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PHILIBERT DE NAILLAC, MASTER OF RHODES: 1396–1421

KEYWORDS

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ABSTRACT

Philibert de Naillac belonged to the nobility of Berri. He entered the military-religious order of the Hospital and by 1374 held the Commandery of Lureil in the Priory of Auvergne; in 1390 he became Prior of Aquitaine and was due to travel to Rhodes. Apparently in 1395 he again left for Rhodes where, probably on 6 May 1396, he was elected Master. Soon after he led a Hospitaller contingent into the Black Sea and up the Danube to Nikopolis to join a crusade which on 25 September 1396 was defeated by the Turks; Naillac escaped, rescuing Sigismund of Hungary from captivity or death. Subsequently the Hospitallers defended Constantinople and the Morea against the Turks, built the large “Naillac” tower in Rhodes harbour, and in 1406/1407 constructed a castle at Bodrum on the Anatolian mainland opposite Kos. Meanwhile the Hospital’s holy warfare at sea included the semi-piratical corso. Naillac’s administrative tasks and visitations were extensive in both East and West. The Hospital’s manpower and money reaching Rhodes were seriously reduced by defections provoked by the papal schism, and in 1409 the Master travelled to Pisa where a council elected a new pope with Naillac guarding the conclave. He continued to work for a settlement and in 1417 he again guarded the conclave at Constance where the schism was largely ended. The schism within the Hospital itself was also slowly eliminated. In 1420 Naillac returned to Rhodes where he held a chapter general which passed important legislation. He died in 1421 after a lengthy rule which, not without some dubious aspects, did much to preserve the Hospitaller order.

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Fr. Philibert de Naillac was born into the nobility of Central France, perhaps between 1350 and 1355, and entered the Order of Saint John some time before 1374.¹ The Hospitallers, who had occupied Rhodes in 1309, were dedicated to holy warfare, especially against the various Turkish emirates in the Western Anatolian coastlands. The Hospital's Conventual headquarters on Rhodes depended for recruitment, finance and supply on its numerous commanderies which were grouped in priories across Western Europe. After 1348 the great plague and a general economic and demographic decline created serious difficulties for the island order state and its limited personnel on Rhodes, while from 1378 the papal schism divided the Hospital, reducing the money and manpower available in the East.²

Naillac or Nailhac came from Berri and probably spoke both French and Occitan. He was apparently the brother of Guillaume and Hélión de Naillac both of whom served as royal chamberlains.³ A military order offered a reasonably attractive way of life and Naillac would have been knighted and received as a *frater miles*. By 1374 he was Commander of Lureil in the Priory of Auvergne to which by 1385 he had added the Commandery of Paulac in the Limousin.⁴ On 3 October 1374 the Master of the Hospital Fr. Robert de Juilly was aware that, although Naillac had been nominated to Lureil by the prioral chapter, the Duke of Berri held many of Lureil's goods and rights.⁵ On 20 September 1374 Naillac was licensed to appoint proctors in his commandery since he was about to travel to Rhodes.⁶

On 28 March 1390 the Master appointed Naillac to the Priory of Aquitaine which formed part of the Hospital's Northern French province known confusingly

¹ Fundamental is Joseph Delaville le Roux, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310-1421)* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1913), partially updated in Jean-Marc Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne, Prieur d'Aquitaine (1421-1433)," *Revue historique du Centre-Ouest* 7 (2008): 287-400, which remains close to Delaville's over sympathetic treatment. The following sketch is strictly limited. Many thanks are due to Jean-Bernard de Vaivre.

² Anthony Luttrell, "Papauté et Hôpital: l'Enquête de 1373," in *L'Enquête pontificale de 1373 sur l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem: l'Enquête dans le Prieuré de France*, ed. Jean Glénisson and Anne-Marie Legras (Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1987), 3-42; id., "Liquid Frontiers: Hospitaller Rhodes 1306-1421," in *Ordens militares: identidade e mudança*, vol. 1, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes (Palmela: Município de Palmela, 2021), 209-214.

³ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 265-268; Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne," 309-311.

⁴ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 269; Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne," 311 note 213.

⁵ Valletta. National Library of Malta, Archives of the Order of Saint John (henceforth as: LNM), cod. 320, fol. 33 [42].

⁶ LNM, 320, fol. 21 [30].

as the Province of France; he retained the Commandery of Paulac. The new prior was due to depart for Rhodes, and on 17 September 1390 the Master at Avignon instructed his procurator on Rhodes to give Naillac ten jars or barrels of wine.⁷ Naillac attended a Hospitaller assembly at Avignon on the following 30 November. In June 1392 he held a prioral chapter at Angers, his prioral seat. In November 1392 the Master granted him the Magistral *camera* of the Temple at La Rochelle. In 1394 Naillac again held a chapter at Angers. Then on 4 April 1395, at the request of the rulers of France and Burgundy, the Master from Avignon licensed Naillac to travel to Rhodes, authorizing his departure on the following 18 June. Since the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy were, together with King Sigismund of Hungary, principal promoters of the coming crusade in Hungary, Naillac was possibly their choice to lead the Hospitaller contingent due to participate there. In November 1395 Hungarian envoys were on their way to Rhodes.⁸

The Hospitaller order was undeniably subordinate to the papacy, and papal intervention in its affairs had gradually increased, especially after 1356 when Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia, who served the pope as captain of Avignon, persuaded Popes Innocent VI and later Gregory XI to advance his career. In 1377 Gregory XI, anxious to mobilize Hospitaller men and money against the Turks, provided Fernández de Heredia to the Hospital's Mastership;⁹ he therefore remained the legitimate Master following the double election to the papacy in 1378. The schism gradually divided the Hospital. The Master and Convent on Rhodes followed the Avignon pope Clement VII but lost manpower and money as responsions and other dues fell short or passed to followers of the Roman pope Urban VI. Fernández de Heredia left Rhodes for Avignon in 1382 and remained there for some 14 years. The Romanist "anti-Master" Fr. Riccardo Caracciolo, provided by Urban VI, had a very limited following and on his death in 1395 he was replaced only by a series of "Lieutenant anti-Masters," all Italians, who did refrain from in-

⁷ LNM, 324, fol. 162v [167v].

⁸ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 235, 269–270; Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne," 319, 321–322; Anthony Luttrell and Elizabeth Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389–1422* (Athens: The National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2008), 45, 96. The Magistral bull of 18 June 1395 (128–129) did not mention Hungary or the coming crusade: Ignacio Garcia-Lascurain Bernstorff, *Die Athleten und der Vikar Christi: Untersuchung zur Semantik der Beziehung zwischen dem Johanniterorden und dem Heiligen Stuhl (1393–1503)* (Sankt Ottilien: Editions Sankt Ottilien, 2021), 50; that work requires caution.

⁹ Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athleten und der Vikar*, 50, wrongly interprets the papal bull providing Fernández de Heredia as showing that he was elected by the Convent on Rhodes.

roducing major innovations.¹⁰ On 7 July 1395 a new Avignon pope Benedict XIII, another Aragonese Pedro de Luna, claiming that Fernández de Heredia was very old and unable to walk without support, reserved the right to appoint the Master's successor. That Master died at Avignon on 20 March 1396. Naillac was elected Master, probably on 6 May 1396, by the Convent on Rhodes where his support from the rulers of France and Burgundy would have been known. He left Rhodes for Hungary at some point after 2 August.¹¹

Naillac's expedition journeyed into the Black Sea and up the Danube to Nikopolis. There on 25 September 1396 the Franco-Burgundian crusaders launched an ill-disciplined charge on the Turks and suffered a disastrous defeat. Sigismund of Hungary apparently held back from the initial attack and the Hospitallers seemingly stood with him; at least one Hospitaller, Fr. John Raddington Prior of England, probably died there. Sigismund and Naillac escaped down the Danube on a Hospitaller vessel. Naillac returned to Rhodes. Sigismund reached Constantinople after Naillac had left it and wrote to the Master claiming to have saved the city through his arrival there and urging Naillac to send help to the Greeks. Since Sultan Bayezid had been forced to withdraw troops from his siege of Constantinople at a critical moment and had then lost many men at Nikopolis, it was arguable that the crusade had saved the Byzantine capital.¹² On Rhodes the Hospitallers were

¹⁰ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 248–264; Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces: 1306–1462* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1999), XVII 125–127; id., “Juan Fernández de Heredia and the Compilation of the Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea,” *Deus Vult: Miscellanea di studi stugli ordini militari* 1 (2011): 71–82; Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athleten und der Vikar*, 61–80.

¹¹ Anthony Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1992), XI; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 45. Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 235, 265, and many others wrongly hold that Naillac was elected while en route to Nikopolis. He was *electo per convento di Rodi*, see: Roma. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Ms. Corsini 41 D 25 (olim Rossi, 96), fol. 66 (datable 1409/1416). The date *moys de may* is given in Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Ms. franç., 1079, fol. 188 (datable before 1454). One Italian ms. (datable before 1476), gave 6 *marzo*, but another (Firenze. Biblioteca Nazionale, Ms. XXXII, 37, fol. 149v: datable, before 1476), gave 6 *maggio*, see: Anthony Luttrell, “Les murailles de Rhodes: 1306–1467,” *Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte: Bulletin* 41 (2019): 41. Why Benedict XIII did not provide to the Mastership in 1396 is not clear.

¹² Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 45–47; Anthony Luttrell, “A Hospitaller *Despropriamentum*: Dubrovnik, 1396,” *Ordines Militares* 3 (2021): 343–345. John Walton Barker, “Byzantium and the Hospitallers: 1306–1421,” in *Bisanzio, Venezia e il Mondo franco-greco (XIII–XV secolo)*, ed. Chryssa A. Maltézou and Peter Schreiner (Venice: Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Centro Tedesco di studi Veneziani, 2002), 52 note 27, wrongly assumed that Sigismund and Naillac reached Constantinople together.

involved during 1397 in raising ransoms for distinguished Western captives; they included Jean de Nevers, the future Duke of Burgundy, Jean de Boucicault, Marshal of France, and various others, some of whom then visited Rhodes.¹³

From Rhodes Naillac faced multiple difficulties. The affairs of the Western priories from Sicily, to Ireland, to Bohemia, presented problems of schism and rival promotions, recruitment, finance, estate management, local politics and much else. The Convent's survival depended especially on the wealth produced in the Western commanderies which priors and receivers collected and transferred to Rhodes.¹⁴ In 1398 the Catalan brethren complained that only nine of 21 priories were sending their responsions to Rhodes, that the pope was not paying his share of the cost of defending the castle by the sea at Smyrna; and that they were providing 3600 of the 25,000 florins being spent on resistance to the Turks.¹⁵ The Master had to deal with recalcitrant rulers and rival popes, with the affairs of the central Convent and Council, with individual intrigues, with a major medical hospital, with pilgrims and food supplies, with the Rhodian *borgo*, with the Greek population and its churches of which the Mastership was in effect the head, with foreign merchants and with the dependent islands. Safety depended on the galleys and their crews and their arsenal, on watch towers and an inter-island signalling system, and on the walls of Rhodes town itself. In 1400 Naillac wanted to build a castle at Archangelos on Rhodes.¹⁶ In particular, his Mastership saw the construction of the great "Naillac" tower which, with its chain, defended the main harbour at Rhodes. The volume of commercial traffick and international trade was increasing. That, together with a desire to acquire lucrative property in the *borgo*, was perhaps what led Naillac to transfer the Jewish population from a central area by the main harbour close to the *commerchium* tax office to a new *giudecca* in the far eastern section of the *borgo*; that move proved a failure as the area of the original *giudecca*

¹³ Christopher Wright, "An Investment in Goodwill: Financing the Ransom of the Leaders of the Crusade of Nikopolis," *Viator* 45, no. 3 (2014): 265–267, 281, 288–289.

¹⁴ E.g. statistics and machinery in María Bonet Donato, "Obligaciones y contribuciones de los hospitalarios hispanos al convento de Rodas," in *Financiar el reino terrenal: la contribución de la Iglesia a finales de la edad media siglos XIII–XVI*, ed. Jordi Morelló Baget (Barcelona: Institución Milá i Fontanals, 2013), 281–313.

¹⁵ Luttrell, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, XIX 142.

¹⁶ Anthony Luttrell and Gregory J. O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes 1306–1423* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 233.

became so unhealthy that in 1422/1423 Naillac's successor permitted the Jews to return to their earlier quarter and its synagogue.¹⁷

Sultan Bayezid's victory at Nikopolis led to Turkish advances in Anatolia while his generals ravaged mainland Greece. The Hospital joined various Christian maritime leagues and projects, especially in defence of the Peloponnese where in 1398 it occupied Corinth at the entrance to the peninsula. In 1398 the Order purchased the whole Byzantine Despotate of the Morea and began to administer that considerable province. The Emperor Manuel II enthusiastically praised the Hospitallers' actions against the Turks but the Greek population at Mistra and elsewhere, incited by anti-Latin clerical sentiment, rose up against rule by the Hospitallers who prepared to leave the despotate. The situation changed after July 1402 when Bayezid was defeated near Ankara by the Mongol ruler Timur. Yet instead of taking advantage of the resulting Ottoman crisis, the regional Christian powers, including the Hospital, reached an entente with Bayezid's son Suleyman for their mutual cooperation against possible further advances by Timur; the Ottoman state had survived as a permanent element of the Balkan establishment. In 1403 the Hospitallers briefly established a bridgehead at Galaxidi on the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth, but gradually they withdrew from mainland Greece, negotiating the return of the price paid for the despotate and finally evacuating the peninsula in 1404 but continuing for some years to seek alliances in Byzantium and Greece.¹⁸

A fundamental obstacle was endless warfare in the West while the two major Latin commercial powers, the Genoese and the Venetians, repeatedly fought each other and also made alliances with the Turks. It was not that crusading enthusiasm dwindled after Nikopolis but rather that holy warfare was diverted from the aim of an unlikely recovery of Jerusalem and directed towards defensive resistance to Turkish advances on the Aegean and in the Balkans. The Hospitallers' defence of mainland Greece and of the sea castle at Smyrna and the later construction of a fortress at Bodrum made strategic sense. There were ambiguities in Hospitaller-Ottoman relations with limited ententes and mutual piratical assaults. The Cypriot situation was also problematic. That kingdom's essentially French rulers were seriously at risk from Egypt, as the Mamluk conquest of the island in 1426 was eventually to demonstrate. For the Hospitallers Cyprus served as a bulwark against the Mamluks. Furthermore the Hospital's plantations at Kolossi and elsewhere on Cyprus

¹⁷ Anthony Luttrell, "The Development of Rhodes Town after 1306," in *Crusader Landscapes in the Medieval Levant*, ed. Michaela Sinibaldi et al. (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2016), 136.

¹⁸ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 48–51, 54, 60–67, 97–105.

produced lucrative quantities of sugar. In 1403 the Hospitallers negotiated a treaty involving trade, consuls and pilgrims with the Mamluk sultan in Egypt al-Nasir Faraj who was fearful of an attack by Timur and his Mongols. Timur however withdrew to Samarkand and the Hospital's treaty was not ratified; the Hospitaler envoy to Egypt, Fr. Raymond de Lescure, was detained there and had to be ransomed.¹⁹

In 1399 Jean de Boucicaut commanded a Franco-Genoese fleet which provided a temporary measure of relief to Constantinople. Two Rhodian galleys took part in the pillage of Turkish coastal sites in and around the Bosphoros, but little else was accomplished and the emperor, Manuel II, was persuaded to travel to the West to seek help.²⁰ His journey to England was facilitated by the English Hospitaller Fr. Peter Holt, and the emperor lodged for a while in the Hospital's priory at Clerkenwell just outside London.²¹ In 1402 the Genoese Hospitaller Fr. Antonio Grimaldi, Commander of Genoa, sailed from Genoa with three galleys which attacked Venetian shipping around Cyprus and relieved the siege by King Janus of the Genoese inside Famagusta. By 15 January 1403 Grimaldi, who had created a breach in Hospitaler neutrality, had died of an illness in Famagusta.²²

Naillac and Boucicaut came from the same milieu in Central France but Boucicaut, while a strongly conflicted and much contested hero of French knightliness, was a tricky character criticized by many contemporaries.²³ In 1388/1389 he spent several months with the Ottoman ruler Murad and had even offered to fight for him against Muslim enemies.²⁴ Boucicaut embroiled the Hospitallers, who could scarcely refuse their collaboration in purportedly holy warfare, in his dubious aggressive operations. He became governor of Genoa in 1401 and was presumably behind Fr. Antonio Grimaldi's Cypriot expedition of 1402. In June 1403 Boucicaut himself reached Rhodes with a Genoese fleet intent on making war on King Janus

¹⁹ Ibid., 56–60, 102.

²⁰ Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, vol. 1, *The 13th and 14th Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), 371.

²¹ Ibid, 373–374; Barker, "Byzantium and the Hospitallers," 54–55.

²² George Francis Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 2, *The Frankish Period, 1192–1432* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 450–454; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, V 7–8, and Giovanna Petti Balbi, "I Gerosolimitani in Liguria in età medievale tra tensioni politiche e compiti istituzionali," in *Cavalieri di San Giovanni e territorio: la Liguria tra Provenza e Lombardia nei secoli XIII–XVII*, ed. Josepha Costa Restagno (Genoa: Istituto internazionale di studi liguri, 1999), 174–175, amending the accepted date of Grimaldi's death.

²³ Craig Taylor and Jane H. M. Taylor, *The Chivalric Biography of Boucicaut, Jean II Le Meingre* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 1–19, provides a summary.

²⁴ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 58.

of Cyprus in defence of the Genoese in Famagusta. Naillac, in alarm, persuaded Boucicaut to wait while he and a group of senior Hospitallers sailed to Cyprus where they negotiated a solution which involved the Hospital guaranteeing large sums of money which King Janus was to owe to the Genoese. Meanwhile Boucicaut attacked the Turks at Alanya on the coast of Southern Anatolia but then made an alliance with them. Having been foiled by bad weather in an attempt to attack Alexandria in Egypt, Boucicaut next assaulted Tripoli, Botrun, Beirut, Sidon and Lattakia on the Syrian coasts. Naillac and Hospitaller forces participated in these Genoese raids and the Hospitaller pillaging of Venetian property in Beirut was to lead to prolonged litigation with Venice. Boucicaut returned to Rhodes and then set sail for Genoa but off Modon in the Southern Peloponnesos he launched a major attack on the Venetian fleet; the Hospitallers, reportedly with two galleys and a transport vessel, fought alongside the Genoese, provoking further quarrels with the Venetians to whom Naillac had eventually to apologize.²⁵ There had been feasting with Boucicaut in the Magistral palace on Rhodes but in reality there was nothing comparable to the heroic battles against various Muslims powers ascribed to the Hospitaller Master in the fictional *Mélusine* written by Jean d'Arras a little earlier in 1392/1393.²⁶

The well informed Emmanuel Piloti claimed that when Boucicaut reached Rhodes in 1403 he agreed to hand over to the Hospital the Turkish port of Alanya on the Anatolian mainland north of Cyprus for 40,000 ducats;²⁷ instead, after plundering the town, he handed it back to its Turkish ruler with whom he made a pact. In 1409 Boucicaut was even accused of wanting to usurp the Cypriot crown. The leading Hospitaller Fr. Raymond de Lescure, who was Prior of Toulouse and was thought to be extremely rich, participated in Boucicaut's razzias in 1403. In 1405 he secured the wealthy Commander of Cyprus; there he became very close to King Janus to whom he advanced large sums of money. Lescure was with Boucicaut at Genoa in August 1407 when a Hospitaller envoy was sent to Janus with Bouci-

²⁵ Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, 382–389; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, V 8–10 [but at p. 10 Alexandria is incorrect]; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 56–59; Albrecht Fuess, “Prelude to a Strategic Involvement in the Middle East: French attacks on Beirut in the years 1403 and 1520,” *Al-Masaq* 17 (2005): 175–178.

²⁶ Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, V 16–18; Helen Nicholson, “Remembering the Crusaders in Cyprus: The Lusignans, the Hospitallers and the 1191 Conquest of Cyprus in Jean d'Arras's *Mélusine*,” in *Literature of the Crusades*, ed. Simon Thomas Parsons and Linda Paterson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 158–172.

²⁷ *Traité d'Emmanuel Piloti sur le passage en Terre Sainte* (1420), ed. Pierre-Herman Dopp (Louvain: Persee, 1958), 193–194.

caut's detailed and costed proposals, in which the Hospital was involved, for a new assault on Alexandria; it was King Janus who rejected the scheme. Lescure died in 1412 at Makri on the Anatolian mainland, apparently in some confrontation with the Turks there. This aggressive attitude which ran contrary to Naillac's policies, resurfaced in 1415 when the Lieutenant and Council on Rhodes wrote to Naillac suggesting that since the Hospital was then at peace with the Turks it would be convenient to attack Syria and other Mamluk places.²⁸

The Hospital was unavoidably involved in Aegean developments. After 1396 Bayezid rapidly extended his rule in Anatolia but was unsuccessful in besieging or threatening the Hospital's garrison in the castle at Smyrna. From 1396 to 1402 Naillac was sending men and money to Smyrna.²⁹ On 26 February 1402 he called upon the Western priories to raise an extra 20,000 Florentine florins for the 200 *fratres* defending both the Smyrna sea castle and the Hospital's "lands and islands in the East;" the Master himself was to provide a further 5000 florins of his own monies.³⁰ Probably in the following October the Council on Rhodes agreed to continue the Order's great expenditures in the Morea in the hope of securing the Hospital's claims to the Latin Principality of Achaia, but above all their monies were to be employed to sustain the Smyrna castle and the Hospital's lesser islands, with any surplus incomes being used in the Despotate of the Morea.³¹ However in December 1402, following his victory over the Ottomans near Ankara in July, the Mongol Timur overran the Smyrna garrison which withdrew by sea after a brief

²⁸ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 278–280, 316; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, V 8–15; id., "Rhodes and Cyprus: 1409–1459," in *Documents concerning Cyprus from the Hospital's Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*, ed. Karl Borchart et al. (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2011), xlv–xlvii; Norman Housley, "Costing the crusade: budgeting for crusading activity in the fourteenth century," in *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 1, *Western Approaches*, ed. Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 52–54; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 57–59, 78, 98, 105, 111–112, 121, 151–152.

²⁹ Jürgen Sarnowsky, "Die Johanniter und Smyrna (1344–1402)," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 87 (1992): 84–94; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 42 note 73.

³⁰ Valérie Bessey and Jean Bernard de Vaivre, "Les prieurs et le prieuré d'Auvergne au XVe siècle," *Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte: Bulletin* 44 (2021): 10. Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 284–285, confusingly rendered *fratres* as "chevaliers". In 1395 Ogier d'Anglure noted 200 "or more" Hospitaller brethren – *seigneurs freres de Rhodes* – on Rhodes: Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne," 363. 200 or 250 was perhaps the total of *milites* and sergeants then in the East: Luttrell, "Papauté e Hôpital," 40.

³¹ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 101, 129–130.

siege, leaving the Christian population to be massacred; the sea castle was largely destroyed.³²

The Hospitallers understood the propaganda value of a defensible bridgehead where they could be seen from the West to be in direct confrontation with the infidel. In 1405 they proposed a Hospitaller occupation of the island of Tenedos in the Dardanelles, a move blocked by the Venetians.³³ In about 1406 the Master went with three galleys to Smyrna and began to build at his own expense a great tower, but it was dismantled by the Ottoman ruler Mehemmed who did, however, allot the Hospital a site at Bodrum on which they constructed a castle. In 1406/1407 Naillac went in person with prefabricated materials and began to build towers and walls which had to be supplied by sea from nearby Kos or elsewhere. The Master was at Bodrum on 17 March 1408. That initiative placed serious strains on the Convent's resources but in compensation it attracted income from papal indulgences and from other Western sources. It provided some opportunities for skirmishing with the Turks around the castle while its distance from any major Turkish centre meant that it constituted no real threat to the Turks.³⁴ Bodrum's harbour served as a minor base for the control of the neighbouring waters.³⁵ Meanwhile, in 1415 for example, the Hospital evaded invitations to serve one Ottoman leader against another.³⁶

After 1409 as the economic situation on Rhodes became critical the Hospitallers continued to benefit from the "fratricidal" strife among Bayezid's sons. The situation was partially alleviated by financial support from the English³⁷ but there was an increasing resort to violence at sea and to arbitrary action, with piracy and the operation of the officially licensed quasi-piratical *corso*. The Latins from Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos and elsewhere attacked each other; goods were seized, often from third parties, and protracted reprisals and lawsuits followed.³⁸ Thus in 1409

³² Anthony Luttrell, "Timur's Capture of Hospitaller Smyrna (1402)," in *Von Hamburg nach Java: Studien zur mittelalterlichen, neuen und digitalen Geschichte. Festschrift zu Ehren Jürgen Sarnowsky*, ed. Jochen Burgdorf et al. (Göttingen: V&R, 2020), 337–347.

³³ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 58.

³⁴ Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, VI 143–161; id., *Studies on the Hospitallers after 1306: Rhodes and the West* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 2007), IX 163–172; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 84–85, 109; Jean Bernard de Vaivre, "Le château Saint-Pierre et ses campagnes de construction," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 89 (2010): 69–84.

³⁵ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 70 note 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 77–78.

³⁷ Anthony Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers*, IX 166–167; the Hospital's finances in Naillac's time await detailed study but see Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athleten und der Vikar*, 235–241.

³⁸ E.g. Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 72–86, 109–121.

when two Muslim merchants and an envoy from Solgat in the Crimea reached Rhodes their goods were seized, with Naillac's complicity, by his unscrupulous procurator general Dragonetto Clavelli and they were imprisoned and almost starved.³⁹ In 1409 and 1410 Naillac stood accused of seizing town property, of cheating people of money and of insisting on the acquisition for 2100 ducats of a Rhodian *casale* which he proposed to sell for 6000 florins; it was also alleged that he illegally incorporated into the *casale* a fertile *domus*, and only when the King of Aragon threatened reprisals did he give way. Much of this despotic behaviour derived from Dragonetto Clavelli on whose death in 1415 there were complaints of illegalities and extortions which hindered trade and caused people to flee the island.⁴⁰

While the papal schism resulted in many disputes over offices and over failures to pay responsions, the English crown, which recognized the Roman pope, consistently permitted the passage of English Hospitallers and monies to Avignonist Rhodes.⁴¹ In May 1408 the French crown withdrew its support for the Avignonese pope Benedict XIII, thus opening the way for a general council which could elect a new pope. Since the death of Fr. Riccardo Caracciolo in 1395 there had been no new Romanist "anti-Master" and Naillac, recognizing that many of the Hospital's problems were due to the papal schism, sailed from Rhodes, probably in February 1409, leaving there a group of brethren who were to prove successive competent Lieutenant Masters. A number of Hospitallers, including a group from England, attended the council at Pisa which in June elected Pope Alexander V; Naillac acted there as Guardian of the Conclave.⁴² In 1410 there followed a chapter general held at Aix-en-Provence in Naillac's absence. The chapter general continued a lengthy and sometimes contested process of reconciliation and reorganization designed to eliminate schism and reestablish discipline in the Order. The policy was, as far as possible, to validate existing appointments to office made under every earlier obedience. Much was achieved some seven years before the ending of the schism in the

³⁹ Ibid., 82; Anthony Luttrell, "Dragonetto Clavelli: Magistral Procurator on Rhodes 1382–1415," *Studi Melitensi*, 30 (2022): 46–47; id., "Soffredo Calvi Burgensis de Rhodes," *Bulletin: Société de l'histoire et du patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte* 46 (2022).

⁴⁰ Luttrell and O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 260–263, 272–273.

⁴¹ Charles L. Tipton, "The English Hospitallers during the Great Schism," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 4 (1967): 91–124; Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers*, IX 164–166; id., "The English Hospitallers in Holy War and Papal Schism: 1378–1417" (forthcoming).

⁴² Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athlete und der Vikar*, 80–87; Karl Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe in the Hospital's Rhodian Archives, 1314–1428* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021), 188–190.

papacy itself. The Romanist “Lieutenant anti-Master,” Fr. Niccolò Orsini Prior of Venice, became Naillac’s lieutenant in Italy with considerable emoluments. Naillac meanwhile went to Paris and London on an unsuccessful papal mission to secure an Anglo-French peace. On his return to Paris he was employed in various royal negotiations.⁴³

Whether Naillac was on Rhodes or in the West and whether he was dealing with major priories such as that of Auvergne or lesser ones such as that of *Alamania*, his administration produced a flow of bulls for brethren in the Convent and for those in the priories, for the inhabitants of Rhodes and for much other business.⁴⁴ Pope Benedict XIII formally deposed and excommunicated Naillac on 6 November 1409; the Pisan pope Alexander V died on 3 May 1410 and was replaced by the Neapolitan John XXIII. Meanwhile Naillac’s absence caused problems on Rhodes. There were repeated complaints from Rhodes about the Master’s provisions to Western vacancies. When in 1409 the Convent granted the vacant Commandery of Avignon to Fr. Pierre Galbert who had served against the infidel for 47 years, Naillac gave it to another; the brethren on Rhodes protested against that illegality and sent Naillac a register from before 1396 to show him how things had previously been properly done. They threatened to leave the island but they also called upon Naillac to return there. A similar problem arose in 1411 when Pope John XXIII was jeopardising the Order’s conventual system by granting Hospitaller offices to his own followers in the West. The brethren protested dramatically that they expected reward for their service but were being deprived of their rightful promotions.⁴⁵ While the years after 1409 saw reform and reorganization in the West, on Rhodes the brethren were exasperated; in 1410 they rioted – *rixam fecerunt*⁴⁶ – and in 1412 they protested loudly – *alta voce exclamantes*.⁴⁷ In November 1411 the Convent urged Naillac to return to Rhodes and also claimed that Pope John XXIII’s provisions were destroying their Order.⁴⁸

⁴³ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 304–308; Garcia-Lascrain, *Der Vikar und die Athlete*, 85–91.

⁴⁴ E.g., Sarnowsky, “Die Johanniter und Smyrna,” 85–93; *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt et al., 1–76; Luttrell and O’Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 232–245; Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 164–363.

⁴⁵ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 322–325; Luttrell, *The Hospitaller State*, VII 240, 245 note 22; Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 110.

⁴⁶ LNM, 339, fol. 218 [252].

⁴⁷ *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt et al., 36–37.

⁴⁸ Borchardt, *Documents concerning Central Europe*, 220–222.

In 1414 all Hospitaller brethren on Cyprus were commanded to leave the island.⁴⁹ A serious situation had arisen on Cyprus where the Hospital received major incomes from its sugar production. When the Commander of Cyprus died in 1411 the Convent discovered to its fury that King Janus had bribed Pope John XXIII to reserve the commandery for his illegitimate young son Louis de Lusignan. Naillac intervened forcefully with John XXIII to rescind the arrangement but the Hospital had to pay heavily to reimburse King Janus and the case dragged on until 1422. The Master, who had hoped to win a lawsuit against the king, complained that the Convent on Rhodes had, to its own advantage, acted against his instructions.⁵⁰ Meanwhile Naillac travelled extensively around France and, from April to October 1414, Italy. He visited many priories and commanderies, dealing with numerous local problems. He may have profited from a commander's obligations to feed and lodge a considerable entourage technically conducting a visitation.⁵¹ Naillac was named a royal councillor but was not continuously involved in French politics, though in 1412 he did play a role in securing a peace in the civil war between the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri.⁵² Like his predecessor Fernández de Heredia who stayed in Avignon from 1392 to 1396, Naillac kept close to popes and rulers between 1409 and 1417, while the Order maintained, amid diplomatic confusions, a procurator in the various papal curias.⁵³ During October 1415 Naillac and the Emperor Sigismund travelled to a meeting in Perpignan where they attempted, unsuccessfully, to secure the resignation of Pope Benedict XIII. Curiously, it was rumoured in Venice that the Master had been killed at Perpignan in a quarrel with a supporter of Benedict.⁵⁴

The climax of Naillac's achievements came at the Council of Constance which largely terminated the papal schism. On 16 May 1415 he spoke among the witnesses against John XXIII and on 25 May he was present in the session which deposed that pope.⁵⁵ The Master was a conspicuous figure, being at Constance from 11 November 1414 to 3 June 1415 and for much of the time between 6 April

⁴⁹ *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt et al., 55.

⁵⁰ Luttrell, "Rhodes and Cyprus," xlvi–xlvi; Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athlete und der Vikar*, 159–165; Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 383–386, establishes Naillac's itinerary from 1409 to 1420.

⁵¹ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 325, wrote, unfairly perhaps, of Naillac's repose in family lands.

⁵² *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, vol. 2, ed. Louis Claude Douët-d'Arcq (Paris: Renouard, 1858), 279; communicated by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre.

⁵³ Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athlete und der Vikar*, 116–120, 344.

⁵⁴ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 330–331, suggesting a possible quarrel with the Count of Armagnac.

⁵⁵ Sophie Vallery-Radot, *Les Français au Concile de Constance (1414–1418)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 252–254.

and 2 September 1417, and again between November 1417 and 28 February 1418. In November 1414 he sat on a throne with three patriarchs, having arrived, reportedly at least, with eight Hospitaller commanders, 12 “knights”, 100 horses and four wagons. On 2 February 1415, for example, he stood with the Emperor Sigismund at a papal mass. Later, on 8 November 1417, he locked the door of the conclave and remained in front of it night and day until the election of Martin V on 11 November. Naillac and Sigismund then “adored” the new pope at whose coronation on 21 November the Hospitaller Master sat on the pope’s right hand above the cardinals.⁵⁶ Naillac must however have experienced some unease: the other major *Ordensstaat*, the Teutonic Order, faced a deep crisis following a major military defeat inflicted by the Christian Poles and Lithuanians at Tannenberg in 1410, the deposition of the Teutonic Master in 1413 and extended hostile debates at Constance which challenged the very validity and existence of a military order. The Hospital was not so threatened, and in 1418 Naillac exploited his long acquaintance with King Sigismund to secure a compromise over appointments which Sigismund had usurped in the Hospital’s Priory of Hungary.⁵⁷ Naillac did hold various assemblies of Hospitallers, notably at Avignon in 1419 and Ancona in 1420, resolving disputes and financial matters.⁵⁸

By 9 July 1420 at the latest the Master was back on Rhodes after an absence of almost 10 years. A major concern was the chapter general which opened on 8 September, the first on Rhodes since 1379. It adopted numerous administrative and disciplinary measures, made many appointments and confirmed statutes enacted in 1410. It sought payment of prioral dues to the Treasury and decreed that a chapter general be held every five years. The Master’s powers, especially over appointments, were confirmed.⁵⁹ Naillac continued his visitations; he was at Kattavia in the far south of Rhodes on 29 January 1421.⁶⁰ He died on 2 June 1421⁶¹ and was

⁵⁶ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 325–335, 385–386; Garcia-Lascurain, *Die Athlete und der Vikar*, 91–98; *The Council of Constance: The Unification of the Church*, ed. John Hine Mundy and Kennerly Merritt Woody (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 92, 102, 110, 162, 164, 170, 429, 467, with conflicting chronological detail. Naillac was with John XXIII at Bologna between April and July 1414: Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 326, 385.

⁵⁷ Luttrell, *Studies on the Hospitallers*, XX 276–277.

⁵⁸ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 337–349; Pierre Bonneaud, *Els Hospitalers catalans a la fi de l’edat mitjà* (Lleida: Pagès, 2008), 121–125, 145–148 and passim.

⁵⁹ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 350–354; *Estatutos de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén*, ed. Marie-Rose Bonnet and Ricardo Cierbide Martinena (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 2006), 83–85.

⁶⁰ Luttrell and O’Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 275.

⁶¹ Luttrell and Zachariadou, *Sources for Turkish History*, 153.

probably buried in the Conventual church.⁶² He had shown a limited nepotism in grants and appointments to members of his family.⁶³ Fr. Héliion de Naillac and Fr. Guillaume de Naillac held various commanderies.⁶⁴ Perhaps shortly before his death the Master endowed with considerable property in the *borgo* of Rhodes five chaplaincies to be shared between the Hospitallers' burial church of Saint Anthony outside the city walls and the pilgrim church of Saint Mary with its sacred ikon on Mount Filerimos.⁶⁵ In addition to his strong palace in the city the Master had a country retreat, which included a chapel, at Villanova in the fertile coastal area close to the town and he had vegetable gardens at nearby Malpasso.⁶⁶

Naillac and his fellow Hospitallers would have known of the Convent's attempt to assassinate an intolerable Master in 1317, but as long as a Master did not exaggerate he could largely impose his will. As Master, Naillac had his own powers and his own incomes, and he largely, though with exceptions, governed with the assent of the Council on Rhodes which exercised an especial control during the Master's lengthy absence. For many matters Naillac sealed with his own Magistral bull but other affairs required the use of the Conventual bull which he did not control. When he left for Italy in 1409 he was accompanied by senior representatives of the Convent.⁶⁷ From the West he could scarcely control the Convent's responses to shifting developments in the East which were managed by successive Lieutenants and the Council on Rhodes with their own register of acts. Naillac's governance reflected a shift in the balance of power within the Conventual collegiate. The lengthy succession of Occitan Masters had ended in 1374 with a Master from Northern France, opposition to whose election apparently came from the

⁶² Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 355 note 2.

⁶³ Roger, "F. Jean de Vivonne," 310–311, contrary to the favourable judgement in Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 266–269, 356–357.

⁶⁴ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 355–357.

⁶⁵ Luttrell and O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 276–278. However, a text of 1495 repeatedly stated that at Saint Anthony's Naillac founded a *capella* rather than a *capellania*: Jean-Marc Roger, *Nouveaux regards sur des monuments des Hospitaliers à Rhodes* (Poitiers: J.-M. Roger, 2010), 131–134.

⁶⁶ Anthony Luttrell, *The Town of Rhodes 1306–1356* (Rhodes: City of Rhodes Office for the Medieval Town, 2003), 137, 154 n. 566, 188–190, 213; Luttrell and O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 25–28, 31; Simon Phillips, "Piety and Property in Late Medieval and Early Modern Rhodes: the Case of Trianda," in *The Military Orders*, vol. 7, *Piety, Pugnacity and Property*, ed. Nicholas Morton (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020), 85–94.

⁶⁷ Delaville, *Les Hospitaliers*, 304.

Auvergnat Marshal, Fr. Pons de Tournon.⁶⁸ During the absence from Rhodes of the Master Fernández de Heredia between 1382 and 1396 the Lieutenant on Rhodes was the Auvergnat, Fr. Pierre de Culant; in Naillac's absence in 1400 it was Fr. Jean de Pennevyre, also from the Auvergne, who acted as Lieutenant;⁶⁹ and for many years from 1412 to 1419 the Lieutenant was yet another Auvergnat, Fr. Luce de Val-lins. From 1409 the Rhodian Lieutenants were successively an Italian,⁷⁰ a German, an Auvergnat and a Catalan; the Catalan, Fr. Antoni Fluvia, succeeded Naillac as Master.

Soon after his election Naillac faced the consequences of the crushing defeat at Nikopolis at which he had been present. With the Christian Levant ever more on the defensive, the Hospital intervened at sea in aid for Constantinople and on land at Corinth to protect the Greek and Latin Peloponnesos. The loss of the Smyrna sea castle was unavoidable but Naillac's understanding of the Hospital's political and propaganda need for an Anatolian foothold resulted in the construction of a replacement fortress at Bodrum. The situation on Cyprus was highly ambiguous, with Naillac compelled to divert forces away from the Aegean area as the Hospital was morally bound to participate in Boucicaut's campaigns in support of Genoese interests in the Southern Levant. Boucicaut's quasi-piratical attacks on Turkish and Mamkulk seaboard cities could be presented as a form of holy warfare and the assaults on Syrian coastal towns may have constituted a Latin military action designed to recover the Holy Land or at least to establish a bridgehead there. In the event they resulted in an accumulation of booty followed by Hospitaller participation alongside the Genoese in an extremely unfortunate naval battle with the Venetian fleet.

Naillac belonged to the class accustomed to command. He had the vision to press persistently for a solution to the damaging papal schism; he contributed to the restoration of papal unity at Pisa in 1409 and at Constance in 1417. The Master's lengthy presence in the West after 1409 was facilitated by a largely effective administration of the Convent on Rhodes, blighted though it was by the corrupt behaviour of his procurator general, Dragonetto Clavelli who was said in 1413 to be "almost lord" of Rhodes. Despite numerous obstacles, Naillac's Mastership secured Hospitaller Rhodes a precarious survival and a reintegrated unity. While

⁶⁸ Luttrell, "Papauté e Hôpital," 24; id., "Linguistic Encounters: Hospitaller Rhodes after 1306," *Medioevo Romano* 45 (2021): 241–252.

⁶⁹ Luttrell and O'Malley, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, 233.

⁷⁰ Anthony Luttrell, "Fr. Domenico de Alamania: a career on Hospitaller Rhodes," *Studi Melitensi* 29 (2021): 73–91.

multiple problems induced Naillac to compromises and even to outright injustices, his extensive contacts with popes and other leaders contributed to his considerable influence. Perhaps more of a statesman than an administrator, he nevertheless dealt with the Hospital's internal affairs in both East and West. The Order's own official Brief Chronicle of the Deceased Masters recorded that he was much feared by the infidels in his time and was "well loved in his Order and by the popes and the royals of France."⁷¹

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⁷¹ Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. français 1079, fol. 188.

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