The Lords of Chios

THE history of each one of the islands in the Greek Archipelago for the centuries between the Latin conquest of Constantinople and the Turkish occupation forms a separate study in itself. The conquest which took place in 1207 made Italy, or rather Venice, all-powerful in the eastern empire, and the queen of the Adriatic suddenly found herself with fresh millions of alien subjects scattered over the islands and the Balkan peninsula. This large increase of responsibility being too much for the state, it was agreed to accord to all Venetian citizens power to conquer the isles of the Archipelago on their own account, and to make for themselves principalities on the sole condition that they should recognise the suzerainty of the republic.

This new opening for ambition had a marvellous effect, something doubtless like the opening out of colonial enterprise in our own times; merchants and nobles alike risked their riches in the desire to become princes, and the pusillanimity of the decayed Greeks of the eastern empire favoured each individual enterprise.

Of the history of these enterprises and the results thereof, I think the story of the lords of Chios gives us the most varied and interesting picture, inasmuch as this island under her Italian lords grew into marked distinction as a financial and mercantile centre, whereas the princes of the other islands, the Sanudi dukes of Naxos, the Ghisi of Mykonos and Skyros, the Sommaripa, the Gatilusii, and others never developed into anything but petty tyrants, and their history is wearisome in its recapitulation of internal feuds and small jealousies.

Of the earlier events after the Latin conquest in connexion with Chios our details are exceedingly meagre. Rampoldi¹ tells us that a Venetian, Petros Justiniani, succeeded in making himself lord of the island; there exists an idea, amounting to little more than a legend, that the lions of St. Mark were at this period carried from Chios to Venice; but the first definite fact in connexion with Chios is that it changed masters when the rival republic of Genoa in 1261 assisted Michel Paleologus in restoring the Greek dynasty in the

¹ *Annali Mussulmani*.

eastern capital; and from this date our connected history of the vicissitudes of the island must begin.

On the strength of her assistance given to Michel Paleologus, Genoa obtained for herself the treaty of Nymphæo, which gave to the republic streets and quays in Constantinople. Many of the islands of the Archipelago were conceded to Genoese families, and many expatriated Greeks who had taken refuge in Genoa during the Venetian occupation of their country returned to their homes. Thus the Embriaci were established as princes in Lemnos, the Centurioni in Mytilene, the Gatilusi in Ainos, and the Genoese freebooter Benedetto Zaccharia, after having first established himself in Eubœa, was afterwards given Chios in exchange for it together with the title of admiral and grand constable of the eastern empire. Benedetto Zaccharia is one of the most interesting examples of the roving mariners of his day: he was of a noble Ligurian family; he had assisted in conquering the Pisans at Meloria; he was in the pay of the king of Castille for his services against the king of Morocco; he had negotiated a treaty for Genoa with Aitane II, king of Armenia, and he had plundered many Egyptian ships, which he had encountered on the high seas.²

It is not, however, quite clear how Benedetto became lord of Chios. Some authorities say that he won it by his own prowess, others that he got it as a dower when he married the emperor's daughter; Cantacuzene,³ however, tells us that it was conceded to him, at first only for ten years, and that he ruled it with certain feudal rights due to the emperor. During this term of ten years Chios suffered two lamentable devastations, one from the Venetians, who were with difficulty repulsed, and the other from the Turks, who crossed over from Asia Minor and slaughtered all who did not take refuge in the citadel; on this occasion four hundred of the inhabitants, embarking in forty boats, took refuge on the then deserted island of Skyros, and repopulated it.⁴

After this devastation Benedetto Zaccharia built new walls and a new castle; he fortified the harbour, and at the same time secured from the emperor a further extension of his tenure for another ten years, before the expiration of which term this redoubtable hero died, leaving his interest in Chios to his two sons Beneto and Martino. They continued to rule as their father had done before them, strengthening the defences of the island and developing its resources, always obtaining a renewal of the ten years' grant before the expiration of the old one, to which demands the weak emperors were ever ready to accede. The brothers, however, ruled more harshly and were more grasping than their father, so that in the reign of the emperor Andronicos a revolution broke out headed by an

² Canale, *Storia della Rep. Gen.*

³ *Bys. Hist.*

⁴ Pachumeres.

influential Chiote of the name of Kalothetos. Beneto joined in the rebellion against his brother Martino,⁵ hoping to obtain for himself complete control over the island. In due course a fleet of 105 Byzantine boats appeared before Chios. Martino and his adherents were shut up in the castle and eventually driven to capitulate; they were sent in chains to Constantinople, and Martino Zaccharia did not obtain his liberty till 1338 at the request of Pope Benedict XII and Philip of Valois, who wrote to Andronicos the younger on the subject.⁶

Beneto Zaccharia, however, did not obtain the authority in Chios which had been his object, and in high indignation against the emperor he returned to Galata, and there tried to obtain assistance from his Genoese compatriots. They, however, received him coldly, and after much delay he succeeded in getting together a fleet of only eight ships, with which he prepared to make an attack upon Chios; but during the siege he was wounded and shortly afterwards died, and thus ended the pretensions of the Zaccharia family to the lordship of Chios. For some years the island remained under the immediate control of the emperor, until a further development of the jealousies of Genoa and Venice commenced a new era in its history and a new line of lords.

We must now turn to Genoa and observe the rise of a curious system of enterprise, a system which gained for Genoa her commanding position as a maritime and commercial power. The republic at that time was exercised in its mind concerning the aggressive conduct of the robber nobles of Monaco; and being in want of capital to organise an expedition to put them down, the doge and council convoked an assembly of rich citizens and proposed to them to advance money for the equipment of twenty-five galleys. The republic made itself responsible that any advance of capital, on the successful issue of the expedition, should receive ample compensation, the result being that the money was advanced in certain shares of one hundred francs each, termed *luoghi*; each shareholder's separate amount of shares was called 'a column of shares,' and was entered in a book called a *cartulario*. Each separate loan negotiated on this principle was called a *mahone*, and this particular loan was known as 'the *mahone* of Monaco and of Chios,' the object of which was to subdue the robber nobles of Monaco and to recover the island of Chios, as a set-off to the occupation of Tenedos by the Venetians.

The fleet thus equipped was placed under the command of Simone Vignoso; and having quickly disposed of the Monaco affair, the admiral sailed for the Ægean Sea and appeared off Chios on 14 June 1346. Varese⁷ gives us a striking account of the patriotism

⁵ Cantacuzene, *Byz. Hist.* ⁶ *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Emp. Franç.*

⁷ *Storia della Rep. di Genova.*

of the Genoese admiral and of the shareholders in these ships, relating how Delfino of Vienna, the admiral of a joint fleet of Venetians and knights of Rhodes, not being strong enough to come to combat with the Genoese, offered to buy off Simone Vignoso with a bribe of 10,000 florins, and to give the shareholders 30,000, but they refused. Vignoso's address to the men of Chios is full of vigour :—

Chios is threatened by the Venetian (he said), who, though bound to the Greek emperors by treaties, has disguised its own insatiable desires by handing it over to Delfino of Vienna. Genoa will never permit so grave an injury to the empire, and for this end Simon Vignoso, captain, has cast anchor here, resolved to defend the friendly emperor, and the rights of Genoa to the island formerly conceded to her and promised by the emperor as a reward for her ancient services. I have persuaded him, therefore, to allow me to disembark my gallant men for the protection of the place. The men of Chios, I conclude, must not fear ; they shall receive honourable conditions from Genoa, and must hope that nothing could be more mild than the Ligurian government, than which they would have nothing sweeter or more moderate. They must make up their minds to oppose me in no way, because at all hazards I intend to free them from the danger of the Venetian domination ; and this liberation, if they do not wish to receive with good will, they shall receive with the sword and with blood, with destruction and with fire.

The men of Chios apparently were not so willing to receive the mild rule of Liguria as Vignoso wished, for they offered a stubborn resistance ; and the admiral, finding it difficult to dislodge the Greeks from the fortress, made a joint attack by sea and by a wall hastily erected, higher than that of the fortress. By this means he was successful, and on 13 Sept. the following treaty was signed :

1. The Chiotes to receive the honour of Genoese citizenship.
2. A sum of 7,000 peppercorns to be paid by Chios for the next three years.
3. Conservation of all privileges conceded to them by the emperors.
4. Subjection to the republic as previously to the empire.
5. Possession of the two houses and of the monastery of S. Maria near the tower.
6. Liberty to depart, return, and dwell on the island at will.
7. Exemption for Vignoso, his brother, and his nephew from real or personal claims for damages done in this business.⁸

Serra⁹ tells a story about the remarkable honour displayed by Vignoso throughout the taking of Chios, that he positively forbade any of his soldiers to touch so much as a bunch of grapes on the island under pain of a public flagellation. His son scoffed

⁸ Canale, *Istoria di Genova*.

⁹ *Istoria della antica Liguria*.

at such stringent orders, and having plucked some grapes ate them publicly. Vignoso ordered the sentence to be carried out forthwith, and in spite of the entreaties of both Greeks and Genoese the young man was soundly whipped in the public square. Before leaving the island Simone Vignoso left 500 ducats to be distributed amongst the young women of Chios on their marriage, as compensation for any real or imaginary damage that his troops might have inflicted.

The Greek emperor was much annoyed with the Genoese for their action in regard to Chios; but after much discussion the following treaty was arranged:¹⁰

1. That the Genoese should hold the chief city of the island, and should receive the taxes, paying 22,000 florins a year to the emperor, and that together with their own they should raise the imperial standard on the walls.

2. That the Greek archpriest should be appointed by the patriarch in Constantinople, and that he should bless the emperors on Saturdays according to custom, and that the priests should remember them in the holy functions without hindrance.

3. That the rest of the island, fortresses and villages, and the Greeks living in the city should be ruled by the emperor, who should send for this purpose an eparch from Constantinople.

4. That the Genoese should evacuate the island after ten years.

5. That if a question arose between the Greeks, it should be decided by the archpriest; if between a Greek and a Latin, that two judges from each party should be appointed to examine into the question.

The value of this treaty for protecting the Greeks from oppression will be shown by the course of events. The Genoese were now in possession, and henceforward for over two hundred years the island was practically theirs.

On the return of Vignoso to Genoa after his victorious campaign, the shareholders in the ships applied to the republic for their money and their profit: the exchequer being low at that time, the republic entered into a contract to pay to them in twenty-nine years' time the sum of 300,004 scudi, to give them meanwhile the usufruct of Chios, and at the expiration of this term, if the republic could not fulfil its part of the agreement, the shareholders should take possession of Chios, and govern it even with *jus sanguinis*, only recognising the suzerainty of the republic.

In this way the Mahonenses, as they called the subscribers to the *mahone* or Chios loan, became possessed of the island, and the several families who thus obtained a vested interest in this newly acquired province elected to belong to one family or guild, known as the *albergo dei Justiniani*. Authorities are conflicting

¹⁰ Cantacuzene, *Byz. Hist.*

why this name was chosen: some assert that it was from its associations likely to have a peculiar influence in a Greek community; others say that the Genoese branch of the Justiniani family represented the largest number of the shareholders in the loan, and that since this family claimed descent from the emperors of the east, the name was adopted by all. Their claim was based on a current legend, that when Tiberius succeeded Justin II in 578 A.D. in the empire, three of the family of Justin fled to Italy—one to Venice, another to Genoa, and a third to Florence—and became the ancestors of three noble families in each of these cities.

Long before the expiration of the term of twenty-nine years, it would appear that the republic handed over to the Mahonenses the full suzerainty of the island, perhaps owing to some subsequent arrangement of which we have no account. All we know for certain is that a few years after the conquest of the island by Vignoso, the whole guild or *albergo dei Justiniani*, with the exception of two families, the De' Negri and the Ugeti, decided to emigrate in a body, and to take possession of their property in the east. The lords elect of Chios, the Mahonenses, as they were termed in legal documents of the time, consisted of rather more than one hundred families, and the migration of so large a body caused considerable sensation in Genoa, for they were amongst some of her wealthiest and most influential citizens.

Probably the benefits to the Chiotas and to the Mahonenses by this step were mutual, for the island was, as it is still, the most fertile in the Archipelago. Its wines were then celebrated throughout Europe; it had then as now a monopoly of the production of mastic; and it was moreover a commercial centre of great importance, being a halting-place for ships bound either for Smyrna or the Black Sea, and as it was only eight miles across the straits of Chios to the mainland, it was a natural outlet for the caravan trade from Iconium, Brusa, and the inland towns of Asia Minor. Furthermore, placed as it was in the midst of the Icarian sea, and possessing then an excellent harbour, Chios formed a valuable naval centre for the Genoese, a protection for their commerce in Pera and the far-off Caffa. This Genoese immigration was, on the other hand, from a financial point of view an immense benefit to the island itself in assisting it to develop its resources. The new Genoese lords were rich; they built fine palaces, many of which are still standing, though since the earthquake eight years ago most of them are falling into ruins; they developed the fertility of the fine plain of Chios, and made of it the garden of lemon and orange trees which it is to-day; and at the same time the Mahonenses kept up their connexion with the mother country, their young men returned home to pursue their education

and to choose their wives, and in point of fact under the lordship of the Justiniani Chios became an oasis of western civilisation in the midst of the decay which was fast paving the way for the downfall of the eastern empire.

On arriving at Chios the Mahonenses at once proceeded to establish a new form of government in the island according to their own liking, and with little regard to the treaties previously agreed upon; they divided the whole island into twelve districts, and appointed from amongst themselves twelve archons, called *logariastai*, to govern each district and to collect the taxes. These twelve archons formed a council or governing body for the island, which was nominally presided over by a consul sent from Genoa, but he had no executive authority, and only acted as a bond of union between the lords of Chios and the mother country; his sole office was to look after the interests of the Genoese republic, to complain if the Mahonenses did not keep the harbour in a good condition for the reception of Genoese fleets, and to make satisfactory provisions for the benefit of Genoese trade. This consul was appointed every three years, and was often elected out of the Justiniani family.

The council of twelve had the control of everything in the island, political and judicial alike; the members were elected out of the Mahonenses and sat for only three months at a time, and four of these members formed a sort of privy council, which acted as advisers to the consul, and only on occasions of special importance was the whole council of twelve called together. If any very momentous occasion arose, a council of forty, the *quarantina* as it was called, was chosen out of the Mahonenses, and the important question was decided by a majority of their votes. In this manner did the Italian lords exercise entire control over their new subjects; in none of the transactions of their government was the voice of a Greek ever heard.

Hieronymus Justiniani, a member of one of the Mahonenses families, is the chief authority for the progress of events in Chios during the two centuries that the Genoese lords ruled in that island. He was born in 1544, and presumably wrote his description of his native island just after it was finally engulfed in the Ottoman empire; he was brought up at the university of Navarre, and his sketch proves him to have been a man of keen insight into the events which were passing around him. As he tries to place before us the Justiniani families and their rule in Chios in as favourable a light as possible, we may take it for granted that the accounts he gives of their severity and the oppression exercised over the Greeks are in no way exaggerated. All the business of the town and the rest of the island was transacted by the Mahonenses; they saw to the erection of public buildings, harbour protection, and police, and

man who scourged him when tied up to the 'stele.' No citizen could sell anything eatable except at the price regulated by the archons; and the laws on foreigners were especially severe: they were compelled to do menial services for the Justiniani, to attend on the archons three times a year when they went to the chase, and they were forbidden to leave the island without the special permission of the Mahonenses, who wished to prevent any diminution in the number of their subjects.

Some of the stories which Hieronymus tells us of the subservience of the Greeks, both clergy and laity, to their Italian rulers are amusing, and serve to prove how the character of the modern Greek has been formed by centuries of ignominious cringing. On the great feasts of the year, New Year's day, Easter, Christmas, and Epiphany, the Greeks decorated the consul's palace for him with branches of myrtle and orange, and as a proof of their respect for their rulers they hung from their houses the arms of Genoa and the badge of the Justiniani. After the service in the church, at which the consul, accompanied by the twelve archons, assisted, all the Greek clergy, many of the people, and a bodyguard holding the sceptre and badge of the Mahonenses, assembled in the agora, and a herald went up to a tower and proclaimed, first in Italian and then in Greek, 'In the name of Jesus and of the Holy Trinity, and our glorious Lady and the holy martyr John the Baptist, may long life, honour, and glory be accorded to our most blessed pope.' To which the Greek clergy responded, 'Many years to him!' Then the herald cried, 'Louder, priests, louder!' and they shouted it louder. Then he continued, 'And to our invincible emperor,' and the priests replied, 'Many years to him!' 'And to our most peaceful republic of Genoa,' and again 'many years' were wished, and the exhortation to say it louder given. Finally the herald cried, 'And to our most illustrious and noble house of Justiniani; may God establish and save them!' Then not only the clergy but all the people screamed, 'Many years!' and the herald with oft-reiterated exhortations to scream louder raised the sceptre, and the people did obeisance. When the murmurs of applause and 'many years' had subsided, the herald exhorted the people to glorify God, love their rulers, and be mindful of their mercies, and in the evenings of these festive days the Greek clergy and laity went to the courtyard of the palace, and on bended knees and with uncovered heads wished the consul 'many years.'

This supreme lordship in Chios was wielded by Justiniani with uninterrupted success till the early years of the fifteenth century, when troubles from the Turks came on apace. They sent an embassy to Tamerlane with handsome gifts to avert his hostility, and in 1414 we find them entering into a treaty with Mahomed I, by which he consented to leave them their entire independence on the

payment of an annual tax of 4,000 ducats, and at the same time granted them permission to trade all over his empire ; but in subsequent years the Mahonenses became more and more subservient to the sultan, and in 1424 we actually find them sending three ships to assist Amurath II in an expedition.

It was, however, the perpetual and relentless struggle between Venice and Genoa for the mastery in the east which proved more dangerous to the wellbeing of the lords of Chios than even the advance of the Turks. This resulted in open warfare in 1431, and in November of that year a Venetian fleet of thirteen ships appeared off Chios and proceeded to lay siege to the place. The Mahonenses made a stubborn resistance ; but their commander, a valiant young man, by name Monbaldi, was put to the greatest straits, and had it not been for the timely aid despatched to them by the Genoese colonists in Pera, the rule of the Justiniani would have come to an end. With this assistance they were enabled to hold out until a fleet of fourteen ships and ten galleys sent from Genoa under the command of Pietro Spinola dispersed the Venetian fleet and proceeded to devastate the Venetian islands and colonies in Naxos, Andros, and Crete.

Relieved from anxiety on this score, the Mahonenses in the following year set to work to rebuild the walls and fortifications of their town, the ruins of which constructions are still to be seen ; in 1440 they enclosed their harbour with a wall, and built the forts which are still standing to protect its entrance ; furthermore they set on foot a system for clearing out the harbour, and constructed two reservoirs to receive the silting of the river and to prevent its becoming blocked up. Since the Turkish occupation these important works have been entirely neglected, and now large ships cannot approach owing to the *débris* which has filled up the basin where the trading vessels under the Justiniani rule used to find secure anchorage. The fortifications of the harbour and the castle of Chios, even as they are now seen in their ruins, are a sufficient testimony to the power and skill of these princely merchants. In the castle, though it has undergone many alterations during late years, there are still to be seen substantial traces of Genoese architecture, and the following inscription on a much-battered marble slab may still be read :—

Sepulchrum spectabilis
Et egregii Domini Octo
Boni Justiniani ex dominis
Maonensibus Chii qui decessit
Die . . .

The work of fortifications the Justiniani extended all over the island ; each village was surrounded by walls, so that even now the villages of Chios present a uniform and curious appearance as of

large round forts with two gateways, inside which you penetrate into exceedingly narrow streets converging towards a public square, in the centre of which rises a commanding fortress. They likewise built towers to guard exposed places, and instituted a system of beacon lights to protect the country flocks from pirates, and in the town itself they erected even more costly palaces than before, monasteries, schools, and churches, and constructed a fine aqueduct still in use to bring down the water from the hills to their city. In their architecture the Mahonenses followed the style in vogue in their mother city; their palaces were built of marble in courses of red and white, like those we still see in Genoa, where black and white were used, and the church towers which are still standing at once recall to mind the campaniles of the mother city.

At this period the lords of Chios were at the zenith of their commercial prosperity and wealth, having nearly the whole of the carrying trade of the Levant in their hands. Chalcocondyles himself, accustomed as he was to the luxury of Constantinople, says how struck he was with Chios and the merchandise which flowed in there; and at this time the island is said to have had a population of no less than 100,000, all engaged in trading with Asia Minor. An interesting testimony to the world-wide reputation of the wealth of the Chiote merchants is quoted by Michaud,¹¹ who tells us that when the French and Hungarian army was defeated by Bajazet before Nicopolis, many celebrated men were taken prisoners, and Charles VI of France, to appease the sultan, sent handsome presents and promised 200,000 ducats for their ransom; but Bajazet distrusted Charles, and would not agree to receive the ransom until the king of France, by means of one of the bankers in Paris, contrived to get as a surety for the sum one Bartolomeo Pelegrino, a merchant in Chios.

Many authorities relate in slightly different forms the story of the five ships which Maurizio Cataneo, the consul of Chios at the time, sent to assist Constantinople in the last siege in 1453. We are told how they were detained by adverse winds; how they ran the gauntlet of the whole Ottoman force by sea and land, how Mahomed himself rushed into the waves on horseback to urge on his men to repulse them, and how they eventually through their prowess reached in safety the Golden Horn. Chios has the proud title of being the only Christian community which raised a finger in support of the eastern capital in its last extremity. But no sooner had Mahomed possessed himself of the town, than the Mahonenses of Chios were amongst the first to send an embassy to him, to arrange for the retention of their privileges, which was accorded to them on the condition of paying an increased yearly tax of 6,000 ducats.¹² Thanks to the influence of the Justiniani, the neighbouring

¹¹ *Histoire des Croisades.*

¹² *Ducas, Byz. Hist.*

islands of Psara, Samos, and Nikaria were included in this arrangement; but as these islands were exposed to the attacks of pirates, the Mahonenses persuaded the inhabitants to remove and settle in Chios, so that those islands remained uninhabited until the middle of the last century.

In 1455 the Justiniani had a quarrel with the Turks owing to having sunk a Turkish ship in the harbour of Chios, and Mahomed in his wrath threatened the destruction of the merchant princes. On this occasion the Mahonenses sent urgent appeals to Christendom for assistance, and the letter which they addressed to Pope Calixtus III ends thus piteously:—

And if the calamity should occur, that so many just prayers of Christians should be of no avail, we swear by our Lord Jesus Christ the Judge, and by your sanctity, that we, though impiously deserted by our christian friends, will fight for the faith, even to the extremest peril.

The Genoese doge Pietro Fregoso sent two ships and two hundred and fifty soldiers to their assistance in 1456; but the Mahonenses, seeing on the one hand the hopelessness of further succour from Genoa owing to the strife between the republic and Alfonso of Naples, and on the other that Mahomed was ready to fall upon the island and annihilate them altogether, sent an embassy to the sultan and came to terms. For the ship they had sunk they paid a fine of 30,000 ducats down, and their yearly tax was raised to 10,000 ducats. This was the last effort the Justiniani made to resist the Turkish power; and when in the following year, 1457, a papal fleet actually did appear, and anchored off Chios with a view to offering them assistance, the Mahonenses refused to have anything to do with it.

In the archives of Genoa, however, there are frequent letters of distress from the Chiote merchants, and appeals for a united attack on the Turks; in 1477, a fleet of four ships was sent by Genoa to Chios, on a report being spread that the Turks were preparing an armament with a view to a descent on the island; but on reaching Chios it was discovered that the Turkish armament had another destination, and the expedition returned home without doing anything. According to Humboldt,¹³ Christopher Columbus, then a boy, took part in this expedition, which apparently is the only fact in connexion with it which is worthy of mention.

For nearly a century after this, the lords of Chios held their island, and continued their commerce peacefully as dependants of Turkey, and all accounts of this period point to continued prosperity from a financial point of view. Churches, convents, and schools continued to be built, missionaries were sent into all parts of the Turkish dominions, and besides this Chios became a refuge

¹³ *Examen critique de l'Histoire de la Géog. du nouveau Continent.*

the hundred families were always prepared to arm three hundred men for the protection of their rights in case of need.

Of course this newly appointed government in Chios was subject to frequent insurrectionary troubles. Cantacuzene relates how, shortly after its establishment, Zenos, one of the most influential of the Greeks of Chios, fled to Phocæa, and there succeeded in collecting together an expedition to drive out the Justiniani, which would have been successful had not two Genoese ships, which chanced to be passing through the straits of Chios, rendered substantial assistance to their fellow-countrymen at the critical moment. And then Hieronymus tells us how the Greek metropolitan formed a project for the slaughter of the Mahonenses on Easter day: information, however, was given in time, the conspirators were hanged on the walls of the fort, and 'the Mahonenses,' says the historian, 'banished the metropolitan, and would not receive another into the island, lest he should foment disagreeable things.'

Shortly after the arrival of the Justiniani in Chios, the Venetians made a desperate attempt to get possession of the island, but a Genoese fleet under Paganino d'Oria drove them away and compelled the Venetian admiral Pisani to take refuge in Chalcis in Eubœa. After this the Mahonenses, taking advantage of the weak state of the empire, compelled John Paleologus to grant them a golden bull which secured their position in the island; it concludes as follows:—

In order that by the force of this present golden bull and mandate of our empire the aforesaid men shall have and possess, with its township and all its castles, all the said island and all its habitations, and shall have, in accordance with the laws of race and inheritance, full power to transmit it to their sons and heirs, and to whomsoever they may wish, on the payment of 850,000 peppercorns at once, and 500 every year to the chancellor of the empire.

This bull is signed by 'John the faithful in Christ, emperor and moderator of the Romans, Paleologus, after the birth of our Lord 1863.'

The next half-century was for the Justiniani the most brilliant period of their two-centuries' rule in the island of Chios, and their rule was despotic, an oligarchy of the worst type. Hieronymus gives us a horrible account of the cruel punishments they inflicted on malefactors, which sentences were carried out at the 'stele of justice' which stood in the public square just opposite the old Genoese courthouse, the *Δικαιότατο*, as it was called, where the council of twelve held their sittings, and where now stands the pasha's palace over against the castle. The culprits were frequently maimed by the cutting off of noses and ears; public flagellations were ordered as a punishment for the smallest offence, and the sufferer had to pay six denaria a stroke, as a fee to the

for Christian slaves who had escaped from Turkish taskmasters. A special magistrate was appointed by the Justiniani, whose sole duty it was to look after and assist these slaves; they were concealed in out-of-the-way corners of the island, and they received food and clothing until ships could be found to convey them to their homes. Sometimes in one year as many as a thousand would thus be saved from Turkish hands, and it was a constant source of annoyance to the Porte, but not till the days of Solyman the Magnificent were steps taken to suppress the Justiniani in the exercise of their good work. He, moreover, had a further cause of complaint against the Mahonenses, accusing them of having given warning to the knights of Malta of his impending attack, and that through their agent at Constantinople they were perpetually divulging the plans of the Porte.

Accordingly Solyman ordered his admiral Piale Pasha, when he sent him to the siege of Malta, to bring bound in chains the Mahonenses to Constantinople, and to establish the Turkish rule in the island. After having been repulsed at Malta, and burning to retrieve his reputation by some act before returning to Constantinople, on 17 April 1566 Piale entered the harbour of Chios, where the unsuspecting inhabitants were engaged in the celebration of Easter week; he had with him a fleet of 300 ships, and on board his own ship he carried as prisoner the objectionable agent of the Justiniani who had done so much mischief to the Ottoman cause.

The Mahonenses forthwith sent a deputation of twelve men to the pasha's ships to discover his intention, and to proffer him the customary gifts. Piale straightway put these men in chains, and proceeded to land his soldiers, under plea of a friendly visit on shore, with arms concealed under their cloaks. He entered the palace where the leaders of the Mahonenses were seated, and read the complaints of the sultan, and the orders that he had received to devastate the whole island if they would not peaceably submit; his soldiers at the same time drew out their concealed weapons, and the terrified Mahonenses, totally unprepared as they were for this sudden attack, had no other course to pursue than to submit.

Leonclavius¹⁴ gives us a graphic account of this last day of the rule of the Mahonenses in Chios, which concludes as follows:—

The family of the prefect himself, and those of the twelve archons, together with the other leading families, were sent to Constantinople, and were thence dispersed into various regions; until at length in subsequent years, at the intercession of the French when allied to the Turks, they were restored to their country, and a certain shadow of administration and of its former judicial arrangements was conceded to the miserable Chiotes.

¹⁴ *Suppl. Annal. Turc.*

Horrible stories of the martyrdom of some young boys of the Justiniani family by reason of their refusal to become Mahomedan were current in western Europe. A picture of these young martyrs was painted by a Genoese artist, and put up in the Palazzo Pubblico, and thus ended the history of the Genoese lords of Chios.

In spite of the Turkish occupation, commercial enterprise still continued to flourish in Chios. Even at the beginning of this century, Chios was a mart of considerable importance, the garden of the Levant; but when the war of independence broke out the wealthy island was subjected to the most horrible massacre. Those of the merchants who escaped refused to return, but rather preferred to carry on their trade in England and elsewhere; thus was the ruin of the island completed, and not even the terrible earthquake which occurred eight years ago was required to render this once flourishing island a desert.

J. THEODORE BENT.