

# VI

## THE ARTS IN FRANKISH GREECE AND RHODES

---

### A. Frankish Greece

The territories of the Latin empire created after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 were always somewhat ill defined. In Asia Minor the Greeks maintained their rallying point at Nicaea, and in Europe little was secure against Bulgarian inroads north of Adrianople or west of the Maritsa valley. Epirus was never conquered, and the kingdom of Thessalonica was wrested from the Franks by the Epirote ruler Theodore in 1224; Thessaly remained debatable ground; only in Phocis, where the marquissate of Bodonitsa guarded

Much of this section is based on the notes and the corpus of photographs made by David Wallace in the four years before the second world war, at a time, remote as it is, when this corporate history of the crusades was already being discussed. Wallace was killed in an attack on a German fortified post at Menina, near Preveza, in August 1944. His photographs are deposited at the Courtauld Institute of Art in the University of London.

The articles by C. Enlart, "Quelques monuments d'architecture gothique en Grèce," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, ser. 4, VIII (1897), 309-314, and by R. Traquair, "Frankish Architecture in Greece," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, ser. 3, XXXI (1923), 34-48, 73-83, are the only general surveys of ecclesiastical architecture. J. A. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée: Voyage, séjour et études historiques en 1840 et 1841* (Paris, 1843), and *Atlas des nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté franque de Morée et ses hautes baronnies, fondées à la suite de la quatrième croisade* (Paris, 1845), and H. F. Tozer, "The Franks in the Peloponnese," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, IV (1883), 207-236, deal mainly with the castles, of which some have been studied in more detail by R. Traquair, "Laconia; I. Mediaeval Fortresses," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XII (1906), 259-276, and "Mediaeval Fortresses of the North-Western Peloponnese," *ibid.*, XIII (1907), 268-281; and by A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXI (1937), 136-208, "Note additionnelle sur les forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *ibid.*, LXII (1938), 441-442, and "Recherches sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)," in *Études médiévales offertes à M. le Doyen Augustin Fliche* . . . (Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Montpellier, IV; Montpellier, 1952), pp. 7-21. Professor Bon's book *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 213; Paris, 1969) is a detailed and complete survey of the subject. I am indebted to him and to the Librarian of the Sorbonne for the loan of this work in typescript before it appeared. Supplementing Bon's work is W. McLeod, "Castles of the Morea in 1467," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LXV (1972), 353-363; McLeod also cites a useful book by J. Th. Sphekopoulos, *Τὰ Μεσαιωνικὰ Κάστρα του Μορηῶ* (Athens, 1968), no. 5, pp. 161-199. K. Andrews, *Castles of the*

the Frankish northern frontier, Boeotia, Attica, the Morea, and some of the islands was there any lasting Frankish settlement. In Constantinople, Latin emperors ruled for some sixty years, but they left no buildings behind them in the capital. The famous fortifications of the city received no addition, hardly even upkeep, till Michael VIII Palaeologus rewon his capital. In the surrounding country little can now be traced of the castles they erected or rebuilt. Henry of Valenciennes tells us how the emperor, Henry of Flanders, fortified Pamphilon near Adrianople in 1208, impressing workers and masons wherever they could be found and ordering all his men to lend a hand in the work.<sup>1</sup> Such rough and ready methods suited the urgency of his campaigns; they did not leave lasting results.

*Morea* (Gennadeion Monographs, 4; Princeton, 1953) is a valuable contribution to the subject, and see W. Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, tr. J. M. Brownjohn (London, 1966), pp. 82-85.

The Catalan castles have been studied from a historical rather than an archaeological standpoint by A. Rubió i Lluç, "Els Castells catalans de la Grècia continental," *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, [II] (1908), 364-425; "Atenes en temps dels Catalans," *ibid.*, [I] (1907), 225-254; "La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Roger de Llúria fins a la de Frederic III de Sicília (1370-1377)," *ibid.*, V-1 (1913-1914), 393-485; and "La Grècia catalana des de la mort de Frederic III fins a la invasió navarresa (1377-1379)," *ibid.*, *secció històrico-arqueològica*, VI (1915-1920), 127-199. See also K. M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (rev. ed., London, 1975). For general questions see J. Longnon, *L'Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Bibliothèque historique; Paris, 1949), and an important review of it by A. Bon in *Journal des savants*, 1951, p. 33. For conditions preceding the crusading period see A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 1; Paris, 1951), and K. M. Setton, "The Archaeology of Medieval Athens," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans* (New York, 1955), pp. 227-258, and, for the later period, *idem*, "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century," in *Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas* (Thessalonica, 1975), pp. 241-284.

There are many references to the castles in the numerous accounts of travel in Greece, but the authors were primarily interested in classical remains. The most useful for the medieval period are V. M. Coronelli, *Memorie istoriografiche delli regni della Morea, e Negroponte e luoghi adiacenti* (Venice, 1686), tr. R. W. as *An Historical and Geographical Account of the Morea, Negropont, and the Maritime Places, as far as Thessalonica* (London, 1687); O. Dapper, *Naukeurige, Beschryving van Morea, eertijts Peloponnesus: en de eilanden onder de kusten van Morea, en binnen en buiten de golf van Venetien: waer onder de voornaemste Korfu, Cefalonia, Sant Maura, Zanten, en andere en grooten getale...* (Amsterdam, 1688); F. C. H. L. Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce* (2nd ed., 6 vols., Paris, 1826); William Gell, *Narrative of a Journey in the Morea* (London, 1823) and *Itinerary of the Morea, being a Description of the Routes of that Peninsula* (London, 1817); Edward Dodwell, *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the Years 1801, 1805, and 1806* (2 vols., London, 1819); W. M. Leake, *Travels in Morea* (3 vols., London, 1830), *Travels in Northern Greece* (4 vols., London, 1835), and *Peloponnesiaca* (London, 1846); and E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos: Eine historisch-geographische Beschreibung der Halbinsel* (2 vols., Gotha, 1851-1852). See also James M. Paton, *Chapters on Mediaeval and Renaissance Visitors to Greek Lands*, ed. L. A. P. (Gennadeion Monographs, 9; Princeton, 1951), and E. Forbes-Boyd, *In Crusader Greece: A Tour of the Castles of the Morea* (New York, 1964).

1. Henry of Valenciennes, ed. and tr. N. de Wailly in Geoffrey of Villehardouin,

The Latins destroyed rather than created. Their sack of Constantinople stands out as one of the great moments of devastation, when the human inheritance was permanently impoverished. The great bronze Juno of the forum was pulled down and melted; the statue of Paris, the carved obelisk with its scenes of country life, the bronze Hercules of Lysimachus, the statue of Helen "whose grace posterity will never know"—all were overthrown. Nicetas in his *Narratio* gives us the mournful catalogue, this final record of a splendor of achievement which we can only fragmentarily imagine.<sup>2</sup> Much of the destruction was wanton and barbaric; relics were more prized than Greek paintings or carvings, though the Venetians had more discrimination in their pillage than the western feudatories, removing even large-scale works such as the bronze horses that now bestride the porch of St. Mark's. Faced with the wonders of this greatest of capitals, the crusaders defaced or stole.

There are, however, some traces that show western artists at work in the ravaged city. Fragments of leaded glass windows suggest that western workers may have been brought in to aid in adapting churches to the Latin rite, and, in a blocked-up chapel, fragments of frescoes dealing with the life of St. Francis have emerged from long obscurity (pl. XLVIII). They must be mid-thirteenth-century work, the earliest frescoed series of the legend known. The listening birds are still visible, and the head of a man from whom the devil is driven forth; the other scenes are not identifiable, but probably followed the sequence used in the Berlinghiero painting at Pescia (1235) and the similar portrait with miracles in Santa Croce in Florence. The head of a friar is painted with some feeling, and is strongly reminiscent of the Arsenal Bible and works associated with the Acre school.<sup>3</sup>

Compared with the transitory existence of the Latin empire or the

*Conquête de Constantinople, avec la Continuation de Henri de Valenciennes* (3rd ed., Paris, 1882), p. 334, and ed. J. Longnon as *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* (Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 2; Paris, 1948), p. 50.

2. Nicetas ("Acominatus") Choniates, *Narratio de statuis antiquis, quas Franci post captam anno 1204 Constantinopolin destruxerunt*, ed. F. Wilken (Leipzig, 1830). Cf. J. F. Michaud, *Bibliothèque des croisades*, III (Paris, 1829), 425; for relics see J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople: Recueil d'études, d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris, 1951), pp. 105-151.

3. See above, pp. 133-134, and also K. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 6, XXV (1944), 201 ff., and A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XVII (1963), 333 ff., especially pp. 347-367. Megaw meticulously publishes the glass and concludes that it is 12th-century. In response, J. Lafond argues that it is 13th-century, done at the time of the Latin occupation; see his "Découverte de vitraux historiés du moyen âge à Constantinople," *Cahiers archéologiques*, XVIII (1968), 231-238; C. L. Striker and Y. Doğan Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Second Preliminary Report," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXII (1968), 185-193; R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio*, II (1944), 213-237.

even more fleeting phase of the kingdom of Thessalonica, the Frankish settlement of Greece seems solid and durable; but even here little of note has been left in architectural monuments. The Gothic cathedrals of Cyprus might well be standing in northern France, and would seem there of equal quality with their untransplanted fellows; the carvings of Syria, the Nazareth capitals, the rich foliage of the Temple masons' yard, are among the triumphs of Romanesque art. But in Greece, so rich in artistic memories, not ill provided with building stone, the Franks contented themselves with rude, unambitious construction. On the north slopes of the Acropolis the ruined apse of the Hypapanti church that Enlart drew and attributed to the thirteenth century has been pulled down to make way for excavations, and proved in the dismantling to be later, partially eighteenth-century work. The Villehardouin and De la Roche arms still surmount the doorway of the Little Metropolitan, but the building itself is a Byzantine church. Outside Athens, at Daphne, where the Cistercians had been installed by Othon de la Roche in 1211, the western porch has a curious outer row of pointed arches and the rebuilt cloister follows the outline of pointed arches formerly visible on the enclosing wall.<sup>4</sup>

In the sloping fields near Bitsibardi, above the Alpheus river, the church of Our Lady of Isova was built in the first half of the thirteenth century and destroyed by fire in 1262. Its ruins show it to have been an aisleless hall church, 135 feet long and 50 feet broad on its outside measurements, ending in a polygonal apse. It is carefully built of well-cut stones mixed with tiles, and the west end, with three windows, still rises to a high pitched gable (pl. LXIIc). A displaced piece of vaulting rib suggests that the roof of the choir may have been vaulted. All the details, simple but competently handled, seem to be the work of western masons. The church was never rebuilt after the fire. Instead a new and smaller church, St. Nicholas, was built beside it, divided into a nave and aisles and ending in three semicircular apses. There is no trace of an iconostasis and it must have been built for the Catholic rite, presumably in the fourteenth century and most likely by local workmen.<sup>5</sup>

The Cistercian convent of Zaraca (Kionia) near Stymphalia has some blocks of walls still standing, a jumble of fallen masonry,

4. G. Millet, *Daphni* (Paris, 1910), pp. 25-42, and cf. *Le Monastère de Daphni: Histoire, architectures, mosaïques* (Monuments de l'art byzantin, I; Paris, 1899); H. D. Kyriakopoulou and A. Petronotes, *The Daphni Monastery* (Society for Peloponnesian Studies, I; Athens, 1956) is an excellent recent guidebook, but difficult to find.

5. N. Moutsopoulos, "Le Monastère franc de Notre-Dame d'Isova (Gortynie)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXX (1956), 76-94, 632.

foundations traceable on the surface, and a square entrance tower of its outer circuit. The church had a nave and two aisles leading to a choir with a chapel on either side and a rectangular eastern end. The total length was 124 feet, the width at the western end 50 feet. There is sufficient evidence to show that it was vaulted throughout, and that the moldings were carefully worked, though the actual masonry is unevenly composed of reused antique stones, including columns, mixed with later blocks. The church of Hagia Sophia at Andravida still retains its choir, much damaged by Turkish use, and some foundations of the western porch and nave. The total length was approximately 179 feet, the width 62 feet. As at Zaraca it had a rectangular east end, a choir with two side chapels, a nave, and aisles, but what evidence there is suggests that the nave was unvaulted, whereas the choir still retains its vaults and on the main arch some simple carved leaf capitals and a human head on one of the imposts. The external angles of the eastern end are strengthened by sloping buttresses, such as were common in Cistercian architecture in the west at this period. There seems no reason to doubt that the present remains are those of the church built by the Dominicans shortly after 1245.

At Glarentsa was another large church, the ruins of which were destroyed during the German occupation of 1941 to 1944. It was a rectangular hall, without aisles and with a square, projecting choir without chapels. Roughly built, it had no distinguishing stylistic features, but its scale and plan are those of a Frankish church, and it may be the church of St. Francis to which the chroniclers refer. To the east of Glarentsa, in a sheltered valley, the monastery church of Blachernae is clearly mainly Byzantine work of the late twelfth century, but with western elements that indicate some Frankish share in its completion. At Gastouni there is an arched doorway, now blocked up, with leaf capitals. Karytaina has a tower with dog-tooth moldings, but it is a hybrid building, probably of the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. In Laconia the fortress village of Geraki has four churches, all of which bear traces of western influence; and nearby in Mistra the buildings of the Byzantine revival of the late thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries have Gothic details, and the bell tower of the church of the Pantanassa, completed as late as 1428, still recalls the belfries of Champagne.<sup>6</sup> At Negroponte

6. L. Magne, "Mistra," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 3, XVII (1897), 135-148; G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra: Matériaux pour l'étude de l'architecture et de la peinture en Grèce aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Monuments de l'art byzantin, no. 2; Paris, 1910); A. Struck, *Mistra* (Vienna, 1910); and the articles by A. K. Orlandos in *Ἀρχαίων τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, III (1937), 3-114.

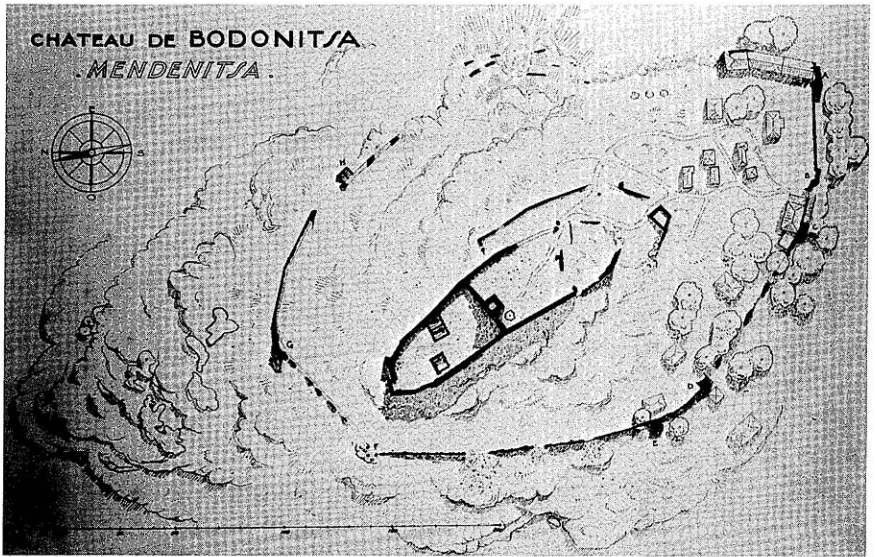
(Chalcis), on the island of Euboea, the Franks turned the Byzantine church of Hagia Paraskeve into a Gothic cathedral with a square apse flanked by side chapels, of which the southern one has two bays of ribbed vaulting supported on consoles where vine leaves are carved with considerable naturalism, the skilled work of some western sculptor of the thirteenth century (pl. LXIIIb).

The military architecture of the Frankish conquest survives in greater abundance than the ecclesiastical. The main routes were watched by castles built on hilltops, where in most cases previous fortifications could be reused and where the nature of the site provided a strong defensive position. As elsewhere the castle had a dual purpose; it was both the center of a fief and a unit in a strategic scheme. In the former capacity, it was required to be centralized with reference to a particular area and to provide in its base court a place of refuge for the local inhabitants; in the second it had wider responsibilities to watch frontiers and control communications. To further the latter aim, towers were built along the main routes, such as that at Moulki, where the road from Thebes to Livadia enters the plain of Copais.

The tide in the affairs of the Frankish principalities moved with great rapidity. Frontiers changed; castles passed from Franks to Greeks or Catalans or Venetians. At one moment a key position, at another isolated and forgotten, these fortresses had widely varying fates. Some, firm on their Hellenic foundations, have continued to play a part in history, centers for Turkish garrisons, or strongholds of national resistance in the wars of independence. Others have crumbled, merging with the hillside, till even their exact site is lost. All are singularly undocumented, and, with battlements dismantled for artillery or fallen from disuse, with little care for ornament or fashion in their building, they are hard to date. The masonry is undistinguished and the stones, either small trimmed blocks or undressed, provide no clues. A common formula is a foundation of well-cut antique blocks on which the walls are continued in uncoursed rubble with brick tiles scattered throughout and the angles reinforced by larger cut stones. The later Byzantine Greeks, the Franks, and the Turks in this respect built alike. Only in some of the fifteenth-century Venetian buildings was well-cut ashlar at all generally used.

One of the earliest blows to Frankish security was the destruction of the Latin kingdom of Thessalonica in 1224. Theodore of Epirus led forays into Boeotia. Honorius III ordered Salona and Bodonitsa, now holding the frontier, to be put into the best possible repair.

Bodonitsa was the medieval guardian of Thermopylae, but now the security of the hills was preferred to the coastal plain and the castle is built on a spur of Mt. Callidromon, guarding the ancient track leading inland from the coast. With a wide view over the Gulf of Lamia and beyond to the hills of Euboea, it has been given by nature and history as romantic a site as could be wished for (fig. 13; pl.



13. Plan of Bodonitsa

LXIb). Granted by Boniface of Montferrat to Guy Pallavicini, the fief remained in the hands of that family till in 1335 the Venetians established a new line, the Zorzis, who held it till it was taken by the Turks in 1410.<sup>7</sup> The castle has survived its Turkish conquest and escaped the common fate of constant rebuilding, and even the punitive burning of the village below in the second world war. Based on Hellenic substructures and reusing many ancient stones, it is still today an example of Frankish work, of which it must always have been one of the most impressive monuments. The plan is that of a central keep and two curtains: an outer curtain wall, running for the most part half way up the slope of the hill, but coming close to the main enceinte at the northwest point, where the hill falls more abruptly, polygonal in form and enclosing an area some 1,000 feet long; and an inner enceinte 460 feet long by 125 feet at the center, in shape an irregular oval with remains of three

7. William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 245-260.

flat, slightly projecting towers on the south face, where the ground slopes away less steeply. Here too are remains of a large barbican or outwork. The outer curtain has towers, which are of flat, shallow projection, unscientific in plan and quite irregular in scale. The north point of the inner enceinte appears to have been strengthened by a tower, and at its mid-point a dividing wall cuts the interior space into two courts; on this wall is built the keep, a three-storied building, approximately 24 feet square, commanding a gateway between the two courts. This gateway is composed of three great monoliths as jambs and lintel, with above a little pattern in Byzantine style of bricks edged in diamond shape, probably made by Greek workmen in Frankish employment. The keep itself was entered by a doorway raised some way above ground level. Here therefore are all the characteristic features of Frankish castle building as practised in Greece: the strong natural position, the careless, unscientific planning, the reëmployment of ancient material, and the dependence on local labor.

The parallel fortress of Bodonitsa, holding the other route into Attica and overlooking the Gulf of Corinth, was that of Salona, the ancient Amphissa. Here an outer curtain follows the irregular outline of the hilltop; on the northwest face of this curtain a large rectangular tower is still standing, the lower part of which appears to be good Hellenic masonry. To the northeast the hill slopes abruptly, and here was placed the rectangular keep within a second enceinte, 376 feet long and 172 feet broad. Ancient masonry is freely reused, and there is a monolithic doorway, similar to that at Bodonitsa. As it stands today, the inner enceinte is a bewildering but impressive complex of ruins. On the north curtain a small round tower is embedded in the wall, possibly a relic of a Byzantine fortification. At some later date a part of the walls was flattened into an artillery emplacement. A larger round tower (diameter 28 feet) of small masonry clearly dates from a different epoch of building and may be Catalan work of the fourteenth century, or even Turkish work. From 1205 to 1311 it was a possession of the Autremencourt family, and it is to them that most of the fortifications, urgently needed after the loss of Thessalonica, must be attributed.

“Le plus beau et le plus riche manoir de toute la Roumanie” was said by the Moreote chronicler to be the castle of St. Omer at Thebes, or Estives as the Franks called it. The castle was built by Nicholas II of St. Omer with the aid of the fortune of his wife, Marie of Antioch. The interior walls of this great building were covered with frescoes of the doings of the crusaders in the Holy Land, and in



this wealthy town something of true French civilization seems for a time to have taken root. But in 1331 the Catalans destroyed the castle "for fear that the duke of Athens should by any means take it and thereby recover the duchy." Only one tower remains, which by its scale (44 by 52 feet, walls nearly 10 feet thick) and by the solidity of its masonry and vaulting, though still composed of reused and unequal stones, does something to justify the praises of Raymond Muntaner (pl. LXIIa).<sup>8</sup> In Athens itself a tall tower, 85 feet high, stood on the Acropolis till 1874, but who erected it remains unchronicled.<sup>9</sup>

Livadia, already partly built in the thirteenth century, achieved its greatest importance under the Catalans. It is to them almost certainly that is due the general scheme of the fortifications, a triple enceinte, the first entry protected by a barbican. The ditch cut in the rock, where the spur on which the castle stands joins the main hillside, may date from some earlier fortification. Here there was little antique material at hand, and the masonry is mainly of small blocks mixed with brick. In placing of the towers and general plan, the Catalan castle, allowing for the difference of site, varies little from the scheme of Bodonitsa.

The other main Catalan strongholds were Zeitounion, Neopatras, Siderokastron, and Gardiki. Of Zeitounion there are considerable remains, and the building is unusually homogeneous in masonry, except where some artillery bastions have been made by the Turks. There is, however, nothing to date the existing castle at all accurately. In type it is a single enceinte, following the hillside, with a strong point at its northeastern end. Neopatras is a confusion of ruined masonry, of which a round Turkish tower is the most distinctive feature. Siderokastron has remains of walls on its rocky site. Gardiki, the ancient Pelinnaeon, has walls and some towers, mostly of classical workmanship.

Guarding the entry from Attica to the Morea was the great and ancient fortress of Acrocorinth. The main fortress dates from many periods and combines Byzantine work of the tenth and eleventh centuries with a Frankish keep and considerable Venetian rebuilding from the period of their reoccupation in the late seventeenth

8. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXI (1937), 152-163.

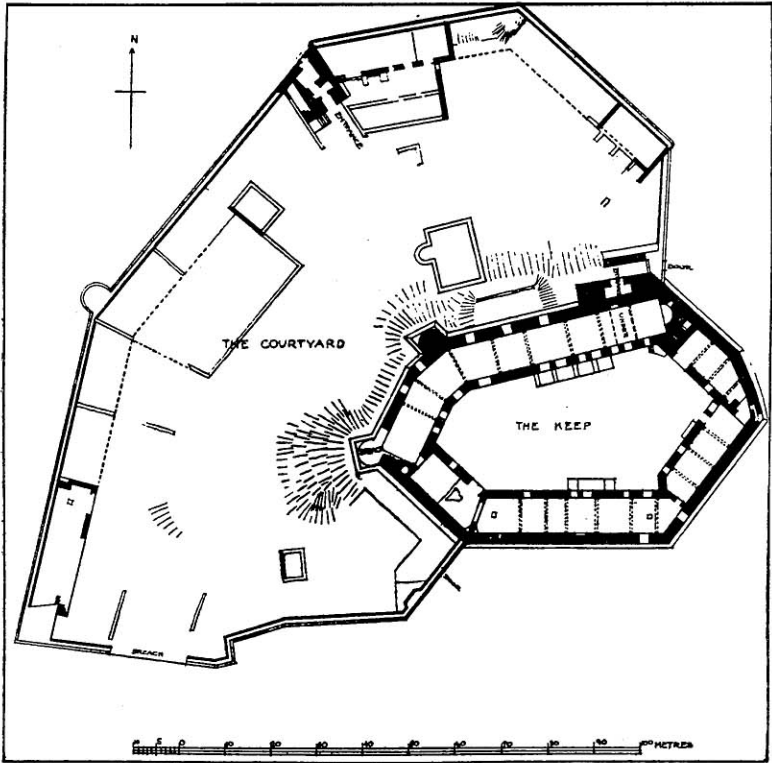
9. J. Baelen, *La Chronique du Parthénon: Guide historique de l'Acropole* (Paris, 1956), p. 156; Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens*, p. 246; and G. Daux, "L'Athènes antique en 1851: Photographies d'Alfred Normand," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, LXXX (1956), 619-624.

century. The keep, which forms the southwest redoubt and is built on a point where the natural defenses are at their strongest, follows the plan of Bodonitsa, two courts with the tower on the dividing wall. About a mile away, on the conical hill opposite Acrocorinth's main western defenses, can still be seen the fortress of Mont Escové, now called Pendeskouphi, which was built by Othon de la Roche as a base from which to conduct his siege of the citadel in 1205, and which is one of the earliest examples of the medieval keep and outer wall that remain in Greece.<sup>10</sup> From Corinth the routes branch south to Argos or east over the rough country between the coast and Mt. Cyllene and Mt. Chelmos into Achaea. On these wild defiles stood the castle of Kalavryta, given to Othon of Tournai in 1208. Now completely ruined, it can still be seen to have had an outer and inner enceinte, the former built amongst the rocks of the hillside, with a keep at the highest point.

Patras, the main town of Achaea, was an ancient fortified site and has consistently remained a port of some importance. William l'Aleman built a castle here in the early part of the conquest, and the fortified enclosure with rectangular projecting towers, dominating the plateau above the city, may preserve some of his work, but for the greater part the ruins of Patras are Byzantine or Turkish. South of Patras was the castle of Chalandritsa belonging to the Dramelay family, but even its site is today uncertain.

It was in the Morea that the great strength of the conquest centered. The northern corner of Elis, the base of the Villehardouin power, was one of the wealthiest and most enduring parts of the Frankish occupation. Andravida, with its four churches, was the capital; Glarentsa, the port, with a circuit of walls round the town, and a castle, now only a confused mass of rubble; to the south Beauvoir (or Pontikokastron, above Katakolon) controlled the other arm of the shallow bay, and now also lies in ruins, a mass of foundations with the base of a tower still visible. Inland from Glarentsa the castle of Clermont (Khloumoutsi or Castel Tornese) is better preserved. Situated on a hill commanding a wide view of both sea and land, with a comparatively gentle slope to the west whereas the southern and eastern sides are steep and rocky, it consists of a hexagonal strong point on the summit with an outer enceinte

10. R. Carpenter and A. Bon, *The Defences of Acro-Corinth and the Lower Town*; vol. III, pt. 2 of *Corinth: Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, pp. 134-145, and for Patras, pp. 116-129.



14. Plan of Clermont

stretching down the hillside to the north and west (pl. LXIa; fig. 14). The hexagon is a walled courtyard with living accommodation built on the inner side, including chambers vaulted with high-pitched ovoid barrel vaults of an unusual type, carefully planned and worked but severely plain and undecorated. Built by Geoffrey I of Villehardouin in the years 1220 to 1223, it has been little altered by later occupiers. The enceinte seems to belong to the same building stage as the hexagon. The courtyard enclosed by living quarters had already been used in the first design of Krak des Chevaliers; in a polygonal form it is found at the castle of Boulogne (1228-1234); and it reaches its most splendid manifestation in Frederick II's Castel del Monte, near Andria, begun in 1240. Whether Clermont was influenced from the east or from the west cannot be determined, but as the greatest castle of the Morea it must have enjoyed some renown and made its own contribution to the development of castle design.<sup>11</sup>

11. Traquair, "Laconia; I. Mediaeval Fortresses," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XII (1906), 272-276; A. Bon, "À Propos des châteaux de plan polygonal," *Revue archéologique*, ser. 6, XXVIII (1947), 177-179; Andrews, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-158.

Frankish sites are numerous in this neighborhood: Gastouni or Gastogne; Santameri, a corruption of St. Omer; Vlesiri or La Glisière; but it is not till Arcadia, the classical Cyparissia, that there are any considerable medieval remains. Here the eastern point of the castle hill is defended by a round tower built of small, rectangular stones, with a masonry batter sloping down to a smooth rock face. This seems to be Frankish work, following the capture of the castle by William of Champlitte in 1205, and is in marked contrast to the larger blocks of the earlier Byzantine square tower at the highest point of the hill. Inland in the hills the site of Siderokastron is marked only by fragmentary and much overgrown masonry remains, but farther south on the route from Arcadia to Kalamata, the castle of Androusa, the Druges of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, is well preserved. It is a large single enceinte, fortified with semicircular, polygonal, and rectangular towers, the largest of which, on the east, possibly served as a keep. On part of the standing walls, the platform walk is carried on an arcading of pointed arches, whose voussoirs are decorated with a brick pattern. Though the masonry is of small uneven stones, there are signs of unusual skill and workmanship in the whole building. The nearby church of St. George, of typical Byzantine bonded masonry, embodies a blocked-up Gothic door, whose moldings are of good quality. Little is known of this castle; its competence, in this remote southwest corner of the Morea, redeems some of the ruder works which elsewhere recall the medieval settlement (pl. LXIIIc).

A short distance to the east of Androusa the fallen walls of Pidhima look out over the Messenian plain; "Le petet mayne," the castle of Messenia, is now an unknown site. Modon and Coron on either side of the Messenian peninsula are purely Venetian towns. The wild and rocky Maina, the other arm of the bay of Messenia, was guarded by Kalamata. It was here that William (II) of Villehardouin was born in 1218, and here that he died in 1278; the castle, much of which stands, may be Frankish work. When captured in 1205, the citadel was found to have been converted into a monastery, and it still includes a small Byzantine chapel.<sup>12</sup> Its outer court was repaired by the Venetians, who occupied Kalamata in the seventeenth century, and the third enceinte is clearly their work of that period.

12. A. Bon, "Églises byzantines de Kalamata," *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès international d'études byzantines, Paris, 27 juillet-2 août, 1948*, II (1951), 35-50, and "La Prise de Kalamata par les Francs en 1205," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à Charles Picard à l'occasion de son 65<sup>e</sup> anniversaire*, I [= *Revue archéologique*, ser. 6, XXIX-XXX (1949)], 98-104. William succeeded his brother Geoffrey II in 1246.

Farther down the coast, where the peninsula begins, the ruin of a castle with a square keep on a rocky eminence near Leftro is probably Villehardouin's castle of Beaufort. Toward the tip of the peninsula, the walls of the fortified village of Tigani are still partially standing, and a pillar among the fallen masonry has a Latin cross. A short distance south is Maina, the possible site of Le Grand Mayne, but Porto Kaio is another claimant. On the eastern side of the peninsula, the castle of Passavá (so-called from the "Passe-avant" battlecry of its lord, John of Neuilly) is now a Turkish reconstruction with a mosque and round towers for gun emplacements.

In 1249 William II took Monemvasia, the last Greek stronghold in the Morea. It was then that he fortified Mistra, where his castle still crowns the summit looking down upon this marvelous hillside of Byzantine churches; eleven years later, the defeat of Pelagonia left William a prisoner in the hands of Michael Palaeologus, and he bought his liberty by surrendering Monemvasia, Mistra, and Maina. The Frankish settlement here is only a brief passage. The churches and paintings of Mistra belong to Byzantine art, though stimulated by western contacts, and in Monemvasia the older churches, the Christ Elkomenos and Hagia Sophia, with its fine slab of confronting peacocks, are also Byzantine, while the fortifications date mainly from the Venetian occupation of 1464-1540.<sup>13</sup>

To the northeast of Sparta, Arachova still has one wall of its keep standing, a conspicuous landmark. In the central Morea the main route passed across the bridge over the Alpheus below the mountain fortress of Karytaina, most romantically perched of all the mountain fortresses. Much that remains is probably Frankish, though interspersed with later additions, and no doubt its strong position attracted occupants whose doings have not always been chronicled. To the north Akova, the castle of Matagrifon, much disputed among the Frankish feudatories, has three towers standing of its enceinte.

On the eastern coast Argos is still crowned by a great castle, which at the time of the conquest stood a seven years' siege from 1205 to 1212. Partly Byzantine, partly Frankish, partly Turkish, its four round towers are almost certainly Frankish and are not bonded to the—probably—Byzantine curtain wall. Similar round towers are visible in the walls of the castle of the Franks at Nauplia behind the great talus with which the Venetians later strengthened the fortifications, but at Nauplia it is Venetian building that predominates, from the great round tower of the fifteenth-century bastion to the

13. M. G. Soteriou, *Mistra: Une Ville byzantine morte* (Athens, 1935); Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, pp. 231-244.

octagonal tower in the small island fortress of Bourtsi guarding the entrance to the harbor. In the greater towns, where life went on at varying pace but with some consistent growth, Frankish buildings, rarely of much merit, were replaced or refashioned. It is only in the more outlying parts that they survive, an undistinguished style hard to identify exactly save by the absence of the finer work that both Greeks and Venetians brought to their undertakings.

Venice, the prime mover in the Fourth Crusade, was also its eventual heir, and it is Venetian building that has left the clearest marks on the land of the conquest, and of which we have the most detailed records. For in the period 1685 to 1715 the Venetians under Francesco Morosini reoccupied many places in the Morea and the islands, captured Athens after the fatal bombardment of the Parthenon, and in the course of rebuilding this eastern dominion, the *provveditore generale dell' armi* in Morea, Francesco Grimani, drew up a long report, illustrated with forty-one plans, of the state of the fortifications under his charge, a document still extant and very informative about the works included in it.<sup>14</sup> Restored in this seventeenth-century venture, much of the Venetian building is still impressive enough, nowhere more so than in the southwest corner of the Morea where Navarino, Modon, and Coron all have imposing stretches of wall. Old Navarino, crowning precipitous cliffs, was built about 1278 by Nicholas of St. Omer on the site of a classical fortress, and partially on its foundations. Amid later Genoese, Venetian, and Turkish rebuilding, there are still some portions that might well be Frankish work. New Navarino, round the port, is Turkish work, repaired by the Venetians after 1686. Modon, where the Venetian lion was still in place on one of its walls until looted by Italian soldiers in 1943, was much rebuilt at the time of the reconquest under Morosini; its most attractive feature, the little hexagonal island fort, is Turkish sixteenth-century work, but even so it presents as good a picture as can be obtained today of a Venetian trading port in the Levant, little changed in general outline from what it might have been in the later Middle Ages.

In the islands it is again Venice that predominates. In Euboea, the fortifications of Negroponte date from the Venetian rebuilding of 1304. At the southernmost point the ruins of the castle of Carystus, rising above the narrow coastal plain, must, to judge by its history, have some building in it that goes back to the rule of the triarchs and

14. See Andrews, *Castles of the Morea*, pp. 8-10.

the disturbed times of the thirteenth century; but its well-built pentagonal tower with its merlon battlements still standing is clearly Venetian, as is also a similar tower at the small port below. The outer enceinte, remade for artillery, is now mainly of coarse rubble, and much of the walls of the inner enceinte seems Turkish rebuilding. Haliveri has a rectangular enceinte divided by a cross-wall with a keep tower built upon it as at Bodonitsa. The masonry is of the roughest kind, and this may well be largely Frankish work. At Dystos there is a Venetian tower among the classical ruins; at Gymno two churches and a tower, probably Venetian. Of Larmena, whose name figures so often in the medieval history of the island, there remain only a few sections of walls, filling fissures in the rock, and the bases of two towers.

Naxos, the center of the Sanudo duchy, has no medieval buildings that can be clearly dated. The Jesuit father, Robert Saulger, writing at the end of the seventeenth century,<sup>15</sup> states that Mark Sanudo on his occupation of the island built "a great square tower with walls of extraordinary thickness, with an open space round it, which in its turn was enclosed within a wall strengthened by great towers 29 or 30 feet from one another." He also built the Latin cathedral within the Kastro, which still stands but was completely rebuilt in 1915 and had already been largely restored in 1865. Today the outer enceinte of the castle can hardly be traced among the houses which have been built on and out of it. Of the main central block, however, one floor still stands, a vaulted room which recalls in scale and quality the masonry at Thebes. This may well be, though Saulger is a late and not always reliable source, part of Sanudo's original building. Of the other Naxos castles, Paliri was the original Byzantine stronghold; its solid foundations remain, blending indistinguishably with the rock on which they stand. Apanokastro, which Saulger with some probability attributes to Mark II (1262-1303), has later Venetian and Turkish rebuilding, and the walls have been flattened out for artillery bastions. The neighboring island of Paros has a medieval tower which is made largely of cross-sections of columns and is one of the most extreme examples of the reuse of classical materials.

A similar account can be given of most of the islands; castle ruins crown the hills: Sant' Angelo in Corfu; the square tower in its small rectangular enceinte of Katokastro on Andros; a few churches, still distinguished by some Gothic arches and marked with Latin crosses;

15. Printed in J. K. Fotheringham, *Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelagó* (Oxford, 1915), pp. 113-122.

some late medieval or early Renaissance houses, Italian in their basic style, but borrowing eastern decorative motives or making use of the local colors of the stones, as in the patterned façades of red and yellow Thymiana sandstone of the Genoese houses in Chios, that preserve the memory, despite massacre and earthquake, of one of the most prosperous and cultured of the Latin settlements.<sup>16</sup>

Of all the conquests of the Fourth Crusade, Crete was held the longest. Candia, after a siege of twenty years, fell to the Turks in 1669. For most of five hundred years Venice controlled the island, though not without great difficulty, for the islanders were vigorous and restless; religious and racial feeling ran high, and first the Genoese and then the Turks were always ready to encourage internal revolt. Culturally the island was a province of Venice.<sup>17</sup> Here, as so often in dealing with this wide-flung settlement, the influences have little connection with the original crusading impulse. The great trading republic became the last defender of Christendom in the eastern Mediterranean, but the defense of its interests, splendidly heroic as it was in such closing scenes as those at Famagusta and Candia, had none of the aggressive fervor which characterized the genuine crusading settlers. As the Gothic style gives place to the Renaissance, we enter a period where crusading terminology, whatever the continuity of events, becomes rather anachronistic.

Of sculpture that can be assigned with any certainty to the Latins, little now remains, either in Greece or in the islands. In the Genoese settlement of Chios a series of reliefs of St. George (made in the fifteenth century for the decoration of door lintels) are based on a design familiar in Genoa from several still existing examples. The same process was almost certainly at work in the towns and islands under Venice. The decoration still to be found on Cretan arches and windows has many Italian motifs, with here and there suggestions of Arab influence. For the rest, the Byzantine tradition in Venice was already strong, and her citizens found much that was familiar in the provincial Byzantine styles of her colonies. Last of their surviving

16. J. A. Buchon, "Excursions historiques dans les îles de Tinos et d'Andros," *Revue indépendante*, XIII (1844), 567; F. W. Hasluck, "The Latin Monuments of Chios," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVI (1910), 168-177; G. Gerola, "Zea (Keos)," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente*, IV-V (1921-1922, publ. 1924), 177-221; A. Tarsoulé, *Δωδεκάνησα* (3 vols., Athens, 1947-1950); and Hasluck, "Monuments of the Gattelusi," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XV (1909), 248-269.

17. G. Gerola, *Monumenti veneti nell' isola di Creta: Ricerche e descrizione* (2 vols., Venice, 1905-1908).



works of carving in Crete is probably the Morosini fountain in the square at Candia, and here the full Italian Renaissance with its wreaths and sea goddesses triumphs completely.

Gothic sculpture has left even fewer traces. On the mainland of Greece there are a few moldings on windows and ribs and some foliage capitals that recall the art of France. The tomb slab of princess "Agnes" (Anna Ducaena, widow of William of Villehardouin and Nicholas of St. Omer; d. 1286) at Andravida has a French inscription, but the ornament is almost purely Byzantine. There is little to indicate that the great craftsmen who found employment in Syria came to the courts of the Morea or Athens. There is, however, at Geraki in Laconia a group of churches with carved ornamentation of some interest, around which has centered a minor art historical controversy. The doorway of the church of Zoodochos Pege has a pointed archway decorated with checker and triangular pattern (pl. LXIIIa); the one remaining door jamb is carved with rosettes and has a stiff acanthus-leaf capital; in the wall beside it is a slab with a Maltese cross and two slabs of interlace pattern; above the doorway is a painted Madonna in a niche, the frame of which has rosette decoration and ends in two crude animal heads. Similar heads and a somewhat ruder version of the same pattern can be seen in another church at Hagia Paraskeve.

Far finer but still similar in style is the shrine in the baronial church of St. George. Here the interlace is openwork tracery of great delicacy, with rectangular grills cut above the arch, and a coat of arms in the center panel and at the top angle of the arch which, though not certainly identifiable, may be that of the Nivelet family,<sup>18</sup> and is certainly western. Above the pointed arch of the main doorway is a shield "chequy of nine," and this coat is repeated on the shield of St. George in a painting on the iconostasis. The shrine niche is supported by two pairs of linked columns, that custom so popular in Syria, but here in its simplest and more Byzantine form of a single loop; on either side of the niche are other, probably fictitious, coats, a crescent between six stars and a fleur-de-lys between four rosettes. Wace, who first published the shrine in detail, thought it to be Saracenic; Traquair and Van de Put favored south Italian influence.<sup>19</sup> The castle of Geraki, a section of

18. If the Nivelets can be held to be the same stock as the de Neviles or de Nivillis family in Cyprus and Syria.

19. A. J. B. Wace, "Laconia; V. Frankish Sculptures at Parori and Geraki," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XI (1905), 139-145; Traquair, "Laconia; I. Mediaeval Fortresses," *ibid.*, XII (1906), 263-269; A. van de Put, "Note on the Armorial Insignia in the Church of St. George, Geraki," *ibid.*, XIII (1907), 281-283.

whose walls is remarkably complete, appears to be Frankish in design and construction. It was built by John of Nivelet after 1230 and was ceded to Michael VIII Palaeologus some time between 1261 and 1275. The presumption is that all this work dates from the mid-thirteenth century and, judging by the arms, is Frankish in origin, though there is a very similar shrine now in the museum at Mistra. In the metropolitan church of the same town a knotted column and two niches with pierced interlacing arches are probably Byzantine; the arches are round, not pointed like those at Geraki.<sup>20</sup> It is in fact an eastern Mediterranean style, known also in Jerusalem, and one that in Spain and south Italy touched the art of the west. Here unexpectedly it is found in Greece on this forgotten Franco-Byzantine frontier. Later in Rhodes the same pierced interlaces and rosette patterns become a strikingly beautiful decoration to some medieval house façades at Lindos.

Of medieval painting in Greece a similar but more puzzling story can be told. We know that the castle of Thebes, like the Painted Chamber at Westminster, was frescoed with scenes of crusading exploits in the Holy Land. But we know nothing of their style, whether they were a Gothic romance or a Byzantine battle scene. In 1395 in the archiepiscopal palace of Patras Nicholas of Martoni saw paintings of the siege of Troy, and those may well have resembled the illustrations to manuscripts of the *Histoire universelle*.<sup>21</sup> In miniature painting the evidence is fragmentary. At some point in the first half of the thirteenth century the painter of the apostle portraits in the Greek gospel book that is now in the national library at Athens (Cod. 118) inscribed the texts on their scrolls in Latin. This accomplished artist certainly belonged to a Byzantine center of some importance; he was illustrating a Greek book, but the Latin wording suggests a Frankish patron somewhere and Frankish connections. Latin texts also occur in the evangelical portrait of St. John in the Iviron Gospels (Mt. Athos, Iviron, cod. 5), a very splendid book, stylistically close to the Athens Gospels; but here the Latin words are inscribed over the Greek text, and occur only on one portrait, suggesting adaptation rather than commission. There exists, however, in Paris (Bibl. nat., Cod. gr. 54), a gospel book with both Greek and Latin text that is clearly, in the evangelist portraits and in the cycle

20. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*, pls. XLV and LI.

21. Nicholas of Martoni, "Relation du pèlerinage de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien (1394-1395)," ed. L. LeGrand, in *ROL*, III (1895), 661.

of narrative scenes, based on the Iviron Gospels.<sup>22</sup> The *Manuscrit du roi*, a thirteenth-century collection of ballads and their musical settings, contains a poem by "the prince of Morea" (William II of Villehardouin), and the page, now mutilated, was formerly headed, to judge from other instances in the book, by an equestrian portrait of him. There is however nothing to suggest that this was a locally produced work, and its Gothic style has no eastern elements in it.<sup>23</sup>

Of the magnificent revival of wall painting at Mistra in the fourteenth century, Frankish Greece has no certain echoes. At Geraki in the church of the Zoodochos Pege there is a fresco of Christ standing beside the cross. The fine folds of the garment, almost like those of Burgundian sculpture, and the pronounced elongation of the figure are not related to the great school of Mistra. It is tempting to think that here in a town where Latin influences can be traced the paintings too owed something to Latin example or even practice. They remain the nearest point of contact between the Gothic spirit and that rich flowering of thought and literature and painting which so strangely adorned the despotate of Mistra. The renown of Crete was of a somewhat later date. It was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that the island gave its name to a phase of Byzantine painting.

On the northern frontier of the mainland Latin states, hemming them in and gradually encroaching upon them, were the Byzantine powers, often enough opposed to one another, of the despotate of Epirus and the revived empire of the Palaeologi. The coast towns of the former bear traces of Venetian occupation, based on the original partition of 1204, though, inland, Venice never secured more than a nominal suzerainty.<sup>24</sup> The round tower of Durazzo is probably Venetian fourteenth-century work; a Venetian church still stands at

22. Weitzmann, "Constantinopolitan Book Illumination in the Period of the Latin Conquest," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, ser. 6, XXV (1944), 193-214.

23. See Jean and L. Beck, *Le Manuscrit du roi, fonds français n° 844 de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Corpus cantilenarum medii aevi, ser. 1: Les chansonniers des troubadours et des trouvères, no. 2; 2 vols., Philadelphia and London, 1938), I, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>v</sup>; II, p. 17, and Longnon, *L'Empire latin*, p. 195. There exists one other manuscript painted by a French artist but under strong Byzantine influence. It is a Latin psalter fragment now in the Vatican Library, MS. Rossiana 529. The sole historiated miniature seems to be related to the Riccardiana psalter, but the facility of the artist in the Byzantine idiom suggests an attribution to Constantinople during the Latin empire. See H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 94-95. [J. F.]

24. Little has been written on the monuments of this area. For Arta see the articles by A. K. Orlandos in *Αρχαίον τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, II (1936), 88-202, and D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epirus* (Oxford, 1957), pp. 196-215. There are some brief accounts and photographs in J. A. T. Degrand, *Souvenirs de la Haute-Albanie* (Paris, 1901).

Scutari, held by Venice from 1396 to 1474, and the fortress there is Venetian in plan. At Berat the impressive castle on the hilltop has on the gateway the monogram of Michael I Ducas (Angelus) "Comnenus" (1204-1215), the first ruler, but the walls show varying styles of masonry from the large well-cut blocks of the lower courses to the small rubble of the top; an irregular enceinte with alternate square and semicircular projecting towers crowns the top of the hill, with a large polygonal keep at the highest and strongest point, where the mountain side breaks away precipitously; a casemate ending in a bastion stretched down the hillside with walls built in places across steep rock cliffs. It suggests the design of Byzantine fortifications, such as those of Antioch, and was probably chosen by the despots because of preëxisting remains, but much of its history, even of its various occupations, remains uncertain. At Lesh (Alessio) the castle is inferior and later work: it was the center in the fifteenth century of Scanderbeg's rally against the Turks, and was destroyed by them on their capture of it; the present ruins may date from that period. The same is probably true of Kroia and Petrela; the fortress of Elbasan is Turkish work. Canina above Avlona (Valona) has a polygonal tower, similar to that at Berat.

Arta was the capital of the despotate. Here there is not only fortification, mainly Venetian and Turkish in its present state, but also a group of churches which in their architecture and ornament recall a culture, limited and provincial, but not without genuine individuality in its fusion of Byzantine and Italian elements. In the narthex of the chapel of St. Theodora (d. about 1270) there is a tomb, remade but embodying a slab on which are represented two half-length angels, with between them, under an arch supported on knotted columns, the sainted queen, a large figure protecting the smaller effigy of her husband, Michael II, or perhaps of her son Nicephorus. With its curious flat and linear relief this carving is probably a copy of an earlier thirteenth-century relief, but even at second hand it brings a close contact with the arts of the despotate.

Passing eastward, central Thessaly was controlled by Trikkala, with a strong keep on the highest point of the hill and a base court, divided by a fortified wall, sloping down from it. Much of the castle still stands, curiously dominated by a nineteenth-century clock tower with elaborate crenelations, but the rebuildings have been too frequent and its history is too obscure to allow of any exact chronological analysis. To the north and on the sea controlling the coastal route, the castle of Platamon stands on a cliff, its ruins still an impressive spectacle. It has little known history. Its outer enceinte,

of which the walls stand with their battlements, is built of strong rubble with some ancient blocks in the lower courses. An irregular hexagon, it forms a spur at the weakest point of the slope. Within the angle of the spur is an inner court some 130 feet broad, then a third court surrounding a polygonal tower, still complete with its battlements. There is a careful strategic planning of the whole in relation to its parts which we look for in vain in the Frankish castles of Greece (pl. LXIIb). Inland the castle of Servia, dominating the valley of the Haliacmon on the ancient frontier of Thessaly and Macedonia, had long been a fortified place, but its present walls and towers date probably from the thirteenth century, when it was held for a time by the despot of Epirus. As at Platamon the outer enceinte ends in a spur at its weakest point, but here the second enceinte crowns the summit at the farthest point from the spur and there is no keep; only a strong semi-polygonal tower on the walls, which seems earlier work. The masonry is small evenly laid rubble with reinforced corners, and the towers, though much damaged, still made an imposing circuit.

## B. Rhodes

Captured by the Turks in 1522, the island of Rhodes remained for four hundred years an Ottoman dependency, a place of little history and gradual decay. The walls and palaces of the knights crumbled a little, wooden balconies were hung on their walls, the churches were converted into mosques, but there was no systematic change, and the splendid masonry, so unlike crusading building in Greece, proved enduring. Writing in 1844, Eugène Flandin could describe it as "almost intact, seeming to wait the return of its knights," (pl. LXIVa) and de Vogüé, visiting it shortly afterward, could call it a "unique ensemble, the living aspect of a French town of the fifteenth century."<sup>1</sup> Two great losses have occurred since then. The church of St. John, the burial place of the grand masters, was blown up in 1856 by an explosion, the cause of which was never clearly ascertained, and the port tower built by Philibert of Naillac, grand master from 1396 to 1421, was damaged in an earthquake in 1863 and later leveled by the Turks; losses all the more regrettable because these

The essential work is A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes MCCCX-MDXXII*; I. *Topographie, architecture militaire*; II. *Architecture civile et religieuse* (Paris, 1921-1923). See also F. de Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights* (Oxford, 1908); A. Maiuri, *Rodi: Guida dei monumenti e del Museo archeologico di Rodi* (Rhodes, 1919; 2nd ed., Rome, 1921); A. Maiuri and G. Jacopich, "Monumenti di arte cavalleresca," *Clara Rhodos*, I (1928), 127-181; G. Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevali delle tredici Sporadi," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene . . .*, I (1914), 169-356, and II (1916), 1-101; and R. Matton, *Rhodes* (Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes; Athens, 1949). See also British Committee on the Preservation and Restitution of Works of Art, Archives, and Other Material in Enemy Hands, *Works of Art in Greece, the Greek Islands and the Dodecanese: Losses and Survivals in the War* (London, 1946), pp. 55-60, as well as Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, pp. 93-94.

I. E. Flandin, *L'Orient*: parts 11-20, *Rhodes* (Paris, 1853-1858); C. J. M. de Vogüé in the introduction to J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes jusqu'à la mort de Philibert de Naillac (1310-1421)* (Paris, 1913), p. v. The former is one of the many descriptions and collections of plates of Rhodes in the nineteenth century, which are of particular value owing to the disastrous explosion of 1856 and the drastic restorations by the Italians in the period 1918-1939; cf. B. Rottiers, *Description des monumens de Rhodes* (2 vols., text and atlas, Brussels, 1828-1830). See also Albert Berg, *Die Insel Rhodus, aus eigener Anschauung und nach den vorhandenen Quellen geographisch, archäologisch, malerisch beschrieben und durch Originalradirungen und Holzschnitte nach eigenen Naturstudien und Zeichnungen illustriert* (Brunswick, 1862), and Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*.

buildings represented Rhodes of the fourteenth century, a Gothic Rhodes, to which de Vogüé's term "*la physionomie d'une ville française*" would have been more applicable than it is to the present monuments, largely rebuilt for artillery in the later fifteenth century, and under the Fascist regime restored as an expression of Italianità.

For with the Italian conquest of 1912, the restoration of Rhodes became part of a general program, much of it of a high standard of scholarship, but one where respect for the past and propaganda for the present were curiously and at times uneasily combined. Rhodes emerged as a twentieth-century Carcassonne, a late medieval fortress town in good working order, its edges clear and sharp cut, its stones scrubbed and clean, all gaps filled and mystery gone. This washed splendor had only a brief period. In the second world war, Rhodes suffered considerably from bombing and demolition. The Hospice of the Knights was hit by a bomb and the refectory destroyed. St. Paul's gate, inside which fifteenth-century cannon-balls were neatly piled, was heavily damaged, losing all its battlements. Several churches and chapels, notably the Demirli Jami, probably the Greek cathedral under Latin domination, and the Gothic Yeni Chari Jami, received direct hits and are now mainly ruins. Yet, despite destruction and restoration, much remains. Rhodes is still one of the great medieval cities, with few rivals in its picturesque completeness.

To the crusades it is an epilogue. In Cyprus there is continuity with Syria, a century when the two, Nicosia and Acre, existed side by side in the closest contact, and after the Latin kingdom perished in 1291 Cyprus was its direct heir and the refuge for its citizens. When, in the years 1306-1310, the master Fulk of Villaret occupied Rhodes, still part of the empire of Andronicus II Palaeologus but disputed between the Turks and the Genoese, it was a new venture, prompted by the needs of the order for a headquarters and a *raison d'être*, and directed against an island that had thitherto played little part in crusading history. The knights made of it a main bastion of western trade and influence in the Levant, and from it they controlled the other islands of the Dodecanese. In its early days, the garrison was aggressive, massacring its prisoners with pious enthusiasm as though hoping to destroy the Turks by gradual attrition. Later a more tolerant attitude prevailed. Prisoners were thought of as slaves rather than as infidels and met the endless demand for labor involved in maintaining the defenses. The masters, later called grand masters, were usually skilled authorities in eastern diplomacy. The island became a fortress for the preservation of its own position rather than a stage in the reconquest.

The town is built on the northernmost point of the island, on the eastern slope of Mt. Stephanos, still often known as Mt. Smith, a curious tribute to Sir Sidney Smith, who established an observatory there during the Napoleonic war, and whose eccentricities endeared him to the Near East. The ancient acropolis on its summit and, below, the temple of Apollo and the theater, lie outside the medieval fortifications. The classical city, probably planned in 408 B.C., covered a wide area, very different from the small port that the knights occupied, and its parallel street plan is still discernible from the air.<sup>2</sup> Little is known with certainty about the state of the town at the time of its capture by the Hospitallers, and even the capture itself is curiously undocumented, some accounts referring to a siege of two months, others of two years.<sup>3</sup> A sphere of Genoese influence in the last half of the thirteenth century, Rhodes was in 1300 raided by the Turks, and the hold of Byzantium upon it was obviously precarious. It does not appear to have been strongly defended, but the Byzantine citadel must have been the basis of resistance to the knights, and was probably taken over by them as their own strong point. The town was divided into two main blocks, the citadel or *collachium*, the residence of the knights, and the lower town. The citadel enclosed the northern quarter in a circuit of walls, an area 850 feet from north to south and 1,225 feet from east to west. Within it were the palace of the grand master, the arsenal, the church of St. John, and the hospital; along its main thoroughfare, the "Grand rue du Chateau," the modern Street of the Knights, were the *auberges* of the various *langués*, the divisions of the order according to region and language. At the northeast corner the walls of the citadel joined the port wall running down the northern arm of the harbor and ending in the tower of Naillac. South and southeast of the citadel lay the town, surrounded by a defensive system of a main wall and ditches.

In the same month, September 1307, that the pope, Clement V, authorized the occupation of Rhodes by the knights, Philip IV ordered the arrest of the Templars throughout his dominions. It was in good time that the Hospitallers had moved into action. Five years later the lands and goods of the Temple were transferred to the Hospital. Much of this new wealth no doubt passed into other hands;

2. J. Bradford, "Fieldwork on Aerial Discoveries in Attica and Rhodes," *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXXVI (1956), 57-69.

3. See J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre (1100-1310)* (Paris, 1904), pp. 275-281; A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 256-290.



some of it for a time seems to have been dissipated in high living by the European commanderies; but the increment must have been substantial, and the rapid building of the walls of Rhodes owed much to the downfall of the brother order.

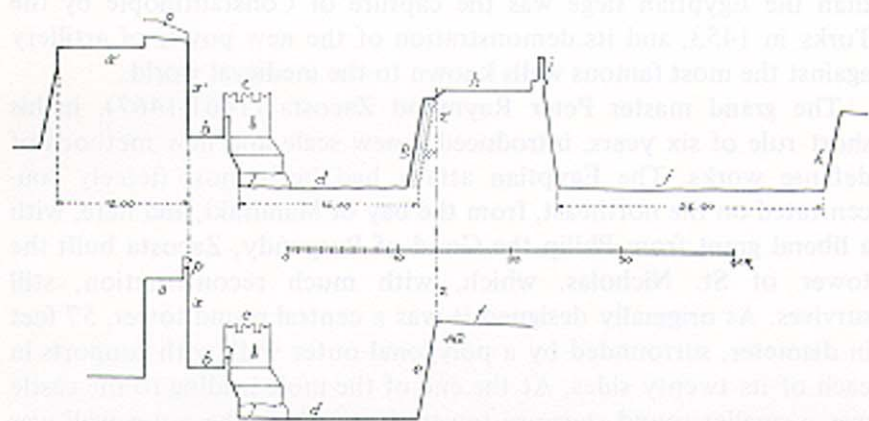
Ludolph of Suchem, who visited Rhodes during the grand mastership of Hélicon of Villeneuve (1319-1346), tells us that the city was fair (*pulcherrima*) and strong, built with high walls and impregnable advance works (*propugnacula inexpugnabilia*) "out of huge stones which it would seem impossible were placed by human hands."<sup>4</sup> Allowing for Ludolph's enthusiastic exaggeration, this seems to imply that the town was now walled with a curtain and lower outer wall and that much of it was composed of reused classical material. The arms of Hélicon in fact exist on the walls, but reset along with those of Giovanni Battista Orsini (1467-1476), so that they in no way date the gateway between the town and citadel where they now appear. The earliest works certainly dated are the two rectangular towers on the north wall of the citadel, where the arms of Juan Fernández de Heredia (1377-1396) are still *in situ*. His successor, Philibert of Naillac, was much occupied with the building of the castle at Bodrum, but at Rhodes his name was linked with a celebrated construction, the square tower at the end of the mole on the north side of the main harbor. Demolished after the earthquake of 1863, it is reasonably well known from detailed accounts and drawings of it and even from an early photograph. Its most characteristic features were its gallery of machicolations, which supported the platform walk, the four round towers carried on corbels (*échauguettes*), and the central octagonal tower. Its total height was about 150 feet above sea level.<sup>5</sup> Striking and conspicuous in effect, it was still medieval in its theories of defense, and it was not until the next grand mastership, that of Anton Fluvian (1421-1437), that provision for artillery first appears at Rhodes, in the form of rectangular gunports at parapet level in St. George's tower. John of Lastic, grand master from 1437 to 1454, continued the strengthening of the fortifications, and his arms occur frequently on the southwest stretch of the walls, always regarded as the most vulnerable point and in fact that at which the Turks broke through in the final siege.

The scheme of defense as it existed in the first half of the fifteenth century consisted of the citadel, the northern and western walls of

4. Ludolph of Suchem, *De Itinere Terrae Sanctae liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, XXV; 1851), p. 27.

5. See an etching based on a photograph by D. E. Colnaghi in C. T. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (2 vols., London, 1865), I, 199.

which formed part of the main circuit, but which on the south and east was separated from the town by an inner wall with rectangular projecting towers. The curtain walls surrounding the whole were of no great thickness; round towers protected the angles, square or round towers the gateways, and on some of the longer stretches of wall there were small rectangular towers, which projected through the lower wall or *fausse-braie*, in front of the curtain.<sup>6</sup> Most of these towers were detached from the curtain and accessible from it only by wooden bridges, so that, should the tower be destroyed, it would not bring down a stretch of the curtain with it. Beyond the *fausse-braie* was a ditch about fifty feet wide, which could be controlled by the projecting towers (fig. 15). Much of this, the *fausse-braie*, the detached towers, is in line with common Byzantine practice.



15. Defenses of Rhodes before and after enlargement. After A. Gabriel. *a.* inner wall *b.* *fausse-braie* *c.* tower on *fausse-braie* *d.* first level *e.* original escarpment *f.* outside level *g.* new escarpment *h.* earthwork *i.* battlements of earthwork *j.* new ditch *k.* escarpment

The Hospitallers in Rhodes did not continue the tradition of their Syrian castles. The battering of the walls and rows of machicolation that characterize Krak des Chevaliers are on the whole absent, and the machicolation was confined to one or two towers, such as that of St. Athanasius, built by Lastic. Heredia had been for a time governor of Avignon while the papal city was being fortified, between 1350 and 1368. Avignon was a great school and center of architecture, and the palace of the grand masters undoubtedly owed something to its vast papal prototype, but the continuous machicolations of the city walls of Avignon are not repeated in the island. The stone was the local yellowish sandstone, generally cut in small blocks and set in

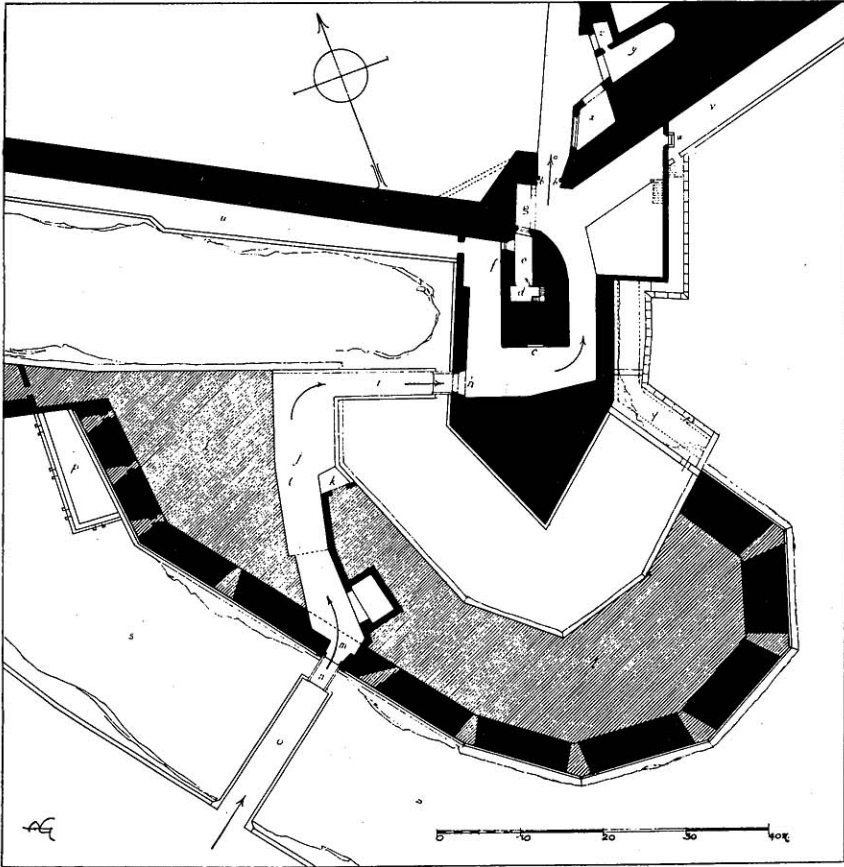
6. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes*, I, 17-18.

mortar. Much of the work was carried out by Turkish prisoners, but the local masons obviously had a considerable degree of competence and in particular their mortar has proved exceptionally durable. The masonry throughout is admirable work, and the heraldic sculpture carefully placed to set it off. Little care was taken for aesthetic effects. The wide ditches which surround the walls give them a sense of less height than they in fact have, and Rhodes suggests a businesslike efficiency rather than a prestigious dignity, though Naillac's tower must have added an impressive feature to the general scheme.

Rhodes in 1444 was besieged by a force from Egypt, a siege that lasted for some forty days, in which considerable damage was done to the fortifications by the enemy's artillery. Even more threatening than the Egyptian siege was the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, and its demonstration of the new power of artillery against the most famous walls known to the medieval world.

The grand master Peter Raymond Zacosta (1461-1467), in his short rule of six years, introduced a new scale and new methods of defense works. The Egyptian attack had been most fiercely concentrated on the northeast, from the bay of Mandraki, and here, with a liberal grant from Philip the Good of Burgundy, Zacosta built the tower of St. Nicholas, which, with much reconstruction, still survives. As originally designed it was a central round tower, 57 feet in diameter, surrounded by a polygonal outer wall, with gunports in each of its twenty sides. At the end of the mole leading to the castle was a smaller round staircase tower, from which the outer wall was reached by a drawbridge to a postern defended by machicolations. The polygonal scheme, evolved in a special form for the limited space of St. Nicholas, was carried further in the defenses of two of the main gateways, those of St. John (Koskinou) and of St. George, though the plan of the latter is now obscured by later additions. The Koskinou gate was already protected by a square tower, standing free of the curtain. Zacosta enclosed this tower with a barbican, springing from the wall of the *fausse-braie* and in height halfway between it and the original tower.<sup>7</sup> This barbican was four-sided, but the two outermost sides meet in a point making a salient and thereby providing a wide field of fire for their gunports (fig. 16). Already Zacosta's predecessor, James of Milly from Auvergne (1454-1461), had used a slightly pointed salient on a tower strengthening the

7. B. H. St. J. O'Neil, "Rhodes and the Origin of the Bastion," *The Antiquaries Journal*, XXXIV (1954), 44-54.



16. Plan of the Koskinou gate, Rhodes: Zacosta's salient and d'Aubusson's boulevard. After A. Gabriel

curtain east of the Koskinou gate, but the salient here was solid and, being behind the *fausse-braie*, had no field of fire for artillery. It is Zacosta's barbican, or boulevard to use the term most generally associated with these Rhodian developments, that initiates the most original period of the fortifications, a period particularly associated with the genius of Peter of Aubusson.<sup>8</sup>

This remarkable man, a younger son of the lords of Monteil-au-Vicomte in Marche, joined the order shortly after the repulse of the Egyptian army, when he himself was about twenty-three years old and already an experienced soldier. Serious-minded and dedicated, he had studied all sides of his profession, including mathematics and

8. D. Bouhours, *Histoire de Pierre d'Aubusson, grand-maître de Rhodes* (Paris, 1676; 4th ed. with additions by M. de Billy, Paris, 1806; tr. as *The Life of the Renowned Peter d'Aubusson, Grand Master of Rhodes, Containing Those Two Remarkable Sieges of Rhodes by Mohamet the Great, and Solymán the Magnificent*, London, 1679).

engineering, studies which he could now put to good purpose. A skillful diplomatist, both in the internal bickerings among the langues and in negotiations with the papacy or the Turks, he was also a heroic fighter, and in the breach of the walls on July 27, 1480, rallied the defense, though himself wounded five times. In his fanatical devotion to the holy war, he recalls the unquestioning faith and frank intolerance of an earlier age. While ready to give some splendor to the church of St. John and the state rooms of the grand master's palace, he himself maintained a primitive simplicity and enforced the strictness of the rule on these celibate warriors in their pleasant island by penalties of fasting and public discipline. He was even more severe towards the inhabitants of the town: the Jews were expelled and their children taken from them and brought up as Christians; women who, during periods of peace with the "infidel," had given themselves to visiting Turkish sailors, were condemned to be burned alive. Pope Innocent VIII in 1489 created this dour and inflexible soldier cardinal-deacon of St. Hadrian, surrendered in his interest the papal rights of nomination to certain commanderies in the order, and abolished the orders of the Holy Sepulcher and of St. Lazarus, transferring their goods to the Hospitallers. The Turks feared and admired him, and Bayazid II presented to him, from the treasury of Constantinople, the right hand of the Baptist, a relic which the grand master subjected to careful authentication.<sup>9</sup> When Aubusson died in 1503 and was laid out in the church of St. John, there were on one side the vestments of a cardinal, on the other the hacked and battered armor he had worn in the defense of Rhodes. Devout, honorable, learned, and pitiless, harsh to himself as to others, he was already almost an anachronism, a throwback to the original crusaders.

The works carried out by Aubusson under Orsini were concerned mainly with the strengthening of the walls so as to withstand artillery fire and to provide gun emplacements for their own cannon. It was now that many of the detached towers were linked to the curtain and their lower chambers filled up with solid masonry. Resistance had become more important than flexibility of movement between semi-independent units. Much of Orsini's work was concentrated on

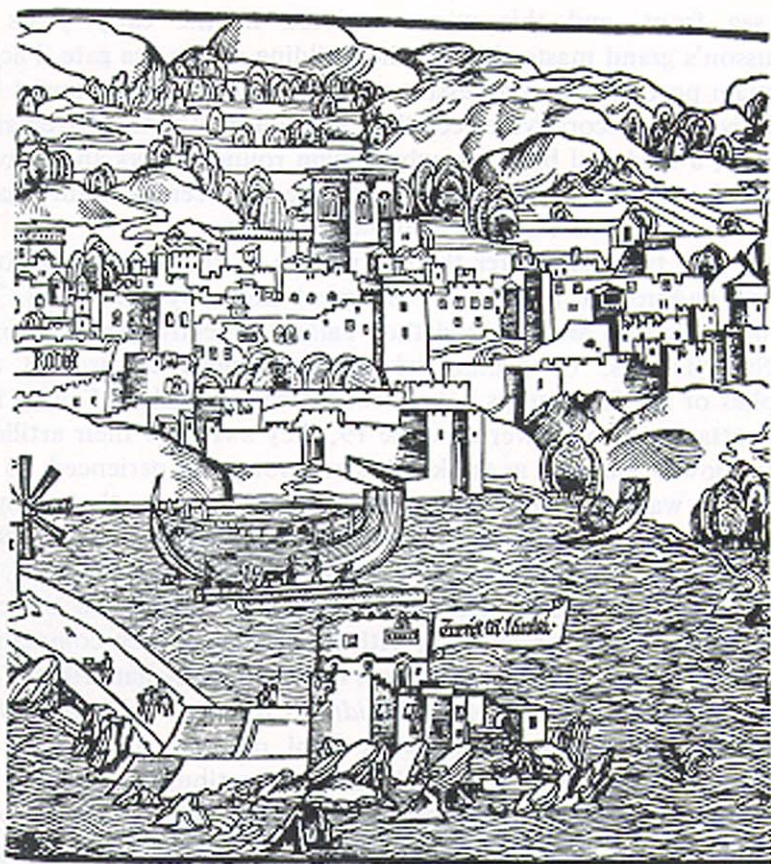
9. When, on the dispersal of the knights from Malta, the emperor Paul I of Russia became grand master, this relic and the icon of Our Lady of Philerepos were taken to Russia. They were last heard of in the royal palace at Belgrade before the second world war: H. Scicluna, *The Church of St. John in Valetta: Its History, Architecture and Monuments, with a Brief History of the Order of St. John from its Inception to the Present Day* (Malta, 1955), p. 134.

the sea front, and this was completed in the early years of Aubusson's grand mastership by the building of the Sea gate. Facing the main port, it is an impressive erection, where more thought has been given to decorative effect than is usual in Rhodes. It remains, however, a medieval building, whose twin round towers and heavily machicolated parapet strikingly recall the fourteenth-century gateway of Fort St. André at Villeneuve-lès-Avignon.

In 1480, two years after the completion of the Sea gate, Rhodes had to endure the first of its two great sieges by the Turks. The enemy landed on May 23, and their earliest objective was the tower of St. Nicholas, by gaining which they hoped to prevent any supplies or reinforcements being brought to the harbor. Failing in a great attack on the tower on June 19, they switched their artillery, whose power was such as the knights had not yet experienced, to the southwest walls. So hard-pressed here was the garrison, that many of the houses behind the tower of Italy were pulled down, and a second line of defense with a ditch and stakes was hastily improvised. On July 27 the Turks made their great assault and penetrated the city, but were eventually driven back with such loss that their commander Mesih Pasha raised the siege. William Caoursin, vice-chancellor of the order, wrote an account of it, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio*, and in one manuscript of the work (Bibl. nat., lat. 6067) there are three views of the town during the siege operations, which show the fortifications before the remodeling of them that was now to be undertaken. In Bernard of Breydenbach's account of his journey of 1483 there is another drawing of Rhodes, very carefully executed (by Erhard Reuwich), down to the damage in the tower of the church of St. John, hit during the siege (fig. 17).<sup>10</sup>

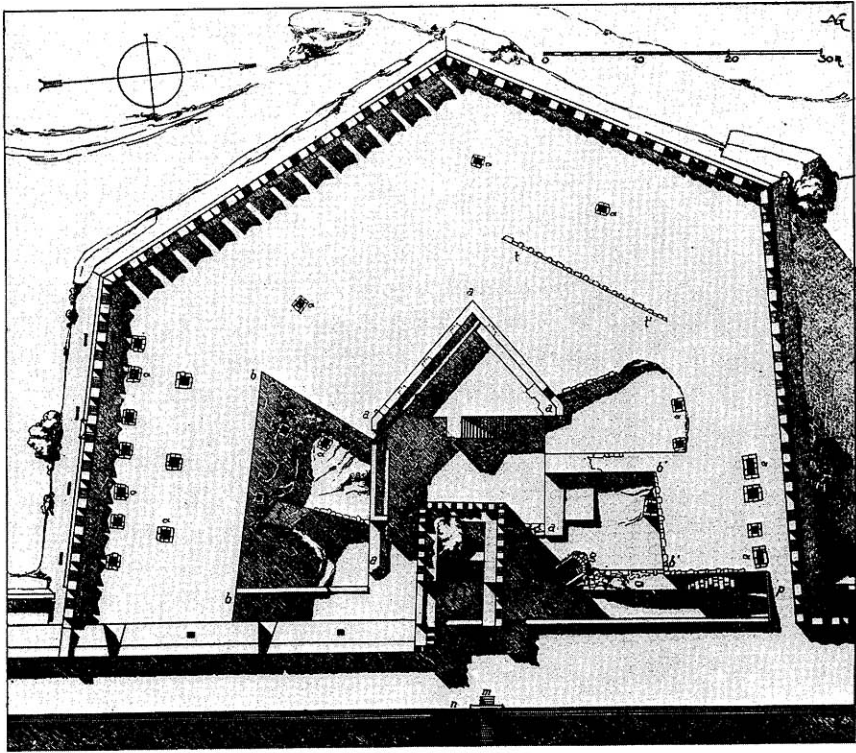
Much had been learned from this hard-pressed attack on the town. The field of defensive artillery fire now emerged as the dominant consideration, and Aubusson sought to extend it by a series of projecting boulevards well in advance of the older fortifications. The earliest, still hesitant and unprogressive in form, was probably the rectangular wall with three tiers of gunports, linked to the *fausse-braie*, between the Koskinou gate and the tower of Italy on the southeastern stretch of the walls. Beyond it an earlier round tower is enclosed by a rectangular wall, with gunports but no solid emplacement (pl. LXIVb). These rapidly planned expedients, where the Turkish attack had been most damaging, were followed by four

10. Caoursin's *Descriptio* was printed with others of his works at Ulm in 1496 as *Obsidionis Rhodie urbis descriptio* . . . For Breydenbach see H. W. Davies, comp., *Bernhard von Breydenbach and his Journey to the Holy Land, 1483-4: A Bibliography* (London, 1911).



17. City of Rhodes. Erhard Reuwich, 1486

large polygonal boulevards, those of Spain, England, the Koskinou gate (enclosing Zacosta's earlier scheme), and Auvergne. In these the covered space of the boulevard was separated by a ditch from the tower it protected. Inside the covered part of the boulevard were vaulted casemates, connected by passages, but much of the area was solid masonry. The outer walls were immensely thick and in the later examples the walls are battered. After his election to the cardinalate in 1489 Aubusson placed the cardinal's hat above his arms, most usefully for the dating of his constructions. The boulevard of Auvergne (1496) belongs to this later period. It is the largest of all these boulevards and its four sides form an obtuse angle, a spur, flatter but similar in scheme to the smaller spur which it encloses and which, resembling as it does that of the Koskinou gate, was probably the work of Zacosta, though the tower of St. George behind it bears the arms of Fluvian. This boulevard passed through the *fausse-braie* to gain the curtain, and the tower gateway was blocked up (fig. 18). First and foremost the boulevard of Auvergne is a large gun



18. Sketch diagram of the Boulevard of Auvergne, Rhodes. After A. Gabriel

emplacement, controlling the western approaches to the town. In it the Rhodian boulevard is most fully developed, and there is for it no clear European prototype. The Turkish threat and Aubusson's invention begot this new stage in the art of fortification. Aubusson's other works were numerous. The tower of St. Nicholas was strengthened with a form of boulevard. Along the southwest of the walls he more than doubled the width of the ditch, building down the middle solid earthworks, revetted in carefully cut stone, using the escarpment of the first ditch as the inner wall; on the outer side was a parapet so that these earthworks could be manned (fig. 15). It is these works that today give such an appearance of solidity to Rhodes's defenses, while at the same time masking the view of the original curtain and detracting from its sense of height.

Aubusson's successors continued his work. Emery of Amboise (1503-1512) is particularly associated with the Amboise gate, at the northwest corner of the town, an entry, guarded by squat, rounded towers, into a broad earthwork dividing the ditch, and providing the main access to the palace area. Fabrizio del Carretto (1513-1521) was continuously active in building, particularly in improving the



gunports by widening the splays, but his most important boulevard, that of Italy, though fine in detail, is round in form and springs only from the *fausse-braie*. It has none of the implications for the future that lie in the boulevard of Auvergne. Philip Villiers de l'Isle Adam, his successor, had only a year of rule before in the summer of 1522 the final siege began.

These problems were not restricted to the town of Rhodes. On the island the knights held seventeen castles, of which today that at Lindos, pitched high on the rock above the town in the ruins of the old acropolis, is the most complete. Orsini seems to have taken a particular interest in these outposts, for he largely rebuilt Pheraclos and repaired Archangelos, whose ruins still overlook the road to Lindos.<sup>11</sup> Of the castle built by Héliion of Villeneuve in the village named after him on the pleasant slopes of Mt. Paradisi there were considerable remains when Flandin sketched it about 1850, and it appears to have been a handsome Gothic building, more residence than fortress; parts of its walls are still standing. At Monolithos C. T. Newton saw some frescoes which he thought western, and the arms of Aubusson above a chimney-piece.<sup>12</sup> The smaller islands—Alimnia, Chalce, Simi, Telos, Nisyros, Calymnos, Leros, Lipsos, Carpathos, and Castellorizzo—all had their fortresses, built generally on rocky hilltops, based on Hellenic foundations, but all occupied and rebuilt by the knights and showing in most cases traces of the same indefatigable and continuous program that is illustrated by the walls of Rhodes.

Farther afield, under Philibert of Naillac, the order erected the castle of Bodrum on the coast of Asia Minor, the site of the ancient Halicarnassus. In 1344 Smyrna had been recaptured by the crusade launched by pope Clement VI. Its garrisoning had been entrusted to the Hospitallers, and for sixty years its defense was a heavy charge upon them. The arms of Heredia and of the admiral of Rhodes, Dominic de Alamania, are still to be seen inserted in the prison wall and almost certainly come from the castle of St. Peter, built by the knights and, though much altered, not finally pulled down until 1872.<sup>13</sup> Smyrna fell to Timur (Tamerlane) in 1402, and Naillac, anxious to retain some hold on the mainland, occupied Bodrum and began the construction of a castle there, another St. Peter (Bodrum, meaning a vault or dungeon, is a corruption of Petrounion), which

11. Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, pp. 171-190.

12. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, I, 199.

13. F. W. Hasluck, "Heraldry of the Rhodian Knights Formerly in Smyrna Castle," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVII (1911), 145-150.

remained in the hands of the order till 1523.<sup>14</sup> This building operation, begun under a German knight, Hesso Schlegelholtz, has a special interest, for the materials were drawn from the mausoleum of Halicarnassus, which the knights found a ruin, recently overthrown by an earthquake, and which they proceeded to use as a quarry. No sacred associations hallowed the spot, though a tradition grew up that Bodrum was the Tarshish where the three Magi left their ships, and some sarcophagi were in the fifteenth century shown as their tombs. Such ingenious identifications were not sufficient to invest the ruins with any saving sanctity. The sculptures belonged to a pagan cult and were best ground down for mortar. Some lions carved in the round pleased the knights, and these were incorporated in the castle beneath armorial slabs; some reliefs, fragments of a frieze, a battle of the Amazons, were inserted in the walls; an imperial statue, a late work of little quality, was placed in a niche on the water tower.

When in 1522, in a last effort to strengthen the castle, a French knight, de la Tourette, and some others found the main tomb chamber, "a fine large square apartment, ornamented all round with columns of marble, with their bases, capitals, architrave, frieze and cornice engraved and sculptured in half relief," they for a while "entertained their fancy with the singularity of the sculpture and then destroyed it." The tomb itself they did not enter that day, and when they returned the next day it had already been broken into and plundered. De la Tourette survived the siege to tell his story to the French antiquary d'Alechamps, who in turn told it to Claude Guichard, who gives it in his *Funerailles et diverses manieres d'ensevelir des romains, grecs et autres nations*, published at Lyons in 1581.<sup>15</sup> The garrison of St. Peter in 1522 were desperate men, and

14. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers à Rhodes*, pp. 284-291; C. T. Newton and R. P. Pullan, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (2 vols. and atlas, London, 1862-1863), particularly vol. II, appendix I, "Description of the Castle of St. Peter at Budrum" (pp. 645-666, and plates XXXII-XXXVIII of the atlas); Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*; K. Herquet, *Juan Fernandez de Heredia, Grossmeister des Johanniterordens, 1377-1396* (Mülhausen, 1878), pp. 100-115; A. Maiuri, "I Castelli dei cavalieri di Rodi a Cos e a Budrúm (Alicarnasso)," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene . . .*, IV-V (1921-1922, publ. 1924), 275-343; L. A. Maggiorotti, *Architetti e architettura militari*, I (*L'Opera del genio italiano all'estero*; [ser. 4.] *Gli architetti militari*; Rome, 1933), 79-101; A. Maiuri, "Il Castello di S. Pietro nel Golfo d'Alicarnasso," *Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna*, [n.s.], VIII [=XXI] (1921), 85-92; F. W. Hasluck, "Datcha-Stadia-Halikarnassos," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, XVIII (1912), 211-216; Müller-Wiener, *Castles of the Crusaders*, pp. 91-92. For the identification with Tarshish cf. *The Itineraries of William Wey, Fellow of Eton College: To Jerusalem, A.D. 1458 and A.D. 1462, and to Saint James of Compostella, A.D. 1456* (London, 1857), p. 94.

15. Claude Guichard, *Funerailles & diverses manieres d'ensevelir des romains, grecs, & autres nations, tant anciennes que modernes* (Lyons, 1581), pp. 379-381.

even in Rhodes they thought little of antiquities. "They lie about despised, abused, unvalued, exposed to wind and rain, to snow and tempest, which wretchedly consume and waste them, so that pity for their cruel lot moved me as if it had been my father's unburied corpse: I made a sonnet on them and hung it on a statue's neck." So wrote the young Fra Sabba of Castiglione, come in 1505 to join the order, and the lady to whom he wrote was Isabella d'Este, queen of all collectors. He secured for her, amongst other works, a marine monster lasciviously embracing a nymph "lately found among the ruins of Halicarnassus," and he hoped to visit that site to see a new tomb opened in 1507, but when the greater find of 1522 was made, in those grim last days, the young "idolator," as the Spanish knights called him, was safely back in Italy.<sup>16</sup>

Bodrum was a base from which the Turkish fleet could be watched, and with the Hospitaller castle on the nearby island of Cos it provided a secure port for the knights' vessels. Much damaged by the French bombardment in 1916, the castle was partially repaired by the Italians in 1919. It was also carefully planned and described. Built largely of the greenish stone of the mausoleum on a promontory which the knights converted into an island by a large ditch, it remains one of the most impressive of medieval fortifications. Isolated though it was, the Hospitallers brought to it all their resources in decorative work as well as in military skill. More than two hundred carved shields of arms have been noted on its walls; in addition to the antique reliefs and lions, there were some figure panels (St. George, above Lastic's shield; the Virgin and three saints) of the usual Rhodian style; and, even in the anxious years 1519 and 1520, the façade of the small chapel within its walls was redecorated with some well-cut ornament of the late Gothic style, mixed with the Renaissance detail that Aubusson had introduced during his grand mastership. The earliest work was a central keep, based on Greek and Selchūkid foundations, with two large rectangular towers connected by a vaulted hall, the larger having a corbeled corner turret; on the curtain wall, facing the mainland, was a round tower, standing within the angle of the wall, and a semicircular tower, joined to the curtain; on the south corner a square tower, on which are many arms of the English language, controlled attack from the sea. This stage of the building, as dated by the arms upon it, was completed by 1431. The outer enceinte on the land side was constructed mainly under Lastic and his successor Milly, that is between 1437 and 1461.

16. A. Luzio, "Lettere inedite di Fra Sabba da Castiglione," *Archivo storico lombardo*, ser. 2, III (1886), 91-112.

Building at Bodrum was continuous: there was a period of particular energy in the 1490's under Aubusson, who had in the Spaniard de Boxolis an energetic captain of the castle, probably serving a third term of office in the post. Then at the end under Fabrizio del Carretto, with Thomas Sheffield and de Hambroeck as captains, a last desperate effort was made to set up outer boulevards with gun emplacements such as had been introduced at Rhodes. Del Carretto's two boulevards, here and at the citadel of Cos, are examples of the final development of the order's fortifications, the climax of a story that at Bodrum can be traced through all its stages (pl. LXVb). Nowhere is the story of the order, its international nature, its zeal and energy, more clearly visible. And here and there inscriptions on the walls give more intimate and moving testimony: "Cum Christo vigilemus et in pace requiescamus," "Nisi dominus custodiret . . .," and the harassed, defiant, ungrammatical inscription of captain James of Gâtineau, still in place between two ancient lions, "Propter catholicam fidem tenetur locum istum F. Iac. Gâtineau Cap. 1513." These carved inscriptions are an old Hospitaller custom, and those at Bodrum are successors to the warning against pride cut on the walls of Krak des Chevaliers.

Begun somewhat later, in the mid-fifteenth century, the castle of Cos, on a smaller scale but a considerable and well-preserved building, shows a similar development. It is a quadrilateral with a double enceinte, the outer dating from Aubusson and Amboise and including a great artillery bastion which is a twin to that at Bodrum.<sup>17</sup> The town walls are earlier, dating from the grand mastership of Heredia. To the knights this was the island of Lango, with its capital Narangia, and it always ranked as the most important of their island holdings. Apart from the main castle of Narangia, there were also castles at Pili, on a high rocky summit, and at Andimachia; the latter has Aubusson's crest above the main entrance, which is protected by a round bastion, not unlike that built by Fabrizio del Carretto at Rhodes: the latter's arms appear on the wall.

Rhodes, however, was the heart of the whole enterprise. The palace of the grand master seems to have been completed in its earliest form under Héliion of Villeneuve, but like so many of the island's buildings was enlarged and modified under Aubusson and del Carretto.<sup>18</sup> A rectangular fortress, the entrance protected by semi-

17. Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevali delle tredici Sporadi," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene . . .*, II (1916), 28-46.

18. P. Lojaco, "Il Palazzo del Gran Maestro in Rodi: Studio storico-architettonico," *Clara Rhodos*, VIII (1936), 289-365.

circular machicolated towers similar to those of the Sea gate, with rectangular towers at other points on the walls, it must have presented a massive and impressive appearance. The great hall was the scene of the chief councils and decisive events of the history of the order. Aubusson ordered tapestries from Flanders and other furnishings for it, and under him its original severity must have given way to a more elaborate decoration. Today, completely rebuilt, externally with much scholarly care, internally with a display of Fascist splendor, it has ironically become a monument to the Italian occupation rather than a memorial of its original builders.

The church of the order was that of St. John, within the citadel.<sup>19</sup> The disastrous explosion of 1856, in which many lives were lost, may have been caused by some forgotten store of powder in its vaults. Nothing now remains, but earlier drawings and descriptions and some excavations carried out in 1934 make it possible to reconstruct the plan with some certainty. It was composed of a nave and two aisles, divided by columns, the nave roofed with a wooden barrel vault strengthened by cross beams, the aisles with sloping roofs also of wood. The crossing and transepts, which had no projection but which opened on the north into the sacristy, on the south into a chapel, were covered with stone ribbed vaults; the main apse was square, projecting some way from the eastern wall; a detached rectangular campanile, the watch-tower of the knights, stood to the southwest of the church. The main building may have been fourteenth-century work carried out under Syrian and Italian influences. Its general scheme was certainly not one local to the island. It was, however, constantly altered and embellished. Aubusson, under whom it was much enriched with relics and other gifts, built himself a funeral chapel. The church was the burial place of the grand masters, and their tombs and memorials were a marked feature of the interior. The campanile, damaged in the siege of 1480, was restored by Aubusson and Amboise, and some of the later work in the church may well have been reparation of similar damage; Breydenbach's drawing shows a large gap in the parapet.

The cathedral church of St. Mary was also within the citadel. The building, long the Kantousi mosque and recently restored, is a strange compromise between two types of architecture. On the plan

19. P. Lojaco, "La Chiesa conventuale di S. Giovanni dei Cavalieri in Rodi: Studio storico-architettonico," *Clara Rhodos*, VIII (1936), 245-288; Rottiers, *Monumens de Rhodes*, pls. XL and XLII. The Italian reconstruction of this church on a different site as the new cathedral is based on Rottiers's drawings but cannot be considered altogether successful. The eastern end has been much altered since it passed into the hands of the Orthodox church.

of an inscribed cross, which should naturally be centered in a cupola, it has in fact a continuous rib vaulting covering the nave. In Rottiers' day the tracery of the windows and even some of the glass could still be seen, and his drawings of the former show them to be fifteenth-century work. The early church was probably a Byzantine building, taken over by the knights, and the Gothic roof an attempt to westernize it in its second century of Catholic use.<sup>20</sup>

Near the cathedral, in the square from which the Street of the Knights led westward to the palace, was the hospital, a witness to the early aims of the order and still a central part of its activity. Mentions of it occur as early as 1311. A group of buildings near the auberge of Auvergne, bearing the arms of the master Roger de Pins (1355-1365), may be the original edifice, but the hospital as it has survived to the present day was begun in 1440 and completed by Aubusson in 1489.<sup>21</sup> Inscriptions, some of them found during the Italian work of restoration, date the stages of the building with some precision, and record the foundation bequest by Fluvian of 10,000 florins. Built on vaulted storehouses around an open courtyard, the great ward (160 feet by 38) was roofed with wooden beams and divided by a row of octagonal pillars, and in the center of the eastern wall there was a five-sided apse, which formed the chapel for the daily mass and which projected as an architectural feature over the doorway of the eastern façade. The decoration is an elaborately stylized foliage, less exuberant than that of Cyprus and with a certain Renaissance regularity in its design. Everywhere, as usual, are the arms of the grand masters under whom the work was carried out.

Within the citadel the various *langues* or nations had their *auberges* or hostels. Their façades still line the main thoroughfare, and much of their carved detail remains (pl. LXVa). From the arms and inscriptions it is clear that here too extensive work was done in the closing years of the fifteenth century and early years of the sixteenth. This may have been partly due to damage in the siege of 1481, but it is a singular testimony to the vitality and determination of the order. The auberge of Provence was enlarged in 1511 through the generosity of Charles Aleman de la Rochechenard, prior of St. Gilles, a great benefactor of the order. The auberge of Spain, the largest of the *langues*, was built under Fluvian, but increased and

20. F. Fasolo, "La Chiesa di S. Maria del Castello di Rodi," *L'Architettura a Malta dalla preistoria all' ottocento: Atti del XV Congresso di storia dell' architettura, Malta, 11-16 settembre, 1967* (Rome, 1970), pp. 275-300. [J. F.]

21. G. Gerola, "Il Restauro dello spedale dei Cavalieri a Rodi," *L'Arte*, XVII (1914), 333-360; A. Maiuri, "L'Ospedale dei Cavalieri a Rodi," *Bollettini d'arte del Ministro della pubblica istruzione*, [n.s.,] I (1921), 211-226.

remodeled under Amboise. That of France, restored in 1921-1922 but much damaged in the second world war, was begun in 1492. The tradition of the auberges, as seen at Rhodes, was perpetuated in Malta, where in the early buildings at Birgu the houses of the knights in many details recall the buildings from which the order had been driven.<sup>22</sup> Fortunately, amidst the devastation of a siege severer than any Rhodes ever knew, these early auberges escaped with only minor damage.

In the town of Rhodes, as opposed to the citadel, there have been more changes and freer adaptation of buildings. Of its many churches few remain, and it is not always possible to identify the fragments that in places survive incorporated in later constructions. The three apses of St. Mary du Bourg (to accept the most likely identification) still stand with a broad road passing between them and the remains of the west end.<sup>23</sup> Even less can be traced of St. Mary of the Victory, built by Aubusson to celebrate the defeat of the Turks in the siege of 1480. The curious church transformed into the 'Abdul-Jelil mosque, now roofless as a result of bombardment, has two aisles, ending in apses, and some carved consoles similar to those in the hospital. It may be a Latin church of the early fifteenth century. Better preserved is the charming building known as the Kurmali madrasah, a small domed church, Byzantine in plan but with details that suggest that it was built in the time of the knights. Possibly it may be the Greek church of St. Mark, which was ceded in 1457 to the Franciscans. Wiser than the Lusignans in Cyprus, the grand masters acted as arbitrators between the Latin and Greek metropolitans. Rhodes in fact played something of a mediatory part in the Council of Florence in 1439. There were ecclesiastical disputes, but they were kept within bounds.<sup>24</sup> The Orthodox churches all have domes over the crossing and are cruciform in design, but in some the cross pattern is inscribed in a normal form of nave and two aisles, in others free-standing (nave and transepts). The Demirli mosque was hit by a bomb in 1944; the central apse still stands, with some fragments of fresco, a well-painted hand, and patches of ecclesiastical vestments. The Dolapli mosque, a free-standing cross, is fortunately intact. It is undoubtedly a work of the fifteenth century.

Of civil buildings, the finest, now a municipal library, may have

22. James Quentin Hughes, *The Building of Malta during the Period of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, 1530-1795* (London, 1956).

23. H. Balducci, *La Chiesa di S. Maria del Borgo in Rodi, fondata dal gran maestro Héliion de Villeneuve, la cattedrale di Rodi, la chiesa di Santa Caterina della Lingua d'Italia* (Pavia, 1933).

24. C. Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times* (Cambridge, 1887), pp. 70-74.

been the Bailliage du Commerce: it still has considerable decorative work, including an elaborate pinnacled relief with the arms of Amboise and a doorway framed in marble; on the lintel an angel holds shields with the arms of Amboise and the cross of the order, skillful work that suggests Italian workmanship. A similar Renaissance style is found in the reused marble carvings of a doorway in the Suleiman mosque, a nineteenth-century reconstruction. Many of the houses retain windows and doorways of medieval design; a border of twisted rope pattern recurs constantly, with stylized foliage and sometimes animals worked in flat relief. Nowhere in the capital of the island, however, does this kind of domestic façade reach the luxuriance of some of the late medieval houses in the little town of Lindos. It is a type of ornament which has already been noted in the niche shrines of Geraki and is curiously compounded of motifs from many parts. In Lindos it reached its climax and remained in vogue till modern times.<sup>25</sup>

As with building, so with carving. It is under Aubusson that a new range of ornamental detail appears, naturalistic foliage carved with some competence, figures modeled with some feeling for roundness of form, and throughout a freer undercutting of the detail. Particularly are these changes to be seen in his great armorial slabs, and it is largely to its heraldry that Rhodes owes its particular character. A hundred and fifty shields of grand masters survive, apart from those of other knights on the façades of the auberges. Cut in white or bluish marble, they stand out magnificently from the rougher masonry of the walls. It was under Fluvian, the Catalan, in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, that elaborate surrounds were added to the simple shield, but his St. George and the Dragon, framed in the rope molding which here makes its first Rhodian appearance, is a crude work, flat relief without modeling, clearly by some local hand. A carved fragment in the museum shows, with finer handling, a combat between a mounted knight and a lion, possibly a legend of the master Dieudonné of Gozon (1346-1353), rather than that of St. George, though both combatants defeated a dragon, rather than a lion-like beast.

As in Cyprus, there survive in Rhodes—or in museums elsewhere to which they have been taken—a number of tomb slabs.<sup>26</sup> As late as

25. See above, p. 225, and M. Montesanto, *La Città sacra (Lindo)* (Collezione di opere e di monografie a cura del Ministro delle colonie, no. 12; Rome, 1930).

26. E. Rossi, "Memorie dei cavalieri di Rodi a Constantinopoli," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene* . . . , VIII-IX (1925-1926, publ. 1929), 331-340; G. Jacopi, "Monumenti di scultura del Museo archeologico di Rodi, II," in *Clara Rhodos*, V-2 (1932), 41-43.



1826 Rottiers saw and drew in the church of St. John the tomb of Fabrizio del Carretto (the fine armorial relief in the museum at Istanbul, an eagle holding the Carretto arms, may well come from it), and found various other fragments. The normal design was a sarcophagus, generally antique in origin, covered with a flat slab on which there was an inscription or an effigy engraved or shown in low relief. The sarcophagus of Peter of Corneillan (d. 1355), now in the Rhodes Museum, served until the Italian occupation as a drinking trough; the cover is in the Musée de Cluny. Slightly earlier is a fragment in the Rhodes Museum of the tomb slab of Bernard, bishop of Lango (Cos); this is engraved on the stone. A slab in the museum of Istanbul, for a burgher, William Beccario, who died in 1374, is hollowed out into a low relief, much worn and probably always crude work. In the last days of the knights the reverse of this tomb slab was used to cut the arms of Castile and Aragon, supported by an eagle, for the façade of the auberge of Spain, the boldest and most lively of all the Rhodian armorial carvings. The script of Beccario's inscription is Gothic black-letter, as it is also on the tombstone, found in the Suleiman mosque in 1931, of Peter de la Pymoraye, a Breton knight who died in 1402. Here the technique is similar, the figure hollowed out in flat relief, but the work is somewhat abler. The wording and lettering of the inscription recall those on the tomb slab of another Breton knight, Oliver Bouchier (d. 1387), in the church of the Incoronata at Naples, but the Neapolitan example is more fully modeled and the forms more rounded.<sup>27</sup> The average work in Rhodes remains provincial, though a tomb slab at Istanbul and one of a grand master (possibly Fluvian or Lastic) in Rhodes are reasonably skillfully carved in a technique of higher relief. On the whole the most successful Rhodian memorials are those carved with wreaths and armorial bearings and lettered in Renaissance script, such as that of Nicholas of Montmirel (d. February 20, 1511), inscribed above "Domine in te confido" and below in English "As God will."

The knights found in Rhodes an established tradition of Byzantine wall painting. The frescoes of the rock chapels of Mt. Paradisi,<sup>28</sup> probably twelfth-century work, may be taken as an example of this school. This tradition undoubtedly endured, but, as in Cyprus, certain western elements modified the work under the Hospitallers. Unfortunately we know it only in much-damaged

27. S. F. Bridges, "A Breton Adventurer in Naples," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XIX (1951), 154-159.

28. C. Brandi, "La Capella rupestre del Monte Paradiso," *Memorie dell' Istituto storico-archeologico di Rodi*, III (1938-1946), 1-18, pls. I-XXII.

fragments or in copies of works now perished, rapidly deteriorating, or recently restored. From time to time new evidence emerges from under Turkish whitewash, and scattered throughout the chapels and churches of the smaller islands there are remains of paintings, some of which suggest western influence. No sufficient photographic corpus has yet been made for any comparative work to be possible. Rottiers in the early nineteenth century saw traces in the grand master's palace of scenes from the history of the order, and describes in a building, used as a Turkish house, a fresco of Dieudonné of Gozon killing the dragon, which he had copied in a version that appears merely as a fantasy of the romantic movement. His copies of the frescoes in the sunk tomb chapel at Our Lady of Philereimos are again so crude as to give merely the subject and little indication as to style.<sup>29</sup> Some far closer copies were made by Auguste Salzmann between 1860 and 1870, but by that time the frescoes had largely perished. They represented biblical scenes in the upper row while below a row of knights and ladies knelt beside their protecting saints; skeletons were shown also overshadowing some of the figures. In feeling such an arrangement is purely western. Salzmann's copies and the vague traces of original work that still remain show that in execution they were flat and crude, but the direction of the scheme must have been in western hands. The armor suggests a fourteenth-century date. Belabre drew and reproduced some frescoes in a chapel on the walls, where the outer enceinte, beyond the Sea gate, joins the inner wall; these frescoes included a large mounted St. George, very similar to versions in relief of the same subject, one of which is at Rhodes, another at Bodrum; but Belabre's drawing can hardly be regarded as reliable, and the chapel was damaged in the second world war. Its doorway bore the arms of Peter of Culan, who was lieutenant-general under Heredia from 1382 to 1395.<sup>30</sup>

There are no illuminated manuscripts which can with certainty be assigned to Rhodes as place of origin. There is however an important missal, now preserved in London in the grand priory at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell. By its arms it can be identified with the missal which Bosio in his chronicle tells us was made for the grand prior of St. Gilles, Charles Aleman de la Rochechenard, and presented to the

29. Rottiers, *Monumens de Rhodes*, pp. 151 and 239, pls. XXVIII and LXI-LXVII; G. Schlumberger, "Fresques du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle d'un caveau funéraire de l'église de Notre-Dame de Philérémos (ou Philérme) à Rhodes," *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et mémoires*, XIX (Paris, 1911), 211-216, pls. XXI and XXII. The frescoes were much restored by the Italians.

30. Belabre, *Rhodes of the Knights*, pp. 91-92, frontispiece, figs. 74, 75, 76; Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes*, I, 67; Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevale delle tredici Sporadi," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica de Atene . . .*, I (1914), 211.

chapel of the knights in 1504.<sup>31</sup> Its decorations are contemporary work of a lavish nature, armorial bearings intermixed with naturalistic flowers and winged dragons; the scenes, set in landscapes where island castles recall Rhodes itself, are stylistically near the French schools of the time, nearest perhaps to those of Lyons and central France. They are framed in Renaissance arches and pilasters. The seven choral books presented by Villiers de l'Isle Adam to the church in Rhodes still survive in Malta, with the chants as used by the knights, and here too the decoration seems Flemish or northern French.<sup>32</sup>

Of the other arts, little remains of all the luxury of equipment which amazed pilgrims and visitors in the church of St. John or the palace of the grand master. The treasure of St. John taken to Malta was pillaged by Napoleon or carried to the court of Paul I of Russia, where little is known of it since the revolution of 1917. One fine piece of wood-carving survives, the doors of the hospital which were presented to the Prince de Joinville in 1836 and are now in the Musée de Versailles. They are dated 1512 and therefore belong to the last period of Hospitaller art in the island. Twenty-four Gothic panels are surmounted by the arms of Amboise and Villiers de l'Isle Adam and framed in spiral columns. It is a splendid piece of curvilinear decoration, and has all the flat richness of surface that characterizes this Franco-Levantine art. Fragments of similar work, which formed the chapel screen at Bodrum, existed there built into the Moslem pulpit, until the chapel was turned into a museum. On Patmos, the most sacred spot of the knights' territory but one that was entirely controlled by Greek monks, the convent of St. John possesses a rich treasure of manuscripts, plate, and woven fabrics, but it is all Byzantine work and owes nothing to western influence. The monastic buildings, surrounded by their twelfth-century walls and in their present form mainly seventeenth-century work, seem to have been little altered during the period of the knights.<sup>33</sup>

31. G. Bosio, *Dell' Istoria della sacra religione et illma militia di San Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, I (Rome, 1594), 497. Two pages of the missal are reproduced in the *St. John's Gate Picture Book*, published in 1947 by the Grand Priory in the British Realm of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

32. Scicluna, *The Church of St. John in Valetta*, p. 185. Music seems to have been cultivated in Rhodes: we hear of an Englishman skilled in an instrument composed of four flutes joined together (Bouhours, *Histoire de Pierre d'Aubusson*, p. 175).

33. Gerola, "I Monumenti medioevale delle tredici Sporadi: Le isole dei monaci di 'Patmos'," *Annuario della R. Scuola archeologica di Atene . . .*, II (1916), 84-99; G. Jacopi, "Le Miniature dei Codici di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII (1932), 571-591 (161 pls.), and "Cimeli del Ricamo, della pittura e della toreutica nel Tesoro del Monastero di Patmo," *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII (1932), 707-716 (123 pls.).