

## Alexandra S. Stefanidou (1968–2006)



*Editor's note: It was with great sadness that we learned of the death of Dr Stefanidou while her paper was being prepared for publication. She and the editor had made the few changes deemed necessary to her remarkable study and all that remained was for her to read it one more time and give permission to print it. Unfortunately, she was not able to do this so the editor did her best to ensure that there were no typographical errors in it. Our formatter, Maria Sakellaridis, put the finishing touches to it, and we both hope that the presentation of Dr Stefanidou's paper is worthy of the meticulous and fascinating contents.*

*Dr Stefanidou had a doctorate from the University of Vienna and had published in German, Greek and English-language periodicals. From 1995 to 2002 she was employed by the Greek Government as an archaeologist, and since 2001 had been an Assistant Professor in the Pedagogical Department of Primary Education and the Department of Medieval Studies at the University of the Aegean, teaching in the areas of Byzantine architecture and art, and museum studies. She had a special interest and competence in the fortifications built by the Venetians and the Knights of St John, as is evident from her masterly paper published here.*

*Dr Stefanidou was not known to us personally as she had been unable to attend the conference, but we were expecting her to be present at the next one, and we were all looking forward to meeting someone who, to judge from her work and her friendly manner in the emails we exchanged, was an intellectual in the best European tradition, and a very pleasant person.*

*We regret her passing.*

# Αλεξάνδρα Σ. Στεφανίδου

## Βιογραφικό

Γεννήθηκε στις 5 Μαΐου 1968 στη Ρόδο, όπου ολοκλήρωσε τις εγκύκλιες σπουδές της. Πραγματοποίησε πανεπιστημιακές σπουδές (πτυχίο Τμήματος Ιστορίας και Αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών και διδακτορικό από το Πανεπιστήμιο της Βιέννης, το 1994, με επόπτες καθηγητές τους επιφανείς βυζαντινολόγους J. Koder και H. Buschhausen). Την δεκαετία 1997–2006 (που συμπίπτει με την πρόωρα διακοπή της συγγραφικής της σταδιοδρομίας) πραγματοποίησε σειρά αξιόλογων δημοσιεύσεων (στα ελληνικά, γερμανικά και αγγλικά) στην Ελλάδα και στο εξωτερικό (μεταξύ άλλων σε διάφορα πρακτικά συνεδρίων και στα περιοδικά *Δελτίον Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας*, *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, *Δελτίον Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος*, *Εώα και Εσπέρια*, *Καρπαθιακά* και *Βυζαντινός Δόμος*). Τα ερευνητικά της ενδιαφέροντα επικεντρώνονταν στη μνημειακή τοπογραφία, στη σχέση κειμένου-εικόνας μέσα από τη βυζαντινή τέχνη, στην χορηγία στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη και στις ποικίλες αρχαιακές μαρτυρίες σχετικά με τη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη. Κύριοι όμως άξονες, θα λέγαμε, του ερευνητικού της έργου υπήρξαν η ιστορία του πολιτισμού και η μνημειακή παράδοση των νησιών του νοτίου Αιγαίου, με έμφαση στην Πάτμο, την πατρογονική της Ρόδο, την Σαντορίνη και την Κάρπαθο.

Το διάστημα 1995–2002 εργάστηκε ως αρχαιολόγος στη Β' Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων (Κυκλάδες), στη Β' Εφορεία Προϊστορικών και Κλασικών Αρχαιοτήτων (ανατολική Αττική), στο Ταμείο Αρχαιολογικών Πόρων (ΤΑΠΑ, Αθήνα), στο Αρχείο Μνημείων και Δημοσιευμάτων και στην Δ' Εφορεία Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων Δωδεκανήσων (Ρόδος). Από το 2001 δίδαξε ως συμβασιούχος στα Τμήματα Παιδαγωγικό Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης και Μεσογειακών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου σειρά μαθημάτων Βυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας (Αρχιτεκτονικής-Τέχνης), Ιστορίας Τέχνης και Μουσειακής Αγωγής για τις παιδικές ηλικίες. Το 2004 εξελέγη επίκουρη καθηγήτρια στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, με γνωστικό αντικείμενο "Πολιτιστικό περιβάλλον και παιδαγωγική χρήση εικόνας και μνημείου". Στο πλαίσιο της θεματικής των νέων ακαδημαϊκών καθηκόντων της πραγματοποίησε τον Οκτώβριο του 2005 μια ανακοίνωση με τίτλο "Το Βυζάντιο, το παιδικό βιβλίο και οι εικονογράφοι του χθες και του σήμερα", στο πλαίσιο του Συνεδρίου "*Το σχολείο στην κοινωνία της πληροφορίας και της πολυπολιτισμικότητας*" (συνδιοργάνωση Παιδαγωγικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος και Σχολής Ανθρωπιστικών Επιστημών Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου) (έκδοση τόμου Πρακτικών με επιμέλεια Δ. Χατζηδήμου-Χρυσής Βιτσιλάκη, Θεσσαλονίκη, Αφοί Κυριακίδη, 2006, σελ. 489–498). Το κείμενο αυτό αποτελεί το κύκνειο συγγραφικό της άσμα.

Το 2004 υπήρξε πολύ σημαντική χρονιά για την Αλεξάνδρα, αφού εκτός από την εκλογή της σε θέση πανεπιστημιακής καθηγήτριας, στα 36 της χρόνια, εξέδωσε αφενός τη σημαντική της διδακτορική διατριβή για τους μαικήνες της

μονής του Θεολόγου της Πάτμου κατά την υστεροβυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή εποχή (*Maezene der Theologos-Klosters auf Patmos. Darstellung ihrer Lebensweise und ihrer wirtschaftlichen Lage nebst einer Beschreibung ihrer Kirchen in spaet- und nachbyzantinischer Zeit*, Ρόδος, 2004, 360 σελίδες με εικονογράφιση) και αφετέρου τη μονογραφία της περί μεσαιωνικής Ρόδου όπως απεικονιζόταν σε ένα σημαντικό μεταγενέστερο χειρόγραφο ενός καλλιεργημένου Σουηδού γιατρού του δέκατου ένατου αιώνα (*Η μεσαιωνική Ρόδος με βάση το χειρόγραφο και την εικονογράφιση του Johannes Hedenborg, 1854*, Θεσσαλονίκη, εκδοτικός οίκος Αντ. Σταμούλη, 2004, 131 σελίδες με χάρτες και εικονογράφιση). Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι το τελευταίο αυτό βιβλίο αναφέρεται ανάμεσα στα βασικά βοηθήματα σε ειδική ενότητα περί Αιγαίου στο πρόσφατα μεταφρασμένο στα ελληνικά εγχειρίδιο του επιφανούς βυζαντινολόγου Johannes Koder (*Το Βυζάντιο ως χώρος*, Θεσσαλονίκη, Βάνιας, 2005, σελ. 245), ενώ και άλλοι γνωστοί μελετητές έχουν παραπέμψει σε δημοσιεύματά της (Κωνσταντίνος Μανάφης, Κωνσταντίνος Μηνάς, Αγαμέμνων Τσελίκας, Anthony Luttrell κ.ά.).

Από τα υπόλοιπα νησιολογικά (κυρίως δωδεκανησιολογικά) δημοσιεύματά της ξεχωρίζουν τα λήμματά της περί ιπποτικών κάστρων και οχυρώσεων των Δωδεκανήσων στο πλαίσιο συλλογικού έργου του προγράμματος Archimed (*Ενετοί και Ιωαννίτες ιππότες. Δίκτυα οχυρωματικής αρχιτεκτονικής*, Αθήνα, έκδοση Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού — Διεύθυνσης Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Μνημείων, 2001, σελίδες 184–253). Αναφέρουμε ακόμα τις μελέτες της “Η θάλασσα χωρίζει και ενώνει: σμίγει τους ανθρώπους, σμίγει και τις στεριές — Εμπόριο και πειρατεία στο χώρο του Αιγαίου κατά τους μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους” (*Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Δημερίδας για τα 50 χρόνια της ενσωμάτωσης της Δωδεκανήσου*, Ρόδος, 1997, σελ. 231–247), “Η οικογένεια των Συρίγων-Βασάλων της Σαντορίνης τον 16ο και 17ο αι.” (*Δελτίο Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρείας Ελλάδος* 11, 2001, σελ. 227–261), “Τα γενεαλογικά δέντρα του Αρχείου της Καθολικής Επισκοπής της Σαντορίνης” (*Εώα και Εσπέρια* 5, 2001–2003, σελ. 9–17), “Ιστορικά στοιχεία για τη μεταβυζαντινή Κάρπαθο” (σε συνεργασία με την αρχαιολόγο Ελένη Παπαβασιλείου, *Καρπαθιακά* 1, 2003, σελ. 205–217), “Φωταγωγία και λυχνοκαΐα της μονής Θεολόγου της Πάτμου κατά τους βυζαντινούς και μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους” (*Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 13, 2002–2003, σελ. 143–160), “Η ζωή στη Ρόδο την εποχή των ιπποτών” (*Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 14, 2004–2005, σελ. 33–48), καθώς και η εμπεριστατωμένη της βιβλιοκρισία για το ογκώδες σύγγραμμα (γερμανικά, Μύνστερ, 2001) του Juergen Sarnowsky περί εξουσίας και διοίκησης του Τάγματος των Ιωαννιτών κατά την περίοδο 1421–1523 (*Βυζ. Δόμος* 14, σελ. 231–243).

Το πιο πρόσφατο βυζαντινολογικό δημοσίευμα της γερμανομαθούς Αλεξάνδρας κυκλοφόρησε στη Βιέννη, στον τόμο των Πρακτικών ειδικού Συμποσίου για τα 40 χρόνια παρουσίας του φημισμένου Ινστιτούτου Βυζαντινολογίας και Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου της Βιέννης, με θέμα τους μεταβυζαντινούς ζωγράφους των Δωδεκανήσων (“*Nachbyzantinische Maler auf den Dodekanes-Inseln*”, *Wiener Byzantinistik und Neograezistik*, επιμ. Έκδοσης W. Hoerandner-J.

Koder-Maria Stassinopoulou, έκδοση Ακαδημίας Επιστημών Βιέννης, 2004, σελ. 445–463, με 9 πίνακες). Παράλληλα, από τα πρόσφατα καλογραμμένα εκλαϊκευτικά της άρθρα σημειώνουμε: “Στα ίχνη των οχυρώσεων των Ιωαννιτών ιπποτών στη Ρόδο” (*Panzer* τεύχ. 7, Μάρτιος–Απρίλιος 2003, σελ. 60–69) και “Πάτμος, κιβωτός του βυζαντινού και μεταβυζαντινού πολιτισμού” (*Corpus* τεύχ. 62, Ιούλιος 2004, σελ. 56–65).

Ανταποκρινόταν πάντοτε ευχαρίστως σε οποιαδήποτε επιστημονική συνεργασία, όπως λ.χ. στην πρότασή μας δημοσίευσης άρθρου όπου θα εξηγούσε τις έννοιες των όρων “μωσαϊκό” και “ψηφιδωτό” (“Οι έννοιες μωσαϊκό και ψηφιδωτό στη βυζαντινή τέχνη”, *Βυζ.Δόμος* 14, σελ. 49–52), αλλά και βιβλιοκρισίας για το σημαντικό έργο του καθηγητή Χαράλαμπου Μπούρα (Αθήνα, 2001) περί βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής αρχιτεκτονικής στην Ελλάδα (*Βυζ.Δόμος* 13, σελ. 212–215).

# The Cannon of the Medieval City of Rhodes, based on the Manuscript and Illustrations of Johannes Hedenborg (1854)

*Alexandra Stefanidou*

Johannes Hedenborg (1800–1870), a doctor and historian, after extensive travel in Europe, Asia and Africa chose to settle on the island of Rhodes. He tirelessly collected material for a five-volume work in German entitled *History of the Island of Rhodes, from antiquity until today, with a historical review of the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Franks and Turks who ruled the island, with a collection of many inscriptions and illustrations especially of medieval monuments (1854)*. In the fifth volume of the work of Hedenborg we can find the illustrations of cannon which were in use during the period of the Knights of St John, in certain positions in the walls of the medieval city of Rhodes. Through the combination of the manuscript and these illustrations we can learn about their positions and what they looked like.

Johannes Hedenborg (1800–1870), professor of medicine, surgeon, historian, Knight of many Orders and member of many academies and societies, chose, after his travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, to spend the rest of his life in Rhodes. He was continuously collecting specific material, which he used in his five-volume work entitled *History of the Island of Rhodes, from antiquity until today, with a historical review of the Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Franks and Turks who ruled the island, with a collection of many inscriptions and illustrations especially of medieval monuments*. This work, dated 1854, was written in German and Johannes Hedenborg intended to publish it in Germany. However, another traveller, Victor Guerin, in the second edition of his book, published in Paris in 1880, mentions that Hedenborg had meanwhile died, without publishing his work. As a result, the manuscript is today in the library of the Historical and Archaeological Institute of Rhodes (Stefanidou, 2004:40).

In 1309–1310, when the Knights Hospitaller (or Knights of St John of Jerusalem) took Rhodes, they found a strongly fortified city, which was significantly

smaller than that which they surrendered to the Ottomans in 1522. Enlargement of the settlement and its fortifications began in the first half of the fourteenth century and was completed in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. The extension of the fortifications gained momentum from the time of Grand Master Anton Fluvian (1421–1437) and continued during the mastership of Pedro Ramon Zacosta (1461–1467). The decree issued by Pedro Ramon Zacosta in 1465, dividing the defences among the eight “Tongues” of the Knights Hospitaller, confirms that the enceinte had by then acquired its final form: the one which we see today (Kollias, 1997:568). The term *tongue* (lingua) expressed the modern concept of nation or nationality (Kollias, 1988:32).

By this period, a revolutionary new weapon, the cannon, had made its appearance. It had been invented in the middle years of the fourteenth century but was improved gradually and really made its influence felt a century later, in the 1450s. This terrible new weapon was tested successfully, wreaking veritable havoc, during the siege of Constantinople by Mehmet II in 1453; he used it again in the siege of Rhodes in 1480.

On 1 January 1523, Rhodes and most of the islands in the Dodecanese passed into Ottoman hands. After six months of bloody opposition, the Knights Hospitaller were forced to surrender their island state to the Ottoman Sultan Suleiman II the Magnificent (1520–1566). The Knights departed, along with an estimated three or four thousand local Greeks and Franks (Stefanidou, 2004:38–39).

Johannes Hedenborg gives the following picture of the ruined medieval town of Rhodes:

The streets of the medieval town are filthy with huge heaps of rubbish. The past and the present mingle in such a way that they remind one of a tale from *One Thousand and One Nights*. The grey Middle Ages are depicted by the imposing ruins, next to which stand the poor huts of the Turks (Stefanidou, 2004:14).

Plates 33 to 38 in volume V of Johannes Hedenborg’s work include representations of cannon. The illustrations are followed by the author’s notes, which refer to the specific parts of the medieval town in which these weapons were found. In Plate 33 four fragments of the cannon are depicted, three of which were located in the Saint Nicholas fort, while the fourth was found near the wall of the Tongue of Germany. In his usual way, Hedenborg refers to the illustrations in the relevant pages of his five-volume *opus*, providing further information. Thus, he specifies the place in which he had found the fragments of the cannon numbered 1 and 2, and confirms that until 1880 they remained on the ramparts of the Saint Nicholas fort. One of them bore the escutcheon of Grand Master Fabrizio del Caretto (1513–1521) and the name Manoli Lambadis, while on the other was a representation of St Mark, the patron of Venice, and the name Albergetti. In another part of the text, Hedenborg repeats that a cannon in the Saint Nicholas fort, cannon 2 of Plate 33

(Hedenborg, vol. 3, 1854:40–42), bears the escutcheon of Fabrizio del Carretto, another testimony of his construction activities. This escutcheon is divided into four parts, 1 and 4 the escutcheon of the Order of the Knights of St John, and 2 and 3 that of Grand Master Fabrizio del Carretto (Kasdagli, 1998:226, F. 42β). According to Hedenborg, the wide-ranging activities of the said Grand Master included the expenditure of 40,000 taler and the recruitment of 550 knights. He had also disposed of another 23,000 taler on fortifications. The cannon came from Lyon in France; a wealthy merchant named Laurensin arranged for the construction and casting of the complex metal weapon in that city, and sent a knight named Philippe de l'Isle Adam, who subsequently became Grand Master (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 2, 498–99). The fragment of cannon 3 is decorated with fleur de lis, a crown and a hedgehog, and was found during the second siege of Rhodes by the Ottomans, in the Saint Nicholas fort (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 42). Hedenborg mentions vaguely that the fragment of cannon 4 in Plate 33 was decorated with the escutcheon and the name of a Grand Master, some years before it lay on the wall of the Tongue of Germany (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 155–56). Elsewhere he refers to the same cannon fragment at the first gun emplacement on the parapet of the wall, near a gate, which was still there in 1848. This very big cannon, bearing the escutcheon of Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1503) and around its rim the inscription *F. Petrus d'A(u)busson M. Hospitalis 1er*, was removed in 1849 and placed on the wall, as the Pasha wanted to improve the fortifications (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 113–14). Plate 34 shows two fragments of cannon and a whole one. Hedenborg mentions that there are clear remnants of the cannon in two different positions next to the ramparts of the Tongue of England and the Tongue of Spain. He also mentions that on the wall of the embankment, opposite the moat, there was a big metal cannon of 1507, on which was engraved in Gothic script the inscription *fait à Lyon* (made in Lyon). This is identified with cannon 1 of Plate 34; there is an escutcheon around the rim and it is also decorated with lions and fleur de lis (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 115). However, the picture shows two escutcheons, one of which bears the cross of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller. In this plate there is also a handwritten note: *Exhibited today in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 521. It is 3 m long and 23 cm in diameter*. Number 1 in Plate 34 is dated 1507, is engraved in Gothic script with the inscription: *fait à Lyon* (made in Lyon), and bears the escutcheon of the Tongue of Burgundy. According to Hedenborg, this cannon, as well as numbers 1, 2, 3 of Plate 36, were taken as booty and sold to the Saracens in Alexandria, a fact also mentioned by Vertot (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 115). Cannon 2 of Plate 34 was found on the bastion or the wall of the Tongue of Provence, as is marked in the same plate, while cannon 3 was found on the wall of the Tongue of Italy. With regard to cannon 2 of Plate 34, Hedenborg writes that on the wall of the Tongue of Provence there was a metal cannon dated 1515 and carrying the inscription: *MARCIDI COMITI BUS F.*, which was said to be part of Grand Master Emery

d'Amboise's efforts to prepare for a possible attack on Rhodes by the Egyptians (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 112). One fragment of cannon 3 of Plate 34 was located in the defensive position of the Tongue of Auvergne and another part, decorated with beautiful fleur de lis, was found in the defensive position of the Tongue of Italy. A handwritten note on the plate records that it is in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 55, and is 3.15 m long and 7 cm in calibre.

Plate 35 comprises three fragments of cannon (1, 2, 3) which were all found in the Saint Nicholas fort (or Saint Elme, as it was called during the Ottoman Occupation). The fort was indeed full of cannon, among them number 2 of Plate 35, which was very old and had escutcheons of Duke Sigmont Lezz, on one of which was a barely legible Gothic inscription written in German and the date 1400. On cannon 3 of Plate 35 the escutcheon of the Vethers family is represented, as well as St John holding a flag and the same saint with some deformed women's heads, undoubtedly symbols of war, which was in progress at that time (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 40–42). These two cannon fragments were certainly in the Saint Nicholas fort during the second siege of Rhodes and remained there after the capitulation (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 40–42).

Depicted in Plate 36 are three fragments of cannon and an escutcheon, which are numbered 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively. The cannon fragments were located on the wall or the bastion of the Tongue of Italy, while the escutcheon was found at the rampart of Italy, as suggested by the plate. There is a handwritten note on both cannon 1 and 2. The first note records its length, 3.76 m, the diameter of its calibre, 14 cm, that it was a weapon of the Grand Master de l' Isle Adam and that it is in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 57. Hedenborg mentions in his text that parts of the same cannon were found in a defensive position of the Tongue of Auvergne and of the Tongue of Italy, but without precise indications. He writes that the cannon with the escutcheons of Grand Masters de l'Isle Adam and de Lastic, and fleur de lis, were found on the ramparts of Auvergne and Italy (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 156). Cannon fragment 3 features French fleur de lis, possibly because it was among those weapons bought with money that the Knights received for selling plunder to the Saracens in Alexandria (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 124). Hedenborg writes that this particular cannon was among those cast in France, during the mastership of Emery d'Amboise (1503–1512), with money the Knights obtained by selling loot they seized from three big Saracen ships. This cannon was one of those cast in bronze in Lyon, in 1507, and still stood on the wall of Rhodes in 1856 (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 112).

Grand Master Jean Bonpart de Lastic's attention was focused on the wall of the Tongue of Italy. There Hedenborg saw cannon 2 of Plate 36, with the lion of Venice above the escutcheon (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 102). However, his identification of the escutcheon, which comprises a red band on a gold ground, with that of Grand Master de Lastic is erroneous, as it belongs to Grand Master Anton Fluvian



(1421–1437) (Kasdagli, 1998:222, F. 16a). Cannon 3 of Plate 36 was also located in the Saint Nicholas fort and was decorated with fleur de lis, a crown and a hedgehog (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 40–42). It is said to be in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 53, is 4.05 m long and 17 cm in diameter. It is believed that on it were represented symbols of the King of France, Louis XVI.

Plate 37 illustrates two escutcheons, a lion and three fragments of cannon, numbered 4, 5 and 6. Hedenborg suggests that the first three representations, above which there is reference to the Tower of the Angels, are the escutcheons of Jean Bonpart de Lastic (1437–1454) and Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1503), as well as the lion of Venice (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 102). However, the identification is erroneous, as escutcheon 2 is divided into four parts, 1 and 4 of which belong to the Order of St John, and 2 and 3 to Grand Master Emery d'Amboise, while escutcheon 1 is of the King of France, 1400 (Kasdagli, 1998:232, F. 87a). All three were located on the rampart of the Saint Nicholas fort. In a handwritten note concerning cannon 4, Hedenborg says that it bears the escutcheon of Grand Master Emery d'Amboise (1503–1512) and the year 1507, along with the engraved Gothic inscription: *fait à Lyon* (made in Lyon) (Kasdagli, 1998:229, F. 62c). Cannon 3 of Plate 35 and 3 of Plate 36 were found in the same place (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 40–42).

More cannon bearing the escutcheon of Emery d'Amboise (1503–1512) were found on the wall of the Tongues of Auvergne and Italy. In the Saint Nicholas fort there were cannon bearing different escutcheons. The escutcheon of cannon 5 of Plate 37 depicts a crown with fleur de lis, among which is a fire-breathing dragon with the inscription: *Natrisco et exstingo*.

The handwritten note accompanying cannon 5 of the same plate states that the decoration was paid for by Francis I, King of France, that the weapon is in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 61, and is 21.8 cm in diameter. Cannon 6 of the same plate shows the escutcheon of Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1503). Hedenborg classifies it as one of the two cannon of large diameter; one stood on the wall of the Tongue of Italy and the other in the Saint Nicholas fort (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 155–56).

The last plate, 38, comprises four fragments of cannon and a monogram. The cannon are numbered 1, 2, 3 and 5. According to Hedenborg's manuscript, 3 and 5 were emplaced on the walls of the Tongue of Germany. Even in 1848 there were various iron and metal cannon whose escutcheons and inscriptions suggest that they were donated to the Order by German leaders. After the Ottoman Occupation everything changed fast. Johannes Hedenborg believed that without intervention, few of these weapons would be in the same place after some years (Hedenborg, 1854: vol. 3, 113–14).

Cannon 1 of Plate 38 features the escutcheon of Grand Master Emery d'Amboise combined with that of the Order of St John. Specifically, the former is shown on

parts 2 and 3, and the latter on parts 1 and 4 (Kasdagli, 1998:229, F. 62c). A handwritten note states that it concerns another similar cannon from the fortifications, with the inscriptions: *fait à Lyon, 1507*, in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 52. Cannon 2 of Plate 38 has three escutcheons, one of which is of the Order of the Knights Hospitaller and includes the distinctive cross, and the other is that of Grand Master E. d'Amboise; the third comprises parallel zones (Kasdagli, 1998:229, F. 62c; 214, F 1 and 5). For cannon 2 of the same plate there is another note, which states that it stood in the Saint Nicholas fort, is 2.60 m long and 22 cm in diameter, and is in the Museum of Artillery in Paris, number 50.

Summing up, we can classify the cannon described by Johannes Hedenborg in the following categories: those bearing the escutcheons of the Grand Masters; those bearing the escutcheons of Fabrizio del Carretto and of Pierre d'Aubusson, of Emery d'Amboise, of Anton Fluvian; those bearing the escutcheons of the Order of the Knights of St John, the Tongue of France and the Tongue of Burgundy; those bearing the escutcheons of families, such as the Vethers family; and those bearing unidentified escutcheons. Among these, some bear decoration of fleur de lis and flowers and hedgehogs or the lion of Venice. A certain number of them bear the inscription: *fait à Lyon* (made in Lyon). The places where they were located are the Saint Nicholas fort, the walls of the Tongues of Germany, England, Spain, Provence, Italy and Auvergne.

The year 1480 is generally considered the date of the first siege of Rhodes by the Ottomans, whose forces were led by the Grand Vizier and Admiral Messih Pasha Palaiologos. The key to the defence of the city's two harbours was the Saint Nicholas fort, which was built in 1466–1467 at the edge of the mole and extended approximately five hundred metres to the north and outside the main fortification (Kollias, 1991:48). The Turkish attack strategy in the siege of 1522 was different from that of 1480. It was then turned against the land fortifications, while from the sea only the harbours were blockaded. In the 1522 siege, the Turkish artillery began to bombard with heavy fire the positions of Spain, England and Provence. A serious assault on the position of the Tongue of England turned into a massacre of the Turks. The first general attack was unleashed against the defensive positions of the Tongues of Spain, England, Provence and Italy (Kollias, 1991:55–59).

What has become of all those cannon on the walls of Rhodes? Excavations in the medieval town have brought to light evidence of foundries from the time of the Knights. It is certain that at least in the years of Grand Master Fabrizio del Carretto (1513–1521) there was a foundry under state control, which could even manufacture cannon. A large copper pot and one cannon bear the relief escutcheon of F. del Carretto and the name of the metal craftsman: Manoli Lampadis, which is similar to cannon 2 of Plate 33. The cannon is exhibited in the gallery devoted to Defence and Administration, in the exhibition "Rhodes from

the 4th century AD until its occupation by the Turks (1522)”, in the Palace of the Grand Master. It is decorated with relief escutcheons of F. del Carretto and of an unknown knight, the relief face of the Virgin Mary of the *pietà* type and the relief inscription with the craftsman’s name: GEORGIOS LAMPADIS DE RHODES (Kollias, 2004:30–31).

According to Johannes Hedenborg’s illustrations of cannon and his supplementary notes, many cannon were transferred to the Museum of Artillery in Paris. The next step in my research is to try and locate the cannon fragments in this Museum.

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