

Monuments of the Gattelusi in the annual of the British school At Athens 1908-1909 or. 248.

Professor Hopf left unfinished at his death a projected work⁽¹⁾ which would have filled a marked gap in our knowledge of the Latin dynasties of the Archipelago—the history of Lesbos and its dependencies under the Gattelusi of Genoa. The possessions of the Gattelusi in their fullest extent included Lesbos, the Thracian islands of Thasos, Lemnos, Samothrace, and Imbros, and the mainland towns of Thraciae (Foggia Vecchia) in Soria and Aenos in Thrace. The Frankish monuments of the islands had already been adequately chronicled by Professor Couze⁽²⁾ but the mainland dependencies re-

(1) Mentioned in Ersch and Gruber, *Gr. Gesch.* 448, note 15; Leonardi Chiensis *de Lesbos capta Epistola* (Regimonti 1866). Hopf's stemma of the Gattelusi is given in *Chr. Græc.* Rom. 502; see further Friedländer, *Beitr. z. alten Münzkunde*, 29; P. Lambros in Schlumberger, *Num. de l'Orient Latin*, 422; Anon. *Ἡ Νεογεωφία* in *Niobe* Athens 1900.

(2) *Reise auf den Inseln des Thr. Meeres* (1860): cf. C. S. 877; *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* (1865); see also (for Lesbos) Newton's *Travels and Discoveries*, and Boutan in *Arch. Miss.* v. 1856. 275.

Ο ναύκληρος Ἡρόδοτος ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔργων (1) ὁ-
 παρὲν ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστορῶν ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ τῇ δαλ-
 κῇ διακρινόμενος ὡς ἡγεμόν, τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν διόρων τῇ ἀφελ-
 παλῇ τῇ ἐκ τῶν γαλιγγοῦ τῇ τῆς αἰτίας τῇ γαλι-
 γοῦ ἐν τῇ γυναικὶ δαλκῇ περιγράφει τὴν διόρον,
 τὰς νῆας θάλασσαν, ἡρώδην, ἡρώδην, ἡρώδην, ἡρώδην, τὰς νῆας
 θάλασσαν τῇ τῆς αἰτίας τῇ θάλασσῃ. Τὰ ἡρώδην τῇ
 περὶ τὴν νῆον καὶ τῆς αἰτίας περιγράφει καὶ τὸ ἡρώδην
 Courte (2), καὶ καὶ τῇ τῆς αἰτίας ὡς ἡρώδην τῇ τῆς αἰτίας



Τοῦ Ἡρόδοτου περὶ τῆς γαλιγγοῦ διόρων ἀπὸ Chron. greco-Rom
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mained, from this point of view unexplored (3). In the course therefore, of cursory visits to Aenos and Thracaea in 1908, I took notes and photographs of the few surviving monuments, supplementing these researches by visits to Mytilene and Lemnos. In the latter islands, however, the castles are still garrisoned: in Lemnos I was denied entrance, while in Mytilene, though treated with every courtesy, I found photography out of the question and had to content myself with scanty notes within the castle.

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The Gattelusii monuments of Aenos, and Mytilene particularly, seem to me to throw some fresh light on the history and genealogy of the family, and to correct in some points the summary table drawn up by Hopf. Since his death, moreover, some of the Genoese documents he used have been printed (1), and the materials for

(3) Since my visit Prof. Lambekes has published his notes on Aenos in *Δελτία του Χρισ. Αρχαιολ. Εταρρείου* ii 1908.

(1) *Giornale Ligustico* i (1874) 84-9, 217-20; ii 86-93, 292-7; iii 313-16; v. 345-7; cf. also viii 953 ff; ix 1396 and *Act. Patr.* ii DXL 338.

[illegible]

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the history of Aenos and the islands augmented by the publication of the contemporary chronicle of Critobulus of Imbros.

Aenos. (figs. 1, 2, 4.)

Aenos is best known to most of us for its extremely beautiful fourth-century coins, and practically nothing of its history in Greek times has come down to us. These coins are, however, sufficient evidence of its commercial importance, which was inevitable from its position. The town, which has



retained its ancient name and site, stands on slightly rising ground in a nearly insulated position on the estuary of the Hebrus (Maritza), on the upper waters of which stands Adrianople and higher still Phi-

Aug.

[illegible]

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lipkopolis. In medieval days, and down to comparatively recent times, the stream was navigable up to the former at least (1). Of late years, owing to a change in the course of the river (2) probably caused by flo-

(1) *Critobolus* II xii; *Choiseul-Gouffier* ii 109; cf. *Heppel*, *Jour-ney across the Danub* (1851) i 253. It was then navigable till May for vessels of 200 tons, but up 254.

(2) This change is easily appreciated by a comparison of our own Admiralty chart (1887) with the more recent Austrian staff-map. In the Admiralty chart (surveyed 1850-55).

(3) For topography see *B. de la Broquière* (1433 p. 344, Dohn) *Lyria* in *Ziebarth Inschriftenhandschrift i. d. Hamburger Stadtbibliothek* (1902) 10: cf. *Jacobs*, *Att. Mitt.* 1897. 115; *La Mortraye*, *Travels* i 279; *Choiseul-Gouffier* *voy. Pitt.* ii 209, *N. XIII* and p. 109; *Webster-Smith* in *J. R. G. S.* vii (1857) 61-74, *Geogr. Seebach* *Reise d. Rumelien* i 144-188; *Hade*, *Travels* 475. *B.A. Muzantons* in *Εβδομας* ii 1885 n° 52. cf. *Δελφία* *Ins* 156. γ *Εδρ. Εξαρχίας* ii 82-107 and 622-625. Historical references in *Tafel Symb.* (xii) 44 and 122. Inscriptions in *Dumont Inscr. de la Thrace*; *Papadepontos-Βεραυεν* in *εφ. Ερ. Inscr.* i (1895) 9-11. *B. G. Hel.* XXIV 168 cf. xvii 625.

χρονος ἐξελθὼν εἰς αὐτὸν τίθει τὴν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου. (1) Κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνου, ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 τὸς ἐκείνου ἐκείνου (2) ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου

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- 1) J. Keppel Ταφὸς ἐκείνου ἐκείνου 1831. Ηὐτοὶ
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου 200 ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 - 2) Ηὐτοὶ ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου (1087?) ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου, ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου 1840, ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου, ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου. Ἀφ' αὐτοῦ
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου, 233 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου
 ἐκείνου ἐκείνου ἐκείνου.
 - 3) Διὰ τὸς ἐκείνου ἐκείνου.

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ods, the old harbour of the town has been closed by a bank, and the river itself is no longer navigable except downwards, and that by the crudest rafts and during the winter only. As late as 1847, in the reign of Mahmud the reformer, an unsuccessful attempt was made to dredge the harbour (3) and remains of the dredger lie high and dry on the marshes in memory of this ill-fated attempt. At the present day Aenos is completely superseded as a port by Dedeagatch, which has railway connection with Salonika, Adrianople, and Constantinople but the older town still has a certain local importance for its sea and lake (Gyala (Gyent)) fisheries and its potteries, which especially affect the manufacture of large rough vessels (ordajia, uio'oria) destined for sale.

(2) *om' xga ipa* 294 (about 1840) the main stream of the Maritza debouches north of the lagoons of Aenos—in the Austrian map it flows through them. Both channels have always existed, though their relative importance has changed. (3) L. Mac Farlane. *The Doom of Turkey*, 341 ff; also *Turkey and its Destiny* ii 540 ff.

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parts of the Aegean.

The harbour now in use is the actual mouth of the Maritza, which is hampered by a bar, only admitting open boats up to about 20 tons, and by the strong stream; the latter renders the entrance extremely difficult to negotiate with a head-wind, so that traffic is of necessity restricted to boats which can be rowed as need.

The first mention of the town in the Byzantine period is that of Procopius (de aed. IV. 11). Justinian, finding it in a ruined state, fortified it among other places of Thrace against barbarian inroads; to Justinian probably it owes the main lines of the present acropolis fortifications. The end of a long tongue running out from the east into the marshes of the river-mouth is surrounded by a wall defended by irregularly spaced towers and enclosing a long oval space. The main gate (fig. 4) is on the north and a postern on the south-west, the walls being especially formidable on the neck of the

[illegible][illegible]

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ridge(s). Conspicuous remains of a palace later in date than the original circuit stand on the north wall.

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This acropolis is now inhabited by a few families only, but contains several Byzantine churches of interest including the present mosque formerly S. Constantine) a large building of the cross-in-square type with a fine open narthex at the west end.



fig 4. Aeneas: Gate of Areopolis.

15) Here there is a long and worn Byzantine inscription
on at the top of the wall, illegible from below even
with a strong glass. It is No. 257 in the European list
of inscriptions. Carver's work is antique and good.

Halko-kooson aita kalokuten luoja uo: oisjan puurokooson,
 ykyin ofun apuuta, Bujalinan dekyonin uolaputlon,
 tulepulan oson 9: sufupulan lufun (suu d. kumpanen),
 tyoga nkolon oxtalan paupon tulapajon teupon
 aonkon vaipake in te duleke.



lik. 4 Ann. Hagen Akp. = Jan.

[illegible]

Ainos Παγούφας

Fig. 252.

The acropolis is surrounded by suburbs: that on the north contains the Bazaar and runs down to the river-gray; on the west are the potteries, and on the south a walled suburb fronting a marsh, which was evidently the mediæval port. Two divergent walls, furnished with towers, run out from the extremities of the acropolis to the edge of the marsh. These walls belong to a period long after Justinian, probably the thirteenth (1) to fifteenth centuries. Two of the towers bear the arms and inscriptions of the Gattelusii.

Aenes seems to have come into the hands of Francesco Gattelusio with Mytilene in 1355, as the dowry of his wife Maria Palaeologina, sister of John VI Palaeologus; Francesco sent his younger brother Nicolo to govern it (2).

(1) The inscription in the E. wall. (Dauvergne p. 296 302)

"Dra Io Nibadapi's Swavro uia Maroung Io Aggiza," should perhaps be referred to the Protovestiarius, and Stratopedarch mentioned by Pachy. ii 7-11 (cf. Muralt, ad ann. 1296).

(2) Critobolus, an excellent authority, says (ii 13) that

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By 1436 Nicolo or his successors had acquired the lordships of Imbros and Samothrace and in 1453 Palamede Paledogo Gattelusio, then lord of Aenos, was confirmed in these possessions by Mahomet II. (2). Dying two years later, he willed his dominions to the widow and children of his eldest son Gjiozjo (d. 1448) with a share to his second son Dorino, who, however, seized the whole inheritance. The widow, determined on revenge, though with Aenos was part of the dowry of Maria Chalcondyles. (157 p.) says that Nicolo was sent there as governor by Francesco at the request of the inhabitants, who had had a difference with their former ruler; and this has been considered by some the beginning of the Gattelusio connection. But in this case why should Aenos have applied to Francesco at all? Hopfl on the authority of the earliest document mentioning him (Gjioz. Lig. i 86 (3) dates Nicolo's lordship of Aenos from 1384. The town was then tributary to the Turks, probably since the expedition of Lala Shakin in 1383. cf. Critob. ii 13 καὶ γὰρ 8901 ναὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτῶν ἀσπέρων ὡς αὐτῶν τοῦδε τοῦ οὐνοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν τοῦ οὐνοῦ εὐχόμενοι παλαίοντες

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thout prospect of material satisfaction, denounced him as a traitor to his suzerain Mahomet; he was accused of garrisoning his possessions with Italian troops, with fraudulent administration of the Aenas saltings, and, from another quarter, with harbouring runaway slaves from the neighbouring Turkish towns (3). Mahomet at once marched on Aenas and sent a fleet from Gallipoli to invest it by sea. Dorino had retired to Samothrace to winter, so the emperor plundered his palace but treated the surrendered inhabitants leniently.

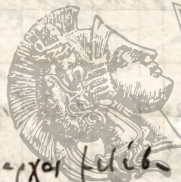
Meanwhile the Turkish admiral went with a galley to Samothrace to fetch the prince to answer in person, but Dorino, mistreating him, fled to Mahomet at Adrianople and was pardoned and reinstated in possession of the islands. These, however, were later exchanged on the representations of the Turkish admiral, for the inland district of Zichna (in Macedonia) as less dangerous.

Dorino, on his way thither, suspecting treachery

as Im Eupwom up . . . Daxov Enistor.

(3) Hammer-Hellert, Imp. Ottoman iii 28

τὴν καλὴν ὁδὸν ὡς ἐπορεύοντο τοὶ κυριώτεροι Μωυσεῖ, οἱ
 ἱερεῖς τὰς κλήσεις καὶ τὰς λειτουργίας, ὅτι τοῖς ἁγίοις
 τὴν δόξαν, ὅτι ἡ δόξα ἀνέστη ἐν φεγγαῖς δόξης ἐν τῇ γαλῶν
 Τροπικῇ νότον (3). Ὁ Μωυσεῖ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἐβόησε καὶ ἐν δόξῃ
 παύσας πόσιν ἐκ κατὰ νότον καὶ ἐν νότον. Ὁ δὲ
 γάρμος. Ὁ δὲ νότος ναυήτορες ἐν Σαρδάρικῃ δὲ νότον
 ἐν χυτῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐκδοκῶν ἐν γαλῶν ἐν νότον
 κλοπῶν, ἀπὸ περὶ πόσιν ἐν ἐκδοκῶν ἐν κατὰ νότον νότον.

[illegible]

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from his escort, murdered them and escaped to Naxos, where he married Elizabeth Crispo of the ducal house. In 1459 Aenos and the islands became for a short time the appanage of Demetrius Palacologus, formerly despot of the Morea⁽⁴⁾. After 1469, when it was burnt by the Venetians⁽¹⁾ the town disappears from history.

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So much for the history of Aenos under the Gattolusi. The inscriptions of the period are few in number:

1. The first and most important of these is written on a tomb of grey marble (48x111 cm) built into the church of Ἀγιοσπύην in the citadel, a plain building otherwise not remarkable. The text of this inscription was published first in the *Opusculum Inscriptionis* by *Βασαβόσγος Κεραυρός* after a M.S. note of 1716⁽²⁾ and quite lately, from the stone

(4) The history of the years 1455-1459 is related at length by Crisobolus II xi-ii. xxiv. See also Ducas 335; Chalcondyles 469. Sansovino, 234.

(1) Baronius *Annales* 1469.

(2) i 1895. p. 11. It is mentioned by Webster-Smith.

Μουσείο Μπενάκη, όπου φυλάσσεται η χειρόγραφη Crispo
 της Σουκίκης οικογένειας. Το 1459 ο δόκιμος Ιωάννης ο
 γιος δὲ βραχὺ χρόνον ἀφώγθη ἐν τῇ θύλῃ τῆς
 γειτοσύνης, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐκτέλεσιν (4) μετὰ τὸ
 1469, ὅτε ὁ δόκιμος νεοεὖρος νεοτὴν Βενέτιον, ὁ εὖρος
 ἀφελήθη ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.

Ταῦτα συνάφονται τῇ πόλει τῇ δόκιμῃ νεοτὴν Γαλι
 γίῃ. Αἱ χειρογραφαὶ τῆς νεοτὴς αὐτῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀφελήν
 I Η' αὐτῆς ἴσως σπουδαίαν ἐφ' αὐτῇ ἐπικρίσιν καὶ λαφύ
 ρα φαινοῦ παρτήτο (48 x 11 cm) ἀποδοτέον ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλήσια τῇ Χρυσόκωνῃ ἐν τῇ φράξῃ ἀκροπόλεως, οἰ
 κονομῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ ἀγῆστῃ ἀντιφάσκει. Τὸ
 κείμενον τῆς χειρογράφου αὐτῆς ἀναφορὰς ἐν τῇ θύλῃ
 κικιν βενετίας ἐν τῇ ἐκτέλεσιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς νεοτὴς καὶ
 πορταφὸς αὐτὸς μετὰ 1716 ὁ δόκιμος ἐκ τῆς γίῃ

4) Η' πόλις μετὰ 1455-1459 ἀντιθέτως γὰρ ἀποδοτέον νεο
 Κριτοβόγῳ II xi - III xxiv. Ἰδε σφραγὶς Ducas 335. Kay-
 kokandyns 469. Sansovine 234.

2) i 1895 σ. 11. Μουσικὴν νεοτὴν Webster-Smith.

υπολοιπὸν μετὰ τὸ ἀφ' ὧν⁽³⁾ ἡ γράμμις ἐν τοῖς ὑπολοίτοις,
ἔχει τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ γράμμι.

Τὸ κείμενον (περίπου 45 μ. υψος) ἔχει ὡς ἑξῆς:



Ἡ ποίησις, ὡς μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῇ γράμμι
ἔχει δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἀναρχίαν. Ἡ ορθογραφία
ἐπὶ τῇ γράμμι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ. Ἡ ορθογραφία τοῦ
καρποῦ καὶ ἀναρχίαν, ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ γράμμι δὲ ὡς
καρποῦ καὶ ἀναρχίαν ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ γράμμι δὲ ὡς

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at Samothrace (6) and again at Aenos (7). The prose part of the inscription gives us one entirely new fact, to which we shall return later, viz. that Palamede was the son of Francesco of Lesbos, not, as Hofr assumed from his having reigned at Aenos, of Nicolo. The identity of the Francesco mentioned is a separate question. So far we have established that Palamede was of the senior branch of the family, as we should have supposed (a) from his bearing the name Palaeologos (since only the elder branch had imperial blood) and (b) from the fact that he had lands in Lesbos (8).

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2 In tower at W. end of acropolis, high up, grey marble block (perhaps ancient base re-used). Built into niche with ogival arch of tile. It bears a large cross with expanding ends, beneath the arms of which are (1) illegible inscription, (2) arms of Gattelus with Palaeologus in chief. (fig 5)

3. In ruined square tower (A) of western long

(6) Lonze N III 7, 8 & Critob. II II.

(1) Savignani 129 n° 306 reads

+ ΠΑΡΑΛΤΕΚΑ | ΜΕΝΟΛ ΔΗΓΗΤΡΙ | ΑΝΟΛ ΤΡΙΜΩΝΕΤΟΥΛ 5. Ε Λ'

Aenos Sadyoufoi

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white marble slab with arms in square sunk panels (gattelus) single-headed eagle walking to l: above, in gothic letters

+ MCCC + LXXXV. DIE PRIMO + MADII (Fig 6)
 4 In a well-preserved square tower (B of the eastern 'long wall' with characteristic Genoese, moulding at string-course. Oblong yellowish.



Figs. 5, 6, 7 Aenos. inscriptions (2) (3) (4).

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marble slab with arms of gattelus, inscribed above in raised gothic letters + MCCCXIII: DIE PRIM AGVSTI: 1. (fig 7).

αν παρθερ-τε 2^η ρεστη εν τω παρθερ εκβηδουρθε, Αδν
 εν τω Γατρυζον (2) ποσικυα αδν παρπαλνλ. αν
 εν τω Γοθικω γραφει

4) εν τω παρθερ τω παρθερ (3 τω παρθερ
 γικω παρθερ τω παρθερ) τε παρθερ τω παρθερ. Αδν
 παρθερ τω παρθερ τε το παρθερ τω παρθερ. Αδν
 παρθερ εν τω παρθερ Γοθικω γραφει. (αδν 7).



αδν 5.6.7. Αδν παρθερ [2,3,4]

Alves Gargoufos

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A fifth inscription (2) built into the wall of the modern church of H Vlasios is apparently not in its original position. It is written on a slab of white marble measuring 29x108 cm (letters etc) and bears the arms of Gattelus with Palaeologus in chief. (Fig 8.) The text runs:
 Ἀντίπατρον ἐν Βαϊδρον οὐδὲν ὑπὸς αὐτῶν βασιλευσάντων ἡμεῶν
 μεγαλοῦ Μιχαήλου διακονοῦντος καὶ ἐξ ἑοῦτος Αὐγουστίνου
 καὶ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου ἑλθόντων ἐν τῷ 6929 (= 1420-1) (ἰνδ-
 ιβ' αὐτῶν) 18 / Κούλας (Livros).

The arms are therefore of Palamede⁽²⁾ The mason is the same as in The name of the founder is known from the Commentary of Ioannes Kanavoutzes on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, interesting in this connection as dedicated to the prince of Aenes and Samothrace. By the latest editor of the 'Commentary' Kanavoutzes is supposed to be a Frank of Chios.

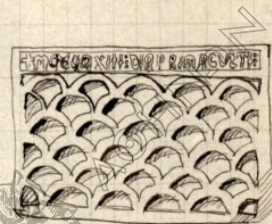
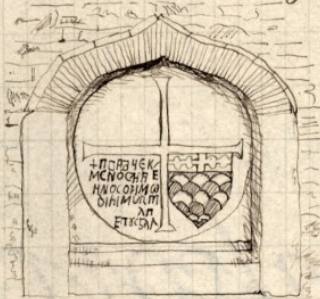
The name (as Κωνσταντίνου) occurs first as that of a deungarius of the fleet who in 1324 dedicated a church of S. George in Lesbos.⁽⁴⁾ Next we have the Ioannes above mentioned, who had a brother in the service of the Lord of Aenes⁵ possibly the Augustarikes of the inscription. The earliest references to the family therefore connect them with Lesbos rather than Chios, where they are found first in a

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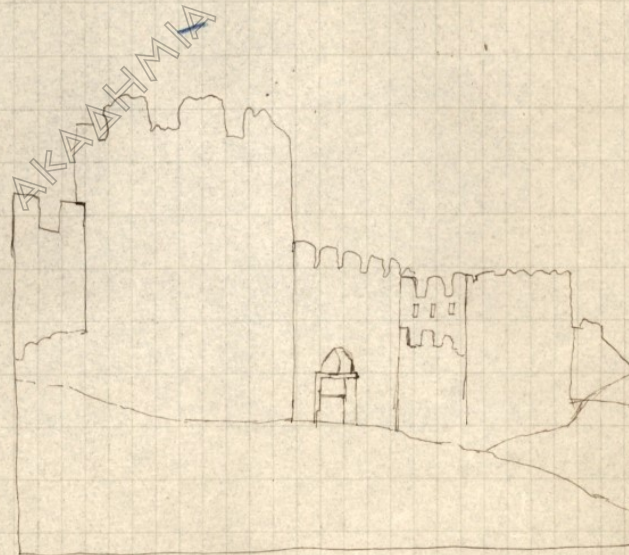
document of 1520.² and are said still to survive at Velisso.

- (13) This does not imply that Karabouyris was related to the reigning family, if the Simbram insc. = Lonze Pl III ii p. 82 and probably n^o 2. above. (14) Acta Patr ii DL 328
- (15) Comm. in Dion. Hat. p. 2. Podouardum (Lopriavou 782) mentions further a Janus Morouaia Karabouyris who married Lebain Koploom of Chios, and died in Lemnos (which belonged to the Genetelusi) in 1420. cf. ibid. 785 a further alliance between the families But R.'s genealogies are a tainted source.
- (12) Niclosich and Muller. Acta iii 362 n^o XVII.



Figs 5. 6 7.

Εἰκόνες (2) (3) (4).



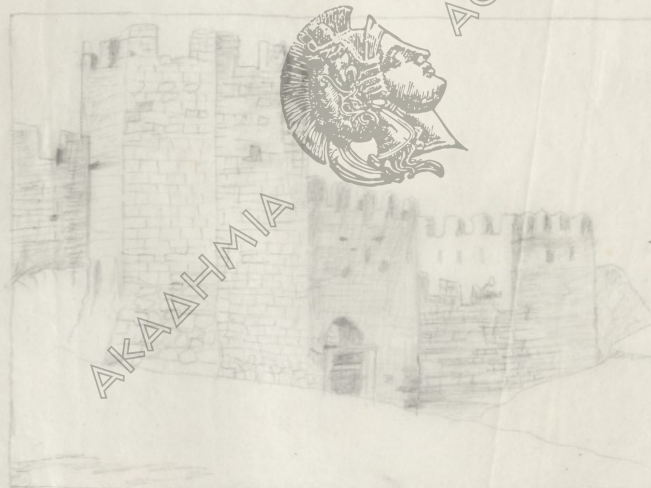


Fig 4 Athens: gate of Acropolis.

Αἶμας . Γαλιούφοι.

ξ5 The Stemma of the Gattelus. s. 266.

We come now to the stemma of the Gattelus
si drawn up by Hopf. For the sake of clear-
ness its main outlines are here set down..

Το γένος τῶν Γαλιούφων. Ἐκπολεῖται ὑπὸν τοῦ γένους τῶν Γαλιού-
φων. Ἀπὸν σαφὲς τὰ ἀντικείμενα τοῦ γένους τῶν Γαλιού-
φων.

Δομίνιος

