

VIII

THE HOSPITALLERS AT RHODES, 1306–1421

The Order of Saint John probably originated in a hospice for pilgrims founded at Jerusalem by merchants of Amalfi in about 1070. After the First Crusade this confraternity received papal protection in a bull of 1113, and subsequently it acquired a standardized rule and developed a military character as an increasingly knightly and predominantly French-speaking order. The Hospitallers continued their charitable works and maintained hospices in Syria, where they received endowments. They were granted properties and privileges all over Latin Christendom; these were mainly intended to provide resources for their activities in Syria, but the Hospitallers did fight Moslems elsewhere, notably in Spain and Cilicia. The master, or—as he gradually came to be known—the grand master, was elected by the brethren for life and, together with the important officers of the Hospital, normally resided at the Convent, the headquarters in Syria. The duties of these officers reflected the Hospitallers' activities: the grand preceptor of the Convent acted as the master's deputy; the marshal was responsible for military affairs; the turcopolier commanded the light mercenary cavalry; the treasurer, hospitaller, and draper had charge of the finances, hospital, and clothing; and the prior of the Convent ruled the conventual church and the *frères d'office* or chaplains.

Important fragments of the Hospitallers' archives for the period to 1421 are preserved in the Archives of the Order of St. John, Royal Malta Library (cited as Malta). A number of these documents are printed in S. Pauli, *Codice diplomatico del sacro militare ordine Gerosolimitano, oggi di Malta*, II (Lucca, 1737), and a few in M. Barbaro di San Giorgio, *Storia della costituzione del sovrano militare ordine di Malta* (Rome, 1927). The Malta archive was also used in the unreliable but still much cited work of G. Bosio, *Dell' Istoria della sacra religione et ill^{ma} militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, II (2nd ed., Rome, 1629); the inferior first edition should not be used as, unfortunately, it often is. On the historiography, see A. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Historical Activities: (1) 1291–1400; (2) 1400–1530; (3) 1530–1630," *Annales de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte*, XXIV

In western Europe the Hospital became a powerful social and political institution. Its extensive possessions were organized administratively in preceptories or commanderies, each ruled by a preceptor, who generally lived in a central house, usually with a chapel and stables, and sometimes with a cemetery and a hospice. Brethren of the three grades—knights, sergeants, and chaplains—all of whom took vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, lived according to the rules laid down in the statutes; often the community included *confratres* or corrodaries, laymen who purchased their board and lodging by a donation or annual gift. Preceptories were grouped in priories under a prior who held regular chapters, enforced discipline, and, above all, collected the preceptors' *responsiones*, the money due to the Convent. Priors and preceptors were in many ways like other lords, sitting in parliaments, exercising justice, and serving as royal officials, but often they were exempt from royal and ecclesiastical jurisdictions and taxation. Their chief duties, however, were to manage their estates to the economic advantage of the Convent and to recruit and

(1966), 126–129; XXV (1967), 145–150; XXVI (1968), 57–69. The most recent major bibliography, leading to the older works, is J. Mizzi, "A Bibliography of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (1925–1969)," in *The Order of St. John in Malta*, ed. Malta Government and Council of Europe (Valletta, 1970), pp. 108–204. The present chapter is based on a study of all the relevant material at Malta, and of many other documents elsewhere. Though specific reference to it is not made on every page below, J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac, 1310–1421* (Paris, 1913), should be consulted in the first instance for much of the information provided; all other information is documented in the works cited below. Delaville's book, published posthumously, contains valuable material from Malta and elsewhere, but it is not always accurate, while economic and social affairs are ignored, and the presentation and interpretation of the period as a whole now seem unsatisfactory. On the Hospital's organization, see B. Waldstein-Wartenberg, *Rechtsgeschichte des Malteserordens* (Vienna and Munich, 1969), and *Der Johanniter Orden: Der Malteser Orden; Der ritterliche Orden des hl. Johannes vom Spital zu Jerusalem: Seine Aufgaben, seine Geschichte*, ed. A. Wienand (Cologne, 1970). H. Prutz, "Die Anfänge der Hospitaliter auf Rhodos, 1310–1355," in *Sitzungsberichte der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse: Jahrgang 1908, I. Abhandlung* (Munich, 1908), 1–57, though based largely on Bosio and Pauli, is not altogether superseded. N. Iorga, "Rhodes sous les Hospitaliers," *Revue historique du sud-est européen*, VIII (1931), 32–51, 78–113, 169–187, contains valuable hypotheses, though it is wildly inaccurate.

On the Hospital's achievements and weaknesses, see A. Luttrell, "The Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Achievements in the Fourteenth Century," *Revue de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte*, XVI (1958), 136–142; "Emmanuele Piloti and Criticism of the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1306–1444," *Annales de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte*, XX (1962), 11–17; and in a more general context, "The Crusade in the Fourteenth Century," *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. Hale et al. (London, 1965), pp. 122–154. The European aspects of the Hospitallers' history are not treated here, but see E. Schermerhorn, *On the Trail of the Eight-Pointed Cross: A Study of the Heritage of the Knights Hospitallers in Feudal Europe* (New York, 1940). Many of the articles by A. Luttrell cited above and in the footnotes are to be published at Padua as *Hospitaller Studies: 1291–1440*.

train new brethren. Representatives from the priories attended chapters-general at the Convent to discuss policy and amend the statutes. There was a certain distinction between Levantine and European Hospitallers, but it was seldom clear-cut, and while some resided mainly or entirely in Europe and others passed most of their careers in Syria, many served partly in the Levant and partly in the priories.

While the Hospital's influence grew in Europe, the Latins' holdings in Syria dwindled. After the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 the Convent and hospital were transferred to Acre. As the Latins were pushed back toward the coast the Hospitallers, short of manpower, immured themselves in powerful defensive positions in huge stone castles such as those at Krak des Chevaliers and Margat, which were vital to the defense of the Latin kingdom. Like the Templars, the Hospitallers provided a standing force always ready for war. Men of military prowess, disciplined and resolute, they became increasingly influential in Levantine affairs. To their lands in the principality of Antioch the Hospitallers added possessions in Cyprus and Cilician Armenia. Conducting subtle, independent, and often aggressive policies, they indulged in private wars, quarreled with the Templars, and played a prominent part in almost every crusading campaign during the decades of defeat and retreat which closed with the loss of Acre and the expulsion of the Latins from Syria in 1291.

The Hospitallers fought heroically in the defense of Acre, and only a few, including the seriously wounded master John of Villiers, escaped to Cyprus. They lost many of their best men and the last of their Syrian possessions. Abandoning neither their hospitable duties nor their ideal of recovering Jerusalem, where they had first performed them, the brethren now established their Convent and hospital at Limassol. Their future seemed uncertain and they could do little to show that they retained any useful function, but they set about the reconstruction of their strength. John of Villiers held chapters-general in 1292 and 1293, and his successor Odo de Pins another in 1294. The latter's ineffectiveness led to a plea from the Convent to the pope that a council of seven be invested with control of the Hospital, but Odo died in 1296 before he could respond to a summons from the pope, who had denounced him for his errors. William of Villaret, elected master while in France, stayed there until the Convent forced him to go to Cyprus in 1300. In that year, after delays and disagreements over plans, the Hospitallers and Templars collaborated with king Henry II of Cyprus in ineffectual raids on the Egyptian and Syrian coasts. William himself went to Ruad, an island

off Tortosa defended for a few years (until 1302) mainly by the Templars. He also went twice with considerable forces to Cilician Armenia, where the Hospitallers had long held possessions, and stayed there for some time. Between 1300 and 1304 he continued the revision of the statutes, one of which, defining the powers of the admiral, emphasized the Hospital's increasingly amphibious nature.

From their insecure point of exile in Cyprus the Hospitallers faced other difficulties. They were less involved in financial operations than the Templars, but people in Europe were disillusioned with the crusading idea in general and with the military orders in particular; many envied the orders' wealth and privileges, or felt that they had betrayed their cause and misused the donations made to them. Tempting schemes for reorganizing the military orders or for confiscating their lands received considerable support. James II of Aragon, who alleged that the Hospitallers were lingering idly in the Levant, sought to secure their incomes and services for his "crusades" in Granada and Sardinia, and even threatened to seize their possessions. Henry II of Cyprus quarreled with the military orders over taxation and enforced the prohibition against their acquisition of new estates. The Hospitallers' resources in Cyprus were so slender that they were at the mercy of the kings of Naples and Aragon for the importation of food, horses, and fodder, and in 1305 Fulk of Villaret, newly elected to succeed his uncle William as master, presented to the pope a crusading scheme emphasizing the complex organizational problems of raising men, money, and ships in western Europe. In Cyprus the Hospitallers mediated in May 1306 between king Henry and his brother, Amalric de Lusignan, who had seized power.¹ With the general arrest of the Templars late in 1307 and the propaganda campaign leading to their suppression in 1312, the Hospitallers' position might have been bleak had they not embarked on the conquest of Rhodes in 1306. That island offered a prospect of independence, while effective action against the Turks and the potential usefulness of Rhodes as a crusading base served to quiet the Hospital's critics.²

1. See below, pp. 343–345.

2. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, 1100–1310* (Paris, 1904); J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050–1310* (London, 1967). See also A. Luttrell, "The Aragonese Crown and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1291–1350," *English Historical Review*, LXXVI (1961), 1–11; "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," *Acts of the First International Congress of Cypriot Studies* (Nicosia, 1972), pp. 161–171; "The Hospitallers' Interventions in Cilician Armenia: 1291–1375" [forthcoming].

The conquest of Rhodes was one among a number of schemes, disguised as crusades, which sought to take advantage of the Greeks' inability to withstand the assaults of the Turks. The victories of the Catalan Company in Asia Minor in 1304 showed that the Turks were not invincible, but they provided only temporary relief for the Greeks. The Genoese Benedict Zaccaria demonstrated the possibilities of establishing new Latin lordships in the Aegean by occupying the island of Chios and securing the recognition of his position there from the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II. As early as 1299 there was a papal scheme by which king Frederick II of Sicily would receive Rhodes in fief, and in 1305 Frederick sent his half-brother, the Hospitaller Sancho of Aragon, on an unsuccessful expedition to occupy certain Byzantine islands. In the same year Raymond Lull advocated the seizure of Rhodes with four galleys and its use as a base from which to enforce the prohibitions against Christian trade with the Moslems. This proposal was part of a larger scheme for an attack in Romania, justified by the theorists as a move against the "schismatic" Greeks and "infidel" Turks and as a step toward the recovery of Jerusalem; it was planned by Charles of Valois, brother of king Philip IV of France and titular Latin emperor of Constantinople, with the support of the papacy and, in theory at least, of all the major Latin Mediterranean powers except Genoa. The Hospitalers were predominantly French and, unlike many of the Italian powers which were inhibited by commercial considerations, they constituted a reliable crusading element. The attack on Rhodes, however, was not itself conceived primarily as part of a crusade against Andronicus.³

The Hospitalers were naturally attracted to the green and fertile island, nearly fifty miles long and some twenty miles wide, lying off the southwestern coast of Asia Minor. Northeast of Crete and northwest of Cyprus, Rhodes was not on the most direct European trade routes to Constantinople or Alexandria, but its fine harbor added to its considerable strategic importance. A forested ridge of hills down the center of the island ended in a plain at the northeastern tip, where the city of Rhodes enjoyed a fresh climate some twelve miles across the water from the mainland. The Byzantine town was a

3. R. Burns, "The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 751-771; P. Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Ayḍīn, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris, 1957), pp. 10-26, 50-52; F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, II (Palermo, 1959), 170-171. Text of 1299 in V. Salavert y Roca, *Cerdeña y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón, 1297-1314*, II (Madrid, 1956), 44-45; for Lull's scheme see A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), p. 82.

miserable ruin by contrast with the enormous and splendid city of ancient times, but it was strong enough to resist a determined siege in 1306. The Venetians had established a protectorate at Rhodes in 1234, but in 1248 they were ousted and replaced by the Genoese. Thenceforth Genoese merchants frequented the island which, nominally Byzantine, was often granted by the emperor to his Genoese admirals. In 1306 the Genoese Vignolo de' Vignoli apparently claimed that the emperor had granted him Cos and Leros, islands to the north of Rhodes, as well as the *casale* or manor of Lardos on Rhodes. In fact the Turks had invaded Rhodes some years earlier, perhaps profiting from a severe earthquake there in 1303, massacring many Greek inhabitants and apparently occupying part of the island. The Greeks held one of the castles in Cos in 1306. The Venetians were also established on that island in 1302, and, probably early in 1306, they attacked the island of Nisyros between Rhodes and Cos; they even considered the acquisition of Rhodes itself. Furthermore, the Venetian Andrew Cornaro seized Carpathos (Scarpanto) and other islands between Rhodes and Crete from the Genoese, whose position in the Rhodian archipelago was being seriously weakened.⁴

On May 27, 1306, the master, Fulk of Villaret, together with the admiral, the marshal, the draper, and other brethren, met Vignolo at a secret meeting near Limassol. In a notarized arrangement for the joint conquest of the Rhodian archipelago, Vignolo transferred to the Hospital his alleged rights to Cos and Leros but retained Lardos and another *casale* of his choice on Rhodes. In the lesser islands the Hospital was to receive two parts and Vignolo one part of the rents and incomes, the collectors being appointed jointly; Vignolo was to have extensive rights as *vicarius seu justiciarius* in all the islands except Rhodes, the master reserving rights of appeal, of high justice, and of jurisdiction over the Hospitallers themselves and their servants; there was no mention of Vignolo's holding lands in fief or owing military service. On June 23 Villaret left Limassol with two galleys and four other craft carrying some thirty-five Hospitallers, six Levantine horsemen, and five hundred foot. Joined by other galleys

4. C. Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times* (Cambridge, 1887), pp. 4-10; W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, trans. Furcy Raynaud, I (rev. ed., Leipzig, 1923), 306-307, 461, 537. The situation before 1306 is obscure; see also A. Luttrell, "Venice and the Knights Hospitallers of Rhodes in the Fourteenth Century," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXVI (1958), 196-197; Z. Tsirpanlis, "Pages from the Medieval History of Nisyros, 1306-1453" [in Greek], *Dodekanesiaka*, II (1967), 30-33.

supplied by certain Genoese, whose seapower was essential to the whole operation, they sailed to Castellorizzo, a small island some way east of Rhodes, and there they waited while Vignolo went ahead to spy out the situation at Rhodes. The Rhodians, however, had been forewarned by a Greek in the Hospital's service, and Vignolo was barely able to escape arrest and rejoin Villaret. Meanwhile two Hospitallers with fifty men had succeeded in surprising the castle at Cos, but were unable to defend it against the Greeks who had held it for the emperor.

A land and sea assault on Rhodes failed to secure an initial victory. On September 20 the Hospitallers captured the ruined castle of Pheraclos on the east coast but five days later were repulsed in an attack on the town of Rhodes. Faced with the prospect of a long siege, they were lucky to take the castle of Phileremos in November through the treason of a Greek; three hundred Turks with whom the Greeks had garrisoned it were massacred. Probably early in 1307, eight galleys sent by Andronicus reached Rhodes and compelled the Hospitallers to raise the siege temporarily, killing ten of the brethren but losing eighty men themselves. Meanwhile the Hospital sought aid in Cyprus, where a fleet of eight galleys and another craft was in preparation. In October the Hospital held Lindos on the southeast coast, but some twenty Greek ships lay off the city of Rhodes. The Hospitallers' prospects were poor; there was some possibility of Venetian intervention against them and they resorted to diplomacy, but in April 1308 Andronicus indignantly rejected their offer to hold Rhodes under his suzerainty and to provide three hundred men to fight against the Turks. Hoping perhaps for help from Europe, the Hospitallers maintained the siege, until by chance a Genoese ship sent by Andronicus with supplies for Rhodes was blown ashore at Famagusta in Cyprus. It was handed over to the Hospitallers, and its Rhodian captain, in order to save his life, negotiated the surrender of the town on condition that the Rhodians' lives and property be spared. This was probably in mid-1308, but the whole island was not yet subdued.⁵

5. The chronology of these events remains uncertain; contemporary sources and modern works alike have confused the question of the date of the "conquest" of Rhodes by attributing a four-year process to a single, though varying, year. The best interpretation is in Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 215–216, but his sources are incomplete; see especially Delaville Le Roulx, *Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte*, pp. 272–281, and E. Baratier, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, II (Paris, 1951), 213–215. Historians usually follow the fifteenth-century chroniclers, who imply that the initiative in 1306 came from Vignolo, but the best source, written within less than a decade of the event, *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, ed. G. Raynaud (Geneva, 1887), pp. 319–320, states that, wishing to attack Rhodes, Villaret sent for the Genoese Boniface of Grimaldi to come to him from Famagusta.

In November 1306, having left Rhodes, Fulk of Villaret held a chapter-general at Limassol and soon after sailed for Europe; after August 1307 he frequented the papal court at Poitiers for many months. Pope Clement V excommunicated Andronicus in 1307, but thereafter failed to harness against him either the Catalans or the Venetians, whose military and naval force were essential. Other prospects for a crusade were poor, so Villaret was able to win French and papal support, apparently by a policy of calculated boasting. On September 5, 1307, Clement confirmed the Hospital in the possession of Rhodes, which he prematurely declared already to be free of Greek and Turkish resistance. During 1309 Villaret was talking, it seems, of completing the conquest of Rhodes, of the defense of Cyprus and Cilician Armenia, of an attack on Byzantium, and even of recapturing Antioch and Jerusalem within five years. The crusade or *passagium generale* was reduced to a preparatory *passagium* to be led by Villaret himself, and James II of Aragon astutely remarked that the master's real aim was to consolidate the conquest of Rhodes. The pope wrote on November 4, 1309, that the *passagium* had emptied his treasury, and he then spoke of the coming expedition as intended merely to prepare for a major crusade by defending Cyprus and "other places" in Christian hands and by preventing illegal commerce with Moslems.⁶

In November 1309 Villaret left Genoa for Naples, and it was rumored variously that he would take forty galleys and a large force to Rhodes, to Lesbos, to Crete, or to Cyprus. He reached Brindisi late in January 1310, and was reportedly due to sail for Rhodes with some twenty-six galleys, a number of them Genoese, with two or three hundred knights and three thousand foot. The Venetians, having already sent fifty mercenaries to resist the Hospitallers at Cos, now took elaborate measures to protect their Aegean colonies. Bad weather delayed Villaret at Brindisi, but he set out in the spring, accompanied by the papal legate Peter de Pleine Chassagne, bishop of Rodez. By May 13 assurances of friendship sent by Villaret from somewhere in Greek waters had reached Venice.⁷ Once at Rhodes, Villaret probably completed the subjugation of the island and was

6. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, pp. 216, 220-225; and texts in H. Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, III (Berlin, 1922), 191-192, 198-200, 207-211; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem, 1100-1310*, IV (Paris, 1906), nos. 4734, 4735, 4751, 4841, *et passim*.

7. Archivio di Stato di Venezia: Lettere di Collegio rectius Minor Consiglio, 1308-1310, folios 63^v-64^r, 67^v, 69^r-69^v, 83^r-83^v. Cf. G. Golubovich, ed., *Biblioteca bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente francescano*, III (Quaracchi, 1919), 128-131, 143-144.

distracted by events in Cyprus, where reports of the coming *pas-sagium* had justifiably perturbed the usurper Amalric de Lusignan. Early in 1310 Amalric sent king Henry to Cilicia as a prisoner, but was himself assassinated on June 5. Hospitaller Rhodes had been a center of opposition to Amalric, and in July Henry, from Cilicia, named Villaret to act for him in Cyprus. The master was unable to leave Rhodes, but he increased his forces in Cyprus during June and July until they numbered eighty Hospitallers, twenty other horse-men, and two hundred foot. These played a leading part in Henry's restoration, and in 1312 the Hospital secured the Templars' lucrative lands in Cyprus, which proved an invaluable source of supplies in times of dearth at Rhodes.⁸

The Convent and its hospital were moved to Rhodes, where the fortifications were presumably intact. The indigenous population of Rhodes had been reduced to perhaps some ten thousand Greeks. Chapters-general held there in April 1311 and November 1314 passed numerous measures, including ambitious decisions to maintain five hundred horse and a thousand foot to defend the island. The Florentine, Genoese, and other businessmen to be found at Rhodes from the time of its conquest increased its wealth and its dependable Latin population, but colonists who would fight were also needed. In May 1313 the Hospital publicly offered lands captured from the Greeks and Turks, both in Rhodes and on the mainland, to be held in perpetuity with obligations of military service, to any Latins who would settle with their families. Different terms were advertised for nobles, freemen, and laborers, and for those who would maintain an armed galley or a *lignum armatum* and its crew. Some settlers were found; in 1316, for example, the Assanti family of Ischia was enfeoffed with the island of Nisyros, just south of Cos, with the obligation to maintain an armed galley. Later, in 1325, when the Hospital granted the *casale* of Lardos to Vignolo de' Vignoli's brother Fulk, to be held *in feudum nobile* by him and his heirs in perpetuity, Fulk was forbidden to alienate the property without permission and was obligated to serve with a Latin man-at-arms in defense of Rhodes or outside the island. On the whole, however, strictly feudal arrangements were rare, and during the fourteenth century uncultivated lands in Rhodes were being leased to both Latins and Greeks on non-feudal tenures in perpetual emphyteusis.⁹

The Genoese had provided galleys for Villaret in 1309, but they

8. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, II (Cambridge, 1948), 228–262, 270–275; cf. below, pp. 345–347.

9. A. Luttrell, "Feudal Tenure and Latin Colonization at Rhodes: 1306–1415," *English Historical Review*, LXXXV (1970), 755–775.

lost their predominance at Rhodes when the Hospitallers enforced the papal prohibitions against trading in war materials with the Moslems, the importance of which Villaret had stressed in his crusading tract. The Hospital confiscated a Genoese galley, and in 1311 Antonio Spinola arrived from Genoa to demand its return, having incidentally captured Vignolo between Candia and Rhodes. Spinola and the Genoese, meeting a refusal, offered 50,000 florins to the Turks of Monteshe to attack Rhodes. Numerous merchants from Rhodes were arrested on the mainland, and Genoese and Turkish galleys seized Hospitaller vessels bound for Rhodes. In 1312, however, the Hospitaller fleet pursued twenty-three Turkish ships to Amorgos in the Cyclades; when the Turks landed, the Hospitallers burned their ships and destroyed or captured almost the entire force, themselves losing some fifty or more brethren and three hundred foot, a serious loss. Marino Sanudo Torsello, who was at Rhodes with Villaret, had high praise for the way in which the master curbed the power of Orkhan, emir of Monteshe, and incited the other emirs against him. The Hospitallers took Cos and occupied certain castles on the mainland. In May 1313 Villaret seized more Genoese ships, including two galleys, but later the Genoese presumably reached an agreement with him. A period of peace followed.¹⁰

The Venetians, traditionally anticlerical and opportunistic in crusading affairs, were always hostile to the Hospital, although there were usually Venetian traders at Rhodes and circumstances often forced the two powers into uneasy alliance. The Venetians, like the Genoese, protested against the enforcement of the papal restrictions on trade, and were angered when in about 1312 the Hospitallers seized Carpathos and the other islands between Rhodes and Crete from Andrew Cornaro. In 1312 and 1314 the Venetian government sequestered Hospitaller funds in transit at Venice, and even after the return of the occupied islands to the Venetians in 1316 there were continual incidents and quarrels.¹¹ Villaret, still far from secure at Rhodes and unable to rely on Genoese or Venetian support, carefully maintained close relations with James II of Aragon, ignoring papal instructions of 1312 that the Hospital should intervene against the Catalans in Greece.¹² In Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia the fate of the lands of the Temple and of those of the Hospital was in the balance until 1317. Certain influential Catalan Hospitallers con-

10. Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, pp. 4-7, 10-11; Luttrell. "Feudal Tenure," pp. 755-757. No more is heard of Vignolo. Statistics concerning forces and losses should be treated with caution.

11. Luttrell, "Venice," pp. 196-197, 202.

12. See above, pp. 181-182.

ducted the negotiations which led to James's marriage in 1315 to a Cypriote princess, Marie de Lusignan; the Hospital even guaranteed the dowry, probably in the hope that the birth of a son would give to Aragon the reversion of the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem and thus permanently implicate Aragonese strength in an area where it might support the Hospital. James however lost interest in the Levant even before Marie died, childless, in 1322.¹³

Fulk of Villaret, once established at Rhodes, where he saw himself as sovereign, fell into extravagance, corruption, and despotism. Ignoring the crusading projects proposed to him and neglecting the Hospital's debts and difficulties in Europe, he increased his own powers and income. The leading conventual brethren were incensed by actions such as the granting to the grandiose Albert of Schwarzburg, a Saxon noble, of the Hospital's Cypriote lands at half their proper *responsiones*, and in 1317 they attempted to assassinate Villaret. When he fled they besieged him in the castle at Lindos and elected the draper, Maurice of Pagnac, as master. Both parties then appealed to pope John XXII, who summoned them to Avignon. The Convent had some legal right to replace a corrupt master, but Villaret was popular in Europe, and early in 1319 John XXII quashed Pagnac's election; Villaret was confirmed as master but was then persuaded to resign. In June 1319 Hélión of Villeneuve became master, being in effect appointed by the pope.¹⁴ Papal intervention in the Hospital's affairs had increased after the Convent's appeal to the pope against the master in 1295. There was a general expansion of papal powers at this time, and after 1312 the papacy could threaten to take back the Templars' lands that it had granted to the Hospital in that year. From 1317 on John XXII, usurping the master's duties, acted with the best intentions to reduce the Hospital's debts, prevent alienations of its lands, and enforce discipline.

In the Levant the Turks again became aggressive, but Albert of Schwarzburg achieved a success against them in 1318, and on July 23, 1319, Schwarzburg, now grand preceptor and commanding twenty-four vessels with eighty Hospitallers and other knights, plus a galley and some six other vessels provided by Martin Zaccaria, the Genoese lord of Chios, defeated a Turkish force from Altoluogo (Ephesus) off the island of Chios; many Turks were killed and out of ten galleys and eighteen other craft only six Turkish ships escaped. Schwarzburg next captured the castle of Leros, an island just north

13. Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," pp. 5-6.

14. "... fuit per papam creatus, cum consilio procerum domus": L. de Mas-Latrie, "Notice sur les Archives de Malte à Cité-la-Valette," *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 1st ser., VI (1857), 29. Villaret died in retirement in 1327.

of Cos, in which there were some two thousand Greeks who had slain the Hospitallers' garrison there and gone over to Andronicus; leaving a new garrison, he returned with numerous captives to Rhodes. Again in 1320, with four galleys and twenty lighter craft aided by six Genoese galleys, Schwarzburg inflicted severe losses on a Turkish force of eighty vessels and a large army preparing to attack Rhodes. After this, although there were often frightening reports of preparations against Rhodes, as for instance in 1325, no serious attack was made upon the island for over a century, and the Hospitallers were more free to intervene elsewhere. In 1319 and 1320 the pope instructed that Maurice of Pagnac, now preceptor in Cilicia, was to urge the kings of Cilician Armenia and Cyprus to respect their truce; he was also to reside on and defend the Hospital's Cilician lands if they were returned by king Ōshin, who had seized them, probably because of the Hospital's earlier support of king Henry of Cyprus. During the next few years, while Cilician Armenia was being ravaged by Mongol, Turkish, and Mamluk forces, Pagnac did provide some troops for its defense.¹⁵

At this point certain weaknesses limiting the Hospital's contribution to the crusading movement became increasingly evident to contemporaries. Once it was no longer necessary to defend Rhodes itself, the Hospitallers' lack of clear objectives and of a vigorous policy of their own was exposed. This weakness was due partly to the Hospital's dependence on the popes, who mostly failed to provide effective leadership, and partly to the corruption and disorganization to be found in many of the European priories, which prevented the Hospitallers from mobilizing their full resources at Rhodes. From the west the occupation of Rhodes looked at the time like an act of self-preservation or of self-aggrandizement which promised little crusading activity; subsequently the Hospitallers seemed to have transferred the defensive attitudes acquired in their Syrian castle to Rhodes, where they appeared to be defending only themselves.

The Hospital, while still in debt, faced heavy expenses for the fortification of Rhodes and the upkeep of the Convent, its mercenaries, and its hospital, and for costly imports of food, horses, and armaments. The Hospital possessed vessels used for transport from Europe and could summon Rhodian mariners into service, but the brethren often came from the petty landed nobility and many were French; probably few were interested in naval affairs. At times the Hospital had to rely on Sicilian, Provençal, Venetian, or, especially,

15. Luttrell, "Cilician Armenia" [forthcoming].

Genoese shipping, and the Venetians in particular were reluctant to help. Throughout the century the Hospitallers could seldom provide more than three or four galleys for an expedition, plus one or two retained to guard Rhodes.¹⁶ Genuine debts and difficulties were ignored, even by an experienced man such as Marino Sanudo Torsello, whose crusading projects envisaged the exploitation of Latin seapower and the prohibition of all trade with Moslems through the maintenance of a blockade to be enforced by ten galleys, two of them to be provided by the Hospital. In about 1323 Sanudo claimed that, since the defense of Rhodes was costing less, the Hospitallers' Cypriote and Armenian incomes could be used to support 150 armed horsemen to defend Cilicia. In 1329 Sanudo expressed surprise that despite an annual income from the *responsiones* alone of 180,000 florins, of which some 20,000 came from Cyprus, the Hôspitallers were unable to provide even two or three galleys for a small campaign; he also accused them of harboring pirates at Rhodes.¹⁷ Papal crusading plans of 1323 theoretically involved a Hospitaller contribution of a thousand men-at-arms.¹⁸

Villeneuve, well aware of the serious problems in the west, remained in Europe from 1319 until 1332. There were rulers who seized the Hospitallers' lands and incomes, demanded their services, sought to control nominations to priories, and prevented men and money from leaving for Rhodes. The brethren themselves often failed to pay their *responsiones*, alienated the Hospital's lands, and refused to go to the Convent in the Levant. The master attacked these deficiencies in chapters-general held in Provence and, with papal coöperation, continued the struggle to gain effective control of the Templars' lands. Except in Portugal, Castile, and Valencia, a considerable number of these properties were secured, after much negotiation and litigation with kings, bishops, and nobles who claimed or had occupied them; in France, for example, the king demanded 200,000 livres for their transfer. These lands certainly enriched the Hospital, but their assimilation involved administrative problems, and the new priories of Catalonia, Aquitaine, Toulouse, and Champagne were created.¹⁹ Some of the lands were sold to meet the huge debts

16. E. Rossi, *Storia della marina dell' Ordine di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme, di Rodi e di Malta* (Rome and Milan, 1926), pp. 10-17; A. Luttrell, "The *Servitudo Marina* at Rhodes: 1306-1462," *Zeitschrift für Neogräzistik* [forthcoming].

17. Sanudo, in *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. J. Bongars, II (Hanover, 1611), 5-7, 31, 313-316.

18. Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, I (Berlin, 1908), 494-496.

19. A. Luttrell, "La Corona de Aragón y las Órdenes militares durante el siglo XIV," *VIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, III (Valencia, 1970), 67-77; "The Hospitallers of Rhodes in Portugal: 1291-1415," *Congreso Luso-Espanhol de Estudos medievais* (Porto [forthcoming]).

incurred by Villaret between 1306 and 1310. In 1320 the Hospital owed over 500,000 florins, mainly to the pope's Florentine bankers, the Bardi and Peruzzi, but Villeneuve raised the *responsiones*, levied special subsidies, and had liquidated the debt by about 1335.²⁰ A visitor to Rhodes described the master as "a very old and stingy man, who amassed infinite treasures, built much in Rhodes, and freed the Hospital of incredible debts."²¹

Hospitallers moved back and forth between Europe and the Convent, although, despite regulations to the contrary, some acquired priories and preceptories without serving at Rhodes; such men often cared mainly for the wealth and social position the Hospital offered. Others served predominantly in the Levant, where they garrisoned castles and governed the populations of Rhodes and the lesser islands, the senior brethren sharing the higher offices of the Convent. There were reported to be four hundred Hospitallers at Rhodes in 1345, with a small garrison at Cos; their fighting force also included mercenaries and local levies. At Rhodes the brethren lived in a reserved quarter around the castle, the *collachium*, separated by a fortified wall from the rest of the city or *borgo*. Some Hospitallers had their own houses, while others lived in the *auberge* or hospice of their priory or nation; they included Italians, some Germans, and a few Englishmen and Spaniards, but the French-speaking group was the largest. In theory the details of their daily life and discipline, their religious exercises and military training, were regulated by the statutes. Some of the rules were harsh or trivial, but probably many brethren, served by their slaves in the semi-oriental society of Rhodes, lived comfortably in the Frankish town with its classical foundations or in the hilltop castles which looked out over the sea.

When Hélión of Villeneuve died in 1346 Rhodes possessed a strong castle and defensive landward fortifications, and his successor Dieu-donné of Gozon built walls to the seaward side and a mole to improve the harbor. Rhodes was in part a Latin town, where notaries, clerics, doctors, scribes, soldiers, businessmen, and pilgrims from Italy and farther west lived in houses built in a western style. An English visitor of 1345 wrote: "Within the castle walls are an archbishop and his metropolitan church, and the dwellings of the many citizens are like those of distinguished men. There are money-

20. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini nell' economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel trecento," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: lettere, storia e filosofia*, 2nd ser., XXVIII (1959), 317-320; and documents in C. Tipton, "The 1330 Chapter General of the Knights Hospitallers at Montpellier," *Traditio*, XXIV (1968), 293-308. There are no regular statistics for the amounts of money reaching Rhodes.

21. Ludolph of Suchem, *De itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart, 1851), p. 27.

ers, armorers, and all the artificers necessary to a city or royal castle. Below the castle is the house of the hospital, a mother, nurse, doctor, protector, and handmaiden to all the infirm." The considerable Greek population retained its Orthodox religion, and its relations with the Hospitallers, whom the Greeks probably regarded as protectors, were remarkably good. Rhodes was a port of call for merchantmen, and even for corsairs; in 1341 the master had to dispossess Ligorio Assanti of his half of the fief of Nisyros, which had become a "den of robbers," for his pirateering had involved the Hospital in trouble with king Hugh IV of Cyprus.²² The Hospitallers themselves profitably traded large quantities of European cloth in the Levant, and marketed in France and Italy the lucrative sugar crop from their estates in Cyprus and Rhodes; they even sent ships to trade in the luxury markets at Alexandria.²³

The master's chancery at Rhodes was developed into an efficient office with a proper archive, while Latin lawyers manned the judicial courts. Though seldom intellectuals, the Hospitallers placed some importance on education, and they sought to reduce their reliance on expensive lawyers by setting up an unofficial canon law *studium* at Paris; thereafter trained brethren could act as procurators at the papal curia and in the civil service at Rhodes. Hospitaller theologians and classicists were extremely rare, but one wealthy master, Juan Fernández de Heredia, patronized important historical compilations and translations.²⁴ At Rhodes, and in certain houses in the priories, the brethren maintained the ancient tradition of care for travelers, the sick, and the aged.²⁵

22. Ludolph of Suchem (1336–1341), pp. 27–29, and the anonymous Englishman (1345) in Golubovich, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica*, IV (1923), 444–445. Cf. G. Sommi Picenardi, *Itinéraire d'un chevalier de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem dans l'île de Rhodes* (Lille, 1900), and A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes, 1310–1522* (2 vols., Paris, 1921–1923). An almost completely unnoticed fourteenth-century text of town regulations (*capitula Rodi*) is in P. Ewald, "Reise nach Spanien im Winter von 1878 auf 1879," *Neues Archiv*, VI (1881), 265–269.

23. A. Luttrell, "Actividades económicas de los Hospitalarios de Rodas en el Mediterráneo occidental durante el siglo XIV," *VI Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1959), pp. 175–183.

24. In addition to Luttrell, "Historical Activities," XXIV, 126–129, see his "Notes on the Chancery of the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1314–1332," *Byzantion*, XL (1970), 408–420; "Fourteenth-Century Hospitaller Lawyers," *Traditio*, XXI (1965), 449–456; "Jean and Simon de Hesdin: Hospitallers, Theologians, Classicists," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, XXXI (1964), 137–140; "Greek Histories Translated and Compiled for Juan Fernández de Heredia, Master of Rhodes, 1377–1396," *Speculum*, XXXV (1960), 401–407, with postscript in "Coluccio Salutati's Letter to Juan Fernández de Heredia," *Italia medioevale et umanistica*, XIII (1970), 63–71.

25. General considerations in A. Luttrell, "The Hospitallers' Hospice of Santa Caterina at Venice: 1358–1451," *Studi veneziani*, XII (1970), 369–383.

After their defeat of the Turks in 1320 the Hospitallers were inactive for over a decade. Their closest enemies were the Turks of the emirate of Menteshe, based on the port of Palatia (Miletus) on the mainland north of Rhodes, but Umur Pasha, emir of Aydin, whose strong fleet sailed from Altoluogo farther north to make damaging incursions in the Aegean and on mainland Greece, was a more dangerous foe. In 1327 the Venetians were sufficiently worried to decide on negotiations with the Byzantines, with Martin Zaccaria of Chios, and with the Hospitallers, in a fruitless attempt to prevent Umur from capturing the port of Smyrna. In 1329 the Venetians and Greeks were ready to arm if the Hospitallers gave the lead, but the Hospital could not produce even a few galleys. The Hospital also failed to take action when in August 1332 pope John XXII encouraged it to occupy the castles of Sechin and Antiochia Parva on the Cilician coast, which the Armenians were unable to defend.

At the time when Villeneuve finally reached Rhodes in 1332 Umur was attacking Gallipoli and Euboea. On September 6 at Rhodes, Greek and Venetian envoys finally agreed that a Christian fleet, to include four galleys from Rhodes, should assemble in April 1333, but an insurrection in Crete delayed the project. In March 1334 the pope and the kings of France and Cyprus joined the league; the Hospitallers' contribution was raised to ten galleys, at least some of which they did supply. The papal and French contingents, having revictualled at Rhodes, joined the fleet, which won limited naval successes in the autumn of 1334 but broke up leaving the Turks basically as strong as ever. The Hospitallers continued minor operations in the Aegean, and together with the Venetian Nicholas Sanudo, duke of the Archipelago, they occupied Lesbos, only to be evicted by the Genoese. The campaign of 1335, for which the Hospital had agreed to provide six galleys, eight transports, and two hundred men-at-arms, was abandoned.²⁶

The recapture of Cos in about 1337 strengthened the Hospitallers' position, while they also held a small but strong castle somewhere on the mainland.²⁷ Encouraged by the pope and free of major debts, the Hospitallers had at last begun to make Rhodes a center of

26. Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, pp. 86-90; Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 54-61, 89-100, 108, 142, correcting serious errors and providing some evidence for an unsuccessful Hospitaller-Cypriote attack on Smyrna late in 1334. See also A. Laiou, "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: the Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332-1334," *Speculum*, XLV (1970), 374-392.

27. Ludolph of Suchem, pp. 27-28; Malta, cod. 280, folios 39^v, 43^f. The story of Cos, lost to the Turks before 1319, is obscure (Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, pp. 4, 8, 24, 99).

genuine crusading activity when John XXII died in December 1334. At first Benedict XII continued his predecessor's policy, but though the new pope had funds available he was pacific, economical, and somewhat unenthusiastic about the crusade. In any case, from 1336 onward Benedict's hands were tied by the great Anglo-French war and numerous concomitant struggles which precluded any major expedition, and he refused to declare an official crusade when, in effect, that meant granting papal crusading taxes for secular purposes, in particular to the French king. Meanwhile from about 1335, when its debts were extinguished, to about 1343, when it had a credit of some 360,000 florins with the Florentine banks of Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciajuoli, the Hospital continued the payments it had long been making to them. Thus papal discouragement of any crusading effort by the Hospitallers prevented expenditures which would have increased the growing difficulties of these three houses, which, at least until 1339, were also the pope's own bankers. In May 1336 when Cilicia was threatened by the Mamluks, Benedict canceled all support for an expedition there. In June the Venetians suggested that although Benedict had refused financial aid, they and the Hospitallers should equip a fleet at their own expense; the fleet assembled but did nothing of note.²⁸ Thereafter the crusade was abandoned, although in 1341 the Cypriote king and the Hospital both appealed for papal aid, and negotiations for a new league were opened with Venice.²⁹

Pope Clement VI, elected in 1342, was perhaps unjust in threatening the Hospitallers that he would found a new order with their possessions if they did not abandon their idle ways and contribute to the upkeep of a Latin fleet, but it was Clement's vigorous diplomacy which secured action against Umur of Aydin. The Hospitallers, faced with a demand for six galleys, increased their *responsiones* to finance the squadron which joined the Venetian, Cypriote, and papal forces in 1344. After a minor naval victory north of Euboea, the Latins attacked Smyrna, where Umur was preparing a large fleet for a new campaign; they surprised Umur and captured the port and its fortress on October 28, a great if lucky success.³⁰ Then during an assault in January 1345 on the upper citadel, which was never captured, the papal legate Henry of Asti, the papal captain Martin Zaccaria, and the Venetian leader Peter Zeno were killed; thereafter, the Latins

28. For this interpretation of Benedict's policy see Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini," pp. 318-319, and "The Crusade," pp. 133-134; see also F. Giunta, "Benedetto XII e la crociata," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, III (1966), 215-234.

29. Hill, *Cyprus*, II, 299.

30. On the capture of Smyrna see above, pp. 11-12.

were besieged in the lower fortress. The Hospital played a leading role in the defense, and on May 1, 1345, the pope named a Hospitaller, John of Biandrate, prior of Lombardy, as *capitaneus armatae generalis*. In December a Hospitaller galley was among the six which met Humbert, the dauphin of Viennois, at Negroponte, and in the summer of 1346 the Hospital participated in his unsuccessful expedition to Smyrna;³¹ talk of a truce followed, while Humbert wintered at Rhodes before returning to France in 1347. Around the end of April the Hospital's fleet, supported by other Latin forces, destroyed over a hundred Turkish vessels at Imbros near the mouth of the Dardanelles.

Success at Imbros did little to relieve Smyrna. In April 1347 the new master, Dieudonné of Gozon, specifically forbade the Hospitalers to assume responsibility for its defense; for while the Genoese were occupying Chios for their own advantage, the Venetians, quarreling bitterly with the Hospital over customs duties at Rhodes and persistently calling for action against Umur, were reluctant to make any contribution toward the defense of Smyrna, where they could expect only limited profits. After Clement VI had sanctioned truce negotiations in November 1346, the Hospitalers realistically took the lead in reaching an agreement that, in return for trading concessions at Smyrna and Altoluogo, the Latin powers would raze the harbor fortress at Smyrna. The pope vetoed this arrangement in February 1348, but after Umur was killed by chance while attacking the walls of Smyrna in May, a peace favorable to the Latins was agreed upon with Umur's brother Khidr on August 18. Clement and the Venetians again opposed the settlement and, when envoys from Venice, Cyprus, and Rhodes finally met at Avignon in May 1350 to ratify it, they were instead persuaded to form a new league. On August 11 the Hospitalers agreed to contribute 3,000 florins annually toward the cost of maintaining the garrison at Smyrna, and to provide three galleys for a fleet to defend Christian shipping. Then war between Genoa and Venice wrecked the new coalition, and Clement formally dissolved it in September 1351.³²

After Villeneuve's death in 1346 the Hospitalers' lack of clear purpose again became evident. On papal instructions they sent some assistance to Cilician Armenia in 1347, but they ignored further orders to intervene there in 1351.³³ The Hospitalers' difficulties in

31. On Humbert's crusade see above, pp. 12-13.

32. Lemerle, *Aydin*, pp. 180-203, 226-235; Luttrell, "Venice," pp. 203-205; see also J. Gay, *Le Pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient, 1342-1352* (Paris, 1904).

33. Luttrell, "Cilician Armenia" [forthcoming]; this amends the standard accounts (e.g. in Gay, *Clément VI*, pp. 146-149). The Hospitalers did not retake Ayas (Lajazzo) in 1347.

Europe increased their reluctance to assume responsibilities. They lost heavily, more than 360,000 florins, when their Florentine bankers went bankrupt between 1343 and 1346,³⁴ and though the great plague of 1348 probably killed comparatively few Hospitallers, it certainly brought falling rents and increased indiscipline in its aftermath.³⁵ In view of the economic difficulties of supporting all who wished to serve at Rhodes, a *passagium* of a hundred brethren which was planned in April 1351 had subsequently to be limited to those who could come properly armed and horsed.³⁶ As usual, these difficulties were not appreciated in the west: Petrarch wrote, "Rhodes, shield of the faith, lies unwounded, inglorious,"³⁷ and in 1354 pope Innocent VI, reviving old accusations, reminded the Hospitallers that they had been endowed to fight the "infidel," and threatened that if they remained inactive he would transfer the Convent to the mainland, presumably to Smyrna, and use the Templars' lands to found a new order. In fact, the rather undistinguished masters who succeeded Villeneuve³⁸ only occasionally opposed the directions of the popes or their legates, and in 1356 an assembly of Hospitallers summoned to Avignon had to accept disciplinary and administrative reforms proposed by Innocent VI, who instructed that they be inserted in the statutes.

Acceptance of the Hospital's immobility at Rhodes and of defensive campaigns which mainly benefited Genoese and Venetian commerce was not complete. The Hospitallers occupied the castle of Carystus on Euboea for a period in 1351, despite the Venetians' protests at such an invasion of their sphere of interest.³⁹ The Hospitallers perhaps realized that Greece, where they had long possessed minor estates, offered far greater resources in agricultural produce and manpower than Rhodes, which was so expensive to occupy. The defense of the Morea against the ravages of the Turks was an increasingly serious problem, and during 1356 and 1357 Innocent VI sponsored secret plans to establish the Hospital some-

34. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini," pp. 318-319.

35. Luttrell, "Los Hospitalarios en Aragón y la peste negra," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, III (1966), 499-514; cf. the socio-economic analyses of Hospitaller statistics in G. Duby, "La Seigneurie et l'économie paysanne: Alpes du Sud, 1338," *Études rurales*, II (1961), 5-36, and J. Glénisson, "L'Enquête pontificale de 1373 sur les possessions des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, CXXIX (1971), 83-111.

36. Malta, cod. 318, folios 13^v, 103^v.

37. *Le Familiari*, ed. V. Rossi, III (Florence, 1937), 148-153.

38. Dieudonné of Gozon was followed by Peter of Corneillan (1353-1355), Roger de Pins (1355-1365), Raymond Bérenger (1365-1374), and Robert of Juilly (1374-1377).

39. Luttrell, "Venice," p. 208.

where in the principality of Achaea, possibly at Corinth. The Angevin rulers of Achaea rejected the idea and entrusted Corinth to Nicholas Acciajuoli in 1358. The project was abandoned if not forgotten; it may have met opposition at Rhodes, but it indicated some awareness that the brethren might be more effectively and honorably employed.⁴⁰

After Umur's death the Turks of Altoluogo and Palatia were less dangerous, but a sporadic piratical conflict continued at sea. With peace between Venice and Genoa, the league to defend Smyrna was revived in 1356; that autumn the Hospital's galleys lay ready, but the Venetian preparations were delayed and there was no significant action. In June and July 1358 a hundred Hospitallers were summoned to Rhodes, and in 1359 the pope appointed the Florentine Hospitaller Nicholas Benedetti as captain of Smyrna for eight years. Benedetti was to fortify the town with walls and towers and to maintain 150 Latin mercenaries and two galleys; he received a papal license to send one ship and two galleys to trade at Alexandria to finance these measures, while he and his brothers, who were granted rights of succession during his eight-year tenure, were to retain any territory they might capture from the Moslems. Probably in 1359, a fleet which included a Rhodian contingent under Raymond Bérenger, preceptor of Cos, burned thirty-five Turkish ships off Megara in Greece. Late in 1359 the Gascon Carmelite Peter Thomas, newly appointed as papal legate, visited Smyrna, where he organized the defenses and forced the Turks of Altoluogo to pay tribute. From 1363 until 1371 the captain of Smyrna was Peter Racanelli, an important Genoese of Chios, and the pope and the Hospital were sharing the cost of Smyrna's defense, 6,000 florins yearly.

In Byzantium itself, civil war had weakened resistance to the Turks. Innocent VI had made it clear that the price of Latin assistance was Greek submission in matters of faith, and in 1353 he had instructed the Hospitallers and others to help John VI Cantacuzenus in such circumstances. In 1354 the Ottoman Turks captured Gallipoli, establishing themselves in Europe; in 1357 John V Palaeologus

40. Documents referring obscurely to a *negotium principatus Achaye* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 238, folios 64^r-65^v; 239, folios 74^v-75^r) were used, but inaccurately, by Bosio. Later scholars, notably K. Hopf, K. Herquet, and J. Delaville Le Roulx, misled by Bosio and by each other, have produced wildly fantastic interpretations of this *negotium*; [H.] Zeininger de Borja, "Les Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem en Grèce continentale," *Rivista araldica*, LVII (1959), 297-300, unfortunately followed them in these, as in various other errors (cf. below, p. 303, note 53).

submitted to the Roman church;⁴¹ and in 1359 Peter Thomas arrived at Constantinople, accompanied by Venetian and Rhodian galleys. He failed to cement the union between the churches, but with Greek assistance the Latin forces destroyed the Ottoman fort at Lampsacus opposite Gallipoli in the Dardanelles; fifty Hospitallers fought a notable rearguard action in the withdrawal from the fort. The legate then sailed to Smyrna, and early in 1360 he lay ill at Rhodes. He went from there to Cyprus, abandoning the Latin league; two Hospitaller galleys were laid up at Rhodes and the Venetians were left to oppose the Ottomans alone. At the very moment when seapower had been used effectively against the Ottomans, who, unlike the Turks of Aydin and the emirates south of Smyrna, had no fleet and were therefore vulnerable, Peter Thomas, more interested in converting heretics than in defending the Balkans, turned Latin strength to another sphere centered on Cyprus. Demotica and Adrianople fell to the Ottomans in 1361.⁴²

Peter de Lusignan, king of Cyprus from 1359, his chancellor Philip of Mézières, and Peter Thomas were jointly responsible for the diversion to the southern Levant of the limited political and financial support the papacy could provide. The Hospitallers were accustomed to participate in Cypriote affairs, and were probably more sympathetic to the French elements in Cyprus and to their own ancient chivalric ideal, the recovery of Jerusalem, than to Venetian commercial interests in Romania or to the Greeks, with whom coöperation was so difficult. The Hospital provided four galleys and some troops for the Cypriote campaign which captured Adalia from the emir of Tekke in August 1361, and when Peter de Lusignan visited Rhodes in 1362 on his way westward to organize a crusade, the Hospital gave a written promise of assistance. The king returned in 1365 and during August and September he assembled his forces at Rhodes, where the emirs of Altoluogo and Palatia hastened to offer him tribute through the master's mediation. After intensive preaching by Peter Thomas, a fleet of over 150 galleys sailed for an unannounced destination on October 4; the Hospital provided four galleys, some transport vessels, and a hundred brethren under the admiral, Ferlino of Airasca, prior of Lombardy. This force in fact made for Alexandria. There the Hospitallers' unexpected appearance

41. Cf. above, pp. 69–70, for a somewhat different interpretation.

42. To Luttrell, "Venice," pp. 205–206, add details in O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome: Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'empire d'Orient, 1355–1375* (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 9–30, 60–77; J. Smet, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières* (Rome, 1954), pp. 84–90, 206–212. See also above, pp. 72–73.

in the defenders' rear assured a successful landing, and they further distinguished themselves in the storming of the city, which was sacked with incredible destruction. Many crusaders, including Ferlino, maintained that resistance against the sultan's forces would be impossible, and so the fleet left for Cyprus with its plunder.⁴³

The Venetians, infuriated by the ruin of their commercial position in Egypt, wrecked serious hopes of further action by spreading rumors of a peace, with the result that in 1366 an expedition led by Amadeo VI of Savoy sailed not toward Cyprus and the southern Levant but to Romania.⁴⁴ Early in 1366 the master, alarmed by Turkish and Mamluk preparations, summoned a hundred Hospitallers, together with all available money, to Rhodes; he arranged for the purchase of horses and arms in Italy. During 1366 and 1367 Peter of Cyprus, assisted by four galleys and other craft from Rhodes, attacked the Turks in Cilicia. In June 1367 Peter was in Rhodes, and in September he was pillaging the Syrian coast as far as Ayas (Lajazzo); the turcopolier of the Hospital was killed in fighting at Tripoli. King Peter's assassination in 1369 deprived the crusade of strong leadership, but in the autumn eight galleys representing Rhodes, Cyprus, Genoa, and Venice sailed to Alexandria to threaten the sultan, with whom negotiations were still dragging on. A general peace closed a crusading epoch in mid-1370, while in Cyprus a period of strife followed the accession of the fifteen-year-old Peter II.⁴⁵ In 1371 pope Gregory XI named a Hospitaller, Bertrand Flote, as the young king's guardian and appointed the master to a council of regency. Yet the Hospital was powerless to prevent a successful Genoese uprising against the Lusignans in 1373. The master, Raymond Bérenger, twice visited Cyprus to mediate, and died there in February 1374. When in April 1374 Peter II's uncle, John de Lusignan, arrived at Rhodes seeking protection but followed by Genoese galleys, the Hospitallers had to insist that he leave the island. Furthermore, the Hospital apparently did nothing to prevent the collapse of the Armenian kingdom in Cilicia before Mamluk and Turkish forces in 1375.⁴⁶

The Hospitallers' ineffectiveness in the Levant was rooted in cor-

43. See below, pp. 356-357; Hill, *Cyprus*, II, 318-323, 329-334; and Smet, *Peter Thomas*, pp. 103, 125-140; see also F. Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1966). The documents confirm the number of 100 Hospitallers given by Philip of Mézières; this included two Englishmen, the turcopolier William Middleton and Robert Hales, later prior of England (Malta, cod. 319, folios 171^r-172^r, 316^r).

44. On Amadeo VI's crusade see above, pp. 74-77.

45. See below, pp. 361-366.

46. Hill, *Cyprus*, II, 339, 344, 347-354, 373-379, 389-390, 402-403, 410-411.

ruption and indiscipline in Europe. Philip of Mézières complained that the brethren served four or five years at Rhodes in order to get a good preceptory or priory, and then returned to Europe: *c'est une moquerie ou grant derision*.⁴⁷ The blame lay partly with the popes, whose attempts to reform the Hospital achieved little but who increasingly interfered with nominations to offices and other business. Innocent VI had pretentious schemes for the reform of the vices he denounced, yet he disrupted the Hospital's whole European organization by overruling legitimate complaints from the Convent, and he abused his papal powers by providing his ambitious and experienced Aragonese favorite Juan Fernández de Heredia both to the priory of Castile and Leon and to the Hospital's richest priory, that of St. Gilles in Provence. Fernández de Heredia had obtained the castellany of Amposta (as the priory of Aragon was called) in 1346 through the favor of Peter IV of Aragon, and for many years he exemplified those unscrupulous brethren who scarcely visited Rhodes but controlled extensive Hospitaller possessions in the west. His own administrative and political talents enabled him to extract great wealth from the Hospital, and to enrich his kinsmen and illegitimate children.⁴⁸ Even so he was outdone in grandiosity, refractoriness, and personal immorality by Álvaro Gonçalves Pereira, prior of Portugal. The Iberian priories, notably those of Castile and Portugal, were especially difficult to discipline, but they were not the only ones which fell into arrears with their *responsiones* or failed to pay them in full.⁴⁹

Capable brethren were not always employed to the Hospital's profit; in 1340, for example, every province in the Papal States was governed by a Hospitaller. The masters were well-intentioned but many were old men, and some had little experience in the east; Dieudonné of Gozon and Raymond Bérenger both tried to resign. The Convent attempted to resist Innocent VI but was powerless when, for example, he appointed a committee of cardinals to white-wash Fernández de Heredia's blatant transgressions; subsequently Raymond Bérenger and pope Urban V did manage to strip him of part of his power. The struggle for men and money conducted

47. Philip of Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pèlerin*, ed. G. Coopland, I (Cambridge, 1969), 259–260.

48. Details and references in Luttrell, "Aragonese Crown," pp. 13–19; "Juan Fernández de Heredia at Avignon: 1351–1367," in *El Cardenal Albornoz y el Colegio de España*, ed. E. Verdura y Tuells, I (Bologna, 1972), 289–316.

49. While the administrative documents used extensively in Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, naturally tend to reflect the troubles which provoked them, the surviving accounts do modify this picture of widespread corruption; see J. Nisbet, "Treasury Records of the Knights of St. John in Rhodes," *Melita historica*, II, no. 2 (1957), 95–104.

against endless indifference and corruption seems to have exhausted most masters, and the Hospital's lack of gifted leaders and of firm and positive direction was enhanced by the predominance of feeble or distracted popes who usually counted on the Hospital to take part in their ineffective Levantine campaigns but whose meddling in Hospitaller affairs was of doubtful value. Many of the brethren themselves knew the Levant well enough to realize the futility of small amphibious expeditions which might make minor coastal gains but certainly lacked the sustained strength to conserve them; it was difficult enough to garrison Smyrna.

While further chances of crusading activity based on Cyprus faded, it became clear that the Latins must support the Greeks in Romania. Amadeo VI of Savoy took Gallipoli from the Ottomans in 1366 but was unable to hold it; John V Palaeologus submitted to the pope anew in 1369 but could not persuade his Greek subjects to coöperate with the Latins; and in 1371 Serbian resistance was crushed by the Turks at Chernomen on the Maritsa river. Latins as well as Greeks were in danger and the new pope, Gregory XI, was determined to use the Hospitallers, almost the only reliable military force available, to oppose the Ottomans. In 1373 he ordered episcopal inquests into the state of every preceptory in Europe, while expressing his intention of providing a Latin fleet to operate against the Turks in the Dardanelles and the Aegean. In 1374, despite the Hospitallers' marked reluctance, he made them wholly responsible for the defense of Smyrna, revoking the captaincy of Ottobono Cattaneo, a Genoese of Rhodes appointed in 1371, who had grossly neglected his duties. He also sent two Hospitallers, Bertrand Flote and Hesso Schlegelholz, to Constantinople to prepare for a *passagium* of Hospitallers *ad partes Romanie*; this expedition was to be organized and commanded by Juan Fernández de Heredia, who had returned to papal favor and now secured wide powers as the master's lieutenant in the west. Preparations moved slowly. Late in 1375 some four hundred Hospitallers, each with a squire, were summoned for the *passagium*; the French priories were to provide 125 brethren, the Italian 108, the Spanish and Portuguese 73, the English and Irish 38, the German and Bohemian 32, the Hungarian 17, and the preceptories of the Morea and of the duchy of Athens two each. Hospitaller lands were to be sold or rented, and 24,500 florins were borrowed from the Alberti of Florence; Gregory supported these arrangements and ordered that the money raised should be kept in Europe, not sent to Rhodes.

On August 10, 1376, the master, Robert of Juilly, wrote of a *passagium ad partes ducatus Athenarum*, presumably intended to defend the Catalans of Thebes and Athens against the Turks; the Catalans, in fact, were so weak that in 1374 they were unable to prevent Nerio Acciajuoli of Corinth from seizing Megara.⁵⁰ These plans had to be changed when hopes of ecclesiastical union and military coöperation with the Greeks were ruined by a new war between Genoa and Venice, and by the intervention of both parties, and also of the Turks, in increasing civil strife within Byzantium. The *passagium* was further delayed while Gregory XI left Avignon late in 1376 and sailed slowly to Rome, with a fleet commanded by Fernández de Heredia. The pope continued to encourage elaborate preparations for the expedition, the destination of which was changed during the summer from the Aegean to the Adriatic. In about June 1377 the principality of Achaea was leased by the Hospital for five years from queen Joanna I of Naples, and a Hospitaller, Daniel del Carretto, was sent as bailie and took over the government of the Latin Morea.⁵¹ Negotiations with Maddalena de' Buondelmonti (the widow of Leonard I Tocco, duke of Leucadia and count of Cephalonia), who was acting as regent for her two sons, were completed in October; from Maddalena the Hospitallers acquired Vonitsa, a port on the Gulf of Arta in Epirus which for some years had been subject to attacks from the Albanian forces of Ghin Boua Spata, lord of Arta, and which provided a gateway into northern Greece. Robert of Juilly died on July 27, 1377, and on October 24 Gregory XI, having previously reserved the provision *pro hac vice*, appointed Fernández de Heredia in his place. In response to vigorous protests from the Convent, Gregory had to promise that the Hospital's privileges would not again be flouted by such a provision.

The new master left Naples with the *passagium* around the beginning of 1378, accompanied by Francis and Esau de' Buondelmonti, Maddalena's brothers, and by various other Florentines who helped with financial, transport, and supply problems, apparently in the hope of commercial advantage. By April a rather small force of Hospitallers, which included the admiral, Palamedo Giovanni, and the priors of Venice, Pisa, and Capua, was at Vonitsa. There they delayed, apparently because the new pope Urban VI, elected on April 8, failed to send the necessary reinforcements. By summer, when the expedition advanced inland and attacked the walls of Arta with siege engines, Ghin Boua Spata had been given time to collect

50. See above, pp. 211–212.

51. See above, pp. 147–148, where the summer of 1376 is considered more likely.

an army which included Thomas Preljubovich, the Serbian despot of Iania. The Hospitallers were ambushed, probably in August; some were killed and others, including Fernández de Heredia, were captured.⁵² The Hospital's first major operation of its own since the conquest of Rhodes ended in military disaster.

Vonitsa was evacuated by the Hospitallers, though it remained in Latin hands, while Lepanto (Naupactus) and various fortresses in the Morea were garrisoned with Latin mercenaries; the Hospital also hired 150 members of the Navarrese companies who came into Greece from Durazzo in Albania under the command of John de Urtubia, Mahiot of Coquerel, and others. Though the master was free by the spring of 1379 and reached Rhodes in July, the Hospital gradually lost control in Greece. It had to borrow heavily; Lepanto passed to Ghin Boua Spata; and the Hospital was forced to pawn its possessions in the Catalan duchy of Athens to Nerio Acciajuoli. Certain individual Hospitallers joined with Nerio and the Navarrese in attacks on the Catalan duchy; the Catalans even lost Thebes to the Navarrese, probably in the spring of 1379. By 1381 the Navarrese were established in the Morea, where the Hospitaller commanders Bertrand Flote and Hesso Schlegelholz, unable to control them, were forced to buy them off. Early in 1381, faced with the Navarrese, with problems at Rhodes, with the expenses of the *passagium* and the master's ransom, and with the crises both in Latin Greece and in the Hospital itself which had followed the election in September 1378 of Clement VII as a rival pope, the Hospitallers abandoned their expensive commitments in the principality of Achaia and handed its government back to queen Joanna's officials.⁵³

52. See above, pp. 216–217. In 1386 Esau de' Buondelmonti married Thomas Preljubovich's widow Angelina, and became ruler of Iania.

53. The standard versions of this Greek intervention, such as Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, pp. 199–211, and Zeininger, "Grèce continentale," pp. 393–396, repeat earlier errors of fact and interpretation. See R. J. Loenertz, "Hospitalliers et Navarrais en Grèce, 1376–1383: Régestes et documents," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), 319–360, reprinted in his *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (Rome, 1970), pp. 329–369; background studies in G. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome, 1960), pp. 26–46; A. Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros* (Wiesbaden, 1969), pp. 54–79; and above, chapter IV. Further details, amendments, and references are in A. Luttrell, "The Principality of Achaia in 1377," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LVII (1964), 340–343; "Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384," *Speculum*, XLI (1966), 30–37; "Aldobrando Baroncelli in Greece: 1378–1382," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXXVI (1970), 273–300; "La Corona de Aragón y la Grecia catalana: 1379–1394," *Anuario de estudios medievales*, VI (1969), 219–252; and "Le Compagnie navarresi in Grecia: 1376–1404" [forthcoming]. Much remains obscure, but there is no evidence to support the accepted allegations that these Greek schemes, or those of 1356–1357, sprang from Fernández de Heredia's ambitions, or that he had any particular interest in or obsession with Greece before he went there in 1378 (cf. Luttrell,

At Rhodes too there were difficulties. The chapters-general of 1370 and 1373 had taken steps, under papal pressure, to curb the overpowerful French brethren, to end their quarrels with the Italians over preceptories in Angevin Italy and Hungary, and to ensure a greater equality among the *langues* or nations at the Convent, especially in the election of masters. The provision to the mastership in 1377 of the powerful Aragonese, who for so many years had defied the master and Convent, was a further threat to the French monopoly. The French priors dominated the chapter-general which met at Rhodes in February 1379; they elected the grand preceptor Bertrand Flote to act as the lieutenant of the captive master, and then attempted to secure direction of the Hospital by enacting that the Convent was to be associated with all the master's decisions and to control his appointments to offices, his grants of land, and similar matters.

Fernández de Heredia's assumption of power when he reached Rhodes in July was probably facilitated by his firm stand in favor of the Avignonese pope Clement VII, whom the French brethren supported. The Hospitallers were among the few Levantine adherents of Clement, who on May 10, 1381, nominated Bertrand Flote as papal collector in Romania. There were difficulties with the garrisons at Smyrna and elsewhere, in raising supplies and paying mercenaries, and in disciplining brethren in the islands; late in February 1382 some sixty brethren were sent back or licensed to return to their priories, the reason given being that the Hospital could not afford to maintain them in the Levant. A dramatic manifestation of petty troubles at Rhodes occurred in the Conventual church on November 2, 1381, when a Gascon Hospitaller, Bertrin of Gagnac, who had been sentenced to the loss of his habit for crimes which included the embezzlement of money at Cos, attempted to knife the master, and was cut down by Palamedo Giovanni and Hesso Schlegelholtz. Thenceforth Fernández de Heredia placed special reliance on non-French brethren such as those two, and in particular on the Italian Dominic de Alamania. The master departed for the west on April 9, 1382, leaving the marshal Peter of Culan in command at Rhodes, but before he sailed, the Convent expressed its distrust of him by restricting his powers and sending commissioners to supervise his actions.

After Juan Fernández de Heredia became master he showed in-

"Greek Histories," pp. 401-402). The western chroniclers were confused and ill-informed on the Arta campaign, but see Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historiarum demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, I (Budapest, 1922), 197-199, and the Chronicle of Ianina, in S. Cirac Estopañan,

creasing concern for the Hospital's interests, and resided almost uninterruptedly at Avignon, where he could best serve the Hospital, until his death as a very old man in 1396. He had certainly been the legitimate master, but in March 1381 the Roman pope Urban VI opened an inquiry into the Hospital which led in April 1383 to his nominating a fellow Neapolitan, Richard Caracciolo, prior of Capua, as "anti-master." Caracciolo held several "chapters-general" at Naples and elsewhere in Italy and received some support from English, Gascon, German, and Italian brethren, but even the Italians were far from unanimous in their adherence, while the Hospitallers from Urbanist England continued to send their *responsiones* via Venice to Clementist Rhodes. In 1384 Caracciolo's agent, a Piedmontese Hospitaller named Robaud Vaignon, conducted complex conspiracies with a secret Urbanist sympathizer, George of Ceva, preceptor of Cyprus, and then attempted to win over some of the English, German, and Italian brethren at Rhodes. One of these, Buffilo Panizzatti, preceptor of Bari, denounced Vaignon, who was sent to Avignon where he confessed under torture. Caracciolo's activities faded out after this and his followers dwindled; on his death in 1395 no new appointment was made and in 1410, following the Council of Pisa, the Romanist faction was almost completely reassimilated into the Hospital. That the schism among the Hospitallers ended before that in the church was a tribute to the brethren's restraint; both parties had refrained from actions likely to perpetuate a division in the Hospital.⁵⁴

As serious a result of the schism as the defection of some brethren was the nonpayment of their *responsiones* by others. Despite these difficulties, the master's vast experience and ruthless financial abilities roughly maintained the Hospital's income, which by 1392 stood at some 45,000 florins annually.⁵⁵ Insofar as was possible Fernández de Heredia called assemblies, reformed the administration of the priories, and punished recalcitrant brethren; at one point the Hospital owed him 75,000 florins which he had lent it. The money was badly needed, for while Ottoman power continued to grow neither pope showed any real interest in the Levant, which was largely left to defend itself. From 1384 onwards the master flirted with the strate-

Byzancio y España: El Legado de la basiliisa Marla y de los despotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina, I (Barcelona, 1943), 143-146 (placing the Arta ambush before the end of August).

54. Luttrell, "Intrigue, Schism, and Violence," pp. 33-48; see also C. Tipton, "The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, IV (1967), 91-124.

55. Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, p. 382; Nisbet, "Treasury Records," pp. 102-104.

gically sound idea of renewed intervention in Greece. In about 1385 he negotiated with the Navarrese in the Morea; in 1386 he purchased the Angevin claim to the principality of Achaea; and in 1389 he actually appointed Dominic de Alamania as governor there, empowering him to raise 15,000 ducats.⁵⁶ Such schemes however were beyond the Hospital's resources, especially in view of the anarchy then reigning in Greece, and they were dropped when the danger to Smyrna increased after 1389.

The garrison at Smyrna was a minor irritant to the Ottomans, who maintained just sufficient pressure on it to ensure the expenditure of the Christians' energies there without provoking them to a desperate resistance or to alliance with the emirates. For the Hospital, the loss of Smyrna would have been politically disastrous in Europe, and in 1381 the defenses were strengthened and certain unreliable mercenaries expelled. The danger grew when an earthquake seriously damaged the walls in 1389. In that year, in which the vigorous young Bayazid I became the Ottoman ruler, the Hospitallers decided to strengthen Cos and to join the Latins of Cyprus, Chios, Lesbos, and Pera in a defensive naval union which functioned against the Turks for some years. From 1390 on the master was planning a *passagium* in response to appeals from Rhodes, but it was unable to leave until 1394. In 1392 Bayazid was preventing the exportation of food from the mainland, so provisions grew scarce at Rhodes, where a number of brethren died of plague. Negotiations were opened but broke down when the Turks demanded the right to trade slaves at Rhodes. Bayazid then turned his aggression toward the Balkans, and the Christians responded with a major crusade. In 1396 a contingent of Hospitallers sailed into the Black Sea and up the Danube. They fought valiantly in the terrible Christian defeat at Nicopolis, and escaped by sea.⁵⁷

Juan Fernández de Heredia died shortly before the battle of Nicopolis and the leader of the Hospital's forces there, Philibert of Naillac, prior of Auvergne, returned to Rhodes to find himself elected master. He was a distinguished French noble who enjoyed the support of king Charles VI of France and duke Philip of Burgundy. During 1397 the Hospitallers helped to negotiate and finance the ransom of prisoners taken at Nicopolis, many of whom were entertained at Rhodes. One of these, the French marshal Boucicault, returned with six ships to the Levant, and in the autumn of 1399,

56. Luttrell, "Grecia catalana," pp. 242-248.

57. On the crusade of Nicopolis see above, pp. 21-25.

together with the Venetians and two galleys from Rhodes, he brought a respite to besieged Constantinople, winning minor successes against the Turks in and around the Dardanelles. The Christian naval union preserved a spasmodic existence until 1402, while the Venetians alternated proposals for a Christian league and negotiations with the Turks.⁵⁸

After Nicopolis the Greeks faced disaster. Emperor Manuel II had visited Rhodes in 1390 and secured two ships to assist him. In 1396 the Hospital opened negotiations with the Greeks. The Ottomans controlled most of Greece north of the Gulf of Corinth, and after the Venetians had refused to defend the isthmus in April 1397, the Turks invaded the Morea. They captured Argos on June 3 but were unable to occupy all the lands within their grasp, and after ravaging the Morea they withdrew. Corinth was a strategic and defensible base and the Hospitallers, responding once again to the idea of intervention in Greece, occupied it in the second half of 1397.⁵⁹ They bound themselves to defend the despotate, which did enjoy a period of peace until early in 1399, when the Morea was again threatened by Ottoman armies. Manuel Palaeologus then left to seek aid in the west, while the Hospitallers prepared to help his brother, the despot Theodore.

In July 1399 Naillac sent Eli of Fossat, the captain at Corinth, to open abortive negotiations with Theodore for the acquisition of Megara, to the north of Corinth, while another Hospitaller, Gerard of Le Puy, went to Peter de Saint Superan, the Navarrese prince of Achaea, who by November had agreed to help resist the Turks and rebuild the Hexamilion wall across the isthmus at Corinth. The Hospitallers were anxious to make further acquisitions, and in February 1400 an impressive embassy, including the priors of Venice, England, Aquitaine, and Toulouse, and Dominic de Alamania, was dispatched with a credit of 60,000 ducats and powers to purchase the whole Greek despotate. Theodore apparently temporized, and in November new envoys were commissioned, with instructions either to purchase further territories in the Morea or to resign those already obtained. Peter de Saint Superan allowed the Turks to pillage part of the Morea, but in mid-1401 the Hospitallers were again negotiating with him for a new league. The territories acquired in the despotate probably included Mistra, Theodore's capital (which at one point he

58. Luttrell, "Venice," pp. 209-211; F. Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie*, I (Paris and The Hague, 1958), nos. 739, 813, 949; II (1959), nos. 981, 988, 1007, 1042.

59. On the Morea in 1397 see above, p. 159.

abandoned), as well as Kalavryta, held by May 1400. Theodore received 43,000 ducats for the castellanies of Corinth and Kalavryta, and reserved the right to repurchase his lands at will. The Hospitallers defended Corinth, but despite their attempts to conciliate the populace, they were Latins and aroused the old resentments; at Mistra Theodore had to intervene to pacify an uprising against them. In May 1402 the Hospitallers were prepared for Theodore to demand the repurchase of his lands. The brethren were, however, clearly an obstacle to Bayazid, who, with Timur's armies advancing against him, offered Theodore peace on condition that the Hospitallers leave Greece.⁶⁰

In July 1402 the Ottomans were decisively defeated by Timur at Ankara. Smyrna, garrisoned by only two hundred knights under an Aragonese Hospitaller, Íñigo of Alfaro, was in serious danger. The admiral, Buffilo Panizzatti, was sent to strengthen the fortifications there, while Dominic de Alamania went to Chios to prevent the Genoese allying with Timur. Smyrna had resisted Ottoman assaults and now rejected Timur's offer to accept tribute. His troops attacked with siege-engines, mined the walls, blocked the harbor entrance with stones, and took Smyrna by assault during December after nearly fifteen days of valiant resistance against odds. Some Hospitallers escaped by sea, but Timur's army massacred large numbers of Christian refugees and razed Smyrna to the ground.⁶¹ Timur's campaign temporarily checked Ottoman expansion; it also ended the strain on the Hospitallers' resources involved in defending Smyrna, and it led to the Hospital's withdrawal from mainland Greece.

In 1403 the Hospitallers were arranging for a renewal of the treaty of 1370 with Egypt. General agreement had been reached by April, but in June the French marshal Boucicault arrived at Rhodes with the Genoese fleet, intending to attack Alexandria. Boucicault was also involved in Genoese quarrels in Cyprus, where three Genoese galleys, inappropriately commanded by the Hospitaller preceptor of Genoa, had arrived in 1402. Naillac diverted Boucicault to a temporarily successful attack on the Turks at Alaya,⁶² and himself sailed to

60. These events, and especially their chronology, remain obscure. Many errors of Delaville Le Roulx and others are corrected in Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, p. 248, note 5, and pp. 254–265. See also Malta, cod. 330, folios 118^v–119^r, 120^v, 122^v–123^r, 125^v–126^r, 126^v; cod. 331, folios 162^r, 162^v, 163^r, 174^r; cod. 332, folios 160^v–164^r; cod. 334, folios 147^r–148^r. Cf. above, pp. 160–161, and on leagues and relations with Manuel in 1390 and from 1396 to 1404, see J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969), pp. 76–77, 146, 168–169, 171 note 84, 204 and note 5, 224, 232–233, 259, 482–485.

61. Delaville Le Roulx, *Rhodes*, pp. 283–286; on Dominic's mission, see N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, I (Paris, 1899), 135–136.

62. Piloti had a story that the Hospital agreed to pay Boucicault 40,000 ducats for Alaya

Cyprus, where he arranged a treaty settling the differences between king Janus and the Genoese.⁶³ Boucicault was now free to sail to Alexandria but was foiled by contrary winds; the Venetians had, in any case, betrayed his plans. In August Boucicault attacked Tripoli, and Naillac and the Hospitallers distinguished themselves in the fighting there. Then, after sacking Beirut, he sailed via Rhodes for Genoa, fighting a sea-battle with the Venetians off Modon in October. The presence of a Hospitaller galley at this battle emphasized the difficulty of ensuring the complete neutrality of all the brethren, and caused protracted quarrels with Venice. Meanwhile the Egyptians as well as the Christians were suffering from the interruption of trade. Despite Boucicault's aggression, an Egyptian envoy came to Rhodes and on October 27, 1403, concluded a treaty by which the Hospital was to be allowed to maintain consuls at Jerusalem, Ramla, and Damietta, to administer its hospices and various shrines in and around Jerusalem, and to control the pilgrim traffic. In 1407 the Hospitallers accepted a project of Boucicault for a new attack on Egypt, but they failed to secure support for it from Janus of Cyprus. During 1411 the prior of Toulouse was killed when some Hospitaller galleys attacked Makri. In general, however, a period of more peaceful relations followed the accord of 1403.

As a result of the Ottomans' defeat at Ankara in July 1402, the Hospitallers' presence in the Morea was less essential and even less welcome than earlier, but they planned nonetheless to remain. In April 1403 a small force was preparing to leave Rhodes for Glarentsa, hoping to win control of the principality of Achaëa, where Peter de Saint Superan had died in November 1402, and to attack Theodore, who had broken his pacts with the Hospital. Early in 1403, however, Antonio Acciajuoli had captured Athens from the Venetians, and on June 7 the men of Athens, Thebes, and Megara, and their Turkish allies, attacked the Hospitallers at Corinth. At about the same time the Christian powers were making a treaty with the Ottomans; by it the Hospitallers were to have the county of Salona and its castle of Zeitounion north of the Gulf of Corinth. At peace with the Turks and under attack by Greeks and Latins alike, the Hospital left the Morea. Negotiations over the repayment of monies received by Theodore began in March or earlier, and Corinth was evacuated on June 4, 1404, but Theodore occupied Salona and refused to hand it over. The Hospital retained latent interests in Greece; in 1405 it proposed to fortify Tenedos at the mouth of the Dardanelles at its

if it were conquered; see *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte (1420)*, ed. P. H. Dopp (Louvain and Paris, 1958), pp. 193-194.

63. See below, pp. 370-371.

own expense, while a proposal made soon after to the Palaeologi for a thirty-year alliance against the Turks and a suggestion of November 1408 for a league with Centurione II Zaccaria, prince of Achaea, met no effective response.⁶⁴

Following their treaties with the Ottomans and the Mamluks, the Hospitallers reverted to the predominantly defensive strategy which they had modified after Nicopolis. The Christians failed to exploit Ottoman weaknesses and the quarrels among Bayazid's sons; the Venetians, who possessed real naval strength, were not convinced of the need for all-out war against the Turks and remained hostile to the Hospital. All being relatively calm at Rhodes, Naillac apparently lost interest in the Levant. In February 1409 he sailed for the west, where he became a prominent figure in the election of a third pope, Alexander V, at the Council of Pisa. Naillac was technically "deposed" from the mastership by Benedict XIII, successor to Clement VII, for taking the Hospitallers, including a number of Urbanists, over to Alexander's obedience. Like his predecessor, Naillac remained in Europe reconciling the quarrels and complications among the Hospitallers which had arisen out of the schism, and working to end the schism itself. Naillac did not return to Rhodes until 1420, and for one eighteen-month period he was apparently simply lingering in his native province. When Alexander V's successor, John XXIII, began disposing of the Hospital's benefices, it was the Conventual brethren who stopped him by threatening, in 1412, to abandon Rhodes.

After the loss of Smyrna the Hospital increasingly strengthened the defenses of Rhodes, a process partly dictated by the growth of Turkish seapower. The Hospitallers started to rebuild the walls at Smyrna, but the Ottoman ruler Mehmed I pulled them down again, and so, some time before 1408, the Hospitallers began to construct the new castle of St. Peter at Bodrum, a rocky mainland site opposite Cos town. Rhodes itself was strengthened by the construction of a great tower to guard the port. Throughout the archipelago there were fortified villages, such as Lindos, Polakia, and Cattavia on Rhodes, in which the population could take refuge, but many of the island's castles, including Pheraclos, Aphandou, and Archangelos, were in ruins. The lesser islands formed part of Rhodes's defensive system

64. For details concerning Greece, see above, pp. 161–162; G. Dennis, in *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXVI (1960), 43–44; Iorga, *Notes*, I, 106–109; Luttrell, "Venice," p. 211; Malta, cod. 333, folios 115^r–118^r, 120^v, 121^v, 124^v–127^r, 129^r; cod. 334, folios 146^v–149^v, 153^v; cod. 337, folios 125^r–125^v. Here again Delaville Le Roulx's errors have misled all authors; the account given here is to be regarded as tentative and the date of the

and supplied it with food and wine; Cos was especially fertile. To the east of Rhodes, Castellorizzo was a garrisoned lookout post; to the north, the fortresses at Bodrum and Cos guarded the approaches to Rhodes. Unlike many of the modest defenses elsewhere in the archipelago, these two castles enclosed no town but were powerful isolated strongholds, partly surrounded by water. At Cos the preceptor had to maintain twenty-five Hospitallers, ten Latin men-at-arms, a hundred turcopoles, a doctor, and an apothecary, together with a ship with twenty banks of rowers.⁶⁵

In fact, while the Latin possessions in the Levant gradually shrank, Rhodes grew stronger and, as a result, more important as a well-placed commercial entrepôt, a base for merchants of many nations, particularly for the Florentines and Catalans, who had no Levantine colony of their own.⁶⁶ Although in 1399 there were on Rhodes at least sixty-three brethren of the *langue* of Provence alone, and in 1409 there were thirty-three brethren of the *langue* of Auvergne there,⁶⁷ the Convent had become less exclusively French; Naillac's lieutenants at Rhodes between 1409 and 1420 were, successively, the Italian Dominic de Alamania, the German Hesso Schlegelholz, a Frenchman, the marshal Lucius of Vallins, and a Catalan, the draper Anton Fluvian, who became master in 1421. In view of the Italian mercantile rivalries in the Levant the comparative paucity of Italians in the Convent was probably fortunate, but some became leading figures in the business community. The Florentine John Corsini possessed town and country property in Rhodes and lent money to the Hospital in the time of Juan Fernández de Heredia,⁶⁸ while Dragonet Clavelli, a citizen of Rhodes, became a leading money-lender and held both the Rhodian *casale* of Lardos and the island of Nisyros in fief. The Hospital needed such men to provide wealth and credit at Rhodes.

treaty with the Ottomans is uncertain. There seems to be no evidence that the Hospital ever held Salona, as often maintained.

65. Descriptions in "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien, 1394-1395," ed. E. Legrand, *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (1895), 582-586, 638-645; Ruy González de Clavijo (1403), in F. López Estrada, *Embajada a Tamorlán* (Madrid, 1943), pp. 18-24; *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti*, ed. E. Legrand (Paris, 1897), pp. 25-33, 62-67, 181-189, 218-222; G. Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevali delle tredici Sporadi," *Annuario delle R. Scuola archeologica di Atene*, I (1914), 169-356; II (1916), 1-101; A. Maiuri, "I Castelli dei Cavalieri di Rodi a Cos e a Budrúm (Alicarnasso)," *ibid.*, IV-V (1921-1922), 275-343.

66. A. Luttrell, "Aragoneses y Catalanes en Rodas: 1350-1430," *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, II (Barcelona, 1962), 383-390. For the end of Catalan and Florentine rule in Greece see above, chapter VII.

67. Malta, cod. 330, folios 36^r-38^r; cod. 339, folios 233^v-235^r.

68. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini," pp. 325-326.

From 1410 onward the brethren, periodically short of money and of food, attempted little crusading activity. Rhodes became instead a center of piracy directed against Christians and Moslems alike. Thus in 1412 when a Hospitaller vessel seized a Turkish ship in the waters of Mytilene, the Rhodian crew was imprisoned and tortured by James Gattilusio, lord of Lesbos, while the Turks of Palatia attacked the castle of Bodrum and the Hospital's island of Syme. In 1413 the Hospitallers were alarmed by rumors of an impending Ottoman naval assault on Rhodes and began to form a defensive alliance. At this time a group of Catalans discharged at Rhodes some merchandise captured in a raid at Alexandria, and in the following years the Catalan corsair Nicholas Samper used Rhodes as a base, involving the Hospital in quarrels with his Venetian and Genoese victims. When the Ottomans solicited aid against the Turks of Altoluogo and the other emirates in April 1415, the Hospital instructed the captain of its "guard galley" off Chios to act in concert with the Genoese there. There were also proposals for Venetian participation in a general defensive league against the Turks. In January 1417 the Venetians hoped to include a Rhodian galley in a union to attack the Turks in the Aegean. Yet when Naillac finally returned to Rhodes in 1420, there was still peace there.⁶⁹

At the time of Naillac's death in 1421, a century after the last serious attack on Rhodes in 1320, Ottoman and Mamluk seapower were still relatively undeveloped and the brethren at Rhodes, as yet in no real danger, seemed demoralized and inactive. Throughout this period the Hospital suffered from a lack of resources. It could seldom count on a powerful ally, and was limited by the commercial self-interest and mutual quarrels of Venice and Genoa, by the intolerance of Greeks and Latins, by the ineffectiveness of papal crusading policy, and more fundamentally by the indifference of Latin Christendom to the problems of its own defense. The Hospitallers at Rhodes could rarely sustain a decisive role in crusading affairs or make the most of their opportunities. The old accusations against them, especially those of corruption in the priories, continued to be repeated, not without some justification. For example, one such critic, the Cretan merchant Manuel Piloti, who spent some time in Florence, may have known of the visit there in 1431 of a Hospitaller who conducted a mass sale of papal indulgences intended to finance the defense of Rhodes, dining and debauching himself spectacularly on the proceeds.⁷⁰

69. Piloti, *Traité*, p. 234; Thiriet, *Régestes*, II, nos. 1589, 1635, 1648, 1690, 1764.

70. Piloti, *Traité*, pp. 216-217; Iorga, *Notes*, II, 299-301. In 1423 the Venetian senate

Granted its weaknesses, the Hospital had some claims to success, and if it played no very decisive part in Levantine affairs, it did overcome considerable difficulties. The Hospital's establishment at Rhodes, the absorption of the Templars' properties, the fortification and defense of the Rhodian archipelago, indeed its own very survival, were real if somewhat unspectacular achievements, without which later successes would have been impossible. The Hospital always acknowledged its subordination to the papacy, but at Rhodes it enjoyed many attributes of independence, passing laws, minting money, and sending ambassadors. The master's powers were not limited to Rhodes. In the west, *oultremer* to the brethren, he had extensive jurisdictions, and in extreme cases the Hospital's subjects made the long journey to Rhodes to appeal to the master. The brethren participated, usually with distinction, in most crusading enterprises and were seldom responsible when these were strategically misconceived. They had played a leading part in the capture of Smyrna in 1344 and in its defense until 1402, and in the period of crisis between the battles of Nicopolis in 1396 and Ankara in 1402 they had successfully defended Corinth, perhaps saving the Morea for Christendom for another sixty years. The Hospitallers provided a permanent and reliable military force to which their experience and discipline gave a value more than commensurate with its limited size. Their presence at Rhodes provided an element of stability in the Christian east.

gave favorable consideration to an approach from the Hospitallers, who wished to exchange Rhodes, which they claimed to find too difficult to defend, for a territory of equal value in Greece, preferably Euboea; nothing, however, came of this (Iorga, *Notes*, I, 338).