

Anthony Luttrell

PILGRIM TRAFFICKING ON HOSPITALLER RHODES
AFTER 1309

The island of Rhodes was a major port of call for many Western European and other pilgrims sailing to and from Jerusalem. After 1309 the Hospitallers promoted the traffic there since it provided valuable publicity concerning their continued fulfilment of their Order's original purpose of assistance to pilgrims, and also because it emphasized the Hospital's connections with the Holy Land while generating incomes from visitors' expenditures and from a carefully managed programme of relics and indulgences. Sofia Zoitou's study brings together much scattered information, some of it already known but difficult of access¹. Various pilgrim materials down to 1356 have been published by Anthony Luttrell² and pilgrim accounts dating after 1480 are collected, together with much detail, by Jyri Hasecker³ and by Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Laurent Vissière⁴. Other materials are widely scattered in local publications and in unpublished reports of excavation and restoration operations, but much remains to be discovered, especially in the Rhodian archives now on Malta. Zoitou studies many ikons and relics assembled on Rhodes, some of which were taken to Malta in or after 1530; many of these relics demonstrated a strong preoccupation with Biblical stories and the Holy Land. With them the Hospitallers gradually constructed a Rhodian experience in which the whole town and its Biblical connections, together with its hospitals and hospices, formed part of the pilgrim's extended maritime journey.

¹ S. ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness: the Case of Hospitaller Rhodes (ca. 1309-1522)*, Leiden, Brill, 2021, with some 100 illustrations and an extensive bibliography; background in T. BOROWSKI, C. GERARD, *Constructing Identity in the Middle Ages: Relics, Religiosity, and the Military Orders*, in «Speculum», XCII (2017), pp. 1056-1100. Many thanks are due to Michele Bacci, Karl Borchardt, Anna-Maria Kasdagli, Prodromos Papanikolaou, Jean-Bernard de Vaivre and Sofia Zoitou.

² A. LUTTRELL, *The Town of Rhodes: 1306-1356*, Rhodos, City of Rhodes, 2003.

³ J. HASECKER, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem (1480-1522)*, Göttingen, V&R, Unipress, 2008.

⁴ J.-B. DE VAIVRE, L. VISSIÈRE, «*Tous les deables de l'enfer*»: *Relations du siège de Rhodes par les Ottomans en 1480*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 2014.

During the thirteenth century the Hospital not only cared for pilgrims in Syria but had its own vessels transporting pilgrims to the East⁵. After 1292 the Hospitallers lacked their own shipping and the practice lapsed. By 1314 however the papacy was permitting pilgrimage to Jerusalem and by the 1380s some 300 or sometimes more pilgrims a year were leaving Venice⁶; not all those voyages called at Rhodes but there were other pilgrim carriers who did. Pilgrims were increasingly noble, knightly or from the upper bourgeoisie, and their expenditures on Rhodes could be considerable. In 1314 an English pilgrim reached Rhodes with papal letters of recommendation to the Master; there he was provided with a companion who robbed him of 150 florins⁷. Money was spent by pilgrims ashore and on provisions for their journey. An exceptional pilgrim on Rhodes in 1392 and 1393 was the future King Henry IV whose entourage purchased extensively in fish, eels, meat, eggs, vegetables and much else, including a cage for a leopard and eight painted escutcheons of Henry and his knights and squires to be hung somewhere in the *castellum*⁸.

In 1342, a pilgrim guide in French was copied on Rhodes into a Hospitaller codex⁹. Later the severe financial difficulties provoked by the papal schism of 1378 apparently encouraged measures taken on Rhodes to exploit passing pilgrims, some of whom could be delayed on the island by bad sailing weather or by illness. The key diplomatic and financial figure was the wealthy Neapolitan Hospitaller Fr. Domenico de Alamania who in or just before 1391 richly endowed a hospice and church both dedicated to Saint Katherine; the hospice was said in 1395 to house only

⁵ D. JACOBY, *Hospitaller Ships and Transportation across the Mediterranean*, in *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. BORCHARDT, N. JASPERT, H. J. NICHOLSON, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2007, pp. 57-72, at pp. 59, 62-72.

⁶ D. JACOBY, *Studies on Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, Ashgate, 1989, IV, pp. 27-58, at pp. 32-35.

⁷ A. LUTTRELL, *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1999, XVII, pp. 117-138, at p. 130.

⁸ *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry Earl of Derby*, ed. L. TOULMIN SMITH, London, Camden Society, 1894, pp. 225-229, 283.

⁹ M. DUPUY, 'An Island Called Rhodes' and the 'Way' to Jerusalem: Change and Continuity in Hospitaller Exordia in the Later Middle Ages, in *The Military Orders*, vol. 2: *Welfare and Warfare*, ed. H. J. NICHOLSON, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1995, pp. 343-348.

noble pilgrims but that seems to have been a misunderstanding¹⁰. In 1403 the Hospital agreed a treaty with the Mamluk sultan which would have allowed the Order wide and detailed powers to manage the pilgrim groups visiting Jerusalem and other sites. That arrangement, never ratified, would have disadvantaged the Venetians and Franciscans who controlled much of the traffic¹¹. In about 1410 Alamania, by then ruling on Rhodes as Lieutenant of the absent Master, for some reason proposed to transfer the hospice and church, though apparently not their endowments, to the Franciscan Order, but he died in May 1411 after which the Hospitallers blocked the project¹².

Some pilgrims in port slept aboard their ship but most sought lodgings. Nicola de Martoni noted in 1395 that accommodation was scarce¹³ and in 1493 Jan of Lobkowicz reported «one does not find good hostelries here»¹⁴. In 1495 visiting princes and magnates were lodged in the *borgo* in the former house of the powerful Dragonetto Clavelli, which the Hospital secured after his death in 1415¹⁵. Some pilgrims stayed with Hospitallers of their own country. Some lodged in the main Conventual hospital in the Hospitaller *castrum*; Martoni mentioned that it had beds

¹⁰ LUTTRELL, *The Hospitaller State*, XVII, pp. 117-118, 129-133; A. LUTTRELL, G. O'MALLEY, *The Countryside of Hospitaller Rhodes, 1306-1423*, Abingdon, Routledge, 2019, pp. 210-213; A. LUTTRELL, *Fr. Domenico de Alamania: a Career on Hospitaller Rhodes*, in «Studi Melitensi», XXIX (2021), pp. 75-93, at pp. 88-90; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 141-142, suggests that the hospice came to house a wide range of pilgrims. Some time before 1386 the pilgrim Sir Hugh Hastings displayed his arms in an unidentified «meason del honour al Rodes»: J. LUXFORD, *The Hastings Brass at Elsing: A Contextual Analysis*, in «Monumental Brass Society», XVIII (2011), pp. 193-211, at p. 205 n. 43.

¹¹ A. LUTTRELL, *Rhodes and Jerusalem: 1291-1411*, in «Byzantinische Forschungen», XII (1987), reprinted in ID., *The Hospitallers of Rhodes and their Mediterranean World*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1992, X pp. 185-207; HASECKER, *Die Johanniter*, pp. 76-82.

¹² LUTTRELL, *The Hospitallers of Rhodes*, X pp. 199-200. Alamania died between 3 and 16 May 1411: D. CAPOLONGO, *Fra Domenico de Alamania, i suoi ultimi anni in Rodi e la strana vicenda dell'Ospizio che aveva fondato nell'Isola*, Roma, Arbor Sapientiae, 2012; A. LUTTRELL, E. ZACHARIADOU, *Sources for Turkish History in the Hospitallers' Rhodian Archive 1389-1422*, Athena, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2005, p. 34 n. 315.

¹³ *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni, Il pellegrinaggio ai Luoghi Santi da Carinola a Gerusalemme 1394-1395*, ed. M. PICCIRILLO, Jerusalem, Custodia di Terra Santa, 2003, p. 126.

¹⁴ DE VAIVRE, VISSIÈRE, «*Tous les deables de l'enfer*», pp. 802, 812.

¹⁵ HASECKER, *Die Johanniter*, pp. 280-281; A. LUTTRELL, *Dragonetto Clavelli: Magistral Procurator on Rhodes 1382-1415* (forthcoming).

for the poor and sick, and that those who died there or visited the sick received indulgences¹⁶. Jan of Lobkowitz mentioned sick pilgrims in the grandiose post-1440 Conventual hospital¹⁷. The first Conventual hospital was probably largely complete by 1355¹⁸. A statute of 1357 expressed an intention to complete a hospice for poor pilgrims, for poor sick and for other poor:

«Item quod in hospitali Rodi tam peregrinis quam pauperibus infirmis et aliis provideatur ut pertinet, et est fieri antiquitus consuetum». A text written soon after 1367 similarly gave: «Item que en l'espital de Rodas, tant als pelegrins, com ha paures malautes, et autres paures gens, si com aparten, et es acostumat de fayre antiquament de fassa»¹⁹.

These could have been references to a building which adjoined the first Conventual hospital and which bore the arms of Fr. Roger des Pins, Master from 1355 to 1365.

There was a hospice in the *borgo* outside the *castrum* which was dedicated to Santa Maria. In 1346 Fr. Aimeric de Buganno, the Castellan of Rhodes, and the *confratres* of that hospice secured a papal licence for a priest to celebrate mass for the *pauperes infirmi* of Santa Maria, and in 1349 the pope granted indulgences to that hospice since it lacked the means to support Jerusalem pilgrims and other poor there. Some of the indulgences were granted to a layman, Ottaviano Zaccaria of Genoa, and the hospice and its *confratres* constituted a partially lay institution²⁰. This hospice was probably somewhere close to the Latin parish church of Santa Maria del Borgo; conceivably it was located on the site later occupied by the nearby poorhouse later dedicated to Saint Katherine and extended or repaired in 1516. In 1438 a *hospitalis pauperum* near the parish church of Santa Maria del Borgo was being administered by certain laymen who had no licence to do so either from the pope or from the archbishop; so the pope commanded that it should be managed by

¹⁶ *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni*, p. 26; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 136, 138.

¹⁷ DE VAIVRE, VISSIÈRE, “*Tous les deables de l'enfer*”, pp. 803, 812.

¹⁸ LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 267-278; ID., *L'Hospice Sainte-Catherine: Rhodes, 1445*, in «Bulletin: Société de l'Histoire et du Patrimoine de l'Ordre de Malte», XLIII (2020), pp. 15-24, at pp. 15, 19. The latter article failed to use CAPOLONGO, *Fra Domenico*.

¹⁹ LUTTRELL, *The Town*, p. 272 n. 818.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 181-182, 184-185.

the archbishop or by a suitable administrator²¹. The *hospitalis* of Santa Maria was still in trouble in 1441 when the pope instructed the archbishop to recover the hospice from the hands of «certain laymen» who were occupying it and to appoint new laymen of the Confraternity of Santa Maria who were to sustain the poor there²². However in 1442 Fr. Ettore de Alamania was *rector hospitalis pauperum Sancte Catherine*²³. Possibly the poorhouse building, apparently never again mentioned as Santa Maria, was taken over in order to solve its earlier troubles by the Italian *langue* which perhaps used the considerable endowments of the 1391 foundation and changed the dedication to that of its patron, Saint Katherine.

The complex in the corner of the *borgo* at the end of the Mole of the Mills was not the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria also known as Niki, and the unidentified Greek-type church by the nearby gate was not that of Saint Pantaleimon; the Latin church and the hospice there were those of Saint Katherine founded in or just before 1391 by Fr. Domenico de Alamania²⁴. That location is confirmed in a text of 1445²⁵. Pero Tafur wrote in 1437 that pilgrims could sleep but not eat in the hospice and that it had a church with chaplains. Possibly referring to a policy of keeping pilgrims away from brothels, he wrote of the hospice: «esto se faze por los apartar de los mesones públicos»²⁶. Some 120 metres away from the hospice was another hospice dedicated by 1442 to Saint Katherine which was evidently a poorhouse; it was repaired or extended in about 1516 and perhaps served in part as an overflow to the hospice of 1391 which had limited space. The 1391 act of foundation created a *jus-*

²¹ *Acta Eugenii Papae IV (1431-1447)*, ed. G. FEDALTO, Roma, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1990, p. 355.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 432.

²³ Text in Z. TSIRPANLIS, *Γνωστά και άγνωστα εναγή ιδρύματα στη μεσαιωνική πόλη της Ρόδου*, in *Φιλερήμιου Αγάπησις. Τιμητικός τόμος στον καθηγητή Αγαπητό Γ. Τσοπανάκη*, Rhodos, 1997, pp. 731-743, at pp. 737-738.

²⁴ J.-B. DE VAIVRE, *Commemoration par Pierre d'Aubusson du Siège de Rhodes de 1480*, in «Bulletin», XXVIII (2013), pp. 12-43, at pp. 17-30; K. MANOUSSOU-DELLA, G. DELLAS, *Η ανατολική συνοικία του μούργκου της πόλης της Ρόδου. Πολεοδομικοί και αρχιτεκτονικοί μετασχηματισμοί*, in «Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας», XL (2019), pp. 139-160; LUTTRELL, *L'Hospice*.

²⁵ Text *ibid.*, pp. 23-24 (read «Suriano» and «contiguum»).

²⁶ *Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español: Pero Tafur (1436-1439)*, ed. M. JIMÉNEZ DE LA ESPADA, Barcelona, El Albir, 1982, p. 49.

patronatus which placed future responsibility for Alamania's hospice on the Admiral who would always be an Italian. On Fr. Domenico's death it was his nephew Fr. Giacomo de Alamania who intervened to reject the passage of the hospice to the Franciscans, and it seems thereafter to have been under some form of *iuspatronatus* favourable to the Alamania family. In 1442 when Fr. Ettore de Alamania was *rector hospitalis pauperum Sancte Catherine*, he was possibly rector of what had been the poorhouse of Santa Maria rather than of the 1391 hospice, while in 1485 a later Fr. Domenico de Alamania was «commander of the church or chapel of Saint Katherine»²⁷. In fact, the poorhouse carried the arms of Alamania datable to about 1470 or later²⁸. In 1395 Nicola de Martoni listed numerous relics in the church of Saint Katherine which he said Fr. Domenico told him that he had recently imported from Constantinople but, curiously, they were never again mentioned; nor were there any indulgences there²⁹. In 1494 there was a sacristy in the *capella* of Saint Katherine and its Hospitaller priest or prior had a *camera* or room there³⁰. Since the

²⁷ LUTTRELL, *L'Hospice*; ID., *Fr. Domenico*. ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 140-150, remains uncertain and does not discuss the poorhouse with the date 1516. The unidentified Greek church in Thiseos Street seems in no way connected to the poorhouse nearby: *ibid.*, pp. 142-144. ZOITOU, *ibid.*, pp. 19-20, 25, refers to a chapel built in or before 1389 by Fr. Domenico de Alamania in the Conventual church. The reference (LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, pp. 202-204) is to a *cappellania* or chaplaincy and not to a chapel; the same error is made in A. LUTTRELL, *The Reception of Antiquity on Rhodes after 1306*, in *The Reception of Antiquity in Byzantium with Emphasis on the Palaeologan Era*, ed. G. XANTHAKI-KARAMANOU, Athena, Ekdoseis Papazisis, 2014, pp. 55-67, at p. 58. The Alamania chapel needing a chaplain in 1457 may have been the chapel in the Italian *auberge* founded by Fr. Domenico de Alamania in 1401: ID., *L'Hospice*; p. 23 n. 29. That chapel lacked a priest in 1441 when a French Hospitaller was appointed there: ID., *Studies*, XIX p. 225; J.-M. ROGER, *Nouveaux regards sur des monuments des Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, Poitiers, privately printed, 2010, pp. 90-97. While the foundation and endowment of churches, chapels and chaplaincies had religious motivations, they might also ensure that on the death of a Hospitaller his properties passed, with superior licence and as part of a form of *iuspatronatus*, to his *langue* or to his family rather than to the Master or to the Order as part of his *spolia*, e.g. LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 239-240; LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, pp. 210-213, 270-272.

²⁸ LUTTRELL, *L'Hospice*, p. 20.

²⁹ *Infra*, pp. 501-503.

³⁰ Texts in M. SALERNO, *Il Mezzogiorno d'Italia nei Libri Consiliorum dell'Ordine Gerosolimitano*, in «Studi Melitensi», VIII (2000), pp. 67-100, at pp. 88-89, 97-98 (misplacing the church as being in Bari). The *capella*, sacristy and prior's *camera* mentioned in 1484 were part of the 1391 hospice, assuming that the poorhouse had no chapel or

poorhouse, repaired or extended for some reason before or in 1516, apparently had no church or chapel, the *capella*, sacristy and *camera* mentioned in 1494 were in the 1391 hospice, which may however have been damaged during the 1480 siege or by the 1481 earthquake.

Pilgrims seeking relics and indulgences would have visited the Hospital's main Conventual church and its chapels in which Masters were buried and relics housed³¹. The Master Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia endowed a chapel there in 1385³² but whether it was actually built is unknown; apparently it was never again mentioned and he died in 1396 and was buried in the West. In 1389 Fr. Domenico de Alamania endowed a chapel in the Conventual church³³. There were also many relics in the chapel in the Master's palace, and there were indulgences for those visiting the sick in the Conventual hospice³⁴. In the later fifteenth century there was possibly a *via crucis* with a series of crosses within the *borgo*; it might have led to the Niki church inside the eastern walls³⁵. Outside the town walls by the sea were the church and precincts of Saint Anthony where Hospitaller brethren and paupers were buried; it had silver images, legends and miracles, and indulgences; late in the fifteenth century, if not earlier, some pilgrims were buried there³⁶. The church of Saint John *de fonte* some 360 metres outside the walls was a Greek rite church with a tradition that John the Baptist's head had been found there. Since Rhodian Greeks under Hospitaller rule were Uniates the Hospitallers appointed both Greek priests and Latin chaplains, and

sacristy. Even though the *camera* or sacristy were in use in 1494, the poorhouse could, hypothetically, have been extended or repaired, perhaps for pilgrims, before 1516.

³¹ J.-B. DE VAIVRE, *Les tombeaux des grands maîtres des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Rhodes*, in «Monuments et Mémoires: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres», LXXVI (1998), pp. 35-88; for Fr. Hélon de Villeneuve, LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 98-99, 182-183; for Fr. Déodat de Gozon, Id., *Déodat de Gozon and the Serpent: Rhodes 1346/1366* (forthcoming). The Conventual church was in use by 1318; the text of 1332 cited in ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, p. 15, was merely a confirmation of a statute of 1311; LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 95, 173-174, 176.

³² LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, pp. 195-196.

³³ LUTTRELL, *L'Hospice*, p. 23 n. 29; Id., *Fr. Domenico*, pp. 88-90.

³⁴ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, p. 138.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 157-163, 192. The Niki church was granted papal indulgences in 1485: HASECKER, *Die Johanniter*, p. 202 n. 837.

³⁶ LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 182-183, 281; HASECKER, *Die Johanniter*, pp. 177-178; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 164-177.

they converted the site into a pilgrim venue equipped with indulgences and Latin services³⁷. On Rhodes the Hospitallers had a fragment of the True Cross, a miraculous thorn, a coin of Judas, an arm of Saint Katherine with the heraldic arms of the Master Héliion de Villeneuve who died in 1346, part of an arm of John the Baptist noted in 1413, and a hand of the Baptist received in 1484³⁸.

Most pilgrims kept close to the main town, though occasional visitors toured the countryside for ancient remains and inscriptions³⁹. By the 1390s at latest pilgrims were visiting a miraculous ikon or Virgin on Mount Filerimos some 10 kilometres from Rhodes town⁴⁰. There may before then have been there an ancient cult which possibly attracted Regnault Nantouillet, who was neither a pilgrim nor a Hospitaller but who probably participated in the crusade in Cilician Armenia in 1367⁴¹. There were by then already earlier frescoes in the subterranean chapel which was probably dedicated to Saint Mary⁴². On top of some of these were painted elaborate frescoes showing four Western knights wearing the Nantouillet arms and kneeling in a row⁴³. In 1396, during the time of Fr. Domenico de Alamania's activities, Ogier d'Anglure saw in the sub-

³⁷ LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, p. 60; A. LUTTRELL, *Shared Worship at Filerimos on Hospitaller Rhodes 1306-1423*, in *The Templars, the Hospitallers and the Crusades*, ed. H. J. NICHOLSON, J. BURGTORF, Abingdon, Routledge, 2020, pp. 116-126, at p. 124; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 177-184. ZOITOU, *ibid.*, pp. 181-182, accepts that Dragonetto Clavelli was possibly involved at Saint John *de fonte*. Though the evidence is to the contrary, Clavelli could conceivably have been partly Greek but not Orthodox since there was no Orthodox church on Rhodes in his time.

³⁸ LUTTRELL, *The Town*, pp. 32-33; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 36-103, 112-123, 150-151.

³⁹ LUTTRELL, *The Reception*; N. BADOUD, *Early Explorers of Rhodes: 1342-1893*, in *Documenting Ancient Rhodes*, ed. S. SCHIERUP, Aarhus, Aarhus University Press, 2019, pp. 35-40.

⁴⁰ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 193-233; and, but largely limited to 1367-1420, LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, pp. 61-70; LUTTRELL, *L'Hospice*.

⁴¹ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, p. 194, gives Nantouillet as at Alexandria in 1365 for which there is no evidence.

⁴² This can be assumed from the fresco programme. In or shortly before 1421 the Master Fr. Philibert de Naillac founded one or more chaplaincies in the church of Saint Mary at Filerimos: LUTTRELL, O'MALLEY, *The Countryside*, pp. 276-278.

⁴³ J.-B. DE VAIVRE, *Peintures murales à Rhodes: les quatre chevaliers de Philerimos*, in «Académie des Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres: comptes rendus», CXLVIII (2004), pp. 919-943.

terranean church at Filerimos a *belle image* worshipped by both Greeks and Latins; the chapel was being served by Greek hermits, presumably priests, and by Hospitaller chaplains. At some point the Hospitallers built a new church there⁴⁴ which was extended after 1480⁴⁵. There may have been an original ikon which was at some point replaced; a new painting could have come from Constantinople, or from a contemporary Rhodian workshop, or from elsewhere⁴⁶. How the cult developed remains obscure. Thus while Anselme Adorno reported in 1471 seeing an ikon in a small church in a cave, in 1474 Alessandro di Filippo Rinuccini saw an ikon in a Hospitaller church there in a southern side chapel⁴⁷. Maybe the famous ikon was moved from one place to another at different times.

APPENDIX

In 1395 Nicola de Martoni, a notary who came from the same region near Naples as did Fr. Domenico de Alamania in whose Rhodian house he stayed⁴⁸, apparently copied lists of relics, possibly guessing inaccurately in his attributions to various saints. Martoni presumably knew no Greek; his eyesight was poor⁴⁹; and the scribe in Italy who in 1397 copied the surviving version of Martoni's account⁵⁰ seems erroneously to have attributed the chapel in the Master's palace to the Conventual church. The original lists of relics may have been on separate sheets of paper which were subsequently confused. Martoni described relics in the Conventual church, in the Master's chapel and at Saint Kather-

⁴⁴ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, does not indicate the origins or basis of her plate 80b.

⁴⁵ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 195, 209, dates the first Hospitaller built church as possibly of the first or second half of the fourteenth century but the earliest known mention is of 1439: LUTTRELL, *Shared Worship*, p. 122.

⁴⁶ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 222, 233, adds details on the ikon now in Montenegro which still awaits scientific investigation, noting that that ikon is partly on wood, partly on cloth. She considers it possible that the image was originally in fresco: *ibid.*, p. 224 n. 93.

⁴⁷ LUTTRELL, *Shared Worship*; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 212-213, figs. 80a, 80b, show the chapel, as does H. BALDUCCI, *Il Santuario di N. Signora di Tutte le Grazie sul Fileremo presso Rodi*, Pavia, Artigianelli, 1931, fig. 61.

⁴⁸ *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni*, pp. 122, 128, 130.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

ine's church where he listed three, or possibly just two, groups of relics, one set having 25 pieces with inscriptions in Greek⁵¹. The relics he saw at Saint Katherine's in 1395 were never again mentioned. In 1390 the Emperor Manuel II fled from Constantinople to Kos and probably to Rhodes; the Hospitallers went with two galleys to restore him to his capital and possibly they also lent him money, since Manuel, presumably in 1390, left a number of *ikons* which the Hospitallers on Rhodes restored to Constantinople, with a written list, in 1398⁵². Fr. Domenico, who was extremely rich, may well have advanced money to Manuel and have received the relics merely as a temporary security.

Fr. Domenico told Martoni that the relics at Saint Katherine's came from churches in Constantinople and that he had them from his close friend the emperor⁵³; that was probably in 1390 and those relics were possibly returned to Constantinople after February 1395 when Martoni left Rhodes, possibly in 1404 when Fr. Domenico was at Constantinople and there arranged with Manuel II for the payment to the Hospital of 46,500 ducats⁵⁴. Of the eight saints of whom Martoni thought he saw a relic in the third group or *cona* at Saint Katherine's, only one or two items were just conceivably those mentioned elsewhere on Rhodes⁵⁵. The items Martoni listed there did not appear among the *spolia* of the Master Fr. Juan Fernández de Heredia who died in Avignon on March 1396⁵⁶; nor were they among the known relics he left at Caspe and elsewhere in

⁵¹ Ibid., pp. 124, 126, but Piccirillo's edition (*Io notaio Nicola de Martoni*) does not respect the arrangement in the manuscript, which is a copy, where the words «reliquijs sancte Catherine» appear in the margin of f. 93 recto and again at the head of f. 93 verso; the edition does not make it clear that the reference is to the church. Sofia Zoitou kindly provided photographs of the Martoni text.

⁵² S. REINERT, *The Palaiologoi, Yildirim Bayezid and Constantinople: June 1389-March 1391*, in *To Ellenikon; Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. J. LANGDON, J. S. ALLEN, New Rochelle, Aristide D. Caratzas, 1993, pp. 289-365, at pp. 316-319, 351-353; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 150-151.

⁵³ *Io notaio Nicola de Martoni*, p. 126.

⁵⁴ LUTTRELL, ZACHARIADOU, *Sources*, p. 103.

⁵⁵ ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 152-156.

⁵⁶ J. HASECKER, *The Treasure of the Hospitallers' Master Juan Fernández de Heredia (d.1396), according to documents from the Archives of the Holy Office in Rome*. in *Mittelalter. Interdisziplinäre Forschung und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, 26. Februar 2016, <http://mittelalter.hypothesen.org/7740> (07/07/2022). Fernández de Heredia died on 2 March 1396: LUTTRELL, ZACHARIADOU, *Sources*, p. 43.

Aragon, though these did include a *lignum crucis* and a miraculous holy thorn; these relics were in Aragon by 1394 or earlier⁵⁷ and so cannot have been part of what Martoni saw in 1395. There is little reason to doubt Fr. Domenico's account. In fact, in 1391 the Florentine Giovanni Corsini, a leading political figure and owner of extensive property on Rhodes, was in Constantinople where he acquired important relics which were authenticated for him there⁵⁸. Apparently never mentioned on Rhodes was the diptych reliquary which reached Malta in or after 1530. It bore the arms of Fr. Héliion de Villeneuve, Master from 1319 to 1346, but its contents were figures in steatite and in relief rather than relics and, except possibly for Saint Thomas, they were not among the saints in the *cona* noted in 1395⁵⁹. The relics Martoni listed at Saint Katherine's were scarcely relevant to the pilgrim experience on Rhodes⁶⁰.

⁵⁷ BOROWSKI, GERARD, *Constructing Identity*, pp. 1066, 1067 n. 38, 1070, 1080, 1085, 1087, following J. M. CACHO BLECUA, *El Gran Maestre Juan Fernández de Heredia*, Zaragoza, Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada de Aragón, 1997, pp. 196-201, who in part followed E. VALIMAÑA, *Annales de Caspe in 1842*, in «Boletín de Historia y Geografía del Bajo-Aragón», III (1909), pp. 9-20, 74-75. However Valimaña relied on tradition rather than written evidence: communication from César Tomás Laguía (7 April 1957).

⁵⁸ LUTTRELL, *The Hospitaller State*, XVII pp. 127-128; ID., *The Town*, pp. 180-181; ID., *The Reception of Antiquity*, p. 61; ZOITOU, *Staging Holiness*, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-156.

⁶⁰ In which case references in *Ibid.*, p. 2, to a large collection of relics there would not apply.

