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## FOOD AND DRINK AMONG THE TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS OF LUSIGNAN CYPRUS

### KEYWORDS

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### ABSTRACT

The Templars and Hospitallers based on Lusignan Cyprus throughout the thirteenth century were primarily fighting men sent there to defend the kingdom of Cyprus from external attack and to assist in the defence of Latin Syria. This is reflected in the regulations regarding food consumption, which show clearly that the brothers of both Orders had a varied diet enabling them to engage in the strenuous physical activity of combat. With the abolition of the Templars by 1312 and the Hospitaller conquest of Rhodes in around 1309 requirements changed, with the extensive Hospitaller estates on Cyprus, that included former Templar properties, being utilised to supply Rhodes with foodstuffs, although one can assume reasonably that the Hospitaller brothers on Cyprus consumed the same types of produce as what was sent to Rhodes.

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In this paper I shall discuss the types of food and drink available to the members of the Templar and Hospitaller Orders on Lusignan Cyprus. In addition, I will refer to related issues, such as the sources of supply of their food and drink, for example estates and *casalia* in Cyprus belonging to these Orders. The export of consignments, wine, and foodstuffs from Cyprus to Hospitaller brothers on Rhodes from the early fourteenth century onwards, by which time those Orders still on Cyprus were engaged primarily in estate management, will also be examined. Activities pursued for pleasure, but which secured types of food, such as hunting, will also be referred to. Where possible, comparisons with other areas of the eastern Mediterranean where these Order maintained a presence, such as the Holy Land and Rhodes, will be made. Regarding source materials, these include the Rule of the Templars, the statutes of Hospitallers, the record of the Trial of the Templars on Cyprus, fifteenth century Hospitaller documents originating from thirty-six “*Libri Bullarum*” for the years between 1409 and 1459, chronicle accounts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and notarial deeds.

## 1. THE TEMPLARS

Following Pope Clement V’s orders for the arrest of the Templars throughout Europe on 22 November 1307 in response to charges brought against them by King Philip IV of France, the Templars on Cyprus were arrested in early June 1308 by Amaury, the brother of King Henry II of Cyprus, who was governing the island following a coup he and his supporters had engineered against his brother King Henry II.<sup>1</sup> Following the Templars’ surrender to Amaury’s forces at their headquarters in Limassol, an inventory of their possessions there was prepared, as the anonymous early sixteenth century chronicle of “Amadi,” known by the name of its last owner, narrates. According to “Amadi,” the Templars’ house in Limassol included, among other things “a huge quantity of victuals: corn, pulses, wines, meat, salads, large amounts of cheese, much livestock.” Furthermore, following their arrest the Templars were dispatched to two estates. The marshal of the Order and one half of the brothers were sent to Khirokitia while the commander and the

<sup>1</sup> Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 89–91; “Chronique d’Amadi,” ed. René de Mas Latrie in *Chroniques d’Amadi et de Strambaldi*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891), 280–289; *The Chronicle of Amadi translated from the Italian*, transl. Nicholas Courreas and Peter Edbury (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2015), §§ 563–574.

other half were sent to Yermasoyia. They were confined there with knights, turcopoles and infantry posted to guard them, but with specific food rations. Every pair of brothers received the following daily: one rotl of meat, six loaves of bread, one quart and a half of wine, three *quarterons* of fish on fasting days when the consumption of fish was permitted, and ten eggs and “as much cheese as they wanted” on those fasting days when the consumption of eggs and cheese were permitted.<sup>2</sup>

Templar knights in the East were explicitly instructed to eat well and to avoid fasting to excess, for this would weaken them physically, making them unable to fight well in battle, as Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre from 1216 to 1228, stressed in an exemplum addressed to the Templars.<sup>3</sup> The Rule of the Templars likewise instructed them how to eat. They were supposed to eat meat three times a week, exception on certain feast days. On Sundays, moreover, the Templar brothers, the chaplains and the clerks were to receive two meat meals to honour the resurrection of Jesus Christ, while squires and sergeants would receive one meat meal “and shall be thankful to God for it,” a rule that indicates how social differentiation applied in the provision of food. On other days of the week, Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays being specified, they would have two or three meals of vegetables “or other dishes eaten with bread.” The content of the other dishes is not specified, but perhaps it was fish or seafood. Lenten food was provided to the Templar brothers on Fridays, although weak and sick brothers were exempted. Rules like these are also found in the Hierarchical Statues of the Templar Order. Furthermore, brothers were instructed to eat in pairs “because of the shortage of bowls.”<sup>4</sup> This explains why the Templars confined by Amaury received their food rations in pairs, as stated above.

The relevant sections of the chronicle record that Amaury’s forces also found “silver plate to the value of 1,500 marks” and that the treasure, silverware “and other fine things” were taken to Amaury’s house in Nicosia. One can surmise that the high officers of the Order ate and drank using silver plates and goblets. Thirteenth century Hospitallers statutes record goblets, silver dishes, drinking goblets, silver spoons, tablecloths, and napkins as being in the possession of the masters and

<sup>2</sup> “Chronique,” ed. de Mas Latrie, 1: 289–290; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Coureas and Edbury, §§ 575–576.

<sup>3</sup> Judith Bronstein, “Food and the Military Orders: Attitudes of the Hospital and the Temple between the Twelfth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *Crusades* 12 (2013): 133.

<sup>4</sup> *The Rule of the Templars. The French Text of the Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*, trans. Judith M. Upton-Ward, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion 4 (Woodbridge–New York: The Boydell Press, 1992, 1st ed., 1997, 2nd ed.), 26 nos. 25–28, 63–65 nos. 183–189.

other high-ranking officers of the Order. Therefore, there is no reason to suppose that the Templars differed in this respect. In describing Amaury's confiscations of Templar goods, the chronicle of "Amadi" recounts that "He arranged for all the livestock and pigs on the Templar estates to be sold. He then had the cellars in Nicosia opened and sold all their supplies and all their movables, right down to the mattresses, carpets, and clothes for sleeping and dressing, as well as the table-cloths and table napkins." This passage provides a valuable indication of Templar daily life, including the use of tablecloths and napkins when eating, as well as the existence of a cellar with supplies at the Templar house in Nicosia. The existence of Templar livestock and pigs mentioned in this passage will be discussed in greater detail below. The servants of the Templars were also provided for, with each of them having 'expenses in line with those at the court of Cyprus, each according to his rank and according to his service,' as the chronicle of "Amadi" states. Such expenses must have included the consumption of food and drink, although unfortunately no details of this are given for the servants. The *rotl* was a measure of weight corresponding to around 2.3 kilograms. The *quarteron* was a liquid measure corresponding to 1.5 to three litres, so it is strange to see it used for fish.<sup>5</sup> The rations issued to the Templars while in confinement must have corresponded roughly to what they consumed daily while based on Cyprus.

The extant record of the trial of the Templars taking place on Cyprus between the years 1310–1311 shows clearly that the Templars provided hospitality to visitors and alms to the poor, including food. Indeed, the Templar Rule stipulated that the food given to the brothers, other than being sufficient "to fill their stomachs" should also be enough to share with the poor. The Templar Hierarchical Statutes stipulated that "paupers who are fed at the house where they are established should have as much meat and other food as the brothers of the convent."<sup>6</sup> Records of the trial indicate the kinds of food available at Templar houses in Cyprus. Furthermore, the food granted as charity must have borne some relation to the food the Templars themselves and their servants consumed in their houses in Cyprus. The survival of the court records for the trial of the Templars on Cyprus in 1310–1311, hereafter referred to as *Processus Cypricus*, provides us with a record of their charita-

<sup>5</sup> "Chronique," ed. de Mas Latrie, 1: 289–290; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Courreas and Edbury, §§ 575–576; Bronstein, "Food and the Military Orders," 145 and footnote 58; *Documents concerning Cyprus from the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archives: 1409–1459*, eds. Karl Borchardt, Anthony Luttrell, and Ekhard Schöffler (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2011), xxxix, xli.

<sup>6</sup> *Rule of the Templars*, trans. Upton-Ward, 65 no. 189, 102 no. 370.

ble activities, including the provision of food.<sup>7</sup> The *Processus Cypricus* is divided into four separate codices, the first containing the depositions of non-Templar witnesses, mainly lay persons. The knight James of Plany, who in 1310 testified before the bishop of Famagusta and Lord John of Montolif, stated that the Templars “gave alms generously and indeed most of all [...] for the poor of Christ.”<sup>8</sup> Master Bernhard, prior of St George in Nicosia, testified that he had frequently seen the Templars dispense alms to the poor at their house in Nicosia, namely bread and meats on Sundays and Thursdays. The burgess of Acre, Guy of Bandes, and the burgess of Famagusta, Pero-cius, both testified that they had seen Templars grant alms to the poor at their houses in Acre and Nicosia in the form of meat, bread, and dishes of foods, besides clothing and money as well.<sup>9</sup>

The aforesaid attestations by independent non-Templar witnesses that the Templars in Cyprus provided alms to the poor, and more specifically bread and cuts of meat, dishes of food and clothing and money are significant. It has been argued plausibly that the testimony given by the Templars during their trial, given under duress and interrogation, cannot be accepted as objective and factual because in such conditions those accused become prone to false recollections and less able to distinguish between fact and fiction. Therefore, to accept such evidence as that given by the Templars on trial in Cyprus, and in other parts of Europe, corroborative evidence is required.<sup>10</sup> The witnesses cited above, James of Plany the knight, Master Bernhard the prior of St George and Guy of Bandes the burgess, does corroborate what the Templars on trial in Cyprus stated in their own testimonies. These non-Templar witnesses were not subjected to any torture or to other forms of pressure to offer their testimony, making it reliable, and reinforcing similar testimony offered by the Templars, to be discussed below.

The third codex of *Processus Cypricus* is the fullest regarding the Templars' own replies to the charges against them, including that they offered neither alms nor

<sup>7</sup> “Processus Cypricus,” ed. Konrad Schottmüller, *Der Untergang der Templer-Ordens*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1887); *The Trial of the Templars in Cyprus: A Complete English Edition* by Anne Gilmour-Bryson (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998); Bronstein, “Food and the Military Orders,” 140; *Rule of the Templars*, trans. Upton-Ward, 65 no. 189.

<sup>8</sup> “Processus,” ed. Schottmüller, VII, 155; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, VII, 58–59.

<sup>9</sup> “Processus,” ed. Schottmüller, XXVIII–XXIX, 392–393; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XXVIII, 429; XXIX 431; Alan Forey, “The Charitable Activities of the Templars,” *Viator* 34 (2003): 114–115.

<sup>10</sup> Helen Nicholson, “Charity and Hospitality in Military Orders,” in *As Ordens Militares, Freires, Guerreiros, Cavaleiros. Actas do VI Encontro Sobre Ordens Militares*, ed. Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, vol. 1 (Palmela: GEoSOS/Municipio de Palmela, 2012), 202; Forey, “Charitable Activities,” 114–115.

hospitality. Their replies provide testimony on the provision of welfare in Cyprus, including food, undertaken by the order. The first Templar witness was Ayme d'Oslier, the Marshal of the Templars on Cyprus. Regarding accusation over the failure to give alms and offer hospitality, he responded that the order gave alms to the poor weekly in those localities where it had a chapel. He added that whenever anyone came to eat or sleep at a house of the Temple he was received honourably and kindly in accordance with his station, but also pointed out that "hospitality was not given to the poor and the infirm, as this was not obligatory."<sup>11</sup> As we shall see below, other Templar witnesses similarly pointed out that caring for the sick was not included in the rule of the order, and in this respect the Templars differed from other orders stationed on Cyprus in the nature of their charitable work. The knight John of Molimers, whom Schottmüller mistakenly presumed to be Racimbaud Blacas, the fourth Templar witness, similarly denied the charge that the Templars did not give alms. He stated that the order baked bread three times a week in those places where it had a chapel, giving one tenth of the bread away in alms, and that the master and brothers of the order frequently gave away meat and money in alms as well. Regarding hospitality, he stated that it was offered to the regular clergy and to persons of rank, who were kindly received whenever they arrived at a Templar house for food and lodgings. Like the marshal of the order, he pointed out that the Templars were not obliged to offer this hospitality. The fact that Ayme d'Oslier and John of Molimers admitted that the Templars were not obliged to offer hospitality refutes the suggestion that they automatically rejected all charges levelled against them.<sup>12</sup>

The ninth Templar witness, the knight Stephen Hispanus of Portugal, also denied that the Templars did not give alms or offer hospitality. In his testimony he stated that the Templars gave alms three times a week, offering one tenth of the bread baked in localities with a Templar chapel. He maintained moreover that he had witnessed this "in Limassol and Nicosia and other places with Templar houses," and that he had seen many religious and others go to Templar houses and enjoy hospitality there, even though the order was not obliged to offer it.<sup>13</sup> The eleventh Templar witness, the knight Hugo of Maly, similarly affirmed that he had seen much almsgiving being performed by members of the order, and that he had seen one tenth of the bread baked by Templar brothers in Nicosia and in Limassol

<sup>11</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, I, 221; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, I, 158.

<sup>12</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, IV, 229–230; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, IV, 169–170; Forey, "Charitable Activities," 114.

<sup>13</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, IX, 244; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, IX, 187.

being given to the poor three times a week. As regarded hospitality, he stated that those frequenting Templar houses for food and lodgings were kindly and honourably received, as was fitting. Like other witnesses, however, he pointed out that the order was not obliged to offer hospitality and stated that he had not seen hospitality offered to the infirm.<sup>14</sup>

The twelfth Templar witness, Peter of Baneta, denied the charges that the Templars gave neither alms nor hospitality, stating that he had seen the brothers bake bread at their house in Limassol and offer one tenth of it in alms. He also pointed out that they gave in alms meat and leftovers from their table, and that he had seen many strangers being offered hospitality by the order even though it was not obliged to do so. If his testimony is true, one can state that in Cyprus the Templars offered hospitality even if this was not a formal obligation. A similar situation seems to have prevailed in England. The English Hospitallers priory's report of 1338 states that seven former Templar commanderies in England transferred to the Hospitallers incurred annual expenses in lodging travellers. Since the houses were offering travellers hospitality in 1338, they were probably doing so while under Templar ownership.<sup>15</sup>

The thirteenth witness, the knight John Hispanus of Portugal, also stated that the Templars gave bread, cut meats and leftovers from their table in alms to the poor, but added that wine mixed with water (*vinum limphatum*) was also given to them. This occurred every week at the house of the Temple, but where this house was located is unfortunately not stated. Like other witnesses he stated that even though the Templars were not obliged to offer hospitality, he had seen many strangers being offered it at their house.<sup>16</sup> The fourteenth Templar witness, the sergeant William of Garen of the *casale* of St. Vassi, maintained that the Templars gave many alms frequently and on a large scale (*multas et magnas, et frequenter*). He pointed out that bread and leftovers from the table were given in alms at those places where the order had chapels but also added that "often robes or clothing were given to knights, the poor, widows, and others."<sup>17</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XI, 250; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XI, 194.

<sup>15</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XII, 253; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XII, 198; Nicholson, "Charity and Hospitality," 200.

<sup>16</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XIII, 255; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XIII, 201–202.

<sup>17</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XIV, 259; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XIV, 206–207.

The sixteenth witness named Hugh of Bensano, a prior of the Order, pointed out that wherever they had a chapel the Templars gave one tenth of the bread baked in their house as well as the leftovers from their table to the poor, poor knights, widows, orphans and squires, and others. Brother Peter Borden of Toulouse, the twenty-sixth Templar witness and the standard bearer of the order, likewise affirmed that where the Order had a chapel bread was baked, one tenth of which was given, along with the leftovers of their table, to poor persons, knights and others.<sup>18</sup> The thirtieth Templar witness, a sergeant of the Order named John of Lisivis who had been the preceptor of the Templar house in Limassol, also referred to how bread was baked and given out wherever the Order had a chapel, with similar offerings being made thrice weekly in a house of the Order. As the Order's almoner, he himself distributed bread baked in the Templar house in Limassol and leftovers from the brothers' table to paupers three days a week, dispensing charity to thousands of persons. Pointing out that the Order was not obliged to offer hospitality, he nonetheless admitted that religious and other good men arriving at a house of the Order were received generously and offered shelter.<sup>19</sup>

Overall, the testimonies of the Templar witnesses show a remarkable consistency in affirming that the order offered alms and hospitality on an organised basis, but did not care for the sick, which according to its rule it was not obliged to do in any case. According to the Templar knight Peter Malamuzzo, the Templars gave one tenth of the bread baked in their ovens in those localities where the order had a chapel.<sup>20</sup> Alms in the form of food, wine, money, and clothing were also offered. They were offered three times a week, at least as regards food, and the recipients of the order's charity were the poor, impoverished knights, widows, orphans, and squires. Hospitality, which was not among the order's obligations, was similarly offered, with the main recipients being the religious, with specific reference to Franciscan and Dominican friars, and persons of rank. In the fourth codex of the *Processus Cyprius*, the final part of the trial proceedings of the Templars on Cyprus which have survived, and containing the testimonies of 35 non-Templar witnesses, the knight Simon of Montolif who was the nineteenth witness stated that he had enjoyed Templar hospitality. He refuted the accusation that they did not

<sup>18</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XVI, 265; XXVI, 292–293; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XVI, 215; XXVI, 250.

<sup>19</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XXX, 303; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XXX, 263; Forey, "Charitable Activities," 114.

<sup>20</sup> "Processus," ed. Schottmüller, XLV, 338; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XLV, 313; Forey, "Charitable Activities," 114.

offer alms and hospitality, stating that the Templars gave alms on a large scale at their houses in Acre and in Cyprus, donating bread, money, and other things to the poor. He had borne witness to this since the days of his youth, when he first learnt to differentiate right from wrong.<sup>21</sup>

The Rule of the Templars furnishes additional evidence of Templar recreational pursuits such as hunting. The Rule forbade falconry and the journeying of brothers into the woods to hunt animals with bows, or to accompany others doing so “except out of love to save him from faithless pagans.” Even when foraging on campaign, brothers could only search for fish, birds, and wild animals “if they know how to take them without hunting, for hunting is forbidden in the Rule.”<sup>22</sup> But rules are made to be broken. The section titled “Further details on penances” contains the story of a wealthy man on Cyprus who sent his sick horse to the Templar house, where it was healed. But the veterinary surgeon’s good work was brought to nought by the commander of the house, who foolishly rode after hares on the recovered horse, causing it to fall during the chase and die of its wounds. The improvident commander betook himself to Acre and begged for mercy before the Chapter General. Despite conflicting opinions, he was sentenced to lose his habit and narrowly escaped being put in irons on account of the severity of his crime. It is not surprising that the master of the house hunted hares, which when caught would certainly have been cooked and eaten. Hunting was a recreation popular among the kings and nobility of Cyprus, and even among non-nobles.<sup>23</sup> The Templar knights with their aristocratic background must have enjoyed this pursuit.

The food consumed by the Templars originated mainly from the *casalia* that the Order possessed in Cyprus. Livestock was a very important component in the diet of Templars and Hospitallers. Written sources from the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem and archaeological excavations conducted in its former territories concerning both Orders show that a variety of livestock, pigs, goats, sheep, cattle, chickens, and geese, as well as pigeons and partridges, were eaten by the brothers and their household members.<sup>24</sup> But records originating from *casalia* on Cy-

<sup>21</sup> “Processus,” ed. Schottmüller, XIX, 386; *Trial of the Templars*, ed. Gilmour-Bryson, XIX, 420; Peter Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991, 1st ed., 1994, 2nd ed.), 126 footnote 97 on the problems in establishing the identity of this witness.

<sup>22</sup> *Rule of the Templars*, ed. Upton-Ward, 32–33 no. 55, 56–57 no. 151.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 156 no. 601; Nicholas Coureas, “For Pleasure and Profit: The recreational and fiscal exploitation of Animals in Lusignan and Venetian Cyprus (1192–1570),” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2016): 33–40.

<sup>24</sup> Bronstein, “Food and the Military Orders,” 149.

prus owned by the military orders are exiguous for the period under discussion. Therefore, the extant accounts presented from March 1317 to February 1318 from Psimolophou, a former Templar *casale* in the district of Nicosia granted to the titular Latin patriarchs of Jerusalem after the Order's dissolution in 1312, are valuable. There is no reason to think that the conditions on this *casale* changed radically after its transfer to the titular patriarchate of Jerusalem, although the harvest from the vineyards for the years 1316–1317 was variable and so wine was imported from the *casale* of Kellaki for consumption on this estate.<sup>25</sup> Bearing this in mind, the evidence can be used to illustrate the production and distribution of foodstuffs of a Templar rural estate in Cyprus. This *casale* was located near the origins of the Pedhiaios River at the point where it entered the Mesaoria Plain to the south-west of Nicosia. Therefore, it was well watered, with incomes of 5,000 white bezants a year. The Hospitaller Bernard de Muret, entrusted in 1315 with the overall management of the *casale*, was instructed to deliver these incomes to the patriarchate in two instalments, in September 1319 and February 1320.

The accounts provide information on the alimentary products received and distributed as foodstuffs to servants, others employed on this formerly Templar *casale*, and other parties. From the total of 3,694 measures of wheat received, 255 were paid to the church of Nicosia as a tithe, 216 to the servants of the estate, including 48 measures to four slaves from the Aegean area, 181 measures were paid to seven carpenters and 1500 measures were sold to the bakers named Behna and Hanna, indicating their Syrian origin, at a rate of just over one measure per bezant. A further 400 measures were used as seen for the next year's crop, 404 were lent to the peasant cultivators, probably to sow lands not part of the ecclesiastical domain, and 733 measures were stored in the estate granary, leaving around five measures unaccounted for. Of the 6,584 measures of barley received, 2000 measures were sold for 2.5 measures per bezant, 431 were advanced to the peasants to sow the next crop, 325 used to sow next year's crop on the domain, 1,186 were stored in the granary, 900 were used as animal feed for the horses and donkeys on the estate and 994 as a payment to the servants on the estate. Of this last quantity the estate manager and scribe received 90 measures each, the juror 48, eleven soldiers, the gate keeper, the court sergeant, the swineherd, the groom, and the sergeant of the village 36 each. In addition, smaller amounts were granted to the slaves from the

<sup>25</sup> Jean Richard, "Le casal de Psimolofo et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle", in id., *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age*, Variorum Collected Studies Series 69 (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1992, 1st ed., 1999, 3rd ed.), part IV, 121–124, 129.

Aegean area, those guarding the pastures on a seasonal basis, the guardian of the water mill and others.<sup>26</sup>

The receipt of smaller quantities of oats, broad beans and vetches and their distribution in a manner like that for the wheat and barley, clearly the main cereal crops, is also recorded.<sup>27</sup> Other food products produced in Psimolophou included olives, wine, honey, onions, and cheese. The 14 measures of olives produced were expended in the curia, presumably the residence of the Latin titular patriarch of Jerusalem in Nicosia. Virtually all the 2,226.5 *metretas* of wine produced were purchased by Brother Bernard de Muret, the Hospitaller brother who was appointed estate manager in 1315 during the patriarchate of Peter de Pleine Chassaigne, who had arrived in Cyprus as papal legate, and another brother named Nicholas. No tithes were paid on the wine and 344 *metretas* were distributed among the estate workers, the carpenter and other labourers, and the vineyard cultivators who had transported the wine to the *casale* of Psimolophou. No linen or cotton were cultivated in the *casale*. Six beekeepers on the estate were paid 16 deniers each for the honey produced, a total expense of 2 bezants, although the specific quantity of honey is not recorded. In addition, 95 rotls of cheese were produced, 9.5 rotls of which were paid as a tithe to the church of Nicosia. The remainder were assigned for the needs of the patriarch's court and the harvest. The estate also had livestock. The sum of 103.5 bezants was earned from the sale of chickens. Larger animals included sheep, goats, and pigs, with the estate paying 32 sheep and eight goats by way of tithes and the resident peasants paying a further 38 sheep and eight goats out of their own livestock. Some of the goats, 43 in number, were also sold in Nicosia for 79 bezants and 18 deniers. The estate possessed oxen, and the hides of the dead oxen and of other dead beasts were sold to the Jewish tanners of Psimolophou. Of the pigs on the estate, ten were slaughtered to provide salted bacon for the patriarch's household and one more to be eaten by the soldiers over Christmas.<sup>28</sup>

The information yielded by these accounts shows how the Templars received sizeable revenues from the crops and livestock of their *casale*. Whether this *casale* in terms of its produce and revenues was representative of most *casalia* in Cyprus belonging to the Templars or to the military orders in Cyprus in general, including the Hospitallers, is difficult to say. Those *casalia* further away from the major towns perhaps had fewer revenues if they were in mountainous areas and far from

<sup>26</sup> Richard, "Le casal de Psimolofo," 140–142.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 142–143.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 142–146.

sources of water such as rivers and springs. From the information the accounts for Psimolophou provide, however, quite a detailed picture is gained of the *casale*, the fundamental territorial unit that the Templars and other military orders possessed in rural Cyprus, and its production of foodstuffs. Nevertheless, the loss of Templar estates in Latin Syria from 1260 onwards because of the Mamluk conquests and the establishment of the Templar headquarters on Cyprus after the loss of Acre and Tyre in 1291 may have led to food shortages. Prior to the loss of Latin Syria, Templar estates on Cyprus prior to 1291 catered for Templars stationed there, whereas after 1291 the number of brothers on Cyprus increased greatly. There is no direct Cypriot evidence for food shortages among the Templars on Cyprus, but the financial difficulties of the Order occasioned a reduction of almsgiving in Templar houses generally by the close of the thirteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. THE HOSPITALLERS

Like the Templars the Hospitallers had rules governing the consumption of food and the utensils permissible at table. These statutes up until 1291 were passed in Latin Syria, not in Cyprus, but following the Latin conquest of Cyprus in 1191 during the Third Crusade they would have been applicable to Hospitallers based on Cyprus, where the Order began to acquire estates from the early thirteenth century onwards. According to the Statutes passed under Grand Master Raymond du Puy (1140–1160) brothers were allowed to eat twice daily and were forbidden to eat meat on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and from Septuagesima Sunday until Easter, those who were ill or weak being excepted. Hospitallers travelling and soliciting food by way of charity could purchase food if unable to obtain it as alms, but only one portion of meat. Brothers at table had to eat their bread in silence, and following the meal could drink nothing other than water.<sup>30</sup> According to the statutes promulgated during the General Chapter under Grand Master Alfonso of Portugal (1202–1206), the sick ate at a table outside the convent, consuming two kinds of meat, if possible, otherwise one kind in two portions. The meat and

<sup>29</sup> Forey, "Charitable Activities," 116–118; Bronstein, "Food and the Military Orders," 146 footnote 61.

<sup>30</sup> *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. I, 1100–1200, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), no. 70, sections 5, 8, 11.

bread they ate was to be the same as in the convent, but the wine was to be of better quality if possible.<sup>31</sup>

Measures against drunkenness were also decreed in those rules and customs of the Order promulgated possibly around 1239 but arguably even before 1206.<sup>32</sup> Inebriated brothers were denied wine for periods extending to one year and if still unreformed were transferred to a house where wine was not plentiful. These rules punished brothers who purchased meat for giving alms beyond what their house could shoulder as expenses, baillis failing to provide brothers with their due pitances during double festivals when their houses could do so, brothers consuming meat and dairy produce during times of fasting, and infirmarians failing to provide the sick with their due rations of food. If the meat provided for a house was of sub-standard quality, the person responsible was punished.<sup>33</sup> The rules also allowed the consumption of eggs cooked in various ways. Brothers seeking permission to fast on bread and water from their lords and who then allowed the seneschals at these lords' residences to serve them meat or fish, without stating that they were fasting on bread and water, were brought to justice. Furthermore, these same statutes referred to the cutlery left behind by former masters and baillis. These included silver goblets with or without supports, silver vessels, rings, perhaps meaning silver napkin rings, silver spoons, tablecloths, and napkins.<sup>34</sup>

As the thirteenth century progressed the importance of formulating regulations regarding the movement of Hospitaller personnel by sea across the Mediterranean increased. The significance of transmitting information by sea also increased, for numerous letters dispatched by sea on board ship from the Hospitaller headquarters in Acre indicate its dependence on the shipment across the Mediterranean of provisions, money and men from its houses in Western Europe. Following the fall of Acre in 1291 and the creation of a Hospitaller fleet, the Order's reliance on this fleet to enable the systematic transportation of personnel, money and supplies brought about changes at the end of the thirteenth century in the Order's legislation and its organizational structure. The Hospitallers' earlier legislation did not mention the conduct of its members on board ship. Subsequent legislation, however, addressed issues related to life at sea, with the commander or

<sup>31</sup> *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. II, 1201–1260, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894), no. 1193, sections 32–33.

<sup>32</sup> Bronstein, "Food and the Military Orders," 136 footnote 11.

<sup>33</sup> *Cartulaire*, ed. Delaville le Roulx, II, no. 2213, sections 6, 66, 72, 76, 83, 95.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2213, sections 98, 107, III.

captain of a ship being specifically mentioned in the Order's legislation from the late 1260s onwards.<sup>35</sup>

The statutes of 1268 passed at Acre during the magistracy of Hugh Revel (1258–1277) reflect this change in the Hospitallers new emphasis on regulations dealing with issues concerning life at sea, and included rules for the brothers when on board ship. According to the sixth ruling, if any brothers bought their own food to bring on board ship this would be placed at the disposal of the commander on board ship. Besides ensuring adequate supplies of food, the commander on board ship had to provide such food as required by the religious calendar and as was normally consumed according to the Order's customs. On Sundays he would provide a chicken for every pair of brothers or salted meat if fresh meat were unavailable, while on Tuesdays and Thursdays he would provide for every group of four brothers one chicken, so long as the supply lasted, or salted meat. Brothers dissatisfied with the foods the commander had issued could lodge complaints. Any surplus of food left after the ship had taken the brothers to their destination stayed on board.<sup>36</sup>

Significantly the ruling in its Latin version states that: "This regulation has been composed for brothers departing from Cyprus and Syria." In addition, the brother in charge of the ship could appoint a serving brother as responsible for the food supply on the advice of the person appointed over the brothers, that is their commander. Social differentiation among the Hospitallers concerning food consumption existed at sea as well as on land. The sixth ruling of the 1267 statutes also decreed that the brother responsible for the ship had no obligation to provide food to the baillis appointed as such in the Order's General Chapters or for their retinue. If, moreover, those travelling on board ship happened by chance to spend the winter on some island, the ship's commander had to provide for them in accordance with the abovementioned rules, the brothers not being entitled to demand anything extra.<sup>37</sup>

The Hospitaller statutes passed in 1283 during the magistracy of Nicolas Lorgne (1277–1284) likewise stated that Hospitaller brothers travelling by sea during

<sup>35</sup> Judith Bronstein, "The Hospitallers from land to Sea – An Examination of the Hospitallers' Naval Activities in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *The Medieval History Journal* 22, no. 1 (2019): 80, 83.

<sup>36</sup> *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. III, 1261–1300, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roux (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), no. 3317, sections 6, 187–188.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 3317, sections 6, 188.

the fast that preceded the feast of St Martin were allowed to eat meat every day except on Fridays.<sup>38</sup> The loss of Acre and Tyre in 1291, resulting in the loss of Latin Syria to the Mamluks, inaugurated a period of food shortages for the Hospitallers based on Cyprus. Hence on 21 July 1295 Pope Boniface VIII wrote to King Denis of Portugal requesting him to restore to the Hospitallers their responsions that he had confiscated so that they could send them, as they had been doing customarily, to Cyprus, both for its defence and their own sustenance.<sup>39</sup> The fourteenth century Hospitaller statutes passed on Cyprus make provision for the supply of the granaries and cellars with foodstuffs. Article Four of the statutes passed at Limassol, the new Hospitaller headquarters, in November 1300 during the magistracy of William de Villaret (1296–1305) ruled that all the grain and wine of the bailliage of Cyprus and the preceptory of Limassol, other than the portion customarily given to the bailli, should go to the granary and cellars. It specified that this included the grain, vegetables and pulses harvested in October should be assigned to the preceptory of Limassol for the convent's expenses, as well as the wine readied in November except for the wine from the village of Kellaki, to be kept in reserve. Should the commander of Cyprus wish to sell it, the preceptor of Limassol could have the portion he wanted at the price normally obtained for it on Cyprus.<sup>40</sup> In a subsequent series of statutes passed at Limassol on 22 October 1301 the fifteenth article required the brother in charge of the granary to render monthly accounts of outgoings and provisions available.<sup>41</sup>

The twenty-third article of the 1301 statutes reflects the food shortages experienced by the Hospitallers on Cyprus at this time. Under the heading of how the priors should pay their annual responsions in full, it alludes to the wretchedness and poverty to which the Order had been reduced and to the great necessities, expenses, and debts that the Order owed. The priors and commanders in a Chapter General, as was right and fitting, decreed that each prior and commander had to pay each year in full the responsions due from him to the treasury. Those not doing so would be summoned to explain why they had not paid their responsions. The sixth article of the 1301 statutes, moreover, ruled that regarding those officers or brothers of the Order who had obtained permission to eat outside the house in their own rooms or places, it would be at the master's discretion to have them

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 3844, sections 25, 455.

<sup>39</sup> *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100–1310)*, vol. IV, 1301–1310, ed. Joseph Delaville le Roulx (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906), no. 4283.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4515, sections 4, 811.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 4549, sections 15.

provided with the meat or their due portions thereof and of the cuisine that they customarily received.<sup>42</sup> Nonetheless, the statutes of 23 November 1304 at Limassol passed during the magistracy of William de Villaret in the ninth article state that brothers summoned to justice following complaints brought against them should be served with such food as that normally given to brothers in the convent.<sup>43</sup>

The shortages of food experienced by the Hospitallers in early thirteenth century Cyprus can be placed in a broader geographical context. The whole of the Near East was affected by drought at this time. The crusade theoretician William of Adam maintained in his treatise on how to overcome the Saracens that Egypt had been afflicted by a terrible drought in the 1290s. The low flood of the Nile during the years 1295–1297 caused widespread famine, relieved only by the dispatch of grain ships from Byzantium, that dispatched the grain from Constantinople and Rhodes. Syria was also afflicted by drought and famine at this time, as the chroniclers al-Maqrizi and al-Nuwayri describe in detail.<sup>44</sup> The chronicle of ‘Amadi’ recounts that great scarcity and famine afflicted in Egypt in 1291 just after the fall of Acre, seen as divine punishment for the outrages committed against Christians during the storming of the city, and then again in 1296, alleviated only by the dispatch of Byzantine grain from the places mentioned above.<sup>45</sup> Cyprus was also affected by the drought of 1296, for it impelled the viscount and the jurors of the Cour des Bourgeois in Nicosia to publish a series of ordinances regulating the price of various types of bread.<sup>46</sup> The repeated droughts in the Eastern Mediterranean continued into the second half of the fourteenth century. In the 1360s Antalya on the southern Anatolian coast experienced the driest decade for the whole period spanning the years 1250 to 1450. Similar climactic conditions prevailed for the area of Konya in south-central Anatolia and in Lebanon, a part of the Mamluk sultanate.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., no. 4549, sections 6, 23.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., no. 4672, section 9.

<sup>44</sup> Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “A Climate for Crusading? Environmental Factors in the History of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Life and Reign of Peter I of Cyprus (1329–1369),” in *Crusading, Society and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of King Peter I of Cyprus*, eds. Alexander D. Beihammer and Angel Nicolaou-Konnari (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2022), 142–143.

<sup>45</sup> “Chronique d’Amadi,” ed. de Mas Latrie, 230, 233; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Coureas and Edbury, §§ 481, 488.

<sup>46</sup> Jean Richard, “L’Ordonnance de Décembre 1296 sur le prix du pain à Chypre,” in Jean Richard, *Orient et Occident au Moyen Âge: Contacts et relations (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> s.)* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1976), part XX, 45–51.

<sup>47</sup> Preiser-Kapeller, “A Climate for Crusading?,” 145 and figs. 3.7, 3.8, 3.9.

Following the abolition of the Templar Order in 1312 most of the Templar estates in Cyprus passed to the Hospitallers in 1313, something that increased the foodstuffs available to them considerably. By this time, they had also completed the conquest of Rhodes, that became their new headquarters until the Ottoman conquest of 1522.<sup>48</sup> Their crucial support for the restoration of King Henry II in August 1310, following his overthrow in April 1306 by his brother Amaury and his exile to Armenia early in 1310, had now endeared them to the king, who during the start of the fourteenth century had placed restrictions on their acquisitions of property on Cyprus, thereby provoking papal protests.<sup>49</sup> The Hospitallers' estates in the diocese of Limassol exceeded those of the crown of Cyprus, producing cattle, wine, cereals, and sugar that could be shipped to the Hospitallers headquarters on Rhodes. Royal assent was still required, and it was not always forthcoming. On 1 October 1317, in response to a request submitted by Géraud de Pins, the papally appointed vicar of the Order, Pope John XXII requested King Henry II of Cyprus to let the Hospitallers dispatch goods, incomes and sums of money from their Cypriot estates to Rhodes, where money and victuals were scarce. It is clear from the content of the pope's letter that King Henry II was blocking the export of foodstuffs and other movables from Cyprus to Rhodes. No reason for this is given in the letter, but perhaps Cyprus had been affected by unstable weather leading to grain shortages. The chronicle of 'Amadi' recounts in detail how in 1308 there were great shortages of wheat and other types of grain in Cyprus because a pattern of alternating drought and torrential rain destroyed the crops that had been planted. The trees were wasted and failed to bear fruit and the Cypriots escaped famine only by importing large quantities of corn from overseas. Perhaps Cyprus was similarly afflicted at the time of the pope's letter of 1 October 1317, although there are no extant records of grain shortages in that year. What can be stated is that weather conditions in Cyprus and the abundance or scarcity of its harvests

<sup>48</sup> Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," in id., *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece, and the West 1291-1440*, part II, Variorum Collected Studies Series 77 (London: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 1978), 167-168; "Chronique d'Amadi," ed. de Mas Latrie, 254-259; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Coureas and Edbury, §§ 523-529.

<sup>49</sup> "Chronique d'Amadi," ed. de Mas Latrie, 370-371, 383-384; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Coureas and Edbury, §§ 702-703, 725; *Bullarium Cyprium: Papal Letters concerning Cyprus 1196-1314*, vol. 2, ed. Christopher Schabel, (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2010), nos. 0-37, 0-38, 0-39, 0-40.

directly impacted on its ability to export foodstuffs and grain to Rhodes and other destinations.<sup>50</sup>

The Order obtained much wine, grain, and sugar from Cyprus. In 1329 Marino Sanudo the Elder calculated the Hospitallers' total incomes at 180,000 florins, of which one ninth, 20,000 florins, originated from its Cypriot estates.<sup>51</sup> Paradoxically, food supplies for the Order in Cyprus increased just as its presence on the island was being reduced. Following the conquest of Rhodes, completed in 1309, that island became the new Hospitaller headquarters and so the Order's activities and personnel in Cyprus were involved mainly with estate-management. Since the foodstuffs produced on the island were far more than what the relatively small number of personnel needed, many victuals were exported to Rhodes, although the brothers in Cyprus clearly consumed the same kind of produce as that exported.

The export of agricultural produce from Hospitaller estates in Cyprus to their headquarters in Rhodes can be linked to the agricultural policies they implemented within Rhodes following their conquest of the island from Byzantium in 1309. A series of over 200 documents on the countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes published by Luttrell and O'Malley indicates that the Hospitallers pursued a long-term agricultural strategy in the island, while also showing the types of produce that appear to have predominated. In the years immediately after their conquest of Rhodes they encouraged settlement of Latins and Greeks on the island. Latins were encouraged to settle primarily to help defend the island against external threat, the cultivation of fertile lands being a secondary consideration. But because relatively few Latins were induced to settle, Greeks from elsewhere were also encouraged to settle in Rhodes to cultivate the fertile land.<sup>52</sup> Throughout the fourteenth century Latins, Greeks and Syrians received grants of land in uncultivated areas to bring unfarmed land into cultivation and extend the cultivated area, given that the Order retained a great amount of land on Rhodes that was simply too

<sup>50</sup> Luttrell, "Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1291," 168; *Bullarium Cyprium: Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316–1378*, vol. 3, ed. Charles Perrat and Jean Richard with the collaboration de Christopher Schabel (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2012), no. 1–39; "Chronique d'Amadi," ed. de Mas Latrie, 292–293; *Chronicle of Amadi*, trans. Coureas and Edbury, § 581.

<sup>51</sup> Anthony Luttrell, "The Hospitallers in Cyprus: 1310–1378," *Kyriakai Spoudai* 50 (1986): 164.

<sup>52</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes 1306–1423 Original Texts and English Summaries*, eds. Anthony Luttrell and Gregory O'Malley (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), nos. 2–8; Simon Phillips, "Green fingers: the Hospitallers' encounters with their environment on Rhodes, *Crusades* 22, no. 2 (2023): 268–271.

extensive for it to cultivate.<sup>53</sup> During the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the emphasis shifted to the maintenance of the lands granted and on maximising agricultural production. The Order leased lands on condition that lessee improved cultivation, especially as regarded vineyards and gardens.<sup>54</sup>

The grants of land recorded in the documents published by Luttrell and O'Malley refer to various crops and animals, but mostly to vineyards. Two grants refer to beehives, one to melons, one to sugar, one to hay, one to carobs, three to herds of goats, one to both sheep and goats, four to olive trees and olive oil, and five to figs.<sup>55</sup> Seventy-two of the documents refer to vines and vineyards, indicating that viticulture was of prime importance in Rhodes, although despite this imports of wine from Cyprus are attested, as will be seen below.<sup>56</sup> Only five of the documents refer to grain originating from Rhodes.<sup>57</sup> Three documents refer explicitly to grain shortages on Rhodes, stating that grain from nearby Kos should be imported exclusively to Rhodes, one to a payment made partly in grain, and one to grain originating either from Rhodes or Cyprus.<sup>58</sup> It appears that grain was not produced in large quantities within Rhodes. This, moreover, explains not only the references to grain shortages in the documents mentioned above, but also to the import of grain originating from elsewhere to Rhodes. Grain was imported from Cyprus during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as will be seen below. It was also imported from the islands of Kos and Leros, other islands in the Aegean area, Anatolia, the Peloponnese, Southern Italy and Sicily during the fifteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Grain was required to feed the growing population of Rhodes, that increased from perhaps under 10,000 in 1310 to over 20,000 by 1522, as well as the growing number of pilgrims the island attracted from Western Europe, who departing from

<sup>53</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, ed. Luttrell and O'Malley, nos. 13–18, 20, 23, 25, 27–29, 32–34, 50–51, 63, 80, 119, 171; Phillips, “Green fingers,” 272–273.

<sup>54</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, ed. Luttrell and O'Malley, nos. 172–173, 180, 183–184, 190, 201, 205; Phillips, “Green fingers,” 275.

<sup>55</sup> *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes*, ed. Luttrell and O'Malley, 44 and nos. 7 (carobs); 10, 28 (beehives); 10, 189, 195, 204 (goats); 99 (hay); 130 (sugar); 182 (melons); 31, 33–34, 57 and 109 (figs); 10, 16, 19, 171 (olives).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 44 and nos. 8–9, 16, 22–24, 28, 30–31, 42–44, 46–50, 53–54, 57, 59, 63, 65–67, 83, 86, 89, 91 and *passim*.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 31, 83, 124, 136, 141.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 11–12, 35, 45, 64.

<sup>59</sup> Phillips, “Green fingers,” 272–273; Nicholas Coureas, “The Role of Cyprus in satisfying the demand for Cereals on Hospitaller Rhodes in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries,” in *Germania, Italia, Liber Amicorum Hubert Houben*, vol. 1, eds. Francesco Filotico, Lioba Geis, and Francesco Somaini (Salento: Università di Salento, 2024), 757–759.

Venice visited it as a staging post when travelling to and from the Holy Land or as a destination in its own right during the period of Hospitaller rule.<sup>60</sup>

Documentation from the mid-fifteenth century records exports of wine and other provisions from Cyprus to Rhodes. On 15 March 1445 Brother Antonio Segnorio, the procurator of Brother Felip d'Hortal, Preceptor of Cyprus, sold on the latter's behalf 50 barrels of wine from the *baiulia* of Kellaki, a former Templar *casale* given to the Hospital, to Brother Jean Perrin, the lieutenant of the Order's treasurer. It was specified that these 50 barrels amounted to 112 *misotetarti*, a Greek measure not recorded elsewhere, with each barrel containing 25 Cypriot *metretas*, with one metrete corresponding to around 24 litres. In terms of value, each barrel was worth 5.3 Venetian ducats or the equivalent in Rhodian ducats. Once Brother Jean had inspected the wine Brother Antonio would transport it to the seashore of Limassol at his own expense within the next 20 days, with a penalty of one florin per day payable for each day's delay, unless a delay of only three days occurred. One barrel of wine would be tested by Brother Jean's commissioner and on payment of the customs dues Brother Jean promised to ship the wine to Rhodes between the end of March and the end of April. In addition, Brother Jean promised to pay Brother Antonio on Rhodes, half in cash and half to be deducted from the responsions the Preceptory sent from Cyprus to Rhodes. If the Rhodian treasury withheld consent to this, then Brother Antonio would be paid wholly in cash in the space of six weeks. Were the wine to be lost, perhaps on account of piracy or shipwreck, although the relevant document does not explicitly state this, then Brother Felip the preceptor would pay Brother Jean either half the cost of hiring the ship to take the 50 barrels to Rhodes or grant him another shipment.<sup>61</sup>

On occasion the Hospitallers used agents to ship wine and other provisions from Cyprus to Rhodes. A notarial act prepared in Famagusta, then under Genoese governance, by the Genoese notary Antonio Folieta on 24 January 1454 records the hire of a ship by Louis de Magnac, the Hospitaller grand preceptor of Cyprus. This ship, anchored at the port of Famagusta, belonged to a burgess of Famagusta named Antonio Reybaldo who undertook to ready it within the next eight days with its equipment and a crew of sixty men. Following this, the ship would sail to Limassol, taking with it 100 empty wine-casks to be unloaded

<sup>60</sup> Anthony Luttrell, "The Greeks of Rhodes under Hospitaller Rule: 1306–1421," in *id.*, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306–1462*, part III (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 1999), 196; Sofia Zoitou, *Staging Holiness, The Case of Hospitaller Rhodes (ca. 1309–1522)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2021), 11–12.

<sup>61</sup> *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt, Luttrell, and Schöffler, no. 196.

there. The ship would next sail to a locality named Vassilopotamos and take on board 3,000 modia of wheat in Cypriot measures as well as 2,000 modia of barley. Afterwards it would sail to Salines in south-west Cyprus to load on board another 4,000 modia of barley. Then it would return to Limassol and take on board the 100 wine-casks, now filled with wine, probably originating from the Order's vineyards in the diocese of Limassol. This accomplished, the ship would sail to the coastal village of Pissouri, located between Limassol and Paphos, to take on board 2,000 modia of wheat, finally sailing thence to Rhodes. The freight charges for this mixed cargo of goods amounted to one Rhodian ducat per wine-cask, 50 Rhodian ducats for every 1,000 modia of grain and 50 Rhodian florins for every 1,000 modia of barley. This agreement, concluded by the pilgrims' hospice of St Catherine, is illustrative of the types of foodstuffs but also the various localities in Cyprus they were purchased in prior to their shipment to Rhodes.<sup>62</sup>

The Order on Rhodes received regularly foodstuffs from Cyprus during the mid-fourteenth century. Various shipments concerning grain and barley took place and sometimes Genoese or Venetian merchants, resident on Rhodes or in Cyprus itself, were involved, such as the Venetian Pietro Barozzi who lived on Rhodes or the Genoese merchants Michele Grillo and Cipriano Vivaldi. The latter, a citizen of Genoa, is recorded in the 1450s as a burgess of Famagusta, a captain of Genoese Famagusta in 1457 and the Genoese consul at Nicosia up to March 1459. The price of grain, recorded in a document of April 1446 at seven aspers for every Rhodian modius, rose to eight aspers per modius in a subsequent document of May 1446 and to eight aspers and four deniers in a document of November 1448. In a document of June 1449 grain is priced at eight aspers per modius and barley at four aspers per modius, indicating that the former was twice as expensive as the latter. Payment for the cereals and other foodstuffs exported from Cyprus to Rhodes was sometimes deducted from the responsions the Cypriot commandery owed the central convent on Rhodes.<sup>63</sup>

Royal licences were often required to export cereals, with duties payable to the Cypriot crown. In a document dated February or March 1449 the Grand Master

<sup>62</sup> *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer: Actes notariés rédigés à Chypre par le notaire Antonius Folieti (1445–1458)*, eds. Michel Balard, Laura Balletto, and Catherine Otten-Froux (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2016), no. 73.

<sup>63</sup> *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt, Luttrell, and Schöffler, nos. 174, 191, 213–214, 243, 255, 261; *Une enquête à Chypre au XVe siècle: Le sindicamentum de Napoleone Lomellini, capitaine Génois de Famagouste (1459)*, ed. Catherine Otten-Froux (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2000), 16, 20, 38, 213–214.

and Council of the Order instructed Brother Louis de Rilhac, the preceptor of Sauvetat in the Auvergne, to thank King John II of Cyprus for a licence to export 6,000 modia of grain and 100 casks of wine that Rhodes needed desperately, but also to complain that ships and persons from Rhodes were forbidden to export grain even when they had paid the customs dues, other nations not being obstructed in this manner. King John II was perhaps unwilling to assist the Hospitallers because despite promising otherwise they had failed to send an armed galley to Cyprus when the port of Gorphigos, a Cypriot possession on the southern Anatolian coastline since 1360, was attacked. The port had been besieged and taken by the Turkish emir of Karaman in October 1448. The king might have also resented the Order's persistent demands since 1446 for the repayment of the outstanding balance on the 15,000 ducats the Order had lent in 1427 for King Janus's ransom from the Mamluks. Here one sees how political tensions could obstruct the export of grain from Cyprus to Rhodes in times of need.<sup>64</sup>

On occasion, the Hospitallers requested permission from the crown of Cyprus to export grain free of duty, as on 14 June 1451 when the Grand Master and Council of the Order instructed Brother Louis de Magnac, the preceptor of Cyprus to request the export of 2,000 modia of barley free of duty from King John II. Sometimes the grain exported from Cyprus to Rhodes was lost in transit, as recorded in a document of 18 October 1457, when 176 modia were lost in this way. On one occasion a ship transported grain and barley from Cyprus to Kos as well as to Rhodes. Shortages on Rhodes impelled the Order to secure victuals from Cyprus. In a document of 18 June 1449, Brother Felip d'Hortal, the leaseholder of the preceptory of Cyprus, was instructed to ask King John II permission to send a "tratta" of Rhodian ships to Cyprus to purchase grain and barley on account of the poor harvest in Rhodes. Greek shipowners brought grain from Cyprus and other nearby Christian lands to Rhodes, as attested in a document of 8 August 1459 recorded the grant of a safe-conduct to Theodore Calomeri by Grand Master Jacques de Milly.<sup>65</sup>

Wine, exported to Rhodes in addition to grain and barley, is also recorded in the mid-fifteenth century documentation. A document dated 11 October 1446 referring to accounts to be submitted for the *casale* of Tarsis in the diocese of Paphos, a royal *casale* that King John II had assigned to the Order in April 1441, alludes to how wine was valued at the price of four Cyprus bezants per "somme", that is per

<sup>64</sup> *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt, Luttrell, and Schöffler, no. 250; Coureas, "The Role of Cyprus," 751–753.

<sup>65</sup> *Documents concerning Cyprus*, ed. Borchardt, Luttrell, and Schöffler, nos. 255, 281, 325, 333.

pack load. In a document dated 28 September 1449 referring to goods consigned by Felip d'Hortal on account of the sums he owed to the Order 100 barrels of old wine are recorded. A document dated 8 March 1452 records the sale of 59 casks of wine to the Grand Master of the Order by Brother Louis de Magnac. Whether this wine was for consumption within the Grand Master's household or more generally is unspecified, although the former is likelier. A confirmation of the accounts pertaining to the abovementioned *casale* of Tarsis submitted some time before 18 October 1457 records among other things the payment of 12 florins for one cask of wine for a Hospitaller brother named Ade Cadiot. This suggests that he had ordered wine from Cyprus for his own consumption.<sup>66</sup>

Sugar was an important item of export from Hospitaller estates in Cyprus. In a document of 18 June 1449, the Grand Master and Council of the Hospitaller Order instructed Brother Louis de Rilhac, the preceptor of Sauvetat in the Auvergne who was visiting Cyprus, to authorise the sale by Brother Felip d'Hortal, leaseholder of the preceptory of Cyprus, of 125 quintals of sugar to the Venetian merchant Girolamo Martini. The same document refers to the production of honey on the Order's estates as well as to the dispatch of white sugar to Rhodes by Brother Felip d'Hortal. A later document of 28 September 1449 in which the Grand Master and Council of the Order instructed Brother Jean de Marsenac, preceptor of Vaufrance in the Auvergne, to travel to Cyprus, providing him with a list of goods consigned by Felip d'Hortal, who owed money to the Order, mentioned among the items in this list 32 quintals of white thrice refined sugar and six quintals of powdered sugar, as well as refined molasses. A document dated 8 March 1452 records how Brother Louis de Magnac, preceptor of Cyprus and of the *casalia* of Phinikas and Anoyira, was granted a quittance of 5,946 Rhodia florins by Jean de Lastic, Grand Master of the Order, for delivering among other things sugar powder for the Order's treasury, due to the brothers Giovanni and Girolamo Martini. The abovementioned Martini brothers, Venetian merchants who lived on Rhodes, obtained sugar from the Order at greatly reduced prices in return for advancing loans to its treasury.<sup>67</sup>

The production and consumption of sugar as well as the manufacture of sugar by-products on the Hospitaller estates at Kolossi to the west of Limassol are described by the German nobleman Steffan von Gumpenberg, who probably originated from Wurzburg and visited Cyprus with a mixed group of nobles, burgesses,

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., nos. 220, 260, 290, 325.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid., xxxix, xl, nos. 255, 260, 290.

and servants in September 1449, and once again on the return journey from Beirut between 12 February and 18 March 1450. In his description of Kolossi and the manufacture of sugar there he described its production a very labour-intensive, for the sugar cane had to be ground under a millstone. Once prepared and weighed, the quantity was so great that even 50 wagons could not transport it. The Hospitaller Commander told Steffan and his companions that the Order obtained 12,000 guilders annually from the sugar crop. On Saturday evening during their sojourn at Kolossi the Commander sent to them a donkey loaded with some sugar, as well as two vessels filled with goods manufactured from sugar, including two large cakes made from sugar and oatmeal.<sup>68</sup>

A document of 26 April 1464 from Rhodes records an agreement between the lieutenant of the Hospitaller Grand Master, the Order's procurators and the conservator of its treasury and the Venetian Giovanni Martini, acting in his own name and on behalf of his brothers and relatives. It states that since the harvests of powdered sugar from the Grand Commandery of Cyprus used to be sold from a long time back to the Martini family, subject to certain conditions that the Order had not met with exactitude, an annual indemnity payable to the Martini associates had been agreed, as well as the cancellation of earlier deeds of 1449, 1450 and 1454. The Order now undertook to sell to Giovanni Martini 800 quintals of powdered sugar from Kolossi in Rhodian weights, at the rate of 25.25 ducats per quintal, under the following conditions. The grand commander of Cyprus had to deliver to Martini at the time when sugar cane was harvested all the powdered sugar originating from Kolossi and the other dependencies of the grand commandery amounting to 800 quintals, keeping for himself only 14 quintals of powdered sugar.<sup>69</sup>

These quantities of sugar would be delivered in boxes wrapped in canvas and tied according to custom, with Martini paying one bezant per box. Delivery of the powdered sugar would take place each July, with the grand preceptor having the boxes transported to Limassol, to Episkopi or to some other point of embarkation at Martini's request or that of his agent. Martini would make payments within ten days following the arrival of the letters of exchange from Cyprus to Rhodes or once the placement of the sugar in boxes at Kolossi had been made known by a public announcement. Should the annual quantity of powdered sugar be less than the

<sup>68</sup> *Excerpta Cypria Nova*, vol. 1, *Voyageurs occidentaux à Chypre au XVème siècle*, ed. Gilles Grivaud (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1990), 67.

<sup>69</sup> Louis de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan*, vol. 3 (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1861), 88.

800 quintals agreed on in some years, Martini would be entitled to demand the entire annual crop other than the 14 quintals reserved for the grand commander.<sup>70</sup>

This agreement was followed by a second agreement, effected with the assent of Raymond Zacosta, the Order's Grand Master, between the officers of the Order's treasury and Jean Ram, the grand commander of Cyprus, acting for the bailli and the administrators of the grand commandery. Pointing out that the grand commander of Cyprus would deliver the 800 quintals of sugar in two instalments of 400 quintals each, at a price of 35 ducats per quintal, while Martini would be making payment on Rhodes at the rate of 25.25 ducats per quintal, this discrepancy should be resolved in advance. It was suggested that even though the quintal according to the weights of Kolossi or Cyprus was greater than quintal according to Rhodian weights, the former should be considered equal to the latter. As for the price difference, amounting to 9.75 ducats per quintal, it should be taken from Martini by the Rhodian Treasury of the Order in the name of the Grand Commander of Cyprus and should then be deducted from the annual responsions due from the Cypriot commandery to the Order's treasury.<sup>71</sup>

## CONCLUSION

From the above it is clear that with the loss of Latin Syria in 1291 and the estates that both Templars and Hospitallers possessed there, and with both orders transferring their headquarters to Cyprus, food shortages developed because both orders had to feed a greater number of armed knights and sergeants on Cyprus without a corresponding increase in the estates that they possessed on the island. This problem was resolved by the dissolution of the Templar Order in 1312 on the orders of Pope Clement V, the resultant transfer of Templar estates in Cyprus to the Hospital and the Hospitaller conquest of Rhodes by 1309. Following this conquest, Rhodes became the Hospitallers' new headquarters. Therefore, the augmented estates of the Order on Cyprus produced enough victuals to feed the few brethren left to manage them and to export the surplus produce to Rhodes. The growing population of Rhodes under Hospitaller rule combined with the bad harvests the island sometimes experienced made the supply of victuals from Cyprus extremely impor-

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 88–89.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 89–90.

tant. The victuals from the Cypriot estates, moreover, also constituted a valuable source of income.

The importance of these victuals is expressed in the letter of the Hospitaller grand master James of Milly, written in November 1460, and addressed to the Hospitaller castellan of Empost. Recounting the tragedy of the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks, which had resulted in a menacing increase in Ottoman power, he then described the seizure of Cyprus by James, the illegitimate son of King John II, who with Mamluk assistance and popular support had seized the whole island other than Kerynia, where Queen Charlotte, John II's daughter, and her supporters were holding out with Hospitaller help. He declared that with Cyprus passing under Mamluk control the grain imports which Rhodes regularly received would be imperilled. This danger never materialised, for on winning the civil war James cultivated the Order to gain papal recognition, granted to him in 1466. Nevertheless, the fears expressed by James of Milly underline the importance of the Hospital's supply of Cypriot foodstuffs.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 108–112; Nicholas Coureas, "King James II and the Hospitallers: Evidence from the *Livre des Remembrances*," in *The Military Orders, vol. 5, Politics and Power*, ed. Peter Ebdury (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), 113–121.

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