

Alexander Vlastos: XIAKA
A HISTORY OF THE
ISLAND OF CHIOS
A.D. 70-1822

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND PART OF
DR. ALEXANDER M. VLASTO'S
WORK ENTITLED
XIAKA,
OR
"THE HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS FROM THE EARLIEST
TIMES DOWN TO ITS DESTRUCTION BY THE TURKS IN 1822"

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE. (by A. P. RALLI. London, 1913)

Dr. Vlasto's work, entitled "XIAKA," or "The History of the Island of Chios from its earliest times down to its destruction, by the Turks in 1822," is divided into two parts. Of these, the first deals with the history of the island from the earliest times down to the year A.D. 70, the date of its incorporation in the Roman Empire; the second commences with that date, and carries the history of the island down to the year of its destruction by the Turks in 1822.

The first part consists mainly of a narrative of the share taken by the inhabitants of the island in the events of the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, and the Macedonian and Roman conquests. As these events are fully related in the histories of Greece and Rome, it has not been thought necessary to undertake the translation of this part of the work. But it is otherwise with regard to the events related in the second part. Of these there is no other connected narrative known to the translator, and it is for those, who, though desirous of learning something of the later history of the island, do not possess a knowledge of modern Greek sufficient to enable them to read the original text, that this translation has been undertaken. Except for some small omissions, in no way affecting the continuity of the narrative, this translation is an unabridged rendering of the original text. The last three chapters of the original work have been divided into five in this translation. Neither the views of Chios, nor the map, form part of the original work. The views are reproductions of those in Prince Demetrius Rodocanachi's work, "Justinianis-Chios" Syra, 1900.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 70-1171.

Chios under the Romans - Lives in darkness for many centuries - Passes under the Byzantine Emperors - Is captured by Tzachas and retaken - Disputes between the Emperor and the Venetians - Taken by the Venetians and abandoned by them.

AFTER the incorporation of Chios into the Roman Empire (A.D. 70), the Romans, in order to requite its inhabitants, and compensate them for all they had suffered as their allies in the war with Mithridates, allowed them to retain their assemblies, and to live according to their own laws and customs. No Roman Proconsul or other officer was sent to exercise authority over them, and Roman citizens living in the island were bound to conform to its laws. But not long after (A.D. 90), the Emperor Vespasian deprived them of these privileges, and a Roman Praefect, or sometimes a Greek acting under him, was appointed to govern the island. But such was the state of debasement of all the Greeks of this period, and so utterly insensible were they to the example of ancient virtue (they even obliterated the names from the monuments erected to the glory of their ancestors, and replaced them with the names of powerful Romans), that it seemed as though the only ambition left to them, was the wish to surpass each other in the servility of the adulation they offered to the Romans.¹ This conduct not only earned them the scorn of their masters, but served to intensify the despotism of their domination. Wherever a Roman Praefect, or other officer, was sent to govern a province, his rule was that of an autocrat, because whenever anyone made complaint to the Roman Senate, or to the Emperor, the Roman officer would always find supporters amongst the leading Greeks of his province. Again, in the countries where the Romans allowed the natives to govern themselves, their endless disputes compelled them to have almost daily recourse to the Romans, and the Roman Courts, for the settlement of differences, which they were both capable, and empowered, to settle among themselves. Nor did the Chians escape the general corruption; for, on the suggestion of a Roman General in Chios, they seized the occasion of the visit to the island of that utterly depraved Emperor, Lucius Aurelius (co-occupant of the imperial throne with the philosophic Marcus Aurelius), to erect a public monument in his honour. What happened in Chios after these times we do not know; but of all that which the mind of man, and the experience of ages, had taken such numberless years to perfect, of all these monuments to ability, intellect and virtue, there now only remained the lamentable ruins. History only tells us this, that in the reign of the Emperor Decius (A.D. 253), St. Isidore of Alexandria suffered martyrdom in Chios;² that towards the end of the fourth century (A.D. 360), there flourished a certain Chian doctor called AEschines, whom Eunapius represents, whether justly or unjustly, to have been more of an agitator than a doctor, although he admits that he was cured by him when grievously sick in Athens.³ Nor must we be surprised at knowing so little about Chios at this period, when we consider the lamentable condition of the Byzantine Empire, and the darkness which brooded over these parts up to the time of the first appearance there of the Crusaders. From the time when Byzantium was made the capital of the Empire, right down into the sixth century, there was never a moment but what, either Goth, Hun or Alanus was assailing the Empire, if not actually threatening the capital itself. The occupation of the country by the barbarians would often interpose a barrier between its people and their ruler, and it is not impossible that Chios may have been left to govern itself during the fourth century. Besides the ravages of the barbarians, the Empire was continuously embroiled by theological strife, and by the heresies of the Themistians, Monophysites, Eutychians, Monotheletes, and of many other sects with designations equally uncouth. With few exceptions, all the occupants of the throne proved themselves both incapable and unworthy. Of historians, except Agathius and Procopius, contemporaries of Justinian, there were none. Even the teaching of the native philosophers was forbidden by a decree of the Emperor Justinian! When the state of the whole country was such as we have described it, there is no cause for us to wonder that no mention is made of Chios. It was not included among the islands which sent Bishops to attend the OEcumenical Council of the three hundred and eighteen Theophori Fathers held at Nicaea.⁴ When did it embrace Christianity? and did it suffer much from the persecution of the Christians under Decius and Diocletian? Was it visited by the terrible plague that invaded Greece in the year 558?⁵ Was it molested by the Arabs when they conquered Rhodes and all the Cyclades islands⁶ in 653? Did Robert Guiscard, when making war on the Emperor Alexius Comnenos, ravage the islands of the Aegean Sea? - are all questions to which we cannot reply.⁷

The mediaeval history of Chios really begins with the last years of the eleventh century. At that moment the Emperor Alexius I, being occupied with the war against the Scythians and Patzinaks, a certain Tzachas,⁸ a Turkish adventurer, having collected 40 ships manned with expert sailors, had made himself master of Phocaea, Clazomenae, Mitylene, and Chios, A.D. 1093. The Emperor, hearing of his exploits, sent a considerable fleet, under his general Niketas Kastamonites, who, meeting Tzachas in battle, was defeated by him with the loss of many ships. The Emperor, on the receipt of the news of the defeat of Kastamonites, forthwith fitted out a second fleet, the command of which he entrusted to Constantine Dalassenos, a most capable warrior and a kinsman of his mother. The new general, having arrived in Chios, laid his plans to master the citadel before the return of Tzachas, then away in Smyrna. By means of numerous siege and stone discharging engines, he destroyed the wall between the two towers, and caused immense consternation among the Turks, who, losing hope, began to implore his mercy. But Dalassenos, in order to prevent the pillaging of the island by his insubordinate soldiery, let the day pass, forgetful that the first duty of a conqueror in battle is to avoid delay, and to reap the harvest of his victory. The Turks meanwhile, taking advantage of the unpardonable inaction of the enemy, rebuilt the wall, and, covering it with hides and other resisting materials, broke the force of the stones that were discharged against it, and awaited the succour of Tzachas, who, having equipped his fleet, and embarked 8,000 Turks, proceeded to their assistance. As soon as this came to the knowledge of Dalassenos, he immediately ordered his admiral Opos to sail out and engage the Turks. But the latter, meeting the enemy at about midnight, was so disconcerted by the novel tactics of the enemy's fleet (because Tzachas had fastened all his ships together with an enormous chain, so that no ship could run away or break the line of battle) that he returned to Chios, followed by Tzachas, and cast anchor in the harbour of Chios, which had by now fallen into the hands of Dalassenos. Tzachas sailed round and, landing his forces the following day, took stock of the position. Meanwhile Dalassenos placed his soldiers in a fortified post near the harbour, which he protected by a trench. The next day both sides prepared for battle. The Greeks stood still in obedience to the orders of their general to keep their ranks closed up, whilst Tzachas commanded the Turks and a small number of horsemen to charge. Upon this the Latins, who formed part of the Greek

army, advanced to meet them. But the Turks, discharging their missiles, not at the men, but at the horses, killed so many of these that the riders were driven back to the trench, whence they made their way to the ships as best they could. The Greeks, dismayed at the defeat of their allies,⁹ retreated behind their fortifications. Tzachas, meeting with no opposition, approached the harbour and made himself master of some of the ships, and would have taken them all, had not the captains by slipping their cables managed to get clear of the shore. He also sent men to Dalassenos asking him for a parley for the negotiation of a peace, because he saw (as Anna Comnena explains) how great would be his difficulty to overcome so brave an adversary! The Greek general consenting, a meeting took place the following morning at the agreed spot. Tzachas then spoke first as follows:

"Know that I am that stripling who, after much raiding in Asia and brave fighting, fell through inexperience and by guile into the hands of Kavalika Alexander, and being taken before the Emperor Niketas Botaneiates, was honoured with the title of Nobilissimus, and endowed with great gifts, and so promised him allegiance. But when the government passed into the hands of Alexius Comnenos, all this was taken from me, and that is why I am at enmity with the Greeks. Let the Emperor be informed that, if he wishes the enmity between us to cease, he must return to me all my former honours. And if thou thinkest that this treaty should extend to our descendants, let it be set down in writing as is usual between ye Greeks and us Barbarians. After all this has been carried out I will return to thee, for the Emperor, all the islands I have seized, and will go home to my native country."

Dalassenos, rightly surmising that the words of Tzachas were only prettexts, boldly answered him as follows:

"Neither dost thou, notwithstanding thy words, really intend surrendering the islands to me, nor am I able to consent to thy proposals without the orders of my master, but as the Grand Duke John, the Emperor's brother-in-law, is soon expected to arrive here with a large force of men and ships, let him listen to thy words. In this way thou canst be assured that, by his mediation, peace will be arranged between thee and the Emperor." And the words of Dalassenos were true, because the Emperor, knowing John's tried ability, had sent him to drive the Turks out of the island. The crafty Tzachas, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed the next day for Smyrna to collect fresh forces. Dalassenos, however, this time did not sit down in idleness, but, collecting a large force, engaged and defeated the Turks in battle, and also captured the citadel while Tzachas was still away. He then sailed away to Mitylene, securing the safety of Chios by leaving a strong garrison there. Tzachas, accepting an invitation from the Sultan Kilidji Arslan to a banquet, was put to death, after having for long harried the Greek Empire.

Hardly had peace been restored in Chios when the wars of the Crusaders again subjected it to the greatest misfortunes. The Venetians, who had been living in the greatest harmony with the Byzantine Emperors, enjoying special privileges and commercial benefits in the Aegean, and who were also on friendly terms with the Asiatic Ottomans (to avoid any breach of their commercial relations with them), becoming envious of the Genoese and Pisans for the wealth they had acquired in Syria, determined to also take part in the wars of the Crusaders. After putting to flight the Genoese whom they met at sea, and taking from them the Turkish booty with which their ships were laden, they defeated the Saracens, entered the harbour of Ptolemais, and captured Tyre after a five months' siege.¹⁰ These victories filled them with unbridled arrogance and insolence. Although strangers themselves, they treated the native Greeks with the greatest contempt, violating their local laws and insulting their religion and local customs. Being extremely fanatical, they tried to convert the Greeks to Papacy, and whenever the authorities attempted to restrain their abuses, they spilt the blood of those of whom they called themselves the deliverers and saviours.¹¹ The Emperor, John II (Comnenos), one of the bravest and most virtuous of the Emperors who mounted the Byzantine throne, learning of the victories and abuses of the Venetians, and fearing their permanent establishment in Palestine, gave orders for the detention of all Venetian ships met at sea, until such time as Venice should justify the conduct of her citizens. Thereupon the admiral of the Venetian Fleet, Domenico Micheli, returning from his conquest of Tyre, seized all the Cyclades Islands (A.D. 1124) including Chios, enslaved all the men and women, and devastated the country with fire and sword. After remaining there a good part of the winter, he returned to Venice.¹² It was at this time that the body of St. Isidore, except the head, was carried off and deposited in the Church of St. Mark.¹³ Some five hundred years later (1622) a certain Greek stole the head and carried it to Venice, for which deed both he and his children were richly rewarded.

These victories of the Venetians so alarmed the Emperor Manuel I (Comnenos), that he granted them privileges even greater than those they enjoyed under Alexius I,¹⁴ and induced them to enter into an alliance with him against Roger King of Sicily. After they had ravaged Sicily, Roger, granting the Venetians many privileges, made peace with them. Manuel, wishing to destroy these States by setting one against the other, first attempted to incite Roger's heir, William, against the Venetians, promising him his daughter in marriage. Failing in his object, he sent ambassadors to the Venetians, asking them to join him in an alliance against the King of Sicily. The Venetians, rejecting his proposals, and foreseeing the evils that would befall their merchants and ships lying in Greek harbours, ordered them forthwith to leave the Greek kingdom. Making use of this as a pretext, the Emperor seized Corcyra and three Dalmatian towns, though professing himself ever ready to make friends with the Republic. The Venetians, fearing the losses consequent upon the cessation of commerce, and listening to the complaints of their merchants, recalled their orders, and allowed their subjects to visit the Greek harbours again. As soon, however, as these had arrived, Manuel immediately made them prisoners, and confiscated their property. The Venetians, enraged at this treacherous breach of treaty (which can never

be justified, although Niketas¹⁵ attempts to do so by attributing it to scandalous conduct on the part of the Venetians) set sail with 120 ships commanded by the unfortunate Doge Micheli II, to revenge themselves on the Greeks.

The Doge, having besieged all the places that had been conquered by Manuel, arrived in Euboea. From here, deceived by the specious and treacherous professions of the Governor of this island, with regard to a treaty of peace and friendship, he sent ambassadors, well acquainted with the Greek language, to Byzantium to treat, and, having taken the island of Chios, decided to winter there and await their return. The ambassadors arrived in Byzantium, where the Emperor received them with kindness, but brought forward all sorts of difficulties in order to delay matters and gain time. The ambassadors, realising his tactics, departed. On their arrival in Chios they found a plague pitilessly mowing down the army, so much so, that they suspected the Greeks of having poisoned the wells. So many died, that the Venetians, not having sailors enough to man their ships, burnt them to prevent their falling into the hands of the Greeks.¹⁶ At last, owing to the increasing virulence of the disease, they were obliged to sail away to Venice with only 17 ships, abandoning all hope of revenge (A.D. 1171).

FOOTNOTES:

1. Pausanias, I, 18.
2. This Isidore was a soldier, but a firm believer in Christ. Whilst travelling by ship to Chios, he was denounced by the Centurion Julius for not worshipping the gods, and for practising the Christian religion. Numerius, who was in command of the ships, tried to convert him, but failing, had him decapitated, and his body thrown on to a rock to be devoured by the birds. But a certain Myrope from Ephesus, who, flying from the persecution of the Christians, happened to be in Chios at the time, removed the body and buried it honourably. But when the governor of the island threatened to put the guards to death unless they replaced the body, Myrope had pity on them, and confessed, and was put to death herself. (Baillet, "Vie de St. Isidore de Chio, Vies des Saints," Paris, 1703).
3. Eunapius, "Lives of Philosophers," etc., vol. I, p. 76 (edn. Boissonade).
4. Caccini, "Storia Eccles. del primo Concilio Niceno," 1637, 4to, p. 154.
5. Agathias, "Hist.," p. 297 (edn. Niebuhr).
6. Rampoldi, "Annali Musulmani."
7. Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."
8. Zonaras calls him "Zachates," and Glycas "Tsachatsan."
9. Anna Comnena, to whom we are indebted for this account of Tzachas' expedition, is always anxious to attribute the reverses of the Greeks to the shortcomings of the foreigners. Alexias, pp. 205-250 (Paris edn. 1651). "Chronicle of Zonaras," book III, p. 298, vol. II.
10. Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. II, p. 80, and vol. III.
11. For a description of the character of the Venetians see Cinamos, "Byz. Hist.," p. 164.
12. Cinnamos, "Byz. Hist.-Sabellicus, hist. Venet. decad. Daru, hist. de la repub. de enise," vol. I, p. 104.
13. M. Giustiniani, "Scio Sacra," p. 195.
14. Heeren, "Essai sur l'influence des Croisades," p. 33.
15. Choniates, "Byz. Hist.," p. 112.
16. Sabellicus, "Hist. rerum Venet. decad. lib. VII," p. 111.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1171-1329.

Fourth Crusade - State of the Byzantine Empire - The Latins take Byzantium - Chios allotted to Peter Justiniani - Chios retaken by the Byzantine Emperor and leased to Zaccaria - Andronicus declares war against Benedetto's successors - Expedition to Chios - Zaccaria rejects terms offered by Andronicus and dies after an unsuccessful attempt on the island.

MEANWHILE the fourth Crusade, which may more rightly be designated as a war against the Greeks, was being prepared. Omitting an account of this war, and of the incidents that supervened among the Crusaders on their march,^[1] as being irrelevant to the matter in hand, let us shortly consider the conditions ruling in the Byzantine Empire. There is no need for a lengthy description of the corruption, and petty intrigues prevailing in the Byzantine Court, to enable us to realise the depths of degradation reached at this moment by the Byzantine Empire. All that need be said is, that it had neither army, fleet, money nor virtue of any kind whatsoever. Ravaged by continuous civil war, it had reached such an abyss of apathy, that it had even lost all interest in theological contention. Commerce with foreign countries was neglected, and limited to petty local trafficking, as calling for less enterprise. Their only aspirations were towards luxury, and self-indulgence.^[2] Such was their moral condition. The political commotions of the Court were even more terrible. Andronicus I, having blinded the nine year old son of the infamous Manuel I, seized the reins of government, which indeed (according to Choniates) he handled with prudence and skill. Dethroned, and put to death, after three days of terrible torture, by Isaac II, the latter was, in turn, dethroned by his own brother, Alexius, blinded and thrown into prison. Isaac's son Alexius (who bore the same name as his uncle) escaping from the prison, where he and his father were confined, appealed to all the Christian monarchs for assistance. Failing here, he addressed himself to the Crusaders

and Venetians, promising them, if they would help him, to pay them 200,000 silver marks, to feed their armies for a whole year, to share their labours and dangers for the redemption of Jerusalem, and finally to subject the Eastern Church to that of the Westerns. The Venetians, tempted by the hope of immense profit, and lured by the far-reaching possibilities of the scheme, though hating the Greeks as enemies of the Westerns, and resenting the preference shown by Alexius for an alliance with the Pisans and Genoese, disregarded the threats of the Pope, Innocent III, and promised Alexius their assistance (1199). Although no mention of the fact is made in history, there can be little doubt that the Crusaders must have on several occasions set foot in Chios. What happened after the conquest of Byzantium by the Latins, the crimes they committed in their lust for blood and appetite for plunder, how many masterpieces of the Greeks they either destroyed or carried away, all this is set out at length in the writings of the Byzantine authors^[3] and in the works of the late renowned historian Michaud.^[4] We may here incidentally mention, that it was at this time, that were carried off the famous four horses of bronze, which now adorn the Church of St. Mark in Venice. After the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204, twelve Venetian Patricians, and an equal number of Frankish Knights, assembled in conclave, divided the conquered kingdom amongst themselves. To the Franks were allotted Bithynia, Thrace, the whole of Greece from Thermopylae to the Promontory of Sunium, and the larger islands of the Aegean Sea.^[5] To the Venetians fell Chios, nearly all the Cyclades and Sporades, the coast of Propontis and of the Euxine Sea, and many other countries. But the Republic being unable to administer such distant countries (extending to nearly 8,000 square leagues and containing a population of about 8,000,000 souls) authorised any Venetian, who should equip ships and conquer, at his own expense, any of the islands of the Aegean Sea, to constitute himself Ruler of the same. In this way Marino Dandolo got possession of Andros, Peter Justiniani of Chios,^[6] and others of other islands. But it is ever the fate of spots beautiful, but lacking in natural defence, not to remain long under the rule of one and the same dynasty. The Latins having divided up the Greek kingdom, which, in spite of the then prevailing illiteracy, still by far surpassed its conquerors in civilisation, began to be threatened by the Greeks, who hated them as men of a different race, of a different religion, and most of all on account of their persistent plotting to force the Eastern Church into submitting to that of the West. When a whole nation has been humbled by a few thousand, and these foreigners, there comes a moment when the hatred it nourishes against their masters overcomes the fear of the past, and calls for revenge. Theodore I (Lascaris) was the first, by his ability, to re-conquer the greater number of the Greek towns. After him John III (Duka Vatatses) within a very short time was able to confine the Latins to the city of Byzantium, and sending a fleet conquered Chios, Lesbos, and other islands of the Aegean.^[7] It was only his death that postponed the complete destruction of the Latin power to the moment when Michael Palaeologue, with the assistance of the Genoese, drove the Venetians, in disorderly flight, out of the capital, and ascended the throne. Thus it was that the sceptre of the East was wrested from the grasp of the Franks, fifty-seven years three months and eleven days from the time when they had first laid hold of it. As, however, many towns and islands of the Aegean were still in the possession of Venetian and Frankish families, the Emperor, in fulfilment of a treaty with the Genoese, made a joint proclamation with that Republic, to the effect, that any Greek or Genoese that should conquer these places, should hold them of him as fiefs. In response to this proclamation many families from Genoa, joining forces, conquered Lemnos, Mitylene and other islands, and as the Greeks had contributed considerable assistance in enabling these captures to be made, the Emperor annexed two-thirds of the conquered countries to the Empire, and divided the remaining third among different leaders. Amongst these was a certain Benedetto Zaccaria, who, as indemnity for the outlay on his adventure, received Chios, together with the titles of High Admiral and High Constable,^[8] upon the following conditions: He was to rule the island for ten years without paying tribute; the island was to be recognised as the property of the Emperor. The Imperial standard was to float over its walls. At the end of ten years the island was to be delivered up to the Emperor.^[9] It was during the rule of Zaccaria that Chios was subjected to two piratical expeditions, the first, in 1302, of Catalans;^[10] the second, in 1307, and by far the most disastrous, composed of Ottomans. These after completely defeating the Greek army under Muzalona, near Nicomedia, sent thirty ships to ravage Chios.^[11] Every inhabitant unable to reach the protection of the citadel was put to death. Four hundred of them having placed their women and children on board of forty ships, together with such property as they could save, were a culmination of misfortune-shipwrecked off the island of Skyros.^[12]

Upon the death of Michael VIII, in 1282, his unworthy son, Andronicus II, succeeded him. Zaccaria, seeing that owing to the frequent incursions of the Persians the Emperor was not in a position to injure him, began to fortify the town of Chios, rebuilding and raising its walls so that it might be ready for siege. Waiting, however, for a more convenient moment, he, at the end of the term of ten years, sent envoys to the Emperor Andronicus III, requesting him to extend this period to another ten years. This the Emperor granted, on account of the difficulty of reducing so well fortified an island. Meanwhile Zaccaria died, and his sons, Beneto and Martino, having inherited not only the country but also the craftiness of their father, continued his deceitful attitude towards the Emperor, and kept on obtaining fresh terms of years before the expiry of the then current ones. In this way, though professing that the island was the property of the Emperor, they continued in full enjoyment of its resources. Upon the approach of the date on which they were to quit the island, a certain Kalothetos, one of the richest and most influential of the inhabitants of Chios, and bosom friend of the Mega Domesticus, going to visit the latter's mother, then residing at Didymotychus, related to her the wrongful acts and injustices of the Latins, pointed out to her that Chios was not a possession to be despised, as it had a yearly income of 120,000 pieces of gold, and said that, if the Emperor were willing to send a fleet to help, he would, with the assistance of his many relations and friends in Chios, be able to regain possession of the island. But such assistance, he added, must indeed be adequate, because should the attempt fail he would, when the Latins discovered that he was the instigator of the plot, be most certainly a lost man. The mother of the Mega Domesticus approving the plans of Kalothetos, persuaded the Emperor to send him to Chios to prepare the ground for the attempt. Simultaneously, upon the advice of the Mega Domesticus, letters were sent to Martino, telling him that, unless he desisted from the erection of

further fortifications and personally presented himself in Byzantium to arrange the terms of a fresh lease of the island, an expedition would be sent against him. Martino, an able and crafty man, who by his forceful character had instilled such fear amongst the neighbouring countries that they paid him tribute, not only treated the letter with contempt,^[13] but hurried on with the work of fortification. Beneto having quarrelled with his brother, who had deprived him of 6,000 pieces of gold, his share of the revenues of the island, fled to the Emperor asking for assistance against his unjust brother, and this was promised him.^[14]

As soon as the fleet was ready-the preparation of which had been attended with all the pomp and splendour due to its size-it consisted of 105 large ships - Andronicus sailed for Chios in the autumn of 1329. Martino, collecting 800 soldiers, shut himself up behind the walls, after sinking three ships that were at anchor in the harbour to prevent their falling into the hands of the Greeks. But seeing how well equipped the Emperor was with engines for battering down his walls, he became alarmed, and fearing to find himself completely denuded (the more so as Beneto had obtained possession for the enemy of a tower only a stone's throw distant) sent envoys to treat. Failing in this, he and his army surrendered to the Emperor unconditionally. As soon as the Chians saw him a prisoner, they rushed upon him, and would have killed him in the very presence of the Emperor, had not the Mega Domesticus prevented them. The Emperor having reprimanded Martino for his folly, ordered him to be thrown into prison, but gave his wife, children and maidservants permission to go whithersoever they wished,^[15] taking with them, as many of their valuables and effects as they could carry, and as much furniture, coverings and bedding as their menservants could remove. He told the 800 soldiers of Martino, that such of them as did not wish to come into his pay, were free to depart, but most remained. He richly rewarded Kalothetos, and freed the Chians from many taxes that pressed heavily upon them. When all these affairs had been settled, the Emperor sent for Beneto, and told him, that wishing to reward him for the good services he had rendered him, he would make him Governor of the island. That out of its revenue of 120,000 gold pieces, he should apply as much as was required for the protection of the country, and divide the surplus, equally between himself, and the Emperor. But that, owing to the uncertainty of human life, he wished the garrison to be Greek, so that the Greeks might not, in the event of the death of their Governor, be deprived of the island, surrounded as it was by enemies far and near. Everyone marvelled at the Emperor's munificent liberality, but Beneto replied, that he must either be made absolute master of the island, or otherwise be rewarded in a manner not beneath his dignity. In vain the Emperor sought to persuade him to accept the terms, giving him a week to think the matter over. Beneto persisted in his unreasonable demands, derided by all as a fool and madman. The Mega Domesticus then advised the Emperor to call together an assembly, to which should be invited all the Latin notables, their Bishop, the Latin merchants in the island, and Nicolas Sanuto, Governor of the Cyclades, (who had come to Chios to do homage to the Emperor), and there make his offer publicly to Beneto. Then, should it be accepted by Beneto, well and good ; if not, then would all those present be witnesses to the world, of the Emperor's generosity, and of the folly of Beneto's unreasonable pretensions. The Emperor listened to this advice and called the notables together. But Beneto still persisted in his demands. Then everybody began to laugh at him and doubt his sanity. But the Emperor made him further offers, of houses in Byzantium, of Senatorial rank, of all the privileges enjoyed by Greek nobles, and finally of an annual payment, for his own use of 20,000 gold pieces out of the revenues of Chios. But Beneto now losing all self-control, raging and cursing, demanded three of the Imperial ships to convey him and his family to Galata. These were given him, and he was landed there with all his property. The Emperor having further strengthened the defences of the island, and arranged matters there, sailed away to Phocaea, and thence later proceeded to Adrianople. But Beneto did not remain quiet. Wishing to revenge himself, he induced the captains of eight ships coming from Genoa, by means of gifts of money, to join him in an attack on the island, hoping to make himself master of it without difficulty in the absence of the Greek fleet. But, as soon as they had landed, his men were engaged by the Chians, and completely defeated, with a loss of 300. The remainder made their escape in sorry plight. Beneto died six days later, from the effects of an epileptic attack.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Villeharduin, "Hist. de l'Emp. de Constantinople."

[2] Sismondi, "hist. des repub. ital. du moyen-age."

[3] Geo. Acropol., "Byz. Hist.," Niketas, "Byz. Hist."

[4] Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. III, pp. 187, 239, 257, 351.

[5] Villeharduin, "Hist., etc., Constantinople," p. 5.

[6] "Annali Musulmani di Rampoldi," vol. VIII, p. 505, note 38; but compare Daru, "Hist. de la Repub. de Venise," vol. I, p. 313.

[7] Nicephor. Gregor., "Byz. Hist." vol. I, p. 16.

[8] Serra, "Storia della Antica Liguria," vol. II, pp. 117-129.

[9] Cantacuzene, "Byz. Hist." book II, p. 227.

[10] Pachymeri, "Hist. Andronicus," vol. II, pp. 302-365.

[11] Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist." p. 24 (Paris edn.)

[12] Pachym., "Hist. Andronicus."

[13] Niceph. Gregor., "Byz. Hist." p. 269.

[14] Cantacuzene, "Byz. Hist." pp. 227-239.

[15] Later, in 1338, Martino was released on the intercession of Pope Benedict XII, and of the French King, Philippe de Valois. ("Hist. de Constantinople sous les Emp. Francs.")

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1346-1352.

The Genoese arm twenty-nine ships. Delfini arrives in Genoa. Vignoso comes to Chios. Takes the citadel. The Emperor demands the island back from the Genoese. Zyvus fails in his expedition to Chios. The island is besieged by the Venetian Pisani (1352).

A FEW years after the settlement of affairs in Chios, Genoa, hitherto, for many years, unceasingly harassed by civil troubles and foreign warfare, began to breathe more freely, and to seek means for enforcing her authority over the noble family of Grimaldi, who intrenched at Monaco and Roccabruna menaced the safety of their mother country, Genoa itself. Assembled in Council, the richest nobles and commoners decided, in the interest of their common safety, to arm a fleet of twenty-nine triremes at their private cost (the public treasury of Genoa was empty) and after furnishing it with many engines of war, and the necessary armament, to hand the command to Simon Vignoso, a brave and popular man. At the same time there had arrived in Genoa, a certain Ingibert, or Humbert Delfini, with five Venetian ships, who gave out that his mission was the relief of a regiment he had stationed for the protection of Our Saviour's tomb. Later, however, it appeared, that this was not his real object, but that, moved by the knightly spirit of adventure then prevalent, his somewhat extravagant idea was the conquest of the lesser countries of the then enfeebled Greeks and Turks. His main objective was, however, the island of Chios. The Venetians, too, had long had their eyes fixed upon this island, wishing to possess it, on account of its commercial value, and on account of their fear of its acquisition by the Genoese.^[1] The Genoese moreover both wanted the island, and revenge against the Emperor, for having assisted the Venetians in taking Tenedos. So the Republic, being now free from internal trouble, (binding itself to repay to each contributor of funds the amount of his contribution, together with interest, at some future date) gave Vignoso orders to go and secure the island.^[2] Delfini sailed away at the same time and meeting Vignoso off Euboea^[3] endeavoured to bribe him to take another direction with his fleet, offering him a present of 10,000 florins for himself, and 30,000 gold scudi for the owners of the ships, either in ready money, land or precious stones, Vignoso, scorning his offers, anchored off Chios on the 14th of June, 1346, and forthwith sent a messenger to the authorities of the island with the following message: "The Venetians are hatching treachery against Chios but, hindered by their treaties with the Greeks, have sent Delfini to conquer the island, concealing their perfidious and traitorous action under the agency of another. I have been sent by Genoa to protect and save the island, which the Emperor formerly granted to us, for our great and many services, from this outrage. I am ready to send and obtain the Empress's consent; be not afraid to let me land my forces in peace. But should you refuse I will destroy you with fire and sword." The commander of the fort, and the notables, directed the messenger to return to his master, and tell him that they wanted no assistance, but requested him to leave the island immediately, and that he had better make his charitable offers to people in need of charity, but not to the Greeks.^[4] This answer was worthy of the ancient heroes of Greece, but hardly judicious, having regard to the resources of Chios. Vignoso, enraged, landed his men the following day and, having erected his engines and undermined the walls, delivered his assault. But the Chians, fighting bravely, repulsed him with a loss of 500 men. After their failure here, the Genoese turned their attention to the interior of the island, and having, in four days, made themselves masters of the remaining four small forts, returned to the attack of the city; but, seeing that they could not take it by assault, they built up a wall higher than the city wall, and by means of rows of piles, driven in from the Church of St. Isidore, down to the mouth of the harbour, surrounded it with water. The Greeks, being closed in on all sides, were now no longer able to obtain food, and, seeing no prospect of relief, surrendered on the 13th of September, upon the following terms: -

- (a) That they should receive all the rights of Genoese citizenship.
- (b) Taxation, the appointment of officers, and the administration of the island, to be in the hands of the Republic.
- (c) The supreme authority to reside in the Emperor.^[5]

Vignoso, having left a sufficient garrison, sailed with fourteen ships to conquer Mitylene and Phocaea, but was, on account of the desertions of his disobedient and mutinous soldiery, obliged to return to Chios. The soldiery now commenced to pillage the properties of the Chians. Vignoso, anxious to suppress a spirit of lawlessness, so pregnant with danger in the case of a newly acquired country, made proclamation that, if any man were to steal but one grape berry, he should be flogged like a slave unable to control his passions. All, fearing the justice and severity of their leader, obeyed. Only Vignoso's son, in a spirit of childish opposition, not seeing why a Genoese should not be permitted to do, in Chios, that which would be permissible for a Chian to do in Genoa, cut a bunch of ripe grapes, and proceeded to walk about among the soldiery, picking and eating the berries.^[6] As soon as this came to the ears of his father, he at once, refusing to listen to the prayers of both Genoese and Greeks, ordered his son to be bound, and slowly marched through the town, receiving a stroke at each step. And a crier walked in front, calling out "This is the punishment of those who steal from a friendly people." Moreover, not satisfied with this mark of justice, and the vindication of the law in the person of his own son, he appointed 500 ducats to be applied, after his death, to provide dowries for poor Chian girls, by way of atonement for the robberies that had taken place. Having thus settled matters in the island, he sailed for Genoa, where on his arrival, in the beginning of November, he received a triumphant reception.

The news of the taking of Chios, by Vignoso, caused an insurrection in Byzantium. Anne of Savoy, who was ruling the Empire during the infancy of the Emperor John V, sent envoys to Genoa to demand the return of the island from the Senate, in accordance with the treaties and solemn engagements entered into with the Emperor of Byzantium. The Senate craftily replied that the Emperor was only demanding what was just, but that the island was not being held by the will, or wish of the Senate; that certain nobles had, of their own initiative and at their own expense, sent a fleet and taken the island; that they were unable to assert their authority immediately, except at great expense, and after much preparation, and that they would, in good time, undertake that the island should be returned to the Emperor. And to further reassure the Emperor, they sent to him, Jacob Herminius and Antaro Pineli as ambassadors. The Emperor, however, insisted upon a fixed date for the return of the island, or upon a recognition of his right to retake it by force without breach of treaty. After much wrangling the Emperor, actuated by the knowledge of his inability to accomplish anything by force, agreed to the following terms: -

- (1) The conquerors of the island to hold the city, receiving its revenue, but paying 20,000 florins a year to the Emperor. The Imperial standard to float over the city.
- (2) The consecration of the Archbishop to be vested in the Church in Constantinople. The Imperial House to be lauded in the churches on Saturdays as before, and the offering of prayers on their behalf by the priests, when officiating, to be freely permitted.
- (3) The remainder of the island, the forts and villages, and the Greeks living in the city, to be under the jurisdiction of the Emperor, who should send an eparch from Constantinople to represent him.
- (4) The whole island to be returned at the end of ten years.
- (5) Disputes between Greek and Greek to be tried by the Greek Archbishop. Differences between Greek and Latin, or Latin and Greek, to be entertained, and decided, by the two governors, acting conjointly.^[7]

These terms which, having regard to the position of the Emperor, were honourable enough, were openly opposed by Vignoso, and the other Genoese conquerors, instigated thereto by the Senate, which, though it publicly disavowed the expedition in order to deceive the Emperor, as it succeeded in doing, had secretly approved of it. Things being in this position, the imperial ambassadors still remaining on in Genoa, a certain Zyvos, the most powerful of the Chians, who had fled to Phocaea on the taking of their country, wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for having surrendered the city, and begging him not to abandon the island, but to send some small assistance to enable the island to be recovered. The Emperor commended him for his zeal, but ordered him to postpone action until the return of the ambassadors from Genoa, considering it disloyal to commence hostilities whilst his ambassadors were still negotiating for peace. But Zyvos, without waiting for assistance, having collected as many Greeks as he was able, sailed to Chios, and, having joined battle with the Genoese, defeated them, killing many and wounding their general, and shut them up in the town. It so happened, however, that at this moment, two Genoese ships, under the command of Andrea Petrili, were sailing past Chios on their way to Constantinople. Hearing of the siege of his compatriots by Zyvos, Petrili landed his forces, and went to their assistance. A second battle was fought, in which Zyvos, though again victorious, fighting bravely, but too recklessly, was struck by an arrow and killed. Upon this the Phocaens, who had accompanied him, returned to their country. Thus the Genoese remained masters of the island, and were now in a position to disregard the limitations sought to be imposed on their sovereignty by the Emperor.

But not many years had passed, when the Venetians, the implacable enemies of the Genoese, seeing that their rivals monopolised nearly the whole, of the commerce of the Euxine Sea, having Colonies in Chios, and in other places beyond Constantinople, decided to strike at them through their Colonies^[8] and sent Nicolas Pisani, with twenty ships, to besiege Chios. The Genoese, who, having now long been free from all internal trouble, were at this moment at the zenith of their power, sent Paganini Doria with sixty-four ships to attack the Venetian besiegers. In the battle that ensued, Pisani was so badly beaten that it was with difficulty that he reached the haven of Euboea. Before the winter was over, the Genoese, having fought a naval battle with the united Venetian and Catalan fleets, reinforced by ten Greek ships, completely defeated them with the loss of thirty-six ships. After this defeat of the Venetians, the Greeks, being unable to withstand so formidable a foe, were compelled to accept a most dishonouring treaty (May 6th, 1352), by virtue of which the conquerors acquired a monopoly of commerce, and for their colony in Pera the exclusive right of trading in the Euxine Sea.^[9]

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Carlo Varese, "Storia della Rep. di Genova," vol. II, pp. 54.

[2] Chalcocondylas, "Byz. Hist."

[3] Foglietta, "degli uomini chiari della Liguria" (Genova, 1579).

[4] C. Varese, "Storia della Repub. di Genova."

[5] Niceph. Gregor., p. 480. Cantacuz, p. 681. "Muratori, Annali d' Italia," vol. VIII, p. 192.

[6] Foglietta, "Delia Rep. di Genova," p. 23. Serra, "Storia della antica Liguria," vol. II, p. 307.

[7] Cantacuz, "Byz. Hist.," pp. 748-750

[8] At the same time, 1352, or a little earlier, a naval engagement took place between the Venetians and Genoese, in which the latter, out of fourteen ships loaded with merchandise, under the command of Nicolas Magneri, lost ten, the other four getting safely to Chios. The then Governor of Chios, Philippo Doria, in revenge, attacked and took Euboea, then owned by the Venetians. (Hist., "Const. Emp. Francs.")

[9] Cantacuz, p. 667. Rampoldi, "Annali Musul.," vol. X, p. 62, and note, p. 383. Sismondi, "Hist. des republ. italiennes du moyenage," vol. IV, pp. 318-320.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1352-1414.

Institution of the Maona-The Justinianis acquire the sovereignty of the island - Political system of the Justinianis - Barbarous methods of punishment - Conspiracy of the Chians against the Justinianis - Sovereignty of the Justinianis acknowledged by John Palaeologus - Fresh disturbances in Chios - Proselytism by Mahomedan Heresiarchs.

On the return of Vignoso, the owners of the ships applied to the Republic for a refund of the expenses of the expedition. The Republic not being in a position to meet these claims, the following arrangement was come to, that is to say: That the owners should be paid a sum of 300,004 scudi,^[1] at some time before the expiration of the next twenty-nine years, and that they should, if such payment be not punctually made, become entitled to the usufruct and administration of the island, subject however, to an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Republic, and an undertaking to observe the civic obligations implied by such relationship. This body of creditors received the name of "Maona," either from the Greek word "monos," "single," as designating several persons forming together one single body, or from the Genoese word "mona," signifying the conjunction of many, for the realisation of a purpose common to all.

The numerous families of which this Maona was composed, agreed to establish themselves into a single association, or firm, under the title of "Hostel of the Justinianis" (Albergo degli Justiniani).^[2] They were led to do so, by the nearness of the relationships subsisting between these families, and by common interest. Later, many other families, leaving their native country, came to the island, and were admitted into the Maona. In the meantime, the date fixed for payment by the Republic having lapsed, and the treasury being still depleted, the island was ceded to the creditors, in accordance with the terms of the compact.^[3] The Justinianis had, however, by this time, partly by purchase, partly by inheritance or other lawful means, obtained a monopoly of influence in the island. Such being the position of affairs, all the Justiniani families living in Genoa (with the exception of two, the Negri and Unggetti) about a hundred souls in all, transferred themselves to Chios. As they were very wealthy, and much appreciated the beautiful climate of the island, they built themselves luxurious mansions, both inside the town and out, and enriched the country with many factories, and other institutions of public benefit, (of these more detailed mention will be made later on). But, so that they should not become completely estranged from their mother country, they paid frequent visits to Genoa, and not only took part in its public affairs, but also concluded marriages with the resident nobility, and bought estates there, so that should they, at any time, be driven out of Chios, their descendants might find a home awaiting them.

The Maonenses first divided Chios into twelve nomarchies, and sent twelve nomarchs to govern them, who were called "Logariasts" (accountants) as it was their business to collect the revenues of these districts. But prompted, either by feelings of patriotism, or motives of political prudence, fearing to become estranged from Genoa, they always accepted the Governor (*Hypatos*) sent from Genoa to preside over the nomarchs. This recognition of her domination, more apparent than real, was gratifying to Genoa, inasmuch as it assured her a harbour in the Aegean to serve as a safe stepping-stone for her trade with the East. The Governor had wider powers than the twelve nomarchs, but might not decide weighty matters without consulting them. His authority lasted three years, and sometimes more, and he was often elected by vote from among the Justiniani family itself. The jurisdiction of the Twelve, in civil and criminal matters, was not subject to appeal, except in the case of great crimes, which had to be considered conjointly with the Governor. The nomarchs were changed every three months. Four of them met the Governor monthly in consultation, and it was only on very important occasions that the whole twelve attended the Council. Matters having still wider importance were decided by the vote of forty members of the Maona (called "*Quarantina*") elected for the purpose by lot. The nomarchs had local officers, called "*Despots*" in some places, "*Protogeronts*" in others. The people subject to their jurisdiction were called "*Paroeki*" (Feudal serfs). The police, public institutions, the protection of the harbour and the maintenance of public order, were confided to the Justinianis, who, now consisting of 120 families, were able to provide 300 men-at-arms for the defence of the island. The Court of Justice was in front of the fort, near the harbour, and was called "*Dikaiotato*" ("*most just*"). The prison for offenders in the country was called "*Sklavia*" ("*Slaveries*") and possibly the village owes its name to that fact. The laws were most harsh, and bore with special severity on the *Paroeki*, who were not only liable to unlimited forced labour at the hands of the Justinianis, but also had to provide three days' work in each year for their nomarch, besides one day's beating when the partridges were being hunted.^[4] None of them might leave the island without the express consent of the Justinianis, whose object it was, not only to know who left the island, but also to prevent its revenue from diminishing. A humorous reference to this is made by Hieronymus, in his description of the island.^[5] Many *Paroeki*, he says, when caught secretly trying to escape, sought to avoid the consequences, by denying that they were Chians; so the Judge, in order to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, used to order them to utter the word "*fragela*" (a kind of bread), but as the Chians were unable to pronounce it otherwise than "*frangela*," they stood detected. No citizen might sell an article of food, at a price higher than that fixed by the authorities, and woe unto anyone who dared to transgress. Their punishments, which were carried out at the so-called "*Pillar of Justice*" were most

barbarous; and hardly credible, were they not vouched for by the great encomiast of the Justinianis, Hieronymus^[6] (himself a Justiniani). They would drive a red-hot iron into the forehead of the victim, or cut off his nose, or, the commonest form of punishment, beat him unmercifully with a heavy whip. And if the man being so beaten should from his pain forget to count out loud the number of blows he was receiving, or make a mistake, he was beaten again, until he counted correctly, and for each blow that he had received he had further to pay a coin equivalent to ten denaria of the then Chian money.

Such a despotic system of Government could not but be repugnant to the Greeks; and although the Justinianis seemed to be willing to go some way towards Graecising themselves, using Greek words and giving Greek titles to their officials, they entirely failed in gaining the affection of the Greeks. These, accustomed to the greater freedom they had enjoyed under the emperors, could not reconcile themselves to this exclusion from public life, and to this novel system of government, and began seeking a means of escape from its tyranny. The Metropolitan of the Greeks, inviting the boldest, and most disaffected among them to the Church of St. George "*of the Cataract*" (afterwards called "*of the Betrayer*") formed a conspiracy to kill all the Justinianis, on Easter Sunday. As to whether the Metropolitan was induced to form the conspiracy out of feelings of patriotism, or whether it was the fear of being deprived of his see, and its revenue by the Latin Bishop (as suggested by Hieronymus),^[7] we are not in a position to decide. Whilst the preparations were being made for the day of action, some of the conspirators, becoming conscience-stricken, betrayed the plot to the Justinianis (according to an old tradition, however, it was divulged by a girl anxious to save the life of her Justiniani lover). The conspirators being arrested in the garden of the Church, were tried, convicted, and hanged from the city walls. The betrayers were rewarded with a portion of the property of the conspirators, and freed from liability to forced labour. The rest of the conspirators' property was confiscated. The Metropolitan, the prime mover in the conspiracy, was banished, and, to avoid future trouble, the Genoese refused to accept a successor, only consenting to receive a subordinate, called "*Dikaïos*" elected by themselves, and subsequently confirmed by the Patriarch in Constantinople. The confiscated property became the cause of great dissension among the Justinianis, as we shall hereafter see.

An unsuccessful conspiracy always strengthens the hands of those against whom it is directed. The Justinianis, seeing the desperate condition of the Empire, and that no one thought of troubling them, had for long considered it unnecessary to acknowledge its authority. When, however, some years later (during the reign of Manuel II), Byzantium being besieged, and in danger of being captured by the terrible Bayezid, was saved by Timour, the Genoese began to fear that the Emperor and his successors, becoming powerful again, might entertain the conquest of Chios. Being anxious to retain the island, and to be permitted to trade freely with all parts of the Empire, they sent to the Emperor, John V, three experienced negotiators, J. Olivari, P. Forneti, and P. Justiniani, to respectfully advocate their claim to the sovereignty of the island, and to ask for a renewal of friendly relations, they undertaking to provide all the assistance in their power towards the defence of the Empire. The Emperor, absorbed by pleasure, influenced rather by the fear of fresh trouble than by a feeling of gratitude towards the Genoese for the assistance they had given him in his struggle for the throne with Cantacuzene, gave them a golden bulla, by which he granted the island to them and their successors, upon an immediate payment of 350,000 *hyperpera*^[8] and a further yearly payment of 500 to his Protovestiarius. He also granted them the right to coin gold pieces (A.D. 1363). These rights were confirmed about fifty years later (A.D. 1412) by John's son and successor, Manuel II.

About thirty years later (A.D. 1391) fresh events came to disturb the peace of Chios. Bayezid (Ilderim, "thunderbolt") having ascended the throne, and conquered the Greeks in Asia, turned his eyes to the Aegean. Not satisfied with starving the islands of Lemnos, Lesbos and Chios, by forbidding the export of corn from Asia, he sent sixty ships and devastated all the villages of the last-mentioned island, only just then recovering from their destruction, eighty-four years before, by his own ancestors the Turks.^[9] A little later (in 1408) Genoa was itself taken by Charles VI, and the Viceroy Boucicault, on the establishment of French government in that place, sent a regiment to Chios for its protection. But the Justinianis and Borghese, wishing to rid themselves from the French yoke, rose, and with cries of "*Zeto St. George*," "*Zeto the People*," got possession of the fort and treasury, and began to rule themselves again.^[10] Hearing the news, Boucicault next year sent six ships against the Maonenses, under Conrad Doria. In the meantime he also imprisoned all the relatives in Genoa of those revolting in Chios. Doria arriving on 14th June, 1409, made himself master of the villages within four days, but the town armed itself, and prepared to resist. Realising, however, that the blood about to be shed would be that of fellow-countrymen, the Justinianis surrendered to Doria, who, having prudently settled affairs in the island, sailed away in triumph to Genoa.^[11] A little later the Genoese revolted, and drove the French from Genoa, and the Justinianis regained the sovereignty of the island. Almost at the same moment, during the reign of Mahomet I, there originated a remarkable religious movement amongst the Ottomans. A short account of this movement we consider necessary, as the Chians were drawn into it.

There flourished in 1413 a learned teacher of laws and great theologian, called *Bedredin Simanavoglu*. This man, being much honoured by Timour, came to Chios, on the invitation of the Governor, whom, as it had been shown to him in a dream, he succeeded in converting to Mohammedanism.^[12] He lived at Nicaea, but, in order to accomplish his ambitious designs, he left secretly, and finding a Turk, called *Perilitzia Mustapha*, selected him as his representative and apostle of his new teaching. These new heresiarchs were joined by a Jew, called *Kemalihoudbim*, who, accompanied by many dervishes, went about trying to make proselytes. The doctrines of this heresy were: equality - no private property - common ownership of all things, except women. But having as their object the conquest of all Asia and Europe, they

sought to draw the Greeks towards them by declaring all those irreligious, who should say, that the Christians neither knew nor worshipped the true God. Mustapha repeatedly sent apostles to the chief ecclesiastics of the island, hoping to gain followers amongst them. Two of these messengers, with bare feet, and wearing one only garment, presented themselves to a certain aged Cretan ascetic, who lived at the Monastery of Turloti, and said: "We are ascetics like thyself, we worship the same God as thou dost, and we come to thee by night, having crossed the sea without wetting our feet." The Cretan, believing them, began himself to think and talk in an insensate fashion; but so impressionable is human nature that he secured numerous followers, and became the cause of many disturbances in Chios. Fortunately the timely arrival of Murad, sent by his father Mahomed I, put a stop to the activity of these heresiarchs, and peace reigned again.^[13]

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Trans. Note. But according to Finlay "Hist. of Greece," vol. V, p. 71, and other writers, the sum was 203,000 Genoese livres, and the term, 20 years.

[2] These Justinianis were, according to some, the descendants of the Emperor Justinian. When Tiberius ascended the throne (A.D. 720) three brothers, called Angelino, Marco, and Petro Justiniani, were expelled by him, and fled, the first to Venice, the second to Genoa, and the third to Florence. The Justinianis in Venice multiplied, but as they all but one died of the plague in Chios (A.D. 1171), all having taken part in the expedition to Chios (Sabellicus, "Hist. Venet. decad."), the Pope Alexander, so that the family should not become extinct, gave the monk Nicolas Justiniani permission to marry. The conquerors of Chios were his descendants. Nothing further is known of the one who fled to Florence. (Hieronymus, "Hist. of Chios.")

[3] Trans. Note. For a more detailed description of the "Maona," the reader is referred to Findlay's "Hist. of Greece," vol. V, pp. 70-80.

[4] This was the manner of hunting the birds. The Paroeki were sent to surround a hill frequented by the partridges. They then shouted loudly, and the birds would fall to the ground in their fright.

[5] H. Justiniani, "Description de l'isle de Scio."

[6] *ibid.*

[7] H. Justiniani, "Description de l'isle de Scio."

[8] But the historian, Hieronymus, does not tell us whether these hyperpera were gold and silver ones. The silver ones were equal to about a half-franc of our time, and the gold were worth from eight to ten francs.

[9] Hammer, "Storia del Impero Osman," vol. II, p. 428.

[10] Uberto Foglietta, "Della Repub. di Genova." (Roma), p. 29.

[11] Uberto Foglietta, "Della Repub. di Genova." (Roma), p. 29.

[12] We follow the account given by Ducas.

[13] Ducas, "Byz. Hist." Rampoldi ("Annali Musulmani," vol. IX, p. 115), says that this heresy still survives, and that the re-appearance of Mustapha is still awaited.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1414-1453.

The Justinianis accorded many privileges by Mahomed I- The Venetians besiege Chios-Wealth of the Justinianis-Resources of the island-Coins of the Justinianis-Chian customs under the Justinianis.

THE Justinianis, noting the victorious career of the fierce Timour, hastened to send him ambassadors and presents, so that he should at least not be their enemy. To such a state had this fearless conqueror reduced the Turks, that if, on his return to Samarcand (due to lack of ships to proceed westward,^[1] and to reports of disturbances in that town), the Greeks had taken advantage of the desperate condition of the Turks, the Ottoman dynasty would certainly never, with its scattered forces, have been able to reconquer the countries it had lost. At this time, Mahomet I had ascended the throne. Fortunately for the Christians, he proved himself their loyal friend. He not only became, and remained, a faithful ally of their Emperor, Manuel II, but gave them many proofs of his kindly disposition. Thus, whilst staying in Smyrna, he was approached by the Christian Princes of the neighbouring islands and countries of Asia Minor. They came, attracted by the kindness of his disposition, with the hope of securing his friendship, and assistance against Djouneid, whose piratical depredations were now becoming intolerable to them. Mahomet received them with great friendliness, inviting them daily to sit at his table (according to the historian Ducas),^[2] and dismissed them with the assurance, that he wished to be both the friend and the father of all the Christians. Following their example, the Justinianis sent ambassadors, begging him to allow them to retain the sovereignty of the island, and to guarantee them immunity from Turkish attack, for all ships sailing to Chios for the purposes of trade. Mahomet was satisfied with the promise of a yearly tribute of 3000 ducats, and granted them the island, also liberty to trade with every part of his kingdom. Further, he agreed to Chios being a safe place of refuge for all, including his own enemies, and swore to assist the Maonenses against attack from any quarter, and declared that this treaty should be binding on his successors (A.D. 1414). But as

the Turks were never very scrupulous in the observance of the treaties made by themselves or their predecessors, the Justinianis always sought to be accommodating, even in the case of the most extravagant demands. Thus it was that Murad II, besieging the Porte which was being held against him by the rebel Djouneid (A.D. 1424), finding he would not be able to reduce it without naval help, sent orders to the Eparch of New Phocaea, Percibalo Palavicini, to undertake the siege from the sea. The Justinianis not only obeyed, sending three large ships from Chios for the siege, but, on the defeat of Djouneid, sent ambassadors to Murad to thank him - for what? - for having sent ships at their own expense, and against their wish!^[3]

Seven years later, in 1431,^[4] the Venetians, elated by their victories over the Genoese, decided to inflict still greater injuries upon their enemies, by attacking their possessions in the Aegean, where they well knew that the islands were but weakly fortified. They fitted out twenty-eight ships, large and small, with incredible rapidity, and giving out that they were sailing elsewhere, proceeded to Chios. They arrived there in November, with only 700 soldiers. Scaramouchia Pabesi was their general, and Andrea Mocenigo High Admiral. Being taken by surprise, the Maonenses elected as their general Rafaello, the son of Leonardo Montaldo, only at the very moment that the Venetians were landing their forces, and considering the best point for attack. The new general lost no time in garrisoning the towers, and providing men and weapons for the defence of the walls. The third day after landing, the Venetians levelled a portion of the wall by means of various projectiles, and the opposed forces found themselves exchanging arrows and other missiles in the open. Darkness put an end to the combat, victory being still in the scale. One night, however, some small vessels of the Venetians, having entered the harbour unperceived, so alarmed the guards of the two towers at the harbour mouth, and the crews of two large ships, loaded with merchandise, that happened to be inside the harbour, that both guards and crew, the latter after blowing up their ships with gunpowder, took refuge inside the walls. This addition to their number gave encouragement to the Chians. But the Venetians, capturing the two towers, and getting command of the harbour, now approached the town from the sea, whilst still threatening attack from the land side, to divert the attention of the Justinianis. In order the better to attack the town, the Venetians rigged up platforms on their ships, higher than the city walls, and from these discharged such a shower of missiles on to the defenders, that it made it impossible for them to prevent climbing ladders being placed against the wall. The brave Montaldo, seeing the immediate danger, directed the gates to be opened, and commanded his men to take the Venetians in the rear, and cut down the ladders. His orders were carried out successfully, but Scaramouchia, not losing hope, ordered his men to undermine the walls, in order to further harass the defenders. Whilst superintending these operations, he fell mortally wounded.^[5] The Venetians, not losing confidence, continued the siege with persistence, and would have succeeded, had not a certain noble-minded youth, named Damiano Gryllo, hearing in Constantinople of what was happening in Chios, armed some small vessels, with about seventy young men, and come to the help of Chios, sailing in right through the Venetian fleet. This event much raised the spirits of the besieged, who, becoming bolder, made daily sorties against the Venetians, until the latter, giving up all hope of reducing the town, sailed away on the 14th of January, leaving two large ships, and a great number of wounded, in Rhodes.^[6] In this instance the Genoese did not remain passive spectators, but sent five ships to the assistance of the island; but, although these made all haste to reach the island, they did not succeed in arriving there until the 25th of March, by which time the Venetians had already departed.

A little later, after things had settled, the Justinianis rebuilt the walls at a cost of 400,000 scudi, having previously agreed with the Republic, that should it, or any other State, at any time, take over the island, Genoa should be bound to repay them, not only the original 300,004 scudi contributed in 1346 for the conquest of Chios, but also the cost of repairing and rebuilding the walls: that is to say, 700,004 scudi in all. They also placed their coat of arms on the fort, and on many other parts of the town, several of which may be seen there to this day. They surrounded the harbour, in 1440, with walls, and in order to prevent its being choked up by the dirt washed down by the Kaloplytus, and the other torrents that ran out into the sea, dug a deep tank to intercept it. They built towers on all the hills along the coast, where watchers, by lighting fires, should warn the city of the approach of ships. They raised redoubtable walls,^[7] on high and precipitous rocks near some of the villages, and towers in others, to protect the inhabitants from piratical attacks.^[8] They erected fine marble palaces, and magnificent churches,^[9] founded monasteries, schools, a shipyard, a paper factory, built splendid aqueducts,^[10] provided hospitals and houses for lepers, and formed a fleet of their own, consisting of thirty ships. Such expenditure could only be met by rich men, and those possessed of great revenues. That the Justinianis were, owing to the greatness of the commerce of the island, enormously wealthy, is testified to by Chalcocondylas, who speaks of it with wonder, and attributes it to the enormous concourse of merchants. And in fact, merchants finding in Chios a population of 100,000 inhabitants, and a spot both safe, and convenient for the transfer of their wares to Asia Minor, congregated there, from all parts of the world, even before the times of the Justinianis,^[11] and the accumulation of merchandise there was so great that Chios had become almost the sole place for trading in those parts.^[12] Goods were landed on a bridge of planks, resting on marble supports, purposely placed close to the harbour gate of the fort, on account of

its nearness to the Custom House. One may judge of the wealth of the Chian merchants, even at that time, from the following incident. When the French and Hungarian armies were defeated by Bayezid I. near Nicopolis (1396), many notable generals, as well as their Commander-in-chief Boucicault, were taken prisoners. The King of France, Charles VI., in order to propitiate the Sultan, sent him many valuable gifts, and promised him 200,000 ducats as ransom for the prisoners. But Bayezid, not trusting the king's word, was only satisfied when, through the intervention of a banker in Paris, the king had obtained the consent of a Chian merchant, Bartholomew Pelegrini,^[13] residing in the island, to stand security.

FOOTNOTES:

[1] Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 36.

[2] Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 58.

[3] Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 108.

[4] But both Hieronymus ("Hist. de Scio," book XI, chap. I) and the Genoese manuscript (kindly lent me by Leonardo Justiniani, a descendant of the Chian Justinianis), entitled "istoria della nobile Famiglia Giustiniani di Genova," which appears to have been written about 1700, as the writer says he was present in Chios when it was taken by the Venetians in 1694, place this siege of Chios in the year 1416.

[5] Hieronymus, in his "History of Chios," says: "Whilst the fortress was being besieged, the Venetian general, in order to mock the Justinianis, sat down to be shaved opposite the main gate of the town. The besieged, in order to avenge this insult, killed him with an arrow on the day of St. Antonio. The Justinianis, in commemoration of the event, used to present the church of that Saint, every year, with a red velvet flag with a cross, which the Governor and nomarchs carried there, in great state, on the point of an arrow."

[6] Foglietta, "degli uomini chiari della Liguria," p. 56. "Repubblica di Genova," of the same author, p. 34.

[7] These were at Volisso, and Harmolia. Only the ruins now remain, 1839.

[8] The largest of these are in the villages of Siderounta, Pyrgi, and Nenita.

[9] The finest of these were: St. Dominico, inside the fort, St. Francisco, Madonna di nostra Donna, and St. Antonio.

[10] These aqueducts still exist, and one of them is even now in use.

[11] Cantacuz, "Byz. Hist.," p. 239.

[12] Sabellicus, "Hist. Venet. decad.," III, liber IX, p. 561.

[13] Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. V., p. 283. Daru, "Hist. Rep. de Venise," vol. II, p. 108.