

The Military Religious Orders

THE COUNTRYSIDE OF HOSPITALER RHODES 1306-1423

ORIGINAL TEXTS AND ENGLISH SUMMARIES

Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley

ROUTLEDGE



THE COUNTRYSIDE
OF HOSPITALLER RHODES
1306–1423

The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes 1306–1423 explores the main themes of settlement, population and defence of the countryside of Rhodes from 1306 to 1423, approximately halfway through the period of Hospitaller rule. Based largely on the Hospital's Rhodian archive, this book is the scientific presentation of 208 documents brought together with detailed English summaries to help readers understand the documents and their technical features.

While the majority of research into this subject has previously been focused on the town of Rhodes, this book concentrates instead on the late-medieval countryside, providing a new angle from which to view this complex period. Through a corpus of Hospitaller texts, it presents many aspects of the Hospitaller Order's history as well as exploring other crucial developments in the period, including both a discussion of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's description of Rhodes, and a section dedicated to the sources used within this work. *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes* provides an ideal for academics and post-graduates of the crusades.

Anthony Luttrell was educated at Oxford and has held teaching or research posts in many universities. He is currently an honorary research associate at the Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway College. His sixty-five years of study have resulted in over 250 publications, many gathered in the six volumes of his collected studies published in Routledge's Variorum series, the most recent being *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (2007). His other publications include *The Town of Rhodes 1306–1356* (2003); *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages*, with Helen J. Nicholson (2006); *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389–1422* (2008), with Elizabeth Zachariadou; and, with Karl Borchartd and Ekhard Schöffler, *Documents Concerning Cyprus from the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459* (2011).

Gregory O'Malley is an independent scholar. He was educated in London and Cambridge. He has published *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460–1565* (2005) and a number of articles on the Hospitallers born in the British Isles on their links with the Mediterranean and on the Hospitallers' activities during the later Rhodian period.

THE MILITARY RELIGIOUS ORDERS: HISTORY, SOURCES, AND MEMORY

Edited by Jochen Burgtorf and Nicholas Morton

The military religious orders were initially established in the twelfth century to care for and protect western pilgrims in the Holy Land. They later helped to defend the crusader states, participated in the Iberian Reconquista, and eventually played a significant role in warfare, charity, commerce, colonization, and cross-cultural encounters in Europe, the Mediterranean World, and even the New World. *The Military Religious Orders: History, Sources, and Memory* stimulates research on this fascinating phenomenon.

General Editors

- Jochen Burgtorf (California State University, Fullerton, USA): jburgtorf@fullerton.edu
- Nicholas Morton (Nottingham Trent University, England, UK): nicholas.morton@ntu.ac.uk

Editorial board

- Adrian Boas (University of Haifa, Israel)
- Emanuel Buttigieg (University of Malta, Malta)
- Paul Crawford (California University of Pennsylvania, USA)
- Daniel Gullo (Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Minnesota, USA)
- Philippe Josserand (Université de Nantes, France)
- Juhan Kreem (Tallinna Linnarhiiv, Tallinn, Estonia)
- Helen Nicholson (Cardiff University, Wales, UK)
- Jürgen Sarnowsky (Universität Hamburg, Germany)
- Kristjan Toomaspoeg (Università del Salento, Lecce, Italy)

THE COUNTRYSIDE OF
HOSPITALLER RHODES
1306-1423

Original Texts and English Summaries

Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN
and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley

The right of Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley to be identified as authors of this work has been asserted by them in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Luttrell, Anthony, 1932- author. | O'Malley, Greg, author.
Title: The countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes 1306-1423: original texts and English summaries/Anthony Luttrell and Greg O'Malley.
Description: First edition. | Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon;
New York: Routledge, [2018] |
Series: The military religious orders: history, sources, and memory |
Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2017020939 | ISBN 9781138732629 (hardback: alk. paper) |
ISBN 9781315181790 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Hospitalers—Greece—Rhodes (Island)—History—To 1500. |
Rhodes (Greece: Island)—History.
Classification: LCC CR4731.G82 L87 2018 | DDC 949.5/87—dc23
LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2017020939>
ISBN: 978-1-138-73262-9 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-1-315-18179-0 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Deanta Global Publishing Services, Chennai, India

IN MEMORIAM
JULIAN CHRYSOSTOMIDES
MARGARET LUTTRELL



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

CONTENTS

<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
Introduction	1
Monies, measures and dates	7
Glossary	9
Countryside	13
1 Byzantine background	15
2 Administration and defence	20
3 Settlement, economy and society	33
4 Religious and cultural life	50
Appendix: Cristoforo Buondelmonti's Description of Rhodes	73
Documents	81
Sources	289
<i>Unpublished</i> 290	
<i>Publications</i> 290	
<i>Index</i>	299

FIGURES

1	Medieval Rhodes	64
2	The Island of Rhodes from a fifteenth-century manuscript of Cristoforo Buondelmonti's <i>Liber Insularum Archipelagi</i>	65
3	A parchment of 1338 [7]: Malta 16 no. 28	66
4	A folio from the Lieutenant Master's register of 1411 [191]: Malta 339, f. 212v (246v)	67

PREFACE

The present study of the Rhodian countryside has experienced a lengthy gestation. The project originated in 1958 when Anthony Luttrell spent several months on Rhodes. Luttrell had already begun work on Malta in the Hospitallers' Rhodian archives and had noted much material for a study of the late-medieval countryside on Rhodes, but an extensive field-walking survey was impractical and the idea lapsed. The project was placed on a formal footing in 1988 in collaboration with Julian Chrysostomides who, starting with the references and photocopies gathered by Luttrell in the Malta archive across the previous thirty years, began transcribing the documents. At the same time, Kara Hattersley-Smith conducted preliminary field work on Rhodes and published two useful articles on the subject. Julian Chrysostomides made initial transcriptions of roughly half of the documents published below, and following her death in 2008, Gregory O'Malley continued work on the texts and summaries. The two authors are jointly responsible for this publication, but three others have made notable contributions to it. Michael Heslop has conducted extensive topographical investigations on Rhodes, studied the island's defences and identified a significant number of place names; some of his researches have already been published. Margaret Luttrell took part in the initial explorations on Rhodes in 1958 and laboured on the project until her death in 2016. Karl Borhardt provided extensive and indispensable assistance in reading and interpreting the documents.

The authors are extremely grateful to Maroma Camilleri and the ever helpful staff in the National Library of Malta in Valletta as also to Anna-Maria Kasdagli and other members of the Archaeological Service on Rhodes for their invaluable assistance. Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, Michail Konstantinou-Rizos and Prodromos Papanikolaou are to be thanked for much help on various particular matters. Laura Pilsworth, Morwenna Scott and Sarah Adams of Taylor & Francis and Michelle van Kampen and Lisa Keating of Deanta are to be thanked for their efficient and flexible assistance in the preparation and typesetting of the manuscript.

A.T.L., G.O'M., Bath/Hugglescote, 2017



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

INTRODUCTION¹

This work is an attempt to study the settlement, population and defences of the island of Rhodes during the period of Hospitaller rule after 1306. While attention has hitherto largely been concentrated on the town of Rhodes,² this book is concerned with the late-medieval countryside. The period chosen closes in 1423, leaving a mass of archive material for the period from 1423 to 1522 to await examination. The terminal point is in some ways disadvantageous, but it is useful to be able to measure progress down to a fixed point, in this case roughly halfway through the period of Hospitaller rule. After 1423 there is, in any case, a gap in the surviving Magistral registers which, with the exception of two volumes for 1427 and 1428, are missing from 1423 to 1432. In 1995 Zacharias Tsirpanlis published 342 documents from the Malta archive for the years between 1421 and 1453 but his volume devotes special attention to the Hospital's other islands, which are not treated in this book; that work and his earlier volume of collected studies contain much important material. The four narrative sections in this study are far from exhaustive, and are intended as a preliminary introduction rather than a comprehensive exploitation of the documents published, while some generalizations in the introductory sections are, unavoidably, based on only a few documented examples. A fuller discussion would require extensive archive work on the post-1423 period during which conditions changed significantly. No attempt has been made to propose possibly misleading comparisons with other Greek territories which were under Latin rule, but where there were different meanings for similar terms, or where there were different institutional developments, as indeed there were on the Hospital's own lesser islands in the Dodecanese. Much has already been written on some of these occupied Greek territories but many standard surveys simply ignore Rhodian affairs, a partial exception being the study by Sharon Gerstel, which takes some account of Rhodian churches, frescoes and inscriptions. Her book contains an extensive recent bibliography. Numerous questions cannot be addressed for lack of sources, and it seems better to seek to establish the situation on Rhodes before advancing comparisons with other regimes.

1 Works here mentioned are listed *infra*, 290–297.

2 E.g. Gabriel (1921–1923); Luttrell (2003).

Only a small part of the Hospital's Rhodian archive, on which this work is based, reached Malta in 1530. Much of what survived was known to the Order's historian Giacomo Bosio; the second expanded and much improved edition of whose second volume, covering the period on Rhodes, was published in 1629. The materials on Malta have serious limitations. The main series of registers, the so-called 'Libri Bullarum', commences only in 1346 and for the years between 1348 and 1381 no more than five registers are extant; there are only nine relevant texts for the years 1306 to 1346, and 49 of the 208 documents published below date to the five years between 1347 and 1352. From 1381 to 1423 only a few volumes are missing but since much of what survives for those years was written in the West those registers may contain rather less information concerning the Rhodian countryside. The fact that almost all the Hospital's Rhodian archive from before 1346 did not survive strongly discourages any statistical use of the surviving texts.

Most of the entries in the registers were copies of documents originally sealed with the Magistral or with the Conventual bull, though there was not necessarily always an 'original'; some texts, however, are merely in note form. Most material concerning the island was normally entered in sections grouped at the end of each register, notably in the section headed *Partes Cismarine* or a similar title. Some miscellaneous survivals now on Malta include a few relevant documents. An original Magistral bull now in Madrid [2] and a text surviving through its confirmation in a papal register [102] are also included since they originated in the Rhodian chancery, and there is a document from a Rhodian chancery formulary now in the archive of the Hospital's Priory of Catalunya [74]. Many of the texts are land grants or confirmations which provide information on affairs across the island. Preliminary studies of the Hospital's chancery and its practice have been made by Anthony Luttrell, Jürgen Sarnowsky and Karl Borchardt.³ In the absence of any monastic archive or of any surviving notarial register kept on Rhodes, the Hospitaller documents provide a valuable and, given their character, a unique picture of an agrarian society there.

Limited use is made of fragments taken from the Hospital's legislation, its statutes, some of which were passed or confirmed on Rhodes and which were certainly available there. The majority of the statutes have not been published in their original French version. Most of those which the Master Foulques de Villaret promulgated in 1311 and 1314 were quashed in 1332 but survive in some manuscripts; the original register of chapters general from 1330 to 1344, which included their statutes, is in the Malta archives as Codex 280. For present purposes, other statutes are here taken from contemporary versions in the *langue d'oc* published by Marie Rose Bonnet and Riccardo Cierbide in 2006.⁴

3 Idem (1978), XV; Sarnowsky (2001), 301–28; Borchardt – Luttrell – Schöffler, pp. xiii–xxxvii.

4 Cited below as *Estatutos*; the texts of various Catalan translations are published in Cierbide (2002), but the editorial comment in these two editions is essentially philological and should be treated with caution.

During the period of Ottoman rule from 1523 to 1912, a number of Europeans travelled in the Rhodian countryside, publishing descriptions, engravings and other illustrations. Especially useful is the unpublished compilation dated 1854 made by Johannes Hedenburg; some of his materials and drawings have been reproduced by Alexandra Stefanidou. Also relevant from late-Ottoman times are the findings of the Danish archaeological expedition to Lindos which were edited much later by Lone Sorensen and Peter Pentz. The most valuable and scholarly pre-1912 work on the countryside was that published in 1900 by Guy Sommi Picenardi. Italian rule opened with an important preliminary survey of medieval remains across the island published in 1914 by Giuseppe Gerola, but otherwise Italian research activity was largely concentrated on the main town and, outside it, on classical sites. The Italians created an invaluable institute containing an excellent library and many photographs.⁵ Relevant work based on the archives has been published by Zacharias Tsirpanlis, Anthony Luttrell and others; some of the documents below have already been published elsewhere. Research in the Malta archive has been sporadic and the study of post-1423 materials on the Rhodian countryside has not been extensive or systematic.

The information so far provided by non-written sources is unsatisfactory. There have been late-medieval investigations and restorations at Lindos and at Filerimos where there were studies by Hermes Balducci. Peter Lock published preliminary research on some free-standing towers. Gregory O'Malley has written on mills; Elias Kollias and Maria Michaelidou presented their partial excavation of the medieval sugar factory at Zacharomylos and there have recently been other investigations. Sites and remains around the Rhodian islands have received some study by Jean-Christian Poutiers whose work was innovatory but often undocumented or unreliable, by Stephen Spiteri, by Michael Losse and by Michael Heslop, but much of their findings relates to undated or post-1423 buildings and developments. An imprecisely located rural coin hoard, datable to the 1420s, was discussed by Anna-Maria Kasdagli in 2013. There is some study of later-medieval pottery, particularly by Maria Michaelidou, but the materials are largely imported and were found in the town; there is little pottery datable between 1306 and 1423.⁶ There has been no systematic study of surface remains. Excavation information has often to be left unpublished and recorded archaeological data cannot easily be accessed. However much may be expected from the future exploitation of a whole range of new archaeological techniques such as the use of geographical information systems.⁷ There is a preliminary study of building materials and techniques.⁸ Some information derives from researches on churches in which

5 Livadiotti – Rocco (1996) surveys Italian activities after 1912.

6 Kasdagli *et al.*, 46–50; Yangaki (2013).

7 E.g. Zarifis – Brokou (2002).

8 Papatheodorou (2003).

building styles, inscriptions or frescoes are dated or datable and which are precisely located. No exhaustive treatment of churches and frescoes is attempted but much detail is provided in Theodoros Archontopoulos' work of 2010. The combination of archaeological data with interpretations of rural frescoes and their inscriptions can produce striking insights, as demonstrated in Sharon Gerstel's discussions of various Rhodian examples. The information on the island's defences published by Michael Heslop is useful, especially for the study of some of the places mentioned in the documents. Such researches relate to a number of subjects which should hopefully benefit from the availability of the Rhodian documents published below.

The documents contain numerous place-names and microtoponyms, many of them deserving further study not attempted here. Rhodian place-names were frequently distorted by the Hospital's scribes who copied documents into the Magistral registers, since they were Latins who probably knew little or nothing of the Rhodian countryside and who evidently had difficulties with Greek names; in any case all but six of the 24 registers available for the period from 1382 to 1420 were produced, or in a few cases largely produced, in the West. Many places are well known, while others are identifiable by churches, rivers and other features, though the modern names of churches may not be those used in the fourteenth century. Other names can be located, approximately at least, by their description as being within a castellany or *casale*. Properties defined by their boundaries provide many microtoponyms, but it may not be clear whether reference to a personal name was to the current owner or to some earlier personage; nor can the documents by themselves indicate whether a saintly place-name in a boundary description might suggest a chapel or even an abandoned settlement. Places described by natural features may be studied in the very detailed satellite pictures available on the internet. The many sheets of the Italian military map of 1935 at 1:25,000 recorded numerous microtoponyms.⁹ The detailed work of Christodoulos Papachristodolou depends largely on a philological approach and on sometimes debatable suggestions derived from the meanings of place-names; in some cases his work provides two or more locations with similar names. Some toponyms are discussed in the course of this book, but much remains to be done. Those searching for identifications may consult the index below in which many places not yet located are listed in italics.

This study faced other difficulties. Rather little is known about thirteenth-century Rhodes. Contemporary travellers, pilgrims and others provided a minimum of information on the countryside before 1423, while the texts and maps of the Florentine humanist Cristoforo Buondelmonti, who was frequently on the island between about 1414 and about 1431, are difficult to interpret but useful, even though he was largely concerned with classical authors and remains. Personal names in the documents are often difficult to identify; Greeks and

⁹ Available in London, British Library, Maps, Rhodes DR 47.

others cannot always be distinguished from Latins, or urban household slaves from agricultural slaves. Various castles and towers may be pre-1306 in origin rather than Hospitaller constructions, or have been built or rebuilt after 1423. It is extremely hard to date medieval Rhodian buildings or their ruins from their appearance or construction techniques. Hospitaller Rhodes had no land frontier to protect and it is often difficult to distinguish between villages, refuge castles, defensive towers and watchtowers, or to see how far agricultural centres were walled or fortified or settlement was dispersed. The topic under study presents various conundrums. Numerous questions cannot be raised in the absence of any evidence, and the imbalance of the surviving documentation militates against any statistical approach. Technical terms such as *aquis pendentibus* are difficult to interpret. The boundaries of the castellanies which were defined in the surviving documents seem to have varied across time. Many important questions cannot be approached for lack of information in the pre-1423 texts below, though some may eventually be solved by work in the still largely unexplored archives for the years from 1423 to 1522. Such further research would allow the revision of various general remarks here unavoidably based on only a few documents.

Fully professed Hospitaller brethren, indicated by the title 'Fr.' for *frater*, and their Western commanderies are mostly identified without annotation. Western persons and places are, when identifiable, given in the language of the person or place involved. Words such as Master, Hospital and Convent are capitalized to avoid confusions, and many technical terms are defined in a glossary in order to prevent misunderstandings. The documents published below are cited throughout by their number enclosed in square brackets.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

MONIES, MEASURES AND DATES

Roughly between 1332 and 1336 the monies and measures used on Rhodes were described in considerable detail by the well-informed Florentine Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. The documents frequently failed to distinguish between florins and ducats from Florence, Venice or elsewhere and the less valuable florins and ducats of Rhodes. Pegolotti gave the following equivalents for Rhodes:

2 deniers = 1 carat
8 carats = 1 asper
24 carats = 1 bezant
2 aspers = 1 gigliato
1½ gigliati = 1 bezant
6⅔ bezants = 1 gold florin
10 gigliati = 1 gold florin.¹⁰

Ten gigliati were still worth one florin in 1365 [75]. The Hospital struck its own silver aspers and gigliati, and it produced other coins,¹¹ including copper and alloy deniers used as small change for local transactions.¹² The Order minted gold ducats which imitated Venetian ducats and are known for the period from 1346 to 1355 and again between 1421 and 1427. Which monies were used as monies of account and when is a confusing question.¹³ The equivalences of the various types of florin and ducat to the Rhodian florin varied considerably; from 1409 onwards at least, the Rhodian ducat was worth 32 Rhodian aspers or 1.6 Rhodian florins so that the florin of Rhodes was then worth 20 aspers. In 1382 600 florins of Rhodes could be repaid with 570 florins of Naples [117].¹⁴ A different system was that of the *livre* or *libbra* worth 20 *solidi* and the *solidus* worth 12 *denarii* or deniers. Weights and exchange rates varied so that attempts to establish equivalences produce conundrums. In 1313 a Rhodian bezant was allegedly

10 Luttrell (2003), 54–7, 206; Borchardt – Luttrell – Schöffler, pp. xxxv–xxxix. Kasdagli (2002) and idem (2008) study the actual coins.

11 John J. Slocum, 101–5; Kasdagli (2002).

12 Idem (2013).

13 Mazarakis (2010) discusses the monies of account with numerous hypotheses.

14 Luttrell (2003), 56, 206; Borchardt – Luttrell – Schöffler, pp. xxxv–xxxix.

worth two *gros tournois* [2]; by 1317 a gros and a half gros were being minted on Rhodes itself.¹⁵ According to Pegolotti's scheme, one florin was the equivalent of 6 2/3 bezants, yet a text of 1322 equated a gold florin to roughly 3.6 bezants.¹⁶ The monies most frequently appearing in the documents were florins, whether of Florence [19, 60, 206], Naples [117], Avignon [141] or, from 1379, of Rhodes [101, 117, 164, 171, 180, 205, 208], or in 27 texts of unspecified provenance, and aspers, which from 1347 onwards were usually aspers of Rhodes [26, 53–4, 57–8, 80, 82, 90–1, 96]. Aspers, however, were mentioned only rarely after 1366 [129, 134, 173]. Bezants of Rhodes appeared in the documents between 1313 and 1358 [2, 37, 45, 51, 59], various deniers between 1347 and 1366 [34, 56, 75, 91], gigliati between 1359 and 1409 [67, 75, 127, 187], silver ducats in 1347 and 1358 [25, 61] and gold ducats, not described as ducats of Rhodes, in 1382 [113].

The extent of the Rhodian *modiata* or modiate, the standard measure of land, seems incalculable; very technically it was the area needed to produce a *moggio* or *modium* of grain and that must have varied. The Byzantine modiate apparently measured between about 850 and 1,000 square metres.¹⁷ A *caffiziata* seems, in 1352 at least, to have been an eighth of a modiate [57]. That would confirm Pegolotti's remark that one *moggio* was the equivalent of eight *caffizi*.¹⁸ The *rotulus* or *ruotolo* was a measure of weight used especially for wax. Pegolotti gave 100 Rhodian *ruotoli* to a *cantara* or one *ruotolo* as 12 *occhie* or 6 *libbre* and 8 *once*.¹⁹

Rhodian chancery practice, as shown in the Magistral registers from 1346 onwards and in their formulae and seals, was reasonably consistent. It was largely followed in registers kept by Masters when they were in the West, but the register of Lieutenant Masters kept on Rhodes from 1409 to 1416 contained interesting variations. Where the dating system was specified, most documents published here were dated *annus ab incarnatione Domini* or *annus ab Incarnatione* which commenced, as did the registers themselves, on 25 March; thus texts dated between 1 January and 24 March 1350 belonged in modern style to 1351.²⁰ The form *annus Domini*, evidently covering the same period, was also used in some early documents.²¹ Some six documents or portions of documents were dated from the Nativity, four of them occurring in one register and being dated between 1410 and 1414 though these were notarial acts or acts of individual Hospitallers.²² Other systems, some employing an indiction, were occasionally used, especially by notaries drawing up acts on Rhodes.²³ A Magistral bull of August 1390 mentioned a Rhodian *cursus* according to which the year 1391 began on 1 September 1390 [138] and many other texts used such a year.²⁴

15 John J. Slocum, 101.

16 Luttrell (2003), 55, 199–202 [but for '2231' read '1231'].

17 Schilbach, 76–81.

18 Luttrell (2003), 206.

19 Ibid., 204–6.

20 Borchardt – Luttrell – Schöffler, pp. xx–xxi.

21 [1–3, 5, 59].

22 [142, 171, 188, 190, 193–4].

23 E.g. [1, 3–5, 142, 171].

24 E.g. [64, 70, 75, 79, 84, 93, 117, 180].

GLOSSARY²⁵

<i>apoteca:</i>	shop, store
<i>appaltum:</i>	lease, farm, rental or monopoly of a tax or other income; hence <i>appaltator</i>
Bailiff of Commerce:	Hospitaller officer administering the <i>Commerchium</i> office [qv]
Bailiff of Rhodes:	Hospitaller officer administering the island of Rhodes
<i>bailli, baylivus, bailiff</i> etc.:	any officer
<i>baiulia:</i>	(1) any office; (2) the economic aspect of a commandery [qv] or other office capable of being rented out as a separate unit; (3) sometimes a commandery [qv] itself
<i>borgo:</i>	the southern, predominantly commercial, sector of Rhodes town inhabited by Greeks, Latins and others
<i>cappellania:</i>	chantry or endowment for singing masses held by one or more priests
<i>casale:</i>	village or rural domain
<i>castellan:</i>	Hospitaller administering a castellany [qv]
<i>castellany:</i>	administrative district centred on a castle and grouping <i>casali</i> [qv] and lesser circumscriptions
Castellan of Rhodes:	Hospitaller officer heading the Rhodian legal hierarchy and governing the Castellany of Rhodes which included Rhodes town
commander, preceptor:	Hospitaller officer in charge of a commandery [qv]
commandery, preceptory:	(1) unit of administration for Hospitaller properties, mostly in the West; (2) the residence of Hospitaller brethren in each commandery

²⁵ These definitions are unavoidably approximative; further detail on these and other terms may be traced through the index below.

<i>commerchium:</i>	(1) the Greek <i>kommerkion</i> , a tax on sales or on imports and exports; (2) on Rhodes, the office controlling such taxes, hence Bailiff of Commerce [qv]
<i>contrata:</i>	indeterminate minor district
Convent:	(1) the body of Hospitaller brethren resident on Rhodes, on the Hospital's other islands or at Bodrum; (2) the place in which the Hospital's headquarters were established
Conventual bull:	(1) the leaden seal of the Master and Convent used to authenticate acts issued by the Master with the counsel and consent of the Convent; (2) an act of Master and Convent
<i>decatia, decimum:</i>	(1) annual tax of a tenth, on Rhodes largely restricted to animals; (2) an ecclesiastical tithe
emphyteusis:	form of lease in Roman Law
<i>francomatus:</i>	free man
<i>frater:</i>	fully professed Hospitaller
<i>gabella:</i>	tax or monopoly
<i>hospicium, hostel:</i>	house
Hospital:	the military-religious Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem
<i>iardinum:</i>	market garden or other plot of land
<i>iuspatronatus:</i>	the patronage, with rights and obligations, over a private church, monastery or other ecclesiastical foundation
<i>ius prelationis:</i>	the grantor's right of repurchase in the case of a lease in emphyteusis
<i>langue, tongue:</i>	corporation of Hospitaller brethren from a particular Western province resident in the Convent [qv] on Rhodes
<i>laudimium:</i>	the grantor's right in Roman Law to one-fiftieth of the value of an emphyteutic property in the case of alienation
<i>mandria:</i>	animal enclosure, especially sheepfold
Magistral bull:	(1) the Master's leaden seal; (2) Magistral act sealed with the Master's bull
<i>marasio:</i>	meadow or marshland, often for use as grazing
<i>marinarius, marinaria:</i>	male or female inhabitant of Rhodes town subject to galley service as a hereditary obligation
Master:	the ruler of the Hospital

INTRODUCTION

<i>monasterium:</i>	(1) a monastery with monks or nuns or both; (2) a private ecclesiastical foundation, often without monks or nuns, usually in <i>iuspatronatus</i> and often with secular residents
Orthodox:	member of the Eastern Church whose liturgy was Greek and who recognized the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople
<i>papas:</i>	priest of the Greek rite
<i>pilier:</i>	the Hospitaller head of a <i>langue</i> [qv] in the Convent [qv]
<i>platea:</i>	in the countryside a field or agrarian area
preceptor, preceptory:	commander, commandery [qv]
prior:	(1) Hospitaller ruler of a Western priory or administrative area; (2) the senior Hospitaller priest in a Hospitaller house or church
<i>procer, prud'homme:</i>	senior Hospitaller, not necessarily holding an office
<i>protos:</i>	headman, often of a village
responsions:	annual dues owed by a Hospitaller to a superior
sergeant:	(1) fully professed, non-knightly Hospitaller usually of lower social origin; (2) mercenary normally serving in the town; (3) officer performing some service in the countryside
<i>serviens:</i>	(1) Hospitaller sergeant [q.v.]; (2) servant; (3) mercenary; (4) local constable in the Rhodian countryside, sometimes attached to a castle and holding hereditary lands
<i>servus:</i>	serf
<i>spolia:</i>	the goods or other assets of a deceased person
<i>status, status baiulie:</i>	that permanent part of a commandery [qv] or other office, or of goods and animals which belonged to it, which its commander [qv] or other official was not to usurp or alienate
statute, <i>stabilimentum:</i>	legislative decree promulgated or confirmed in chapter general as part of the Hospital's cumulative legislative corpus
<i>tricopleria:</i>	office held by a turcopole [qv]
turcopole, <i>turcopulus:</i>	(1) in general a mounted soldier, sometimes a mercenary; (2) a soldier serving in the town and keeping watch there; (3) a local officer, apparently mounted, attached to a <i>casale</i>

INTRODUCTION

- Turcopolier: senior Hospitaller officer in charge of those turcoples [qv] serving outside the city and of the defences of the island of Rhodes
- Uniate: member of a church in communion with Rome whose canon law, liturgical language and practice were Greek but who recognized the primacy of the Roman pope

COUNTRYSIDE



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

BYZANTINE BACKGROUND

The Greek inhabitants of the fourteenth-century Rhodian countryside lived under the rule of a Latin military-religious order, the Hospital of Saint John, but all around them were the ruins and other vestiges of their distant past as well as churches, monasteries, castles, towers and other survivals from the Byzantine centuries before 1306. Thereafter, there was much that changed, especially in the main harbour town, but Rhodian country people retained their Greek speech, their Byzantine forms of worship, their agrarian activities and much else.

The Rhodians did not live in a constricted space but on a medium sized Mediterranean island at the southern extremity of the Aegean. At 36 degrees north, it covered 1,400 square kilometres, being some 80 kilometres long and 38 kilometres at its very widest, with its major town at its most northern tip lying just 18 kilometres from the Anatolian coast and its massive, threatening mountains. Contemporaries had a fair idea of its shape [Figure 2]. Along the spine of the island, its hills rose to the peak of Mount Atavyros at 1,215 metres above sea level. The average annual rainfall was over 700 millimetres with some 60 days of rain, but June, July and August were dry months. Variable seasonal winds, currents and storms could cause complicated navigational problems but Rhodes town had a fine harbour; there was a small port at Lindos in the south-east, some sort of harbour at the modern Kameiros Skala on the west coast and other possible landing places, but otherwise disembarkation was difficult. The summer heat was relieved by sea breezes and there were forests and much vegetation. Where the moderate hills did not reach the shore, there were potentially fertile, alluvial coastal plains. The climate was largely sunny and agreeable while the island was strikingly beautiful. One site at least was sufficiently warm to grow excellent sugar, and elsewhere the island produced the standard Eastern Mediterranean crops, including olives and, above all, vines. Hilly ridges stretched down from the uplands to the coast and between ravines were streams, often powering mills, which flowed down to the sea; there was agriculture near the coasts, grazing and vineyards higher up, and

wood in the uplands. Some villages were sited for safety on high ground away from the coasts.¹

Rhodes had been a major Hellenistic state and the ruins of its great city-port extended far beyond the walled, but shrunken, Byzantine *kastron* of 1306;² its naval power apart, the island had once exported enormous quantities of wine.³ The island was raided and occupied by the Arabs in the seventh and eighth centuries, and as the empire of Byzantium shrank the island became an increasingly peripheral outpost, though its harbour remained in continual use both on the north-south routes from Constantinople to Egypt and also for Latin traders, crusaders and pilgrims en route to and from Cyprus and Syria; on occasions, the island exported food to Constantinople and Syria.⁴ A chronicler described how in 1191 the island was rich and fertile but that the city had many ruined dwellings and towers with a few inhabitants who sold provisions to Richard of England's passing troops, and how some of the many monasteries survived even if most were deserted.⁵

In 1202/1203 Leo Gabalas, who had the advantage of a fleet and an army, established an independent rule on Rhodes.⁶ Following the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Rhodes was excluded from the formal *partitio* of the empire and remained comparatively free of Latin influence. Gabalas largely maintained his independence despite difficulties with the surviving Byzantine state in Anatolia which was ruled from Nicaea by Theodore Laskaris and then by John Vatatzes. Gabalas survived an attack by the Nicaeans in 1233, and then in 1234 he made a treaty with Venice by which he became its vassal, granting the Venetians the right to a church, a warehouse, dwellings, a prison and tax exemptions on their trade. At some point Leo was succeeded by his brother John, but while John was absent from Rhodes in 1248, the town was seized in an unexpected attack by a passing Genoese force. John Kantakuzenos was sent to dislodge them; he occupied the castles at Lindos and Filerimos and attacked the town without being able to take it; Latin troops under Guillaume de Villehardouin arrived in 1249 and forced Kantakuzenos to defend himself in the castle at Filerimos. The Latins pillaged and massacred in the countryside but Nicaean reinforcements finally compelled the Genoese in the main town to surrender on terms in 1249 or 1250; John Gabalas disappeared. Rhodes then returned to Byzantine rule exercised from Nicaea and, after 1261, from Constantinople. Probably from 1256, the island was held by the emperor's brother, John Komnenos Palaiologos,

1 Bousquet (2010); description and photos from 1902 to 1914 in Sørensen – Pentz (1992); rural photos in Kasseris (2005).

2 Recent studies, with much bibliography, in Faucherre – Pimouguet-Pédarros (2010).

3 Rauh (2003).

4 In general Malamut, i. 242–4, 281–3; ii. 395–6, 443–6 *et passim*.

5 *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, 180.

6 The sources are limited and there is no satisfactory study of the years 1203 to 1306; the starting points, detailed but sometimes debatable, are Savvides (1988); idem (1990).

until in about 1272 the Emperor Michael VIII confiscated his estates there.⁷ Emperors, their local representatives or others may also have appropriated monastic properties on Rhodes, as they did elsewhere.⁸

For many centuries Rhodes had suffered incursions from Arabs, Greeks, Latins and others which must have devastated country areas; in 1233, for example, Greek forces destroyed the inland monastery at the foot of Mount Artamitis.⁹ The main town retained a degree of economic activity,¹⁰ but the island's government fell into the hands of corsairs and pirates who were active with their fleets across the Aegean and some of whom were actually in imperial service; some were granted islands they had captured to be held as imperial fiefs. These corsairs included, from about 1275 to about 1278, the Greek Theodoros Kryvitziotēs, a 'man of the emperor' who was *capitaneus* of Rhodes; from about 1273 until about 1282, Giovanni de Cavo, who had a Greek mother and was *dominus* of Rhodes; Bulgarino of Pisa, an 'inhabitant' of Rhodes; and various others. When the Venetians brought legal action against these men in 1277, there were 339 claims involving no less than 257 incidents.¹¹ As imperial power declined, and especially after the Byzantine fleet was dismantled after 1283, interference from Genoese, Venetians and eventually Catalans increased, while the collapse of Seljuk rule in Anatolia led to the emergence on the Aegean coastlands of local Turkish lords who acquired shipping and attacked the offshore islands. The knowledgeable Marin Sanudo wrote in a general way, but without giving dates, that the Turks destroyed such islands with great cruelty so that their lands 'remained consumed'; he claimed that the Turks planned to create a deserted zone off their coastlines.¹² There were possibly Turkish attacks, though no sign of Turkish settlement, on Rhodes during the late-thirteenth century;¹³ there was apparently a Turkish incursion probably in 1303.¹⁴ Years later, in about 1340, Ludolf of Sudheim visited Rhodes and wrote that before 1306 Rhodes, Kos and other Christian places paid tribute to the Turks;¹⁵ some inhabitants were enslaved.¹⁶ Others may have fled. Johannes de Calovarda,

7 Angold, 114–5, 197, 249, 255; *George Akropolites*, 100–1, 185–8, 246–8, 350; Bartusis, 289–92.

8 Smyrlis (2009).

9 Nikephoros Blemmydes, 104–6.

10 Luttrell (2003), 63–7.

11 Tafel – Thomas, iii. 161–2, 167, 170, 173, 196–7, 208, 256, 258, 262–3, 268–9; Morgan, 412, 423; Luttrell (1999), I 739.

12 Zachariadou, 6 n. 17.

13 The confused chronology and provenance of such incursions has provoked much hypothetical speculation: cf. Luttrell (1999), I 737–44. It suited the Hospital to claim it had taken Rhodes from the Turks and the notion persisted, for example in the English pilgrim's account of 1345 in idem (2003), 223. The alleged evidence for Turkish assaults or even occupation before 1302/1303 remains debatable.

14 Zachariadou, 6. Ramon Muntaner, 850, 981–982, wrote of raids in about 1302/1303 on 'all these islands' without mentioning precisely which.

15 Luttrell (2003), 218.

16 Idem (1982), VI 81–2.

habitor in Roddo, was in Crete in 1300, as in 1304, for example, were other Rhodians such as Johannes Andronichiti, but they were apparently there on business rather than as emigrés.¹⁷ At the same time, some Rhodians themselves were carrying wood, iron and slaves to Egypt.¹⁸

Whoever governed in the town needed to manage and administer the rest of the island, probably through various provincial continuations of standard Byzantine practices. There were presumably captains at the castles of Lindos and Filerimos who were perhaps similar to the *kastrophylikes* of Pelion and Pardovounon on thirteenth-century Kos.¹⁹ In 1263 there was an *apographeus*, a financial official, for Rhodes and the other islands who would have been responsible for fiscal surveys, tax lists and the recognition of landholding rights.²⁰ There was no real sign of any indigenous aristocracy or class of *archontes*, though there may have been local property holders, possibly appointed by the island's governors, and there may have been absentee aristocratic landlords. The imperial grant, which in 1256 circa gave the whole of Rhodes to John Komnenos Palaiologos, also awarded him Lesbos and various mainland estates, these lands apparently being intended for his maintenance.²¹ Rhodes thus remained part of the empire while John may have governed it either through local landholders or through officials whom he named, and that might have resulted in a real or apparent absence of local *archontes*. Shortly before 1306, the emperor granted various islands to one of his piratical admirals, the Genoese Andrea Moresco; these islands allegedly included Rhodes, and it was also claimed that the emperor had granted a Rhodian *casale* to Andrea's uncle, Vignolo de Vignoli. When Vignolo and the Hospitallers attacked Rhodes in 1306 the island was still part of the imperial domains and the emperor took steps to defend it.²²

Vital to the protection of the countryside were the fortifications of the main town. These were kept in repair; for example, in about 1278 Venetian captives were forced to work for seven months or more on the town walls and ditch.²³ The town had resisted a siege in 1248/1249²⁴ and held out against the Hospitallers for three years after mid-1306. The other main castles were at Lindos, at Filerimos, which proved defensible in 1248/1249,²⁵ and at Feraklos; all three were taken in 1306, though Feraklos was in ruins and was not defended while Filerimos was strongly garrisoned and fell only through treachery.²⁶

17 Pietro Pizolo, i. 44, 166, 315; ii. 45, 117.

18 *Cronaca del Templare*, 326.

19 Angold, 266 n. 109.

20 *Idem*, 249.

21 Bartusis, 289–92.

22 Luttrell (1999), I 742–56; *idem* (2003), 171–2. Vignolo had earlier used Rhodes as a base for his piratical activities: *Chroniques d'Amadi*, 255.

23 Tafel – Thomas, iii. 196–7, 208–9, 258.

24 *Supra*, 16.

25 *George Akropolites*, 246–8.

26 Luttrell (2003), 76–7, 171, 195; *Chroniques d'Amadi*, 257–8.

In late-Byzantine times part of the country population must have lived inland away from the coastal regions; the island was protected by a number of other castles, including those at Palaiokastro near Kattavia, at Erimokastro near Arnitha and at Kitala, near Embonas. Some villages and churches were fortified, while watch towers gave warning of approaching threats.²⁷ A serious earthquake in 1303 probably damaged some Rhodian defences, but Filerimos certainly survived and in 1306 reportedly had a garrison of Turks numbering 300.²⁸

Rhodes had been an Orthodox metropolitan bishopric²⁹ and, despite repeated devastations, there were numerous churches and some monasteries in the countryside. Books were being copied, at least in the town, during the thirteenth century,³⁰ but the 'great collection of fine books' in the monastery at Artamitis, where the surrounding country had previously been peaceful and well protected, was destroyed in 1233 when the countryside was ravaged and the monks dispersed.³¹ A monastery possibly survived at Filerimos in 1249.³² Some of the churches spread across much of the island were private foundations; a number were built or rebuilt, painted or repainted between 1203 and 1306.³³ The frescoes in the monastery of the Archangel Michael at Thari, on a mountain above Laerma, demonstrated artistic contact with a wide Byzantine world.³⁴ Saint George Vardas, near Apolakia in the south-west of the island, was rebuilt from its foundations in 1289/1290, probably by a local patron; the mention of the Emperor Andronikos II in its foundation inscription reflected some recognition of his sovereignty.³⁵

The disturbed situation on Rhodes changed profoundly with its acquisition by the Latin military-religious Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem. This body, composed mainly of lay religious devoted to a perpetual holy war against the infidel, had been compelled in 1291 to leave Syria for Cyprus but there it found itself unable to function effectively. In 1306 the Hospitallers invaded Rhodes and occupied the castles at Lindos, Feraklos and Filerimos. They must have controlled the countryside thereafter, but the emperor sustained the garrison in the city which held out for over three years before surrendering on relatively favourable terms in 1309.³⁶

27 Heslop (2007–8); given the difficulty of dating the various remains, the situation in the thirteenth century remains uncertain.

28 Luttrell (2003), 195; idem (2007), X 145–6.

29 Malamut, i. 282, 342, 349–50, 356, 359, 365.

30 Luttrell (1999), III 215.

31 Nikephoros Blemmydes, 105–6.

32 In 1249 (not 1269) a French crusader acquired an arm of Saint Philip in an abbey of *moins noirs* conquered from the Greeks on a mountain on Rhodes: *Documents*, 177–80.

33 *Infra*, 52–69.

34 Acheimastou-Potamianou (2006).

35 Christoforaki (1992), 98–102; idem (2000), 458.

36 Luttrell (1999), I 744–54; idem (2003), 68–78.

ADMINISTRATION AND DEFENCE

The rhythm of country life on Byzantine Rhodes must, to some extent, have been affected by the Hospitaller forces which occupied the island and besieged the main town between 1306 and 1309. The Hospital of Saint John, which had emerged as an order in Jerusalem following the Latin conquest of 1099, was originally concerned with the sick and the poor but during the following century it acquired a predominantly military function, becoming a powerful force in Latin Syria. All Hospitaller brethren, whether knights, priests or sergeants, were fully professed religious who took vows of poverty, chastity and obedience; unlike crusaders, who fought for a limited period and against Christians as well as against the infidel, the Order was expected to wage a permanent war directed only against non-Christians. Unsatisfactory restrictions on the Hospitallers' activities on Cyprus led them to the acquisition of Rhodes, a base from which they could prosecute that holy warfare which had become their major *raison d'être*, and which justified both their Order's continuing existence and its enjoyment of its extensive lands and privileges in the West. The maintenance of the Hospitallers' Rhodian *Ordensstaat* as a virtually independent island order state depended on their Western manpower and on the incomes of their European properties; it required the fortification of the harbour-city, the upkeep of a small fleet, the organization of a class of *marinarii* to row their galleys, and the care and protection of their Greek subjects on whose cooperation they depended. It also necessitated the settlement of the countryside and the development of an agrarian population which would support and help to supply the Order's central establishment in Rhodes town. Having taken the three main castles outside the town in 1306, the Hospitallers must have gained control of the countryside at least in the northern and eastern parts of the island, but in the following three years, during which they were besieging the city, part of the rural population possibly sought refuge in the town while their fields may well have been ravaged, depopulated and left partly uncultivated.

As a Latin religious order, the Hospital was subject to the pope who in 1307 recognized its right to hold the island of Rhodes in virtual independence.¹

1 Luttrell (2003), 171, 180.

On Cyprus in 1306, the Master and Hospital had made a pact with Vignolo de Vignoli for the conquest of various unnamed Aegean islands; a separate agreement, reached near Limassol, declared that on Rhodes Vignolo was to have the *casale* which he claimed that he held there by imperial grant together with another *casale* of his choice [1].² However, Vignolo was soon dead, apparently by 1314, and the agreement lapsed, though his heirs were eventually able to secure the *casale* of Lardos which they then held in fief from the Hospital.³

The Hospitaller Order was governed by a Master who was elected for life but who had in many matters to act with the counsel and assent of the senior brethren in the Convent, or headquarters, on Rhodes. In, or soon after 1309, the Convent was established in Rhodes where chapters-general held in 1311 and 1314 began to adapt the Order's legislation to its new circumstances. As the head of a corporation, established both in the West and the East, the Master was constrained to act constitutionally in agreement with the Order's oligarchy and in accordance with its statutory legislation, but in his role as ruler on Rhodes he had much greater freedom. There he could appoint to administrative offices, grant lands and issue or confirm written contracts to secular Latins and Greeks. His general powers over the island and its rural incomes, established in a statute of 1314, confirmed in 1332, gave the Master special personal interests on Rhodes itself:

Estabblit es que lo Maestre rete a ssa ma l'ila de Rodas e las outras illas de la mayso de poder las tenir a ssa ma o a ordenarlo on be li semblara per lo cossell dels prodeshomes, e lo priorat d'Ongría e la baylia del Ducame,⁴ e poder de coffermar a las gens seculieyras las letras de so que teno de la mayso de Rodas, e que cestas causas aio tan de fermetat coma se fosse fachas en capitol general.⁵

The territorial units established outside the town were the *castellania* or castellany, an administrative area which was often, or perhaps always, attached to a castle or to its castellan; the *casale*, roughly equivalent to a village, hamlet or some kind of nucleated group of dwellings, and to the estates around it; and the *contrata* which was an undefined district smaller than a *casale*. These divisions were already recognized in a statute of 1314 allotting rural incomes, supposedly worth 30,000 bezants or about 4,500 florins, to the Order's Conventual hospital in Rhodes town; if the rents of those places

2 That there were two separate pacts has not been recognized and was maybe linked to a visit to the Hospitaller Master at Kolossi, near Limassol, by Bonifazio di Grimaldi of Genoa whom the Master had summoned to his presence: *Cronaca del Templare*, 326.

3 *Infra* [3–5, 85, 123, 144, 156, 175–7].

4 Hungary and the Duchy of Athens.

5 *Estatutos*, 171.

designated did not suffice, they were to be supplemented from those of the Castellany of Filerimos:

Item establi est que pour les xxx.^m bezans que doit avoir l'ospitalier soit obliges le casal dou Salarco et le casal de Polleune avec ses apertenances Damaillee Solus et Plataine et Laureus et Calopetra jusques as confines de Damatria et Diascore, le casal que fu de sire Vignol, et se toutes cestes choses non sofizalent au complement dou devant dit .xxx.^m bezans que de la restante a complir fussent tenues le rendes de la chastelenie de Filerme.⁶

This statute may have been implemented only briefly; the Vignoli *casale* of Lardos had already been granted out as a fief before 1326 [3] and the statute was quashed in 1332.⁷

Statutes concerning country landholding were periodically passed in chapter-general. In 1311 it was decreed that any Hospitaller might, with superior licence, buy a house or land on Rhodes and might build on such land, and he could hold such property for life or lease it to another Hospitaller; on his death the property was to be given to another Hospitaller of the same *langue*.⁸ A Hospitaller could give, sell or bequeath property to another Hospitaller [108, 168, 186] or rent it to a secular person [129]. Another statute of 1311 declared that the 'high and low' justice of the whole island, together with the *comerc* or customs dues and the lands and jurisdictions within or outside the town, were all to be under the command of the Grand Commander, except for lands given to Hospitallers and to seculars by the Master; if these last lands produced any income it was to go to the Treasury, while if any brethren with such lands died their animals and their slaves were to remain in place to maintain the property, except however that the Marshal was to retain his rights in these possessions.⁹ It was decided in 1332 that on the death of brethren holding a *casale* on Rhodes, its animals and slaves were to remain on the *casale* and be recorded in writing by the Treasury; deceased brethren's gardens, vines and animals, whether belonging to a *casale* or to some other holding, were to pass to the Treasury.¹⁰ An ordinance of 1337 empowered the Master, with counsel from the *proceres* or senior brethren, to grant lands on Rhodes and Kos *supra anneam*, a phrase

6 Paris, Ms. français, 1978, f. 120v–121. These places were Salakos, Apollona, Dimilia, *Solus* (Soloros?: unlocated), Platania, *Laureus* (Lavros?: unlocated), Kalopetra (just west of Psinthos), Damatria, Dyaskoros and Filerimos; Vignolo's *casale* was probably Lardos [3, 5]. The text seems to mean that the five *apertenances* lay within the areas of Salakos and Apollona (as did Dimilia, Kalopetra and Platania) and that those areas stretched as far as the borders of Damatria and Dyaskoros (to their north). The Byzantine term *chorion* is not known before 1423, except in the place-names Neocorio and Dyaskoros; it was also used for Lindos in a Magistral bull in Greek in 1440: Luttrell (1992), 325–6.

7 *Estatutos*, 166–71.

8 Paris, Ms. français, 1978, f. 115–115v; *Estatutos*, 169 (wrongly as of 1307).

9 Paris, Ms. français, 1978, f. 116v–117; Ms. français 13,531, f. 38.

10 Malta 280, f. 24v, the second mention of 'animals' seems contradictory and may have been a scribal error.

meaning that such grants made between chapters-general were to have the same validity as if they had been issued by chapter-general; the point regarding the Master's own possessions and all 'other causes' on Rhodes and the islands was reaffirmed in 1344.¹¹ A statute of 1354 declared that on the death of a Hospitaller, any wine in his possession which was for sale should go, together with his grain and other items, to the Treasury, as was already the custom, but wine which had been held for a deceased Hospitaller's own consumption was to pass to the Marshal. In 1367 a statute stated that the Master might, using his Magistral bull, grant lands and vineyards to seculars at *cens*, census or rent, as was already the custom.¹²

The Order's documents did not define the term *casale*, which was in common use in many Mediterranean lands, except that the boundaries of the *casale* of Kalamonas were given in 1358 [60], those of Myrtonas in 1401 [171] and those of the much enlarged *casale* of Salakos, which was a very extensive estate, were described in great detail in a grant of 1422 [207]. The Hospitallers employed the term with regard to Rhodes in 1306, even before its conquest [1]. A *casale* might include several villages or dispersed settlements [207]; granted with it were its population, its lands, its slaves and its animals [39]. Its holder received part of its produce. He had some jurisdiction in his *casale* and presumably held a court of some kind. He might imprison, shave or beat his subjects but could not inflict the *pena sanguinis* involving bloodshed.¹³ His serfs were not to leave the *casale* and were to be returned if they did so [130, 179]; furthermore, they were not to marry outside it without his permission [207]. A *casale* could belong to a Hospitaller or to some other Latin, but not to a Greek. Technically a Hospitaller did not hold a *casale* in fief. In 1382 the *casale* of Apollona was granted to Fr. Domenico de Alamania for life [112]. In 1401 Fr. Domenico donated the *casale* of Myrtonas to the Italian *langue* [171]. Normally the fief-holder paid an annual *census seu servitium* due on 24 June [3–4, 207]; in 1329 Folco de Vignoli was to owe four *rotoli* of wax each year as well as the military service of one Latin man and his horse, conditions still applying in 1391 and 1402 [5, 144, 177]. The text of 1329 apparently showed that the census included a money payment since the amount due was to be fixed after a consideration of the value of the *casale*, of the Hospital's interest and of what Folco could afford [4]. The service demanded from the few other secular fief-holders was minimal; in 1374 Giovanni Corsini owed for Dyaskoros the service of one armed man [99] and in 1422 Antonio Cattaneo's contract for Salakos made no mention of any military service [207]. In 1358 a Hospitaller was to pay 40 florins of Florence a year for the *casale* of Kalamonas [60].

Both through their family background in the West and through their past administration of subject populations on their extensive Syrian and Cypriot

11 Malta 280, f. 37v, 52.

12 *Estatutos*, 196, 206. The question of the brethren's wine reappeared in 1392 and later: Delaville (1913), 381–3; Sarnowsky (2011), XVII 50.

13 E.g. [5, 85, 112, 125, 144, 177, 207].