ipso officio tali prouidere libeat qui vtilis et ydoneus sit et benemerens ipsius regimine ne decetero ipsi marinarij habeant materiam conquerendi. Reuerendissime pater vobis non lateat, qualiter Soldanus Querici totam Turquiam et Greciam nisi dumtaxat territorium admiratus Palatie subiugauit, cum quo omnibus que alijs infidelibus orientalibus presentialiter pacem ferimus, verumptamen nobis videtur quod vestre paternitatis et religionis honore condecens esse habere cum Syria et alijs locis soldano subiectis Babilonie habere guerram, non tamen ipsam incipere intendimus nisi prius vestre paternitatis habita voluntate atque licencia quam nobis notificare citius quam poteritis dignemini. Ceterum venerabilis frater Petrus Holt turcopolerius cum post eius reuersum de Constantinopolo<sup>384</sup> gravi infirmitate fuit et est detentus ita quod a medicis omnimode est derelictus, consolator desolatorum concedere sibi corporis et anime salutem dignetur. Paternitatem vestram altissimus conseruare dignetur. Rodi die xxvj aprilis.

locumt[enens]

Re[uerendissi]mo d[omi]no mag[ist]ro

Ceterique etc.

381. Fr. Bonifacio de Airasca of the Priory of Lombardy, governor of the office of Admiral and Pilier of the *langue* of Italy, 1414: Malta, 339, f. 139v-140 [163v-164].

382. Fr. Ferlino de Malaspina, Admiral 1427-1429: Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 656. Malaspina was appointed to govern the office of Admiral on 16 April 1415: Malta, 339, f. 140v [164v].

383. Nicola Belluque was *habitor* of Rhodes in 1390 and *civis* and *habitor* in 1402, while his son Anthonius was emancipated from marine servitude in 1408: Malta, 324, f. 144 [152]; 331, f. 175 [174]; 334, f. 149v-150 [151v-152]; see also Tsirpanlis, *Avékðota*, 221; Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 403 n. 158. The *regentes* of the *officium admiratus* are responsible for the misdeeds of the scribe of the *marinarij*; Fr. Bonifacio de Airasca, evidently the Admiral, and the scribe are deposed and replaced by Fr. Ferlino Malaspina and Anthonius son of Nicola Belluque.

384. Ms: *Cip'o*.

XXII. Malta, 339, f. 267v [30lv] (28 September 1415)

Die vicesima octava mensis septembris anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo decimo quinto ordinatum fuit in concilio ex parte dominorum, quod amplius de cetero nulli equi turquemani possint nec debeant transire pro equis passagij cuiuscumque status uel valoris sint dum tamen sint equi turquemani vel cismarini.<sup>385</sup>

XXIII. Malta, 346 on verso of the parchment cover (2 June/1 July 1421)<sup>386</sup>

Die Ildus mensis junij dominus frater Philibertus de Nailhaco magister nostri Hospitalis diem [...] suum clausit extremum et die prima mensis julij dominus frater Anthonus Fluuiian fuit creatus magister etc.

P Lamardj<sup>387</sup>

XXIV. Malta, 346, f. 168v [-] (before 10 May 1422)

Illustris princeps et domine carissime<sup>388</sup>, omni debita recommendatione premissa, credentiam per dominationem vestram commissam venerabili ac religioso in Christo nobis carissimo fratri Foucaldo de Rochicheart preceptori la Moree et Flandrie<sup>389</sup>, dilate et sapienter expositam gratanter intelleximus, de quo vestre jam dominationi scripsimus qualiter nostre extiterat deliberatum in pretacta materia unum sapientem uirum nostre religionis ad referendum totam intencionem nostram, et causa mandandi executioni illud quod inter nos fuit trasactum fecimus armari galiotam nostram et destinabamus nuntium seu ambaxiatorem ad vos et propter aliqua de nouo emergentia que sunt licita et honesta pro honore nostre religionis obseruando mutauimus nostrum propositum ut plenarie eritis informatus per religiosum in Christo nobis carissimum fratrem Sancium de Lisardois quem ad explicandum et referendum predicta que inter nos

385. This text is simply a note of a decision taken in Council.

386. Read with a lamp and kindly communicated by Anne-Marie Legras; the dates were previously unknown.

387. Fr. Pierre Lamond, Treasurer, 1434-1435: Sarnowsky, *Macht*, 659.

388. Probably addressed to Centurione Zaccaria, Prince of Achaia.

389. Fr. Foucaud de Rochechoart, Commander of the Morea and of Flanders; Commander of the Morea from 1414 to 1438, and Prior of France from 1442 to 1446: Malta, 339, f. 2lv [2lv]; Malta, 354, f. 1-lv [1-lv]; Malta, 355, f. 4v [4v]; Malta 359, f. 1-lv [1-lv].

extiterunt deliberata presentialiter ad uestram prelibatam dominationem destinamus, cui placeat igitur quicquid super premissis prelibate dominacioni ex parte nostra prefatus frater Sancius dicere proponere et referre uoluerit sibi credulam et plenariam adhibere fidem ut nos si presentes adessemus. Alia non occurrunt. Valeat vestra magnifica dominatio in futuris successibus ut oportet. Scriptum Rodi die ...<sup>390</sup>

XXV. Malta, 346, f.169 [-] (before 10 May 1422)

*Whole text crossed out; in margin: nichil valet*

Le maistre et le consiel de lospital  
Saint Jehan de Jherusalem

Nous auons emcharge et ballie en memorie et par la teneur des ches presentes emchargons et baillons en memorie a uenerable religieus en dieu et notre trescher frere et bien ame frere Chambaut de Ramez commandeur d'Aix et lieutenant du grant commandeur de nostre couuent de Rodez<sup>391</sup> de dire on nom et comme ambaxateur pour nous aux seigners dispoote de la Moree prince d'Acaye et archeuesque de Patras certenies paroles auecques la substance de notre entention en la maniere qui sensieut.

Primo regraciet lesdiz seigners ...<sup>392</sup>

XXVI. Malta, 346, f.169v [-] (10 May 1422)

Le Maistre et le conseil de lospital  
Saint Jehan de Jherusalem

Nous auons encharge et baillie en memorie et par la teneur des ches presentes enchargons et baillons en memorie a nostre treschier frere et bien ame religeux en dieu frere Sance de Lissardois petit commandeur de nostre conuent de Rodez<sup>393</sup> de dire on nom et comme messaier pour nous

390. Date incomplete.

391. Fr. Archanbaut de Rame, Commander of Aix and lieutenant of the Grand Commander.

392. No more written.

393. Fr. Sanche de Lyssardois de Mauleon of the Priory of Toulouse, *petit commandeur* of the Convent. He was envoy to Cyprus in 1411: Malta, 339, f. 172 [205].



aux seigners dispot de la Moree prince d'Acaye et archeuesque de Patras certaine parolez auecques la substantie de nostre entencion en la maniere que sensieut.

Primierement regradiet les diz seigners cascun par soy des gracieuses lettrez que par cascun deulx nous ont este enuoyes contenans credence par cascun diceulx baillee et encargee au commandeur de la Moree<sup>394</sup> laquele nous auons bien ouie comprinse et entendue.

Item et pour vouloir mettre a execucion le contenu de la dite credence soit dit par le dit frere Sance comment nous auiens destine et ordine nostre ambaxadeur le lieutenant du grant commandeur de nostre dit conuent pour referir et reciter a iceulx sur la dicte credence toute nostre entencion et uoulante et auiens fait armer nostre galee pour icelui conduire mais soubx le partence dicelle vint nouuelles que deuant nostre ysolle de Rodez a Flisco<sup>395</sup> estoient deux laings de thurcqs armez pour les quelx prend[r]e nous mandasmez nostre dite galee la quele y fist par lespace de viij jours. Et nous, voiant la grant demeure que la dite nostre galee faisoit a poursieuure les dis laings, feismes armeer nostre galeote pour enuoyer deuers eulx nostre dit ambaxadeur. Et pendant le partement dicelle<sup>396</sup> nous sont aussi venues nouuelles que les turcqs de Sattallie et de l'Escandelor<sup>397</sup> ennemis de la foy chatholique sont ensamble et ont v grosses gallez armees les quellez desia ont brule vne naue dung nostre bourgeois et aussi samblablement vne autre de Venetiens.

Item dautre part soit dit par le dicte dit frere Sance comment les turcqs Genaiti<sup>398</sup> a prins Haultelogue et pluseurs autres grans seignories en Turquie et fait armer grant quantite de fustez lesquellez ne se sont se non soubx vmbre de la dampnification de noz isolez, car icellui nous veult grant maliuolence et samblablement a ceulx de Scieu et de Matellin<sup>399</sup> pour che que nous et les dessus dis fuismes ala prince de Lissemiere<sup>400</sup> a lencontre de luy.

394. The Commander of the Morea, Fr. Foucaud de Rochechoart: *supra*, 153 n. 389.

395. Marmaris.

396. *dicelle* repeated.

397. Antalya and Alaya (Eskandeloron).

398. Djunayd.

399. Chios and Lesbos.

400. Smyrna.

Lesquelles choses par nous deuement considereez et regardant et uoiant que de toutes bendes nos ennemis sefforcent en puissanche pour uoloir noz ysolles dampnificar, et pour [que]<sup>401</sup> nous uoloir obuier a leur maluaise entencion et en resister contre leurs armees et autre princes et nos ysolles garder de dampnification auons la dite nostre galeote retenu pour les causes dessus ditez. Et leur soit de nostre part dit par le dit frere Sance prie que eulx en ce nous veuillent tenir pour excuses. Mais si il eust est riens agreable que faire puissions eux feablement le nous escripient, et nous la complirons de bon cuer.

Suppleat prouidencia discretiua ambaxiatoris secundum tempora personas et loca. In cuius rei testimonium nos supradictus magister hinc presenti cedula posuimus nostrum signetum.<sup>402</sup> Datum Rhodi in nostro conuentu die decima mensis maij anno incarnationis domini m<sup>o</sup>iiij<sup>o</sup> xxij<sup>o</sup>.

#### APPENDIX

Buonacorso Grimani's Report (shortly after 20 April 1403)<sup>403</sup>

*Ex[emplo] de letere in le qual se contene la sconficta de Basaytho turcho da Tamberlan*<sup>404</sup>

Partendome io Bonacorso Grimani<sup>405</sup> de comandamento del dominio a di .xij. de april del porto de Candia cum vno brigentino armado ariuai a Rodi a di .xviii. dicto, nel qual zorno me presentai al gran maestro de Rodi cum letere de credenza facte in nome mio, et secondo che per la Signoria me fo commesso soto demonstration de altre parole referi al dicto gran maestro come la Signoria predicta intendeua sapere noue certe di progressi de Tamberlan, et maxime doue iera per andar nel presente

401. Ms: *pour par*.

402. For diplomatic correspondence, technically not a bull, the Master uses his signet.

403. Fifteenth-century copy in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Latini, cl. X no. 299 [coll. 3512], f. 65-67v: summarized in Iorga, Notes, IV, 238-241; a brief excerpt is published in Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X 200-201.

404. Misleading title: the letter does not discuss Timur's defeat of Bayezid in July 1402.

405. The author, Buonacorso Grimani, was Vice Chancellor of the Cretan *curia*: Gasparis, *Catastici*, II, 139, 195-196. Grimani became Chancellor in 1437 and died in 1458: Thiriet, *Assemblées*, II, nos. 1354, 1545.

anno, perche in Candia se haueua noue diuerse narrade per molti modi, siche non se poteua bene sapere la verita<sup>406</sup>. Per la qual cossa me fo commesso che me debia informar in Rodi de noua certa se se ne poteua hauere del dicto Tamberlan, ma principaliter me fo commesso che me debia apresentare auanti al prefato gran maestro, chel se dignasse darne information de quelle noue chel sentiua del dicto Tamberlan, et chel se dignasse etiam informarme dela forma dela pace facta tra luj e il soldano de Babilonia<sup>407</sup>, perche se diceua che la dicta pace era vniuersale tochando tuti li mercadanti cristiani che nauegano in terre de saraceni. Lequal mie parole el dicto gran maestro acceptandole beniuola et amicabelmente me respoxe come luj ha mandato tre sui noncij liquali seguino continue lexercito de Tamberlan e de tempo in tempo lige significano li progressi del dicto Tamberlan e le nouita chel fa, e che lultima noua chel ha habudo da vno de quelli soi noncij in questi proximi zorni era come vno fiolo de Basayth che era in le parte de Nichodema cum .30<sup>m</sup> in .40<sup>m</sup> turchi era andato et teneua alcuni passi streti in le parte de Castamena per liquali passi doueua far transito lexercito de Tamberlan, ma chel dicto Tamberlan sentando le insidie de turchi dispone per tal modo li sui exerciti chel sconfisse et destrusse dicti turchi, fazando occidere molti de loro, et diceuase etiam chel ha prexo el fiolo de Basaytho predicto<sup>408</sup>, et diceuase dapoì questo chel dicto Tamberlan tendeuà verso Soria<sup>409</sup>.

406. Grimani says that he left Candia on 12 April and reached Rhodes on 19 April pretending to seek the whereabouts and intentions of Timur; in reality he was to discover the activities of the Genoese fleet. On 9 March 1403 the Venetian admiral Carlo Zeno was instructed from Venice that if there was no news of the Genoese at Crete he was to send a galley to Rhodes to seek information there: Surdich, *Genova*, 167-170. Similar instructions sent to Crete, also on 9 March, arrived there on 10 April: Thiriet, *Duca di Candia*, 32.

407. The *pace* was the Hospital's proposed treaty with the Mamluk Sultan al-Nasir Faraj; cf. *supra*, 59.

408. News had reached Palatia by 4 April 1403 (*infra*, 159) and Rhodes by 20 April, that a son of Bayezid had marched from Nikomedia (Izmit) to Kastamonu, reportedly with 30,000 or 40,000 Turks, that he controlled certain passes through which Timur's troops had to pass, and that he had been captured by troops of Timur. The situation was confused and the report and numbers seem unreliable. The son involved may have been Mehemed who was then in those parts: Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid*, 81-96, especially 81 n.5.

409. The rumour was still alive on Rhodes in August 1403: González de Clavijo, 19-20.

Me disse etiam el dicto gran maestro come li ambassadori del soldan de Babilonia sono venuti a lui cum grandi presenti et hano tractado et fermado pace cum esso cum grandio honore de la sua religione e comodo de cristiani, perche el dicto gran maestro ha promesso restituire al soldano tuti saraceni chel tenuano prexoni in Rodi cum la grande chocha de saraceni che le galie de Rodi haueuano prexa in Damiata, e dicti ambassadori hano promesso remeterli tuti danni facti a saraceni per le zente de Rodi senza alguna satisfaction, e che habiano bona e vera pace secundo lanticha pace che haueuano insieme li suoi antecessori<sup>410</sup>. Et che quelli de Rodi non debiano pagar saluo la comercla<sup>411</sup> uxada et anticha senza manzarie<sup>412</sup>. Et che possino tenere in Damiata consulo, et in Ierusalem, et in altre terre del soldan, pagando el soldan el salario de tali consoli. Et che possino tenere hospitalario ouer priori in Ierusalem cum frati de la sua religion senza alguno tributo da esser pagado. E che possino far edificar le chiesie et sanctuarij in Ierusalem et in Bethleem in Monte Syon et in altre terre sancte rehedificando le chiesie destructe. E che quelli che vano a visitation del sancto sepulcro non pageno saluo el tributo senza manzarie, perche prima el tributo era ducati tre per peregrino, e le manzarie erano tante che ascendeuano a ducati sette, lequal manzarie dieno cessar, e se li frari<sup>413</sup> de dicta religion anderano a visitation del dicto sepulcro non deno pagar alguna cossa, laqual pace io ho molto laudado.

Despazado adoncha dal dicto gran maestro ho intexo in Rodi da persone degne de fede che per cason de la dicta pace, e per la restitution facta de la chocha e prexoni predicti a saraceni, el dicto gran maestro ha facto constitution in Rodi che tuti habitanti de Rodi che nauegerano decetero de chadanne<sup>414</sup> parte ale terre del soldan debiano pagar ala religion del hospedal .4. per cº de tute sue mercantie, e questa imposition die durare fin che sera congredadi e pagadi ducati .xij<sup>m</sup> ouer .xvj<sup>m</sup> che faceuano valere quelle cosse che restituiano a saraceni<sup>415</sup>.

410. The treaty of 1370 discussed in Delaville, *Hospitaliers*, 165-166.

411. Ms: *comerda*.

412. *manzarie*: bribes.

413. Ms: *fracti*.

414. *chadanne*: whatever, wheresoever.

415. The treaty was agreed with the sultan's envoy at Rhodes considerably later, on 27 October 1403: text in Malta, 332, f. 170-171 [168-169] = Pauli, *Codice*, II, 108-110 = Luttrell, *Hospitaliers of Rhodes*, X 201-207. Many but not all the details given by

Ho saputo in Rodi da vno candioto per nome Palco che parti dala Palathia, a di .4. april e vene a Rodi a di .16. dicto del conflictio facto per Tamberlan de turchi soprascritti in le parte de Castamena secondo se diceua in la Palathia, e diceuase etiam chel dicto Tamberlan andaua verso le parte de Soria, ma tamen non affermaua la chel andaua del certo.

El dicto candioto insuper me ha narrado come le gente del Tamberlan hano destructo totalmente Theologo, siche non he piu cita in quel luogo, et hano spoiado tuta Turchia tolgiendo tute cosse bone e belle era in quella, si de homeni done e puti come de ogni specie de animali grossi e minuti, non lassando saluo cosse ville e de pocho valore, siche non he rimasto saluo la cita de Palathia. In laqual he constituido signor per Tamberlan vn turcho chiamato Eliasbego nepote olim del primo signor de Palathia<sup>416</sup>, elqual Eliasbego ha facto bona pace cum la religion de Rodi secundo lanticha pace che haueuano li sui progenitori, siche ogni di veniuano turchi in Rodi portante le sue mercantie e molte victualie che faceuano habundante dicta terra come ho visto, e li mercadanti de Rodi andauano e faceuano simelmente li facti sui in Turchia al modo di mercadanti securamente<sup>417</sup>.

Insuper me ha narrado dicto candioto come luj ha saputo in Palathia chel dicto Eliasbego voleua mandar lettere e suo noncio ala Signoria de Candia per tractar pace cum si, lequal lettere voleua mandar cum greparie de caloierj de San Zuane de Pathnos<sup>418</sup>.

Preterea me disse dicto candioto chel dicto signor de la Palathia haueua apariado .vij. legni armadi e faceua farse bone guardie per li suoi luogi maritimi cum molte gente, perche se diceua che Zalapin signor de Galipoli<sup>419</sup> cum potente armada de galie minaciaua andar per subiugar la terra de Palathia.

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Grimani in April appeared in the text of October: Luttrell, *Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X. The four percent tax was presumably separate from the general four percent *commerchium nostrum Rodi* payable on goods reaching Rhodes which was farmed out for ten years at 400 gold florins a year in 1393: Malta, 327, f. 112 [123]. Apparently a 'galliot of Rhodes' was at Alexandria on 5 February 1403: Ashtor, *Levant Trade*, 538.

416. Elyas of Mentеше, the son of Mehemmed who was the brother of the former emir Ahmed: Zachariadou, *Trade*, 81.

417. On the peace and trade between Rhodes and Mentеше, *supra*, 59.

418. The Cretan treaty with Mentеше concluded on 24 July 1403: Zachariadou, *Trade*, 225-233.

419. Bayezid's son Suleyman.

Vlterius me ha dicto che le gente che erano fugidi a lisola de Samo per paura del Tamberlan retornauano ala terra de Palathia ogni zorno benche alcuni hauea seminado in dicta ixola et aspectauano ricolgiere le sue messone et dapossa retornar in Turchia<sup>420</sup>.

Difacti de Cipro ho intexo in Rodi dal consulo nostro<sup>421</sup> et da altri degni de fede che molti soldati valenti homeni sono venuti a Rodi cum diuersi nauilij si de catellani e siciliani come de altri luogi<sup>422</sup>, e cum nauilij etiam de zenoesi sono venuti alcuni per via de peregrini, liquali tuti poteuano esser circa .iiij<sup>c</sup> liquali ascendeno sopra algune choche de quelli da Rodi, et se partino in la setimana sancta da Rodi per andar in Cipro in adiutorio del Re de Cipro, et diceuase che molti di dicti soldati andauano a seruir al Re gratis a sue spexe et erano catellani de Aragonia de Ispania Biscalia Marsilia Sicilia et diuerse parte come se diceua.

Andono a Rodi doe galie e vna galeota de catellani che in la setimana sancta erano partide da Rodi per andar a subsidio del Re de Cipro, lequal galee pilgiono in Rodi vna galeota de genoesi, cum laquale li ambassatorj de genoese voleuano andar in Alexandria liquali sono a Rodi, benche dapossa le vendesseno dicta galeota a dicti ambassatori per ducati cento.

Hano derobado dicte galee de la naue de Marco Bianco da Venexia apresso el porto de Rodi ducati doro .iij<sup>m</sup> vj<sup>c</sup> e vj e pondi .xliij. peuere e pondo vno de garofoli liquali ducati e specie hano dicto le gente de dicte galee che toleuano come beni de genoesi ouer fiorentini.

Ho sentito che in la dicta septemana sancta he venuto a Rodi de Romania vna spinartia de genoesi carga de fromento laquale doueua andar a Famagosta pensando che larmata de genoexi fosse passata a

420. On Samos, *supra*, 55, 101.

421. Epifanio d'Acre was mentioned as Venetian consul on Rhodes in July 1403, very soon after the date of this letter: Morosini, III, 18. In about 1411 the Hospital prohibited Epifanio from acting as Venetian consul on Rhodes, stating that the Genoese, Catalans and others who had in the past been refused their requests to have a consul there had complained that the Order's officers could settle quarrels between merchants, and that no foreign jurisdictions were permitted on Rhodes: Malta, 339, f. 229 [263], 244 [278].

422. On 31 March 1403 Bindo Piaciti reported from Venice that the King of Cyprus had recruited 700 men-at-arms between Padua and Friuli and was sending them to Cyprus: Prato, Archivio di Stato, *busta* 714 (kindly communicated by Reinhold Mueller, with other materials in the same *busta* showing how the news of the battle near Ankara produced a rise in price of slaves and pepper). In 1403 Easter fell on 15 April.

quelle parte, e quando seppe che niente se diceua de la sua armata, ma seppe che le galie e gente andauano in Cipro, dicta spinartia discarica il fromento in Rodi, et a di 19 april contra li ordeni de Rodi insalutato hospite se parti da Rodi, et voltiza tuto quel di in canal de Rodi, et diuulgauase publicamente in Rodi come in dicta spinartia erano circa .60. soldati, et voleua el patron de quella che se chiamaua Vrban andar in preda come se diceua, et specialmente se diceua chel voleua star in algun transito siche nel ritorno de quelli nauilij rodiani che conduceuano gente in Cipro la potesse pigliare alguno de dicti nauilij.

Preterea ho sentito dal consulo nostro che la chocha de Zuan de Bernaba era venuta a Rodi a di .16. del presente, e ha dicto el patron de quella come erano circa .15. zorni chel se parti de Soria ma chel non ha possudo leuar gotoni perche non era andato al tempo de la muda, et perche altre .6. choche che erano state li haueuano leuado quello era da leuarse de quel luogo, et erano partide tute in seme in vn zorno, et chel dicto Zuan de Bernaba ando a Famagosta presentadose nel porto de quella terra, et requirando hauer licentia chel potesse andar ale saline per carigar de sale, quelli de Famagosta non el lasso, dicendoli che non voleuano che luj ne altri tollesseno alguna cossa de quel luogo, siche la dicta naue ritornaua voda et douea venir in Candia ouer a Modon per trouar algun cargo per Venexia, ma quando io fui in Scarpantho zoe a di .16. del soprascrito mexe seppi come .6. choche grande voltizauano in le aque de Scarpantho in la setemana sancta et demostrauano tendere ale parte de occidente, e steteno in le dicte aque per tre ouer quatro zorni, ma non se sapeua de che condition le fosseno perche niuna de quelle non se acosto a la dicta ixola.

Insuper el dicto consulo me ha dicto chel se haueua noua in Rodi che de quelle galie che da Zenoa erano andate a Famagosta ne sone morti tanti chel non he remasto saluo la zurma de vna galia. Et diceuase chel Re de Cipro haueua 4 galee e 4 galeote apariate e mille homeni a caualo e .vj<sup>m</sup> pedoni in campo<sup>423</sup>.

Ho anchora sentito in Rodi da persone degne de fede et da candioti che sono li che quelli da Rodi hano mandato a Chiarenza vna chocha cum 15 cauali et cum victualie et cum alcuni soldati et haueuano armato vno vscrio e vna galea che erano partite per andar a quelle parte de Chiarenza sopra lequal die ascendere el fratello del gran maestro de

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423. This text adds hitherto unknown details concerning these movements.

Rodi<sup>424</sup> perche fi dicto chel he sta creato principe de la Morea, e voleno subiugare et acquistare la Morea e quelle parte, facendo guerra al dispoto, pero che dicen chel predicto dispoto ha contrafacto a quelli ali sui pacti che haueuano in seme, et nel zorno che me parti da Rodi zoe a di .20. se colligeuano li galeoti per intrar nele galee acio se partisseno, ma a mi par che pegramente intrauano li homeni dentro, e penso che anchora tarderano ad andar dicte galee<sup>425</sup>.

Perche io non ho manifestado ad alguno la principal casone per laqual sum mandato ale parte de Rodi, ma diceua copertamente che era andado principalmente e precise per sentir noue di progressi de Tamberlan e sel se sentiua chel andasse verso Soria, molti diceuano molte cosse in Rodi et maxime zenoexi che sono li, pensando chel mio andar de li fosse alguna gran caxon, perche se diceua che .xj. galee erano enside de Venexia e 4 de Candia, et non se sentiua alguna noua de larmada de zenoexi che fosse ensida, et alcuni demandauano dache erano armate tante galee in Venexia e doue doueuano andar, e stauano tuti in grandissime dubitatione, maximamente perche se diceua chel imperador Chir Manoli era venuto cum loro fin a Mothon e de li lui doueua andar per terra per la via de Vassilopotami ale parte de Romania<sup>426</sup>, e le nostre galee erano in Mothon, et etiam miser fra Domenego de Alemagna me domando de queste cosse, io li respondeua che in Candia non se sapeua ne poteuase sapere alguna cossa de la intention de queste galee perche anchora non se sapeua del venir de quelle in Mothon, ma de costuma de la nostra Signoria era sempre armar galee per custodia del Colfo antichamente, e mai non ha manchado che non se armasse ogni anno per el Colfo, et alguna volta molte galee et alguna volta poche come pareua ala nostra Signoria per ben dele sue facende. Da poi queste cosse luj me domando sel he sta creato alguno archiepiscopo de Venexia in lo archiepiscopato de Patras, io li resposi non sapere, e che in Candia non se sentiua de questo alguna cossa. Da possa me domando se alguna prouisione he sta facta de Patras, li resposi che non sapeua alguna cossa per modo alguno de queste<sup>427</sup>.

424. Guillaume, brother of Fr. Philibert de Naillac: *supra*, 63 n. 161.

425. On the Hospital and the Morea: *supra*, 38, 49-51, 63-68.

426. Manuel II did not eventually take the overland route: Setton, *Papacy*, I, 384.

427. The Archbishop of Patras was a baron of the Principality of Achaia and an important figure in Latin Greece. *Petrus*, presumably the Venetian Franciscan Pietro Corner, nominated by the Avignon pope, was still archbishop on 4 April 1398: Gerland, *Patras*,



In Rodi ho inuestigado secretamente e per dextro modo per sentire cautamente se per zenoexi erano sta facti alcuni danni a nostri venitianani e non ho sapudo alguna cossa perche non se sapeua chel fosse alguno nauilio armato ouer galea de zenoexi in le parte de leuante e de la sua armate che se diceua che doueua andar in Cipro, non se sentiua in Rodi alguna noua chela fosse ensida, anzi se diceua per alcuni come zenoexi recusauano trar fuora la sua armata temando per francesi se alguna cossa acquistasseno in la ixola de Cipro che francesi volesseno hauerlo per si, ma miser Bucialdo<sup>428</sup> infestaua et procuraua cum tuto suo potere che larmata ensisse fuora per andar a la dicta ixola<sup>429</sup>.

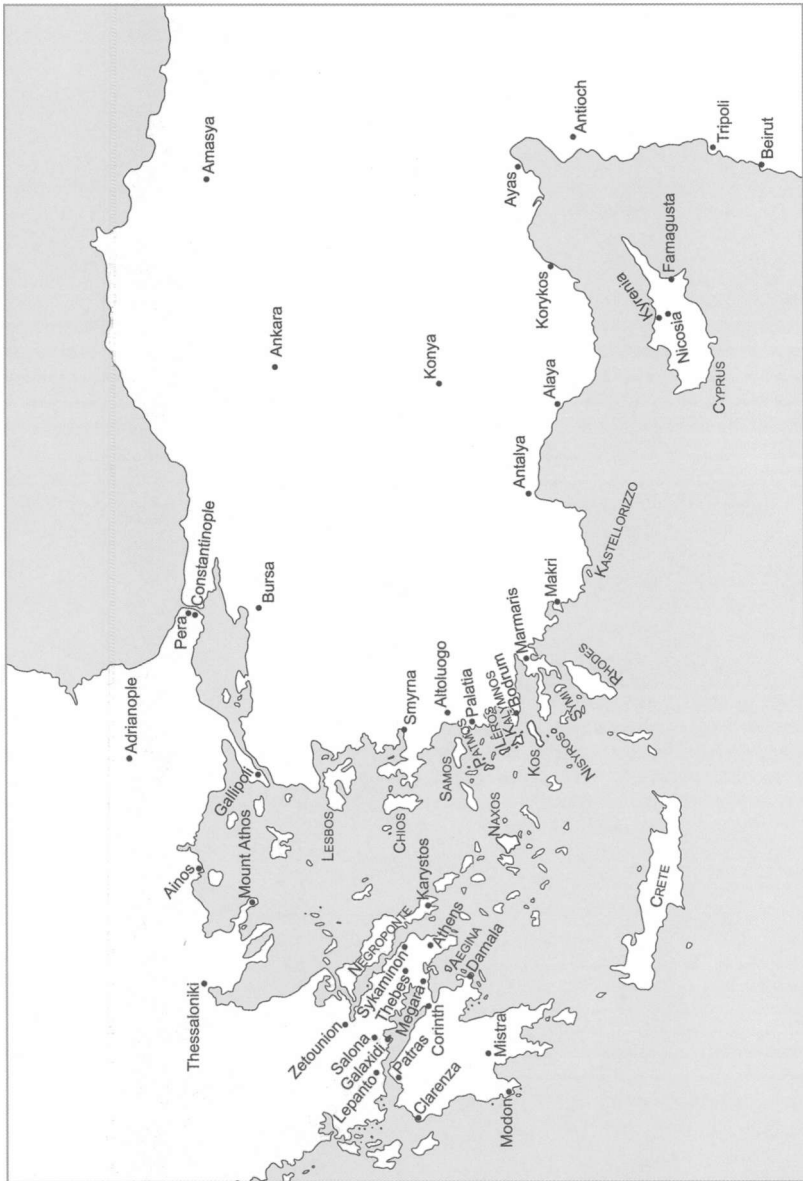
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186-190. In nominating Corner Clement VII translated his predecessor Paolo Foscari, but the Roman pope continued to recognize Foscari, who apparently died in 1394 when the archbishopric was granted *in commendam* to Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli by the Roman pope Boniface IX: Loenertz, *Cydonès*, II, 450 n. 2. On 18 February [not 20 April 1405] the Roman pope Innocent VII provided Stefano Zaccaria, who had previously been Angelo Acciaiuoli's vicar: Archivio Vaticano, Reg. Lat. 119, f. 56v-57; 120, f. 178v-180. Stefano was *frater principis*, that is Stefano brother of Centurione Zaccaria Prince of Achaia : Sathas, *Documents*, II, no. 422.

428. Jean de Boucicaut.

429. The copy ends here.





• Adrianople

Thessaloniki

Ainos

Mount Athos

Gallipoli

Pera

Constantinople

Bursa

Amasya

Ankara

Konya

Antalya

Alaya

Konykos

Ayas

Antioch

Tripoli

Beirut

Famagusta

Nicosia

KYRENIA

CYPRUS

KASTELLORIZZO

RHODES

CRETE

Modony

Mistra

Clarenza

Corinth

Patras

Mediana

Thebes

Sykkaminon

Negroponte

Zetounion

Salonia

Galaxidi

Leopanto

Alipens

Aggina

Samama

Naxos

EREBANOS

KYPRIDRUM

KOS

NEVROS

SAMOS

SAMOS

Palatia

ULYSSIPOLIS

Altoluogo

Smyrna



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