

# The Earliest Documents on the Hospitaller *Corso* at Rhodes: 1413 and 1416

*Anthony Luttrell*

The Mediterranean world knew many forms of informal naval violence ranging from straightforward piracy to a variety of legalized or quasi-legal activities involving reprisals, privateering and corsairing.<sup>1</sup> The type of *corso* which developed on Rhodes during the fifteenth century was officially licensed by an established authority, the Master of the Hospital, and was limited, in theory at least though often not in practice, to attacks on infidel enemies of the religious order settled on Rhodes. Such activities fitted into an existing pattern. In the thirteenth century there were already forms of *guerra di corso* in which individuals operated under public control with a licence to attack enemies of the state. Such arrangements may have grown out of permits allowing injured parties to seek indemnities from those who had damaged them, or simply from agreements by which authorities lent vessels to individuals and sometimes financed them. The corsairs had to present *fidejussores* who would guarantee their proper conduct and to promise not to attack subjects or friends of their own state; they were to hand over a portion, often a fifth, of their booty. To profit from this system there emerged professional groups who took high risks and stood to make very considerable gains. The armament of corsair expeditions involved formal notarized contracts and the raising of capital through shares. After expenses had been deducted, profits were divided between the investors, those who played an active role at sea normally receiving a higher return than those who merely provided finance; officers and crews also received shares. Public legislation supposedly controlled such activities, but it could be extremely difficult

1. No attempt is made here to survey the extensive literature on medieval Mediterranean piracy.

to prevent corsairs from attacking friendly shipping or seizing the merchandise of third parties.<sup>2</sup>

Before the definitive loss of Latin Syria with the fall of Acre in 1291 the Hospitallers possessed or hired shipping, but that was predominantly for transport and supply.<sup>3</sup> After 1291 the Order moved its headquarters to Limassol on Cyprus, where its island position compelled it to develop a small navy of its own.<sup>4</sup> Following their establishment on Rhodes after 1309 the Hospitallers naturally found themselves operating within a maritime milieu in an area in which Latin shipping was involved in innumerable minor actions and assaults, and these frequently led to reprisals, to protests from third parties, and to prolonged court cases and quarrels over jurisdictions. In such situations, the dividing lines between piracy, indiscriminate raiding, corsair ventures carried out under licence, and justifiable attacks on infidel shipping were seldom clear. Around Rhodes the Hospital was initially involved both in sea battles with the Turks, who conducted their own piratical razzias in the Aegean, and in attacks on Christian ships which were breaking the papal prohibitions against transporting slaves and war materials to the infidel.<sup>5</sup>

The old principle that the military orders could retain lands won from the infidel was recognized in 1307 in a papal confirmation of the Hospital's rights to Rhodes which it had conquered from enemies of Christendom, that is from 'schismatic Greeks' and from 'infidels' who must have been Turks.<sup>6</sup> A statute passed in 1293, the year after

2. See, for example, L. Balletto, *Genova nel Duecento: Uomini nel Porto e Uomini sul Mare* (Genoa, 1983); H. Bresc, 'La course méditerranéenne au miroir sicilien (XIII<sup>e</sup> - XV<sup>e</sup> siècles),' in *L'exploitation de la mer: la mer, moyen d'échange et de communication* (Juan-les-Pins, 1986).
3. A. Luttrell, 'Gli Ospitalieri di S. Giovanni di Gerusalemme dal continente alle isole' (forthcoming).
4. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West: 1291-1440* (London, 1978), No. II, pp. 162-3.
5. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot, 1992), Nos. II and XIX.
6. J. Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire générale de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem: 1100-1310*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906), No. 4751. A papal privilege to the Temple of 1139 permitted it to retain properties won from the 'enemies of the cross' — *Ea etiam, que de eorum spoliis ceperitis, fidentur in usus uestros conuertatis*: text in R. Hiestand, *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter: Neue Folge* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 96-103. Cf. J. Brundage, 'Humbert of Romans and the Legitimacy of Crusader Conquests', in *The Horns of Haṭṭīn*, ed. B. Kedar (Jerusalem - London, 1992).

the Hospitallers moved to Cyprus, showed that the Order was organizing a naval force and that Hospitaller brethren were commanding vessels. It also indicated that on occasions when there were no *freres darmes*, that is no military Hospitaller brethren, on board, then the *frere de marine* appointed by the *comandor*, perhaps by the Grand Commander of the Hospital,<sup>7</sup> should command the galleys and other vessels, and that any booty taken should pass to the Hospital's treasury. The implication was that if military brethren of the Order were in command, then they would receive some part of the prizes taken. The statute read:

Item establi est que quant il couendra faire armement de Galee ou dautre vasaus, le comandeur les doie faire aparailer et garner de ce que besoing sera et de mariners. Et se il couient ametre gens darmes que le mareschal les doye retenir, e soient payes au tresor et soient a son comandement. Et si freres uont sur les galees que le mareschal puisse metre .vn frere chevalier sur tout larmement. Et si freres darmes non y uont sur les galees, que le frere de marine que le comandor jmetra soit bailli sur tout larmement et que le gaign que les galees ou uaisseaus feront que il ueigne tout au tresor.<sup>8</sup>

This statute was soon suppressed,<sup>9</sup> and was evidently replaced by that of 1300 which defined the powers of the Admiral. The office of Admiral had been created in or shortly before 1299,<sup>10</sup> and the new regulations of 1300 explicitly established that he should receive 100 besants a year from prizes taken by the Hospital's galleys and *lins*.<sup>11</sup>

These regulations of 1293 and 1300 applied to vessels armed by the Hospital in its role as an institution. Hospitaller brethren were members of a religious order and subject to their Master and, ultimately, to the Pope, but there was apparently no obstacle in canon law to individual members of a military order being licensed for the equivalent of a corsair expedition. Furthermore, at a time when the papacy was

7. However, there were officers who were the Commander of the Ship or the Commander of the Brethren: J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus: c.1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 329-30.

8. A hitherto unpublished statute of 1293 in Marseilles, Archives départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, 56 H 4055.

9. It is not found in later compilations: *Cartulaire*, No. 4234.

10. *Ibid.*, Nos. 4464, 4469.

11. Statute of 1300 in *ibid.*, No. 4515, para. 13.

encouraging the military orders to seize any Latin shipping infringing the papal prohibitions against trade with the Mamluks and other infidels,<sup>12</sup> it was licit for their members to attack Christian vessels which were breaking those prohibitions. In 1306, for example, Imbert Blanc, the Templar *preceptor* of Auvergne, and Pierre de Lengres, *civis* of Marseilles, who were joint *admirati* of certain galleys destined in *subsidio Terre Sancte*, together with those in their service, were granted by Pope Clement V the right to retain any goods they might take either from *infideles* or from *impii christiani* who were taking prohibited materials to infidel parts.<sup>13</sup> A papal letter of 1311 asserted the canonical legality of the detention of Genoese shipping breaking the embargo on infidel trade, and in this case such disciplinary action had been carried out by galleys of the Hospital and of others deputed by the papacy for that purpose *ad reprimendum et impediendum transgressores*.<sup>14</sup>

The riches to be gained from a major prize could be enormous. An extreme case occurred at Rhodes in 1379 when three Venetian galleys arrived in search of bread and found in the harbour a Genoese *chocha*, the *Bichignona*, with 300 fighting men aboard; it was said to be the largest in the world and worth 500,000 ducats. The Genoese unloaded 18,000 ducats worth of goods and fled; the Venetians commandeered a reluctant Catalan *cocha* in the port with its 200 fighting men and chased the *Bichignona*, capturing it together with 222 prisoners of whom 160 were merchants. The Venetians then sold part of the prize at Rhodes for 80,000 ducats, said to be half of the sale's real worth, and demanded 18,000 ducats from the Master for the goods previously unloaded there.<sup>15</sup> These were not acts of piracy, since Venice and Genoa were at war, but on other occasions the religious aspect of naval operations continued to be emphasized. For example, instructions

12. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus*, No. V, pp. 196-7; id., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, pp. 83-5, 110 n. 3; cf. E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1983), pp. 17-44; J. Richard, 'Le Royaume de Chypre et l'Embargo sur le Commerce avec l'Egypte (fin XIII<sup>e</sup> - début XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres: Comptes Rendus* (1984), and S. Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land, 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 193-4, 231-3.

13. *Registrum Clementis Papae V*, 8 vols. (Rome, 1885-92), Vol. I, Nos. 1034-35.

14. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 7118.

15. Daniele di Chinazzo, *Cronica de la Guerra da Veniciani a Zenovesi*, ed. V. Lazzarini (Venice, 1958), pp. 218-20; cf. B. Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven - London, 1976), pp. 77-8, 198-9.

to Venetian captains in 1402 ordered them — acting if possible in collaboration with the forces of Chios, of the Archipelago and of Rhodes — to attack the Turks and their subjects in defence of Christian interests:

debeat ire et discurrere et cursizare partes et loca maritima Turchorum et subiectionum Turchis, inferendo eis et galeis et locis atque navigiis et rebus suis quam plura damna poterit pro terrore et exterminio suo et conforto et asecuracione locorum et navigiorum christianorum.<sup>16</sup>

However the Venetians, like everyone else, suffered from Christians as well as from Turks. Thus, between 1417 and 1429 they were protesting against attacks by Catalan pirates who were based on Rhodes and who on occasion actually assaulted Venetian shipping in the port there.<sup>17</sup>

There was always scope for individual Hospitaller brethren to profit from piratical activities. For example, in 1392 Fr. Adhémar Broutin alias Talebart of the Priory of Auvergne was actively engaged in piracy in the Western Mediterranean, but his unofficial activities were disavowed by the Order.<sup>18</sup> On other occasions the Hospital's own vessels were responsible for piratical attacks, as in 1390 when Genoese envoys obtained the restitution of a galliot from Chios taken by the galleys of the Order which had been conducting the Emperor Manuel II back to Constantinople to restore him to his throne.<sup>19</sup> In or just before 1403 *le galie de Rodi*, presumably the galleys of the Order, had captured a *grande chocha de saraceni* at Damietta in Egypt and many of those on board had been imprisoned in Rhodes; as part of a peace settlement advantageous to the merchants of Rhodes, the Master had subsequently returned the *chocha*, its goods and the prisoners, but

16. Text in H. Noiret, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de la domination vénitienne en Crète de 1380 à 1485* (Paris, 1892), pp. 129-31.

17. A. Tenenti, 'Venezia e la Pirateria nel Levante: 1300 c.-1460 c.', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, Vol. I, Pt. 2 (Florence, 1973), pp. 743, 762-3.

18. J. Delaville le Roulx, *Mélanges sur l'Ordre de S. Jean de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1910), No. XVII; Hospitaller corsairs in Sicilian waters between 1433 and 1444 are noted in H. Bresc, *Un Monde méditerranéen: Economie et société en Sicile, 1300-1450*, Vol. I (Rome, 1986), pp. 341, 344, n. 162.

19. M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII<sup>e</sup> - début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Vol. I (Rome-Genoa, 1978), p. 95.

1412 Fr. Louis Asiner, *miles*, and two other Hospitaller *fratres* of noble birth, together with the *consocii* and *marinarii* of Bodrum, sailed in their *galiotta* armed at Bodrum and attacked a Turkish *galiotta* somewhere near Mytilēnē; this they justified by the claim that Hospitaller galleys could attack Turkish shipping outside the Dardanelles: 'cum notorium sit quod galee nostre armate quando reperuntur in marj extra strictum Romanum cum aliquibus lignis turchorum armatis iuste posce capere et lucrari?'. The defeated Turkish ship transferred its goods to a *galleota* from Mytilini; furthermore, the Hospitaller vessel was wrecked by the men of Mytilini and Jacopo Gattilusi, the ruler of that island, then seized, imprisoned, and tortured the Hospitallers and their crew. At about the same time the Hospitaller captain at Bodrum had to be excused when the Bodrum *galiotta* took cloth from a *grippum* of Chios, and the Hospitallers agreed to return the goods, declaring that Bodrum castle had been built to attack the Turks and not to rob Christians.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the activities of shipping belonging to the Hospital as an order, there was a type of *corso* which involved individual Hospitaller brethren in arming vessels entirely at their own expense.<sup>26</sup> Thus on 14 April 1413 the Master's lieutenant at Rhodes licensed Fr. Jean de Pietris and Fr. Richard de Pontailier Commander of Ensigné in the Priory of Aquitaine, both of the *langue* of France, to sail against the shipping of the infidel enemy — 'contra infideles inimicos religionis nostre' — and that of their subjects, with the exception of the Orthodox monks of Mount Athos, and to seize their goods. These brethren were not to lose their seniority in the *langue* of France, an important consideration in the struggle for benefices, in consequence of their absence at sea on such ventures.<sup>27</sup> This formula apparently

25. Malta, Cod. 339, fols. 233v-234 [267v-268], 234 [268], 236v-237 [270v-271], 237 [271], 237v [271v]; these and other texts, some undated, are utilized, with some inaccuracies, in Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, pp. 327-8; Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, pp. 103-4; id., *The Later History of the Maussolleion and its Utilization in the Hospitaller Castle at Bodrum = The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos: Reports of the Danish Archaeological Expedition to Bodrum*, Vol. II, Pt. 2 (Aarhus, 1986), pp. 147, 159.

26. There is no evidence before 1413, though licences were not copied into the surviving magistral registers; the texts of 1413 and 1416 published here were copied, quite exceptionally, into an unusual register which was kept, during the Master's absence in the West, by his lieutenants at Rhodes and which included documents of a type not normally found in the Master's 'Libri Bullarum'.

27. Document I below.

excluded attacks on friendly Muslims with whom there was a truce.<sup>28</sup> What it could mean in practice was shown when, on 25 August 1413, the Master and Convent issued a safe conduct allowing Anthonius Ruffin, *burgensis* of Rhodes, to bring a case in Rhodes against Fr. Richard de Pontailier who had, with an armed *galiocia*, attacked Ruffin's *gripparia* near Cyprus and seized his goods:

quod te nuper cum quadam gripparia cum mercibus et mercimonijs tuis in bono proposito circa Insulam Cypri nauigante, Religiosus in Christo nobis carissimus frater Richardus de Pontailer, preceptor d'Ansegue, lingue Francie grippariam merces et mercimonia tua, cum quadam sua galiocia armata, sine aliqua racione occasione uel justa causa vi cepit et spoliavit . . .<sup>29</sup>

Though all Hospitallers took vows of poverty and technically all property, goods, or money they had in their possession belonged to the Order and reverted to it on their death, there was no serious pretence that individual brethren could not hold lands and houses, accumulate and lend money, establish hospitals and other pious foundations, or otherwise dispose of capital; they were not, however, to indulge in trade.<sup>30</sup> An agreement of 1416 showed how Hospitaller brethren could themselves invest in and manage the *corso*. Again the protagonists were from the more northern parts of France. If these were predominantly from the *langues* of France and Auvergne rather than from those of Provence, Italy or Spain, that may have been because the former provided more numerous brethren interested in the *corso* not merely as an investment in wealth or as an expression of enthusiasm for holy war, but also perhaps because they came from a petty rural *noblesse* nourished on an ideology provided by a reading of chivalric romances which may have stimulated them to participate in piratical adventures against the infidel.<sup>31</sup> Material interests, however,

28. On truces valid on land but not at sea, see Luttrell, *The Later History*, pp. 147, 159; id., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, No. II, p. 104.

29. Cod. 339, fol. 255 [289].

30. These questions require a detailed examination of the statutes which are still largely unpublished.

31. This is the hypothesis of M. Fontenay, 'Les Chevaliers de Malte dans le *Corso* méditerranéen au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Las Ordenes Militares en el Mediterráneo Occidental (s. XII-XVII)* (Madrid, 1989), pp. 393-5 and Table 1, who documents a French predominance in the seventeenth-century Hospitaller *corso*.

remained powerful. Fr. Hugues d'Arcy who was Commander of Chalon-sur-Saône, Pontaubert, Bellecroix, and Avalleur, belonged to the Priory of Champagne. Fr. Hugues d'Arcy, *alias la caille*, was repeatedly involved in litigation to secure seniority, preferment, and financial advantage within the Hospital; eventually he secured the Priory of Champagne.<sup>32</sup> On 27 March 1416 he appeared before the Master's lieutenant at Rhodes together with Fr. Guidot de *Rauta*. The latter recognized the receipt from Fr. Hugues d'Arcy of 150 Venetian ducats which had been invested in the purchase of a fourth part of a *galeota*; if the vessel captured booty, Fr. Hugues was to receive a fourth of the profit calculated after expenses had been deducted, and if Fr. Hugues had to return to the West his proctor was to collect both the 150 ducats and a quarter of any profit.<sup>33</sup> Though the manner in which expenses were calculated was not specified, Fr. Hugues d'Arcy, a passive partner who was not involved in any personal risk or time at sea, seems none the less to have stood to gain a quarter of the booty.

After 1416 the Rhodian *corso* evolved in various complex ways<sup>34</sup> and rules to cover it were gradually established.<sup>35</sup> The *corso* acquired

32. Eg., Malta, Cod. 335, fols. 27-8v; Cod. 336, fols. 41v, 42-3; Cod. 338, fol. 81v; Cod. 339, fols. 20v-21, 128v, 164-164v (*bis*), 192; Cod. 346, fol. 25; Cod. 351, fol. 23v.

33. Document II below.

34. This topic awaits study for the period following 1416; for later years, see N. Vatin, *L'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem, l'Empire ottoman et la Méditerranée orientale entre les deux sièges de Rhodes: 1480-1522* (Louvain-Paris, 1994), pp. 60-63, 85-129, 294-310.

35. A statute of 1462, which insisted that Hospitallers should not arm vessels without written licence, read:

Item pero chauemo visto perli tempi passati succeder molti dampnj, et inco[n]uenienti per casone darmar Nauilij allordine nostro, empero chel çe sono molti freri de nostra Religione che se dillectano et studiano di armar de molte, et uarie factione de Nauilij, Il perche volendo, Nuy de oportuno remedio prouedere per obuair ad cotali dampnj, Statuymo, et ordinamo chel non sian freri de qualunche stato e condictione che se siano che ardiscono ne presuma darmar Nauilio alcuno, zoe come sono carauelle, o, Naue, balloneri, gallee, ne fuste, ne altri nauilij sença spicial liçentia del M[ae]str[e] la qual liçentia Volem che sia facta inscripto col termino preciso et speçificato del tempo che doura star armato tal Nauilio saluo se alcun armasse Imponente per uenire ad Rhodi perli seccorsj dellordine nostro et qualunche contrafara presumendo nauigar, Nuy absolute et Iudicamo et hauemo per Inobediente, et anche proybimo et non volem chel sia frere alcuno che arma fuste, ne gallee al modo de pirrati, ouero corsari, ne anche volem chessi vadeno per patron, o, capitany de cotali Nauilij sel nonli sera concesso de gratia speçial, soto



great importance as a form of state-controlled sea brigandage which became vital to the Hospitallers' prestige and image as holy warriors and also to their economy and that of their port; furthermore, it provided extra naval forces in time of emergency. A traveller of 1521 put the Hospital's total expenses on Rhodes at 97,977 gold ducats and its income at 47,000, remarking that the very considerable difference of some 50,000 ducats was made up from profits made by attacking the Hospital's enemies at sea.<sup>36</sup> In 1503 a *barca* armed by a Hospitaller was to pay on any prizes 'el diritto di nove per cento acostumato pagarsi da corsari'; the text did not clarify whether this nine per cent of booty went to the Master or to the Rhodian treasury.<sup>37</sup> After 1530, when the Hospital moved to Malta, the system which had emerged at Rhodes continued to function as an important element in the Order's activities until Malta was lost in 1798.<sup>38</sup>

#### DOCUMENT 1

Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 179v [213v] (14 April 1413)

[Margin] pro f. Johanne de Pietris [(et) al.]

Fr. Lucius de Vallinis [sacre domus hospitalis sanctj Johannis Jherosolimitani humilis marescallus et locumtenens Reverendissimj in Christo patris et domini domini fratris Philibertj de Nahlhaco dei gratia eiusdem sacre domus magistri dignissimi pauperum Christi custodis]<sup>39</sup>

penna della priuazione dellabito, et dognj officio et beneficio chauessero, o, che fusser per hauere. Et se al presente sa retrouano alcunj freri Incotali armamenti de fuste, et de gallee, Iudicamo quelli douere essere priuati dellabito de offiçij et benefiçij et donori, selloro non desarmano et lassano In termino duno anno lor fuste et lor gallee et cossi hauemo per declarato.

(Valletta, National Library of Malta, Biblioteca Ms. 501, fols. 329v-330v.)

36. Text in R. Röhricht and H. Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), pp. 372-5.

37. Malta, Cod. 80, fols. 61-2. Some evidence suggests a tax of ten per cent: Vatin, *L'Empire ottoman*, p. 91, n. 39.

38. The best recent studies are those of M. Fontenay; see also S. Bono, 'Naval Exploits and Privateering', in V. Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Hospitaller Malta 1530-1798: Studies on Early Modern Malta and the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (Malta, 1993), with bibliography.

39. The full title is taken from fol. 179.

Religiosis in Christo nobis carissimis fratribus Johannj de Pietris et Richardo de Pontaillier preceptorj Dansigny <sup>40</sup> lingue nostre Francie Salutem in domino. Sperantes quod per strenuitates vestras Dej et patronj nostrj iuvamine mediante viriliter gerere debeatis contra Infideles Inimicos Religionis nostre, aduersus quos magnj feruore affectu adire pro honore sancte fidei Orthodoxe et nostre Religionis, Idcirco licentiam vobis assensum pariter et consensum, armandj quandam galiottam vestram, et cum ea nauigandj et remigandj ac guerram contra Infideles Inimicos Religionis nostre ac eorum subiectos et subditos, detractis calogeris montis sanctj,<sup>41</sup> et eorum bonis quibus in aliquo non intendimus agrauare seu dampnificare per vos seu aliquem vestrum, et quidquid de ipsis seu eorum Rebus ceperitis ad vestrum beneplacitum faciendj de voluntate consilio et assensu Religiosorum in Cristo nobis carissimorum dominorum fratrum baliuorum et procerum<sup>42</sup> nostrj conuentus Rodj concedimus et Impertimur Cum tali prerogatiua ut in consequendo muneribus et beneficijs nostre Religionis habeaminj ac si essetis personaliter in conuentu Rodj residentes de voluntate et assensu pillerij ceterorumque fratrum lingue Francie in conuentu Rodj degentium,<sup>43</sup> mandantes vniuersis et singulis subditis nostris, ac non subditos sed amicos nostros obsecremus, ut in hijs vobis nostrj <sup>44</sup> contemplatione, auxilium consilium prebeat et iuven. datum Rodj sub sigillo nostro quo in talibus vtimur,<sup>45</sup> die xiiij mensis aprilis. Anno a natiuitate dominj m<sup>o</sup>. iiij<sup>e</sup>. xiiij<sup>o</sup>.

## DOCUMENT II

Malta, Cod. 339, fol. 264v [298v] (27 March 1416)

die vigesimaseptima marcii anno incarnationis dominj millesimo quadringentesimo decimosexto comparuerunt in lobia coram domino locumentenente<sup>46</sup> fratres Hugo Darsi de Chalon, et Guidotus de Rauta,<sup>47</sup> quiquidem Guidotus confessus fuit debere predicto de Chalon Darsi,

40. Ensigné, Priory of Aquitaine (Diocesis of Sèvres).

41. *Mons Sanctus*: Mount Athos.

42. *dicti* crossed out.

43. *residentes* crossed out.

44. *Sic*.

45. In the Master's absence, his lieutenant is using his own personal seal.

46. The Master was in the West; his lieutenant at Rhodes was Fr. Luce de Vallins.

47. Or *Rarita*: unidentified.

summam centum et quinquaginta ducatorum venetorum per dictum Darsi eidem Guidonj traditorum pro empzione quarte partis eorum galiote,<sup>48</sup> de quaquidem parte quarta fuit contentus predictus frater Guido . . .<sup>49</sup> quod si ipse lucrum inde consequeretur quod predictus Darsi expensis deductis consequeretur, quartam partem ratione quarte partis galiotte. Et si contingetur quod predictus Darsi rediret ad partes occidentales ante auentum et regressum dictj G[uidoti] et galiote quod procurator dictj Darsj posset securare a dicto G[uidoto] dictos centum et quinquaginta ducatos uenetos cum quarte parte lucrj si quod in viagio sequeretur.<sup>50</sup>

48. This implies that a *galiota* could be purchased for 600 ducats.

49. A line covers the erasure of several words.

50. This text was not a sealed bull but simply an official note or record copied into the lieutenant Master's register.