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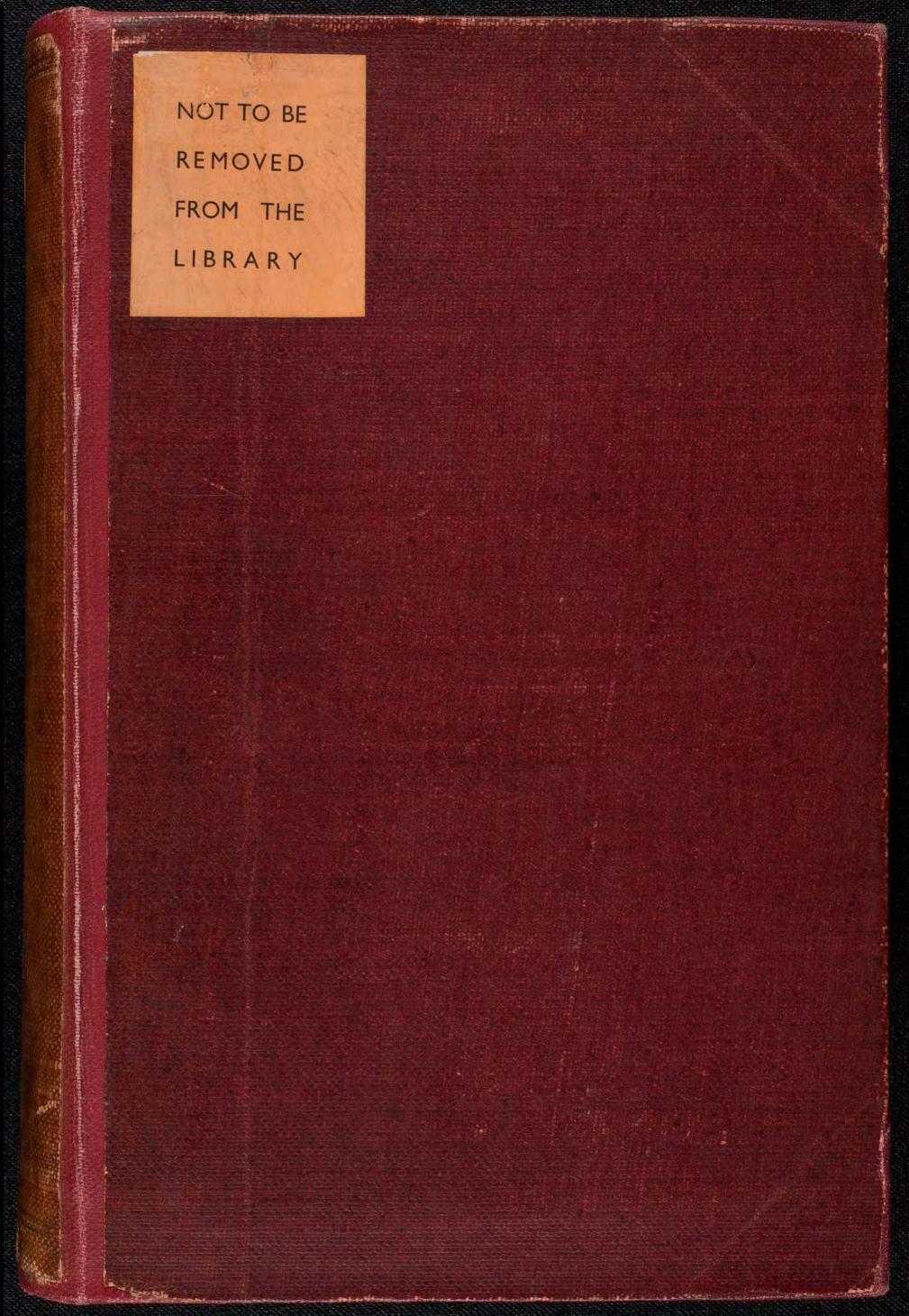




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CECIL TORR, M.A.

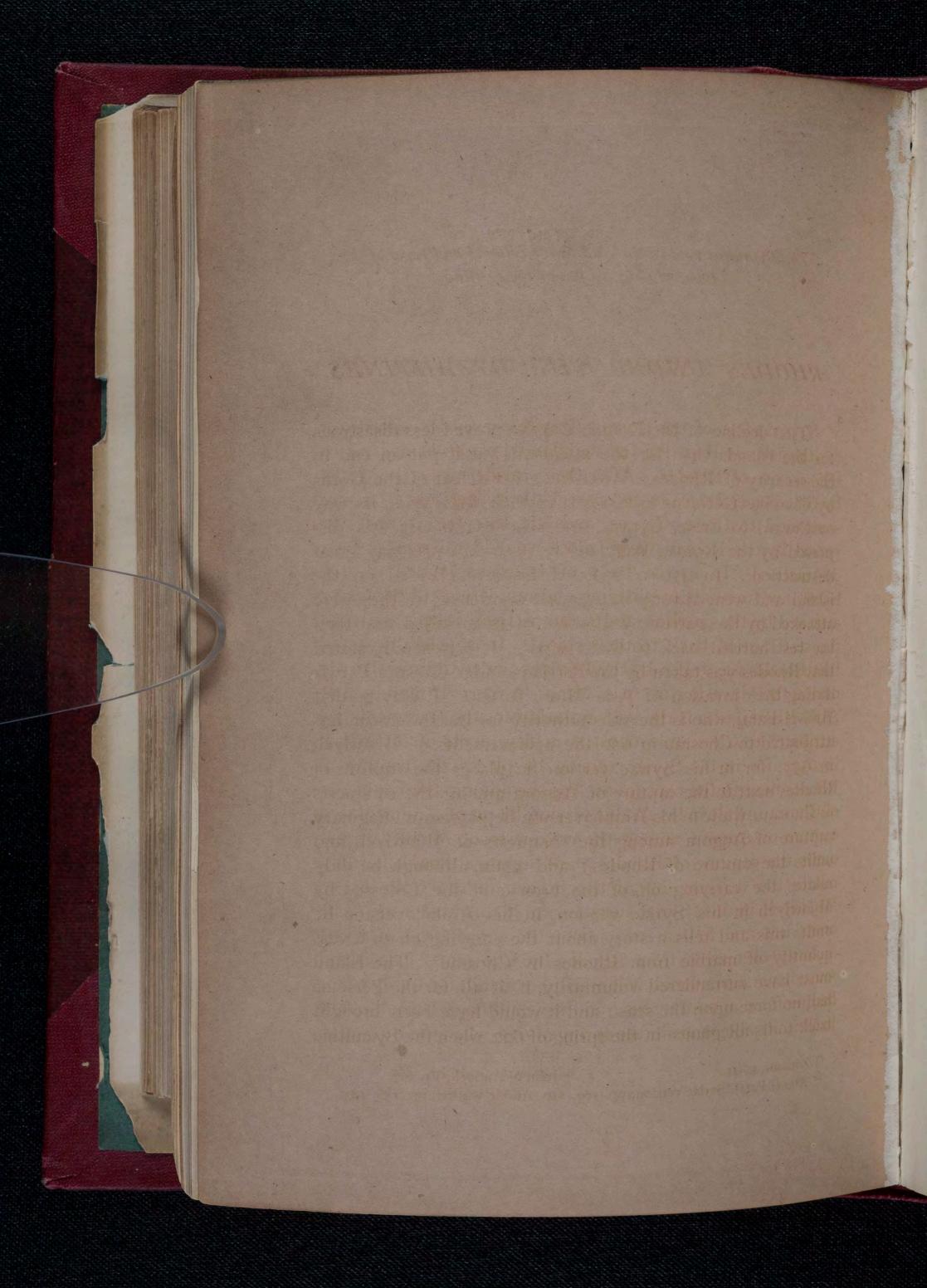
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The Byzantine writers are cited by the volumes and pages of the Bonn editions, so far as these extend.

RHODES UNDER THE BYZANTINES.

THE decline of the Roman Empire proved less disastrous for the islands than for the mainland, but it put an end to the security of Rhodes. After the great defeat of the Goths by Claudius Gothicus in 269 part of their fleet made its way southward to Crete, Cyprus, and Rhodes: but it was dispersed by the Roman navy before it could cause any great destruction. In 470 a body of Isaurians landed on the island and went about pillaging and murdering till they were attacked by the garrison and some of them killed, and then the rest hurried back to their ships2. It is generally stated that Rhodes was taken by the Persians under Chosrau Parwiz during their invasion of Asia Minor in 620. It may be that Abû-el-Faraj, who is the sole authority for the statement, has attributed to Chosrau in 620 the achievements of Muawiyeh in 653: for in his Syriac version he places the capture of Rhodes next to the capture of Angora among the conquests of Chosrau, while in his Arabic version he places an imaginary capture of Angora among the conquests of Muawiyeh and omits the capture of Rhodes; and again, although he duly relates the carrying off of the bronze of the Colossos by Muawiyeh in his Syriac version, in his Arabic version he omits this and tells a story about the carrying off of a vast quantity of marble from Rhodes by Chosrau3. The island must have surrendered voluntarily, if at all, for the Persians had no force upon the seas: and it would have been brought back to its allegiance in the spring of 622, when the Byzantine

¹ Zosimos, p. 41. ² John of Antioch, Fr. 206.

³ Abû-el-Faraj, Syriac version, pp. 100, 110, Arabic version, pp. 158, 183. R.

fleet under Heraclios passed there on its way to carry the war into Persian territory. Fifteen years later the conquest of Syria by the Saracens placed a new naval power on the Mediterranean, and in 653 their fleet captured Rhodes¹. The Byzantine fleet was at Phœnicos in Lycia, some fifty miles to the east of Rhodes, during the next summer, and may have recovered the island on its way thither: but its utter defeat there in the autumn must have left Rhodes in the power of the Saracens until the peace of 658. Another account describes the loss of Rhodes as a consequence of the Byzantine defeat off Phœnicos: and another states that the Saracens took it just before the first siege of Constantinople in 672, and fitted out their fleet there for the attack on the capital; and in this case the island would have remained in their power until the peace of 678. In 715 Constantinople was again threatened with an attack by the Saracens. To prevent this, Anastasios the Second determined to burn the enemy's fleet before it could start from Egypt and Syria: and accordingly he sent on to Rhodes a picked squadron with his guards on board, and ordered the rest of the Byzantine fleet to assemble there. The chief command was unfortunately given to an ecclesiastic, John the Deacon: and at Rhodes there was a mutiny, the guards murdering the commander and then sailing back to Constantinople to depose the Emperor and place Theodosios the Third on the vacant throne, while the rest of the fleet dispersed?. The Saracen fleet sailed unopposed to Constantinople in 717, and captured Rhodes on the way3: but its destruction during the ensuing year by Greek fire and by tempest must have restored the island to the Empire. In September 807 Harûn-ar-Rashîd's fleet made an unexpected descent on Rhodes: but the in-

¹ Theophanes, vol. i. p. 527; followed by Cedren, vol. i. p. 755, Leon Grammaticos, p. 157, Hamartolos, iv. 234, and others. Porphyrogenitos, vol. iii. follows this at p. 95, but gives another version at p. 98. Independently, Zonaras, xiv. 19.

² Nicephoros Patriarcha, pp. 56, 57, Theophanes, vol. i. pp. 590, 591, Cedren, vol. i. p. 786, Leon Grammaticos, pp. 171, 172, Ephræmios, pp. 74, 75, and Zonaras, xiv. 27; all to the same effect.

³ Abû-el-Faraj, Syriac version, p. 121.

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vaders did not succeed in surprising the city, and had to content themselves with ravaging the island and making off with their prisoners and booty¹.

When Rhodes was placed among the Roman provinces by Vespasian, it was presumably attached to the Province of Asia, which had existed for the last two centuries and was then a Senatorial province administered by a proconsul. The Province of the Islands, styled also the Province of the Cyclades or of the Cyclades Islands, in which Rhodes was the chief city, appears first during the reign of Diocletian. Under that Emperor the provinces were grouped in civil dioceses, and these again in præfectures. The Province of the Islands was naturally assigned to the Diocese of Asia: but by an exception the Præses of the Islands, who administered it, was subject, not to the Vicar of the Diocese of Asia and through him to the Prætorian Præfect of the Orient, but to the Proconsul of the Province of Asia, who was directly responsible to the Emperor. On the division of the Roman Empire, the Province of the Islands passed with the rest of the Præfecture of the Orient to the Emperor of the East. In 385 the Rhodians were complaining that they could not always reach the judges of the province, owing to the risk and uncertainty of navigation during the winters; and the judges were consequently directed to winter in the five most accessible cities in the province in rotation. most important places in the province about 530 were Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Mytilene and Methymna in Lesbos, Petelos (? Telos), Tenedos, Proselene (the capital of the Hundred Isles near Lesbos), Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Melos, Ios, Thera, Amorgos and Astypalæa. It has been stated on the authority of a geographer who wrote between 350 and 353 that there were then fifty-three islands in the province, and that there was a judge in each of them. This geographer however does not refer to the Cyclades as a province, but merely as a group of islands; and in face of the rescript of 385, which shews that there were then less than five judges in the province, his statement

¹ Theophanes, vol. i. p. 749; Cedren, vol. ii. p. 36.

that there were fifty-three a few years before appears valueless. About 535 the Province of the Islands was placed with the Provinces of Cyprus, Caria, Mysia, and Scythia under the Quæstor of the Army. The judicial appeals from these provinces were at the same time assigned to him: but in 537 the remonstrances of the Rhodians and others, who objected to taking long voyages to have their law-suits settled in countries swarming with barbarians, caused this rule to be modified1. On the formation of the Themes, or military governments, which superseded the provinces, Rhodes was assigned not to the Ægean but to the Cibyrrhæot Theme. This Theme, which was formed before 700, comprised the south-western portion of Asia Minor from Miletos in Caria on the west coast to Seleuceia in Cilicia on the south coast together with the islands of Syme and Rhodes. It was governed, like the rest, by a Strategos, or general: but in this instance there was also a Drungarios, or admiral. For several centuries no small share in the great maritime struggle between the Byzantines and the Saracens fell to the Cibyrrhæot fleet, and in its achievements those of the Rhodians are lost².

The first army of Crusaders marched overland from Constantinople to Antioch in the summer of 1097; and on their way they recaptured for the Byzantine Empire the city of Nicæa, the chief stronghold of the Seljûk Turks who had then overrun Asia Minor. Some of these Turks had lately established themselves at Rhodes and had been fitting out ships there for piracy; but the news of the fall of Nicæa followed by the approach of the Byzantine fleet seems to have frightened them away³: and in the autumn Rhodian merchant vessels were carrying supplies to the Crusaders in

² Porphyrogenitos, vol. iii. pp. 36-39.

Laterculus Veronensis (297 A.D.) ad calcem Notitiæ, p. 248; Laterculus Silvii (385 A.D.) ibid. p. 258; Notitia Dignitatum (398 A.D.) pp. 4, 6, 45, ed. Seeck; Hierocles, Synecdemos (527—535 A.D.) p. 395; Justinian, Code, i. 40, 6 (385 A.D.), Novell 50 (537 A.D.). Also, Totius orbis descriptio, in the Geographi Græci Minores, vol. ii. pp. 527, 528, ed. Müller.

³ Anna Comnena, vol. ii. pp. 91 ff.; Zonaras, xviii. 22; Ephræmios, p. 151.

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their camp before Antioch. Some of these vessels were burnt there by the enemy, and for a time the Rhodians abandoned the enterprise: but they recovered their courage, and their traders served as transports in the movement southward which resulted in the capture of Jerusalem in July 10991. On the 28th of October in this year a large Venetian fleet reached Rhodes on its way to Palestine. There had probably been a Venetian colony in the island for some years past, for Rhodes was among the places thrown open to Venetian trade by the Golden Bull of May 1082: and perhaps this as well as the security of the harbour induced the leaders to lay up the fleet there for the winter. The Emperor Alexios, thinking there were already Crusaders enough in his dominions, used bribes and threats to turn the Venetians homeward: but Arrigo Contarini, bishop of Torcello, the son of a former Doge, who held the command jointly with Giovanni Michieli, the son of the reigning Doge, kept the other leaders to their purpose by his denunciations of the sin of turning back from a Crusade. Having failed in diplomacy, the Emperor next took fifty Pisan ships into his pay to attack the Venetians: and this fleet soon appeared off Rhodes flying the Imperial colours and cleared for action. The Venetians requested them to sail past in peace like good Christians, but the Pisans replied that they would sail whither they pleased and would force the harbour if they chose. Upon this thirty picked vessels from the Venetian fleet attacked the Pisans with such effect that at nightfall twentytwo of their ships were glad to make their escape leaving the rest with some four thousand men in the hands of the Venetians. The Imperial officials at Rhodes of course asserted that the Pisans had acted against orders, and demanded the surrender of the prisoners to the Emperor for punishment. The Venetians however thought it better to retain thirty-six of the leaders to exchange for any of their own men who might have been captured and to set the rest of the prisoners free: and they gave them back their ships and their arms, merely exacting an oath that they would never again draw

¹ Rudolf of Caen, 54; William of Tyre, vi. 9, vii. 21.

sword except in the cause of the Cross and never again compete with Venetians in the trade of the Levant. It was not until the 27th of May 1100 that the Venetian fleet sailed from Rhodes for Palestine1. In the spring of 1103 another Pisan fleet came out to assist Bohemund, who was holding Antioch against the Imperial forces. The Byzantine fleet overtook it just to the eastward of Rhodes, and by employing Greek fire was gaining some advantage over the better seamanship of the Pisans when a storm put an end to the action. The Byzantines ran for shelter to Seutlos, or Teutlussa,—the island to which an Athenian squadron had run for shelter after an action with the Spartans in these waters in the spring of 411 B.C.—and next morning came in to Rhodes. There they put their prisoners ashore, and offered them their choice of slavery or death: and finally they killed them. Meanwhile the Pisan fleet made its way eastward2. The commercial privileges of the Venetians in the Empire were cancelled by Calojohannes soon after his accession in 1118: and for this reason the Rhodians refused to furnish supplies to the Venetian fleet in 1125 on its return from the campaign memorable for the capture of Tyre, although they had made no difficulty when this fleet touched there on its way out in 1123. The result was that the gates were forced and the city was looted: the boys and girls were seized as slaves, and everything worth taking was carried off. Several outrages of this kind caused the Emperor to restore the Venetians their privileges in August 1126. In the autumn of that year the younger Bohemund was at Rhodes with his fleet on its way to the East³. Richard Cœur de Lion stayed there with the English fleet for ten days in 1190, sailing thence on May-day for Cyprus on his way to Palestine: and Philip of France was there the year after on his return4. In fact the Latins generally touched at the island on their

² Anna Comnena, vol. ii. pp. 115 ff.

¹ Translatio Magni Nicolay, pp. 8, 9, ed. Cornaro.

³ Chronicon Altinate, v. 2; Fulk of Chartres, iii. 15, 41, 57; Cinnamos, p. 281.

⁴ Itinerarium Regis Richardi, ii. 27, 28; Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls ed.) vol. ii. p. 198.

way to the East, and recruited their forces there: and it was from this that the Byzantines obtained the notion of raising mercenary cavalry at Rhodes1. A considerable trade at this period is implied by the residence of some four hundred Jews in the island2: and the ships of Lindos were well known in the Mediterranean3. In 1204 the Crusaders took Constantinople: and while a Latin Emperor ascended the vacant throne there and the Greek Emperor set up his throne at Nicæa, the Byzantine governor of Rhodes declared his in-

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This new sovereign was Leon Gabalas, presumably a member of the Cretan family of that name which had long flourished in the Empire, and for twenty years he remained in undisputed possession of Rhodes. Although not expressly mentioned in the treaty of October 1204, Rhodes seems to have been assigned to Venice in the division of the Empire among the Crusaders: but the Republic made no attempt to capture the island for itself, nor did any of its subjects venture to attack Rhodes in exercise of that permission to seize the islands which led to the founding of Venetian duchies at Naxos, Paros, Crete, and elsewhere. In 1224 John Ducas Vatatses, the Greek Emperor at Nicæa, passed the Hellespont with a strong fleet, and after reducing Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, and the rest of the islands along the coast of Asia Minor, he crossed over to Rhodes and caused his supremacy to be acknowledged there. To the following years would belong the coins of Leon Gabalas describing him as the servant of the Emperor with the title of Cæsar, which was then the fourth degree of rank at the Byzantine court and entitled its holder to wear green boots. But Gabalas resumed his independence, and in 1233 Vatatses despatched Androneicos Palæologos to Rhodes with a sufficient naval and military force to crush the rebel thoroughly: but an attack on Lampsacos by John of Brienne, the Latin

¹ Cinnamos, p. 199.

² Benjamin of Tudela, Itinerary.

³ Eustathios, ad Dionysium Periegeten, 504.

⁴ Choniata, p. 842.

⁵ Nicephoros Gregoras, vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

Emperor of Constantinople, caused the expedition to return before its work was done 1. Gabalas now asked aid from Venice, although a few years before he had commanded the Greek fleet in an action with the Venetian: and this aid was granted2. On the 11th of April 1234 a treaty was concluded by Leon Gabalas, who therein styled himself Cæsar and Lord of Rhodes and the Cyclades, with Marsilio Georgio, ambassador of the Doge Jacopo Tiepolo. Gabalas became the vassal of Venice, with a yearly tribute to Saint Mark of a robe of silk cloth embroidered with gold. If the Greek Emperor attacked the Venetian Duke of Crete or his subjects, Gabalas was to assist the Cretans with ships and men; and if he attacked Rhodes, the Duke of Crete was similarly to assist Gabalas: and full right to trade without payment of dues was secured for Rhodians in Crete and for Cretans in Rhodes. Rhodians were to be under the protection of Venice in all the Byzantine territory of the Republic, and were to pay only the accustomed dues for trading: on the other hand the Venetians were to have a church, a Fondaco or warehouse, and a court of justice in the city of Rhodes, and were to trade without payment of dues in all territory subject to Gabalas. If any Venetian ships should be wrecked off Rhodes, Gabalas was to protect their crews and cargoes. The treaty was ratified by the Doge in August 1234. When Leon Gabalas died, he was succeeded in the government of Rhodes by his brother John Gabalas, who seems always to have been a loyal vassal of Vatatses. While he was absent from Rhodes with his sovereign during operations against the Latins in 1248, a Genoese fleet touched there, probably on its way eastward to join the Crusade of Saint Louis, and managed to surprise the city by night. The Emperor at once sent off a small force under John Cantacuzenos, who effected a landing and occupied Lindos and Phileremos, the ancient Acropolis of Ialysos, and held his own there against the Genoese until he was reinforced. He then blockaded the

¹ Acropolita, pp. 49, 50; Nicephoros Gregoras, vol. i. p. 98; Ephræmios, p. 328.
² Dandolo, vol. xii. p. 349, ed. Muratori; Sanudo, vol. xxii. pp. 549, 554, ed. Muratori; the treaty is printed by Tafel and Thomas, vol. ii. pp. 319 ff.

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city; but without much effect, for the place was well provisioned: and next year, when its capture at last seemed probable, William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achæa, happened to touch there on his return from the Crusade, and agreed to support the Genoese by disembarking over a hundred of his knights. The Byzantines were compelled to raise the blockade and retire to Phileremos, where they soon ran short of food, for the knights held the open country and Genoese cruisers intercepted supplies from abroad. At last the Emperor was able to send a considerable fleet with three hundred cavalry on transports: the commander, Theodor Contostephanos, having written instructions (no doubt prepared by John Gabalas) as to the suitable places and seasons for fighting. The Imperial cavalry attacked the Latin knights when pillaging outside the city walls and inflicted a crushing defeat, giving no quarter. The Genoese in the city still held out for a time: but finding that they could not stand a long siege, they came to terms with the Emperor and evacuated the city with all honours1. In a letter written in September 1250 Frederick the Second, Emperor of the West, congratulates Vatatses on his success at Rhodes². It is not clear whether John Gabalas was reinstated in his government: in the next generation the Gabalas family is again heard of in Crete, and often afterwards in the Imperial service.

The Latin Emperor of Constantinople was expelled in 1261, and the Greek Emperor returned thither from Nicæa. During the following years Rhodes, with other territory, was held by John Palæologos as an appanage from his brother the Emperor Michael; and after his disgrace in 1271, it remained nominally under the direct rule of the Emperor³. But the Genoese, as allies of the Byzantines, made use of its harbours in their piratical warfare with the Venetians in the Levant4: and the Genoese pirates, Giovanni dello Cavo, Andrea Moresco, and Vignolo de' Vignoli, who were successively the Emperor's admirals, were practically the sovereigns

¹ Acropolita, pp. 92-95; Ephræmios, pp. 346, 347.

² Printed by Miklosich and Müller, vol. iii. pp. 72 ff.

³ Pachymeres, vol. i. p. 321.

⁴ Sanudo, vol. xxii. p. 563, ed. Muratori.

of Rhodes; Vignolo making its harbours a base for his buccaneering expeditions to Cyprus.—The statement that Andrea Moresco held Rhodes as a fief under a Golden Bull is unfounded: some islands near it were granted to him, but not Rhodes itself1.—Yet these admirals could not protect the island from the incursions of the Turks from Asia Minor, who almost depopulated the open country2. In 1306 Vignolo suggested a joint attack on the Byzantine forces in Rhodes to Fulk de Villaret, the Grand Master of the Knights of Saint John, who had been established in Cyprus since their expulsion from Palestine in 1291: and on the 27th of May 1306 a treaty³ was made between Villaret and Vignolo for the acquisition of certain of the Byzantine islands, and particularly of Cos, Leros, and Rhodes. Rhodes was to be held by the Knights with the exception of two villages to be held by Vignolo, who was already entitled to one under a Golden Bull and was thereby empowered to select another after the conquest.—The village of Lardos, four miles to the west of Lindos and probably the place whence the ancient Rhodians obtained their Lartian stone, was afterwards in Vignolo's family.—Leros and Cos, which Vignolo presumably held under some Golden Bull, were ceded by him to the Knights. One third of the revenue of such other islands as might be captured was to be payable to Vignolo, the Knights receiving the other two thirds. Vignolo was to be Vicar, in right of the Knights and in his own right, of Cos, Leros and the other islands except Rhodes: and in these he was to administer justice to the inhabitants and garrisons with an appeal to the Grand Master, except in minor offences committed by servants of the Knights which were to be punishable by the Grand Master directly: and he was empowered to appoint officials and create notaries in these islands with the advice and consent of the Grand Master. It is very significant that one of the witnesses to this treaty was a member of the great Florentine banking house of the Peruzzi, which afterwards

² Pachymeres, vol. ii. p. 344.

¹ Libri Commemoriali (MS. at Vienna) tom. 2. folio 220 tergo.

³ Liber Bullarum (MS. at Malta) anno 1392, folio 187 tergo.

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took part in the loan that enabled the Knights to complete the conquest of Rhodes. The Grand Master fitted out two galleys and four smaller ships, and on the 22nd of June he embarked at Limasol with thirty-five of the Knights and a considerable force of infantry. He sailed first to the island of Castel Rosso (Megiste) where he remained for a month while Vignolo sailed on to Rhodes to reconnoitre. On the admiral's return the fleet proceeded to the Gulf of Makri; and thence two Genoese galleys, which had joined the adventure, went over to Rhodes on the chance of surprising the Byzantine garrison in the city. But their captains were arrested on landing, as a runaway Greek servant of the Knights had warned the commandant of the impending attack, and it was only by marvellous lying that they escaped. On their return the fleet crossed over to Rhodes, and in September 1306 the Knights landed on the island to begin its conquest1.

The city of Rhodes, which had been destroyed by earthquake about 227 B.C. and again in 157 A.D., was destroyed for the third time in 515 A.D. After the first catastrophe the Rhodians had been aided by their allies in rebuilding their city, and after the second Antoninus Pius had rebuilt it at his own cost. The Emperor Anastasios now made a large grant towards the rebuilding as well as in aid of the sufferers; but neither he nor the Rhodians of that day could have rebuilt the city on its former scale: and it was probably then that the ancient line of the city walls, which enclosed over a thousand acres, was exchanged for the modern line, which encloses less than a hundred and fifty. The island had also suffered from a great earthquake in 345 A.D.: and Abû-el-Faraj states that it was involved in the earthquake which destroyed Neo-Cæsarea in 503; but as he mentions a grant from the Emperor Anastasios in connection with this, he must have been thinking of the earthquake of 515. This grant he says was for the removal of the bodies of the victims for burial; and funds for this would have been needed in 515, for the catastrophe occurred at dead of night and the loss of

¹ Chronique de François Amadi (MS. at Paris) fol. 222-225.

life must have been enormous. On the 8th of August 1304 the city was again destroyed by earthquake¹.

The vast remains of the city walls and their towers, of various stately edifices, and of all the dwellings of the former dense population made the English Crusaders who came there in 1190 compare the city to ancient Rome. They found only a few people living there, from whom they bought provisions. The island seemed tolerably fertile and productive. A friend of Nicephoros Gregoras, who visited Rhodes soon after the conquest by the Knights and went to see the ruins, told him that he could not find the slightest trace of the Colossos. The population was still mainly Greek and belonging to the Orthodox Church. The older men of course regretted the good old days of lax Byzantine rule, but admitted that no enemies attacked the island now that the Knights were there, and that justice prevailed in the market place and in the law courts while extortion was almost unknown. The climate of the island and the convenience of its harbours for foreign merchantmen enabled rich and poor alike to be well supplied with commodities and to lead a very comfortable life2.

The Colossos was broken up by Muawiyeh in 653 and the metal carried off to Syria, where it was put up to auction and knocked down to a Jew from Ur of the Chaldees. The amount of the successful bid is unrecorded. The Byzantine writers state that Muawiyeh pulled down the Colossos, and Abû-el-Faraj even states that he pulled it down with hawsers. When Strabo and the elder Pliny were at Rhodes, it was lying on the ground as it had fallen after the earthquake. Some of the Byzantine chroniclers however state that it was set up again during Vespasian's reign; that in Hadrian's time it was moved; and that Commodus replaced the head

Theophanes, vol. i. p. 56, followed by Cedren, vol. i. p. 522, on the earth-quake of 345; Abû-el-Faraj, Syriac version, p. 82, on that of 503; Malalas, p. 406, Evagrios, iii. 43, and Nicephoros Callistos, xvi. 38, on that of 515; Pachymeres, vol. ii. pp. 392, 393, on that of 1304.

² Itinerarium Regis Richardi, ii. 27, 28; Nicephoros Gregoras, vol. iii. pp. 11—13.

of Helios by his own. These chroniclers have confused the Colossos of Rhodes with the colossal statue of Nero at Rome. Vespasian set up that statue on a new site when he pulled down the Golden House, at the same time replacing the head of the obnoxious Emperor by a head of Helios: then Hadrian moved it from its new site to the existing pedestal near the Colosseum, to make way for his Temple of Venus and Roma: and finally Commodus took off the head of Helios that Vespasian had put on, and set his own in its place. The statement of Porphyrogenitos that the Colossos of Rhodes was of gilt bronze and 120 feet in height would have been true of the Roman statue, but no earlier writer says that the Rhodian statue was gilded, and Strabo and Pliny agree that its height was only 105 feet. Thus Porphyrogenitos, and consequently Theophanes in the lost version from which he quotes, had the statue of Nero in his mind when writing of the destruction of the Colossos; and might easily have fancied that it was still standing when Muawiyeh came. But even if it had been set up again, it must have fallen in the great earthquake which destroyed the city of Rhodes in 515; and the Rhodians of that age had no resources for its reconstruction. The detail about the hawsers is pleasing. The Colossos was first set up after the siege of 304 B.C.: but several of the Byzantine writers state that it was set up 1360 or 1365 years before its destruction, that is to say, in 707 or 712 B.C., and one of them places the event in the days of Manasseh of Judæa who reigned about that time. King Manasseh set up idols and worshipped Baal: the Colossos was in the likeness of Helios, a sun-god akin to Baal: and some confusion of these facts may have produced the anachronism. It is not likely that when Muawiyeh sold the Colossos, he overlooked the rest of the bronze statues in the island, and their removal would account for the vast quantity of metal that was carried off. Byzantine writers estimate this at 700, at 900, at 980, at 30,000, and at 30,080 camel loads, while Abû-el-Faraj estimates it at 3000 loads of some uncertain sort. It probably was 900 or 980: for in writing of one of the Seven Wonders that was seventy cubits

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in height, a copyist might easily write 700 for 900: while a copyist who had heard some story of 3000 loads would readily substitute λ the symbol for thirty thousand for δ the symbol for nine hundred, and thus alter 900 and 980 into 30,000 and 30,080. The marble statues may have been carried off before, for it is in connection with the alleged capture of Rhodes by Chosrau that Abû-el-Faraj narrates the removal to Ctesiphon of the marble from the temples in the cities conquered by the Persians¹.

The Christian writers who notice that amid the general silencing of the Pagan oracles the bull of Zeus at Rhodes ceased from speaking, were no doubt better informed about Balaam's ass than about the bull of Phalaris: for they suppose the Rhodian bull to have been a living creature which delivered oracles with a human voice instead of a hollow bronze figure which only bellowed when men were being baked inside it².

In allusion to the Colossos the Rhodians were known among the Byzantine Greeks as Kologoaeis, and the official style of the Latin Archbishops of Rhodes was Archiepiscopus Colossensis. Hence the remark of Sir John Maundeville about Rhodes:—"And it was wont to be clept Collos: and so callen it the Turks zit. And Seynt Poul, in his Epistles, writeth to hem of that Ile, ad Colossenses." This latter notion was so widespread that Erasmus has thought it worthy of careful refutation at the beginning of his Annotations to the Epistle to the Colossians.

The use of the word $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$ in its later meaning, a statue, instead of in its earlier meaning, a column, in some accounts of the Colossos has caused great confusion. Thus Lucius

Theophanes, vol. i. p. 527, on the destruction of the Colossos: followed by Cedren, vol. i. p. 755, Leon Grammaticos, p. 157, Hamartolos, iv. 234, Zonaras, xiv. 19, and by others; also by Porphyrogenitos, vol. iii. at p. 95, with another version at p. 99. Malalas, p. 149, on its construction: and Syncellos, vol. i. pp. 647, 668, and the Paschal Chronicle, vol. i. pp. 464, 476, 492, on its alleged reconstruction. Abû-el-Faraj, Syriac version, p. 110, on Muawiyeh, and Arabic version, p. 158, on Chosrau.

² Cyril of Alexandria, in Julianum, p. 88; Sophronios, laudes in SS. Cyrum et Joannem, 24.

Ampelius about 300 A.D. describes the Colossos as a marble column a hundred cubits in height bearing a statue of Helios in his chariot: having further confused the colossal statue by Chares, the pupil of Lysippos, with the statue by Lysippos himself that stood in the Temple of Helios at Rhodes and was afterwards in Rome. Thus again Nicetas Serron about 1000 A.D. states that the Colossos was a column of bronze a thousand cubits in height; and produces his statement as a quotation from Aristotle, in happy innocence of the fact that the philosopher died before the Colossos was thought of. And thus again in the Hereford Chart about 1300 A.D. Rhodes is depicted with a column stretching from coast to coast and leaving little room for anything but a legend to the effect that it was a happy island with a very tall column. Similarly the stone obelisk in the Meidân at Constantinople was compared in an inscription of the Eleventh Century upon its base to the Colossos of Rhodes1.

The dome of the Hagia Sophia at Constantinople is commonly believed to be built of Rhodian bricks. The story is that Justinian sent three officers of state to Rhodes to see to the making of these bricks from a light porous clay that was to be found there. The weight of each brick was only a fifth, or a twelfth, of that of an ordinary brick: and upon each was stamped the legend, "God founded it, and it shall not be moved; God shall aid it betimes." The original dome fell in, but Justin followed his uncle's example in having the bricks for the building of the extant dome made at Rhodes. They were of the same weight, made from the same clay, and stamped with the same stamp. This story is not to be found in the earliest accounts of the building, but appears first in an anonymous Byzantine writer and then in Codinos. As a matter of fact, the bricks of the dome are of the same fabric as those in the rest of the building².

Some wretched little copper coins were struck at Rhodes during the Thirteenth Century. Those bearing the words καισσαρ ὁ γαβαλας on the obverse and ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλές

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¹ Lucius Ampelius, 8; Aristotle, fragmenta spuria, 1; C. I. G. No. 8703.

² Anonymus (ed. Banduri), secs. 205, 206, 222, 223; Codinos, pp. 140, 141, 144.

on the reverse belong to Leon Gabalas. The words are written in three lines on either side: there are no heads or figures. The similar coins with ἰω ὁ γαβαλᾶς on the obverse and δ αὐθέντης της ρόδου on the reverse belong to John Gabalas. To one or other of these rulers must also belong the coins with the monogram γa . Some twenty varieties of copper coins found almost exclusively at Rhodes and characterized by the presence of the letter β , alone, or twice repeated in a monogram, or repeated four times between the arms of a cross, must have been struck there between the fall of the Gabalas dynasty and the arrival of the Knights while the island was directly under the rule of the Palæologi. For the use of the letter β marks the coins of that family, and some of the Rhodian coins that bear it bear also the monogram πa and others the Imperial figure with traces of the words παλεόλογος and αὐτοκράτορ. The similar coins with monograms of the name Palæologos, which are found in the island, must also belong to this period. Silver coins of the Seljûk Sultans of Rûm throughout the Thirteenth Century are found in Rhodes stamped with a countermark of the letter β twice repeated, presumably to sanction their circulation in the island.

The Jus Navale Rhodiorum consists of four parts of unequal age and value. The earliest of them, a body of practical naval law in fifty-one chapters, was included by Leo the Philosopher about the year 888 in the Basilics as the eighth title of the fifty-third book: and probably belongs, like the similar bodies of military and agricultural law, to the previous century. It is entitled the Naval Law of the Rhodians, and professes to be extracted from the fourteenth book of the Pandects. It is not extracted from the Pandects at all. Perhaps its authority was increased by a reference to the book which narrates how the naval law of Rhodes was adopted for Rome by Antoninus Pius: but it has nothing to do with Rhodes; and indeed the only Rhodian principle which can be traced in Roman law, the rule of general average, is here expanded into a system of mutual assurance

between the owners of ship and freight against all casualties, while the rule is construed strictly in the Pandects.—The next is a similar body in twenty-one chapters entitled simply the Naval Law; and is of later date than the first, for it quotes one of its provisions as coming from the Rhodian law.—Then there is a narrative referred to a lost work of a certain Docimios or Docimos, but identical with sec. N. cap. 15 of the Synopsis Minor of the Basilics, and consequently not later than the Thirteenth Century. It narrates that as time went on and circumstances changed, the Rhodian laws were found to need revision and extension, the more so since some rascals had discovered methods of swindling under cover of them: and new laws were consequently enacted which superseded the Rhodian in several points. The story may be a mere invention to account for the rule of Antoninus Pius that in a conflict of Roman and Rhodian law the Roman should prevail. But it may refer to later events; and there is perhaps an allusion to these swindlers in the remark of Jerome that, inasmuch as the word 'Rhodians' signified 'perceiving judgment,' the reproaches of the Apostle Paul against the man that judgeth another, but therein condemneth himself because he doeth the same things, were in his day applied to the Rhodians. The way in which the word 'Rhodians' acquired such a meaning must have been this. In the Septuagint Dodanim, the sons of Javan the son of Japhet, who inhabited the islands of the Gentiles, appear as the Rhodians; and this notion found its way into the Hebrew, for Rodanim may also be read there: and again, the sons of the Rhodians appear for the sons of Dedan, who carried merchandise to Tyre from the islands. And the word 'Rhodians' must have been connected through Dodanim and Dedan with the word 'Dan,' a judge. Tertullian, on the other hand, in his controversy with Marcion two centuries before, points to the excellence of the Rhodian law as compared with the Pontic, and thereby secures a hit at his opponent who was a native of Pontus'.—There is finally an

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¹ Jerome, in Ezechielem, xxvii. 14, de nominibus Hebraicis, s. v. Rhodii; Tertullian, adv. Marcionem, iii. 6.

account of the confirmation of the naval law of Rhodes by various Roman Emperors. It is full of anachronisms and blunders; and merely repeats the narrative of the confirmation by Antoninus Pius with variations to adapt it to those Emperors who had anything to do with Rhodes or with maritime legislation.

It is stated in the Chronicle ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough, and in other Chronicles copied from it, that during the Third Crusade Philip of France tarried some days in the city of Rhodes, which Herod built, who also cut off John Baptist's head: and thence the king went to Nineveh, which city is in the said island of Rhodes. The chronicler must have been reading of the visits of Herod to Rhodes which are three times mentioned by Josephus: but it is curious that he should have connected the city with John the Baptist more than a century before it became the home of the Knights of that Saint. It is equally curious that the Manor of Rhode in Germany should have been granted to the Knights in 1272 long before they thought of going to the island. The city visited by Philip was probably Lindos, but there may have been a place called Nineveh in Rhodes just as there was a place called Jerusalem in Cephalonia. The same chronicle states that Robert Guiscard the Norman entered into his galleys and subdued unto himself islands, namely Crete and Corfu and Rhodes and many others round about: but it is quite certain that his ships never passed to the eastward of the Adriatic. The popular mediæval notion that Rhodes took its name from the finding of a rosebud when the foundations of the city were laid, can be traced back to Isidore of Seville at the beginning of the Seventh Century¹,

In the reign of Diocletian, Clement of Ancyra was sent bound from Rome to Nicomedeia, and on his way he came to Rhodes. It was the Lord's day, and the few Christians that dwelt in the island were gathered together in their church:

¹ Benedict of Peterborough (Rolls ed.) ii. pp. 198, 201; Isidoros Hispalensis, etymologiæ, xiv. 6.

and when Photeinos their bishop heard of the coming of Clement and of Agathangelos who went with him and of all that they had suffered for their faith, he straightway went down with many of the Christians to where the ship lay and persuaded the guard to loosen the bonds of their prisoners and suffer them to come to the church; and they all went up thither chanting hymns as they went. Then was the gospel read bidding them fear not them which kill the body but are not able to kill the soul; and this ended, Clement began to perform the mystic oblation, and as he prayed a miracle was seen by many of them there present, to wit, by such of them as were worthy to behold these things; for upon the holy table was seen a glowing ember of fire, and in the air above a multitude of angels. Afterward they ate together in the church; but the fame of the miracle spread throughout the city so that the people brought the sick to Clement, and many were healed in body and many were baptized. But the guard, seeing the favour of the people toward Clement and fearing they would release him, bound him again and brought him to the ship1.

In the reign of Constantine, Euphrosynos, bishop of Rhodes, was present at Nicæa in 325 at the First Œcumenical

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The Severian heresy, which belongs to the Second Century, is said to have appeared first at Rhodes, and several of the arguments used against it by Euphranon, bishop of Rhodes, have been recorded: when these failed, he excommunicated his opponents. The Pelagian heresy prevailed there in 415. And about that time the heresiarch Sabbatios died there in exile³.

Before the close of the Fourth Century the bishops of Rhodes, who had hitherto been of equal rank with the other bishops of the islands, became metropolitans of a province which then contained twelve bishoprics, namely those of

² Collectio Conciliorum (ed. Mansi) ii. 695, 700.

¹ Acta Sanctorum, 23 January, 464, 476.

³ Prædestinatus, i. 24, on the Severians; Jerome, in Jeremiam, iv. præf. on the Pelagians; Socrates, hist. eccl. vii. 25, on Sabbatios.

Samos, Chios, Cos, Naxos, Thera, Paros, Leros, Andros, Tenos, Melos, Pissyna and Rhodes itself, and ranked as the Thirtieth or Thirty-first Province. Bishop Hellanicos was at the Council of Ephesos in 431. At the Council, commonly called the Latrocinium, held there in 449 bishop John was present and formally accepted the opinions of the majority. He appeared by a deputy, Tryphon, bishop of Chios, at the first sitting of the Council held at Chalcedon in 451 to annul the decrees of the Latrocinium; at the second sitting he did not appear by deputy or in person: but at the third sitting he appeared in person and assented to the deposition of Dioscoros, who had presided at the Latrocinium; and he afterwards signed the decrees, but it is not clear whether he affixed his own signature or authorized Tryphon to sign for him. In 457 bishop Agapetos, among other metropolitans, was consulted by the Emperor Leo the Great on certain ecclesiastical questions and was directed to assemble his suffragans to frame a collective reply: but the severity of the winter hindered the bishops of the outlying islands in their journeys to Rhodes, and a reply was sent off by Agapetos alone. He was at the Council of Constantinople in 459. When Epiphanios was made Patriarch of Constantinople in 520, bishop Esaias was one of the signatories of the epistle of the synod to Pope Hormisdas announcing the election. The excesses of Esaias, who seems once to have been chief of the nocturnal police at Constantinople, in 528 brought down on him the vengeance of Justinian: but it is not clear whether he was deposed, mutilated, and subjected to public penance, or merely tortured and sent into exile. Bishop Theodosios was at the Council of Constantinople in 553. At the Council held there in 681 bishop Isidoros was present at the tenth and subsequent sittings, and signed on behalf of himself and his suffragans the epistle of the Council to Pope Agathon. At the Council of Nicæa in 787 bishop Leo, who had sided with the Iconoclasts, was present at the first sitting but was not allowed to take his seat till he had retracted. On entering he said that he was now convinced that there should be

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A monk named Procopios, who had the gift of prophecy and the power of casting out devils, was dwelling at Rhodes when Porphyrios, bishop of Gaza, came there in 401 on his way to Constantinople to appeal to the Empress Eudoxia against the Pagans in his diocese. The bishop heard of the holy man, and forthwith went in a boat to the solitary place where his cell was to greet him: and the monk prophesied that it would be less expedient to speak with the Empress through John Chrysostom the bishop than through Amantius the eunuch, and many other things, all which came to pass. Porphyrios came again to Rhodes as he returned home, and greatly desired to see Procopios once more; but the captain of the ship would not stay there even for three hours, for the

¹ Porphyrogenitos, vol. i. pp. 793, 797, on the province. Collectio Conciliorum, iv. 1124, 1141, 1213, 1364, v. 612, vi. 871, on Hellanicos, vi. 568, 608, 854, 914, 977, 1054, 1084, vii. 432, on John, vii, 523, 580 ff. 917, on Agapetos, viii. 492, on Esaias, ix. 174, 192, 390, on Theodosios, xi. 389, 457, 520, 552, 585, 604, 613, 623, 628, 644, 672, 692, on Isidoros, xii. 1015, 1018, 1019, 1050, 1151, xiii. 137, 365, 384, on Leo, xvi. 18, 37, 44, 54, 75, 82, 97, 144, 158, 191, on Michael, xvii. 373, on Leontios. Also, Theophanes, vol. i. p. 271, Malalas, p. 436, Cedren, vol. i. p. 645, on Esaias.

wind was very good; and when the bishop said, Peradventure by the intercession of the holy man the wind may be still better, the captain was wroth and as soon as the ship had taken in fresh water he set sail. But presently there arose a tempest with thunder and lightning and great waves wherein the ship laboured: and the bishop continued in prayer all night, for the tempest ceased not, but toward dawn he fell asleep for very weariness and then in a vision he saw Procopios saying unto him, Behold, the captain is infected with the execrable heresy of the Arians; but he shall readily be convinced of his error, and then shall the tempest abate. Then said the bishop to the captain, Let the heresy of Arius be Anathema, and so shall the ship be saved: and the captain marvelled that the bishop had cognizance of his heresy and deemed that he must have the gift of prophecy, wherefore he received from him the true faith. waves began to go down, and toward sunset the wind changed and they came safely to Gaza.-When Chosrau conquered Egypt in 616, John the Almoner, who was then Patriarch of Alexandria, being mindful of the saying, When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another, fled to Cyprus; and thence he would have gone to Constantinople, but at Rhodes there appeared to him, in no dream but in very fact, a eunuch of radiant form bearing a golden sceptre, who said, Come, for the King of Kings calleth thee: and he returned as far as Cyprus, and there he died.—Now it came to pass that certain priests were carried off by the Saracens from Crete to Spain, and their father in God journeyed to Chandax and thence took ship to Rhodes to treat through the chief men of that place concerning their ransom. And when he despaired of them, forasmuch as there was war in Spain, he was bidden by a Rhodian priest named Antonius and then by Neilos the bishop of Rhodes to go to the monastery of the martyr Phanurios and he should certainly be helped. Thither he went, and scarce had he vowed an offering to the martyr for his aid when there came a man saying he had seen the captives in their prison in Spain and they would certainly be ransomed: wherefore he carried back to Crete eikons of

Phanurios, such as were held in veneration throughout the island of Rhodes. Now concerning Phanurios, who he was or when he suffered or wherefore the Rhodians honoured him, nothing is known: but many were the wonders that he

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There are three epigrams by a certain Constantine of Lindos, two of them on a crucifix that he set up at Lindos and the other on an eikon of the Virgin. They are commonplace enough, but curious in that they date from about 900, one of them having clearly been written between the birth of Porphyrogenitos in 905 and the death of Leo the Philosopher in 9112. Only two inscriptions of the Byzantine period have yet been found in the island. They are both from votive offerings; one of Sabbatios, a humble presbyter and monk by whose zeal and service was accomplished (under God) the whole work of the most holy church; the other of Philip, the captain of a ship3.

About 900 the Episcopal Province of Rhodes comprised the bishoprics of Samos, Chios, Cos, Naxos, Thera, Paros, Tenos, Melos, Pissyna, Icaria, Leros, Astypalæa, Tracheia and Nisyros, and was the Thirty-eighth Province. In May 1083 Naxos and Paros were withdrawn to form a new province, the Seventy-ninth, of which Naxos was the metropolitan church. About 1300 the Province of Rhodes had become the Forty-fifth. Bishop Nicephoros was at the Council of Constantinople in 1147: a bishop of Rhodes, whose name is not known, was at the Council held there in 1156: and bishop Leo was at the Council held there in 1166, and had some trouble in proving his orthodoxy. In 1238 Vidonus, a Dominican monk but a Greek by birth, who was a canon of the church at Rhodes, was elected bishop by the chapter and the election was confirmed by the Pope, the former bishop having lately died. This Latin bishopric (styled then, as afterwards, not the Rhodian but the Colossian)

² Anthologia Palatina, xv. 15-17.

¹ Acta Sanctorum, 26 February, 651, 654; 23 January, 515, 529; 27 May, 692 ff.

³ Printed in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique for 1885, pp. 123, 124.

can hardly have existed before the events of 1204 and may have grown up under the clause in the treaty of 1234 permitting the Venetians to have a church in Rhodes. A Greek bishop of Rhodes was one of the signatories of the epistle to Pope Gregory X. as to the union of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1274, and was one of the metropolitans to whom the Papal reply was addressed. It is said that at the Council of Lyons in that year the bishop of Rhodes was deposed: if so, it would have been the Latin bishop.

The statement that Eudo of Aquitaine founded a monastery in the island of Rhodes and was buried there when he died in 735 would be very interesting were it not that the monastery in which Eudo was buried is in the Ile de Rhé in the Bay of Biscay. Still, there were many other monasteries in Rhodes. The Emperor Stephen was sent to one of these in 945 when his brother compelled him to become a monk: curiously, he had married one of the Gabalas family. 1190 the English Crusaders found several monasteries still flourishing, though no longer filled with the former crowds of monks. About 1266 a Rhodian monk named Ignatios was one of the chief adherents of the Patriarch Arsenios: and the Patriarch Athanasios of Alexandria found a peaceful retreat at Rhodes from 1291 till 1293 during his quarrel with his namesake the Patriarch of Constantinople. Later on, the monastic character of the Knights seems to have struck the Byzantines, for they style the Grand Master the ἀρχιερεύς or arch-priest, and apply the terms ναζηραΐοι or Nazarites and φρέριοι or friars to the Knights themselves².

Notitiæ Episcopatuum, ad calcem Codini, pp. 379, 394, 395, 401, on the province. Collectio Conciliorum, xxi. 705, for 1147, xxiv. 75, 79, for 1274. Nicetas Choniata, Thesauros, ed. Migne, p. 149, for 1156, pp. 237, 240, 252, 256, 260, 269 for 1166. Plodius, apud Fontanam, monum. Dom. p. 42, for 1238. L'estoire de Eracles Empereur, xxxiv. 19, on the Council of Lyons.

² Acta Sanctorum, 23 October, 132, on Eudo; Leon Grammaticos, pp. 322, 330; Theophanis continuator, pp. 422, 438, and others, on Stephen; Itinerarium Regis Richardi, ii. 27, as to the monasteries; Pachymeres, vol. i. p. 295, on Ignatios, vol. ii. p. 203, on Athanasios.

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Opinions of the Press.

"MR. TORR has carefully collected all that is known of ancient Rhodes,—and our knowledge has been materially increased of late..... The ancient history of the island is full of interest.... About religion, art, architecture, &c., there is much to be said, and Mr. Torr has taken much pains to say it completely."—Spectator.

"Till now we have been indebted most of all to Germany for monographs on the ancient history of Rhodes. Our indebtedness was considerable. But useful as these monographs have been and yet are, it has become clear of late that they were rapidly falling behind, and ready to be dismissed as having served their day; so great has been the accession of new material from the excavations at Camiros and Ialysos, two of the oldest towns in the island.... What was needed, therefore, was a revision of the old monographs and an incorporation of the new material obtained from excavations. For this task a direct knowledge of the island, a familiarity with its artistic remains, and an acquaintance with the latest results of epigraphy were necessary qualifications. Mr. Cecil Torr has added to these qualifications a rigorous spirit of challenging every statement handed down by ancient writers that bears on his subject. As regards the art of Rhodes, he has placed archaeologists under a distinct obligation, not only by being the first to characterise clearly and comprehensively its course and development, but by the number of new illustrations of it which he furnishes in his plates."—Academy.

"MR. TORR's monograph on Rhodes is a more or less exhaustive compilation of facts from all sources relating to the history of this island, down to the time when Vespasian finally deprived it of independence and made it a Roman province. The history of Rhodes during this period is interesting and instructive from several points of view."—Saturday Review.

"Mr. Torr has an interesting subject, and he deals with it well. All that is known of ancient Rhodes is now brought together and set forth in orderly sequence under various headings, topography, public affairs, art, learning, and so on. He is familiar with every detail concerning Rhodes and the Rhodians which can be found in ancient literature, from the number of their ships in Homer's catalogue down to the vague scraps offered us in very corrupt disguise by the Alexandrian scholiasts and lexicographers.... The book is full of facts and almost every sentence has its reference at the foot of the page. But it is by no means dull reading, as the writer often interfuses some statement or remark which appeals to the sense of humour; he tells a story well."—Cambridge Review.

"Eine recht fleissige Monographie über die Insel Rhodos, bei der die in den Ausgrabungen zu Tage gekommenen kunstarchäologischen Fundstücke sowohl wie die massenhaften Inschriften verarbeitet worden sind; in der neueren Litteratur ist Torr gut bewandert, wenngleich er seine Citate meist auf die Inschriftenbelege beschränkt hat."—Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift.

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