

HISTORY OF CHIOS





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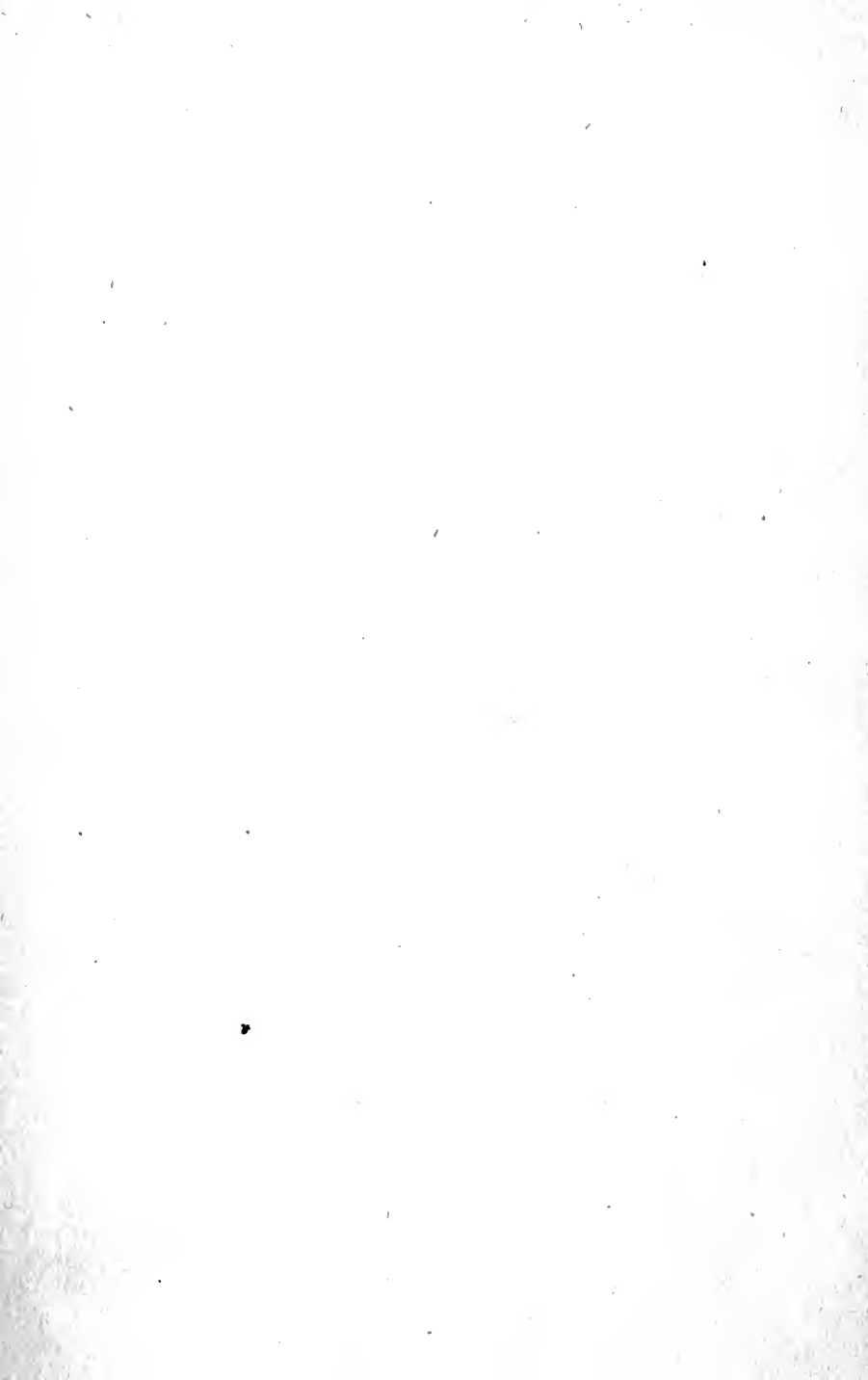
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A HISTORY OF THE ISLAND OF CHIOS

A.D. 70-1822



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"

LONDON

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.

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.

A. P. RALLI.

London, 1913.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 70-1171.

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| 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 | 1 |

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 | 11 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1329-1352.

| | |
|--|----|
| 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. Zyvos fails in his expedition to Chios. The Island is besieged by the Venetian Pisani (1352) | 20 |
|--|----|

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 Palæologus—Fresh disturbances in Chios—Proselytism by Mahomedan Heresiarchs | 27 |
|---|----|

| CHAPTER V. | |
|---|------|
| A.D. 1414-1453. | |
| | PAGE |
| The Justinianis accorded many privileges by Mahomet I—The Venetians besiege Chios—Wealth of the Justinianis—Resources of the Island—Coins of the Justinianis—Chian customs under the Justinianis. | 36 |
| CHAPTER VI. | |
| A.D. 1453-1477. | |
| Fall of Constantinople—The Chians send assistance—The Justinianis submit to the Sultan—The Turkish fleet at Chios—Mahomet declares war against the Chians—The Justinianis ask the Pope for help—The Papal fleet fails in rousing the Chians to revolt—The Justinianis helped by Genoa | 48 |
| CHAPTER VII. | |
| A.D. 1477-1566. | |
| Position of Europe—Chios taken by Piali Pasha—Condition of the Justinianis after the capture of Chios—Martyrdom of the eighteen Latin children | 55 |
| CHAPTER VIII. | |
| Eminent men of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries | 63 |
| CHAPTER IX. | |
| A.D. 1566-1657. | |
| The Florentines attack Chios—Privileges enjoyed by the Chians under the Turks—Eminent orthodox Chians (1500-1680) | 66 |
| CHAPTER X. | |
| A.D. 1657-1694. | |
| Relations between the Greeks and Latins in Chios—Ecclesiastical position—Disputes between the Greeks and Latins as to possession of churches | 73 |
| CHAPTER XI. | |
| A.D. 1694-1695. | |
| The Venetians attack Chios—Having conquered the Island, they oppress the Greeks—They are driven out of the Island by the Turks. | 84 |
| CHAPTER XII. | |
| A.D. 1695-1821. | |
| Eminent Scholars and Divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries | 93 |

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1695-1821.

PAGE

| | |
|---|----|
| Prosperity and character of the Chians—Schools, Libraries, Hospitals, Public Health, Lepers, Illegitimates, Prisoners (1700-1820) | 96 |
|---|----|

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1695-1821.

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Great Public School—The Public Library—The Hospital—Plague Hospital—Precautions against the Plague—Home for Lepers—Foundlings—Prisoners | 102 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1695-1821.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Clergy—Churches—The Three Brotherhoods—Monasteries N ea Mon —Turkish Authorities—The Demogeronts | 114 |
|--|-----|

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1695-1821.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Commercial Court—Maritime Court—Notaries Public—Arbitrators—Administration of Villages, and of the Mastic District—Law of Inheritance—Intestacy—Childless Marriages—Dowries—Mortgages—Betrothals—Leases of Land—Trustees—Wills—Contracts of Sale and Purchase—Capitation Tax—Death Dues—Wine and Spirit Tax—Salaries—Assessment for Taxation—Rural Taxation—Customs Dues—Industries | 128 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVII.

| | |
|---|-----|
| Concerning the Women of Chios | 140 |
|---|-----|

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1821-1822.

| | |
|---|-----|
| The Greek War of Independence—Tombazi arrives in Chios—Fears of the Turks—They take Hostages into the Fort—Outrages by Turkish Irregulars—The Samians come to attack the Island—Lycurgus arrives in Chios—Behaviour of the Samians—Lycurgus usurps the Government—Anarchy in Chios—Arrival of the Turkish Fleet—General Massacre by the Turks | 144 |
|---|-----|

ERRATA.

| | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|
| Page | 4, note 5 | <i>for Zonoras</i> | <i>read Zonaras.</i> |
| | „ 20, heading of chapter | „ 1346 | „ 1329. |
| | „ 43, line 13 from top | „ Lazurus | „ Lazarus. |
| | „ 49, „ 22 „ „ | „ Bosphorous | „ Bosphorus. |
| | „ 74, „ 3 from bottom | „ Georgian | „ Gregorian. |
| | „ 83, „ 7 of note | <i>after Catholics</i> | „ of Chios. |
| | „ 143, „ 13 from top | „ leur | „ a. |

XIAKA.

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 Præfect, 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

¹ Pausanias, I, 18.

of their masters, but served to intensify the despotism of their domination. Wherever a Roman Præfect, 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;¹ that towards the end of

¹ 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).

the fourth century (A.D. 360), there flourished a certain Chian doctor called Æschines, 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.¹ 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 Œcumenical Council of the

¹ Eunapius, "Lives of Philosophers," etc., vol. I, p. 76 (edn. Boissonade).

three hundred and eighteen Theophori Fathers held at Nicæa.¹ 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?² Was it molested by the Arabs when they conquered Rhodes and all the Cyclades islands³ in 653? Did Robert Guiscard, when making war on the Emperor Alexius Comnenos, ravage the islands of the Ægean Sea?—are all questions to which we cannot reply.⁴

The mediæval 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,⁵ a Turkish adventurer, having collected 40 ships manned with expert sailors, had made himself master of Phocæa, Clazomenæ, 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.

¹ Caccini, "Storia Eccles. del primo Concilio Niceno," 1637, 4to, p. 154.

² Agathias, "Hist.," p. 297 (edn. Niebuhr).

³ Rampoldi, "Annali Musulmani."

⁴ Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire."

⁵ Zonaras calls him "Zachates," and Glycas "Tsachatsan."

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,¹ retreated behind their fortifications.

¹ Anna Comnena, to whom we are indebted for this account of Tzachas' expedition, is always anxious to attribute the reverses of the

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 pretexts, 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 Ægean, 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.¹ These victories filled them with unbridled arrogance and insolence. Although strangers

¹ Michaud, “ Hist. des Croisades,” vol. II, p. 80, and vol. III, p. 101.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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,⁴ and induced them to enter into an alliance with him against Roger King of Sicily. After they had

¹ For a description of the character of the Venetians see Cinamos, "Byz. Hist.," p. 164.

² Cinnamos, "Byz. Hist.-Sabellicus, hist. Venet. decad. Daru, hist. de la répub. de Venise," vol. I, p. 104.

³ M. Giustiniani, "Scio Sacra," p. 195.

⁴ Heeren, "Essai sur l'influence des Croisades," p. 335.

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 Niketas¹ 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.

¹ Choniates, "Byz. Hist.," p. 112.

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.¹ 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).

¹ 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

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

² Sismondi, "hist. des répub. ital. du moyen-âge."

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 authors¹ and in the works of the late renowned historian Michaud.² We may here

¹ Geo. Acropol., "Byz. Hist.," Niketas, "Byz. Hist."

² Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. III, pp. 187, 239, 257, 351.

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 Thermopylæ to the Promontory of Sunium, and the larger islands of the Ægean Sea.¹ 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 Ægean Sea, to constitute himself Ruler of the same. In this way Marino Dandolo got possession of Andros, Peter Justiniani of Chios,² 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.

¹ Villeharduin, "Hist., etc., Constantinople," p. 5.

² "Annali Musulmani di Rampoldi," vol. VIII, p. 505, note 38; but compare Daru, "Hist. de la Répub. de Venise," vol. I, p. 313.

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 Ægean.¹ It was only his death that postponed the complete destruction of the Latin power to the moment when Michael Palæologue, 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 Ægean 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,² 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

¹ Nicephor. Gregor., "Byz. Hist." vol. I, p. 16.

² Serra, "Storia della Antica Liguria," vol. II, pp. 117-129.

island was to be delivered up to the Emperor.¹ It was during the rule of Zaccaria that Chios was subjected to two piratical expeditions, the first, in 1302, of Catalans; ² 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.³ 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.⁴

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

¹ Cantacuzene, "Byz. Hist." book II, p. 227.

² Pachymeri, "Hist. Andronicus," vol. II, pp. 302-365.

³ Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist." p. 24 (Paris edn.)

⁴ Pachym., "Hist. Andronicus."

on which they were to quit the island, a certain Kalo-thetos, 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,¹ 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.²

As soon as the fleet was ready—the preparation of

¹ Niceph. Gregor., "Byz. Hist." p. 269.

² Cantacuzene, "Byz. Hist." pp. 227-239.

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,¹ 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,

¹ 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.")

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.

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. Zyvov 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 Euboea³ 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,

¹ Carlo Varese, "Storia della Rep. di Genova," vol. II, pp. 54, 250.

² Chalcocondylas, "Byz. Hist."

³ Foglietta, "degli uomini chiari della Liguria" (Genova, 1579), p. 23.

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.¹ 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.²

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

¹ C. Varese, "Storia della Repub. di Genova."

² Niceph. Gregor., p. 480. Cantacuz, p. 681. "Muratori, Annali d'Italia," vol. VIII, p. 192.

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.¹ 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

¹ Foglietta, "Della Rep. di Genova," p. 23. Serra, "Storia della antica Liguria," vol. II, p. 307.

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.¹

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

¹ Cantacuz, "Byz. Hist.," pp. 748-750.

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 Colonies¹ 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.²

¹ 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, Filippo Doria, in revenge, attacked and took Euboea, then owned by the Venetians. (Hist., "Const. Emp. Francs.")

² Cantacuz, p. 667. Rampoldi, "Annali Musul.," vol. X, p. 62, and note, p. 383. Sismondi, "Hist. des républ. italiennes du moyen-âge," 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 Palæologus—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

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.

composed, agreed to establish themselves into a single association, or firm, under the title of "*Hostel of the Justinianis*" (*Albergo degli Justiniani*).¹ 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.² 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 Unghetti) 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

¹ 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.")

² 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.

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 Ægean 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.¹ 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.² 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, Hieronymus³ (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,

¹ 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.

² H. Justiniani, "Description de l'isle de Scio."

³ Ibid.

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 Græcising 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),¹ 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

¹ H. Justiniani, "Description de l'isle de Scio."

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 "*Dikaios*" 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*¹

¹ But the historian, Hieronymus, does not tell us whether these

and a further yearly payment of 500 to his Protovestiarus. 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 Ægean. 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.¹ 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.² 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

hyperpera were gold or 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.

¹ Hammer, "*Storia del Impero Osman,*" vol. II, p. 428.

² Uberto Foglietta, "*Della Repub. di Genova.*" (Roma), p. 29.

in triumph to Genoa.¹ 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.² 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 *Kemalihoubim*, 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

¹ Uberto Foglietta, "Della Repub. di Genova." (Roma), p. 29.

² We follow the account given by Ducas.

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.¹

¹ 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

¹ Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 36.

them. Mahomet received them with great friendliness, inviting them daily to sit at his table (according to the historian Ducas),¹ 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 Phocæa, 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!²

Seven years later, in 1431,³ the Venetians, elated by

¹ Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 58.

² Michael Ducas, "Byz. Hist.," p. 108.

³ But both Hieronymus ("Hist. de Scio," book XI, chap. 1) and the Genoese manuscript (kindly lent me by Leonardo Justiniani, a

their victories over the Genoese, decided to inflict still greater injuries upon their enemies, by attacking their possessions in the Ægean, 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 Rafaelo, 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,

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.

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.¹ 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.² In this instance

¹ 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."

² Foglietta, "degli uomini chiari della Liguria," p. 56. "Repubblica di Genova," of the same author, p. 34.

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,¹ on high and precipitous rocks near some of the villages, and towers in others, to protect the inhabitants from piratical attacks.² They erected fine marble palaces, and magnificent churches,³ founded monasteries, schools, a shipyard, a paper factory, built splendid aqueducts,⁴ provided hospitals and houses for lepers, and

¹ These were at Volisso, and Harmolia. Only the ruins now remain, 1839.

² The largest of these are in the villages of Siderounta, Pyrgi, and Nérita.

³ The finest of these were: St. Dominico, inside the fort, St. Francisco, Madonna di nostra Donna, and St. Antonio.

⁴ These aqueducts still exist, and one of them is even now in use.

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,¹ and the accumulation of merchandise there was so great that Chios had become almost the sole place for trading in those parts.² 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,³ residing in the island, to stand security.

In order that the reader may form some idea of the economic position of the island, we set out here a rough

¹ Cantacuz, "Byz. Hist.," p. 239.

² Sabellicus, "Hist. Venet. decad.," III, liber IX, p. 561.

³ Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. V., p. 283. Daru, "Hist. Rép. de Venise," vol. II, p. 108.

summary of its yearly receipts, and outgoings, as given by Hieronymus.

| RECEIPTS. | GOLDEN DUCATS. |
|---|---|
| Collected from the people by the twelve Nomarchs, and the Governor, 2,000 golden ducats each | 26,000 |
| Three hundred cases of gum mastic (of 320 lbs. each) at 100 ducats the case ¹ ... | 30,000 |
| From the Customs | 30,000 |
| | <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <u>86,000</u> |

The receipts from Customs alone, had at one time (before the increase of the Turkish power) reached the annual sum of 300,000 golden ducats !

| OUTGOINGS. | GOLDEN DUCATS. |
|---|---|
| Paid to the Governor and Nomarchs ... | 26,000 |
| Capitation Tax paid to the Sultan (towards the end of the Genoese occupation) ... | 14,000 |
| Payment of interest on War Loans, and on cost of rebuilding walls | 20,000 |
| Yearly cost of presents to the Sultan, his Pashas, the High Admiral (whenever he anchored off Chios) and expenses of Ambassadors, salaries of Public Officials | 60,000 |
| | <hr style="width: 100%; border: 0.5px solid black;"/> <u>60,000</u> |

The surplus of receipts over outgoings was shared by the Maonenses, in the proportion of the contributions made by them for the conquest of the island in 1346.

¹ The Maonenses, when there was a superabundance of mastic, preferred to burn it rather than allow the price to fall. "Lettere memorabili di M. Giustiniani" (Roma, 1517, vol. I, p. 15). (Lettera sul Mastiche).

Before the occupation of Chios by the Justinianis, the coins in use were, of course, those of the Byzantine Empire, but when the Maonenses had taken possession, they struck coins of gold, silver and bronze. On one side of the coin was a cross, and round it the following letters in Latin : CONRADUS REX ROMANORUM.¹ On the reverse were the arms of the Justinianis (which they had received from Sigismund, Emperor of Hungary, for services rendered) ; that is to say, a fortress of three towers, surmounted by a large black eagle with outspread wings, crowned with a diadem ; and round it were the words CIVITAS CHII, and the initials of the for the time being Governor, *e.g.*, L. I. (Lazurus Justiniani), V. I. (Vincentio Justiniani) and the date of its striking. According to Thevetus,² the Chians, prior to the time of the Justinianis, had another coin. On one side of it was the upper half of a dragon's body and the head of a beautiful girl, lettered round MONETA MACRI CHIO ; on the other a finely-executed portrait of Draco, the husband of Eumorphia,³ daughter of Sclerion. The Justinianis also struck Venetian ducats, because these commanded a premium on account of the purity of their gold, and because scudi, not being current in those parts, all

¹ Serra "Storia della Liguria," p. 331.

² Hiero. Justin., "Description de Scio," p. 122.

³ This Eumorphia was the famous "*Kori*" (girl) from whom the bridge of Kori, which forms one of the spans of the aqueduct, as also the tower of Kori, near the Varvasi river, derive their name. This is the story of Eumorphia told us by Hieronymus, which, though possibly based upon some forgotten tradition, we consider to be only a myth. We have arrived at this conclusion partly because of the oddity of the incidents and names, partly because Hieronymus does not mention the source from which he derives his story, and lastly because no other author mentions it. A hundred years (he says) before the Trojan War, Sclerion, King of Chios, wished to consult the oracle of Delphi, to know what the end of his life would be ; but as he was afraid that his daughter (who was very young and very beautiful, and had as suitors Draco, King of Armenia, Agapetus, Tyrant of Doris, and Anastension, Prince of Tarsus, might get carried off), he shut her up in a tower and placed a guard to keep watch over her

accounts had to be liquidated by conversion into Venetian ducats. A large profit was made by the Chian mint in this way.

There existed, in the time of the Justinianis, many customs in Chios, of which we proceed to give a description, not only on account of their peculiarity, but to enable the reader to realise the state of slavery in which the Greeks, both laity and clergy, were then living. Further, because they serve as illustrations of an ever-existent strain of eccentricity in the character of the Chians, and because many of them survive, in their ancient form, even down to the present day.

On the great holidays of the year, New Year's Day, Easter Sunday, Christmas and Epiphany, the palace of the governor was decorated with branches of myrtle and orange. The houses of the Greeks, both of the clergy and laity, were similarly decorated, and as a mark of respect to the Justinianis they also hung out from their houses the arms of Genoa and of the Maona. The Governor, attended by the twelve nomarchs, then proceeded from the palace to the church in great pomp, followed by all the officials, preceded by a rod-bearer. After vespers they returned to the palace, and went out

until his return. Draco marching against Chios, sent ambassadors to Sclerion asking for the hand of his daughter Eumorphia. But her father, fearing the enmity of the other suitors, answered that he intended going to ask the opinion of the Oracle, and begged Draco to await his return. Then Draco brought his army, and sat down by the town, as the inhabitants were in his favour. But the other two suitors also brought their armies to attack Draco. The Chians, fearing the destruction of their town, sent messengers to the King, and begged him to set his daughter free from the tower, and let her marry the suitor of his preference. Sclerion told them to recognise Eumorphia as their Queen, and to marry her to one of the suitors. In this way she was married to Draco, who became King of Chios. Sclerion shut himself up in the Temple of Apollo, there to spend the rest of his life, and died there. Hieronymus adds, that Alexander the Great, coming to Chios, visited the tomb of Sclerion in the Temple of Apollo, and begged the Priest to present him with the arms of Sclerion, and these were given to him !

on to the top of a lofty, carpet hung tower, that all the people might see them. In front of this tower was the market square, in which were gathered, besides a great crowd of other people, all the members of the Greek clergy, consisting of seventy ecclesiastics, headed by the chief officer of the palace carrying a sceptre, with the arms of the Justinianis. When all had taken their places, the public herald, ascending a high stone-built erection (behind which were drums and trumpets) made the following proclamation or invocation :—

“ In the name of Christ, of the Holy Trinity ” (here there was a roll of drums) “ and of our most glorious Lady ” (drums again) “ and of the Holy Martyr St. John the Baptist ” (here the trumpets were blown) “ may there be granted long life, honour and glory unto our most blessed Pope ” (naming him) (drums again). The Greek clergy here cried out, “ *May his years be many.* ” The herald then continued : “ And unto our ever victorious Emperor ” (of the Ottomans), and the Greek clergy repeated the words, “ *May his years be many,* ” the herald urging them to call out louder by saying : “ *Loudly, ye priests !* ” “ And unto our most Serene Republic of Genoa ” (again cries from the clergy) “ and unto our most noble and illustrious family of Justinianis, may God confirm and preserve them. ” And then, not only the clergy, but all the people, to the ringing of bells and the boom of cannons, cried out : “ *May their years be many !* ” Meanwhile the herald, raising his sceptre again, called out : “ *Loudly, ye priests !* ”, and exhorted them to “ Praise God, love their princes, and remember them in their prayers. ” They then lowered the flag, with the red cross of St. George, which had been flying from the high tower, and carried it to another tower near the palace of the arsenal.¹ After this the authorities returned to the

¹ It was the duty of the Jews to make a new flag every year, at

palace, accompanied by large crowds of hurrying people. The butchers (who were under this obligation)¹ then appeared, dragging along the trunk of a large tree and four fierce bulls. The tree trunk was laid down in front of the palace windows, but the bulls were let loose, spreading alarm and consternation amongst the crowd, who made their escape as best they could. At a given signal the trunk was set fire to, and to the sound of the guns of the fort, and of the ships in the harbour, four of the nomarchs and the Governor, each of them from the window, threw a phial on to the blazing wood. These phials, pursuant to some allegorical religious custom, the fishermen standing round the blazing log tried to catch in their nets. After this ceremony a laudatory prayer, appropriate to the day, was recited aloud, and the Twelve, accompanied by the Palace Guards, returned to their homes, and rewarded the latter (if it happened to be Christmas Day) with what were called "*Christmassings*." All that night it was the custom for friends and relations to visit each other's houses, and to serenade them with drums and singing. The following day the Twelve again accompanied the Governor to church, but returned to dine, each to his own house, as it was thought unlucky to dine out that day. After dinner they again escorted the Governor to vespers, and, later, again proceeded to the square in front of the palace. Thither, slowly walking to the sound of trumpets, came the Greek clergy and

their own expense, and to fix it up on the eve of Christmas Day. They were also compelled to wear yellow hats, until the conquest of Chios by the Turks, when they were freed from this indignity. But the Jews were always looked upon as repugnant beings (as is still the case) by the people. So great was the hatred for them that the Justinianis had forbidden them to leave their houses from Thursday in Holy Week until after Easter Sunday to prevent their being torn to pieces by the mob, anxious in this way to avenge the Crucifixion of Our Saviour! Well might one say, "The fathers' have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

¹ It was also the duty of the butchers to present the authorities with calves on the great Holy Days.

notable Greeks.¹ The former, bare-headed and on bended knee before the nomarchs, called out : "*Many years to you, O masters!*" but the latter, on account of their services to the country, were exempt from this humiliating form of salutation, as well as free from all liability to forced labour. The Jews were also compelled to come forward and bow their heads ; but fearing ill-usage at the hands of the young men, who pelted them with lemons, tried to shelter themselves as much as possible by slipping in and mingling with the Greeks. The three keys of the "*Casa delle Sorti*," "House of Lots" (the building in which the election of the ambassadors for Constantinople took place by lot) were then carried in procession. Of these keys, one was kept by the chancellor, another by the Latin bishop, and the third by the priests of that church. It was also the custom, on the 1st of May, to hang myrtle branches and various kinds of flowers from the windows, and to burn them in a big bonfire on the eve of St. John the Baptist.

The Chians were always fond of music and dancing, and used from the oldest times to gather together on the banks of the stream *Skaramangou* by the Palaeokastron, and divert themselves decently and innocently. With regard to the customs of the Chians of the present day we will speak elsewhere.

¹ H. Justiniani, "Description de l'isle de Chios," book VI, pp. 71-77. "Après eux suivoient les gentilshommes grecs, lesquels pour leur mérite avoient ce privilège de ne se trouver en ceste cérémonie, ny ne point rendre d'hommage."

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1453—1477.

Fall of Constantinople—The Chians send assistance—The Justinianis submit to the Sultan—The Turkish fleet at Chios—Mahomet declares war against the Chians—The Justinianis ask the Pope for help—The Papal fleet fails in rousing the Chians to revolt—The Justinianis helped by Genoa.

ALREADY was the Byzantine Empire rapidly nearing the brink of annihilation. The city of the great Constantine was in daily danger of falling into the hands of the terrible Mahomet. In vain did the Emperor Constantine XI, from his tottering throne, send ambassadors to the Sultan asking for a renewal of ancient friendship; in vain did he implore the Western Monarchs to come and save him, even promising them the submission of the orthodox church to the Pope.¹ Their own political differences, their great religious hatred for the Greeks, and the overwhelming power of Mahomet, had one and all served to tie their hands, and blunt their perception. At this critical moment, only the Latins and Greeks of Chios hurried to the assistance of Byzantium, although indeed not at their own expense. By their daring, they succeeded in accomplishing a feat, far above the flight of poetic fancy, indeed, incredible were it not vouched for

¹ The year before the fall of Constantinople, there had arrived in Chios the Cardinal Isidore Rutheni, sent by the Pope Nicholas V to try and effect the union of the two churches. He was well received by the Maonenses, and took with him Leonardo the Chian and about fifty Western Chians ("Sacra Scio," p. 46.)

by history. Whilst the Turks were besieging Constantinople, the Chians, then under the governorship of Maurice Cataneo, loaded up four—according to Gibbon five—ships, that had already been chartered by the Emperor, with flour, corn, oil, and wine, and further embarked a number of most excellent soldiers and sailors. A strong north wind held them up in the harbour of Chios for a considerable time. The wind having come round, they sailed through the Hellespont into the Propontis, but found there, three hundred Turkish ships blocking their further progress. The Christians, notwithstanding, sailed on like eagles on the wing, whilst the shores of Asia and Europe, and the walls of Byzantium, were covered with spectators awaiting to see the result. Twice they repulsed the barbarians, killing countless numbers. Mahomet on horseback exhorted his soldiers, alternately shouting promises and threats, straining with excitement as he followed the movements of the combatants, even spurring his horse into the water, as though to threaten the wild sea itself! But all in vain! Twelve thousand Turkish corpses (if Franzi is to be believed) floated on the waves of the Bosphorous, the Ottoman line of ships was broken, the iron chain was lowered, and the Chian ships, safely and triumphantly, sailed up the Golden Horn.¹

But this assistance was too small to avert that sorrowful day, the 29th of May 1453, which witnessed, not only the conversion of the capital into an arena for the display of the bestial fury of the conquering Turk, but also the end of the Byzantine Empire. So terrified were the Justinianis on hearing of the fall of Constantinople that, fearing to lose the sovereignty of the island, they sent ambassadors to Mahomet, who, in consideration of a

¹ Ducas, "Byz. Hist." Sabellicus, "Venet. decad." Gibbon, "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." Serra, "Storia della Liguria."

yearly tribute of 6,000 ducats, consented to leave them in the enjoyment of their former privileges.¹ Owing to the favour shown to the Justinianis, some of the other islands in the vicinity, Samos, Psara,² Icaria, were left untouched. But as their inhabitants were exposed to almost daily incursions of pirates, the Justinianis persuaded them to leave their homes, and come and live in Chios. Thus it was that these islands became deserted. But the peace of Chios did not last long, owing to the action of the Rhodians. These had sent ambassadors and rich gifts to Mahomet, then living in Adrianople, seeking to make a treaty with him. But as Mahomet required them to pay tribute, as was done by Chios, Lesbos, and the other islands, they refused, alleging that the Pope had not only ordered them to refuse to pay tribute to strangers in religion, but even to their co-religionist Christians. Enraged, Mahomet declared war against them and, having prepared a fleet of 130 ships, appointed Chamza Admiral. The latter, having first anchored off Lesbos, received many gifts from Ducas (the historian) on behalf of the Genoese Duke of the island, Gatélusi, and sailed to Chios. Arriving there, he dropped anchor opposite the Church of St. Isidore. But the Chians refused him both gifts and honours, being indignant with the Sultan, who was again asking for payment of a sum of 40,000 ducats, which he had before

¹ Ducas, "Byz. Hist."

² This island of Psara was despised by the ancients, on account of its small size and unfruitful soil, although it produced an excellent wine. But the inhabitants of this insignificant island have glorified it by exploits worthy of Salamis. How often did they not, in our times, defeat the Turks at sea, or burn their ships, both before and after the destruction of our island? Not a little does Greece owe to Psara, and the Psarians, for the success of the War of Independence; and the names of the fearless Papa Nicoli, Canaris, and Nicolas Apostoli, together with those of many others, have long since been graved, in immortal characters, on the heroic tablets of Greek history.

demanded, on behalf of Francesco Draperio of Galata, as due to the latter for the purchase of alum by the island. Chamza read the Sultan's commands to the Chians. These ordered the payment of the sum in question, on pain of having their island destroyed. But the Chians, resenting, refused to obey. The Turkish Admiral, not being able to injure the harbour, as it was defended by 20 ships, nor in a position to attack the fort, on account of the protection it was afforded by a double moat and a strong garrison, only succeeded in devastating some gardens and vineyards. He then suggested to the Chians that they should send two of their most prominent citizens to talk the matter over personally with Draperio, who was on board one of the ships. The Chians sent two men, one a young one, the other an old one, both of the family of Cyrico Justiniani. But as they were going along, suspecting a trap, they tried to return, but were prevented by the Turks, who were scattered about in the gardens, and on setting foot on board the Admiral's ship, were at once thrown into chains. After this treacherous act Chamza sailed to Rhodes; but not being able to do anything there, on account of the strength of its defences, went back to Chios. He again sends messengers to the Chians, and persuades them (it is not difficult to persuade those that are the weaker) to send envoys to the Sultan, among them Cyrico, to go into the question of the disputed claim. But whilst they were getting ready to start, an unforeseen incident threw the whole city into commotion. Some drunken Turks, disobeying the orders of the Admiral not to land, swam ashore. One of them, climbing on to a church, began throwing the tiles down. Upon this, the enraged Latins and Greeks attacked the Turks with knives and bludgeons and, following them as they were getting on board their ship, they so over-weighted it on the side, that it capsized and sank, taking down both Christians and Turks. The authorities of the

island appeased Chamza by giving him double the value of the ship and its contents. But when Mahomet heard of the sinking of his ship, he became furious, sent Chamza away to a distant governorship, by way of punishment, ordered war to be relentlessly pressed against the Chians (14th August, 1455) and, turning to Draperio, said: "I will take over the collection of thy debt of 40,000 ducats, but will exact it two-fold as compensation for the drowning of my Turks." ¹

The Justinianis, anticipating the evils that would befall them, wrote (14th August, 1455) a letter to the Pope Callixtus III, in which they implored his assistance, and begged him to declare a crusade against the enemies of the Cross. At the end of the letter, they said that, if their prayers remained unanswered, calling upon the Supreme Judge to witness their abandonment, they would fight for their faith, up to their last breath.² The Doge of Genoa, Peter Fregoso, sent two ships and 500 men to their assistance, as well as corn, and a good supply of other munitions of war (1456).³ But the Justinianis seeing, on one side, the terrible dissensions between Genoa and Alfonso King of Sicily, on the other, that Mahomet, having conquered Enos and the neighbouring islands of Thasos and Samothrace, was preparing to march against Chios in the spring, again sent him ambassadors, to try and divert the now close approaching storm. Mahomet, being satisfied with the payment of 30,000 ducats for the sunken ship, and a tribute of 10,000 florins, turned his arms against Lemnos, which he took, and postponed the conquest of Chios and Lesbos to some future time.⁴ Next year, some months

¹ Ducas, "Byz. Hist."

² "Sacra Scio," p. 49.

³ Sismondi, "hist. des rép. italiennes du moyen-âge," vol. X, pp. 67-72.

⁴ Ducas, "Byz. Hist."

after the Crusaders, led by the ever victorious Hunyadi, had defeated Mahomet at Belgrade, sixteen Papal ships, commanded by the Cardinal Ludovic Scarampa, appeared in the Ægean, coming to the assistance of the more important islands. Dropping anchor off Chios, the Cardinal urged the Chian authorities to refuse payment of the tribute to the Sultan (1457); but they, fearing the vengeance of the Turks, after the departure of the Papal fleet, refused to listen.¹ (Who could have foreseen that after a lapse of 364 years this situation would be repeated?) Time showed that their fears were well grounded, for the Sultan, leaving them unmolested, sent his fleet to Lemnos, and punished it for having listened to the advice of Scarampa. The Justinianis, however, seeing that Mahomet had conquered Lesbos, fearing the same fate, and no longer being able to expect help from Genoa, on account of her own troubles, appealed to the Pope, Pius II.² They also began further fortifying their city, to enable it to offer the longest possible resistance to the great forces of their oppressor. The Pope, being without money, had to have recourse to his spiritual treasury, and promised indulgences to all who should go to the assistance of Chios! The Chians, however, hampered both by civil dissension³ and lack of money

¹ Ducas, "Byz. Hist."

² The Pope was so zealous in his desire to free the Christians from their slavery under the Turks, that he even conceived the extraordinary idea of writing a letter to the Sultan Mahomet himself, trying to convert him to Christianity by force of argument. In order to convince him, he not only quoted arguments from the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, but even resorted to the profane faith of Solon and Lycurgus; and, in order to rouse his ambition, quoted Constantine the Great, who after being baptised and armed with the symbol of the Cross, became ever victorious and Ruler of the whole inhabited world. (Mich. "Hist. Crois," vol. VIII, p. 375).

³ These dissensions between the Maonenses and the Latin Bishop, Hieronymus Camolli, arose over the confiscated ecclesiastical property of the Greek conspirators, (of which we have made

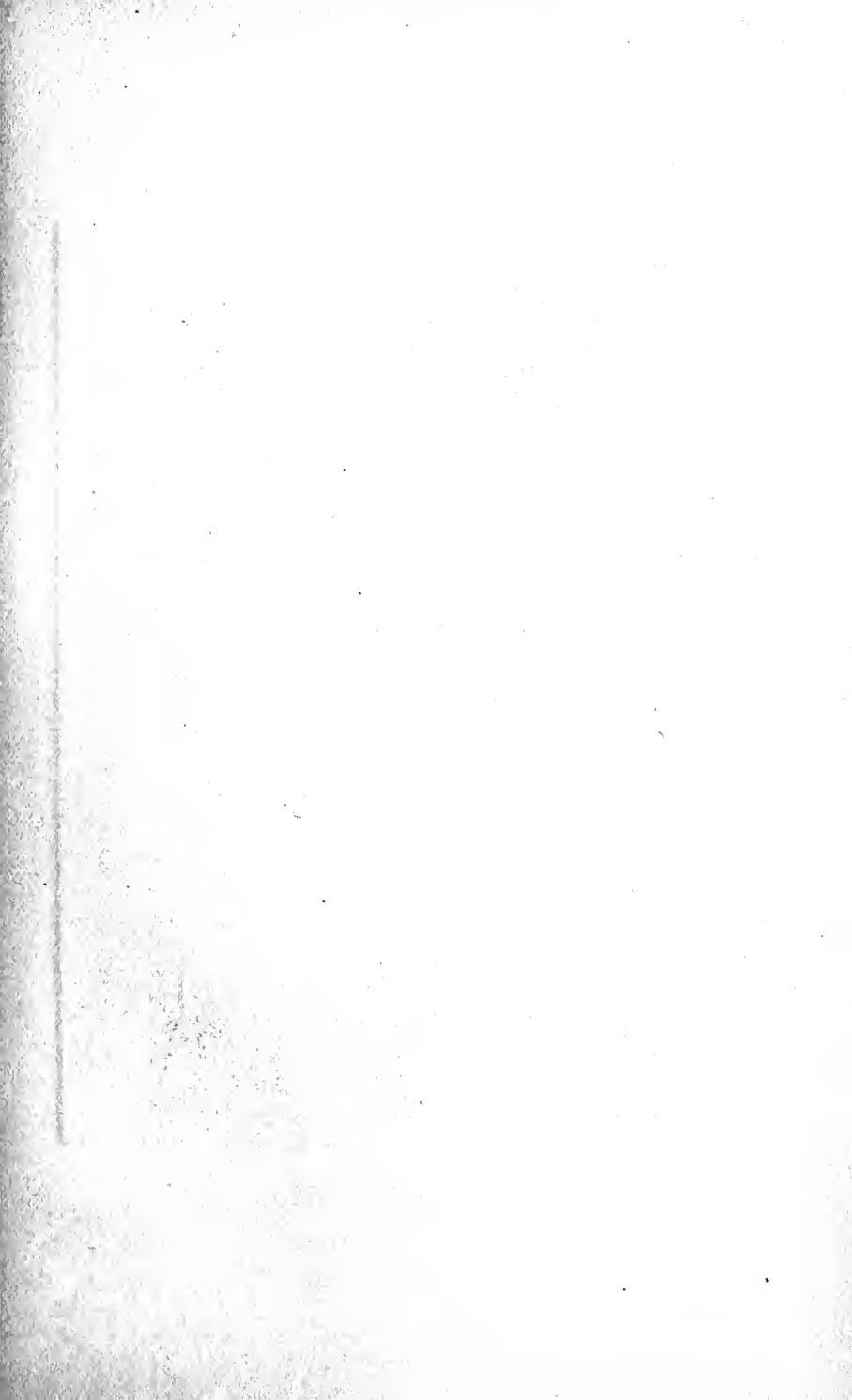
for their work of fortification, again sent envoys to Genoa, praying for help. The Genoese, who had then just lost their rich colony of Kaffa on the Tauric Chersonese (1474), fearing to lose Chios also, ordered four ships (two of which belonged to the Justinianis, and the other two to Negri and Spinola, rich citizens of Genoa) to go to the help of Chios. Three years later, too, they sent Francesco Sofia, Professor of Law, to ask the Pope, Sixtus IV, for pecuniary assistance, and received 5,000 scudi¹ (1477). That the sovereignty of the island was considered a valuable asset to Genoa, was shown some sixteen years later. Hearing from the Genoese, in Galata, that the Turks were preparing a formidable fleet to conquer the island, they called a council, in which it was decided to arm five large ships, to send 5,000 men, in addition to sailors, and to give the command to Thomas Justiniani Forneti. But Thomas, arriving in Chios, found quiet and peace reigning there, because the Turks, altering their plans, had again deferred their expedition against Chios to a more favourable occasion, as we shall hereafter see.

At this time it is possible that, then serving as a simple sailor, Christopher Columbus may have set his foot in Chios.²

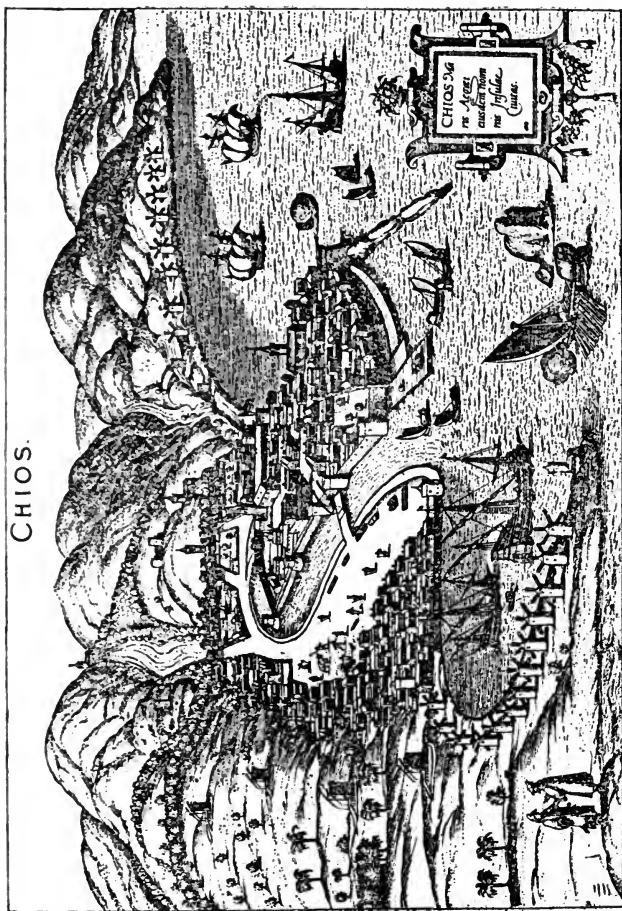
mention earlier). Eventually they referred the matter to the Pope, Sixtus IV., who decided (1473) that the Maonenses should retain possession of the property, but pay the Bishop a perpetual annual sum of 400 ducats, and a further single sum of 100 ducats, for the restoration of the Episcopal Church.

¹ "Sacra Scio," p. 53. Serra, "Istoria," etc., p. 236.

² Humboldt, "examen critique de l'hist. de la géographie du nouveau continent," in the newspaper "Presse." 11th April, 1839.



CHIOS.



ΤΟ ΦΡΟΥΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ Ο ΑΙΜΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΙΟΥ ΩΣ ΗΞΑΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΙ 1500.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1477–1566.

Position of Europe—Chios taken by Piali Pasha—Condition of the Justinianis after the capture of Chios—Martyrdom of the eighteen Latin children.

EUROPE meanwhile, though terrified by the preparations of Mahomet for the invasion of Germany and Italy, seemed incapable of being roused from out of a state of lethargic insensibility. Much as Pius II and his successor, Paul II, might try to incite the Christians against the Ottomans, their exhortations remained fruitless and unheeded. Mahomet, taking advantage of the general inaction of Europe, having conquered Euboea, carried his victories into Cranolia and Croatia. At last Sixtus IV succeeded in uniting some of the Christians, and sent fifteen ships under Cardinal Carafa. These, joining the Venetian and Neapolitan fleets, carried terror into Ionia and Pamphylia, as well as all the sea-coast towns of the Turkish Empire.¹ But the Christians, instead of taking advantage of these victories, though small, commenced quarrelling among themselves to such an extent that even the Pope himself ceased to think of the "Holy War." The Venetians, deserted by the rest, not being by themselves alone in a position to carry on the struggle with the Turks, made peace. Meanwhile the power of Mahomet was increasing daily. The Genoese, as we have seen, had lost Kaffa, the Venetians all their

¹ Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. V, pp. 394-430.

territories in the Ægean and Greece. Of all the countries conquered by the Crusaders, there were now left only Cyprus and Rhodes. Whilst Mahomet, having devastated Hungary, and completely destroyed Otranto, was preparing to inflict even severer injuries upon Italy, his sudden death put an end to these schemes, and saved Europe from imminent danger. Later, from time to time, both Pope Alexander IV and Pius III, and especially Leon V, tried to rouse the Christians into undertaking another crusade. But the Christian States turned a deaf ear to their exhortations. Not only were many of them fully occupied with internal trouble, but the discovery of America, and the circumnavigation of the Cape, had pre-occupied the minds of all with thoughts of further discoveries and aggrandisement. Selim's successor, that fearless conqueror Suleiman I, taking advantage of this indifference on the part of the Christians, seized Belgrade and Rhodes, the headquarters of the Knights of St. John in the Mediterranean, and succeeded in carrying his banners up to the very walls of Austria's capital, Vienna itself. But such was the policy of the Christian princes of that period, and so many the interests and enmities that engrossed and divided them, that the then three contemporary monarchs, Henry VIII, Francis I and Charles V, not only refused to unite in humbling the Ottoman, but even allied themselves with that power in their wars with each other ! It is known to history that the Turkish fleet under Barbarossa, joining the French fleet at Marseilles, assisted in besieging Nice (A.D. 1543). Nine years later (A.D. 1552) the French fleet of twenty-four ships, under the Prince of Luxemburg and the Baron de la Garde, spent eight months in the harbour of Chios, awaiting the arrival of the Sultan. Suleiman, not satisfied with his laurels, was anxious to destroy the then famous island of Malta, which was a harbour of refuge for Christian ships. With this object

in view, he appointed Mustapha and Dragouti to be generals, and Piali Pasha (a Hungarian by descent, but deadly enemy of the Christians) to be admiral. He himself again marched against Hungary, but died there, before the news of the failure of the siege could have reached him.

Piali, before leaving for the siege of Malta, had been ordered, after taking that island, to take Chios also (Suleiman's ambitious pride could not brook the sight of its prosperity in foreign hands) and to send all the most prominent Justinianis to Constantinople in chains. The Sultan was particularly enraged with the Justinianis, because they gave asylum to the Christian prisoners of the Turks who escaped to the island, and also because they kept up a correspondence with Genoa. About 1,000 fugitives came to Chios every year, and the Justinianis had appointed an official, whose special duty it was to receive them, feed them, and, as opportunity offered, to place them on board of Christian ships for transport to Europe. This charitable conduct could not be concealed from the Turks. The Justinianis had, however, hitherto been able, by means of gifts, to appease the anger of the Turks. But now the failure to take Malta made them quite intractable. Piali, burning to redeem his military prestige, reaches Chios during Holy Week with three hundred ships, having with him as prisoner the Justinianis' ambassador to Constantinople. The Justinianis hastened to send twelve envoys to Piali with many gifts, but they are immediately made prisoners. Then did they appreciate the value of the advice given them by Vincentio Justiniani on his departure from Constantinople for France. He had warned them of the Sultan's intention against the island. Without losing time, Piali enters the harbour on the 17th of April, 1566, and, neglecting the usual salute to the fort, lands with a large number of soldiers (a most unusual thing, because, as a rule, the High

Admiral either did not land at all, or, if he did, only took a very small number of men with him) with their weapons concealed under their clothes, so as not to arouse suspicion, and proceeds to the palace.¹ Having collected the Maonenses there, he made them a long speech, in which he reproached them : *Firstly*, because they were in secret communication with the King of Spain and Malta, and had not only warned them of the Turkish preparations against them, but had also afforded assistance during the siege. *Secondly*, because they had given asylum to Christian prisoners of the Turks escaping from that country, as well as to pirates. *Thirdly*, because they betrayed the intentions of the Sublime Porte, ferreting them out by means of their ambassador in Constantinople ; and *fourthly*, because they had not paid their tribute punctually. Having discoursed upon these matters, and preferred further charges, he proceeded to read to a thunder-stricken audience the commands of the Sultan. These were : Absolute obedience to the orders of his servant Piali, or the total destruction of the island ; and, whilst the admiral was still reading, his soldiers, to further intimidate the bystanders, gradually allowed their concealed weapons to be seen. The Maonenses replied : That they had always entertained the greatest respect for the power of the Porte, and that the charges brought against them were the slanders of their enemies. They then endeavoured to satisfy Piali's insatiable appetite by the promise of large sums of money.² But he, turning a deaf ear to their piteous appeals, swept away the standard of the Justinianis from the walls, and with it the freedom of Chios !

After this, having desecrated the churches and

¹ Leunclavius, "Supplement Annalium Turcicarum," p. 356.

² Everyone, men and women, contributed, some, selling their precious stones, others their silver plate, and others their golden necklaces.

monasteries, and robbed them of an immense quantity of valuables,¹ (leaving five hundred soldiers and ten ships to protect the island from piratical attacks) Piali returned to Constantinople, to Suleiman's son and successor, Selim II. Most unaccountably he left the fortress in the hands of the Justinianis, a thing incredible but for the testimony of travellers,² and the evidence of subsequent events. Thus was the power of the Justinianis in Chios destroyed after a sovereignty of 220 years. It is said that, for a period of forty days preceding the taking of the island, it had been shaken by such violent and quick following earthquakes, that the people leaving the town were living in tents, and that, by way of climax to their misfortunes, a deadly plague springing up, carried them off in numbers. Whatever, if any, bearing these events had upon the loss of the island, it cannot be denied, that it was solely owing to their own ability, and political tact, that the Justinianis had been able to maintain their sovereignty over it for so long a period. Remote from distant Genoa, surrounded by what was first the Greek, and then the Turkish Empire, not only were they able to escape all foreign domination, but also, in addition to glory and power, to achieve a degree of civilization exceptional in their days and in those parts. We have already seen how great was their wealth, and how extensive their commerce. All the small islands, such as Psara and the Ænussae, as well as the larger ones, such as Samos, Patmos, Tenedos, Icaria, part of Euboea, and both Old and New Phocaea, had fallen under their dominion. They sent an ambassador every year to

¹ M. Justiniani ("Sacra Scio," p. 12) says that the ship, which carried the stolen Holy vessels, went to the bottom in a dead calm, by a miracle!

² Pococke, "Description of the East," p. 2. Stochove, "Voyage du Levant," (Brussels, 1662, p. 201). Anonymous, "Voyage du Levant, fait par le commandement du Roi en l'annee 1621," par le Sr. D. C. (Paris, 1632, p. 346).

Constantinople, to look after the interests of their country, who enjoyed such consideration, that he was often more honoured than the ministers of the great Christian States : nor did the Turks neglect to render to the Justinianis (at least in form) such marks of consideration as occasion might invite.¹ Thus, when Bayezid conquered Corone, Methone, and Naupactus, among others, he sent letters to the Chians announcing these victories. When they had become wealthy, they so embellished the town, and so raised the standard of living, sharing this benefit with the Greeks, that Bellonius² (who was travelling about in 1546-1549) says, that in no part of Turkey had he found a place more agreeable to live in than Chios. But when Piali had conquered the island, the Maonenses were dispersed, going here and there. Some with their wives and children were taken prisoners to Constantinople, and from there sent to Kaffa ; some fled to their mother country, others to Sicily or Rome, or Italy, or to the Indies, for the sake of commerce. Others, by the payment of large sums to the destroyer of the island, were allowed to remain there. Of these were the families Unghetti, Recanelli, Forneti, Garibaldi, and others, of whom a certain number selected Volisso as their residence : others such as the Grimaldi and Rocca, the villages of Pyrgi, and Katarrakti. Fortunately for the Justinianis, their deadly enemy Suleiman was dead, and, as we have already mentioned, had been succeeded by Selim II. The new Sultan, fearing lest the island should become completely deserted, gave orders (through the mediation of Vincentio Justiniani, then ambassador of Charles IX in Constantinople) that all the Justinianis who had been banished to Kaffa, where they had been

¹ Hammer, "Storia del impero Osman," vol. VII, p. 130.

² Bellonius, "Plurimar, singular," etc., p. 107.

living for three years as prisoners, should be set free (1569). Returning to Constantinople, the Justinianis prayed Selim to do them justice, and return them their country, which had been unjustly taken, inasmuch as his predecessors had always recognised their independence. Selim referred the matter to the Mufti, but, although the latter expressed a favourable opinion, answered them autocratically, that it was impossible for him to create a precedent of relinquishing a country that he had taken by arms. So they had to bend their necks to the Turkish yoke, but received considerable privileges, as well as absolute liberty in the exercise of their religious rites. This latter privilege they, in great measure, owed to the prayers addressed to Selim by the Chian Bishop Timotheos Justiniani, and by Vicentio Justiniani Garibaldi, whom Genoa had sent to the Porte in the name of the Chian Justinianis.¹

Before the Justinianis were taken as prisoners to Theodosia, the Sultan ordered twenty-one boys, the brightest and handsomest, to be kept in his palace, under the supervision of Skander Pasha. These boys, of whom the names of only fourteen have been preserved,² were about ten years of age. At first the Turks promised them great honours and rewards if they would renounce their faith, but seeing later that, like the Maccabees, they preferred to die rather than deny Jesus Christ, they circumcised them by force and, torturing them in many ways, told them to hold up their forefinger as a signal of submission. But these, looking up to Heaven, only

¹ "Sacra Scio," p. 12. Tournefort ("Voyage du Levant") says that, with the exception of belfries, the Latins enjoyed so much liberty under the Turks, in the exercise of their religion, that Chios was called by the Turks, "Little Rome."

² These were:—Antonio, Bartholomew, Brutus, Hercules, Hippolytus, John, Cornelius, Paul, Pascal the first, Pascal the second, Raphael, Scipio, Philip and Francis (M. Justiniani, "La gloriosa morte dei 21 fanciulli").

clasped their hands the tighter, until they received the glorious death of martyrdom.¹ Bossius relates, that the Turks, having beaten one of these boys most unmercifully, tried to separate his fingers by force, but this they were unable to do, neither whilst he was alive, nor after his death. Allatius, referring to this story, expresses his astonishment.² Three only of the boys, unable to face the tortures on account of their youth, turned Turks, but these, too, shortly after escaped to Italy, where they died Catholics.

¹ "Historia Hierosolymit." Religion. Part III, liber XXV. Allatius "de Ecc. Occident. et Orient. perpet. consens." Colon. Agrippin, 1643, p. 985.

² But this need not surprise the reader unversed in medicine, because such violent contractions of the muscles are not uncommon. See Garmanos, "de Miraculis mortuorum," p. 430.

CHAPTER VIII.

Eminent men of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

HAVING related the rise and fall of the power of the Justinianis in Chios, it is now our duty to render a tribute of honour to those amongst them who, in the various walks of life, most distinguished themselves. We proceed, therefore, to give a very incomplete account of their lives (history not affording material for a fuller) taking them in chronological order, as closely as we have been able to place them.

ANDREOLO JUSTINIANI. Born in Chios, 1400. Composed a poem describing the brave resistance by the Justinianis to the unexpected attack of the Venetians in 1431.¹

LEONARDO JUSTINIANI. Bishop of Mitylene, 1452. He was the first to describe the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. He wrote the description in Chios, seventy-nine days after the event, 16th August, 1453. The title of this very rare work is: "*Historia C. P. a Turco Expugnata.*" Nuremberg, 1544.²

JOHN JUSTINIANI. Fought bravely on the side of the Greeks during the siege of Constantinople by the Turks. Being wounded, he died shortly after.^{3 and 4}

¹M. Justiniani, "Scrittori Liguri," vol. I, p. 63.

²Gibbon, "Decline, etc. Rom. Emp." vol. XIII, p. 54.

³Gibbon, "Decline, etc., Rom. Emp.," vol. XIII, p. 102. "Sacra Scio," p. 48. Crucius Turcogræcia, "Pol. Hist. Constan.," p. 10.

⁴Michaud, "Hist. des Croisades," vol. V, p. 337 (de vera nobilitate).

- ANSALDO JUSTINIANI. Born in Chios 1502. Studied law in Padua, was sent as Genoese Ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. Died in Genoa 1596.
- TIMOTHEUS JUSTINIANI. Bishop of Chios. Was sent to Constantinople to intercede for the Justinianis imprisoned there after the taking of Chios, 1566.¹
- ALEXANDER JUSTINIANI. Born 1515. Studied medicine and wrote medical treatises.^{2and 3}
- VINCENTIO JUSTINIANI. Born 1519. Was made Cardinal in 1570. Died in 1582.
- ANGELO JUSTINIANI. Theological writer, died in Genoa in 1599.
- VINCENTIO JUSTINIANI. A very influential personage in Constantinople, where he was successful in obtaining the release of the Justinianis imprisoned there after the taking of Chios. Died 1570.
- HIERONYMUS JUSTINIANI. Son of the above. Born in Chios 1544. Wrote the history of Chios, first in Greek, then in Italian and Latin, and lastly in French, in which language it was first printed in Paris, 1606.
- MICHAEL JUSTINIANI. Author of many works, including *La gloriosa morte dei 18 fanciulli Giustiniani Patrizi Genovesi dei Signori di Scio, 18° Avellino, 1656.*
- ANTONIO JUSTINIANI. Became Archbishop of Naxos.
- BENEDETO JUSTINIANI. Born 1554. Cardinal 1586.
- GEORGE JUSTINIANI. Born 1569. Author of *Operette Spirituali.*
- JACOB PALÆOLOGUS. Flourished 1570. Theological writer. Persecuted for unorthodoxy by the Pope.
- FRANCESCO JUSTINIANI. Born in Chios 1570. Wrote mathematical treatises, none of which remain.⁴

¹ Moreri, "Grand Diction." (under Justiniani).

² Vanderlinden, "De scriptis medicis," p. 16.

³ M. Giustiniani, "Scrittori Liguri," p. 41.

⁴ "Scrittori Liguri," p. 26.

JOSEPH JUSTINIANI. Theological writer. Flourished in 1585. Died 1658.

JOHN MASTROLEONARDO. A wonderful gunner. Killed the Turkish Commander at the siege of Malta, 1566, with a shot directed by his own hand.

LEON ALLATIUS. This eminent man was not only the most learned of all the Chian Latins, but also one of the most famous authors of the XVIIth century. He was born in Chios in 1586, of Græco-Latin parents, and went to Calabria at the age of nine. There, under the protection of the powerful Spineli family, he received his first teaching. In 1660 he went to Rome, where, having completed his studies in Theology, Philosophy and Letters, he was appointed to many posts. Coming to Chios later, he was not satisfied, and returned to Rome and studied medicine. In 1622 he was sent by the Pope Gregory to Heidelberg, to remove to Rome the library presented to the Pope by the Elector of Bavaria. Later he became librarian to various nobles, and finally, in 1661, was appointed to the post of librarian to the Vatican Library. He died in Chios in 1669, in his 83rd year, leaving behind him descendants of both the Greek and Latin faiths. He was the mortal foe of the Orthodox Church. He was a voluminous writer. The most important of his works consist of attacks upon that Church. Before his death he founded a school in Chios.¹

VELASTES. Author of an excellent treatise on the pronunciation of the Greek language, by which he proves the correctness of the pronunciation now in use among the Greeks. *De literarum Græcarum pronuntiatione.* Romæ, 1751, and Prague, 1770.

¹ This school is still [1840] in existence, and is under the management of the Latins who call it the "Great School." A few Latin children are taught there, but it is in deplorable condition.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1566-1657.

The Florentines attack Chios—Privileges enjoyed by the Chians under the Turks—Eminent orthodox Chians (1500-1680).

HAVING now referred to the more particularly distinguished men among the Latin Chians, we return to our narrative. It will be remembered how, after the capture of the island by Piali, the Justinianis were allowed to retain possession of the fortress. But after the Florentine invasion, which we are now about to relate, they were deprived by the Turks of not only this last emblem of their former sovereignty, but also of every remaining shred of authority. Indeed, but for the mediation of the French Ambassador in Constantinople, Brèves, all their churches would have been pulled down and all their property confiscated. Following the example set by the Knights of Malta, the Florentines had sent a fleet to keep the sea clear of Turkish pirates, and ensure the safety of Christian traffic. But the Knights of St. Stefano, to whom this duty had been confided by Ferdinand de Medici, grossly abused their trust, and seized Christian ships, alleging that their cargoes were the property of Turks. They also visited towns in Turkey solely inhabited by Christians, and not only plundered them, but also exposed the inhabitants to great ill-usage at the hands of the Turks, who thought that they had invited the invaders. Following the example of these and of others, Virginus Orsini, Duke of Brassano,

nephew of the Duke of Tuscany, started off with five ships to attack Chios. Taking advantage of the darkness of night, he was successful in landing, unperceived, 400 Florentines (1599). These, having come upon the Turks in their sleep, killed the sentries, seized a gun that commanded the harbour, and, under the guidance of a peasant, made their way into the town.¹ The Turks, thinking that the besiegers had come in great force, shut themselves up in the fort. The Florentines marched through the town in disorder, and, behaving more like brigands than soldiers, pillaged some houses belonging to Christians. These, becoming exasperated, joined the Turks and, being about 10,000 altogether, surrounded the invaders. The Florentines divided into two bands. The less bold made for the harbour of Delphinium hoping to gain the refuge of their ships, but, as their fleet had put out to sea on being fired at by the fort, they failed in their object, and were cut down to the last man. The others, the bolder ones, entered some houses and defended themselves for some hours, but, seeing they could not resist for long, offered to surrender if their lives were spared for a money payment. But the Turks, coming up in numbers, refused their offers, and setting fire to the houses destroyed all the men in them. But

¹ "Memorie Historiche de' Monarchi Ottomani di G. Sagreda" (Venetia, 1679), p. 522. Dapper says ("Description des iles de l'Archipel," p. 224) that the Florentines made themselves masters of the fort, but that a great storm arose and scattered their ships, and the Turks then regained the fort, and killed all the Florentines and fixed their heads on the walls, where they still remained in his time (1680). The same writer says (p. 214) that the Christians (1601) again attacked the fort, and put up monuments in honour of those who had been killed, but he does not say whether the attack was successful or not. But how can this be reconciled with what we have written above? If the Justinianis were in possession of the fort, as so many testify, how were the Turks able to shut themselves up in it? Why did not the Justinianis welcome the Florentines? Could there have been a second fort? Whose is the correct account? Dapper's and Sagreda's, or Poccocke's?

this invasion was the cause of much trouble to the Christians, as they were suspected of having invited the Florentines. Even those who had assisted the Turks did not completely escape, because they were compelled, in buying back their plundered property, to pay 100 ducats for a thing that was only worth ten. The Christians sent two of their most prominent citizens to pray for the mercy of the Sultan, but they were immediately handed over to the high admiral, Tsikal Pasha, a man notorious for his ferocity. Coming to Chios, Tsikal killed and hanged a large number of persons, and compelled the greater number of the Catholic Chians to leave the island, selling their houses for next to nothing. He announced that the object of his great severity was to set Christians against Christians, and to teach the Franks that, whenever they attacked the Sultan's dominions, they would be inflicting more injury on the Christians than on the Turks themselves. Having taken possession of the fort he strengthened it, and left a garrison of 4,000 men in it.

Let us now examine the position of the Greeks in Chios, with regard to their civilisation and learning, the privileges they enjoyed, and their mode of self-government.

From the moment when the Turks had become undisputed masters of the island, they showed a disposition to treat it with particular favour.¹ The inhabitants received many privileges from the Sultan, although these, for the continuance of their validity, required the confirmation of each new occupant of the throne. They were given perfect freedom to build and consecrate churches (but without belfries)²; to carry the

¹ Chandler, "Travels in Asia Minor," etc., vol. I, p. 35: "Fortune will seem to have concurred with the partiality of nature, and to have distinguished this as a favourite island."

² Leonardus Justiniani, "De verâ Nobilitate," p. 10 ("Excepto

Cross and Icons in procession through the streets, and to celebrate all their religious services. There were to be no mosques except inside the fort. The Turks were forbidden to make converts, except when a man spontaneously came forward and expressed a wish to renounce his Christianity, and did so in the presence of the Christian authorities. They were given permission to govern the island through five "*deputati*," three Greek and two Latins, whose decisions in respect of all Christian differences were not to be subject to appeal to the local Turkish courts. Their houses were to be free from taxes. They were only to pay the Capitation Tax and 5,000 piastres Tree Tax. They were to dress as they pleased, and might wear spurs when on horseback. They further obtained the privilege of not paying any duty on goods arriving from Tchesmé (the coast of Asia Minor opposite) if they could prove that duty had already been paid there ; and the commerce of the island was to pass duty free through all the Custom Houses of the Black Sea.¹

Aided by these privileges, the Chians, emerging from the fog of barbarism then enveloping all the enslaved Greeks, soon began to acquire both civilisation and wealth. No doubt their success was in some measure due to the presence among them, for so many years, of the more civilised Genoese ; but the main factor of the elevation of the Greeks was, undoubtedly, their industry, as certainly as the chief cause of the degradation of the Latins was their indolence. Whereas the Greeks were always actively engaged in commerce,

Campanarum.") Villemain, "Essai hist. sur l'état des Grecs," p. 213. Only the inhabitants of the Mastic districts were allowed to have belfries.

¹ All these privileges were set out in a decree (Hatti) bearing the Sultan's sign manual. This document (written 145 years before) was, with many others, preserved in the Public Muniment Chest of Chios up to the date of the late destruction of the island.

trading with countries near and far,¹ the Latins, who were unable to forget their ancient nobility, and who were never brought up to habits of industry, never condescended to work, and were never able to rise from poverty. The Chians, too, had not neglected to found a school for the teaching of the sciences, as far back as the 15th century.² Thence many, after having thoroughly prepared the ground, passed over to Italy, and there, in the 16th century, attained the highest standard of culture. There, too, they imbibed the knowledge brought over to Europe some fifty years earlier by learned Byzantine fugitives.

We will now mention the names of Chians remarkable for their learning or other qualities. They are few in number compared to the Westerns, but sufficient to lead us to imagine that there must have been others, not less worthy, of whom we should have heard, had not the sole concern of the Latin writers of Chios, Hieronymus, Michael Justiniani, and Leon Allatius, been the glorification of the men of their own faith. About these they wrote special treatises, whereas when they mention the others, it is only incidentally, and generally in terms of disparagement!

ISIDORUS. Great ecclesiastical lawyer.³

JOHANNES. Taught Euclid in Messina.⁴

NEILOS. Metropolitan of Rhodes.⁵

NICOLAOS NISIOTIS. A poet.⁶

MICHAEL SOPHIANO. Learned Scholar and Poet.⁷

¹ Bellonius, "Plurimar," etc., p. 130. Dapper, "description des îles," etc., p. 224.

² Crusius, "Turcograecia," p. 513.

³ Ducange, in "Corais, Atakta," vol. V, p. 243.

⁴ Crusius, "Turcograecia," p. 525.

⁵ Allatius, "de Eccles. Occid. atque Orient.," etc., p. 874.

⁶ Hodius, "de Graecis illustribus," p. 324.

⁷ Ibid., pp. 309-311.

GEORGE KORESIOS. Learned Philosopher. Author of many theological and philological works.¹

GREGORY PROTOSYNGELOS. Pupil of George Koresios, with whom he collaborated in the preparation of some of the latter's works.²

ANDREAS. Suffered martyrdom in Constantinople, 1465.³

APOLLONIUS. A famous doctor.⁴

PAISIOS LIGARIDIS. Writer on Theology.⁵

CYRILLOS. Priest and Abbot.⁶

KALOGERAKI. Teacher of the Greek language.⁷

CHRISTOPHER KAMPANAS. Student of Theology.

GEORGE PROTOSYNGELOS. Learned in Greek and Holy Scripture.⁸

ALEXANDER MAVROCORDATO. Son of the Chian, Panteli Mavrocordato, and of the one-eyed Loxandra, daughter of Scarlato⁹ of Constantinople; was born in Chios, in 1637. Studied medicine in various Italian Universities. Wrote a treatise on the circulation of the blood (1664). Later he went to Constantinople. Here he practised as a doctor and lecturer. He spoke Greek, Slavonian, Latin, Italian,

¹ "Lettres Anecdotes de Cyrillo Lucar," pp. 70-85. Morery, "Dictionnaire," Paris, 1744, vol. III, p. 488. "De rebus Eccles. Graecorum," p. 3 and 335. Allat., "de Eccles. Occid. Orient. perpet. consensione," p. 997. Arnould, "perpetuité de la foi," vol. IV, p. 382, and vol. V, p. 27. Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. III, p. 488.

² Arnould, "perpetuité de la foi," vol. IV, p. 388. Simon, "Histoire critique de la Créance," etc., p. 45.

³ Allat., "de Eccles. Occid. Orient.," p. 980. Hodius, "de Graecis illustribus," pp. 107-117.

⁴ Allat., "de Eccles. Occid. Orient.," p. 1074.

⁵ Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. III, p. 472.

⁶ Fabricius, "Bibliotheca Graeca," p. 602.

⁷ "Histoire de Scio," book II, chap. I.

⁸ Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. III, p. 418.

⁹ Cantemir, "Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman," vol. II, p. 192.

French, Turkish, Persian and Arabic. Later he was appointed Chief Dragoman (1681).¹ Falling into disfavour he was dismissed, but being reinstated (in 1685) he served the Ottoman Empire for many years, dying in 1719. He was succeeded in his post by his son Nicolas.

IGNATIUS MINDONIOS. A monk. Much appreciated by the Sultan, who frequently employed him in settling disputes among his subjects.²

JOHN CHONIATES.

JOHN CORESIO.

LEONARDO MINDONIO.

GEORGE PAPALAS.

PANTELI PAPALAS.

HERMODOROS LESTARIOS.

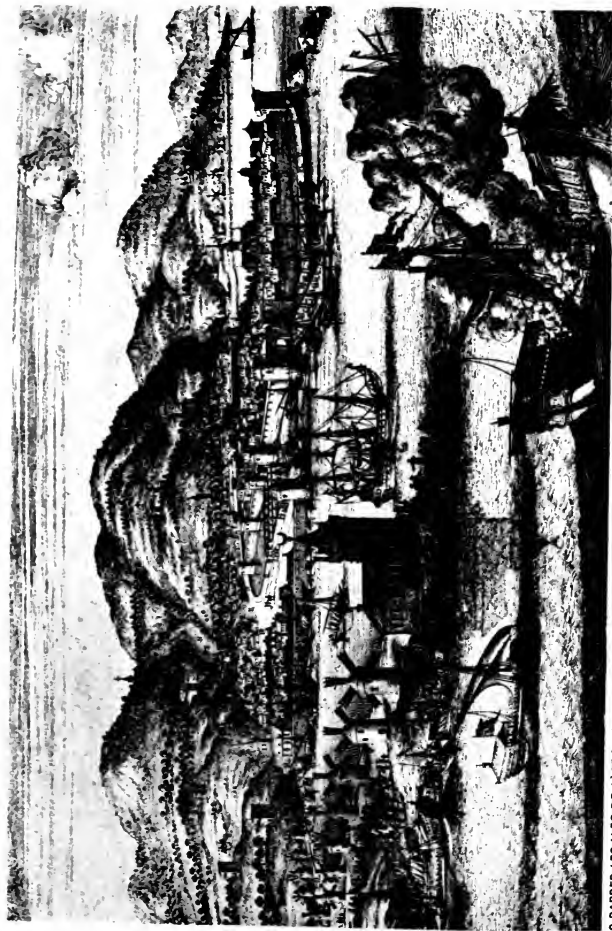
DEMETRIUS PAPANOS.

ANDREAS EPIPHANIOS.

SGOUTAS. Two brothers, learned doctors.

¹ Tournefort, "Voyage du Levant," vol. II, p. 12.

² Allatius, "de Eccles. Occid.," etc., p. 990.



Ο DAPPER, LES ILES DE L'ARCHIPEL, AMSTERDAM, 1703.

ROMA. FOTOINC. DANESI.

Η ΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΥΣΑ ΧΙΟΣ ΤΩ 1688 ΕΤΕΙ.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1657-1694.

Relations between the Greeks and Latins in Chios—
Ecclesiastical position—Disputes between the Greeks and
Latins as to possession of churches.

BEYOND the exchange of a few shots between the Venetians and Turks in the harbour of Chios, during their fight for Crete, and some successes obtained by Lazarus Mocenigo, and Morosini, off Chios, in 1657-1664,¹ there are no events at this period to chronicle. Let us then, as far as the silence of historians will permit, proceed to an examination of the relations, social and religious, subsisting between the Latins and Greeks of the island.

It was of course only natural that the Greeks should feel little love for the Latins, who were both foreign conquerors and aliens in faith, and although they had adopted most of their customs, even their mode of dress,² they still always nursed a secret antipathy to them. So steadfast was the fidelity of the Greeks to the teaching of their fathers, and so fanatical, at that time, the faith of the Latins, that no bridge could span the chasm of religious animosity that lay between them. In vain does

¹ Nani, "dell istoria Veneta." Vol. II, pp. 82, 112, 325. Daru, "histoire de Venise." Pièces Justificat., p. 237.

² Licet que graeca insula sit, magna tamen ex parte Franco more, hoc est, Latino vivitur . . . Vestium autem forma, et victus ratio Genuensium est. (Bellonius, "plurim. observat," p. 197).

the venomous enemy of the Greeks, Leon Allatius, try to prove that there did exist a bond of friendship between the Latins and Greeks, telling us that the Greeks intermarried with the Latins, that they attended their churches to hear the Holy Word, and that they confided their children to them, for the fashioning of their moral and spiritual characters, thereby showing their respect for the faith held by the Pontiff of Rome. "I saw," he says, "Marco Justiniani officiating in the N^éa Mon^è, in Latin, "in the presence of the whole of the Greek clergy, and "after they had eaten together, they begged the Bishop "to recommend the Mon^è to the Pope (1603). Why "did they not, being Greeks, address themselves to their "own Patriarch? Because," he continues, "they were "afraid of the malediction of the Supreme Pontiff."¹

That the Latins did sometimes officiate in the N^éa Mon^è, and in some of the other Greek churches, is testified to by other writers,² but it was no doubt due to the supremacy of the Latins, both as regards social position and ecclesiastical power of which they often made abuse; or perhaps it is attributable to some custom then prevailing, but which was later discontinued, on account of its pernicious consequences, and the disputes it gave rise to. We also admit that a certain amount of intermarriage did take place between the Greeks and Latins, down to the end of last century; but these marriages, though quite unrestricted, were rare. It is also a fact that the Latins and Greeks used the same calendar, the Julian, and not the Georgian.³ But that they recommended the N^éa Mon^è to the Pope, because they were afraid of his spiritual anathema, and not

¹ Allatius, "de Eccles. Occident. Orient.," etc., pp. 979-1059.

² "Sacra Scio," p. 188. "Lettere al Vescovo di Mariana," F. Justiniani (lettere memorabile M. Justiniani), vol. I, p. 521. Tournefort, "Voyage du Levant," p. 141.

³ Saint Sauveur, "Voyage hist. et litter.," etc., vol. I, pp. 334-335.

because they were in need of his political protection, no one can possibly believe. Although Bellonius,¹ and other writers, explicitly speak of the steadfastness of the Orthodox Chians to their faith, and although, when a Calvinist, resident in Chios in 1579,² on attempting to teach his doctrines, only narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the people, and although not a single one of the peoples of Greece, however low they had been brought by poverty and slavery, ever gave heed to heterodox teaching, yet Allatius has the effrontery to maintain that "*No one in his senses*" can believe that the Greeks feel any abhorrence for the Latin dogma, because they send their children to Rome, to be educated, and be taught "*the true teaching,*" and when they return they are honoured by all.³ We do not deny that among the Greeks who were educated at the Theological College of St. Athanasius in Rome in 1557, there were some who became converts from the Greek to the Latin Church, and that among these some were Chians.⁴ But these were few in number, and were not held in honour on their return, but were despised by all, as unworthy children of their church and their country. Further evidence of this abhorrence of the Greeks for the Catholic dogma is not only afforded by the traditional antipathy which survives to this day,

¹ "*Adeo suae religionis observantes sunt*" (Bellonius). Pococke, "A Description of the East," vol. II, part ii, p. 10.

² Allatius, "*de Eccles. Occid. Orient.,*" etc., p. 1059.

³ "*Et insaniunt omnino qui Graecos ipsos omnes a Latinorum doctrinis abhorrere, eos qui odio plus quam Vatiniano prosequi criminantur. Quotidie cernimus eosdem Graecos filios suos Romam et in alias Latinorum provincias non sine sumptu mittere, tantum ut litteris imbuantur, et doctrinam veram hauriant; qui postea perdocti etiam Graeciam reversi, maxima apud omnes sunt in aestimatione.*" (Leon Allatius, *ibid.*, p. 985).

⁴ Among these were Karyophyllos, Papadopoulos, Typaldos, Kalekas, Kydonas, Pantoleon Ligaridis, Michael Neuridis, and a very few other Chians.

but by the following incident. When the Jesuits, sent to Constantinople by Cardinal Bandini, were summarily ejected from that town (thanks to the sleepless vigilance of the Patriarch Cyrillus), those of them that went to Naxos found themselves in sympathy with the local leaders, whilst those who went to Chios, not only failed in gaining proselytes, but were made prisoners, and only succeeded in making their escape to Italy¹ with difficulty. And how could it be otherwise, when the hatred of the Latins so clouded their reason, that they went about saying that the plague spared their co-religionists in Chios, and only carried off Turks and Schismatics!²

Language, too, was another barrier. The Latins, in speaking Greek, not only mutilated it, but pronounced it in a manner peculiar to Latins in all parts of Turkey. A language one in expression and one in sound, common to peoples, is the greatest preservative of a sense of their common nationality.³ Further, when we compare the wealth and political power which the Greeks enjoyed, after the Turkish conquest, with the poverty and degradation of the Catholics, can anyone doubt that envy, common to mankind in such circumstances, was not a further barrier to any feelings of real affection and sincere friendship?

What I have said is further corroborated by the religious commotions which took place in Chios from time to time, and later by the quarrel between the Latins and Greeks

¹ "Lettres anecdotes de Cyrille Lucar" (Amst., 1718), pp. 201-236. Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. III, p. 447. Hammer, "Storia del impero osmano," vol. XVII, p. 160.

² Guy, "Voyage littéraire de la Grèce," vol. II, p. 81. Paul Lucas, "Voyage dans la Grèce" (Paris, 1712), vol. I, p. 299.

³ The learned Velastes, speaking of Chios, says: "that a certain Greek Bishop, coming to Chios, condemned the Latin priests, not because they acknowledged and revered the Pope, but because they did not perform their services in Greek." (Guy, "Voyage littéraire de la Grèce," p. 205).

for the possession of certain churches. One of these commotions occurred in Chios in about 1600¹ on the arrival there of the learned Patriarch of Alexandria, Meletios (the writer of some admirable letters concerning the Mysteries—directed against the Latins—as well as of others addressed to devout Greeks and Russians in Chios and Poland). Men and women (says Allatius) young and old, Greeks and Latins, all flocked to listen to the eloquence of the Patriarch. He scoffed at the Latins, and at the authority of the Pope, and his listeners began to murmur (no doubt the Latins), but he, waxing bolder and becoming more impassioned, challenged any man to argue with him. At last the Greeks (it is still Allatius speaking) and the Latins, to put a stop to the commotion, ordered him to leave the island at once—as a disturber of its peace—and forbade him ever to return. They also bribed the Turks to hasten his departure.

We will give an account of the dispute as to the possession of certain churches, after having first examined the ecclesiastical position of the rival Greek and Latin churches.

We have already said that, at first, Chios was under a Metropolitan chosen by the Patriarch of Constantinople, but that, when his conspiracy was discovered, he was sent away by the Justinianis, who refused to receive a second Metropolitan, but allowed an official called "*Dikaios*" to reside in the island and watch over the orthodox flock. But later, when the power of the Maonenses was on the wane, Metropolitans were again appointed by the Patriarch, generally in accordance with the choice of the leading citizens of Chios.² The influence (which still survives) of the Chians, in Church matters, is clearly indicated in a letter which they wrote to the Patriarch Metrophanes

¹ Allatius, "De Eccles. Occid. Orient.," etc., p. 995. Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. V, p. 424.

² Meletios "Geograph.," vol. III, p. 214 (edn. A. Gazi.)

(1590).¹ This letter, in which they beg him to send them a Metropolitan, both virtuous and worthy of shepherding the souls of Christians, is couched in terms not only of becoming humility, but also of polite independence. And whenever abuses occurred they resorted to the Patriarch for their redress, as may be gathered from a letter, written to him by the Monks of the Néa Monè. This letter, which is not free from barbarisms, is set out by Crusius, in his "*Turcograecia*."² The Greek clergy had fine churches, some of which they shared with the Latins; that is to say, that the services in them were sometimes conducted by the Greeks, and sometimes by the Latins. The Metropolis of the Greek Metropolitan was, originally, the Church of Campana, later the Church of St. Nicolas, in the Aplotaria district, formerly called the Church of Basilikari, because it had been built by one of the Byzantine Emperors, whose name, however, had been lost.

The date of the appointment of the first Western Bishop of Chios is unknown. It is probable that he came there immediately after the taking of Constantinople by the Latins. Innocent III, in his letter to Thomas Morosini, first Western Patriarch of Constantinople, bids him, in the countries where there were only Greeks, to appoint Greeks, but in the countries where there were both Greeks and Latins, Latins, and to give them the preference over Greeks.³ As on the taking of Constantinople by the Franks, Chios fell into the hands of the Venetians, it is most probable that they sent a Bishop there, and Cantacuzene, in his description of the taking of Chios by Andronicus in 1328, says, that there was a Latin prelate there, who had received his Bishopric from the Pope. History has only preserved the names and dates of the following:—

¹ Crusius, "*Turcograecia*," book III, p. 285.

² *Ibid.*, book III, p. 303. ³ M. Giustiniani, "*Sacra Scio*," p. 12.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|-----|--------------|------|
| MANFREDO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1363 |
| GIOVANNI BAPITIO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1391 |
| CARLO GIUSTINIANI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1394 |
| TOMASO PALAVICCINI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1400 |
| LEONARDO PALAVICCINI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1409 |
| ANTONIO PALAVICCINI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1421 |
| LUDOVICO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1423 |
| ANTONIO | } | ... | ... | Date unknown | |
| GIROLAMO | | | | | |
| GIROLAMO CAMOGLI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1469 |
| GIUSTINIANI PAOLO MONEGLIA | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1499 |
| BENEDETTO GIUSTINIANI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1502 |
| GIOVANNI VIGERIO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1534 |
| PAOLO FIESCO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1550 |
| TIMOTEO GIUSTINIANI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1564 |
| BENEDETTO GARETTO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1579 |
| GIROLAMO GIUSTINIANI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1597 |
| MARCO GIUSTINIANI | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1603 |
| ANDREA SOFFIANO | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1641 |

The Western Bishop of Chios had his Metropolis inside the fort. He received a yearly stipend of 200 scudi from Rome, and was entitled to officiate in ten or twelve of the Greek churches.¹ Both he and the Greek Metropolitan required the Sultan's permission, called "*Berat*," to entitle them to perform their duties. After the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, the Western clergy lost most of their influence, and the little that remained was completely effaced as the consequence of their quarrels with the Greeks. We will now give an account of the events that led to this result.

¹ M. Giustiniani (Lettere memorabile) "Lettera al Vescovo di Mariana," vol. I, p. 522.

The Metropolitan of Chios, Ignatius Neochoris, an intelligent and enterprising man—although accused of avarice and pride by his enemies—had made it his aim to completely destroy all power of the Westerns in the island. With this object in view, he represented to the Turks that they ought to keep a careful watch over men who were both in close relationship with the Genoese, and who kept up a correspondence with all the enemies of the Empire. His hope was to either compel the Westerns to submit to the Eastern Church, or cause the confiscation of their property, and their dismissal from the island. In order to further his object, he invited the co-operation of a priest, an able man, and well versed in the Turkish language, and the local laws. This priest, for the above reasons, and on account of his intimacy with the Turkish dignitaries, was jeeringly called "*Papa Mustapha*" by the Latins. At this juncture, an event in itself quite independent, furnished the Metropolitan with the means of accomplishing his object. The Greek clergy were at that time in debt to some Turkish functionaries. This debt Neochoris promised to pay if the Turks would bring about the amalgamation of the revenues of the two churches. The Turks, more concerned for the payment of the money owing them than the justice of the scheme, made use of their influence, and handed Neochori a decree of the Sultan to the following effect :—

- (1) That the Latin Bishop should no longer exercise any judicial authority over the Latins, and that the same should be transferred to the Metropolitan.
- (2) That no marriage should take place, and no religious ceremony be held without the Metropolitan's consent.
- (3) That most of the Churches then in the hands of the Latins should be handed over to the Greeks.

- (4) That no Latin priests should be ordained without the consent of the Metropolitan.
- (5) That the Latin Bishop should give an account of all the revenues of the Diocese to the Metropolitan, and an assurance of the good behaviour of all the Latins who might intend remaining in Chios, and then himself quit the island.¹

This startling decree so provoked the Latins, that, laying aside all prudence, they determined to risk everything rather than accept such humiliating conditions, and submit to an alien church. So their bishop, Andrea Soffiano, a man of seventy, burning with resentment against the Greeks, and with him ten coadjutors, left for Constantinople to take counsel with their co-religionists there, and to try and sound the mind of the Patriarch. But meanwhile Neochoris, who well knew that with the Turks it was always those who were first in the field who got the best attention, hurried to Adrianople, reaching it in the shortest of time. There, taking advantage of the absence of the Latins, he represented them as the irreconcilable enemies of the Porte, as the secret correspondents of the Pope and the Venetians, and as schemers for the latinization of all the Chians. That, taking advantage of the poverty of the Greeks, they had, by means of subscriptions from many parts of Europe, succeeded in getting possession of many churches which had been the property of the Greeks for many years, some even for many ages (1665-1666). The Turks, whose habit it was to take advantage of the disputes among Christians, welcomed the words of the Metropolitan. This was particularly the case with the Kaïmakan Mustapha Pasha. With the object of making a profit out of the transaction,

¹ Ricaut (Chevalier), "Hist. de l'Église Grecque et Arménienne traduite de l'Anglais," par M. de Rosemond (Seconde édit., Amsterdam, 1710), pp. 339-347.

he ordered the Latins to be arrested on a charge of high treason. Soffiano, hearing the news on his way, hurried on, but was obliged to travel by side roads to avoid falling into the hands of the Turks. As soon, however, as he had arrived in Adrianople, he and those with him were thrown into prison. After remaining there fifteen days, they were released on the intercession of the English and Venetian Ambassadors. This severity on the part of the Kaïmakan was due to his wish to extort a heavy price for their release, and for his consent to their trial being removed to the ordinary court. And in this he was successful, because he got 7,000 scudi from them, and besides received a sum of 4,000 more from the Greeks in exchange for a promise to decide the matter of the churches in their favour. Later, wishing to make a show of impartiality, he fixed a day for an enquiry into the matter. On the arrival of that day, Neochoris, in the presence of all the judges, preferred his charges against the Latins, whilst they opposed their defence. The Kaïmakan, under the influence of the double bribe, allotted some of the churches to the Latins, but, on the alleged ground of insufficiency of evidence, remitted the decision of the remainder of the question to the Pasha and Cadi of Chios. At the same time he handed the Greeks a secret judgment, ordering the authorities in Chios to hand over to them all the churches of the Latins which had been in the possession of the latter for less than sixty years. In this way, although the Latins had expected to come back and triumph over the Greeks, they lost sixty churches, of which the chief were their Metropolis, the Church and College of the Jesuits and Capucines, as well as others. From this time onwards the power of the Latins steadily decreased, and upon the termination of the Venetian occupation in 1695 (which we are about to relate) they became entirely dependent upon the mercy of the Greeks. Indeed it was with the

greatest difficulty that, in 1700, they succeeded in buying off an Imperial Decree obtained by the Greeks, which ordered the complete abolition of their religion from the island.¹ Into what an abyss of unreasoning fanaticism are nations plunged when they forget the most intrinsic principles of Christianity, and only look at the outward form of religion !

About the same time, 1665, there were further disturbances in Chios caused by great abuses on the part of the Pasha. But these were compounded for by the payment of 1600 piastres.²

And now, after mentioning that the French admiral Duchesne burnt a Tripolitan fleet in the very harbour of Chios³ (1691), we proceed to an account of the Venetian expedition.

¹ Paul Lucas, "Voyage dans la Grèce," vol. I, pp. 299-300. Trans. Note. Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. V, p. 239: "But the Chiots cannot be expected to have been free from the social errors of the age in which they lived. Religious sincerity was then too closely united with bigotry for any Greeks to have learned that toleration was a Christian virtue. In religious bigotry neither the Orthodox nor the Catholics yielded to other Greeks, and their mutual animosity was repeatedly shown in violent and unjust proceedings towards one another. But the fact that this bigotry was cherished and aggravated by foreign interference must not be overlooked. The Greek clergy were continually alarmed by the attempts of the French ambassador at Constantinople to extend the authority of the Catholics, and to obtain for them a superiority over the Greeks."

² Hammer, "Storia dell' Impero Osmano," vol. XXI, p. 260.

³ Guy, "Voyage littéraire de la Grèce," vol. III, p. 352.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1694–1695.

The Venetians attack Chios—Having conquered the island, they oppress the Greeks—They are driven out of the island by the Turks.

AFTER the brilliant victories of Morosini in the Peloponnese and at Athens, and his death at Nauplia, the Venetian Republic appointed Antonio Zeno to the post of commander-in-chief, and made Petro Querini and Carolo Pisani commissioners of the fleet. They also appointed Henrico Stenon general, and, supplying him with money, men and ships, ordered him to go and join Zeno. When they had all met they called a council of war, to decide upon their plan of campaign. Some were for consolidating their victories in the Peloponnese, others for an attack upon Euboea. Others again were for directing their operations against Chios, laying stress on the strength of its position and its wealth, and pointing out that its loss would deprive the Turkish ships of a safe haven of refuge. As a further inducement they spoke of the hatred of the inhabitants for the Turks, and of their longing to be freed from them. Whilst these consultations were still going on, the Catholics of Chios, thinking that an opportune moment had arrived for the recovery of the sovereignty of the island, suggested to the Greeks that they should join in an invitation to the Venetians to come and liberate them. But the Greeks, foreseeing that such a

scheme would be certain to bring misfortune on the island, secretly informed the Turkish admiral, Houssein Pasha, of the designs of the Catholics, telling him, too, that they preferred to remain faithful to the Turks. This treacherous act of the Greeks compelled the Catholics to send a ship in all haste to the Venetians, saying that "Our plans have been betrayed, and woe unto us if you do not come here in time to save us!" Thereupon the Venetians, embarking 10,000 infantry and 400 horsemen, started for Chios on August the 3rd, 1694. They only reached it, however, on the 7th of September, having been held up in Andros by continuous bad weather. The commander of Chios, Silachdar Hassan Nasas, who was guarding the fort with 800 men, alarmed at the approach of the Venetian fleet, sent to Constantinople to ask for speedy help. The Venetians landed, under Cape St. Eleni, on the 8th of September, and shut the Turks up in the fort whilst the Greeks sought refuge in the mountains. Zeno then sent Nani and Gradenigo with some ships to cruise round the Ænussae islands. They, having chased four small Turkish vessels sailing by Tchesmè, captured them, together with 150 of their crew. On the invitation of the Venetians, the Greeks who had fled to the mountains came down, and gave their assistance in many ways to the besiegers of the fort. Both the Greek and Latin bishops and all the leading men came and made their submission to the commander-in-chief. He, realising their usefulness to him, received them most favourably, telling them that the Republic would afford them every protection. Meanwhile, the Venetians continued their bombardment of the fort, and demolished a great part of its walls. Then they decided to send Contarini and Priuli to block the harbour, and prevent any assistance reaching the Turks in that direction. In order to enable them to carry out this object, it was necessary for them to first capture a small fort that

commanded the harbour mouth. This they succeeded in doing, and also captured three ships of the Bey of Rhodes, which had come to Chios, under the command of the famous Matsamama, just before the arrival of the Venetian fleet. Later, Zeno hearing that a large number of Turks were collecting at Tchesmè, to come to the relief of Chios, and that the Turkish fleet was preparing to sail through the Hellespont, sent and demanded the surrender of the fort. Hassan, having consulted a certain Mufti, residing in exile in Chios, as to whether he could, under the circumstances, with honour consent to capitulate, received an affirmative answer, and agreed to surrender on the following conditions :—

- (1) That the garrison be at liberty to leave the fort on the third day after the signing of the capitulation, taking with them all their arms and munitions.
- (2) That all Moorish slaves, Jews and Christian renegades, and Christian prisoners, should be given their liberty.
- (3) That the Turks should give up all their ships, guns, and munitions of war, and be conveyed by the Venetians to any point on the opposite coast of Tchesmè, they might select.

On the 18th, 6,000 Turks, of whom 3,000 were capable of bearing arms, crossed over to Asia. Among the principal Turks were Kousaïm Pasha, the Mufti of Constantinople, Bekir Pasha, and Matsamama. Seven hundred Christians were set free. The victors, in addition to 200 soldiers killed, lost Kalergi and two Knights of Malta. The losses of the Turks were much greater, because, besides having 500 men killed and wounded, they left 212 guns, most of them of bronze,¹ and a large quantity

¹ Muratori ("Annali d'Italia," vol. IX, p. 318) says that they only found 100 guns of bronze.

of munitions of war, and other weapons, in the hands of the Venetians. Zeno appointed Vincent Bragadino and Justin Riva governors of the city, and gave them a strong garrison. He rebuilt the walls of the fort, introduced many improvements, and formed the so-called *Vounaki*,¹ pulling down all the houses that lay near the fort. There were great rejoicings among the Christians. Dances and banquets were given to the commanders and officers of the fleet, who were hailed as liberators of the island, and everything was done to make the stay of the Venetians pleasant and gratifying. But how great was the delusion of the hapless Greeks! No sooner had the Venetians made themselves masters of the island, than they closed all the Greek churches, forbade the holding of services in Greek, confiscated the property of many, trampled upon their rights, and did all they could to force them into becoming Catholics. The Greeks were only allowed to receive Holy Communion from the hands of Catholic priests, and even at the supreme moment of death, it was to these they had to resort for the last ministrations of the church. It was to them, too, that they had to take their new-born children for baptism. In short, so unjust and oppressive was the conduct of the Venetians, that the Greeks suffered more under their domination than they did under the Turks, when the latter shortly after reconquered the island!² The Venetians, hearing of the surrender of the fort of Chios, through the shipowner Manzini (sent as a special messenger), raised Zeno to the rank of knight, and presented Stenon with a jewelled sword. To assure the

¹ After the expedition against Chios of 1827, the Turks pulled down all the houses in front of the fort, so that they might not be fired at from them, and to-day (1840) the *Vounaki* is a somewhat wide plain.

² Cantemir, "Hist. de l'Emp. Ottom." (traduction de Joncquères), vol. II, p. 222.

conquest of the island, they sent Rouzini there with a large amount of munitions of war, and directed Zeno to strengthen the fortifications. Rouzini, having met with terrible weather, went near to losing the whole of his ships, which were driven in all directions, and only just succeeded in reaching Otranto. The Senate, thinking that the expedition would now arrive too late to be of service, recalled Rouzini to Venice, and blaming him for the delay, imprisoned him on his arrival. He succeeded, however, in exonerating himself and was acquitted.

Whilst the fort of Chios was being handed over to the Venetians, the Turkish Fleet, consisting of fifty ships of various sizes, under Hassan Mezzomorto, was sighted in the distance. Zeno had received warning of its approach from Contarini, who had been cruising about the Cœnussæ Islands, and immediately sailed out to meet the Turks. Priuli and Contarini pressed him to strike at once, and, taking advantage of the enemy being becalmed, deal them a crushing blow. But Zeno, unable to make up his mind, lost so much time in holding councils of war with the junior officers, that Mezzomorto was able to sail away and reach the harbour of Smyrna in safety. Zeno, having at last come to a decision, started off in pursuit, but was unable to catch up the enemy. Contarini was anxious to attack the Turkish fleet in the harbour of Smyrna, but Zeno would not permit it, more particularly because the French, Dutch and English Consuls had represented to him that, as there were many merchant ships belonging to their countrymen in the harbour, their respective sovereigns would be much offended if any attack were made upon it. Zeno then ordered his ships back to Chios. In this way, through indecision, he missed an exceptional opportunity of completely destroying the Turkish fleet, which was almost in the hollow of his hand, and, as one might say, gave such offence to Dame Fortune, for the neglect of her gift, that she

revenged herself by thenceforth siding with his enemies! So panic-stricken were the Turks that, after anchoring, fearing that the Venetians would set fire to their ships (which the Count Sanfelice had offered to accomplish) they deserted them, and landed their guns, and turned them on their ships.

When the Sultan Achmet heard of the surrender of the fort of Chios, he was so enraged, that he gave orders for the decapitation of the Capitan Pasha, and for the collection of forces from all parts, for the re-conquest of the island. He also ordered the Seraskier of Greece to invade the Peloponnese, so as to compel the Venetians to divide their forces, and directed Mezzomorto to make himself master of Chios as quickly as possible, and to destroy all the Catholics there whom he should consider to have been particularly guilty of having encouraged the Venetians. Thereupon the Commander-in-Chief, Misse-roglu Pasha, Mustapha Pasha and Mezzomorto sailed out of the Hellespont with forty-four ships, on each of which there were 500 sailors and soldiers, and on the flagship 700. On their arrival in Smyrna, they gave orders for further troops to assemble at Tchesmé, from other places in the East. The Venetians being informed of what was taking place, by a French ship, came out to meet the enemy's fleet, but waited forty days in vain. Then seeing that winter had come on they returned to Chios. Leaving three ships at different points of the Ænussae to keep watch, they took no further steps for carrying on the war, but gave themselves up to pleasure. Suddenly on the 8th February, 1695, some Turkish ships appeared off Cape Sigeion. The Venetians, being unprepared, were not able to put out to sea until ten o'clock at night, before which hour Mezzomorto had already started a battle off the Ænussae. A terrific engagement ensued,¹ in

¹ All the inhabitants of the island had gone on to the roofs of their houses to watch this agonising struggle.

which the Venetians lost 2,000 men, and the Turks as many, and about an equal number of ships were burnt or destroyed on either side. Among the leaders, on both sides, there fell Hassan Pasha, Priuli, Bragadino and Pisamano. Eventually, after a combat which lasted until the evening of the 10th February, the contending fleets drew apart, without either side being entitled to claim a victory. The Turks withdrew to the coast of Asia, to leave their wounded and fetch fresh soldiers, the Venetians to the CEnussae, whence, after ten days, they again sailed out to meet the enemy. On the 19th another engagement took place, which lasted five hours, and in which the leading part was taken by the brave Contarini. After considerable losses on both sides, the Turks withdrew to the east, and the Venetians to Chios. There Zeno convoked a council of war to consider whether, after the losses they had sustained, they ought to remain or abandon the island. Querini and Pisani were for leaving the island, but Stenon and Mocenigo refused to admit that matters were hopeless enough to justify the abandonment of so valuable an island, maintained that they were still in a position to defend it, and finally declared that, even if the others left, they proposed remaining to defend the island with Justin Riva, who was of their opinion. After both sides had been heard, the question was put to the vote, and abandonment was decided upon. So great was the fear of the Venetians, that they left the next night, February 21st, leaving behind them forty cannons¹ on the walls, and several small vessels, loaded with munitions, in the harbour. They found time, however, before leaving to strip all the Greek churches of their most valuable plate. The

¹ These guns still remain (1840) on the battlements of the fort. They are long, but of small bore, and bear a coat-of-arms and the name of the founder, and the date of their manufacture. They are in a very dilapidated condition.

Catholic inhabitants fled too, dreading the vengeance of the Turks, among them being the Bishop, Ludovicus Balsarini, and more than sixty families, who went with the Venetians to the Peloponnese, so that very few remained behind in Chios.

On the departure of the Venetians, the Greek notables of Chios lost no time in informing Mezzomorto (they did so that very night) that the invaders of the island had left, and that, there being no authority in Chios, they would welcome the return of their former masters, the Turks. But the Turks, suspecting a trap, did not believe their words, and sent some small vessels over to assure themselves that the Venetians had really left. Being convinced of that fact, but fearing that the Venetians had laid mines under the walls of the fort before leaving, they only entered the harbour two days later. Mezzomorto, having landed, immediately hanged Peter Justiniani, Francesco Draco Borghesi, Domenico Stella, and John Castelli Borghese. He converted the Catholic churches into mosques (except the small one in the French Consulate), gave permission to his soldiers to loot the houses of all the Catholics, abolished the Genoese dress, forbade them to wear hats, ordered them to dismount whenever they entered the town or met a Turk, however humble, imposed a capitation tax upon their clergy, and would have ended in throwing them all into prison had not the French Ambassador in Constantinople interceded for them.¹ But even the Greeks did not entirely escape. There is a Turkish law which enacts that, whenever a town has remained in the hands of an enemy for three hours, it becomes, being regarded as spoil of war, *ipso facto*, confiscated for the benefit of the Sultan's treasury, unless the inhabitants redeem it at the value fixed upon it. On this

¹ Tournefort, "Voyage du Levant," p. 141. Cantemir, "Emp. Ottom.," vol. II, p. 232. Chandler, "Travels in Asia Minor," vol. I, p. 55.

occasion Chios was valued at 1,500 purses. Thereupon the Chians made representations to the Sultan, and reminding him of their former fidelity, laid all blame for what had happened on the Latins. Being befriended by the then newly appointed Grand Vizier, Houssein Pasha, and the powerful Chief Dragoman, Alexander Mavrocordato, they succeeded, on the payment of only 500 purses, in getting restored to them, by the Sultan Achmet, all the privileges they had been granted by Suleiman, in the year 1566. Mezzomorto leaving Miscoroli to guard Chios, returned to Constantinople, and there received great commendation for the success of his expedition. On the other hand, the Venetian Senate, smarting under the indignity of defeat, imprisoned Zeno, Pisani and Querini, on a charge of having neglected their military duty. Zeno and Querini died in prison, within the next two years, but Pisani was able to justify his conduct, and obtain his acquittal.¹

Such was the profitless ending of an expedition in which the indecision of their leader, at an exceptionally favourable moment, not only saved the sea power of the Turk from certain annihilation, but also caused the loss to Venice of one of her most valuable conquests in the Ægean Sea.²

¹ I have taken this detailed account of the Venetian expedition from the history of K. Contarini, "istoria della guerra de principi collegati contro il Turco dall anno 1683, sino alla pace" (Venezia, 1710), vol. II, pp. 432-483, who was an eye-witness of these events, and took part in the naval engagement.

² Some historians say that the Turkish fleet was beaten in this engagement, but Sandi ("Storia civile Veneta," book XII, chap. iv) says that the Venetians lost the battle "sconfitta l' armata veneta navale." Besides, if victorious, why should the Venetians have abandoned the island so hurriedly?

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1695-1820.

Eminent Scholars and Divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

IF we except two disquieting incidents which occurred, the one in 1718 and the other in 1770, Chios remained in peace from the time of the expulsion of the Venetians up to the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. The first of these incidents arose out of the opposition offered by the *Deputati* to the Pasha, when he attempted to violate a local custom which had the sanction of privilege. This opposition so angered the Pasha that he sent the *Deputati* to Constantinople in chains, and they would have certainly been put to death there but for the intercession of the Sultan's chief physician, Karaoglani, uncle of the Notary, Demetrios Panefi, of Palaeokastron. From that time forward the name of *Deputati* was altered to "*Demogeronts*." The second incident arose out of the burning of the Turkish fleet by Orloff off Tchesmé.¹ The Turks, suspecting the Chians of having abetted him, compelled them to provide hostages. As we have no further historical events connected with this period (1700-1820) to relate, let us, rather than leave a blank, review the names of the Chians of those times who were distinguished for their learning.

¹ Muller, "Hist. universelle," vol. IV, p. 305.

DANIEL. Patriarch of Antioch.¹

SAMUEL. Patriarch of Alexandria.²

KLIMIS. Learned in Holy Scripture and in the Greek language. Became Metropolitan of Jannina.³

EUSTRATIUS ARGENTIS. Doctor. A very devout man, and great philosopher. Studied medicine in Saxony. Was very proficient in Greek, Latin and Arabic. Travelled (1719) in Italy, Germany and Egypt. Whilst there he was appointed by the Patriarch of Alexandria to champion the orthodox dogmas against the attacks being made against them by two emissaries of the Pope. These he so discomfited that the one died of grief and the other left the country.⁴

SAVAS SEKIARIS. Author of a poem (1695) in which he laments the then capture of Chios by the Venetians. The manuscript of this poem was preserved up to 1822 in the Church of St. George, "Sekiari."

ANTONIO KORAÏS. Doctor, poet and philosopher. Great-grandfather of Adamantius Koraiis.⁵

DEMETRIOS AMMIRALLUS. Studied Medicine in Paris. Translated *The Anatomy of Bourdon*.⁶

KONSTANTINE GORDATUS. Also called LILAS. Learned astronomer, published a work concerning *The Use of the Globes*. Venice 1710.⁷

KONSTANTINE RHODOCANACIS. Writer of *Constantini*

¹ Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. IV, p. 196.

² Ibid., p. 196.

³ Ibid., p. 484.

⁴ Ibid., p. 222.

⁵ But the father of Pericles Adamantius Coraii was a Chian, and was called John Coraii.

⁶ Tournefort, "Voyage en Levant," p. 146. Hasselquist, "Travels in the Levant," p. 51.

⁷ Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. IV, p. 224.

Rhodocanacidis Chiensis tractatus de resolutione verborum. Also *Tractatus alter de articulis.* Nothing further is known about him.¹

NATHANIEL. Metropolitan, first of Anchialus, later of Ephesus.²

NICEPHOROS HIEROMONACHOS. Composer of religious services, hymns and epitaphs.

JOHANNES TSELEPES. Great mathematician. Teacher of pure mathematics in Chios, 1799-1822. Translated the works of his teacher Depaolo, and the *Cours complet des Mathématiques pures*, of Francoeur. Murdered by the Turks in the massacre of 1822.

DOROTHEOS PROIOS. Mathematician. Taught in Chios, 1798 ; later (1803) in Wallachia. Was hanged with the Patriarch Gregory in Constantinople, the 10th of April, 1821.

¹ Scriverius, "Lexicon Manuale graeco-latinum" (Patav. 1769), p. 614-619.

² "Constantinias ancient," etc. (Venice, 1824), p. 113. Meletios, "Eccles. Hist.," vol. IV, p. 224.

CHAPTER XIII.

Prosperity and character of the Chians—Schools, Libraries, Hospitals, Public Health, Lepers, Illegitimates, Prisoners (1700-1820).

LET us now, so that we may be able to judge of their influence upon the character of the Chians, consider the social conditions, and the peculiar form of self-government, under which they had been living for close upon two centuries.

After Constantinople and Smyrna, Chios was the most prosperous, and the most civilised city in the whole of the Turkish Empire. For this prosperity she was indebted, almost entirely, to her commerce—an occupation imposed upon its inhabitants by an unfertile and mountainous country—which so kept pace with the increase of her population,¹ that one might say that commercial aptitude was the common birthgift of all her children. Even in olden times, Chios was reckoned one of the greatest and wealthiest of all Ionian cities, and, next after Lacedaemon, the richest in slaves, a clear indication of an extensive demand for labour, which could only have been employed in commercial activity. We have already seen how great was the volume of her trade in the middle

¹ According to the enumeration of the inhabitants, made shortly before the massacre, by direction of the Metropolitan Plato—who himself perished in it—they did not exceed 80,000 all told. Of these about 24,000 inhabited the town (20,000 Greeks, 1,500 Latins, and 2,500 Turks), 50,000 the villages, and 4,000 the garden district, partly Greeks and partly Latins. Consequently Sismondi is mistaken ("hist. des répub. du moyen-âge," vol. II, p. 364) when he puts the number of the inhabitants of Chios at 150,000.

ages, and how wide its ramification. Later, the island, profiting by the protection afforded it by its then all-powerful countryman, Alexander Mavrocordato, and of other influential Turkish Officers of State, and favoured by its natural position, was enabled to still further increase its commerce; and its people, who seemed to be born with a natural aptitude for trade, became the most commercial community among the Greeks. There being no serious occupation open to the Chians for the employment of their energies, other than the furtherance of business, they naturally gave the whole of their attention to the god of Commerce,¹ and he, in return for their devotion, rewarded them quickly and generously. Thus it was that, within a very short time, they were able to establish houses of commerce in Amsterdam, Leghorn, Marseilles, Trieste, Malta, Alexandria, Moscow, Taganrog, Odessa, Vienna, Constantinople, Smyrna, Thrace, Syria, and other parts of Asia. In Smyrna, all the shops that sold cloth belonged to Chians. To them also (with the exception of a few owned by Armenians) belonged the shops where every variety of silk and gold embroidered garments were sold. But even those whose business took them to Europe never settled there. When they had enriched themselves, or become old, they either gave up their business and returned to their own country, there to enjoy the remainder of their lives in the midst of their family, or sent their sons to replace them. Although the good fortune which attended them in foreign countries must no doubt have tended to make their sojourn there a pleasant one, yet were they always anxious to return to Chios, which offered them all the advantages of autonomous government, European civilisation, immunity from Turkish oppression, and a climate both temperate and healthy. Thither they all flocked, and the wealth they

¹ Hermes Empolaios.

brought back contributed not a little to the prosperity of the country. The inhabitants of Chios were divided into five classes :—Merchants, Artisans, Shopkeepers, Sailors and Farmers. Although the internal trade of the island was small, every man was more or less prosperous, both on account of its numerous manufacturing industries and because of the thrifty character of a people, who never spent the whole of their earnings. The commerce of Chios was greatly assisted, too, by the Psariots and Hydriots. Being most experienced and daring sailors, they were hired by the Chian merchants to make long voyages, and run corn and other provisions into blockaded ports—this was particularly the case during the wars that followed the French Revolution—and from these transactions there resulted enormous gains for all concerned. This, and the fear of political consequences, was the reason why the Chian merchants, although they could command the services of skilful shipbuilders (like those at Vrontado, who could build ships equal to those of any European country) and possessed a sufficiency of timber, did not own a fleet of their own. Resourceful enough in his industry to be able to earn money under almost any circumstances,¹ honest and trustworthy, economical and frugal, eager for learning and the acquisition of practical knowledge, ever marching forward along the road of civilisation, peace-loving and the enemy of strife and disturbance, cheerful and humorous,² the Chian presents the philosophical enquirer with an illustration of the enormous influence, exerted by laws and political surroundings, in differentiating the morality and character

¹ This was clearly proved after the destruction of Chios. Nearly all the rich families, then ruined and reduced to penury, have since been able to rebuild their fortunes.

² The humorous and jocular character of the Chian has led to their having been called "Gascons du Levant," and given rise to the saying, "Ides Chioti phronimon, ides prasin' alogon." ("When you have seen a sensible Chian, you have seen a green horse.")

of people practising the same religion, living under the same sky, and standing, one might almost say, upon the same patch of ground. "Après avoir franchi," (says Olivier) "un petit bras de mer je me suis cru transporté dans une autre region, sous un autre climat ; j'avais vu le grec courbé sous le joug du plus affreux despotisme, il était fourbe, grossier, timide, ignorant, superstitieux et pauvre (il y'a quelques exemptions à faire à la capitale) il jouit ici d'une ombre de liberté, il est probe, civil, hardi, industriel, spirituel, instruit et riche." And thus it was that foreign influence, and national morality—which constitutes the true wealth of a nation—the prevalence of order—indispensable to successful commerce—the peaceful disposition, the wholesome morality, and the great love of work which distinguished the Chian, and a temperate climate, all combined in rendering the island both prosperous and beautiful, and caused it to be looked upon by all Greeks, and the foreign travellers who visited it, as one of this earth's most favoured spots.¹

When the Chians had become rich, they so embellished their country, that the Europeans, seeing their fine houses, their beautiful gardens, and their sumptuously decorated churches, could think themselves back again in their own countries.

But the chief glory of the island, and a splendid monument to the love and learning so dear to the Chians—might it not be, that just as the first torch of learning was carried from Ionia to Greece, so was it destined, too, that from Ionia again should first be seen the gleam of an awakening fire?—was the magnificent public school. With a description of this school, which occupied a position in the centre of the town, we will

¹ "Je ne connais rien en Europe qui presente l'aspect d'une plus grande richesse que Scio ; c'est un jardin de 60 lieues de tour." Lamartine, "Voyage en Orient," p. 207.

commence our account of the public institutions of Chios.¹

¹ Trans. Note. Finlay, in his "History of Greece," vol. V, chap. v, p. 230, describes the character of the Chians in the following words:—

"The island of Chios had always retained the social superiority which it possessed under the prudent administration of the mercantile company of the Giustiniani. . . . Still the inhabitants were the portion of the Greek people which suffered the fewest evils from the Othoman domination during the eighteenth century. The causes of their happiness and prosperity during a long period, while the rest of their countrymen were poor and discontented, deserve to be examined with attention. The first fact to be observed is, that they were more honest and industrious than the other Greeks. It was their moral and social superiority which enabled them to secure to themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry.

". . . The superior moral character of the Chiots was acknowledged throughout the Levant. They were alike destitute of the insolence and rapacity of the Phanariots, and of the meanness and fraudulency of the trading Greeks of the Continent. The marked difference which existed between them and the rest of their countrymen was observed by every traveller and foreign merchant. It was generally attributed to the great privileges they possessed. This explanation was suggested, by the other Greeks, as an excuse for their own vices and dishonesty, and it was adopted by strangers without sufficient examination. It was said that Suleiman the Great, or rather his son Selim II, after the island had been subjected to the Othoman administration by Piali Pasha in 1566, had granted a charter to the Chiots, by which their previous local usages were confirmed. But this does not appear to have been the case. The supposed charter was nothing more than the toleration of the fiscal system of the Giustiniani, obtained by the payment of an augmented tribute.

"The true explanation of the moral superiority of the Chiots must be sought in their family education. . . .

"The prosperity of Chios, under Othoman domination, must consequently be considered as entirely due to the excellent education the inhabitants received for many generations in the bosoms of their families, and not to any extraordinary fiscal privileges and immunities the island enjoyed, nor to any peculiar favour with which it was treated by the sultans. Had the Chiots displayed the same spirit of envy and dissension, and followed the same course of selfish intrigues as the greater part of the Greeks, their peculiar privileges would only have become an additional incitement to dispute, and would have entailed greater misery on them than the direct operation of Turkish oppression. It was by union in their municipality, and good faith in their private dealings, that the Chiots rendered their ancient usages a blessing to their island, and their fiscal system an advantage to the people, instead of converting them into a means of gratifying the ambition of the wealthy archonts, and of enriching a few primates, as was the case in most other Greek communities.

Among the Chiots industry was honoured, and the honest and active citizen, whose personal exertions had gained him the respect of his fellow-countrymen, was selected to conduct the municipal affairs and to fill the local magistracies. Idleness was so universally despised, that in Chios alone, of all the Greek cities, there was no class of young archonts who considered it ignoble to be usefully employed, and who spent their time in soliciting from the Turks the post of tax-collectors, or in intriguing to be named primates by the influence of a pasha, in order to obtain the means of enriching themselves by acting as instruments of fiscal extortion. The superior morality of the Chiots in all relations of life, their truth and honesty, rendered their island for several centuries the most flourishing and the happiest portion of Greece, alike under the Othoman as under the Genoese domination."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Great Public School—The Public Library—The Hospital — Plague Hospital — Precautions against the Plague—Home for Lepers—Foundlings—Prisoners.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL.

CHIOS possessed three public schools, one in each quarter of the town. About the year 1792 the richer citizens combined, and by means of voluntary subscriptions purchased a spacious house, with a garden and large courtyard. They rebuilt the house at great cost (the building of the library and the making of the well alone cost 80,000 piastres of that period), and in it established the public school which was to become so famous later on. Amongst those who gave instruction there in the ancient Greek language, and in the sciences, were (at various times) Adamantius Rosios, Athanasius of Poros,¹ Vardalochos, John Tselepè, Dorotheus Proïos, and the learned Neophytus Bamba. Besides these, there were fourteen junior teachers. The additional subjects taught in the school, each by a specially qualified teacher, were the French and Turkish languages, drawing and modern church music. The excellent method of its teaching, and the rapid progress made by its pupils, so spread its fame throughout Greece that students flocked to it from all parts. In recent times the number of pupils had reached 700, of whom 200 were strangers. These latter, before being admitted, were bound to furnish

¹ "Saturday Magazine," 1836, vol. VIII, p. 67.

evidence of good morals and orderly behaviour. No one, either stranger or native, paid any fees, nor were the teachers allowed to accept the smallest gift. It was the custom, on the 15th of May in every year, for three of the junior teachers of the Greek language and one teacher of elementary mathematics, to move into the country (to a large house situated in the centre of the garden district called "Campos"), and there give instruction to the children of the families that resided in that district, and remain there until the 1st of November. The classes of the senior teachers, and those in which foreign languages were taught, had two months' vacation in the year. The junior classes continued throughout the year, except on Sundays and the great Holy Days. The senior teachers gave no instruction on Saturdays, on which day it was their duty to examine the junior classes. It was the duty of the headmaster, not only to examine the pupils in the city on Saturdays, but also those in the school in the country, and to make all the arrangements he might consider desirable. Order was kept by four monitors, who walked about the junior class-rooms and punished the disorderly, and, if disobeyed, reported to the ephors. If the delinquent, after being duly admonished by the ephors, did not mend his ways, he was expelled. The public examinations began on the 7th of January and lasted ten days, and were held in the presence of the Demogeronts, the Archbishop, the epitropi, and the ephors. The proceedings commenced with a prayer from the Archbishop, followed by speeches by the Archbishop and headmaster, in which the pupils were encouraged to persevere in the path of learning. Two or three of the pupils then recited passages they had prepared; prizes were distributed to those who had deserved them, and those who had particularly distinguished themselves were sent to Paris or Germany to perfect their knowledge at the public

expense, on the understanding that they would return to teach in the school.

The School of Chios possessed a fine chemical laboratory and a chair of chemistry, which was occupied by N. Bamba ; also a splendid printing press, which had been brought from Paris, at great expense and with much care, by the late Corai, and placed under the superintendence of Bayrhoffer, a German from Frankfort.¹ Four trustees and four ephors (managers), carefully chosen from among the most esteemed men in the island, managed the school, and provided for all its requirements. The revenue of the school was derived partly from dedications of the wealthy, to take effect on their death ; partly from donations received from time to time from Greeks of other parts,² and partly from the subscriptions of Chian merchants in all parts of Europe and Turkey, who paid a certain amount over to trustees appointed by themselves for that particular purpose. Another 10,000 piastres were collected yearly by the public and paid over to the school. As it had been the custom to provide very sumptuous wedding banquets, the cost of which pressed very heavily on the parents of the bride on account of the very large number of guests they were expected to invite, it was decided, in order to relieve the parents, and to lighten the burden of the school, that in future only very near relations and intimate friends from abroad, who might happen to be staying in Chios, should be invited, and that the bride's father should pay over one per cent. of his daughter's dowry to the school ; and the Archbishop was forbidden to grant a marriage licence except on the presentation of a certificate showing that the amount due to the school had been duly paid. The yearly expenses of the school amounted to 50,000 piastres,

¹ Mention of this press, and of the excellence of the school, is made in "The Revue Encyclopédique," May 1819, p. 384.

² The late Varvakis alone contributed 125,000 piastres.

but the expenditure never exceeded the income, owing to the inexhaustible generosity of the Chians in providing whatever sum might be required. There was a law which directed that the anniversary day of the Three Hierarchs (the 30th of January) should be publicly observed; that the Archbishop should on that day officiate in the Church of the Brotherhood of the Holy Anargyri, and that the names of those who had helped the school should be commemorated. The service ended with the preaching of God's Word from the pulpit.

The school authorities made it a rule to succour all past teachers whose means were insufficient to provide them with the necessaries of life; and when a teacher could satisfy them that his salary (these were all paid quarterly) was not sufficient to enable him to meet his proper needs, the trustees and the ephors would come to his assistance. It is, however, worthy of remark that, in spite of all these excellent arrangements, very few Chian children received an adequate education, and that the pupils who did were either strangers, or, with few exceptions, not the children of the wealthy classes. The reason of this was that the Chian parents were so solicitous to foster a spirit of commercialism in their children, that, unfortunately for them, as soon as they had attained the age of thirteen, and were just beginning to reach the fringe of learning, they would be sent off to Smyrna or to Constantinople, insufficiently educated, and almost ignorant of their mother tongue!

THE PUBLIC LIBRARY.

This was added to the school buildings in the year 1817. It was of noble proportions, and capable of holding a large number of books. In it were deposited, in conformity with a decree of the people, all the books belonging to the three "*Brotherhoods*" of the island, and

the libraries of the existing public schools. These together amounted to about 12,000 volumes in all. The Library was further enriched, from day to day, by the purchase of newly published works (out of a yearly sum of 3,000 piastres appropriated to that purpose) and through the benevolence of Philhellene European scholars, who, on the invitation of Corai, would gratuitously present copies of their valuable works to Chios. Further the Chians entrusted that same renowned Teacher of Hellenism (whose bust adorned the Library), with a yearly sum of 15,000 piastres for the production of the works of Greek authors. The Library was open to all between fixed hours. There the student would find paper, pen and ink for his notes, and could obtain the book he wanted from the Librarian. It was only the school teachers who were allowed to take books home with them.

THE PUBLIC HOSPITAL.

The Public Hospital was situated near the Church of the Blessed Virgin, in the southern quarter of the town, in the part called the "*Káto Ægialòs*" ("the lower strand"). This building was commenced in 1750, under the supervision of Dr. Petro Skylitsis, and was modelled after the one in Florence. It was completed in 1780.¹ Its disposition was good, and it could accommodate 200 patients, although the number never exceeded 130, and was generally from 70 to 80. It also gave shelter to about 30 old men, and 10 insane persons, who lived on

¹ Dr. J. Vouros, in his treatise on Hospitals (to which we are indebted for many of the above details), says, on p. 50, that, before the building of this hospital, there had stood on the same spot a small hospital, built in 1640. Perhaps that was the hospital referred to in my Genoese manuscript, and by Dapper when he says: "Il y a dans la ville (de Chio) une certaine place comme un bajert, où tous les pauvres et voyageurs Chrétiens sont reçus et traités charitablement pendant trois jours et trois nuits." (Description exacte de l'Archipel, p. 214.)

the basement floor, the whole of the upper floor (the only other) being reserved for the sick. The building was capacious, and divided up by several courtyards, and possessed a garden, a plentiful supply of water, a mill for grinding corn, and an oven to bake bread in. The hospital of Chios resembled the public hospitals of the ancient Christians, because not only was it open to all sick people (except lepers) but also to all poor persons and strangers, who received there, gratis, the medical treatment required by their malady. The hospital would only accept voluntary payments from well-to-do strangers, who were given separate rooms. Neither the Turkish Governor, nor the Cadi, were entitled to any fees for strangers who died in the hospital, nor had the trustees of the hospital to ask permission from the Turkish authorities before taking in strangers ; and if any patient happened to die in the hospital, and should direct in his will that any money he might have on him should be given to his heirs, the trustees would send them notice to come and take it. No doctor was specially attached to the hospital, but each of the doctors practicing in the town was engaged in turn to visit the patients twice a day, for a period of three months, and was paid for his services. The Demogeronts used to confine in the hospital any girls that might have fallen in love with Turks, so that they might learn prudence, and any young men they might suspect of leanings towards Mahomedanism. And for these reasons the doorkeeper was forbidden to allow anyone to enter the hospital without the permission of the trustees.

The hospital was managed by three trustees, permanently resident in the island, chosen amongst the most trustworthy and eminent of the inhabitants. It was the duty of the trustees to visit the hospital twice a day, to collect the revenue (its treasurer was the trustee who represented the Aplotaria quarter of the town), to provide

the food, and attend to every other matter that concerned the internal management of the hospital. Four widow ladies of the leading families superintended the interior economy of the hospital. The term of their office was two years, but some of them, out of philanthropy, served for ten, and each took it in turn to attend for a week at a time. They slept in the hospital, fed themselves at their own expense, washed the sick, combed the women's hair, attended to all who had need of their services, watched over the distribution of food and medicine, sent to the houses of the rich the material given them by the trustees, to be there made up, gratuitously, into clothes for the patients. All food required, was bought in large quantities and kept in store rooms, under the control of these ladies, who gave it out as it was required, and had to account for it to the trustees once a week.

The income of the hospital was about 6,000 to 7,000 piastres per annum, the expenses about 20,000. Now although the hospital had many endowments, and received many gifts and legacies,¹ as well as a share of the Sunday collections of all the churches, yet there would be occasions when (owing to want of fresh funds, or to an unusual amount of sickness) it would not be in a position to meet the difference between receipts and expenditure. When this occurred the Chians would call a meeting, and at it all those, whose taxation was assessed at over 50 piastres, would join in contributing, each according to his means, the amount required to balance the hospital accounts.

THE PLAGUE HOSPITAL.

This most beneficent institution was situate about fifteen minutes' walk from the town, to the North, on an

¹ Shortly before the Greek War of Independence, Varvaki sent a sum of 20,000 piastres to the Public of Chios, to be invested, and the income paid to the Hospital.

isolated piece of ground by the sea, and was surrounded with a high wall. Its main gate opened towards the sea, and on passing through one entered a wide court paved with variegated stones, around which were the doors of the bedrooms, each one separate from its neighbour. The upper floor was reserved for women, the lower for men. It had a considerable amount of grounds, and a tower (where the officials resided, and the food was kept), and a church called St. Nicolas, in which an annual memorial service was conducted by the Archbishop in remembrance of those who died of the plague, as was also done on the second Sunday in Lent at the Church of Campana. Attendants, male and female, and two priests lived in the building, the former to minister to the sick, the latter for the benefit of their spiritual health. There were also three health officers (called *Officia*) appointed for the island, whose duty it was, in case of notice of plague, to isolate the suspected part. In such cases no sick person was allowed to call in a doctor, unless he had been first visited by the three health officers, who, though experts themselves, would by way of extra precaution sometimes take persons with them who were specially familiar with the symptoms of this disease. Then, if they detected any suspicious symptoms, they would close the sick man's house, isolate him from his relations, and, if he were a poor man, take him to a bedroom in the hospital. The next day all his clothing was taken and subjected to disinfection for forty days, and the infected house fumigated. The inhabitants were then allowed to return to it, and take possession of their property. If the sick man was rich, he was allowed to remain at home, and those who had been exposed to infection were isolated elsewhere. If he died, he was carried to the hospital and buried there, and it was the duty of his relatives to disinfect the house, and the furniture in it.

The Chians, in order to ensure the efficiency of these provisions, represented to the Governor, who was also at the head of the Customs, that he ought to be a vigilant guardian of the island's health, because, when the plague was rife, the Custom House was closed, and the payment of duties arrested. Consequently a rule was made, that when any ship, or smaller vessel, sailed into the harbour, not only should no Customs officer go on board, but no one be allowed to land from it without the permission of the health officer. Every year a man was appointed to watch the harbour, and prevent infringements of this regulation. Besides this man, there were three inspectors, whose duty it was, accompanied by a doctor, to inspect all ships both coming in and going out. When a ship arrived from a place where the plague was prevailing, it was put into quarantine for six days only; but if a sick man was found on board, he was taken to the Plague Hospital, and the ship compelled to go outside the harbour, and remain there until the nature of the sufferer's illness was diagnosed. All ships, on their arrival, had to produce a certificate, showing they had come from a healthy port.¹ Unfortunately, notwithstanding all these well-considered precautions, it happened sometimes that the plague did find its way into the island, and decimate the inhabitants. This was mostly due to the number of small Turkish vessels which brought food over from Asia, and to the crews of Turkish men-of-war, who would land without undergoing examination. Thus, in the visitation of the epidemic in 1788, nearly 14,000 of the inhabitants perished, and 5000 in that of 1814. The hospital owned a certain amount of property. The income of this, and the legacies it received from time to time

¹ This was a very ancient ordinance dating from the fifteenth century. (Nicolo Nicolaide, "Navigation e Viaggi fatti nella Turchia," etc., Venet., 1580, p. 42).

were, except in cases of abnormal sickness, sufficient to meet its expenditure. When its funds were insufficient, the public would come forward and supplement them. The trustees of the hospital were only changed during particularly severe visitations of the disease, when the shops, too, were closed.

THE HOME FOR LEPERS.

This home for lepers, which was also called the Leper Village (and by the inhabitants of the part in which it was situated, Holy Hypakoè, after the church there), lay one hour's walk from the town, to the N.W., in a somewhat narrow, but, with its many fruit trees, and running streams of pure water,¹ most pleasant valley. This institution, which, as we have already mentioned, was founded by the Justinianis, was thereafter maintained by contributions from Christians.² A little later, a certain Panagias Mouzala (according to others, Calvocoressi), a Chian, built a church there, and to this were added some small habitations, as the number of lepers had increased. Later again, the public further added to the number of these habitations, so that they could accommodate 150 sufferers. There were now thirty little separate houses (with as many small gardens, which the lepers could cultivate for their amusement), of which eighteen were reserved for men, and the rest for women. The home had another church, called St. Lazarus,³ in imitation of the early hospitals in Palestine, which were dedicated to the Saint of that name, and under the protection of the Order of St.

¹ This place had been waterless, but a monk built an aqueduct, at great expense, and brought the water down to it.

² H. Justiniani, "Description de Scio," book III. "Sacra Scio," p. 22.

³ This church originally belonged to the Latins, but was exchanged by them for another close by called "Alitsaio," near which were some small houses where plague-infected persons were confined.

Lazarus. To this home came, besides the few Chian lepers, a great many strangers, especially from Mitylene, who, although they had an asylum in their own country, preferred the one in Chios, as it was cleaner and better managed. There was no doctor attached to the home, because the Chians, as well as all the other islanders, believing that the disease was, alas! incurable, thought it useless to have one there. But, when any fell sick with other illnesses, the trustees sent a doctor to attend to them. Four trustees directed the home. Of these two were changed every two years, and the other two every fourth year. Its yearly expenditure amounted to about 17,000 piastres, and was met by donations, and other offerings of the Christians, and payments made by the inmates when they happened to be in a position to afford them. It was the custom for one of the lepers to go round the houses every Monday, and on all public holidays, and to be given a large loaf, of about six to seven pounds. When a person was unwilling to give a loaf, he gave the equivalent in money.

FOUNDLINGS.

There was no special place for foundlings, but, when illegitimate children were born, their parents, wrapping them up securely and warmly, would take them at night and hang them on the handle of any door they might select. If the child had already been baptised, its name was fixed on to its clothes ; if not, those who took it in would have it christened, and then hand it on to the three trustees appointed by the Demogeronts for the purpose. The trustees found nurses for the babes, paid for their nursing and their necessary clothes. The nurses had to bring the children twice a month to the trustees, so that they might assure themselves of their health. On growing up the children were put out to service, and looked upon the trustees as their fathers.

The trustees then had them taught a trade, saw to their getting married, and attended their weddings. Many were adopted by childless women; but, if any of them died before they had legitimate children of their own, their property went to the trustees. These children were maintained by sums dedicated for the purpose by Christians, and when they were in need of money the public would lend it to them, without charging any interest.

PRISONERS.

Three trustees, elected to serve two years, visited those in prison twice a day, and gave them every morning and evening a sufficiency of food and lights. If any stranger was imprisoned for not paying his Capitation tax, they paid it for him and released him. Also, in the case of Chians too poor to pay the tax, they would ask the Governor for an account of the sum due from them, and when an agreement as to their number had been reached, they paid for them. This institution also had its income, which was supplemented by generous contributions from the public when its expenses exceeded its receipts. The trustees had to give an account of receipts and expenditure to incoming trustees.

CHAPTER XV.

Clergy—Churches—The Three Brotherhoods—Monasteries
Néa Monè—Turkish Authorities—The Demogeronts.

THE Clergy of Chios were controlled by an Archbishop appointed for life by the Patriarch of Constantinople. He had no authority over lay matters, and in these was bound to obey the Demogeronts without question. Nor had he any authority over any of the churches in the town or the country. His authority was merely disciplinary over the members of the clergy, in respect of their spiritual misdeeds, and for these he might arrest and confine them in his Metropolis. It was not the custom for him to visit at the houses, or to walk about the town. He had his winter residence near the Church of St. Nicolas, and his summer one out in the garden district. Besides the 5,000 piastres he received from the Public Treasury, he had other regular sources of income, and these, with the sums he received on the occasion of weddings, memorial services, funerals, and other functions, were enough to enable him to meet his obligations to the Great Church, and to leave him a sufficiency for his own use. He had no power to increase his income, nor did he dare to introduce innovations, because, if the public were dissatisfied with him, it could obtain his removal by the Great Church, as indeed once happened.

There were sixty-six churches in the town, and if to these you add those all over the island, about 600.¹ The

¹ This habit of building superfluous churches and chapels still

number of the clergy was proportionately great, and as it increased from day to day, the public was compelled to request the Archbishop to ordain no more priests or deacons without their consent. Altogether there were 100 priests and 20 deacons in the town, and in the country sufficient to serve all the churches. When a priest died, the first on the list of deacons was ordained to the vacancy and the second took his place. The priest before being ordained had to be at least twenty-five years of age, and was required to have good manners, a good moral character, and learning; and the preference was always given to the pupils of the Great School. His conduct in everyday life was first examined by the Demogeronts, and other leading persons, who, in the case of his having been a pupil of the Great School, would apply to the teachers for information as to the extent of his acquirements. If satisfied, the Demogeronts would propose him to the Archbishop for ordination, and the latter would decide upon his worthiness from the spiritual point of view. From among the most gifted of the priests, the Metropolitan would, with the approbation of the Demogeronts, select three to preach the Holy Gospel from the pulpit on the Fast Sundays of Lent, and on Christmas Day. All the above-mentioned churches, with the exception of a few, the property of private owners, who had built and maintained them, belonged to the Public. But should a private owner neglect his church, the Public would take it under its protection. Special trustees kept the accounts of the Public-owned churches, and if any of these got into debt, it would be assisted. But as these Church trustees would sometimes spend more on the upkeep of the Churches than was necessary, three ephors were appointed,

prevails in Chios. In Volisso alone, which has only 300 inhabitants, and within a quarter of an hour's walk of it, we counted 40 newly-built chapels.

and without their consent not even the smallest outlay was permissible.

In the town of Chios there were three large and beautifully decorated churches, that of the Holy Victors in the Aplotaria quarter, that of the Holy Anargyri in the Engkremo quarter, and that of the Holy Apostles in the Palaeokastron quarter. During Lent the churches were open from early morning, and on every Sunday a sermon was preached in each. For the support of these churches "*Brotherhoods*" were formed from amongst the inhabitants of the particular district in which the church was situated, and the members of these *Brotherhoods* each subscribed such sum as he might wish. When any member died, it was the duty of his *Brotherhood* to carry his bier, and provide candles and the other usual requisites of a funeral. But if the deceased had been a member of the other two *Brotherhoods* as well, which was generally the case, then they too were bound to send representatives to the funeral. The *Brotherhood* of Palaeokastron led the procession, that of Engkremo came second, and that of Aplotaria third. If the deceased had not already sent in his subscription, a small fee was due to his *Brotherhood*, but if he had there was no further payment to be made, except for the cost of the grave. When the funeral was "without invitation," as it was called, all the priests and deacons of the island would assemble at the church of the quarter in which the deceased had lived, and be presented with two small tapers, of which they would light the one and carry it, walking along slowly two abreast. These funerals took place with befitting display. When the deceased was a wealthy man, the Archbishop took part in the procession, wearing his archiepiscopal robes, whilst the priests wore white, and the deacons their gold embroidered garments. The choir chanted aloud as they marched along amidst a multitude of uplifted crosses and lighted candles, and

behind came the relations, followed by the crowd. The *Brotherhoods* possessed some property, but depended upon the contributions of their members. If, at any time, extraordinary expenditure had to be met, the wealthier members would come forward and assist according to their means.¹

There were seven monasteries in Chios, and two convents. The monasteries were: that of the *Dievthòn*, that of the *Restòn* in the north of the island, that of the Holy *Anargyron*, that of *Hagios Minàs* near the Kampos, that of the *Vretòn*, that of *Steròn* in the south, that of the *Néa Monè* in the west. The convents were those of *Chalándri* and *Kalimasià*. Of the monasteries, six were small and inhabited only by a few monks, who had churches with belfries, and lived by farming their land with their own labour. The income of the convents was small, and the nuns, about 250 in number, who nearly all belonged to honourable and leading families, were maintained by the work and help of Christians, though some were provided for by their own parents and relations. Three trustees, elected for two years, protected their interests. But the most important of all these institutions, and famed in all parts of Greece, was the Monastery of *Néa Monè*, and this we consider worthy of a more detailed description.

The *Néa Monè* lies about two hours journey south-west from the town, on a hill surrounded by mountains. It covers a large amount of ground, and in the middle of it stands a church of moderate size, built in the form of a cross. The interior walls of the church are overlaid with slabs of porphyry, skilfully worked. The lofty dome contains representations, in mosaics (still in fair preserva-

¹ Of all these churches the catholics of Chios were in later times only able to retain four, one in the city, St. Nicolas; a deserted one near St. Hypakoè called Alitsaio (perhaps Ellisaio); one in the Campos, and one in the village of Sklavia.

tion), of the Omnipotent, the Twelve Apostles, the Four Evangelists, and the Hosts of the Angels. Close to the church stands a high bell tower with a peal of four large bells, and a clock, whose striking can be heard at a great distance. Opposite the bell tower there used to be a table of porphyry, and a large water tank covered with a dome, supported by eight pillars. And this is how it is *said* that the Néa Monè came to be built. During the reign of Michael IV and Michael V (about the year 1030 A.D.) there dwelt in a cave at the foot of Mount Provato, where the Néa Monè now stands, three old men who led the lives of anchorites. Their names were Niketas, Joseph, and John. One night they found the whole of the wood on the lower slope of the mountain in a blaze, and only one single myrtle tree left unburnt, and on its trunk there hung the Icon of the Virgin. They built a small chapel on the spot in memory of the miracle. It so happened that at that moment Constantine Monomachos was living in Lesbos in exile. The three anchorites, having sailed to Lesbos, told him that he was destined to become Emperor. They received in return a promise that, if their prediction proved true, he would give them whatsoever they wished. Not long after, the Empress Zoe, having ascended the throne, recalled Monomachos and invited him to share her state. Then the anchorites came and stood before him, and begged him to give effect to his promise by building a church in commemoration of the miracle wrought by the Virgin. Monomachos, jealous of his royal word, forthwith commenced the building, which was completed after his death by Zoe's cousin Theodora. The monastery was subsequently granted absolute autonomy and many privileges, and these were, from time to time, confirmed by the Golden Bullae of the Emperors Isaac I, Constantine X, Romanus IV, Michael VII, Nicephorus III, and their successors.

The Néa Monè was inhabited by about 400 monks,¹ who by their labour had converted the surrounding forest into a beautiful garden. Although the Turks had deprived the monastery of the income it used to receive from the Customs, it had, owing to the many gifts from Christians, to the continual purchases of land, and the obligation of the monks to bequeath all their property to its use, become so rich that the Public had been compelled to pass a law forbidding further purchase of lands on its behalf. It is said that it owned one-sixth of the whole of the land of the island. Trustees from among the most respected persons in the island were appointed to watch over the interests of all the monasteries, but in the case of the Néa Monè, in order to protect its wealth from Turkish aggression, the trustees were the Demogeronts themselves. The monks paid neither tithe nor taxes, but only a small sum into the public treasury. The monastery was ruled by a Hegoumenos, who was changed every two years, and who was obliged to render an annual account of his expenditure to the Demogeronts. Neither the Governor nor the Cadi had authority to punish a monk for civil default, but when complaint was made, the accused was reported to the Demogeronts. The Hegoumenos was then invited to sit with them and the charge gone into, in the presence of the accused, and decided in accordance with justice. If convicted of misconduct, or immorality, the delinquent was exiled to the Holy Mountain. By this prudent course the scandal of Turkish interference with the clergy was avoided. The monastery was also the owner of many houses and churches in the town, and sent curates to them. When anyone of these died he was taken back to be buried in the cemetery of the monastery, and no fees whatever were payable to the Governor or the Cadi. It cannot be

¹ In the days of Tournefort (1700) there were 200 monks in Néa Monè, now there are only 80.

doubted that the successful administration of all these philanthropic institutions, and the beneficial operation of all these public arrangements, were due to the blended aristo-democratic character of the Chian system of government, and to the privileges enjoyed by the island, as we have shown, since the fifteenth century. For thus it was, that in spite of the curtailment of these privileges after the Venetian expedition, and the increase of taxation then imposed, and in spite of the paralysing and demoralising influence of a Turkish atmosphere, the Chians, by a judicious application of their wealth, were able to keep the goodwill of the most powerful members of the Divan, propitiate their tyrants, win new privileges, retain old ones, preserve the integrity of their religion, maintain the authority of their Demogeronts, and obtain almost any favour they might ask for. All those advantages they owed to the soundness of their judgment, to their love of country, to their assiduity, and to their predisposition towards all that is good, qualities which have ever characterised them. And this is why they of all the Greeks, who from the freedom of democratic government passed under the yoke, in turn, of the Macedonian, the Roman, the Genoese, and finally the Turk, I boldly venture to assert, were the least downtrodden, the least wretched and the least degenerate !¹

Two Turks from Constantinople, the Governor and the Cadi (Judge), governed the island, in form; but they knew before their arrival that they would possess no effective authority over the island, but would have to respect the decisions of the Demogeronts. The Governor would purchase from the Turkish Government the usufruct of the island (this included the Customs, the Capitation tax, the slaughter house dues of the Mole and the Kokkalà, the so-called "*Tachreli*," the weighing

¹ Corai, "Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce," p. 39.

dues, and the "*Gemiklikli*") for about 400,000 piastres. The Governor was changed every two years, and had about twenty soldiers under him to maintain order. So that there might be no opportunity for bribery, no one, either rich or poor, was allowed to visit him; and, when invited by him, no one might go without the permission of the Demogeronts, and on his return was bound to explain the reason of his visit. Only the Demogeronts (and then not the one from Palaeokastron, or the Frankish ones, except in the case of great urgency), and the Protomastors, were entitled to visit him freely. The Cadi entertained the concerns of the Turks, and might decide differences between Christians; but these, with the exception of a few among the lowest class, preferred to have recourse to the Demogeronts. He was changed once a year, sometimes twice. To him, and the Governor, were addressed the Imperial Decrees, and when these were of local application, the Demogeronts would be invited to hear them read. We shall see what the Cadi's remuneration was when we come to speak of the taxation of the island. The Fort was entrusted to the most prominent Turkish inhabitants of the island, and was provided with a Turkish guard. It was only in time of war that it received a regular garrison.

But the mainspring of the political life of the country, the mechanism upon which depended the effective working of all its laws and institutions, was undoubtedly the authority vested in the Demogeronts. These were elected, annually, from such of the leading merchants as were more particularly fitted to fill the post, by reason of their experience, age and honourability. Three of them were Orthodox, and two Catholics. Amongst the Orthodox, the first represented the Aplotarià, the second the Engkremo, the third the Palaeokastron quarter.¹ As the

¹ The town is divided into three quarters or districts, called Aplotarià, Engkremo, and Palaeokastron.

first two named quarters were inhabited by the leading families, it was always easy to find persons eligible for each fresh year, and it was the rule that no one of them should be elected a second time. It was only the inhabitants of Palaeokastron, and the Catholics, as being few in number, who were elected oftener; and even in their case no one might be re-elected, except after an interval of some years. It was only the Demogeronts of Aplotarià, and Engkremo, who possessed any real influence. The office of Demogeront was considered a very high and honourable one, and those who filled it aspired to prove themselves worthy of public esteem, and, in order to retain the goodwill of the people, their ambition was always to prove themselves patterns of justice, philanthropy, firmness, incorruptibility and, above all, of impartiality, even when their nearest friends were concerned. On account of the very great responsibility attached to the office, no one ever wished to serve a second time, even although it was considered the most honourable of all positions.

The mode of the election of the Demogeronts was as follows. On the 3rd of February an invitation was issued to about forty of the most prominent citizens, inviting them to come to the Church of St. Photios. The Demogeronts, after asking for the forgiveness of anyone they might have injured, wittingly or unwittingly, requested to be replaced. The members of the meeting then expressed their thanks to the outgoing Demogeronts for their excellent administration. After this, all, except those who had at some time served as Demogeronts, left the room. It was requisite that there should remain twenty qualified persons, eight from Aplotarià, eight from Engkremo, two from Palaeokastron, and two Catholics. The Demogeront from Aplotarià would then hand a closed envelope to each of the eight representatives of his quarter, and the same course would be followed by

the Demogeront from Engkremo. Then the sixteen envelopes were opened, and twelve would be blank, and the four would contain the word "*Remain!*" Those who received blanks would then depart. There then remained in the Church the four who had received the envelopes with "*Remain!*": the five outgoing Demogeronts, the two representatives from Palaeokastron, and the two Catholics, thirteen persons in all. The Demogeront from Aplotarià then read a list of names, and marked three, and the one from Engkremo did the same. Out of these six names, after lengthy deliberation, five were agreed upon. The Demogeront from Engkremo would then take the names of those decided upon to the Cadi, whose chief secretary would have the order of appointment "*Hontseti*" already written out with blanks for the names. When the names had been filled in, the Demogeront would take the appointment back to the church, where the others were waiting for him. Then the doors of the church were opened, and the names of the newly appointed magistrates announced to the expectant crowd. And thus was employed that notable day of February the third. The following morning the new Demogeronts came, by invitation of the old ones, to the Christian House of Justice, called "*Mezàs.*"¹ There they received the congratulations and good wishes of the outgoing Demogeronts, and, following them, were presented to the Governor, the Cadi, the Commander of the Fort, and, lastly, to the Metropolitan Archbishop, who read prayers on behalf of both the outgoing and incoming magistrates, and dismissed them with many expressions of goodwill. On coming away from the Archbishop, the new Demogeronts walked in front, and the outgoing

¹ According to Coräi ("*Atakta,*" vol. V, p. 202), *Mezàs* is derived from *Mesi*, a Græco-Roman word signifying a place where justice is dispensed.

ones behind, and these, on arriving back at the *Mezà*, handed over to the newcomers the conduct of affairs. There was a law which forbade any of the electors to leave the country at any time during the two months that preceded the election of Demogeronts. Strict orders were given to the Custom House officials to prevent evasions, and if anyone was caught whilst attempting to escape, he was interdicted by the Archbishop, and was bound to appear on the morrow and publicly ask for forgiveness. Should he neglect to appear within three days, more severe punishment was meted out to him. But this seldom happened, because rich and poor, priests and laymen of all degrees, even the Archbishop himself, regarded the *Mezàs* with reverence and holy fear.

The first and most sacred duty of the Demogeronts was the safeguarding of all the inhabitants of the island. They attended the *Mezàs* daily, and listened to the complaints of the people; and the press of business was often so great that they could find no time to go home for their meals. They visited the Governor every day. They inspected the prisoners and enquired into the causes of their detention; talked the cases over with the officer of public order and, if the offence was a small one, settled the penalty, generally a light one, as the prisoners were for the most part people of the poorer classes. If the offence was a serious one, they referred the matter to the Governor, and settled it with him. If a man was imprisoned for debt, they tried to arrange matters between him and his creditor, and if they discovered that the debtor was really unable to pay, and the creditor proved obdurate, the Demogeronts would release the prisoner, and recommend his creditor to exercise a little patience. And if the debtor was unable to pay even the Governor's perquisite, of 10 per cent. of the debt, the Demogeronts would induce the Governor to accept a reduction, and pay the difference out of their own pockets.

It was also the duty of the Demogeronts, whenever a Christian of whatsoever class was threatened or beaten by a Turk, to report to the officers of the Fort, and they, in order to remain in favour, would punish the offender according to his offence. If the crime was a serious one, or had been committed by a Turk of rank, and these officers hesitated to take upon themselves the responsibility of punishing the offender, the Demogeronts would refer the matter to Constantinople. There the three Representatives of the public of Chios, who enjoyed the purchased friendship of the Turkish dignitaries, would obtain the equitable punishment of the criminal.¹ There were many such cases, so the Turks having them before their eyes, realized that it was necessary for them to behave peaceably towards the Christians, to avoid the slightest infringement of the local customs, and to be circumspect in their dealings with the inhabitants.

It was also the duty of the Demogeronts to see that the island was always well supplied with food, and when there was a shortage to call a meeting, report the fact, and appoint honest men to act as purveyors. Another of their duties was to preserve the integrity of the local customs, just as the censors of ancient Rome were wont to enforce the strict observance of similar usages. "Il y a d'exemples" (says Montesquieu) "pires que les crimes, et plus d'états ont périés parce qu'on a violé les mœurs, que parce qu'on a violé les lois." In order to restrict luxury—the result of inequality of fortune which enervates the rich, and increases the sufferings of the poor — and to avoid rousing the cupidity of the

¹ We owe it to the memory of Demetrius Skanavi, banker to the Sultana Asma, mother of the Sultan Selim, to record the services rendered by him to the island. The dismissal of a guard of 300 Janissaries, who had been oppressing the inhabitants, was due to his intercession. He was an intimate friend of the Sultana's, and on her death was killed in Constantinople.

Turks,¹ the introduction of expensive foreign clothing into Chios was forbidden, as was also the wearing of embroideries, cashmeres, and diamonds. Only diamond rings and pearl earrings were permitted. The prohibition of expensive foreign apparel was promulgated in an archiepiscopal letter. This letter was read aloud in the churches, and in it the Archbishop stated that the prohibition was dictated by the Demogeronts. Ten leading personages were appointed to see that these orders were strictly obeyed, and to report transgressions. On any such breach of the law being reported, the Demogeronts would call a council, and it would decide the manner of punishment. If the offence was slight, the delinquent was handed over for ecclesiastical punishment. If serious he was either imprisoned or whipped by the Turks on the order of the Demogeronts, without any interference whatsoever from the Governor. These were the duties and obligations of the Demogeronts. We will now consider the extent of their authority, and how far it was restricted by the Councils.

The Demogeronts possessed great power, because they judged, decided, and punished as they thought fit. They commanded the respect of all, high and low. They had the first places in the churches. In the *Brotherhoods* they sat in specially constructed seats. They had precedence everywhere, and when passing were saluted by everyone. Yet their rule was not absolute, even apart from the limit imposed upon it by the Councils. For had one of them infringed a local custom, or shown partiality in his judgments, or misapplied public money, in short, had failed in his duty to the public, he would have been removed from office by the leading citizens. But such an occasion never arose, because the Demogeronts were

¹ After the fall of the Justinianis, the Catholics, fearing the Turks, obtained an order from the Pope forbidding the wearing of expensive apparel.

always anxious to avoid public censure and loss of public esteem, and ever careful not to give cause for criticism at the Councils. There were two Councils, the Great and the Small. The first consisted of from 40 to 50 of the leading men of the island, and was convoked when questions of great importance required consideration. This Council decided, in the case of shortage of provisions in the town, the amount of fresh supplies required, and appointed men to watch the sales and purchases of the market. If when the fresh supplies had arrived, it was found that the island had no immediate necessity for them, they would reserve them until the fear of shortage was past. Should these provisions threaten to perish in the meantime, they would be apportioned amongst the wealthy taxpayers, according to their assessments, and the public incurred no loss. The Great Council decided about the checking of abuses, the helping of public institutions in need of money, the punishment for infringements of customs, the planning of new municipal schemes, and generally about all other matters that concerned the welfare of the town. The Small Council consisted of 8, or sometimes 15, of the most distinguished men in the island, mostly past Demogeronts. It was convoked oftener than the Great Council, and decided differences where arbitration had failed, and gave the benefit of their experience to the Demogeronts in all matters, and on all occasions, when the latter were in doubt as to the course they should pursue. In these councils the Demogeronts had no predominance, but they alone introduced business, and the Council decided upon it. The decisions of the Council were irrevocable, as were also those of the Demogeronts. It was in this way that the Councils were able to limit the authority of the Demogeronts, and complete the aristo-democratic system of government of the island of Chios.

CHAPTER XVI.

Commercial Court—Maritime Court—Notaries Public—Arbitrators—Administration of Villages, and of the Mastic District—Law of Inheritance—Intestacy—Childless Marriages—Dowries—Mortgages—Betrothals—Leases of Land—Trustees—Wills—Contracts of Sale and Purchase—Capitation Tax—Death Dues—Wine and Spirit Tax—Salaries—Assessment for Taxation—Rural Taxation—Customs Dues—Industries.

THE island possessed two mercantile Courts of Law, the Commercial, and the Maritime.

THE COMMERCIAL COURT. When the commerce of the island only consisted of a trade in silks and gold embroidered fabrics of local manufacture, and the chief merchants were the shopkeepers of Constantinople and Smyrna, this Court was entrusted to the members of that class. But when the number of articles dealt in increased, and the area of trade expanded, five judges, called "*Protomastors*," were elected to transact the business of the court; one from among the shopkeepers of Constantinople, a second from those in Smyrna, a third from those who traded with Europe, and the remaining two from among the merchants in the island. It was the duty of these judges to consider all questions arising out of mercantile dealings, to settle, in conjunction with the chief of Customs, the Tariff of import duties, to take cognisance of bills of exchange which the *Mezàs* refused to entertain for want of formality, and to enquire into bankruptcies. When a man failed, he would send his accounts to the *Protomastors*, with a statement of assets and liabilities. The judges would then call the creditors,

and enquire into the causes of the failure, so as to see whether it was an honest one or fraudulent. If the failure was honest, the judges would accept the debtor's statement and give him a certificate which protected him from molestation by his creditors ; and the amount to be paid by the debtor, and the date of its payment, would be arranged. If the bankruptcy was fraudulent, the debtor's statement was not accepted, and he could be prosecuted and imprisoned by his creditors. The Promastors had powers of punishment similar to those exercised by the Demogeronts. In important cases they convoked meetings, and called in the members of the Councils, and the Demogeronts, to assist them.

THE MARITIME COURT. This court was established in 1805, to relieve the other courts, and was presided over by three citizens, called "*Deputati*," elected by the Demogeronts. They had jurisdiction in all disputes relating to shipping matters.

THE NOTARIES PUBLIC. There were two Notarial Offices in Chios, one in the Aplotaria, and the other in the Palaeokastron quarter. There were four Notaries in the first, and two in the second, but they all had equal powers. They were elected by the Demogeronts. These Notaries were the general depositaries of the money of the inhabitants. They entered a record of all their transactions in a book called "*Mána*." They kept all original documents, and only issued copies. They were forbidden to draw deeds for persons personally unknown to them. They were not eligible as arbitrators. They might not charge more than the legal tariff. No mortgage was valid unless executed in the presence of a Notary.

ARBITRATORS. We have said that the Demogeronts judged and decided in almost all matters. But in cases of disputed inheritances, party walls, drains, watercourses, boundaries, or other similar matters, that required

personal enquiry or inspection, the Demogeronts would direct the disputants to elect Arbitrators. When these had come to a decision they handed their award to the Demogeronts. The Demogeronts then read it out to the parties concerned, and it became binding upon them.

Let us now see how the villages and Mastic Districts were administered.

VILLAGES AND MASTIC DISTRICTS. Out of the 66 villages of Chios, 42 were under the administration of the town. Of these, 36 were to the north of the town, and the remaining 6 near the *Kampos*. Each village elected two "*Geronts*" who remained in office for a year. The Demogeronts took no part in their election, unless there was difference of opinion. The more important villages also possessed a Notary Public, who was often the Priest. The *Geronts* of each village entertained the differences of the Christians, but the parties had the right to refer the case to the Demogeronts. The Demogeronts, however, always supported the judgments of the *Geronts* when they had decided justly. If a Turk oppressed a village, the Demogeronts protected it to the best of their ability, and when the Governor would write to the *Geronts*, requiring the delivery up of a villager for punishment, they would make pretence of looking for him, and would, in the meantime, write to the Demogeronts, and these would get the matter settled.

The Mastic villages, of which there were 21, belonged to important Turks of the Empire, and were under the management of one of them, who sent a special agent to collect the mastic, and administer the district. The Mastic villages also had their *Geronts*. There were two of them, and they exercised jurisdiction over all the villages of the district, and were called "*Epitropi*." Only these had right of access to the Governor. Three other villages, Daphnon, Vasilioniki, and Caryæ, which were under obligation to provide unpaid labour for the main-

tenance of the water supply of the town, had their own special Turkish Governor, called "*Neroulàs*," and their own *Geronts*, who were independent of the town authorities. There were *brotherhoods* in all these villages. They enjoyed unrestricted religious liberty, and their churches had belfries.

The Chians had no written laws¹ but were governed in accordance with the Turkish Code, and the ancient customs of the island, even when these conflicted with the Turkish laws. These customs depended upon tradition, but were in fact practically all defined in the Manual of Armenopoulo.² These customs were most religiously observed by the Chians, and had the force of laws, and, if the Turkish Government attempted to override them in any way, the Public would do its utmost, by gifts and other measures, to prevent the slightest encroachment. Among these customs the chief were:—

LAW OF INHERITANCE. When a man died intestate, any sums he might have dedicated to religious and philanthropic institutions were first deducted, and the residue was then divided equally among his children, males taking double shares. The reason for this apportionment, which would appear contrary to natural justice, were as follows:—

Firstly, because when a man fell into reduced circumstances in his old age, his sons were obliged to support him.

Secondly, because if a man left debts, his sons were obliged to pay them, without being able to have recourse to their sisters' shares.

¹ The ancient Athenians had no written laws. Matters were settled according to traditional custom. Muller, "Hist. Univ.," vol. I, p. 78.

² This is the well known Codex of Laws, in six Books, of Constantine Armenopoulo (1587, apud Guillelmium Laemarium).

Thirdly, because the sons in case of necessity were obliged to pay for the bringing up of their needy sisters, and provide them with dowries.

Fourthly, because where the inheritance was small, and would, if divided up in the usual manner, have been insufficient to provide the daughters with dowries, the sons were in the habit of renouncing their interests.

Fifthly, because it was in accordance with Turkish law.

INTESTACY. When a man died intestate his children and relatives inherited. If he left no descendants the inheritance went to his next of kin in direct line, and to collaterals. If there were no next of kin at all, it would go to the Turkish Government. But as the Ephors of the different public institutions generally persuaded heirless persons to leave their property to these institutions, the Turkish Government seldom profited by an intestacy.

CHILDLESS MARRIAGE. Where a husband or wife died childless, the survivor would take half of the property of the deceased, and the other half would go to the next of kin. This of course only applied where the deceased died intestate.

DOWRIES. A married woman could, on the death of a relative, claim her share of the property; but any sum she had received as a dowry had to be deducted, and in such cases the whole property was shared in the manner we have first indicated. But, if the property was not sufficient to enable males to receive double of what the females had received as dowries, the females were not bound to return their dowries. The dowry was considered the inalienable property of the husband and children of the marriage. If a man failed in business, the whole of his property, both personal and real, was presumed to be subject to a tacit, but enforceable, lien in favour of his wife's dowry.

MORTGAGES. All mortgages required to be executed in the presence of a Notary, and had to be registered in the notarial books for the protection of creditors.

BETROTHALS. The first requisite of a Contract of Betrothal (which had to be prepared by a Notary) was the consent of the parties, if they had attained their majority, and the consent of their relatives if they had not. The second was the fixing of the amount of the dowry, generally done by a third party. But among the leading families the verbal promise of the parents was considered sufficient. If the betrothal was repudiated by the man, without the woman's consent, he was incapacitated from marrying any Chian woman. But the woman, and her relations, were always at liberty to cancel the contract, in which case all presents from the man were returned to him.

LEASES OF LAND. All public lands were leased for one, two, or three generations, at a fixed yearly rent. All damage, unless due to unforeseen circumstances, or pure accident, had to be borne by the lessee.

TRUSTEES. Trustees were under great responsibility, especially in the case of the property of minors. They were generally selected among the relatives of the minor, but, when there were no relatives, the Demogeronts appointed persons of wealth and proved honesty.

WILLS. Everyone owed implicit obedience to the dispositions contained in a will. No one might contest them.

SALES AND PURCHASES. Sales of land had to be effected in the presence of a Notary, and recorded in his books. But sales, even though not so recorded, were valid when they were attested by trustworthy witnesses.

Leases of houses and lands were governed by customary conditions as defined in the Codex of Armenopoulo.

CAPITATION TAX. Except for a few duties, the Chians

paid no tax, except the Capitation Tax "*Haratch.*" This was divided into three categories. The first, of 11 piastres, was paid by persons of position; the second, of $5\frac{1}{2}$ piastres, by the middle class; and the third, of 3 piastres, by children who had attained their twelfth year. The whole amounted to about 90,000 piastres a year.¹

The duties payable by the inhabitants to the Turks were the following:—

DEATH DUTIES. These were paid to the Cadi, who was entitled to claim $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the deceased's estate, according to Turkish law, but the Demogeronts made an ordinance by which this percentage was limited to estates exceeding 20,000 piastres. Even if the estate was greater, the Cadi was still only entitled to 500 piastres, but the next of kin paid a further sum of 166 piastres to the officials of his Court. In the case of small estates the Cadi received 30 paras from each child. When a woman died, a small duty was paid in respect of her dowry. To give effect to these arrangements, when a man died his name was inscribed in the Metropolitan Church, and the Archbishop sent a monthly list of these names to the Demogeronts. These examined the list, and with the assistance of persons acquainted with the deceased's financial position, fixed the amount payable to the Cadi, who was bound by their decision. The Cadi was further remunerated by fees for documents required in dealings with Turks.

PROPERTY TAX. This was paid by the Demogeronts

¹ The amount of yearly tax paid by Chios to the Sultans varied from time to time. In the days of the Justinianis it was first 4,000, then 10,000 ducats, 5,000 of which were paid in mastic (Bellonius, "*Plurimar. Observat.,*" etc., p. 198). In 1700, it was 18,000 risdalia, according to Dapper ("*Description des îles de l'Archipel,*" etc., p. 17), or, according to Wheler, 18,000 piastres, who also says that when a man died his heirs had to go on paying his quotum for three years (Spon Wheler, "*Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmat.,*" etc., Lyon, 1678, vol. I, p. 198).

to the Governor, and amounted to 4,500 piastres. This insignificant tax, called "*Tachrili*," was contributed by the owners of property.

WINE AND SPIRIT TAX. This amounted to 17,500 piastres, and was paid by the sellers of wine and arrack.

SALARIES. The island paid the Captain Pasha an annual salary of 25,000 piastres. In addition to this, it paid the costs of entertaining him and his suite when visiting the island.¹

ASSESSMENT FOR TAXATION. To meet all these demands, the Public levied taxes on the property of the rich. The amount of tax payable by each individual was fixed by twelve Valuers elected for six years, four from Engkremo, two from Palaeokastron, and two from among the Catholics. Having met, and taken an oath of good faith and secrecy, they proceeded to a valuation of all the property, real and personal, of each citizen. These valuations were so accurate as even to surprise the owners. The Valuers were most careful not to overburden persons of the third and fourth classes; for when one of these might have been reasonably assessed at 100 piastres, they would put him down for only half that sum. When all the town, villages, and monasteries had been assessed and inscribed, the Valuation book was sealed up, and handed to the Demogeronts. They then, with the assistance of four reliable persons, proceeded to value the property of the Valuers themselves. When this was done, the book was opened and the assessments made public. Every man was liable to pay two per thousand on the value of his personal property, and one per thousand on his real estate, less a deduction of 25 per cent. on the combined value of the two, *e.g.*:—

¹ According to Spon ("*Voyage d'Italie*," etc., p. 496), the Chians were, at one time, bound to supply the Sultan with two ships at their own expense.

| | PIASTRES |
|---|-------------|
| say Personal Property | 30,000 |
| Real Estate (50 per cent. of gross value) | 15,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 45,000 |
| Deduct $\frac{1}{4}$ th | 11,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 34,000 |
| | <hr/> <hr/> |

that is to say, at 2 per thousand = 68 piastres. Fresh assessments were made every five years. If a man failed meanwhile, his assessment was lowered to meet the case. Originally the Tax collectors were changed every fifteen days, but later only every two years, and they were required to pay the sums collected into the Public Treasury. The Treasurer was appointed by the Demogeronts and the Small Council, and no one might refuse the post. There was also a tax of $\frac{1}{3}$ th per cent., payable by a husband on his wife's dowry.

Such were the fixed taxes. But when the Public was in need of extra funds the Demogeronts would call a meeting, and slightly raise the percentage of taxation. If the Public was in want of money in the meantime, it would borrow it at the rate of 8 per cent., and repay it out of the extra taxation. In this way the Public debt never became burdensome.¹

RURAL TAXATION. The Taxes paid by the villages were the *Tachrili*, and *Capitation Tax*; the latter being assessed by agreement with the Governor at a fixed amount. The town Valuers also acted for the villages, and the *Geronts* collected the taxes.

The mastic villages, whose inhabitants were under a special Governor "*Aga*," paid a total Capitation Tax of

¹ The credit of the Public of Chios enabled it to borrow at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. It also held a small amount of money belonging to widows, orphans, and maidservants, upon which it paid 8 per cent. in order to help them.

3,000 piastres, and were not liable to the town taxes. But owing to bad management they were more heavily taxed than the townspeople. They also paid heavily in the matter of mastic. Of this the State appropriated 21,000 okes;¹ the remainder was taken by the Governor at 2½ piastres the oke and sold by him at from 8 to 30 p. the oke. The Governor had the right to heavily punish all smugglers of mastic, both villagers and townspeople. When the collection of mastic was going on, the two roads leading to the district were strictly guarded, and no one was allowed to take any of the gum away. There is no doubt, however, that some did get smuggled through. Every villager knew the amount of his yearly contribution, which was fixed, and if his crop was short, would buy from his neighbours to make it up. Those of the mastic owners who lived in the town paid 1 per thousand on their property to the Public Treasury.

All Catholics, and all the Greek clergy, except the Metropolitan, were subject to taxation; but taxes were not paid by the teachers of the school, by Demogeronts in office, by the three villages, Vasilioniki, Daphnon and Caryæ² (to compensate them for bringing the water down to the town), by the Turks, as being both poor and few in number, and by foreigners.³ But that which made the island both contented and peaceful was the fact that the poor paid no taxes, and thus, enjoying safety, liberty and protection without payment, considered it their sacred duty to yield implicit obedience to those in

¹ In the time of Poccoke (1740) they only paid 5,020 okes. ("Description of the East," p. 2.)

² We have already mentioned the aqueduct maintained by the villagers of Vasilioniki and Daphnon. The villagers of Caryæ maintained the water supply of the "*Old Spring*," and also that of *Astradona* (a corruption of *Nostra Donna*). This water, known as the "*Water of Koukià*," was the best in the island.

³ But if they purchased real estate they paid the same as the natives.

authority, and realised that their own prosperity was bound up with the successful administration of the island.

CUSTOM DUES. Import duties. These were 3 per cent. for Europeans, 4 per cent. for Turks, 5 per cent. for Greeks, Armenians and Jews. Export duties. These were 6 aspra, per ell, for all gold and silver woven fabrics, and 2 aspra, per ell, for silks manufactured in the island.

INDUSTRIES. Nearly all the arts (even sculpture) and trades were practised in Chios; but the only manufactures exported to other parts of the empire were silks plain and woven, ganges, knitted purses, and cotton cloths. The silks were manufactured in the Palæo-kastron and Frankish quarters. The village women spun the cotton, made linen for their own clothes, also heavy cloth for sails, sheets, socks, caps, twills (the best came from Kalimasia) and other similar articles. Twelve hundred silk factories had already been in existence for seventy years, and their manufactures were sent to all parts of Turkey, and were considered superior to those of Damascus and Aleppo, and almost equal to those of Lyons.¹ But when, owing to the fraudulent use of inferior material, this trade began to decline, the Public in 1805 started an Association to which anyone might belong by buying shares at 500 piastres each. When 150 of these had been sold, eight inspectors were appointed to supervise the manufacture of the fabrics, and importation of similar articles from abroad was forbidden. Success attended the scheme, but being abolished two years later, owing to the opposition of the other manufacturers, the trade again began to languish, and finally died out.

Many of the women employed themselves, at home, with the manufacture of sweetmeats, biscuits, rusks, and

¹ Olivier, "Voyage dans l'Emp. Ottoman." p. 138.

such like, and preserved fruits and flowers, such as the confection known as "*Rose sugar*." The villagers occupied themselves with husbandry, and such of them as had no land worked as stone-hewers and stone-breakers. The village of Didymi supplied white stone, that of Latomion red porphyry. The inhabitants of Erytho, Vrontado and Livadeia were shipbuilders and sailors, those of Harmolia made quantities of earthen vessels out of the local clay. But the greatest of all the products of Chios, and a speciality of the island, was the gum mastic. This only grew in twenty-one villages, called "*Mastico-choria*."¹ The annual crop exceeded 44,000 okes.

Another product of the island was turpentine, but the annual crop of this product was only about 250 okes.

Although a good amount of cotton was grown in the island, it was insufficient to meet the wants of the manufacturers, and it had to be supplemented from Thrace. Nor was the silk produced in the island (although it exceeded 20,000 okes a year) sufficient for the factories, and more had to be imported from Syria, Adrianople and Broussa.

Oranges, lemons and citrons grew in profusion² and were exported. Besides these, the island produced sweet lemons, almonds, figs, called "*Kavouria*" (the best of which came from Kalimasia), oil, wine, honey, wool, arrack, wax, and partridges in great quantities.

¹ If these mastic trees are transplanted to other parts of the island, they either wither, or do not produce resin, as one can see for oneself in many places in Chios. The trees in the south of France produce little, and the leaves are smaller than those of the Chian trees. The inhabitants of Chios believe, according to old tradition, (a belief shared by Allatius) that the mastic district owes its virtue to the fact that St. Isidore suffered martyrdom in that neighbourhood! The manner in which this resin is collected, and its varieties, are fully described by many travellers, especially by Tournefort, Olivier, and Gouffier, to whose works the reader is referred.

² The scent of the blossom in Chios could be distinguished two leagues out to sea.

CHAPTER XVII.

Concerning the Women of Chios.

WE have spoken elsewhere about the character and upbringing of the Chians; but as women constitute a considerable portion of our social life, and as we are very greatly dependent upon their qualities, good or bad, for the joys of life, and the formation of our moral character, we owe it to them to say a few words about the women of Chios. The Chian women were, almost invariably, charming, witty, virtuous and beautiful;¹ but their tasteless and cumbersome mode of dress disfigured their bodies, and the excessive use of injurious cosmetics soon impressed their faces with the appearance of age. Nor, as was generally the case with all the Greeks of that period, had they much education, but were considered quite sufficiently taught when they could read and write. On the other hand, they were most excellent housewives, ministers of peace in their homes, content to live frugally and modestly, and considered their husbands' happiness their greatest joy. It was indeed a pleasing sight to watch the girls as they sat for amusement outside their houses in the evening, exchanging jokes with the young men standing round. The consciousness of their own innocence and their innate bent for mockery incited them to exchange jests even with people whom they did not know, and more particularly with European strangers visiting the country.

¹ Tournefort, "Voyage au Levant," pp. 142, 147. Chandler, "Travels in Asia Minor," p. 56. Hasselquist, "Travels in the Levant," pp. 17, 20.

They allowed no passer-by to go without a word, but chewing mastic, or cracking nuts, would fearlessly fire some witty comicality at him, and receive a congenial retort. One might imagine that a considerable amount of irregularity would follow upon such freedom, but this was rarely the case. And even the few that did stray, did not openly parade their shame, but sought to cover it with the cloak of secrecy. And this is why no visitor to the island ever failed to modify any unfavourable opinion he might have first formed with regard to the freedom of manner permitted themselves by the Chian women.¹ Of an equally innocent character was their gaiety on the banks of the smooth running stream of Parthenis, where, assembling on holidays and during carnival time, they sat and ate, and listened to the simple tunes played by the local musicians. There, too, they danced with the young men of good family, who would either ride, or walk out, in numbers from all parts of the island. There, with sweet-scented flowers in their hair, they displayed a joyous temperament that harmonised with the flower-bedecked gardens around them, and the genial sky above.²

¹ Nicolas Nicolaide, "Navigation e Viaggi," etc. Murhard, "Gemahldes des Griechischen Archipelagus," p. 352.

² Trans. Note. The character, personal appearance and dress of the Chian women is very fully described in the following extracts from various French authors, whose visits to the island covered a period of 275 years (1546-1821), as transcribed by Prince D. Rhodocanachis in his "Justiniani-Chios." Syra 1900.

PETROS BELON, who visited Chios in 1546, writes :—

"Il n'est autre ville ou les gens soyent plus courtois, qu'ils sont à Chio. Aussi est ce le lieu de la meilleure demeure que scachions à nostre grè, et ou les femmes sont plus courtoises et belles. Elles rendent un infallible tesmoinage de leur antique beauté : car comme une nymphe en l'isle de Chio surpassant la neige en blancheur, fut appellée de nom grec Chione, c'est à dire neige, tout ainsi l'isle prenant le nom de la nymphe fut surnommée Chio. Les hommes aussi y sont fort amiables. Et combien qu'elle soit isle Grecque, toutesfois pour la plus part lon y vit à la Franke, c'est à dire à la façon Latine. Neantmoins plusieurs d'eux sont Grecs, et veulent

vivre à la Grecque, tellement qu'il est loisible à un chacun de choisir et eslire telle manière de vivre qu'il voudra."

"Les observations de plusieurs singularitez et choses memorables trouvées en Grèce," etc. "A Paris, chez H. Marnef." 1588, 4to, p. 186.

JULIAN BORDIER, who visited Chios in 1604, writes :—

"Certes en ceste assemblée, donnée par le Sieur Nicolo Misaguy, l'un des principaux habitants de la ville de Scio, se pouvoit dire estre la fleur des femmes et filles de toute la Grèce. Car il est indubitable que, de toutes les parties du Levant, les Scioyses, d'un commun jugement, sont estimées les plus accomplies, gracieuses, belles et accostables femmes et filles de tout le Levant en général, et qui le moins s'adonnent au vice. La forme ou façon de leurs vestemants de corps est estrangement disconvenable à leur maintien et gravité, bien qu'ils soient très riches et somptueux, comme nous vîmes en ce bal et ailleurs de toutes qualités de femmes qui fussent en l'isle. Celles de qualité portent robes de velours plain ou figuré, satin, damas à grands feuillages, broquats ou autres estophes de prix, dont la plus part se fait sur le lieu ; qui rend toutes ces estophes communes."

"Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut Biron," etc., 1605 à 1610. "Voyage à Constantinople," etc., par le Comte Théodore de Gontaut Biron., à Paris, 1888. 8vo, pp. 39, 42.

MELCHIOR THEVENOT, who visited the island in 1656, writes :—

"Pour les femmes de Chio elles sont très-belles, et de taille avantageuse, elles ont le visage blanc comme le plus beau jasmin, qu'elles portent ordinairement à leur tête, et je n'ai vu aucun pais dont les femmes aient au visage tant de beauté et tant d'agrémens. . . . Leur habit sert encore beaucoup à les faire paroître si agréables, car elles sont toujours fort proprement vêtues, et coiffées d'un linge fort blanc, fait en forme d'un petit capuchon rabattu par le bout ; outre tous ces agrémens, un autre plus solide est qu'elles ont toutes de l'esprit, mais un esprit enjoué et gaillard, qui les rend les plus agréables personnes de la terre."

"Voyages en Europe, Asie," etc. "Voyage du Levant," vol. I, pp. 318, 319.

ANTONIO DES BARRES, who visited the island in 1673, writes :—

"Mais les femmes de Chio sont belles, de taille avantageuse, le visage fort blanc, le teint bien uny. Elles en rehaussent l'éclat avec un beau vermillon qu'elles font d'une composition particulière, et que rend leur visage semblable au jasmin d'Espagne, dont elles ornent leur teste en profusion. Elles ont les mains belles, et le bras bien taillé, mais elles ne prennent pas tant de peine à conserver leur gorge. Elles laissent toujours découverte et exposée à l'air, aussi la plupart l'ont elles toute brûlée et toute noire. Pour de l'esprit elles en ont assurément et du plaisant et de l'enjoué. Elles sont agréables en conversation mais un peu trop farouches à l'abord, et trop pleines de vanité dans la suite."

"L'estat present de l'Archipel." A Paris, 1678. 12mo, pp. 89, 91.

PITTON DE TOURNEFORT, who visited the island in 1701, writes :—

"Au reste le séjour de Scio est fort agréable, et les femmes y ont

plus de politesse que dans les autres villes du Levant. Quoique leur habit paroisse fort extraordinaire aux étrangers, leur propreté les distingue des Grèques des autres isles."

"Relation d'un voyage du Levant," etc. A Paris, 1717. 4to. Vol. I, p. 386.

COUNT CHOISEUL GOUFFIER, who visited the island in 1776, writes:—

"Malgré le séjour d'un grand nombre de Turcs dans la ville de Scio, les femmes y jouissent de la plus grande liberté. Elles sont gaies, vives et piquantes. A cet agrément elles joindroient l'avantage réel de la beauté, si elles ne se défiguroient par l'habillement le plus déraisonnable et en même tems le plus incommode. On est désolé de voir cet acharnement à perdre tous les avantages que leur donnés la nature, tandis que les grecques de Smyrne et celles de quelques îsles de l'Archipel, plus éclairées sur leurs intérêts, savent encore ajouter à leurs charmes l'attrait de l'extérieur le plus voluptueux. Les habitantes de Scio sont toujours comme ces femmes auxquelles une toilette étudiée sied moins que leur simple négligé. Elles forment un spectacle charmant, lorsqu' assises en foule sur les portes de leurs maisons elles travaillent en chantant. Leur gaieté naturelle et le désir de vendre leurs ouvrages, les rendent familières avec les étrangers qu'elles appellent à l'envi, comme nos Marchandes du Palais, et qu'elles viennent prendre par la main pour les forcer d'entrer chez elles. On pourroit les soupçonner d'abord de pousser peut-être un peu loin leur affabilité; mais on auroit tort: nulle part les femmes ne sont si libres et si sages."

"Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce. Avec figures." Paris, 1782. Vol. I, p. 93.

THE COUNT MARIO DE MARCELLUS, who visited the island in 1822, shortly before the destruction of the island by the Turks, writes:—

"Ces jolies insulaires sont toujours aussi jalouses de leur réputation de sagesse. Leur toilette, fort lourde et peu gracieuse à l'époque du voyage de Tournefort, qui nous en a transmis un dessin inélegant, a reçu du temps et de la mode quelques changements heureux. Elles ont retranché cette espèce de coussin matelassé qu'elles portaient sur le dos, et aujourd'hui une sorte de spencer, qu'elles nomment *libadè*, serre leurs taille, et tient lieu de corset. Elles ont des robes roses, vertes, et blanches, pour la plupart fort courtes, des bas blancs, ou bleus, et des petits souliers rouges brodés comme les pantoufles des sultanes: leurs longs cheveux tombent sur leurs épaules, d'où elles les relèvent pour les rattacher sur leurs têtes avec des épingles d'or. Elles peignent leurs sourcils, mais jamais leurs joues, et elles mâchent presque toujours le mastic que l'on recueille dans la partie méridionale de l'isle. Ces jeunes filles ont une certaine hardiesse, et cependant une grande naïveté; elles sont innocentes sans être modestes; et si l'éducation ne leur à pas donné une réserve, et une gravité étudiées, elle n'a rien ôté du moins à leur simplicité et à leur enjouement naturels. . . . Pauvres jeunes filles de la plus belle île de la mer, qu'êtes-vous devenues?"

"Souvenirs de l'Orient." Paris, 1839. 8vo. Vol. I, pp. 203-204.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1821-1822.

The Greek War of Independence—Tombazi arrives in Chios—Fears of the Turks—They take Hostages into the Fort—Outrages by Turkish Irregulars—The Samians come to attack the Island—Lycurgus arrives in Chios—Behaviour of the Samians—Lycurgus usurps the Government—Anarchy in Chios—Arrival of the Turkish Fleet—General Massacre by the Turks.

SUCH were the public and charitable institutions of Chios, such its customs, its political constitution, and its social condition ; and such had been the storms of trouble and misfortune it had passed through, before reaching the peaceful haven of its later days. But, alas ! this happy state was not destined to endure. The glorious trumpet of the Greek Revolution has sounded ; Moldavia and Wallachia are stirring ; the Peloponnese, Thessaly, Epirus and the islands are rising ; Psara is solemnly raising the cross of Greek liberty ; Hydra and Spetzae are busy fitting out the fireships that will strike terror into the heart of the Turk and boldly burn his proudest ships ; Christians are slaughtered in Constantinople and other parts ; representatives of the leading families, eminent clerics, archbishops, priests, even the President of the Holy Synod, the Patriarch Gregorius of Blessed Memory, have been hanged. And now the whole of the Greek nation has cast off the chains of servitude and drawn the sword to fight a fight of life and death for liberty, a struggle that will command the wonder of the world. Of the famous Hetairia, and

of its plans, nothing had reached Chios, except that vague and mysterious whisper which precedes great events. Nor did the Turks entertain any suspicion about the Christians of the island. But on the 23rd of April, 1821, there suddenly appeared before Chios twenty-five Greek ships. On the breaking out of the Greek Revolution, the Hydriot fleet, under James Tombazi, had been sent to raise the islands, particularly Chios, on the urgent representations of Nicolas Bamba, then staying in Hydra. On his arrival in Psara, Tombazi was met by some of the leading men of Chios, who tried to dissuade him from his projected expedition to their island, but he refused to obey, and, urged by some other Chians who happened to be there, decided to sail for Chios. The Psarians contributed another ten ships, under Nicolas Apostoli, and the two captains, taking the twenty-five ships, sailed away, and anchored before the so-called "*Well of the Pasha*," in the north of the island. The same day they sent a stimulating proclamation of the Greek People to the Demogeronts, urging the Chians not to remain passive spectators of the great struggle. But the Demogeronts replied, that it was impossible for the inhabitants to take up arms, and implored the invaders to quit immediately, and not bring destruction down upon the island. Then the Greek fleet, seeing that the inhabitants were flying to the mountains whenever a Greek ship approached, and learning that the Turks had taken hostages into the fort by way of precaution, sailed away after six days. Before doing so, they exchanged a few shots with the fort, and overpowered some small vessels sailing along the coast.

Many have accused the Chians of cowardice, selfishness and want of patriotism, and of having considered only their own interests, and of having shown unwillingness to take a share in the struggle for liberty of the rest of the Greeks. Let us examine these charges, and see

whether they are well founded or not. Chios lived by commerce, which naturally induces a peaceable disposition.¹ Nearly all the inhabitants had commercial establishments, either in Smyrna, Constantinople, or other parts of Asia and European Turkey. The children of the well-to-do Chians, as soon as they had reached the age of fifteen, were sent to Turkey to learn business, and a great many of the villagers earned their living by carrying the produce of the island to Constantinople, or were employed to work in the gardens of the Turkish grandees. Under such conditions, the Chians were naturally more concerned with their business, than with thoughts about guns, of which there were hardly enough in the island for those who went partridge-shooting. Hence an alliance with the other Greeks was not possible. For would not this have exposed to the most obvious danger, we do not say their property, but the lives of their children in Turkey? And how would the sacrifice of these lives have benefited the cause? They themselves were not in a position to send, either money, ships, or trained men. Moreover, the island, besides being entirely dependent on Asia for its food supply, was only separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, and exposed to annihilation by the Turks, long before any help could reach it from Greece. Nor did the Chians even know whence came the authority for revolution. Can one then wonder that they were anxious to wait for a more favourable opportunity for taking a useful part in the struggle, and that they hoped, in the meantime, by gifts of money and the sacrifice of the few, to avoid the general destruction of their homes and country? That this was the manner of thinking of the Chians was clearly proved, both on the occasion of the unfortunately unsuccessful

¹ Montesquieu, "Esprit des Lois," p. 349 (Paris edn., "Œuvres Complètes.")

attempt of Fabier in 1827, and on the destruction of the Turkish fleet in Navarino Bay, when the Chians, all over Greece and Europe, contributed eagerly, generously, and to the best of their ability. They have, therefore, been unjustly condemned by those who have accused them of egoism, and of base indifference to the sacred duty owed to their country. Unjustly, too, have they been accused of want of patriotism, in that they failed to take up arms for the liberty of the Greek nation. The disposition and the circumstances of nations are not easily changed; nor can one justly demand of a people that which does not lie within the sphere of its possibilities.¹

When the Greek fleet appeared before Chios, the Demogeronts in office were Michael Vlasto, John Patrikousi, and Hantsi Polychrones. As soon as the Turks had seen the Greek ships, they called the Demogeronts to the house of the Governor. On arriving, they found the Mufti, the Mullah and an exiled Pasha seated, surrounded by armed men. The Turks, after first asking them if they knew anything of the object for which the ships had come, told them to call the leading inhabitants of the town, so that they might talk over the interests of the country. Shortly after, although they suspected the object for which they had been invited, to avoid giving cause for suspicion to the Turks, about thirty of the leading men came and were ordered to follow the Turks, whilst the Demogeronts were told to wait. But, at the request of the others, the Demogeronts also followed, and thus they arrived at the fort. Shortly after, again, the Turks took the Metropolitan Plato into the fort, and also one of his deacons, and gave their prisoners only one wretched little room for them all. The day following passed without their receiving any message from the

¹ Blaquières, "Hist. de la Révolution de la Grèce," p. 209. Rizo, "Hist. de la Grèce." Pouqueville, "Hist. de la Grèce."

Turks. The third day, Vlasto, going to the Mufti, asked what they intended doing with them. Then the Mufti said that it had been decided that all of them should remain as hostages, so that the people should be kept quiet and under restraint. The unfortunate prisoners then realised that they had been cunningly trapped, but were obliged to obey. They asked for better accommodation, and were allowed, after much difficulty, to hire a small coffee house with a garden, inside the fort, for 50 piastres a month. Here they slept and ate together, receiving what they required from their friends outside. After a few days, those in the fort asked to be exchanged, in accordance with the promise given them, but the Turks, ever faithless to their word, not only refused, but added fresh hostages, so that now (beside twelve they had brought from the Mastic District) they had forty-six from the town. Further, they refused to allow any of these hostages, except the five Demogeronts and the Protomastors, to go into the town, even in daytime, to attend to their affairs, and they all had to be back in the fort again by nightfall. Notwithstanding all these precautions, the Turks were still so apprehensive, that they ordered the inhabitants to hand in, on pain of death, the few guns they had, and wrote off to Constantinople asking for troops and munitions. Soon after there arrived, from different parts of Asia, about 1,000 Turks. A certain Elezoglu, a good-natured and kindly man, was to have come as their commander, and bring another 1,000 men with him, but unfortunately, on arriving at Tchesmè, had received orders to collect troops, and go to the assault of the island of Samos; and so the 1,000 Asiatics were left in Chios without a commander.

From the time when the Greek fleet first appeared before Chios, to the ill-fated moment, when the Samians first set their foot on the island, the Chians never ceased passing through alternate phases of hope and despair.

But now, when the leaderless Turks, sent for their protection, had landed, not a day passed without murders, robberies, assaults, and other vile and nameless outrages. Both in the town and the Campos everyone went in fear, no one dared show themselves in the market or streets, or even appear at their windows, because the strolling Turks never hesitated to discharge their pistols at such as did. So many fled to seek safety in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains. The worst devils were 200 Cretans, so many wild beasts, and some brigands who had been landed from a Turkish frigate. Neither Imperial Decrees, nor the daily threats of the Capitan Pasha, availed to restrain these unruly scoundrels, who compelled the Public to pay them two piastres a day each. The Demogeronts complained to the Authorities, but they, fearing for their own lives, dared not say a word. Only the son of the Capitan Pasha went about fearlessly, day and night, to prevent such outrages as he might. The shops had closed, the boats had ceased to bring provisions from Asia, and the people were beginning to murmur. In this threatening state of affairs, not uncommon during war, it was only the prudent and resourceful conduct of the Demogeronts, who distributed food and other necessaries among the poorest of the people, that averted a dangerous tumult in the town. At last, after much petitioning of the Divan by the Chian Representatives in Constantinople, Bachet Pasha¹ was sent to the island, with 100 bombadiers, and furnished with plenary power for its protection. But as the Turks in Chios did not consider their forces sufficient, Elezoglu, with 1,000 soldiers, was sent there too. The Cretans and leaderless Asiatics were now driven away, outrages

¹ This man's personal appearance, which was as repulsive as his character, has been vividly depicted by the English traveller Swan ("Journal of a Voyage in the Mediterranean," etc., by Ch. Swan, vol. I, p. 162.)

ceased, men and women moved about freely, boats and food came from Asia, the first lot of hostages, except the Metropolitan Plato, were released, and forty new ones, who were to be changed monthly, took their place; the Turkish fleet sailed out from Constantinople to guard the seas, and all the people began to breathe freely again. But this state of affairs and feeling of security did not last long. The Pasha demanded a monthly sum of 15,000 piastres from the Public Treasury, and Elezoglu 10,000, besides which the Public had to pay for other of their expenses. The Turks also took about 8,000 kilos of corn from the Public reserves, and all the provisions they found in the market, without paying a single penny. The Agas, taking advantage of the helplessness of the Chians, borrowed large sums of money from them, showing their gratitude later on, by steeping their hands in the blood of their creditors. The rapacious Bacht, not satisfied with what he received from the Public, imposed further taxes, cut down the large trees in the gardens of the Christians to make gun carriages, exacted forced labour from carpenters, builders and other artisans, for the construction of barracks and warehouses, and the reparation and strengthening of the fortress walls, and not only did he not pay them a penny for their labour, but made them provide the necessary material. The Public, in order to lighten the burdens of the poor, ceased collecting taxes from the smaller classes and villagers, and ordered the Maritime Court not to enforce the payment of their debts by sailors, artisans and small traders. All the taxes and forced loans were shared by the rich. Amongst other things, the Pasha decided to deepen the moat, and for this he compelled over 500 villagers to bring their animals, and dig, and carry away the earth, working holy days and all, beat them inhumanly to stimulate their activity, and even killed more than one without the slightest justification. He put to

death, not only those he thought accessories to the Greek invasion, but entirely innocent persons, to serve as a warning to such of the infidels as might have warlike propensities. So many signs of submission did he see, and yet believed not. "*An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign!*" Thus he put to death some Samians, who had landed in all innocence, and some harmless fishermen, whom he had captured sailing from Mitylene to Tchesmè. The Public, in order to alleviate the burden of the villagers and inhabitants of the Campos, ordered those who had paid servants for their gardens, to send 250 of them every day to work in the moat; but there are maladies for which there is no remedy!

But there was more evil to come. In the month of January, 1822, an Imperial Decree arrived ordering the removal to Constantinople, as hostages, of three of the most prominent men of the island. Those selected were Pandeli Rodocanachi, Michael Schilizzi, and Theodore Ralli. On arriving in Constantinople by land—the Turks were afraid to send them by sea for fear of the Greek ships—they were thrown into the Bostansibashi prison. The Turks in Chios again commenced to pillage, and the bombardiers drove the sellers from their stalls in the market, and took possession of them. The Pasha forbade the sailing away of any ships, on the plea that they might be captured by the Greeks, and the people began to find themselves straitened. But if the Christians outside were suffering, were not the brave martyrs inside the fort enduring still greater evils? Not only were they not allowed to converse with those dearest to them, but even those who had fallen ill, through hardship, were not permitted to go out for the attention they required. The Turks disbelieved their word, and turned a deaf ear to the pitiful tears and entreaties of their wives. Thus died Matthew Psiachi and Theodore Petrocochino—blessed

at least, in that they did not live to see the enslavement of their country !

This lamentable state of affairs was suddenly aggravated by a report, that the Samians were assembling and meditating an expedition for the liberation of Chios. As similar reports had often been heard in Chios before, the Chians did not believe them now, feeling convinced that it was incredible that the Samians should have decided upon such a senseless undertaking, and also feeling certain that, if it were really the case, the Chians in Psara and the other islands would have informed their relatives in Chios. But as the report of the Samian expedition gained strength, both the Archbishop and the Demogeronts sent messengers and preachers, to all the villages of the island, to urge the people to remain quiet and loyal, and with the consent of the Pasha, sent envoys to Samos to make enquiries as to the rumoured expedition, and to prevent it if it were really intended. But as soon as these envoys had started, the recently appointed Demogeronts¹ learnt that eighteen Samians had landed at the village of Perama, in the northern part of the island. They at once informed the Pasha, who sent soldiers to capture the invaders. But as the Samians had hidden themselves in caves, the soldiers returned empty-handed. Then the Pasha, calling the Demogeronts and twenty of the hostages, told them that it was absolutely necessary that these men should be found. The Public then directed Alexander Parodi, Paraskeva Sechiari, and Hantsi Polychrones Diamantari, to go to those parts. On arriving at Erythae, they took fifteen chosen men of that village, and moved on to the village of Volisso. There they learnt that the eighteen Samians were hiding in a cave. But before arriving at Volisso, the envoys received a message from the Demogeronts, telling them

¹ These were George Frangias, Thomas Tsiropinas and Panteli Manouso.

that a number of Samian ships (March 10th) had been sighted ; also orders to do their utmost to suppress any attempt at rising on the part of the villagers. The Pasha, being told that the ships were heading for Chios, called in the forty hostages, whose turn it was to be at large, and shut them up in the fort. On Saturday morning, March 11th, the Greek fleet, consisting of a number of small vessels, dropped anchor off the shore of Kontari, and, after the exchange of a few shots at long range, about 2,000 soldiers landed under the leadership of Lycurgus Logothetis.

Before we proceed any further, let us see what induced Lycurgus to come to Chios. A certain Chian, called Antonio Bournias, a native of the village of Parparià, who had served under Napoleon in the African campaign, seeing that all the rest of the islands had raised the flag of liberty, and that only Chios remained inactive, inspired rather by vain-glory than genuine patriotism, conceived the idea of effecting its liberation. Going to Tripolitsa, in November, he tried to persuade and obtain the support of Demetrius Ypsilanti, but failed and, being dismissed as an intriguer,¹ fled to Samos. There he found four other Chian adventurers, Klimi from the village of Caryæ, Ntara from Elata, Panteli Sikotaki (all these had failed in business in Smyrna and were hiding from their creditors in Samos), and Vincentio, the son of the infamous John Katarni. It was with men such as these that Bournias sat down to plan a scheme for revolutionising his country! At this time the Samians, in agreement with the Psarians, were preparing an expedition against Carysto. But the words of these five unprincipled Chians, and a letter to Lycurgus from one of the Epitropi of the Mastic District, inviting him to hurry to the rescue of Chios, were sufficient to induce

¹ Raybaud, "Mémoire sur la Grèce," vol. I, p. 505. Rizo Neroulo, "Hist. de la Grèce," p. 406.

this inconsiderate leader to give up the expedition against Carysto, and undertake one against Chios.¹ He

¹ Trans. Note. Tricoupis, "Hist. of the Greek Revolution," vol. II, pp. 394-6:—

"It is still a moot point in Greece, whether Lycurgus made the expedition to Chios in obedience to, or contrary to, the orders of Ypsilanti. Lycurgus persistently maintained, up to his dying day, that he was acting under orders. This is the truth. John Lorenzo Ralli, a Chian and member of the Secret Society of the Philiki, was living in Odessa when the revolution broke out. Having at heart the liberation of his country, he went to Tricorpha in May, 1821, and being furnished by Ypsilanti with the necessary authority, went to Samos to enlist soldiers. By the express command of Ypsilanti he invited Lycurgus (then possessed of great influence in his country) to become his associate and participator, in the proposed expedition to Chios. But shortly after, becoming convinced that the moment was not opportune, he wrote to Ypsilanti telling him that he thought it necessary that the affair should be postponed to a more favourable occasion, asked him to relieve him from his post as officer and agent, and begged him to prevent Lycurgus from proceeding with the expedition. Ypsilanti acted accordingly, and Lycurgus promised obedience, as is irrefutably proved by two letters which have been preserved by John Lorenzo Ralli of Syra, and which show that Lycurgus started on the expedition in defiance of orders and conventions."

"Most Patriotic Mr. J. L. Ralli,

"I have received your letter of Nov. 28th at the hands of your nephew Stephen Galati, and Mr. Avierino. I approve of your prudence, and steadfastness for the liberation of your country, but as present circumstances do not permit of the expedition, you have done well to defer it to a more favourable moment, such as will certainly arise upon a Russian declaration of war, or upon the further advance of the National movement which will follow the meeting of the National Assembly, already in course of convocation. Go then to some island, and keep quiet until the desired moment has come for giving effect to your patriotic wishes; then write me, and I will send you the necessary letters. I hope that I too may by then find a better opportunity for rendering your country practical help. I am sorry that, so far, the discord and greed of the Greek people, and their ignorance, have obstructed the splendid progress we should have made, if these defects had been absent, particularly the dissensions. Samos and Crete afford splendid examples, when the proper feeling exists, of what the Greeks can do when they come to timely agreement.

"Write me anything noteworthy you may hear about our people.

"Wishing you health, and a successful issue to your wishes,

"Your countryman,

"Demetrius Ypsilanti.

"Corinth, 21st Dec., 1821."

decided upon this course, in spite of the opposition of the Psarians, without proper preparation, and criminally regardless of the terrible consequences to the island that might, and did, ensue upon a failure! Let us return to our narrative.

The Demogeronts' emissaries, who were distributed about in the villages to supply information as to what was happening, seeing the Samians land, sent word to the Pasha. The Pasha enquired whether the villagers had joined the Samians, and being told that they were flying to the mountains, sent Elezoglu and about 600 men to attack the invaders. At the same time he called the Demogeronts and M. Vlasto, who happened to be with them, and ordered them to go out and exhort and tranquillise the people. As they were going along, preceded by the Turkish escort, given them by the Pasha for their protection, they were told of the arrival of the Samians, and decided to turn back, go home and await events. Meanwhile the Samians, having ambushed the soldiers sent against them, killed some and drove the rest back to the fort. About forty were unable to reach it, and took

"To the Most High, etc., Prince, etc., Demetrius Ypsilanti.

"Most High Sir,

"According to the Worshipful commands of your lately received letter, I have postponed the expedition to Chios to a more favourable opportunity, although some Chian patriots, who have been here for some time, have not failed to try and induce me to make it. I hope, however, that circumstances will, in the course of a short time, enable me to undertake (with God's help) the accomplishment of that, which is both my bounden duty, and my heart's desire. Mr. Ralli, in obedience to your commands concerning the expedition, has withdrawn from the matter until time shows us what to do, and is coming to you to present his homage.

"His conduct, during his stay here, has been both honourable and noble. His only preoccupation has been the holy and noble desire to liberate his dear country. And this is why I commend him. All this I say respectfully,

"And I remain, etc., your obedient servant,

"The Commander-in-Chief in Samos,

"Lycurgus Logothetis."

refuge in the so-called "*Burnt Tower*," and in some Turkish houses, where they were captured, and held prisoners. Another body of about 300 Turks were guarding the hill of Turloti, from which the fort could easily be bombarded, but no sooner had 50 Samians made their appearance than they too fled to the fort. The Samians entering the town found all the inhabitants shut up in their houses, in ignorance of what had occurred ; in fact, the Samians had killed the head man of the village of Thymiana for refusing to acknowledge their authority. They had hardly arrived, when they showed that they had come more intent on plundering than fighting. After burning some Turkish coffee houses, and the custom office, and desecrating and unroofing two lead-covered mosques, they started breaking into the Christian shops and, stealing the contents, kept sending them off to Samos during the whole of their nineteen days' stay in the island. The same evening some of the villagers from the Mastic district came down to the town and joined in the pillage. The next day, Sunday, a large number of villagers came in, and forced the people of the town to join them. No one had proper weapons ; one man might be seen carrying a piece of wood, another a cudgel, another a meat skewer, another a fork fastened to a stick. Priests came down too, in their robes, and carried crosses through the town, and stood about the square, swinging censers, and singing psalms and hymns of liberty, so that the square presented the appearance of a surging sea of closely packed humanity. Indeed a pitiful sight, but not entirely without its comic side. Such was the timidity and want of cohesion in the crowd that, time after time, the mere report that the gates of the fort were opening was enough to send them flying in all directions to seek shelter in the houses round. Such were the warriors from whom the salvation of unhappy Chios was to come !

On the morrow of the arrival of the Samians, Lycurgus came ashore, and with him Bournias. They took up quarters in the Metropolitan's Palace, and, calling the Demogeronts and some of the leading men, proclaimed the deposition of the Demogeronts, and the installation of an Ephory of six members. These were, Cosi Vouro, Panteli Zervudachi, Nicolas Frangopulo, Frangouli Pal-laki, Polychrones Diamantari, and Stephen Gianoutso. The wretched Chians, foreseeing the inevitable consequences of the raid, were reduced to despair, the more so when they learnt from Lycurgus that the whole of his munitions consisted of only six small cannon, two barrels of gunpowder, and as many cartridges as each soldier had on him. But the evil was done, and it was necessary to take every possible measure to meet the danger. So they sent Doctor Glaraki and Rapho to the Greek Assembly in Corinth, to ask for munitions of war, and a provisional Governor. The Psarians, in exchange for heavy payment, sent twenty barrels of powder, and two cannon, but no shot, because they were short themselves; also six ships, under Nicolas Kara Konstanzi, to prevent any Turkish vessels from entering the harbour. Further, the Greek Government gave the envoys five siege guns, and ordered many Philhellene officers¹—among them Gubernati, Bernardo, Raymond, Mari—to return with the envoys, and direct operations. Unfortunately, thirteen days passed before these preparations were completed, and when, after eight days' sail, the expedition arrived at Psara, Chios no longer existed. The Samians, meantime, placed their guns on the hill of Asomaton, on the lower Ægialò, and on Turloti, and began firing on the fort. But their shot, hardly weighing 5 lbs., barely grazed the walls; whilst the Turks, throwing shells into the town,

¹ Raybaud, "Mémoire sur la Grèce," vol. II, p. 210.

damaged the buildings and killed the inhabitants, so that many, getting alarmed, fled to their country houses. It appears extraordinary that the Turks should not have shown more boldness, and sallied out to attack the besiegers; the more so as the Catholics had informed them of the miserably deficient armament of the Greek forces. The Samians, from want of shot, were reduced to picking up and using those that had been fired at them by the enemy. Remembering that a Turkish ship, laden with ammunition, had once sunk between Chios and Tchesmè, they sent divers to get up as many shot as they could. But of these, some were too large and some too small, for their cannon, and the few that might have served were carried off to Samos. The powder, too, was being stolen by the Samians and, although they assured the Ephors that it was being properly used, no firing could be heard.

The news of the Samian invasion had now reached Constantinople. Immediately orders were sent to the Governors of Asia Minor to join forces at Tchesmè and proceed to Chios. "Kill," said the Sultan, like another bloodstained Saul, "Kill all males over twelve, all women over forty, all the two-year-old children, and make the rest prisoners." He had spoken, and the wealth of the island, the beauty of its women, and easy victory, attracted daily increasing hordes of lawless men, eager for spoil and the flesh of Christians. Nearly all the leading Chians in Constantinople were thrown into prison, and impaled, or hanged; among the latter the three hostages sent from Chios.

Whilst the Porte was wallowing in this bloodshed, and preparing further onslaughts, complete anarchy prevailed in Chios, and no fear of God, no law of man, sufficed to restrain the general lawlessness. Dissension had arisen between Lycurgus, who wished to rule as absolute master, and Bournia. Lycurgus sat in the

Metropolitan Palace, holding out his hand to be kissed by all who came into his presence, abused the Ephors and his officers in the coarsest of language, never visited the trenches, demanded sums of money, ranging from 500,000 to 700,000 piastres, as expenses of the expedition. Bournia, as a Chian, was by no means disposed to submit, and, relying upon a letter of recommendation he had brought from Ypsilanti to Lycurgus, considered himself commander-in-chief and, backed by some of the Chians, openly opposed and defied his rival. Munitions were being used up, besides being stolen. The Samians, now that there was nothing left to steal, were beginning to desert, and return to their homes. The trenches were left without defenders, so that the Turks were able to sally out, and spike one of the guns; houses were openly broken into and robbed. No one took the slightest interest in the siege. The Psarians came over in small boats, and imitated the Samians, and the Chians of the lower classes followed suit. Then, too, in Chios, as in every country where the law has lost its power, all the vile passions of humanity, freed from restraint, forced their way to the surface. Thus many Chians, some even of good family, putting aside all sentiment of shame, joined the Samians in threatening and ordering about their fellow-citizens. Matters having reached this pass, some of the leading people began to consider the advisability of leaving the island. Bournia, on hearing that some had left one night, being anxious to prevent others from following, wrote a threatening letter to the Ephors, in which he ordered them to keep careful watch, and prevent further departures. Fearing that this might not be enough, he imprisoned all the prominent men of the leading families who had remained outside the fort, and some of their wives. But, on consideration, he released the women, as he knew they could not leave alone. Those around him, in

imitation, made their way at night, with shouts and cries, into the houses of any they thought might be meditating flight. The Ephors did their best to put a stop to these abuses, having recourse to both prayers and bribes. Meanwhile, pending the arrival of the help promised by the Greek Government, the Ephors busied themselves in procuring stores and arms, enrolling soldiers, and arranging some system of government. Whilst in the midst of these labours, there arrived that terrible day, March the 30th, 1822, Thursday in Holy Week, on which all their plans were frustrated, and Chios and its people destroyed.

The Turkish fleet, consisting of six three-decked ships, twenty-six frigates and corvettes, and a number of transports, under Capitan Pasha Dulcinioti, drops anchor in the harbour, and at once starts firing on the town. What words could worthily depict, what pen could adequately describe, the confusion, terror and helplessness of the inhabitants! The ill-omened liberators of Chios fly in all directions, making for their boats. Parents are collecting their children, to save them from the sword they already see uplifted. Some hurry to the European Consulates; numbers, not knowing where to turn, start off for the mountains. Children are crying, mothers with their babes in their arms are wailing with terror. People are asking each other where to go for safety, but they get carried away by the rising tide of fugitives, and are driven in all directions. The Turks, having landed, start desecrating, plundering and burning the churches. They kill all whom they meet, sparing neither quality, nor age, not even the lepers in the lazaretto. They open graves, to seek hidden treasures, and throw the putrefying dead on top of the still breathing bodies of their victims. They desecrate the Holy Elements, and the relics of the Holy Saints. They burn the School and Library, and run along howling like wild beasts.

Meanwhile numbers of small boats keep arriving from the Asiatic coast, loaded with Turks hurrying to plunder and try the edge of their swords on the bodies of Christians. And those who had found refuge in the Consulates, what terrors did they not go through! For days they lived in fear of death, for the Turks threatened to attack the Consulates, and would certainly have done so, had not the Pasha prevented them. Others too, hidden in dark and damp cellars all day, so that they might not be seen even by the Turkish soldiers who were guarding the Consulates and betrayed, only dared come out at night to get a breath of air. Every day were heard the lamentations of girls and women being carried away into captivity, invoking the pity of God and men, in vain. The writer of this history still remembers the painful days, when relations in the Consulates saw those dear to them being dragged away into captivity, without being able to render them the slightest assistance.

But let us leave these scenes, and pass to others, even more tragic, and describe the miseries of those who had fled to the country. These, on reaching the mountains, at once made for the sea, hoping to find boats to take them away to Psara. Boats there were. But who would believe it?, the owners wanted to profit by the misfortunes of their countrymen, and remained looking on in safety, whilst their brothers were being slaughtered by the Turks! The Psarians, hearing of the arrival of the Turkish fleet in Chios, sent 250 soldiers, under three delegates, also six ships and two fireships, to help the Chians in offering some resistance to the Turks. But on their arrival, finding that the Samians were in flight, and the Chians only seeking to escape, they abandoned their first idea, that of forcing the Chians to fight by refusing to take them on board, and sent eight ships to bring away the fugitives, without charge. In this way

many got away.¹ But others, being separated from their people, refused to leave, and these, and some who vainly hoped for indulgence from the Turks, were all killed, or made captives. The fugitives to the mountains, climbed up to high and steep places, half naked, footsore, alternately scorched by the sun and numbed by frost, or wet to the bone. Some hid in villages, some in thickets, pits, or cellars, and were often betrayed by the villagers. Hunger and thirst now began to add to their sufferings. They would creep out at night to try and find food for their children crying with hunger, lucky if they could bring back a few herbs, berries or roots, and a little muddy water. But even greater evils than these befell the Chians. The Turks, two days after the arrival of the fleet, when they had finished burning the churches and houses, and had killed, or made prisoners all the inhabitants of the town, still thirsting for Christian blood, turned their steps to the mountains. Again everywhere blood, everywhere murder, everywhere droves of women and children being dragged into captivity. They kill or burn 3,000 Christians, who had shut themselves up in the Monasteries of Néa Monè and Agios Minas;² they dishonour the nuns of Chalandra and Kalimasià, and carry them off. Howling curses, they heap up Christian bodies at each step. Having exterminated the inhabitants of St. George and Anavato, they proceed to the highest parts, in search of further victims. And, oh, horrible sight! Here you see men and boys being killed and mutilated in the presence of their wives and mothers; there you hear the piteous cries of women

¹ Many fugitives were saved, too, by the Philhellene Frenchman, Jourdain, who landed in the island with his sailors.

² Even to-day (1840) after a lapse of 18 years, one can still see the bones of the victims piled up in pits in the forecourt of the Monastery of Agios Minas, a sight which fills the spectator with mingled feelings of horror and pity. The bloodstains on the marbles of the inside walls of the church are also still visible.

being dragged away into captivity ; elsewhere you see troops of young girls being driven along, to be sold like cattle. Here again you see innocently smiling babes being stabbed in the very arms of their mothers, or torn from them, and thrown over the cliffs, or dashed against the rocks, and women maddened with horror, tearing their clothes in anticipation of death. There stands a crowd of women and children, being sold at low prices, to Turkish, Moorish and Jewish slave-dealers. Elsewhere again, maidens and young matrons are being publicly dishonoured in the presence of their parents and husbands, who will afterwards be killed. Innocent children are forced to abjure their pure religion. The flames of burning houses light up the darkness of night, and add to the horror. Men and women, despairing of escape, hopelessly await their death. Elsewhere Now everything has been destroyed, and lies in ruins. But still the bloodthirsty Pasha has not had his fill. So that even those of the Christians who had fled to the most inaccessible parts should not escape, he, in concert with Bachet, devised a plan for trapping them through the instrumentality of the European Consuls. Having invited the Consuls, he bids them tell the Christians that, if they submitted and returned to their homes, the Porte would forgive them readily. In order to convince the Consuls of his good faith, he hands them a decree of the Sultan promising their lives to all Chians who should lay down their arms, together with a proclamation of the Metropolitan, and a circular letter signed by the hostages in the fort. These, having been deceived by the Turks, had signed a letter urging their fellow-countrymen to lay down their arms, and trust to the clemency of the Sultan. The Consuls, putting full faith in the word of the Turks, sent (Monday, April 27th) Z. Cappari, Th. Amiro, the dragoman of the Austrian Consul Stipovich and an official from the French

Consulate to make a general proclamation of forgiveness and amnesty. The unfortunate Chians, relying on the assurances of the Consular Envoys, gave up what few weapons they had, and sent a deputation of seventy men, to thank the Pasha for his benevolence. People began to return to their homes, and others who had been meditating flight, decided to remain. But many, knowing the value of Turkish promises, kept away. That very night, the Turkish Admiral hanged the seventy members of the deputation to the yards of his ships. The following day, they hanged all the long-suffering hostages in the fort, and by way of crowning indignity, placed a turban upon the head of the Metropolitan, and exhibited it amongst the prisoners. The bodies were then handed to the Jews, to be thrown into the sea. Whilst these things were going on in Chios, about sixty Chian merchants were executed in Constantinople, only because they were Chians. Of those who returned from hiding, relying on the promised amnesty, nearly all were killed, or made prisoners. Even the people of the Mastic district, who, owing to the special protection they enjoyed, had not so far been molested, were afterwards partly destroyed, when the news arrived that the fearless Canaris had burnt the Turkish flagship, together with the Capitan Pasha, in the very harbour of Chios, and sent 2,000 Turks to Hell (June 19th, 1822).

It is difficult to tell exactly how many were killed, or carried into captivity. There were certainly more than 30,000! The captive women were passed from hand to hand, like animals, in the markets of Smyrna, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. Some were lucky enough to be bought back by their relatives in Europe, others were taken into the depths of Asia and Mesopotamia, and, giving up all hope of being restored, lived with Turks. Many young children accepted Mahomedanism, either willingly on account of their age, or forced to by

the Turks. Those who escaped to Psara, about 20,000, hungry and naked, were compelled to leave that island by the inhabitants (who otherwise received them with kindness, and who tended 150 wounded Chians in the hospital) because they had consumed all the food. So they left, and became scattered like the Jewish people. Some remained in Tenos, Syra, and other islands of the Ægean, others went to the Peloponnese and Athens, which place had fortunately just been delivered up to the Greeks. But such a sad sight were these fugitive families! Women, who had hitherto lived surrounded with wealth and plenty, whose eyes had never been dimmed by the tears of misfortune, were now, houseless, widowed, ill and helpless, entirely dependent upon Christian charity. Six thousand went to Trieste, where many found their relations. Hardly 10,000 inhabitants remained in Chios, and these mostly villagers. The Chians who had found safety in the Consulates—also left after a time, but not before they had satisfied the greed of their protectors with many and valuable gifts.

This is the tale of the destruction of Chios, of the island so poetically described by Economos,¹ "*happy Chios, island rich in beauty, wealth and men, shining in the Grecian sea as in the blue sky the morning star, favoured home of commerce, industry and art.*" We have now followed its fortunes from the beginning of its existence² down to the time of its final destruction. We have seen to what a pitch of commercial prosperity it had risen in the days of its autonomy, and how many eminent men it gave birth to. We have seen how it distinguished itself in the Persian Wars, how it struggled for liberty, how much it suffered from the Athenians, when it threw off their yoke. We have seen how, torn

¹ K. Economos, "Discourse on Prayer" ("Collection of Theolog. Discourses," p. 132).

² Trans. Note. See Part I of the original work.

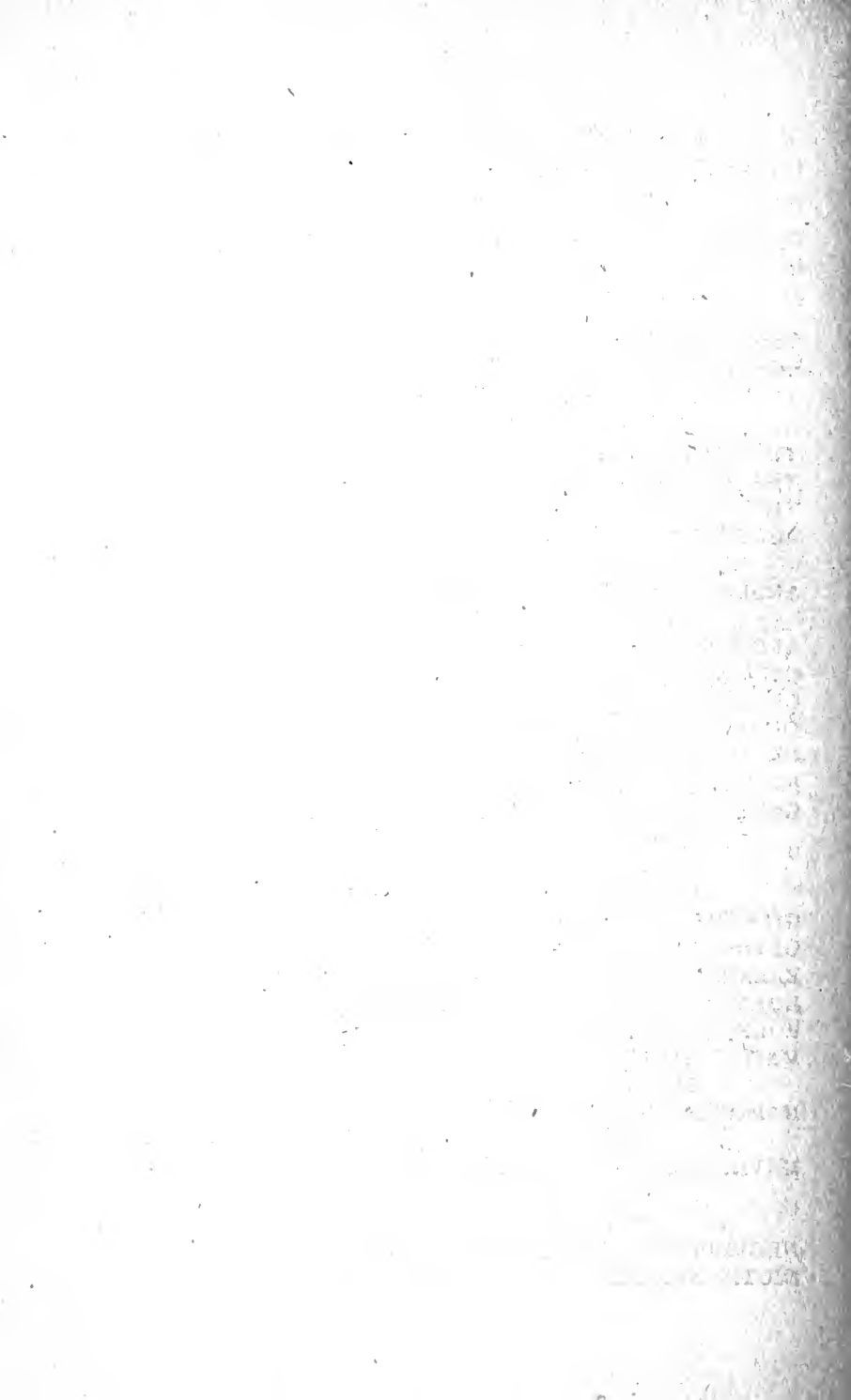
by civil dissension and party strife, it fell under the influence of the Lacedæmonians, and later into the power of the Macedonians. We have seen the terrible evils it suffered in the time of Mithridates, when taken by Zenobius. We have seen how, after its subjection to Rome, it lost all its old glory, and disappeared into darkness for over ten centuries. We have seen how, in the twelfth century, it fell into the hands of the Venetians, and how it came back to the Byzantine Emperor. We have seen how strangely it was captured by the Genoese, and the influence of their sovereignty of over two hundred years. We have seen the evils it suffered when attacked by the Turks in 1307 and 1391. We have seen how it continued to prosper, even after the fall of the Byzantine Empire, and how it then excelled in civilisation the islands and countries round. We have seen how it was captured by the Turks in 1566, and how its inhabitants were oppressed by the Venetians during their occupation of 1694-1695, and how it was again retaken by the Turks. We have seen how, already in the fifteenth century, its commerce had begun to flourish, and how it increased in later times. We have seen how many institutions for the Public benefit it had founded, and how, gradually progressing, it began to reap the fruits of its zeal for learning, prosper under its almost autonomous form of government, and attain to all the benefits of civilisation; and, lastly, we have seen how the destruction of 1822 changed this beautiful island into a scene of desolate ruin, and scattered its people, here and there, wherever they might escape the sword and slavery of the conqueror!

When we ponder over all the vicissitudes and misfortunes of this island, all its changes of masters, the wonderful perseverance of its people in their efforts to attain both material and moral betterment in the face

of numberless difficulties, and the condition of present Chios, as compared with the Chios of former days, we may come to the conclusion that the rise and fall and prosperity of a nation are attributable to its political system and its instinctive moral inclination; subject however, to some inexplicable law, which, ruling the fortunes and durations of all kingdoms, says "*thus far and no further!*" That Unseen Hand which establishes kingdoms, abases nations, crumbles mountains, dries up rivers, divides seas, and destroys the monuments set up by the pride of man; that Power, too, wrecked the prosperity of Chios, to multiply its lessons to mankind, and show how unstable and small are the things of this life, and how shortlived is happiness in this world!

For our consolation, judging from the past—which teaches us that no misfortune or destruction, however complete, was ever able to kill the seed of the future prosperity and regeneration of Chios—we may confidently hope that we, or at least our children, will live to see the return of happy and glorious times for our country. The only way to hasten the attainment of this object would be for the Chians—remembering that they are living expatriated, and subject, both themselves and their children, to the evil consequences of remaining divided and scattered all over Europe—to go and colonise some part of free Greece (this need not entail the abandonment of their foreign trade) and there remain concentrated, to await the favourable moment for freeing their country.

Lastly, the destruction of Chios, and the resurrection of Greece, impress upon us once more, this bitter but historic truth—that the emergence of new nations out of revolution is almost invariably preceded by great misfortunes.



LIST OF HOSTAGES.

Those marked with + were hanged by the Turks. The others being outside the Fort escaped that fate, but many of them were subsequently massacred.

| | |
|--|---|
| THE METROPOLITAN PLATO | + |
| THE DEACON MAKARIOS | + |
| THE DEACON GREGORIOS | |
| AGGERETO, MANOLIS | + |
| " MARK | |
| ARGENTI, NICOLAS PANDELI | |
| " LEONTIUS PANDELI... .. | + |
| AVIERINO, GEORGE... .. | + |
| CAPARI, MICHAEL | + |
| CAZANOVA, GEORGE | + |
| DIAMANTARI, POLYCHRONIS (killed at Turloti) | |
| DROMOCAITIS, JAMES | + |
| FRANGIA, GEORGE | |
| GALATI, CONSTANTINE | + |
| " DIMITRIUS... .. | |
| " GEORGE | + |
| " SERGIUS | + |
| GIANOUTSO, STEPHEN | |
| GLYCA, PARASKEVAS | |
| KALARONI, ANTONIO | |
| KOKALIS, ANTONIO (killed in the Fort) | |
| KOKKOS, ANDREAS... .. | |
| MALIAS, MANOLIS | + |
| " GEORGE | + |
| MAMOUKAS, ANDREAS | |
| " JOHN | + |
| MAVROGORDATO, ALEXANDER... .. | + |
| " EUSTRATIOS... .. | + |
| " NICOLAS | + |
| NEGREPONTE, CONSTANTINE LUCAS | + |
| NIOTIS NICOLAS | + |

| | | | | | | |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| NICOLAS, son in law of EUMORPHOPULO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PALLAKI, FRANCIS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PAREMPLI, JOHN ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| PARODI, ALEXANDER ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PASPATI, JOHN ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| PATRIKUSI, JOHN ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| PETRCOCHINO, ANDREAS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " DIMITRIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " JOHN ALEXANDER ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " JOHN EUSTRATIO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " MANOLI DIMITRI ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " NICOLAS DIMITRI ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " THEODORE EUSTRATIO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " THEODORE (died in the Fort) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| POURPOURA, MATTHEW ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PSIACHI, MATTHEW ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| PSICHA, JOHN ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| RALLI, ALEXANDER ANTONIO ¹ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " CONSTANTINE AMBROSE ² ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " DEMETRIUS ³ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " STEPHEN EUSTRATIO ⁴ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " THEODORE EUSTRATIO (hanged in Constanti- nople) ⁵ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " THEODORE ANTONIO ⁶ ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| RODOCANACHI, MANOLI DIMITRI ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " MICHAEL MATTHEW ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " PANDELI (hanged in Constantinople) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " PAUL GEORGE ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " PETER PAUL ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| ROIDI, NICOLAS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| SCARAMANGA, EUSTRATIO COCO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " NICOLAS LORENZO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " PETER LUCAS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " PETER LORENZO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| SECHIARI, PARASKEVA ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| SCHILIZZI, LEONTIUS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " LORENZO ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " LORENZO HANTSI ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | + |
| " MICHAEL (hanged in Constantinople) ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| " STAMATIS ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |

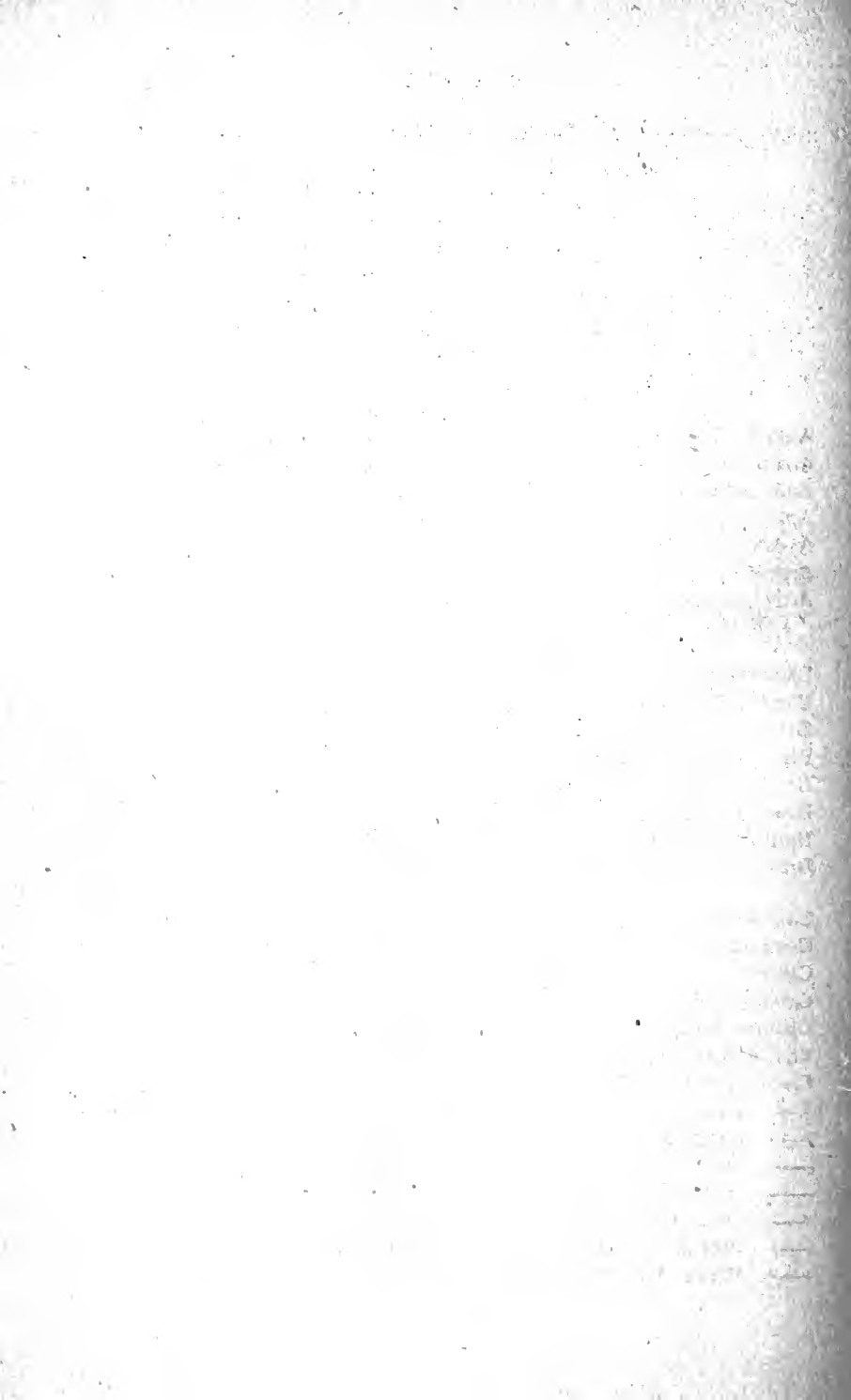
¹ Pitsis. ² Chaviaras, Chattas. ³ Spechlis.

⁴ Chaviaras, Pittas. ⁵ Chaviaras, Pittas. ⁶ Pitsis.

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|-----|-----|---|
| SEVASTOPULO, ALEXANDER HANTSI | ... | ... | |
| „ ALEXANDER... | ... | ... | |
| „ DIMITRIUS | ... | ... | + |
| SIDERIKUDI, NICOLAS | ... | ... | |
| SKOURO, JOHN | ... | ... | + |
| SYPSIMO, GEORGE | ... | ... | |
| TAMVACO, GEORGE | ... | ... | + |
| TANGALAKI, GEORGE | ... | ... | + |
| TSIROPINA, THOMAS | ... | ... | |
| VLASTO, LUCAS | ... | ... | + |
| „ MICHAEL | ... | ... | |
| VOURO, COSI | ... | ... | |
| ZIZINIA, MENI | ... | ... | + |

BATETI, FRANCIS
 BRAGIOTI
 COSEO, COSI
 FURNETI, FRANCIS
 MARCOPULO, FRANCIS
 „ NATSIS

The last six named were Latins.

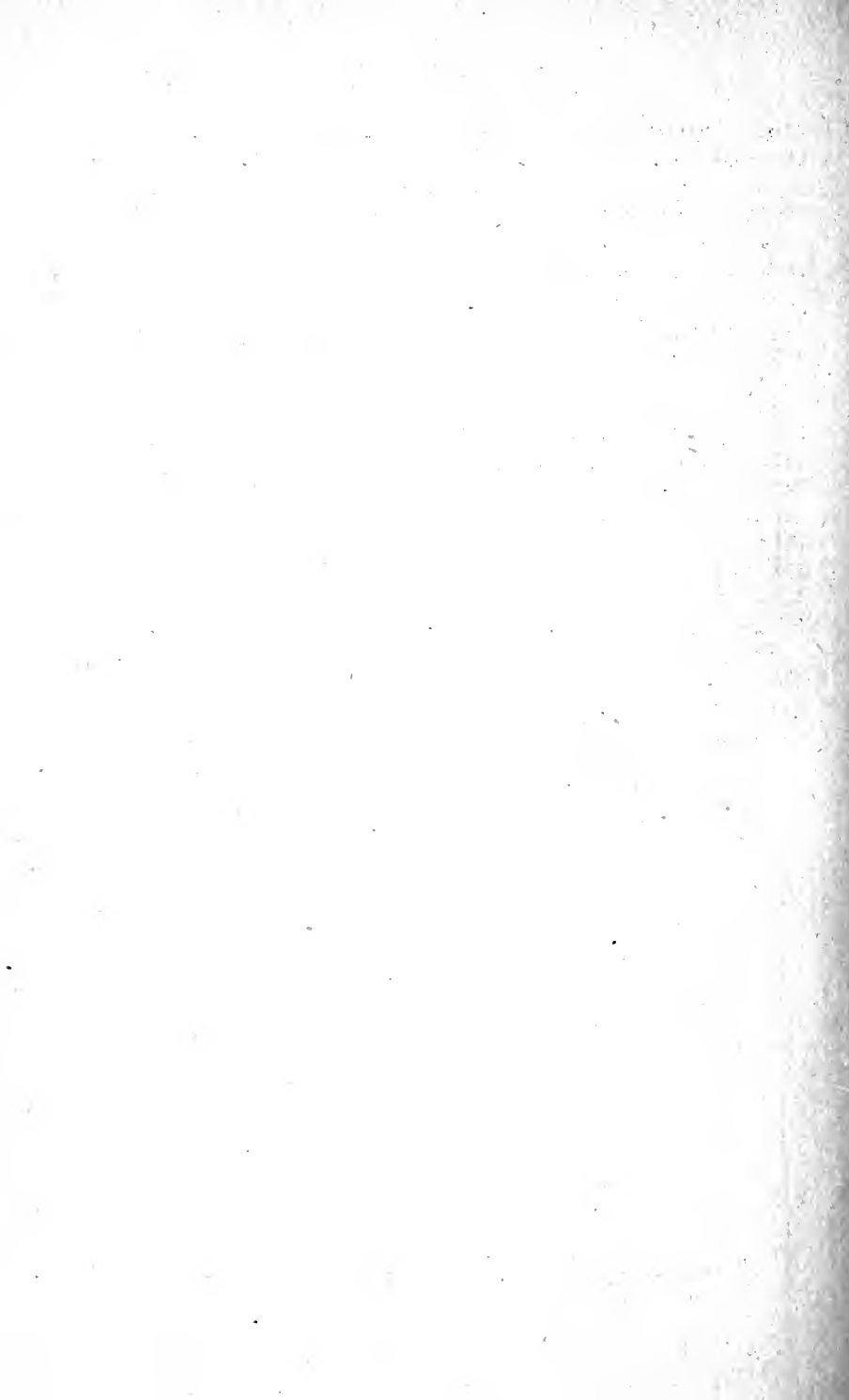


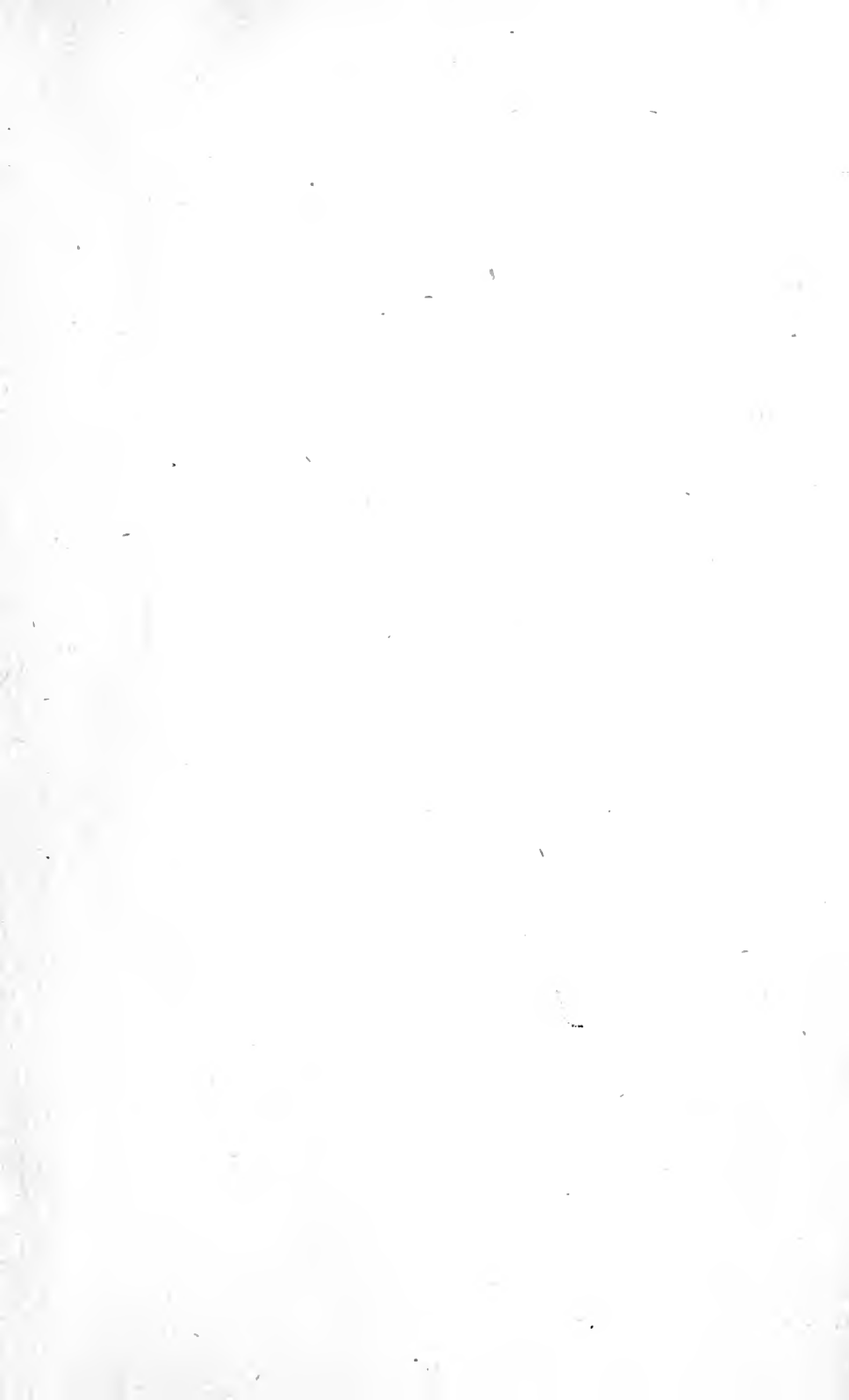
INDEX.

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>ALEXIUS, I 4</p> <p>Allatius, Leon 65</p> <p>Andronicus III 15</p> <p>Aplotaria, the 116</p> <p>Apostoli, Nicolas 145</p> <p>Argenti, Eustratio 94</p> <p>Armenopoulo, Manual of Law of. 131</p> <p>BACHET Pasha 149</p> <p>Bamba, Neophytus 102</p> <p>Bayezid, I. Ilderim 33</p> <p>Bishops, Latin, of Chios 79</p> <p>Boucicault, Marshal 33</p> <p>Bournia, Antonio 153</p> <p>Bragadino, Vincent 87</p> <p>Brassano, Orsini Duke of 66</p> <p>CALVOCORESSI, Mouzala 111</p> <p>Campos, the 103</p> <p>Canaris 164</p> <p>Carafa, Cardinal 55</p> <p>Chamza, Admiral 50</p> <p>Charles VI of France 33</p> <p>Chios, Brotherhoods of 116</p> <p>— Churches of 114</p> <p>— Clergy of 114</p> <p>— Courts of Law of 128</p> <p>— Customary Law of 131</p> <p>— Leper Hospital of 111</p> <p>— Plague Hospital of 108</p> <p>— Public Hospital of 106</p> | <p>Chios, Library of 105</p> <p>— Magistrates of 121</p> <p>— Monasteries of 117</p> <p>— Notaries Public of 129</p> <p>— School of 102</p> <p>— Taxation of 133</p> <p>— Turkish Authorities of. 120</p> <p>Church of the Betrayer 31</p> <p>Coins of Chios 43</p> <p>Columbus, Christopher 54</p> <p>Comnena, Anna 5</p> <p>Conspiracy of the Metro- politan 31</p> <p>Contarini 85</p> <p>Corai, Adamantius 106</p> <p>Crusade, the Fourth. . . . 11</p> <p>Customs, ancient, of Chios 44</p> <p>DALASSENOS, Constantine 4</p> <p>Delfini, Humbert 20</p> <p>Demogeronts, the 121</p> <p>Deputati 69</p> <p>Diamantari, Polychronis 147</p> <p>Dikaiois, the 32</p> <p>Dikaiotato, the 30</p> <p>Djouneid 36</p> <p>Doria, Paganini 26</p> <p>— Conrad 33</p> <p>Draco 43</p> <p>Draperio of Galata 51</p> <p>Dulcinioti Pasha 160</p> |
|--|---|

- | | | | |
|---|-----|--|-----|
| ELEZOGLU | 148 | Mastic District, the | 130 |
| Engkremo, the. | 116 | Matsamama | 86 |
| Eumorphia | 43 | Mavrocordato, Alexander. | 71 |
| FLORENTINES in Chios | | Meletios, Patriarch of Alex- andria | 77 |
| Forneti, Thomas | 54 | Metrophanes, Patriarch | 77 |
| Frangopulo, Nicolas | 157 | Mezzomorto, Hassan | 88 |
| Fragela and Frangela | 30 | Micheli, Domenico | 8 |
| GENOESE, first mention of | | Micheli II, the Doge | 9 |
| — authorities in Chios | 29 | Misseroglu Pasha | 89 |
| Geronts, the | 130 | Mocenigo, Andrea | 38 |
| Gianoutso, Stephen | 157 | — Lazarus | 73 |
| Gradenigo | 85 | Montaldo, Leonardo | 38 |
| Gregorios, the Patriarch | 128 | Morosini | 80 |
| Gryllo, Damiano | 39 | Mustapha Papa | 80 |
| HERESIARCHS, Mahomedan | | — Pasha | 81 |
| Hostages, list of | 169 | NANI | 85 |
| Hypatos, the | 29 | Néa Monè | 117 |
| Hyperpera | 32 | Neochoris, Ignatius | 80 |
| INDUSTRIES of Chios. | | Nomarchs | 29 |
| Isidore, Saint | 2 | OPOS | 5 |
| JEWS | | Orloff | 93 |
| Justice, Pillar of | 30 | PABESI, Scaramouchia | 38 |
| Justiniani, Albergo | 28 | Palaeokastron, the | 116 |
| — Hieronymus | 64 | Palaki, Frangouli | 157 |
| — Vincentio. | 64 | Parodi, Alexander | 152 |
| KALOTHETOS | | Paroeki, the | 29 |
| Kastamonitis | 4 | Patrikousi, John | 147 |
| Kori, Bridge and Legend of | 43 | Pelegrini, Bartholomew | 41 |
| LOGARIASTS | | Petrili, Andrea. | 25 |
| Logothetis, Lycurgus | 153 | Petrocochino, Theodore | 151 |
| MAHOMET II | | Piali Pasha | 57 |
| Malta, Siege of. | 56 | Pisani, Carolo | 84 |
| Maona, institution of | 27 | — Conrad | 26 |
| Martyrs, boy | 61 | Plato, the Metropolitan | 147 |
| | | Priuli | 85 |
| | | Products of Chios | 139 |
| | | Protomasters, the | 128 |
| | | Psarians, the, in Chios | 157 |
| | | Psiachi, Matthew | 151 |

| | | | |
|------------------------------------|-----|--|-----|
| QUARANTINA, Council of | 29 | TOMBASI, James | 145 |
| Querini, Petro | 84 | Tselepi, John | 95 |
| RALLI, John Lorenzo | 154 | Tsichal Pasha | 68 |
| — Theodore | 151 | Turks, first mention of | 4 |
| Rodocanachi, Constantine | 94 | Tzachas | 4 |
| — Pandeli | 151 | YPSILANTI, Prince Demet- rius | 154 |
| Riva, Justin | 87 | VENETIANS, first mention of | 7 |
| Rouzini | 88 | Vignoso, Simon | 20 |
| SAMIANS, the, in Chios | 152 | Vlasto, Michael | 147 |
| Scarampa, Cardinal | 53 | Vounaki, the | 87 |
| Sclerion | 43 | Vouro, Cosi | 157 |
| Schilizzi, Michael | 151 | ZACCARIA, Benedetto | 14 |
| Sechiari, Paraskeva | 152 | — Beneto | 15 |
| Selim, II | 59 | — Martino | 15 |
| Sklavia, Village of | 30 | Zeno, Antonio | 84 |
| Silachdar Hassan Nasas | 85 | Zervudachi, Pandeli | 157 |
| Silk factories of Chios | 138 | Zyvos | 25 |
| Soffiano, Andrea | 81 | | |
| Stenon, Henrico | 84 | | |
| Stipovich | 163 | | |
| Suleiman, I | 56 | | |





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