

## Rhodes 1306–1423: the landscape evidence and Latin-Greek cohabitation

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*This article focuses on what hitherto unpublished land grant documents from the Malta archives of the Order of St John tell us about the countryside of Rhodes during the fourteenth century. In so doing, an attempt is made to discern trends in various aspects of these land grants, utilizing quantitative weightings where possible. We see that the relationship between the Latins and the Greeks in fourteenth century Rhodes was on the whole amicable and mutually rewarding. The countryside of Rhodes appears to have enjoyed one of the more harmonious relationships between Latins and Greeks to be found in the post-1204 Byzantine world.*

**Keywords:** Rhodes; Hospitallers; land grants; Latin-Greek relationships

### Geographical and historical background

The island of Rhodes is seventy-seven kilometres in length and thirty-five kilometres in width, covering about 1400 square kilometres, with a range of hills rising from either end to culminate in the highest point, west of centre, at Mt. Ataviros, 1215 metres above sea level. Despite some rainfall in winter, nearly all the many streams are often dry in the summer. Forests, despite frequent fires, are still numerous, particularly on the western slopes of the hills. The lowland areas are fertile and cultivated in plantations of vines, olives and fruit trees. The nearest point of the Anatolian coast is only 11 kilometres distant. There are few harbours apart from those at the town of Rhodes and at Lindos.

When the Hospitallers acquired Rhodes in 1309, they took over a territory which had suffered a turbulent past under the Byzantines. There had been multiple incursions by Arabs, particularly in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The island, or at least the town of Rhodes, was occupied by Seljuk Turks at the end of the eleventh

1 C. E. Bosworth, 'Arab attacks on Rhodes in the pre-Ottoman period', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 6.2 (1996) 157–64; A. Savvides, *Η Βυζαντινή Ρόδος και οι Μουσουλμάνοι*, 2nd edn (Athens 1995).

century,<sup>2</sup> while the Venetians attacked the island in 1124,<sup>3</sup> followed by Genoese and Pisan pirates in 1192.<sup>4</sup> After the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the island, under its governor Leo Gabalas, broke away from the Nicaean empire and an attempt by the Nicaean Greeks to recover the island in 1233 was unsuccessful.<sup>5</sup> The Nicaeans did not fully acquire the island until 1250, when they joined forces with John Gabalas, Leo's brother and quasi-independent successor, to conquer the town of Rhodes which had been seized opportunistically by the Genoese in 1248.<sup>6</sup> Turkish attacks from the mainland began in approximately 1278 and continued until the beginning of the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Very little is known about the ownership of land on Rhodes prior to its occupation by the Hospitallers. Whatever the reality, and whatever changes occurred after 1250, it is known that Michael VIII Palaiologos gave the island to his brother, the despot John Palaiologos, in approximately 1260. The exact nature of this grant remains obscure, but Mark Bartusis has concluded that John would have received the properties, as well as the administrative rights over the islands [Mytilene and Rhodes], for as long as the emperor wanted him to have them.<sup>8</sup> In any event, in 1272, Michael 'took away the great part of [John's] *oikonomia*; all the islands [mentioned] earlier, I speak of Mytilene and Rhodes'.<sup>9</sup>

My primary objectives in examining these documents were to identify medieval place-names mentioned in the documents, to determine the extent of the definable boundaries of the grants and to prepare a gazetteer. The results of this investigation will appear in a forthcoming study, but it is necessary to preface that by analysing the nature of the land grants, as will be done below.

## Documents concerning the Rhodian countryside

Very little documentary evidence exists for the period 1306–1423, apart from that in the Hospitaller archives in Malta. Most pre-1424 travellers to Rhodes did not visit the

2 *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylies (Berlin 2001) XI. 5.1 (p. 335); trans. E. R. A. Sewter (London 1969) 346.

3 D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge 1988) 79–80 cites the sources for this incident.

4 M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (Harlow 1984) 289 and C. M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West* (Cambridge, MA 1968) 211–2, provide the details.

5 A. Savvides, 'Η Βυζαντινή δυναστεία των Γαβαλάδων και η ελληνο-ιταλική διαμάχη για την Ρόδο τον 13ο αιώνα', *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 414–7.

6 A. Savvides, 'Η γενουστική κατάληψη της Ρόδου το 1248–1250 μ. Χ.', *Parnassos* 32 (1990) 183–99.

7 A. Savvides, 'Rhodes from the end of the Gabalas rule to the conquest by the Hospitallers, AD 1250–1309', *Byzantina Domos* 2 (1988) 199–232. Attacks continued throughout the early years of the Hospitaller occupation.

8 M. Bartusis, *Land and Privilege in Byzantium: the Institution of Pronoia* (Cambridge 2012) 289–292.

9 George Pachymeres, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, II (Paris 1984) 417.7–9. The circumstances surrounding this event are explained by P. Magdalino, 'Notes on the last years of John Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII', *Revue des études byzantines* 34 (1976) 143–9.

countryside except in order to view the church and icon of ‘Our Lady of Filerimos’.<sup>10</sup> Cristoforo Buondelmonti was an exception. He was based on Rhodes from 1414 to 1422; he returned there by June 1430 and may have died there.<sup>11</sup> In his *Liber Insularum Archipelagi*, he describes, *inter alia*, the countryside of Rhodes and certain contemporary issues.<sup>12</sup>

Although hardly any archival documents survive from Rhodes for the period prior to 1346,<sup>13</sup> there are in total 200 extant, which refer to the countryside of Rhodes in the period under review.<sup>14</sup> Appendix A lists the 151 documents which refer specifically to land grants made to both Latins and Greeks, together with a few other documents which illustrate additional features regarding the landscape.<sup>15</sup> The majority of these grants were issued in Rhodes, but others were granted from near Limassol [1], Avignon [3, 4, 99–105, 107–122] and Paris [143]. The document issued in Cyprus on 27 May 1306 was a record of the pact agreed between the Hospitallers and the Genoese, Vignolo de Vignoli, on how to administer their planned Dodecanese conquests, while the other documents were issued in France because the Master of the Hospitallers resided there at the time.

## The grantees

The documents listed in Appendix A give the names of the grantees and their possible ethnicity, as surmised by me.<sup>16</sup> Fifty-six of the documents, or 37%, involve

10 As for instance, Ogier d’Anglure in 1396, *Le Saint Voyage de Jherusalem du Seigneur D’Anglure*, eds. F. Bonnardot and A. Longnon (Paris 1878) 93.

11 J.-M. Roger, ‘Christophe Buondelmonti, doyen de l’église cathédrale (1430)’, *Byzantion* 82 (2012) 323–46, describes the background to his appointment.

12 Some 70 pre-1500 manuscripts of his book exist, together with a range of adaptations and translations. The most comprehensive list is contained in A. Luttrell, *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos, II: The Written Sources and their Archaeological Background: the Later History of the Maussolleion and its Utilization in the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum* (Aarhus 1986) 193–4.

13 Only five registers survive for the period 1348–61. The 49 documents relating to the countryside which are excluded here have to do with topics such as the manumission of slaves, the administration of justice and taxation and the control of exports, particularly grain. Only a small part of the archives from Rhodes was saved in 1523 and taken to Malta, much being lost for the period between 1291 and 1346. Almost everything taken to Malta in 1530 is still there.

14 I am indebted to the late Julian Chrysostomides and Gregory O’Malley for access to transcriptions of documents from the Rhodian archives in Malta and to Anthony Luttrell for his summaries of these documents. Twelve of the documents [1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 13, 22, 33, 35, 62, 74, 142] have been published by Luttrell (*passim*), while two [150, 151] appear in Z. N. Tsirpanlis, *Ανέκδοτα έγγραφα για τη Ρόδο και τις Νότιες Σποράδες από το αρχείο των Ιωαννίνων*, vol. I: 1421–1453 (Rhodes 1995) 223–31, hereafter Tsirpanlis 1995. I am also indebted to the late David Jacoby for his insightful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

15 These other documents relate to donations and endowments, transfers and exchanges, receipts (quittances) for payment of rents, a mortgage for a loan, appointment of officers, and an award of certain rights to a monastery.

16 It is understood that a statistical approach to analyzing these documents does suffer from not having all the relevant documents available, as the registers are so incomplete. Nevertheless, it is considered that this approach, however inadequate, is superior to one that relies purely on anecdotal evidence.

Hospitallers, all of them with names of Latin origin. Some of them received more than one grant, namely Fr. Domenico de Alamania (6); Fr. Bertrand de Gagnac (3); Fr. Raymond de l'Escure (3); Fr. Hugo Raymundi (2) and Fr. Mathieu de Saint George (2). Two grants [113, 124] were joint grants to two Hospitallers. A noticeable trend is that more grants were awarded proportionately to Hospitallers in the latter part of the period, (more than half in 1366–1392 and nearly half in 1392–1423), than in the earlier periods, (less than a quarter between 1347 and 1351 and just over a quarter between 1351 and 1366). The reason for this trend is not known, but it may relate to an increasing need to attract more Hospitallers to the island in the later periods in order to bolster defences.<sup>17</sup> It is not entirely clear how many Hospitaller grantees actually took up residence on the island, as many of them held positions in the West.<sup>18</sup>

Of the remaining ninety-five documents, some forty-six or 31% of the total, concern other Latins. However, it should be noted that it is not always clear from the names given in the documents whether a grantee was Latin or Greek, since the names are reproduced in Latin; therefore, the ethnicities ascribed in Appendix A are a first approximation. The pact of 1306, referred to earlier [1],<sup>19</sup> conferred the *casale* of Lardos and one other unidentified *casale*<sup>20</sup> upon Vignolo de Vignoli, and his family continued to hold at least part of Lardos until 1402 [3, 4, 5, 71, 107, 132, 133, 134]. Nevertheless, more Latin settlers were needed if the Order was to reinforce its hold on the island and to increase agricultural production. Consequently, in 1313 [2], the Order issued an appeal for settlers to come to Rhodes where they would be offered land. It is not known how many people responded to this invitation, but it is likely that there were few takers.<sup>21</sup>

17 These defences have been described in my study 'The countryside of Rhodes and its defences under the Hospitallers 1306–1423: evidence from unpublished documents and the late medieval texts and maps of Cristoforo Buondelmonti', *Crusades* 15 (2016) 177–97. A possibility exists that the trend of grants was influenced by the Black Death which arrived in Rhodes in 1347–48: see Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. I. Bekker, II (Bonn 1855) 797. A serious plague reappeared in 1361. See *The Life of St Peter Thomas by Philippe de Mézières*, ed. J. Smet (Rome 1954) 97.

18 For instance, Fr. Domenico de Alamania was in 1381 [86] Commander for the Hospitallers of Naples and Cicciano and lieutenant of the Master and Convent in Italy.

19 Above, 85.

20 The identity of the *casale* is known from Paris, Ms. fr. 1978, f. 120v–121. The text, cited by A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes (MCCCX-MDXXII): Topographie, Architecture Militaire*, II (Paris 1921–3) 221 and Tsirpanlis 1995, 43, reads '...et Calopetra jusques confines de Damatric et Diascore, le casal qui fu de sire Vignol....' Dyascoros, meaning 'Two villages', does not exist today but, given the adjoining features noted in [81] and [151], the village must have been close to Soroni and Fanes.

21 The loss of most pre-1347 documents is unfortunate in this respect, but a number of documents from 1347 up to 1365 [6, 20, 56, 66], which refer to the need to develop uncultivated land, suggest that there had not been a large response to the Hospital's appeal. In Crete, by contrast, it is known that 120 settlers answered the first call of the Venetian authorities in 1211: see G. L. F. Tafel and G. M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, II (Vienna 1856–7) 129–36, and D. Jacoby, 'La colonization militaire vénitienne de la Crète au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: une nouvelle approche', in M. Balard and A. Ducellier eds., *Le partage du monde. Echanges et colonisation dans la Méditerranée médiévale*

The Latin settlers who are identified can be divided into several groups. One group consisted of the Master's *familiares*, such as his interpreter [48], doctor [49, 59], squires [58, 111], barber [109, 115, 120, 122] and farrier [114]. The members of a second group were identified as *serviens* [11] and clerics [42, 46]. Another group included individuals apparently without specific functions, whose place of origin is attached to their name, such as Florence [81], Aragon [87] and Naples [101]. Two of the grants were for *miles* [136, 151].

Thirty-five awards or 23% are to Greeks; their numerical share of such grants that have survived declines progressively over the period. Eight such awards are to Greek priests [9, 15, 55, 88, 98, 103, 144, 145], two of which [98 and 103], were given to the same individual, a priest named Ligotetos, while one endowment [145] was a joint grant to three priests. Other awards were to Greeks with stated positions such as *protos* [12, 150], the leading man of a village; *serviens* [10, 14, 24, 33], and three individuals who worked for the Master, namely a cook [18], an interpreter [19] and a squire [75]. The birthplace or origin of other Greeks given awards is unknown, except for one person from Cyprus [33].

There is a final group of thirteen grantees, or 9% of the total, whose ethnic origins are unknown, apart from two Syrians. One of these thirteen grantees, Nicolaus Beluca, was given two separate grants [104, 148]. Awards were given to Nayme the Syrian in 1348 [32] and to Johannes Beg in 1358 [51]; several Syrians had accompanied the Hospitallers when they moved to Cyprus in 1291, but it is not apparent whether this particular individual was a descendant or someone who had left Syria later.

Any portrait of the island's landowners based on the grantees mentioned in the 151 documents is necessarily incomplete. Quite apart from missing documents, particularly in the period up to 1347, the grants do not make direct reference to land owned by the Hospital. The situation immediately after the conquest of the island in 1309 is unclear, but one of the notable features of the extant grants is the absence of any reference to Greek *archontes*. These were the Byzantine land-owning class who are found throughout the Byzantine Empire at the time of the Fourth Crusade and are specifically alluded to, for instance, in the Peloponnese, on Crete and on Cyprus. They were surely present on Rhodes, but may have left the island following the Hospitaller conquest, possibly for other properties owned by them in territory still controlled by the empire.<sup>22</sup> It is clear from the 1313 call for settlers [2] that the Hospital controlled lands on the island, partly because, perhaps, they were deserted, having been

(Byzantina Sorbonensis, 17) (Paris 1988) 297–313, repr. in Jacoby, *Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Farnham 2009) no IV. Any manpower shortages on the island throughout the period were partly met by the import of slaves.

22 The names of some of the *archontes* appear to survive in a few of the place-names mentioned in the documents. Thus, the name *Tu Monomaca* [13] probably relates to the Byzantine aristocratic family from Asia Minor. Other names surviving include *Pandiris* [8], *Mesta* [50] and *Parmeni* [64]. Incidentally, it has been estimated by Luttrell *passim* that the population of the island amounted to no more than 10,000 people or even considerably less. Perhaps half of these lived in the countryside.

abandoned by their owners, or confiscated, which was the case in the Peloponnese and Crete. In November 1314, it is known from the unidentified *casale* document referred to earlier<sup>23</sup> that the Chapter General of the Order ascribed a specific amount of funding, 30,000 bezants, from the revenues of two *casalia* and their appurtenances owned by the Hospital to the Conventual hospital.

The extant documents included in this survey do refer indirectly to lands owned by the Hospital and Latin or Greek settlers. The documents include in 122 or 81% of cases, specific names of the owners of properties adjacent to the area or feature being awarded. Thus, for instance, document [72] describes how an award of two *modiate* of land in the *contrata* of Stanbrotio in the *casale* of Apolakkia was bordered on one side by the road to the mills and to Siana, on another side, by the vines of papas Costas, another by those of the deacon Changari and on another by lands of the Hospital. This supplementary information provides a more comprehensive picture of landholdings on the island. It is also clear from this information that the Hospitallers possessed some type of land registry for the island, the records of which have unfortunately not survived.<sup>24</sup>

### The location of the grants

Appendix B summarizes the location of each known award and notes whether it is explicitly or implicitly situated within a specific castellany. Other geographic terms used include a *territorium*, *contrata* or *casale*, as well as a simple *locus*. A castellany was a territorial unit administered by a castellan and containing at least one castle that served as a base for the castellan and presumably a garrison. However, the territorial limits of the castellany in Rhodes did not remain constant; modifications occurred as a result of rearranging or subdividing castellanies into smaller units from time to time. Fig. 1 shows the conjectural boundaries of late-fourteenth-century castellanies, based upon evidence regarding identified locations. Both a *territorium* and a *contrata* were smaller geographic areas, but it is not known which was the larger, as occasionally an area was described as a *territorium* or *contrata* in the same document,<sup>25</sup> which presumably means that the terms were inter-changeable, at least in some circumstances.<sup>26</sup> The *casale*, in contrast, was an economic or agrarian unit circumscribing a village, including serfs and their services, slaves, animals and any rights attached to the property.<sup>27</sup> Some locations in the documents had differing

23 Above, note 20.

24 The Dodecanese today do have the best land registry records in the whole of Greece, not because of the Hospitallers, but as a result of the Italian occupation following their acquisition of the islands in 1912.

25 For example, Salakos [13].

26 Trianda is called a *districtus* or *territorium* in one document [114], but otherwise the term *districtus* is not used.

27 As exemplified in [34], when the *casale* of Kalamonas, once belonging to the late *soror* Margarita of Negroponte, along with slaves, animals and other possessions, was awarded to Fr. Raymund de Lescure. A further definition of a village in this context is a 'productive unit consisting of arable land, vineyards,





sometimes several *casalia*; the *modiata*, which was a specific area of land,<sup>30</sup> the *cafizata* which equalled, as noted in one of the documents [50], one eighth of the *modiata*; and the *charruata* [21] which was a measure of the area of land capable of being ploughed within a year. In one case [149], an entire *territorium* was granted.<sup>31</sup>

Properties are frequently mentioned with the features they include, such as vineyards; orchards and/or market gardens;<sup>32</sup> monasteries, churches, chapels, cells and chaplaincies; watermills and windmills, houses, buildings, baths, an inn and a hospice; an enclosure; unspecified lands; fig and unstated types of trees; a *platea*,<sup>33</sup> springs and a sheepfold. Sometimes the awards would combine multiple items, such as a geographic area and a feature: [52], for instance, mentioned nine *modiate* and a vineyard. Other grants covered several different components, which were not necessarily contiguous, such as [28] which comprised three separate elements, namely a mill with an adjacent vineyard and *jardinum*; four *modiate* with figs and trees; and another mill with another *jardinum*, together with a vineyard.

## The tenure of the grants and rental arrangements

Appendix C also lists the tenure arrangements for each grantee. As already stated, it is not known who owned land on the island at the time of the conquest by the Hospitallers in 1309, or under what terms. If a substantial portion had been held by *archontes*, it would seem that they had left the island or that their land had been confiscated. In any case, the Hospital would have regarded all land as its own by right of conquest and subsequent papal decree – hence the appeal [2] for settlers in 1313, whereby they were offered lands of varying value dependent upon their status. The lands would be offered in perpetual fief, with accompanying military responsibilities, but the complete absence of any reference to this type of grant in extant early documents suggests that there were very few, if indeed any, settlers who came to Rhodes in the immediate post-conquest period.

Fifty-five of the grants recorded in the 151 documents instead refer to lands or features leased to Latins and Greeks in perpetual *emphyteusis*. This was a practice founded in the late Roman period and maintained by the Byzantines, whereby the grantor retained his *dominium* or superior lordship, but allowed the lessees, and usually their heirs, to have full use of the land in return for an annual rent. The Hospitallers clearly inherited the practice, for the Chapter General of 1335 permitted

30 The Byzantine *modios*, from which some have thought the Rhodian *modiate* was derived, like all medieval measurements, differed from area to area but was approximately one thousand square metres: see J. Lefort et al, *Géométries du fisc byzantine* (Paris 1991) 216–7. The extent of the Rhodian *modiata* is unknown but, based upon the area calculated for identified boundaries in document [56], it is assumed in this paper to be sixty-seven square metres.

31 Above, 88, for the meaning of *territorium*.

32 Tsirpanlis 1995 (*passim*) translates a *jardinum* as an orchard rather than a garden.

33 A *platea* is deemed to be a flat area of land.



the Master to lease out lands in Rhodes under such arrangements.<sup>34</sup> Thus, both the early two grants, dating from 1338 and 1339 [6 and 7], the only ones surviving from before 1347, illustrate the practice of granting land in perpetual *emphyteusis*. Two additional features are of interest. Firstly, the major portion of the 1338 grant was for uncultivated land that the Hospital stated it could not easily cultivate itself; this indicates that the Hospital aimed to retain the Byzantine strategy of land amelioration. Secondly, both grants specifically mentioned that the grant was to the lessee/s and their heirs. It is highly likely that the majority of the grants, where tenure is not mentioned in the document, were given in perpetual *emphyteusis*.<sup>35</sup>

The second most common form of grant revealed in these documents is the thirty-one grants to individual brethren. As shown in the fourth column of Appendix C, these awards were usually for life, but occasionally for a specific number of years [34, 53, 76, 94 and 137]. Importantly, whatever the length of the grant, the inability to pass on land and other features to heirs meant that there was no entrenched class of Hospitaller landholders on Rhodes. Quite apart from this, as noted earlier, it is not clear how many property-owning Hospitallers lived on the island.

Similarly, the effective absence of any class of hereditary Latin feudatories facilitated the development of a multicultural mix of Latin and Greek landholders. It has already been observed that Vignolo de Vignoli had been given the *casale* of Lardos in hereditary, unlimited by time, *feudum nobile* and that his family maintained partial ownership until 1402.<sup>36</sup> There are only two other examples of a fief being awarded in the period up to 1423. In 1374, the Master granted the *casale* of Dyascoros *in feudum* to Giovanni Corsini of Florence and his children [81]. The document mentions that Corsini held adjoining lands, including the *casale* of Fanes, but does not state how these lands were held. The next example dates from 1422 [151], when Antonio Cattaneo, a Genoan *miles*, was enfeoffed with the *casale* of Salakos and other lands. The grant was for twenty-nine years and could be renewed twice, but was to lapse after eighty-seven years.

Shown in the fourth column of Appendix C are the annual rent arrangements for each of the grants. Of the 103 awards which mention rent, 91 specify rent money, while 10 have payments in kind.<sup>37</sup> Two [9, 28] combine both forms of payment. The most common form of currency used was the asper: others included florins of different geographical origin (for example, Rhodes, Florence and Naples); the bezant; the

34 Malta, Cod. 280, f. 37v.

35 An annual rent, for instance, implies *emphyteusis*. A commentary on such contracts inherited from Byzantium is provided by D. Jacoby, 'Rural exploitation and market economy in the late medieval Peloponnese', in S. Gerstel (ed.), *Viewing the Morea: Land and People in the Late Medieval Peloponnese* (Washington, D.C. 2013) 213–76.

36 The non-family acquirers of shares of Vignolo de Vignoli's *casale* of Lardos also inherited his *feudum nobile* rights [107, 133, 134].

37 Payments in kind include animals (goats), birds (capon) and goods (wax, grain and wine).

*denarius* or denier; the gros; the ducat; the *gigliato* and the *solidus*.<sup>38</sup> Table I below illustrates what is known from Pegolotti and other sources about the comparative value of each of these coins:<sup>39</sup>

**Table I: Value Equivalents of Currencies used for Rental Obligations on Rhodes**

From Pegolotti:	
16 Deniers	1 Asper
2 Aspers	1 Gigliato
1 1/2 Gigliati	1 Bezant
6 2/3 Bezants	1 Gold Florin (of Florence)
10 Gigliati	1 Gold Florin (of Florence)
Other Sources:	
24 asperi	1 Rhodian ducat <sup>40</sup>
1 Rhodian ducat	1.6 Rhodian gold florins <sup>41</sup>
1 Rhodian bezant	2 gros tournois <sup>42</sup>
1 solidus	12 deniers <sup>43</sup>

The florins and ducats from Rhodes were apparently less valuable than those from Florence or Venice, but care needs to be taken when establishing exchange rates as currencies fluctuated. Some 17 grants, however, one from as early as 1350 [38], do not specify an amount but merely refer to an accustomed *census*. Most of these incidents refer to vineyards, but some involve other features as well, such as an unquantifiable piece of land, houses and orchards. None, however, refer to a specific area of land, such as a *modiata* or *casale*, and it is thus impossible to form any view of what was meant by the term ‘accustomed *census*’.

What can be deduced, however, from analyzing the various rental amounts charged? One way to assess rental trends throughout the period is to compare grants involving *modiate* with no additional feature and to equate, where a different coinage is used, payments to the asper equivalent. Table II below shows the payments made by Latins and Greeks over various periods of time:

Thus, average rents paid by Latins remained remarkably consistent over the period, while rents paid by Greeks appear to be higher. Two of the decades, however, ranging

38 Helion de Villeneuve, Master from 1319 to 1346, issued anonymous deniers, silver aspers and silver gigliati after his return to the island in 1332 and these coins remained in circulation until the end of the period covered in this paper: see A.-M. Kasdagli, ‘The provenance of coins found in Rhodes, AD 498–1522: An overview’, in Ch. Papageorgiadou and A. Gianikouri (eds.), *Sailing in the Aegean: Readings on the Economy and Trade Routes* (Athens 2008) 241.

39 F. B. Pegolotti, *La Pratica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, MA 1936) 92, 102–5, 363–5.

40 A. Luttrell, personal communication 22 April 2010.

41 A. Luttrell, personal communication, 22 April 2010. The Rhodian ducat was minted from 1409 until the 1420s.

42 Document [2] dated 1313.

43 A. Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306–1356* (Rhodes 2003) 209. The exchange rate applies to the period between 1335 and 1341.

Table II: Rents paid by Latins and Greeks for a *modiata* of land

Decade	No. of Grants		Average rent paid – aspers	
	Latins	Greeks	Latins	Greeks
1338–47	4	7	2.6	3.9
1348–57	4	3	3.0	5.0
1358–67	4	2	1.6	6.0
1368–77	–	–	–	–
1378–87	1	–	1.0	–
1388–97	–	–	–	–
1398–1407	1	–	1.6	–
1408–1423	–	–	–	–

from 1348 to 1357 and 1358 to 1367, are distorted by one particular grant; once these are excluded [33 and 79], the average rent falls to 3.5 and 2.0 aspers respectively, bringing the payments by Greeks more into line with those paid by Latins.<sup>44</sup>

Two other trends are noteworthy. The average price paid by Latins for a *casale* amounted to nearly 63 gold florins between 1358 and 1366. In contrast, the first two grants of a *casale* [34 and 63] were priced very inexpensively, while the last two grants in 1382 [94] and 1404 [137] were abnormally high, being 570 florins of Naples and 450 florins of Rhodes respectively. Grants involving mills were comparatively costly as the person owning the mill had the right to charge other inhabitants to mill their grain. Thus, one Greek paid 100 aspers for a water mill and one *modiata* of land [15], while subsequently two further Greeks paid 55 [21] and 60 aspers [69] for the site for a water mill, together with two *modiate*, and a mill respectively. Latins were also granted mills but with no discernible pattern of payment.<sup>45</sup>

## Conclusions

Not much evidence exists to indicate what the Rhodian Greeks may have thought of the Hospitallers. Nevertheless, an episode in Gregoras' History is interesting.<sup>46</sup> The historian recounts how a friend of his, Manuel Angelos, had visited Rhodes in 1342 and met some elderly Rhodians who remembered life before the Hospitaller conquest. Angelos was told that the loss of their liberty was a blow, but that they appreciated the military qualities of the Knights in defending them against attacks from overseas. The Rhodian Greeks went on to say that they did not feel exploited and had benefited from a justice system that was fair, and all the while that they had enjoyed material advantages derived from the provision of ample food supplies.

44 This analysis is, of course, severely limited by the small number of grants being studied.

45 See Gregory O'Malley, 'Some aspects of the use and exploitation of mills by the Order of St John in Rhodes and Cyprus', in E. Buttigieg and S. Phillips (eds.), *Islands and Military Orders c. 1291–1798* (Farnham 2013) 225–38, for more details. Jacoby, 'Rural exploitation', 246–8, provides comparative information for the Morea.

46 Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historiae Byzantinae*, III, 11–13.

Hospitaller policy towards the Rhodian Greeks was undoubtedly influenced in a positive way by their experiences in Cyprus, where they held numerous estates populated largely by Greeks. It is unclear whether the Hospitaller leaders made a conscious decision to promote a harmonious relationship with their Greek subjects on Rhodes from the very start of their occupation, but they would have been encouraged to do so by the knowledge that they, the Greeks, represented a significant majority of the population and were, therefore, best treated with respect. The Hospitallers would also have been aware of the ongoing difficulties suffered by the Venetians in confronting a partly hostile Greek population in Crete.

Whatever their ideological or political views, the Hospitallers behaved in such a way as to create what appears to have been an economically successful island and lived with their Greek subjects in relative political and social peace. Their approach had several aspects, the major one, resulting from the Order's system of governance, being the policy of restricting the number of Latins awarded grants *in feudum nobile* and of regulating that Hospitallers be granted at most awards for their lifetime. With virtually no entrenched class of hereditary landowners, therefore, the Hospitallers treated the Greeks, again because of the Order's system of governance, in virtually the same way as Latin settlers as far as grants of perpetual *emphyteusis* were concerned. The grants to Latins may have been bigger in size, but the information contained in the documents about adjacent properties and their landholders indicates there were probably many more Greek landholders than there were Latin ones. The admittedly scant evidence suggests that Greeks were not charged much higher rents than Latins.

The exact terms of the peace treaty between the Rhodians and the Hospitallers when Rhodes was surrendered in 1309 have not survived. We do know that the Greeks were allowed to maintain their religious freedom and that the small landholders appear to have retained their properties. At any rate, the Greeks on the island did not rebel and, therefore, kept their side of the bargain. This allowed the Knights to concentrate their resources on defending the island against external enemies. Towards the end of the period under review, a Byzantine emperor, Manuel II, could write that 'above all, the Hospitallers possessed more enthusiasm in defending Christians than some who might be more powerful' and furthermore stated that 'they had the reputation of not breaking their oaths'.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, the countryside of Rhodes enjoyed one of the more harmonious relationships between Latins and Greeks to be found in the post-1204 Byzantine world.

47 Manuel II Palaiologos, *Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. J. Chrysostomides, *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, xxvi (Thessalonike 1985) 168–9.



Plate 1 Fresco on the North Wall of the Church of Ag. Theodori near Archangelos

## LIST OF MALTA DOCUMENTS: APPENDIX A (DATE, CODE, ETHNICITY AND RECIPIENT)

### Appendix

Doc No	Date	Malta Doc Code	Ethnicity	Recipient/Beneficiary
1	27 May 1306	326 187v-188v	L	Vignolo de Vignolo
2	14 May 1313	Madrid*	L	Potential settlers
3	3 Jan 1326	In [5]	L	Fulco de Vignolo
4	18 May 1329	In [5]	L	Fulco de Vignolo
5	12 Nov 1329	326 186–187v	L	Fulco de Vignolo, executing [3]+[4]
6	6 Sep 1338	16 no. 28	L, G	Domenico de Leone & Manoli Cosma
7	2 Apr 1339	317 235	G	Niquita Commeno
8	1 May 1347	317 225–226	L	Fr. Bertrand Hilaire (chaplain)
9	20 May 1347	317 235	G	Papas Janni Macrigeni
10	26 Jul 1347	317 235v	G	Georgius de Crato ( <i>serviens</i> )
11	26 Jul 1347	317 235v-236	L	Raphael de Aurenga ( <i>serviens</i> )
12	26 Jul 1347	317 236	G	Michael Culichi ( <i>protos</i> ) & Georgios Philippi
13	1 Aug 1347	317 236–236v	G	Georgius Cosina
14	4 Sep [1347]	317 236v	G?	Georgius Saliba ( <i>serviens</i> )
15	[4 Sep 1347]	317 237	G	Papas Nichola Pangalo
16	8 Oct 1347	317 228v-229	L	Ser Petrus de Jacob
17	20 Oct 1347	317 237	L	Fr. Bartolomeo de Vensseriis
18	20 Oct 1347	317 239v-240	G	Vassili (Master's cook)
19	20 Oct 1347	317 240v-241	G	Johanni (Master's interpreter)
20	5 Nov [1347]	317 237	G	Theodoros Chioty
21	7 Nov 1347	317 230v-231	L	Fr. Pierre de Corneillan
22	8 Nov 1347	317 231–231v	G	Gorgios Cosotopoulos

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Date	Malta Doc Code	Ethnicity	Recipient/Beneficiary
23	9 Nov 1347	317 239	G	Michali Patriquiro & Alexio Bartolomei
24	9 Nov 1347	317 239v	G	Manuel Veregichi ( <i>serviens</i> )
25	15 Nov 1347	317 240–240v	L	Jorgius de Volero
26	20 Nov 1347	317 238–238v	L	Ricardus de Sancto Mauricio
27	28 Nov 1347	317 237v	G	Duquena, daughter of Matito
28	28 Nov 1347	317 237v-238	L	Fr. Petrus Johanni
29	28 Nov 1347	317 238	L	Anthonius Audiberti
30	20 Dec 1347	317 238v	G	Iohannes Changari
31	20 Dec 1347	317 238v-239	G	Michali Omorfinos
32	1 Jan 1348	317 241v	Syrian	Nayme the Syrian
33	8 Jan [1348]	317 240	G	Libity de Zipro ( <i>serviens</i> )
34	4 Mar 1348	317 241–241v	L	Fr. Raymond de Lescure
35	20 Mar 1348	317 234	L	Fr. Athanasios de Saloniqui
36	20 Mar 1348	317 241	G	Constancius de Sugis
37	10 Aug 1350	In [39]	L	Fr. Bartolomeo Benini
38	15 Aug 1350	In [39]	L	Fr. Raymond de l'Escure
39	25 Aug [1350]	318 203–204	L	Fr. Raymond de l'Escure
40	1 May [1351]	318 202	L	Peyrolus de Negroponte
41	20 Sep 1351	318 221v	G	Anna de Chemeno
42	25 Sep 1351	318 205	L	Guillermus Vernhas (cleric)
43	1 Oct 1351	318 206	L	Fr. Egidius Raymundi
44	1 Oct 1351	318 222–222v	G	Manoli & Leono Manglaviti; Maria Mangafadena
45	1 Oct 1351	318 222v	G	Manoli, Marino & Leono Manglaviti
46	12 Oct 1351	318 222	L	Guillermus lo Clerc
47	1 Nov 1351	318 222v-223	L	Petrus de Eldiza
48	16 Dec [1351]	318 223	L	Johannes Roclandi (Master's interpreter)
49	12 Jan 1352	319 209v-210	L	Jacobus Guitardi (Master's doctor)
50	20 Mar [1352]	318 223	G	Zeno Calopsiqui
51	1 Apr 1358	316 316	Syrian	Johannes Beg alias Alamarico de Cypro
52	1 May 1358	316 304	G?	Mitercassus (falconer)
53	1 Jun 1358	316 303–303v	L	Fr. Petrus Raterii
54	8 Jul 1358	316 301v-302	G?	Tefilato Rostolli (Master's cook)
55	18 Jul 1358	316 301–301v	G	Papas Dimitrios of Thebes
56	1 Sep 1358	316 316–316v	L?	Mormo de Sindria
57	12 Dec 1358	316 305v	L	Fr. Mendario de Valbuena.
58	17 Dec 1358	316 305v	L	Bernard de Nogaret (Master's squire)
59	15 Jan 1359	316 309v-310	L	Jacobus Guitardi (Master's doctor)
60	15 Feb 1359	316 311v-312v	L	Lodovico Moresco
61	6 Mar 1359	316 311–311v	L	Anthonio Cantarelli
62	1 Oct 1364	16 no. 40	L	Lose de Leone
63	1 May 1365	319 264	L	Fr. Raymond Berenger
64	1 May 1365	319 264–264v	L	Fr. Dragonet de Mondragon
65	20 Jun 1365	319 265	L	Fr. Bertrand de Orsanis
66	1 Aug 1365	319 293v-294	L	Petrus Bermundi
67	8 Nov 1365	319 293	G	Manoli de Botrono
68	8 Nov 1365	319 268	L	Fr. Guinetus Arnaudi
69	15 Nov 1365	319 293v	G	Theodoros Pelicano
70	31 Dec 1365	319 270	L	Fr. Raymundus de Maniliis
71	? 1365/1366	319 326–326v	L	Fulco de Vignolo (deceased)
72	1 Jan 1366	319 293	G	Georgius Strapiri
73	18 Feb 1366	319 270v-271	L	Fr. Bertrand de Gagnac
74	1 Apr 1366	319 296v-297	G	Vestiariti Mirodi
75	10 May 1366	319 307	G?	Nicola of Corinth (Master's squire)
76	15 May 1366	319 301v	L	Fr. Hugo Raymundi
77	15 May 1366	319 306	L	Fr. Hugo Raymundi
78	20 May 1366	319 305–305v	G	Jani Gripioti
79	26 May 1366	319 299v	L	Fr. Guillermus de Villanis
80	26 May 1366	319 297v	L	Fr. Ricaud de Chateauneuf
81	28 Sep [1374]	320 38v-39	L	Giovanni Corsini of Florence

(Continued)



## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Date	Malta Doc Code	Ethnicity	Recipient/Beneficiary
82	8 Mar 1379	24 no. 16	L	Fr. Bertrand de Gagnac
83	19 Mar 1379	24 no. 17	L	Fr. Elie de Marsellio
84	22 Mar 1379	Vatican**	L	Fr. Bertrand de Gagnac
85	6 Jul 1381	321 225	L	Fr. Arnolinus Helie
86	27 Aug 1381	321 225	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
87	[27 Aug 1381]	321 225	L	Juan de Calatayud of Aragon
88	18 Dec 1381	321 216	G	Papas Michalli Contentstavili
89	[21 Feb 1382]	321 225v	L	Fr. Mathieu de Saint George
90	21 Feb 1382	321 225v	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
91	6 Mar 1382	321 226	L	Dragonetto Clavelli
92	6 Mar 1382	321 226	L	Fr. Jean de Aurillac
93	13 Mar 1382	321 226	L	Fr. Mondonus de Malavicinia
94	15 Mar 1382	321 233	L	Giovanni Corsini of Florence
95	22 Mar 1382	321 226v	L	Vestiariti Corsilio
96	22 Mar 1382	321 226v	L	Fr. Guillermus de Villariis
97	22 Mar 1382	321 227	G	Exeni Vastarquine & Erini Melene
98	24 Mar 1382	321 218	G	Papas Ligotetos <i>carthofilax</i>
99	6 Oct 1383	322 300	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
100	6 Oct 1383	322 300	L	Fr. Pedro de Palmerola
101	22 May 1385	323 217	L	Conello de Salvo of Naples
102	22 May [1385]	323 223	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
103	1 Oct 1389	324 140v	G	Papas Ligotetos <i>carthofilax</i>
104	2 Aug 1390	324 144	G?	Nicolaus Beluca
105	12 Sep 1390	324 94–94v	L	Fr. Louis de Saint Julian
106	20 Apr 1391	326 129–131	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
107	6 Nov 1391	326 127v–128v	L	Nicolino de Lippo
108	16 Dec 1391	325 163v–164	G?	Formice de Thasena
109	10 Jun 1392	326 128v–129	L	Lodovico d'Andrea (Master's barber)
110	2 Sep 1392	326 162	L	Fr. Mathieu de Saint George
111	2 Sep 1392	326 162–162v	L	Bertrandus de Sexis (squire)
112	2 Sep 1392	326 162v–163	L	Sancius Peregrini
113	2 Sep 1392	326 163–163v	L	Fr. Aymon de Monteaureum & Fr. Pierre du Bauffremont
114	2 Sep 1392	326 163v	L	Raymondus de Morians (Master's farrier)
115	24 Oct 1392	326 135	L	Lodovico d'Andrea (Master's barber)
116	29 Oct 1392	326 135–135v	L	Fr. Pere de Vilafranca
117	20 Aug 1393	327 37v	L	Fr. Guillaume d'Auros
118	4 Sep 1394	328 179	L	Fr. Geoffrio Goheau
119	13 Sep 1394	328 161v	L	Fr. Odoard de Monte Corbeyon
120	15 Sep 1394	328 162	L	Lodovico d'Andrea (Master's barber)
121	25 Jul 1395	329 127v	L	Sancius Peregrini
122	18 Oct 1395	329 142	L	Lodovico d'Andrea (Master's barber)
123	6 Feb 1399	330 128v	L	Antonio Guillermi
124	5 May 1400	330 139	L	Fr. Jean de Pennevere & Fr. Aubert de Podio Vinandi
125	8 Aug 1400	330 16	L	Fr. Raynaud de Giresme
126	18 Oct 1400	330 74v	L	Fr. Walter Grendon
127	13 Nov 1400	330 139v	L	Fr. Elie de Fossat alias Picon
128	4 Jun 1401	331 160–161v	L	Fr. Domenico de Alamania
129	10 Sep [1401]	331 165	L	Adeneto de Manchia
130	20 Jan 1402	331 188	L	Perrino de Montsy
131	12 Mar 1402	331 168v	L	Fr. Pierre Gache
132	24 Aug 1402	332 164v–165	L	Simone de Vignolo
133	28 Aug 1402	332 165–165v	L	Dragonetto Clavelli
134	28 Aug 1402	332 165v–166v	L	Dragonetto Clavelli
135	9 Feb 1403	332 146v	L	Johannis de Pulcra Arbore
136	10 Oct 1403	332 169	L	Bernard de Saint Saturnin ( <i>miles</i> )
137	3 Aug [1404]	333 119–120	L	Dragonetto Clavelli
138	1 Sep 1404	333 122	L	Fr. Johannes Tensac
139	30 Jan 1409	334 154v–155	L	Fr. Odetus Jornaual
140	5 Feb [1409]	334 190	L	Fr. Lorrinus Grivelli

(Continued)



## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Date	Malta Doc Code	Ethnicity	Recipient/Beneficiary
141	8 Feb 1409	334 190v	G	Angelina de Johanna
142	6 Jun 1410	339 53v-54	L	Fr. Juan de Mur
143	2 Sep 1410	336 235	L	Emanuel Albengo
144	10 Jul 1413	339 253v	G	Papas Nikolaos Alamano
145	17 Mar 1414	339 114v-115	G	Papates Migali, Calotetos & Esdoquinias
146	24 Mar 1414	339 63v-64v	L	Fr. Pierre de la Pause Dieu
147	7 Jun 1421	346 162	L	Fr. Antoine de Saint Armand
148	1 Feb 1422	346 166v	G?	Nicolaus Beluca
149	1 Feb 1422	346 167v-168v	L	Fr. William Hulles
150	10 Mar 1422	346 167v	G	Leonardo Critico ( <i>protos</i> )
151	26 Oct 1422	346 172-174	L	Antonio Cattaneo ( <i>miles</i> )

\* Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sección de Ordenes Militares-San Juan de Jerusalén; Lengua de Aragón, Legajo 718

\*\* Archivo Secreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 291, f.147v-148

## LIST OF MALTA DOCUMENTS: APPENDIX B (LOCATION AND CASTELLANY)

## Appendix

Doc No	Location	Castellany
1	2 unnamed <i>casalia</i>	
2	Lands on Rhodes and Turkish mainland	
3	Lardos	Lindos
4	Lardos	[Lindos]
5	Lardos	[Lindos]
6	<i>Contrata</i> Cape St Martin including Yclimaquides and Yacladopi	
7	Politi, <i>casale</i> Kattavia	
8	<i>Locus</i> St Johannes de Limona, <i>contrata</i> Abouratorii and <i>territorium</i> Ayos Pandiris	Rhodes
9	<i>Contrata</i> Apolakkia	
10	Lands near Filerimos castle	[Filerimos]
11	Lands near Filerimos castle	[Filerimos]
12	St Theodori, <i>casale</i> Archangelos	
13	Agia Marina, <i>contrata</i> or <i>territorium</i> Salakos	
14	Occa, <i>contrata</i> Feraklos	[Feraklos]
15	<i>Casale</i> Kalathos	
16	<i>Casale</i> Myrtonas & <i>contrata</i> Salakos	
17	Oxia, <i>casale</i> Lachania	Lindos
18	St Michaelis de Levadi	Rhodes
19	St Maria Hyciriatisa & <i>territorium</i> Solloros	Rhodes
20	Mallipassi	
21	Energuiros, near St George de Ycossi	
22	Giropotamos, <i>contrata</i> church of the Holy Cross	
23	Agros, <i>casale</i> Vaty	
24	Otra, <i>territorium</i> Villanova	[Villanova]
25	<i>Contrata</i> St Anargyroi	
26	Gadoraespillo, <i>contrata</i> St Elie	
27	<i>Contrata</i> Asgourou	Rhodes
28	<i>Contrata</i> Feraklos	[Feraklos]
29	Lo camp de Laze Vogadoro	
30	Solloros	
31	<i>Contrata</i> Solloros	
32	<i>Casale</i> Artona	Feraklos
33	Lindos	[Lindos]
34	<i>Casale</i> Kalamonas & ( <i>casale?</i> ) Archangelos	Feraklos

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Location	Castellany
35	St George of Cappadocia	
36	Not specified - land on Rhodes	
37	<i>Contrata</i> Diopassadas	
38	<i>Contrata</i> Diopassadas	
39	<i>Contrata</i> Diopassadas	
40	Dyascoros	
41	<i>Contrata</i> Megaloco	
42	St Onofrius	
43	<i>Contrata</i> Tsimbika	
44	<i>Contrata</i> St George Ycossi	
45	<i>Contrata</i> Asgourou	
46	Lindos	[Lindos]
47	<i>Contrata</i> Diopassadas	
48	<i>Contrata</i> Campanos	
49	<i>Contrada</i> Quiparrisi	
50	<i>Casale</i> Mesta	
51	Unidentified outside town	Rhodes
52	<i>Contrata</i> Palamide	Trianda
53	<i>Casale</i> Kalamonas & ( <i>casale</i> ?) Archangelos	Feraklos
54	<i>Contrata</i> Rodini	
55	St Mary Calisteni	
56	<i>Locus</i> Crusem	Feraklos
57	<i>Contrata</i> Archistratigos	
58	<i>Casale</i> Guararadis	
59	<i>Contrata</i> Alepos	
60	<i>Locus</i> Pitharion	
61	Artamiti and lands incl. <i>casalia</i> of Vervori and Guenara and <i>territorii</i> of Laerma & Siana	
62	<i>Casale</i> Myrtonas	
63	<i>Casale</i> Psinthos	Feraklos
64	<i>Casalia</i> Psinthos, Parmeni, Levalani & Archipoli	Feraklos
65	Malipassi & Villanova	
66	<i>Contrata</i> St Ilias	
67	<i>Contrata</i> Gematico	
68	<i>Casalia</i> Altoloco, Pencia & Laerma	
69	Mirtia, <i>casale</i> Kalathos	
70	Artamiti and lands per no. 61	
71	<i>Casale</i> Lardos	
72	<i>Contrata</i> Stanbrotio, <i>casale</i> Apolakkia	
73	Damatria	
74	St Maura, <i>contrata</i> Quiparrisi; <i>contrata</i> St John of Quiporia; <i>contrata</i> Sotira	Rhodes
75	<i>Contrata</i> St Elya	
76	<i>Casale</i> Kalamonas	
77	Diapassadas	
78	<i>Contrata</i> Aptana	Feraklos
79	Restegelas, <i>contrata</i> Palamida	Filerimos
80	<i>Casalia</i> Laerma, Guitounis & Agropilla	Feraklos
81	<i>Casale</i> Dyaschoro	
82	Damatria	Villanova
83	Damatria	Villanova
84	<i>Casale</i> Neocorio	
85	Villanova	Villanova
86	<i>Contrata</i> Passimade	Rhodes
87	<i>Contrata</i> Filerimos	[Filerimos]
88	St George Paraialiti, Villanova	[Villanova]
89	Bangi	Rhodes
90	<i>Casale</i> Apollona	
91	Unidentified in NW of island	
92	<i>Locus</i> St Ancona	

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Location	Castellany
93	Land outside Rhodes town near gate of St Stephen	
94	<i>Casale</i> Apollona	
95	<i>Casale</i> Trianda	[Trianda]
96	Near castle Villanova	[Villanova]
97	Land outside Rhodes near gate of St Stephen	
98	St Maria Calisteni & St Johannes Prodromos	
99	<i>Casalia</i> Lelos & Neocorio; <i>contrata</i> Diapassades	
100	<i>Contrata</i> St Michael of Psifi	Rhodes
101	<i>Casale</i> Koskinou	
102	<i>Casalia</i> Lelos & Neocorio; <i>locus</i> Katagro	
103	St Maria Calisteni & St Johannes Prodromos	
104	St Onofrius, <i>contrata</i> Helemonitra	
105	<i>Territorium</i> Villanova; <i>locus</i> Cobocle	[Villanova]
106	<i>Locus</i> La Finicha	
107	<i>Casale</i> Lardos (1/3)	
108	<i>Contrata</i> Quiporia	Rhodes
109	<i>Locus</i> Cardamatha	
110	Rodagniaco; Bangi & <i>locus</i> Afandou	Rhodes & Afandou
111	<i>Contrata</i> Manganly	
112	Asgourou	
113	Platipotamo	Rhodes
114	<i>Territorium</i> Trianda	[Trianda]
115	Cameliqúi; Trianda	[Trianda]
116	<i>Contrata</i> Manganly	
117	<i>Locus</i> Asarito	
118	<i>Contrata</i> St Michael of Psifi	Rhodes
119	Unidentified	
120	Unidentified	Feraklos
121	Asgourou	
122	<i>Contrata</i> Damatria	
123	Unidentified	Villanova
124	Unidentified	Trianda
125	Kalamonas	
126	Coboclia	Villanova
127	Vardalata; Compania	Villanova
128	<i>Casale</i> Myrtonas; <i>contrata</i> Salakos	
129	Manganelli	
130	<i>Contrata</i> St Niqueta	
131	Psinthos	
132	<i>Casale</i> Lardos (2/3)	
133	<i>Casale</i> Lardos (2/3)	
134	<i>Casale</i> Lardos (1/3)	
135	<i>Contrata</i> Quiporia	Rhodes
136	<i>Casale</i> Diascoro	
137	<i>Casale</i> Armia	
138	Filerimos	[Filerimos]
139	<i>Contrata</i> Mixy	Trianda
140	Near road from Rhodes to Malpasso	
141	Villanova	[Villanova]
142	St Anthony of the Latins	Kattavia
143	<i>Contrata</i> Bangi	Rhodes
144	St Athanasius & St Maria	
145	St Erini, <i>casale</i> Parabolinos	
146	Afandou	[Afandou]
147	<i>Contrata</i> Alupus	
148	Unidentified	
149	<i>Territorium</i> Mangavely	
150	St Michael of Camberidi	Katagros
151	<i>Casale</i> Salakos and lands of Quironacia & Coraquiés	

## LIST OF MALTA DOCUMENTS: APPENDIX C (NATURE OF GRANT, TENURE, RENT AND LENGTH OF TERM)

Appendix Abbreviations: mon = Monastery, mod = modiate, jard = jardinum, vyd = vineyard, perp = perpetual, emph = emphyteusis, asp = asper, bez = bezant, fl = florin

Doc No	Grant of	Tenure (if grant)	Annual Rent	Length of term	Other Comments
1	2 <i>casalia</i>	[ <i>Feudum nobile</i> ]	-	Perpetuity	
2	Lands	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	-	Perpetuity	
3	<i>Casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	<i>Census</i> or <i>servicium</i>	Perpetuity	
4	<i>Casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	<i>Census</i>	Perpetuity	
5	<i>Casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	4 <i>rotoli</i> of wax	Perpetuity	Armed man to be provided
6	80 + 30 <i>modiates</i>	Perp. Emph.	120 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	70 <i>mod</i> uncultivated
7	3 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	13 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. vineyard
8	Vineyard & <i>jardinum</i>			Perpetuity	Endowment of chaplaincy
9	Mon & <i>jard</i>	Perp. Emph.	60 <i>asp</i> & 2 goats	Perpetuity	Incl. oil mill, 7 beehives & 20 goats
10	<i>Jard</i> & 6 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	80 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. trees
11	<i>Jard</i> & 6 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	40 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	incl. trees
12	<i>Jard</i> & 7 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	105 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. trees & 2 springs
13	15 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	65 <i>asp</i> 5 years 1/5 wine	Perpetuity	1/5 wine and all products after 5 years
14	2 <i>mod</i>	[Perp. Emph.]	12 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
15	Water mill & 1 <i>mod</i>	[Perp. Emph.]	100 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
16	<i>Casale</i> & 5 <i>mod</i> & 60 <i>mod</i>		40 florins of Florence		
17	25 <i>mod</i>		25 <i>asp</i>		
18	<i>Jardinum</i>	Perp. Emph.	3 bezants	Perpetuity	Incl. church
19	1/2 <i>mod</i> of vineyard & 3 <i>mod</i> of vyd	Perp. Emph.	1 bez + 3 bez	Perpetuity	
20	25 <i>mod</i>	[Perp. Emph.]	6 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Uncultivated; obliged to cultivate vineyard
21	<i>Jard</i> & mill & 2 vyds & 1 <i>charruata</i>				Confirmation of donation
22	2 1/2 <i>mod</i> & house	Perp. Emph.	8 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Confirmation of donation
23	Site for watermill & 2 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	55 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Grant is <i>pro indivisio</i>
24	1 1/2 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	6 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Probably uncultivated
25	25 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	55 bezants	Perpetuity	Incl. 2 1/2 <i>mod</i> vineyards
26	25 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	30 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
27	Vineyard of 3 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	10 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Probably uncultivated
28	Mill & vyd & <i>jard</i> & 4 <i>mod</i> & mill & <i>jard</i> & vyd		15 fl. + 20 <i>asp</i> + 40 <i>modii</i> grain		Incl. figs
29	50 <i>mod</i>	Perp. Emph.	80 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Probably uncultivated
30	3 <i>cafizate</i>	Perp. Emph.	2 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. figs
31	2 <i>cafizate</i>	Perp. Emph.	8 <i>denarii</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. figs
32	3 <i>mod</i> <i>jard</i> incl. trees, spring & church	Perp. Emph.	7 bezants	Perpetuity	Can construct mill for additional rent
33	3 <i>cafizate</i> <i>jard</i>	[Perp. Emph]	3 <i>asp</i>	[Perpetuity]	
34	1 <i>casale</i> & another?		36 <i>asp</i>	10 years	Incl. slaves, animals etc
35			10 florins		Bequest to church
36	5 <i>cafizate</i>	Perp. [Emph]	2 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Confirmation of sale; reserves several rights
37	Vyd incl. windmill, houses & inn				Licence to sell

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Grant of	Tenure (if grant)	Annual Rent	Length of term	Other Comments
38	Vyd incl. windmill, houses & inn		Accustomed payment		Grant of title for no 37
39	Vyd incl. windmill, houses & inn				Sale confirmation of no 37
40	<i>Tricopleria</i>		Accustomed wage	Life	Grant of <i>tricopleria</i>
41	Vineyard of 2 1/2 mod	Perp. Emph.	10 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Had been held w/o title
42	Vineyard & church	Perp. Emph.	2 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
43	4 mod		4 <i>asp</i>	Life	
44	Vineyard of 3 mod	Perp. Emph.	12 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Had been held w/o title
45	50 mod	Perp. Emph.	10 gold florins	Perpetuity	Had been held w/o title
46	2 mod	Perp. Emph.	2 bezants	Perpetuity	Had been held w/o title
47	Vyd of 1 1/2 mod	Perp. Emph.	6 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Had been held w/o title
48	Vyd of 1 1/2 mod	Perp. Acapitum	6 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
49	<i>Jard</i> incl. baths & houses	Perp. Emph.	1 gros & 6 <i>denarii</i> of Tours		Quittance due to need for repairs
50	40 <i>cafzate</i> incl. a <i>casale</i>	Perp. Emph.	30 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Incl. 4 vineyards
51	<i>Jard</i>	Perp. Emph..	2 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
52	Vyd & 9 mod	Perp. Emph..	9 bezants	Perpetuity	
53	<i>Casale</i> & another <i>casale</i> ?		40 Florins of Florence	10 years	
54	<i>Jard</i>	[Perp] Emph.	1 silver ducat	Perpetuity	
55	Church				Confirmation of donation
56	<i>Locus</i> of 104 mod	Perp. Emph.	10 gold Florins	Perpetuity	Incl. vineyard & <i>jard</i> plus deserted lands
57	Vineyard				Licence to buy from another Fr.
58	Vineyard				Licensed to sell
59	1/2 vyd & houses	Perp. Emph.	1 <i>gigliato</i>	Perpetuity	Property worth more than 150 florins
60	<i>Locus</i>				Confirmation of title
61	Mon & lands incl. 2 <i>casalia</i> , 1 mod & <i>jard</i>		55 gold florins	Life	Confirmation of sale
62	16 mod	Perp. Emph.	1 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
63	<i>Casale</i>		5 gold florins	Life	
64	4 <i>casalia</i>		300 gold florins	Life	
65	<i>Jardina</i>				Quittance
66	30 mod	Perp. Emph.	60 <i>solidi</i> of Rhodes		All uncultivated
67	3 mod	Perp. Emph.	6 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
68	3 <i>casalia</i>		210 florins		Quittance
69	Mill	Perp. Emph.	60 <i>asp</i> .	Perpetuity	Plus option to buy 2 mods
70	Mon & lands incl. 2 <i>casalia</i> , 1 mod & <i>jard</i>		55 gold florins		Quittance
71	<i>Casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>		Perpetuity	Legal case re feudal obligations
72	2 mods incl. vineyards	Perp. Emph.	9 <i>aspers</i>	Perpetuity	
73	Vineyards & other goods				Mortgage for loan
74	Mon, church, land, houses, <i>jard</i> & vyd	Perp. [Emph]	10 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Obligation to appoint Chaplain
75	Vineyard & adj. prop	Perp. Emph.	2 <i>asp</i> + 3 <i>denarii</i>	Perpetuity	Plus property in town
76	<i>Casale</i>		40 florins	10 years	With reservations
77	Vyd & adj. houses & enclosure				Confirming income

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Grant of	Tenure (if grant)	Annual Rent	Length of term	Other Comments
78	3 <i>mod</i>	[Perp] Emph.	30 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	Grantee had improved lands
79	<i>Locus</i> incl. vyd & house		10 gold florins	Life	
80	3 <i>casalia</i>		200 gold florins	Life	
81	<i>Casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>		Perpetuity	Armed man to be provided
82	23 <i>mod</i>				Exchange of property
83	Lands & vyds				Sale for 450 florins
84	<i>Casale</i>			Life	Papal confirmation
85	Vineyard		20 gold florins	Life	
86	Houses & <i>jard</i>		5 florins	Life	Incl. mill
87	5 <i>mod</i> of vyds & fig	Perp. Emph.	Accustomed census	Perpetuity	
88	Church			Life	
89	<i>Jard</i> , houses & vyds			Life	
90	<i>Casale</i>			Life	
91	170 <i>mod</i>		2 capons		2 pieces of land
92	<i>Locus</i> incl. vyds		Accustomed census		
93	Piece of land		Accustomed census		Was revoked because of prior ownership
94	<i>Casale</i>		570 fl. of Naples	6 years	Payment overdue
95	2 <i>mod</i>	Perp [Emph]		Perpetuity	
96	<i>Jard</i> & 12 <i>caf</i> & vyd			Life	To serve in chapel of Villanova. Land was uncultivated
97	Piece of land	Perp [Emph]		Perpetuity	
98	2 churches & houses etc				Conditional
99	2 <i>casalia</i> plus vyd, houses & windmill		<i>Veges</i> of wine & 6 prs of capons	Life	
100	Vyd, houses & mill		6 prs of fat capons	Life	
101	30 <i>mod</i>		30 <i>asp</i> .		Intended for planting vines
102	2 <i>casalia</i> & 40 <i>mod</i>		<i>Veges</i> of wine & 6 prs of capons	Life	Confirmation of no. 99 + add. 40 <i>mods</i>
103	2 churches, cells & <i>jard</i>		3 <i>asp</i>	Life & son's life	
104	Chapel				Confirmation of foundation
105	2 vyds & <i>jard</i> , house & grotto			Life	
106	Lands with vyds & trees				Part of an endowment
107	1/3 <i>casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	4 <i>rotuli</i> of wax jointly	Perpetuity	Armed man to be provided jointly
108	House & <i>jard</i>		Accustomed census	Life	
109	Houses, <i>jards</i> , lands & vineyards	[Perp Emph]	Accustomed census	Perpetuity	
110	<i>Jards</i> , lands, vyds & houses			Life	
111	Vineyard		Accustomed census	Life	Later resigned
112	Vineyard		Accustomed census	Life	
113	Vineyard				Confirmation of sale
114	Vineyard			Life	

(Continued)

## Appendix (Continued)

Doc No	Grant of	Tenure (if grant)	Annual Rent	Length of term	Other Comments
115	2 vineyards		Accustomed census	Life	
116	Vineyard		Accustomed census	So long as remained on Rhodes	No 112 re-granted
117	<i>Locus</i> & possessions				Revocation + new grant
118	Vyds, houses & mills		6 prs. capons		
119	Mill, vyd, <i>jard</i> & house				
120	Vyd. & land		Accustomed census		
121	Vineyard				License to sell
122	25 <i>mod</i>	Perp Emph	2 florins of Rhodes	Perpetuity	
123	Vineyard	[Perp Emph]	Accustomed census	Perpetuity	
124	Vineyard		Accustomed census	Life	
125	Vyd & <i>jard</i>				License to sell
126	2 vyds, <i>jard</i> & buildings				
127	2 vyds & house			Life	
128	<i>Casale</i> , 5 <i>mod</i> & 60 <i>mods</i>				Donation to Order
129	Vineyard				License to sell
130	Vineyards	Perp. Emph.	3 <i>asp</i>	Perpetuity	
131	<i>Platea</i> , house & vyd		2 jars of wine	Life	
132	2/3 <i>casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>		Perpetuity	License to sell
133	2/3 <i>casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>		Perpetuity	Confirmation of sale & transfer
134	1/3 <i>casale</i>	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	4 <i>rotuli</i> of wax jointly	Perpetuity	Armed man to be provided jointly
135	House & <i>jard</i>			Life	
136	<i>Casale</i>			Life	
137	<i>Casale</i> incl. fort & mills		2250 fl. of Rhodes	5 years	Lump sum
138	Chaplaincy			Life	
139	House & vyd		Accustomed census	Life	
140	Houses & vyds			Life	
141	House & piece of vyd.	[Perp. Emph]	Accustom. census	Perpetuity	
142	Chaplaincy		220 goats		Single endowment
143	<i>Jard</i> & vyd		Accustomed Census	Life	
144	2 churches	[Perp. Emph]		Perpetuity	
145	Church			Life	Appointment of rectors
146	Hospice		4 shops and 106 goats		Single endowment
147	Vineyard			Life	
148	Sheepfold	[Perp Emph]	1/10 of kids & lambs	Perpetuity	
149	<i>Territorium</i> incl. vyd		20 florins	Prior of England and successors	Endowment of chaplaincy
150	Monastery				Certain rights confirmed
151	<i>Casale</i> + other lands	<i>Feudum nobile</i>	150 gold florins	87 years	