

THE LOMBARDS AND VENETIANS IN EUBOIA.

(1205—1303.)

§ 1. *Introductory.* The history of Eubœia during its occupation by the Latins is, according to Mr. Freeman, 'the most perplexed part of the perplexed Greek history of the time.'¹ If we turn for information on the subject to Finlay, our one English authority on the period, we find no attempt at a consecutive account of it, merely some allusions; the history of Negroponte is a missing chapter in Finlay, which the present paper is an attempt to supply. It is also hoped that it will help to clear up some of the perplexities which beset the subject.

Before Hopf the history of this island was almost a blank. Historical investigations concerning the Franks in Romania may be divided into three periods, represented by Ducange in the seventeenth century, Buchon 1825—1846, and Hopf 1850—1870. Buchon's publication of the *Βιβλίον τῆς κωνγκέστας*² (with which Ducange indeed had become acquainted, but not until his *Histoire de Constantinople sous les Empereurs français* had been published), his discovery of the *Livre de la Conquête* in Brussels, the new documents, treaties and diplomas, which he brought to light, opened a new era and stimulated a fresh study of the 'perplexed' history. Nothing was required now but German diligence and exhaustiveness to ransack archives and fill up the gaps, and German accuracy to correct the slips made by that *französische Nonchalance* of which Hopf says even Buchon was occasionally (*stellenweise*) guilty.

¹ *Historical Geography*, p. 423.

² A good account of the Greek chronicle and its language will be found in Mr. H. F. Tozer's interesting

article 'The Franks in the Peloponnese,' *Hellenic Journal*, iv., p. 165, sqq.

Nec mora longa fuit. The first and only volume of the last work of Buchon was published in 1846; and the third period may be dated from the *Sitzung* of the Vienna Academy on the second of October 1850, at which two Bavarian professors, Tafel and Thomas, were present. Tafel read a paper on the MSS. relating to Venice in the Imperial Archives on which he and his colleague were engaged; and Thomas read the Greek text and a translation of the remarkable treaty of Michael Palaiologos with Venice in 1265. Just three years later a paper read before the same assembly (October 19, 1853) made it quite evident that a new mine of sources for mediæval Greek history had been opened, namely Karl Hopf's *Urkundliche Mittheilungen über die Geschichte von Karystos auf Euböa, 1205-1470*.¹ The *Geschichte der Insel Andros* which followed in 1855, and the *Veneto-byzantinische Analekten* in 1859 justified natural expectations and proved the competence of the explorer. The *Liber Albus*, the *Acta Pactorum*, *Libri Misti* and *Libri Commemoriales* were searched and gave up their dead—the forgotten lords especially of the Aegean islands. Who knew anything of the *Cornari of Skarpanto* or the *Navigajosi of Lemnos* until Hopf unearthed their history? Hopf followed up his successes and ransacked many libraries in Southern Europe, in Palermo for example and Malta; the voluminous *Registri Angiovinini* at Naples yielded a copious supply of new facts. In 1867 the *Griechische Geschichte* appeared, and it was a greater advance on Buchon than Buchon had been on Ducange. The lost history of the Greek islands was recovered; the existence of the Teutonic order and power of the Navarrese company in Achaia were new facts. To comprehend the amount of progress that Hopf made, it is only necessary to compare the paragraphs devoted to Negroponte in *Recherches et Matériaux* with the Essay on *Karystos*; and again if we compare the Essay on *Karystos* with the corresponding portions of the *Griechische Geschichte* we shall see how much Hopf's later is superior to his earlier work in mere knowledge of facts.

This paper relies mainly on Hopf whose history is so detailed and complete that it may almost be used as if it were an original source.

¹ In 1856 an Italian translation by G. B. Sardagna appeared, with additions and changes by the author. I have not been able to procure a copy.

I divide the history of Eubœia from 1205–1470 into three periods:

I. 1205–1262; the Lombards are paramount in Eubœia and the overlordship of the Prince of Achaia is undisputed.

II. 1262–1385; Venetian influence grows and is finally paramount: the overlordship of Prince of Achaia is merely nominal.

III. 1385–1470; undisputed domination of Venice.

These periods are further subdivided.

I.

(1205–1262.)

§ 2. *Partition of the Eastern Empire.* In the anticipatory partition of 1204 Eubœia was included in the three-eighths of the empire which fell to the share of Venice. It will be remembered that by that act three-eighths were assigned to the Crusaders, three-eighths to Venice and one-fourth to the emperor whoever should be elected. But after the capture of Constantinople and the election of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, certain circumstances interfered and prevented the actual partition of the empire which ensued from resembling the paper partition which had been designed beforehand. One circumstance was the peculiar position of Bonifacio, Marquis of Montferrat, the unsuccessful candidate for the imperial throne, who was too ambitious and too powerful to be treated as one of the rank and file of the crusaders. The other circumstance was the fact that Venice, not having an army available, did not take immediate steps to enter into possession of the territories which had been assigned to her. The situation was perplexed further by a Bulgarian war.

By the act of partition Boniface was assigned the Asiatic provinces of the empire. After Baldwin's election he proposed that in lieu of this he should receive Thessalonica and the surrounding territory with the title of king. It would not have been safe for Baldwin to refuse at this juncture, though he apprehended danger to his new empire in Boniface's proposal, which was soon confirmed by his disinclination to do homage

for the kingdom. It became evident that Boniface designed to organise a Lombard kingdom independent of the empire.

§ 3. *Compact of Adrianople.* The transaction which took place at Adrianople in August 1204,¹ between Boniface and the Republic of St. Mark gives a further clue to Boniface's wide-reaching designs. It was immediately determined by the firm and prompt action of Baldwin in insisting on an acknowledgement that the King of Thessalonica was vassal of the Emperor of Romania. By this compact Boniface ceded to Venice Crete and the sum of 100,000 hyperpers which Alexius III. had promised to him, also a fief in Europe conferred by Manuel Komnênos on his father; moreover Thessalonica and its pertinences *intus et foris*. In return he was to receive 1,000 silver marks, and as much land in the west, that is in Epeiros, as will yield an annual revenue of 10,000 gold hyperpers. He bound himself to defend Venetian possessions.

The fact that Boniface bargained for lands in the west of Greece shews that he designed to form a Lombard kingdom extending to the shores of the Adriatic, and as nearly as possible in communication with his Italian possessions. The fact that he placed his kingdom under Venetian supremacy shows that Baldwin's energy convinced him that he could not yet declare himself independent of the empire unless he, at least provisionally, formed a coalition with another power, and naturally with Venice. The Venetians who had fixed covetous eyes on Crete, the bridge to Syria and Egypt, were well satisfied with this *refutatio* as it is called by which they acquired a claim to the island.

It was arranged by Marco Sanudo and Ravano dalle Carceri of Verona;² and among the seven witnesses were two of whom we shall hear again, Dominus Pegorarius de Verona, and Dominus Gilbertus de Verona.

§ 4. *Occupation of Eubœia by Jaques d'Avesnes.* Early in the following year Boniface advanced into Greece at the head of the Crusaders to conquer the lands which had been assigned

¹ Buchon, *Recherches et Mat.* i. 10.

² 'Domino Marco Sanuto et domino Ravano de Verona recipientibus procuratorio nomine pro domino Henrico Dandulo' etc. Navagero (Muratori,

S. R. L. xxiii. 984) mentions that, 'Ser Marco Sanudo e Don Romano dalla Carcere Veronese' arranged the cession of Crete.

to them. Another part of his scheme now unfolds itself. He makes use of his position as commander of the Crusaders to invest them with fiefs and make them vassals of the kingdom of Thessalonica, whereas according to the treaty of partition they should have been immediate vassals of the emperor. It was becoming plainer and plainer that the kingdom of Thessalonica was an anomaly, judged by the original designs. It was not, however, until after Boniface's death that the empire and the kingdom collided on this head. The common enemies—the Bulgarians, the Greeks of Nikaia and the Greeks of Epeiros—prevented an earlier collision.

Having successfully overcome the opposition that was offered at Thermopylai by the Greeks under Leon Sguros, Boniface invested Otho de la Roche with Boiôtia and Attika, and Jaques d'Avesnes with the island of Euboia, called by the Italians Negroponte, by the French Nigrepont, by the Greeks *Ἐβριπος*.¹ D'Avesnes built and garrisoned a castle at Chalkis, also called Negroponte, and then hastened immediately to rejoin Boniface, who had advanced to besiege Corinth whither Leon Sguros had retreated.

With the island d'Avesnes does not appear to have troubled himself further; and in August 1205, reserving the lordship to himself, he allowed his overlord Boniface to divide it into three large fiefs and invest therewith three Lombard lords whose connection with the compact of Adrianople indicates perhaps that they may have been specially well-disposed to Bonifacio. Ravano dalle Carceri was invested with Southern Euboia,

¹ It is generally recognised that Negropont is a corruption of Evripos pronounced vulgarly Egripos. This seems quite proven by the form Aegripions (Aigrepont) which we also find used by the Latins, e.g. by Pope Innocent III. (Epist. xi. 256) *Episcopatum Aegripontis*. The initial *n* must be explained by a false separation (cf. the English words *newt*, *nickname*) in the expression *ἡ τῶν Ἐβριπων*, which became *sto Negripon* (cf. Ellissen, *Analekten*, ii. p. 19). The bridge at Chalkis was a remarkable feature which would impress a visitor: it was not unnatural then that the instinct of

Folksetymologie should form Negroponte. In Latin works of Italian chroniclers we also find *Pons Niger*, e.g. in the *Historia Gul. et Alb. Cortusiorum de Novitatis Paduae et Lombardiae*, Bk. x., c. 7 I noticed 'carcerantur in Ponte Nigro,' and just below 'Nigropontem intraverunt.' In Villehardouin's *Conquête* the island is called Nigre, and the town, Nigrepont. Nigre is curious. The French evidently interpreted Nigrepont, as they called Chalkis, 'the bridge of Nigre,' and supposed Nigre, which suggested no idea, to be the name of the island.

including Karystos and Larmena; Gilbertus de Verona who was related to Ravano received the central part of the island, and Pegoraro dei Pegorari the northern third.¹ These three lords were called the *terzieri* (*tierciers*) of Negroponte. Hopf calls them *Dreiherrn*, and we may call them triarchs.

Before 1209 Jaques d'Avesnes died without issue, and thereby the triarchs became independent except of the overlordship of the emperor which was disputed by the Count of Biandrate (Blandrate) on behalf of the heirs of Boniface, who died in 1207. In the meantime Pegoraro, the lord of North Euboa, had returned home, leaving his Third in the possession of either Ravano alone or Ravano and Gilberto conjointly. Shortly afterwards, apparently about the beginning of 1209, Gilberto died, and, although he had two sons Guglielmo and Alberto, Ravano became sole lord.

§ 5. *War of the Barons.* In the year 1207 Oberto, Count of Biandrate (li cuens des Blans-Dras), and the Constable Amadeo Buffa, acting in the name of Boniface's son, Guglielmo of Montferrat, refused the allegiance due from the King of Thessalonica to the Emperor Henry, Baldwin's brother and successor. All the Lombard Barons of Northern Greece, including Ravano of Euboa, supported the disloyalty of Biandrate. Otho de la Roche, megaskyr of Athens, upheld the lawful authority of the Emperor. Henry who possessed the energy and firmness of his brother Baldwin decided to march against the refractory barons and enforce their submission,—a necessary step, as the idea of a rival Lombard empire under William of Montferrat was in the air. Ravano possessed considerable importance among the Lombards; he was named as one of two delegates for a proposed committee of five who should decide the disputes with Henry.² When the Emperor is at Halmyros in Thessaly, Ravano appears in the gulf of Volo with a number of galleys, and has an interview with Conon de Béthune and Anseau de Cayeux with the object of a conciliation, which however was not effected.³ Henry adopted a conciliating policy, and most of the barons of Greece, including Geoffrey of the Morea, did homage to him at Ravennika (a place of mysterious topography) in May 1209.

¹ I have deduced this division from p. 368, ed. Natalis de Wailly (3rd ed.). the division of 1216.

³ Id. c. xxxiii. ; p. 404.

² *Henri de Valenciennes*, c. xx. ;

Ravano, however, was not disposed to submit and did not attend this diet. In March (1209) he had sent his brother Henry, Bishop of Mantua, as an envoy to Venice, to offer to the Republic the overlordship of Negroponte; and trusting in this he ventured to defy Henry. But the siege of the Kadmeia changed the aspect of the situation and induced Ravano and Alberto, lord of Bodonitza, who was also recalcitrant, to submit. Peace was made, and the Count of Biandrate who was a prisoner at Thessalonica was released. Vowing to avenge himself on the emperor he proceeded to Negroponte. Henry also repaired thither, and his visit may be related in the words of Henri de Valenciennes.¹

§ 6. *Ravano entertains the Emperor Henry.* ‘The Emperor went to the principal church in Athens to pray; this church is called Nostre Dame; and Othes de la Roche, who was lord thereof (to whom the marquis had given it) honoured him there as far as was in his power. There the Emperor sojourned two days and on the third set out towards Negrepoint. He passed the night in a village and rested there until the next day, when Banduins de Pas told him that the Count of Blans-Dras was at Negrepoint: “and know, sire, that I passed the night at Negrepoint and heard there that if you go he will seize you.” And when the Emperor heard it he was very sad thereat, and said that on account of this he would not fail to go.

‘He then called Ravans and the Constable who was with him, and Othon de la Roche and Ansel de Kaeu (Anseau de Cayeux), and told them that the Count had threatened to seize him, were he to go to Negrepoint. And Ravans bade him not to be afraid: “You know well,” said he, “that the city is mine, and I will take you thither with a safe conduct, my head upon it.” “I know not,” answered the Emperor, “what may or may not come of it, but I will go.” The next day he set forth in a galley, he and Ravans, to go to Negrepoint. But under whatsoever augury he may have entered the city, I trow he will feel great terror before he can leave it; for the treachery was all agreed upon and prepared.

‘The Emperor Henry entered Negrepoint with great joy, and the Greeks (li Grifon) of the town and the country received him gladly and came to meet him with a great sound of trumpets

¹ Id. c. xxxvi. ; p. 412.

and musical instruments, and conducted him to a church of Our Lady to pray. And when he had prayed as much as it pleased him he arose and left the church. The Count of Blans-Dras had already arranged how the Emperor was to be slain. They said he had come almost unattended, for he had with him only thirty knights. They agreed to seize him when at table or when sleeping in his bed; thus they might be avenged and not otherwise.

‘The Emperor remained in this manner amongst them for three days. News came to Thebes that he had been taken at Negrepoint. Then you might have seen his knights wonder-stricken and strangely incensed and disconcerted. And the news spread throughout all the land. The Emperor was three days at Negrepoint and no one said or did anything to displease him. And Ravans acted as if he knew all the plot and how it had been concerted. Then he went to the Count and said to him: “Count of Blans-Dras, what wouldest thou do? How in God’s name could thy heart resolve to commit such a disloyal act as to slay the Emperor, from the shame whereof thou couldest not in the end escape? And moreover thou knowest it for truth that he has come to Negrepoint upon my safe conduct; and I am his liegeman. How canst thou think then that I could permit him to be injured? Count of Blans-Dras, why should I say more to thee? So aid me God, I cannot permit it.”

‘What avails this? If Ravans had not been there, the Emperor could not have left Negrepoint without much trouble or without receiving bodily injury. The Emperor expressed a desire to return to Thebes to see his men, who as he had been told were in fear for him. He left Negrepoint and arrived at Thebes. And we need not ask if his men came to meet him and gave him a great reception as their liege lord. But for the present our tale is silent on this matter, and returns to Burile (Vorylas) who was preparing to enter the Emperor’s territory with a large force.’

§ 7. *Venetian settlement at Negroponte.* The appeal of Ravano to Venice in 1209 gave her an opportunity to place a hand, gently indeed at first, on this important island. The Republic might indeed have claimed it as having been assigned to it in the Treaty of Partition; but this claim was never urged, and

it was only gradually that the Venetian power became dominant in Eubœia. At first the Venetians took no measures to take possession of the large territories—the Peloponnêsos, Epeiros, Eubœia, and the islands in the Archipelago—to which the Partition conferred a claim. In the first place these countries had to be conquered, and Venice was not disposed to go to the necessary expenses; and in the second place her attention was engrossed with two tasks which she considered of paramount importance, the occupation of Kandia and the establishment of the authority of the new patriarch. One of the arrangements of the Partition was that the patriarchate should be held by a Venetian; the Venetians had said, ‘Imperium est vestrum, nos habebimus patriarchatum.’¹ Venice saw the importance of having the Church in her hands as far as possible, as a balance to the influence of Innocent III. and the Curia, with which she was generally not on very good terms. She had also been engaged in founding the short-lived colony of Korfù.

On receiving the embassy of Ravano, who offered to pay to the Republic 2,100 gold pieces annually, and grant it free quarters in Negroponte and any other towns of the island, the Doge despatched Pietro Arimondi to Eubœia to arrange matters with the baron; and the agreement was concluded in 1211. It is uncertain whether the post of Bailo (*μπαίλος*, *bajulus*) of Negroponte was instituted in this year or not until 1216 at the time of Ravano’s death.

It is important to note that this was the mode in which Venice set foot in Eubœia; for wrong conceptions were afterwards entertained, as was perhaps natural, seeing that the island *de jure* belonged to Venice if the Treaty of Partition were valid. Thus we read in the *Storia Veneziana* of Navagero that the city of Negroponte, which at the division of the empire had fallen to the share of the Signoria di Venezia, ‘fu da quella data in feudo a Don Roman dalle Carceri e fratelli e nipoti. I quali a propie spese l’andarono ad acquistare e la possederono co’ loro eredi sino a questo tempo (1255).’ It was from Boniface and not from Venice that the triarchs received Eubœia.

§ 8. *Ravano and the Church.* It was not merely the unpleasant relations subsisting between Henry and the kingdom of Thessalonica with which Ravano identified himself, that rendered

¹ Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ.* xvi. 12.

the protection of Venice desirable. Ravano had fallen foul of the most mighty potentate of the time, Pope Innocent III.,¹ and Venice was the power that would be most ready to countenance an anti-papal attitude. After the death of Jaques d'Avesnes, and perhaps before it, Ravano did not scruple to interfere with Church property, and the Templars who had settled in the island² lodged a complaint at Rome. Innocent wrote thus to the Bishop of Damala: 'Suam ad nos dilecti filii, fratres militiae Templi, querimoniam transmisere quod nobilis vir Ravanus, dominus insulae Nigropontis, quasdam possessiones a Jacobo, quondam domino de Avennis, pietatis intuitu concessas eisdem in animae suae dispendium detinere presumit' (15 October, 1210).

In another way also had Ravano sinned. He had a liaison with one Isabella, a married lady, and wedded her after her husband's death. Berard, Archbishop of Athens, under whose jurisdiction was included the bishopric of Negroponte, excommunicated him; in 1212 Innocent released him from the ban.³ Perhaps Berard would not have proceeded to this extremity had not Ravano opposed him in another matter. Theodoros was the Greek Bishop of Euboeia, and Cardinal Benedict, the Pope's legate, probably at the instance of Ravano allowed him to remain in office and (1208) the Pope confirmed this arrangement. But Berard deposed him for employing non-Latin ritual, yet did not succeed in effecting his removal.

Four bishoprics in Euboeia are mentioned as subject to the Archbishop of Athens—Negroponte, Karystos, Zorkon, and Avalona.⁴ There is difficulty as to the identification of the

¹ Ep. xi. 117 is a letter addressed 'Nobilibus viris dominis Nigripontis,' bidding them pay the tithes due to the Theban Ecclesia.

² The possessions of the Templars in Euboeia are detailed in Letter xiii. 146, which is addressed to them: 'domum Nigripontis cum his quae habet in Nigroponte et domum de Lageran et casale de Oizparis cum eorum pertinentiis ac alia quae tenentis in insula Nigripontis.' These grants were made by Ravano, Jaques d'Avesnes and Giberto (Gubertus).

³ Innocent's letter to Berard in which he removes the ban (*misericorditer dispensare*) is dated 27th May, 1212. The dispensation is on condition that no agreement had been made between Ravano and the lady during her husband's life-time, and that she had not been instrumental in contriving her husband's death. This condition makes the affair look somewhat suspicious.

⁴ Episcopatum . . . Abelonensem, Zorconesem, Caristiensem (Inn. Ep. xi. 256).

two last; that they are in Eubœia seems almost certain. Hopf suggests the identification of Zorkon with Oreos, but for this there is neither evidence nor probability. I propose to identify the name Zorkon with that of the modern village Zarka, a little to the north of Styra, and the ancient Zarex. Avalona, I would suggest, may have been in the neighbourhood of Avalonari, south of Kumi.

The diet of Ravennika in May, 1210 (to be distinguished from the assembly at the same place in May, 1209) was chiefly of ecclesiastical importance. Although Innocent confirmed it in December, the spirit of the emperor and the barons was by no means favourable to the papal pretensions. It was distinctly a settlement of differences between Church and State without consulting the Pope. Henry adopted the secular policy of which Frederick II. was the representative in the thirteenth century; and in his anti-papal attitude he found an ally in the Venetian Patriarch Morosini, who desired to render the Church in Romania independent of Rome. Morosini was a promoter of the diet of Ravennika, which established the payment of the akrostichon by the clergy to the secular powers and secured the principle of secularising Church property—a principle which the Venetians were already adopting in Crete.

Ravano signed the articles of Ravennika with the other barons.

§ 9. *Division of Eubœia on Ravano's death.* In 1216 Ravano dalle Carceri died, and the three parts of Eubœia which had been united under his lordship were again divided. The Venetian Bailo, Pietro Barbo, helped to arrange a new partition (November 17) among the claimants, who were six in number, three pairs: namely, (1) Isabella, Ravano's widow, and Berta his daughter, (2) Rizzardo and Marino, the sons of his brother Redondello dalle Carceri, whom he had adopted before his marriage, (3) Guglielmo and Alberto de Verona, his kinsmen, sons of Giberto de Verona, formerly triarch of Central Eubœia.

The southern Third was assigned to Isabella and Berta; the central Third to Guglielmo and Alberto, naturally succeeding to the Third which had been their father's; the northern Third, which had been Pegoraro's, to Marino who married Pegoraro's daughter Margherita, and his brother Rizzardo. The Thirds thus fell into Sixths, which however it was intended should be

rejoined ; for a peculiar arrangement was made, by which, if one of the two hexarchs (sestieri) died, the other hexarch, and not the deceased's heirs, was to succeed.

It seems that Ravano had a younger daughter, Felisa dalle Carceri. She afterwards married Otho de Cicon, who was invested, by her sister Berta presumably, with the barony of Karystos.

It is to be observed that in the growth of Venetian influence in Euboea the year 1216 marks a distinctly new stage. By the treaty of 1211 a sort of overlordship of the island nominally belonged to Venice, not colliding however with the relation of Ravano to the emperor. But it is not till 1216 that she practically interferes in its affairs. When the Venetian Bailo arranged matters between the Lombard claimants, a precedent of great practical consequence was formed, and the influence of the Bailo was enormously increased. This increase of influence was marked by the introduction of Venetian weights and measures, the extension of Venetian privileges, and endowment of the church of San Marco. In fact a Venetian station was instituted at Negroponte of the same kind as the settlement at Constantinople. A large influx of settlers from Venice probably took place about this time. In the year 1224 it was ordained that the Bailo's salary should be 450 gold hyperpers, out of which he was to maintain a notary, a servant and three horses ; besides this he was to receive as viaticum 100 pounds.

§ 10. *Relations of Euboea to Achaia.* Some obscurity hangs over the relations of the triarchs of Euboea to the principality of Achaia. According to the chronicle of Morea, Bonifacio of Montferrat invested Guillaume de Champlitte with the overlordship of Athens and Euripos.¹ This of course is fictitious. It is also very doubtful whether the story, contained in the same untrustworthy chronicle, that the Emperor Robert conferred the suzerainty of the Archipelago on Geoffrey II. at Larissa,² has any foundation ; the context is certainly legendary. In 1236, however, Geoffrey, who had come in person to Constantinople and aided Baldwin II. with a considerable sum, was invested by that

¹ ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ἔδωκε τρί ὀμάτζια
τοῦ Εὐρίπου . . .
οἱ δὲ τοῦ Εὐρίπου ὀποῦ λαλῶ, ἐκεῖνοι
τρεῖς ἀθέντες

ἐκ τὴν Βερόναν ἤσασιν ἀπὸ τὴν Λουμ-
παρδῖαν.'

² Buchon, *Chron. Etr.* p. 63.

emperor with the overlordship of the Archipelago (Duchy of Naxos), Euboa and the possessions of the Duke of Athens which lay south of the isthmus. By this investiture the triarchs were engaged to supply to the prince a galley or eight knights. Geoffrey himself received 2,150 muggi (modii) of land in the island. Euboa now stood in the same relation to the Prince of Achaia as it at first stood to the King of Thessalonica.

At the siege of Monembasia in 1247-8, the triarchs performed their duty as vassals of William of Achaia. The chronicle of Morea makes them take part also in the siege of Argos and Corinth, which it erroneously places in the time of William, whereas they were really exploits of Geoffrey II.

§ 11. *Gap in Euboian history from 1216-1255.* Of the internal history of Euboa during the time of Geoffrey II. of Achaia and the first ten years of the sovereignty of his successor William we know almost nothing; we have not even a record of the Baili of Negroponte. This is the more unfortunate, as afterwards, when our sources of information become fuller, we are met with certain difficulties which a more precise knowledge of the events of this period would solve.

In 1220 Rizzardo dalle Carceri, hexarch in northern Euboa, was dead. He had one daughter, Carintana, of whom we shall hear more, but, in accordance with the arrangement of 1216, his Sixth reverted to the surviving hexarch, and accordingly Marino became triarch of north Euboa.

The same thing soon afterwards happened in central Euboa. Alberto died and Guglielmo became sole lord.

Of southern Euboa we hear nothing. After 1216 Isabella and Berta are as the Germans say *verschollen*.

Four other events happened before 1255: (1) Marino died, and his son Narzotto succeeded him as triarch; (2) Carintana, niece of Marino and cousin of Narzotto, became possessed of either a Sixth or Third of Euboa; (3) Grapella, son of Alberto and nephew of Guglielmo da Verona, became a hexarch; (4) Carintana married William Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia.

In 1255 the lady Carintana died, and William laid claim in her name to the north of Euboa, calling himself a triarch. At this point a great difficulty as to the distribution of the Euboian fiefs begins to appear.

§ 12. *Problem as to distribution of Thirds and Sixths.* The difficulties and apparent inconsistencies which meet us are as follows:

(1) In 1216 Isabella and Berta possess the southern Third; after this we hear nothing of them.

(2) In 1255, when Villehardouin claimed the Barony of Oreos, according to Hopf (p. 277), 'Zogen...Guglielmo da Verona und dessen Schwiegersohn Narzotto dalle Carceri, welche damals die übrigen zwei Drittheile besaßen, alsbald ihren Antheil, die Baronie Oreos ein und beliehen damit den Grapella dalle Carceri, ihren Verwandten.' As Guglielmo was triarch of central Euboia, this implies that Narzotto was lord of southern Euboia. But as heir of his father Marino we expect to find him lord of northern Euboia. Here are two questions: how does Narzotto become lord of southern Euboia? and how did Carintana obtain northern Euboia?

That William's claims were based upon Carintana's actual possession of a part of Euboia and not merely upon the fact that her father Rizzardo had once been hexarch, is proved by the circumstance that she invested a Venetian, Michele Morosini, with territory in the island. It is extremely improbable that William would have engaged in a war with his vassals on this pretext. Hopf is here inconsistent. He says (p. 273) that the whole northern Third descended from Marino to Narzotto, and that William seemed even then—just after his accession—inclined 'die Ansprüche seiner Gemahlin gegenüber den andern Dreiherrn geltend zu machen'; and again (p. 274), 'trotzdem fiel es nun dem Fürsten ein, ihre (Carintana's) angeblichen Anrechte auf ein Drittel der Insel geltend zu machen.' From these passages it would appear that Narzotto was in possession of northern Euboia, and that Carintana had no actual portion in the island. This is inconsistent not only with the investiture of Morosini (recorded p. 278), but with the passage quoted above. The fact stated there distinctly implies that Carintana did possess the Barony of Oreos until her death, upon which the other triarchs took possession of it and transferred it to Grapella.

(3) Seeing that in some unexplained manner Narzotto is lord of south Euboia and Grapella of north Euboia, we find by following out the line of inheritance that in 1320 Ghisi has

south Euboa, Beatrix de Noyers central Euboa, Maria Cornaro and Pietro dalle Carceri northern Euboa.

But in 1341 this Maria's daughter, Guglielma, who claimed her mother's Sixth, which Pietro had in the meantime seized, had a dispute with Agnese of Larmena, professing to be liege lady of that place. Now Larmena is close to Styra in southern Euboa, and hence it would appear that the Sixth, claimed by Guglielma and possessed by Maria and her father Gaetano, must have been in south Euboa. In other words Grapella, who was succeeded by Gaetano and Grapozzo, must have possessed a Sixth in south Euboa. Here is a glaring inconsistency.

(4) Another difficulty is the position of the Barony of Karystos, which generally appears independent of the triarchs, and yet was originally part of the southern Third.

§ 13. *Hypothesis to solve these difficulties.* From the fact that we hear no more of Ravano's daughter Berta we may deduce that she died without heirs. I propose to assume that on her death the two remaining triarchs, Guglielmo and Marino (or, if he were dead, his son Narzotto), made a new arrangement, with the assistance probably of the Bailo of Negroponte. Three persons would naturally put in a claim; Felisa dalle Carceri, Berta's younger sister, who had married Otho de Cicon, lord of Karystos; Carintana, Marino's niece, and daughter of the former hexarch Rizzardo; Grapella, Guglielmo's nephew, and son of the former hexarch Alberto.

The arrangement, I suppose, took this form:

Grapella received a Sixth, half of southern Euboa, and married Guglielmo's daughter, his cousin Margherita;

Carintana received a Sixth, but instead of receiving the other moiety of southern Euboa Narzotto took it and gave to her half of northern Euboa, doubtless the same part which her father Rizzardo had held, including Oreos;

Felisa and Otho de Cicon probably did not receive an extension of territory, but in lieu thereof Karystos was made independent of the triarchs.

I believe that this hypothesis will explain all the difficulties. It follows that both the Third of Narzotto and the Third of Grapella consisted of two Sixths not contiguous. The southern Sixth of Grapella must have fallen to the share of Gaetano, and

thus is explained the second difficulty mentioned above—Guglielma's claim to Larmena.

As to Grapella receiving a Sixth we may compare Hopf, p. 275: 'Da aber Alberto's ältester Sohn Grapella...sich mit Margherita da Verona, Guglielmo's Tochter, vermählt hatte, überliess letzterer gern dem Eidam einen Antheil an der Herrschaft.' That Guglielmo would have transferred to Grapella any considerable part of his own Third seems most highly improbable. The basis of this statement is doubtless an unprecise allusion to Grapella's acquisition in the south.

William Villehardouin claimed the Barony of Oreos. We must not identify it with the northern Third, as Hopf does. The Barony of Oreos was the Sixth of Carintana; the other Sixth was Narzotto's. That William claimed a whole Third¹ need not necessarily be inferred from the fact that he called himself a triarch (tertiarius). The word tertiarus, terziero, was probably used in a general way to designate a lord of Euboa. We find it afterwards applied to Bonifacio da Verona, who was not even a hexarch.

That some arrangement in regard to southern Euboa took place between 1216 and 1255 is certain. That which I have suggested above seems to me the only one which could produce the circumstances which we find afterwards. Documents bearing on the subject may yet be brought to light.

§ 14. *The triarchs and Venice prepare for war.* William Villehardouin and Carintana dalle Carceri had no children, so that if William's claim had been admitted a Sixth of Euboa would have passed completely from the Veronese family. Guglielmo, Narzotto, and Grapella were not disposed to favour such an idea, even though William was their overlord, and though Guglielmo had married Simona, a niece of William, after the death of his first wife Helena of Montferrat. The solidarity of the three triarchs had been rendered firm by two marriages: Grapella married Margherita da Verona, Narzotto married Felisa da Verona; Margherita and Felisa were sisters, daughters of Guglielmo.

When Carintana died (1255) and William asserted his claims

¹ Navagero, who in these matters is not accurate, says: 'Era nel dominio di quella città un terzo pervenuto per suc-

cessione di madre il principe d'Achaia, restati gli altri due terzi nella familia dalle Carceri' (p. 997).

to her Sixth, appealing in vain to the Venetians to assist him in enforcing them, Narzotto and Guglielmo quietly took possession of the Sixth and gave it to Grapella. William's attitude was threatening.

Paolo Gradenigo was bailo at this time. In 1256 (June 14) a new treaty was made between Venice and the Lombard lords for the purpose of joint operations against the Prince of Morea. It was on the basis of the old treaties of 1211 and 1216. Guglielmo gave up the castle on the bridge of Chalkis—the Black Bridge, Negroponte, as it was called—to Venice, and also a considerable tract of land close to Chalkis—probably a strip of the famous Lelantine plain. All the receipts of custom were to go to the Venetian treasury, the triarchs themselves being alone exempted from paying duties; on the other hand they were released from the tribute of 700 hyperpers which they used to pay to Venice.¹

But the distinctive feature, as it was the motive, of this treaty is the 'viva guerra' to be waged against Villehardouin if he persist in illegal claims.

The treaty was not finally concluded till January, 1257. Among the witnesses was Francesco da Verona, a son of Guglielmo.²

Thus a coalition was formed between Venice and the Lombards against the Prince of Achaia. This coalition was joined by William de la Roche, brother of Guy of Athens, and baron of Veligosti in Morea, who was thus recusant to his liege lord. On the other hand Otho de Cicon,³ lord of Karystos, and Leone dalle Carceri, nephew of Guglielmo and brother of Grapella, sided with William.

Michele Morosini,⁴ liegeman of Carintana, left the island to

¹ That is 700 hyperpers each. The tribute originally arranged was 2100 gold hyperpers, see § 7.

² The treaty was renewed again on May 6th, 1258, with the new Bailo Barozzi, with two modifications: the war was to be confined to Romania, and the power of concluding peace was restricted to the Doge. Among the witnesses were Buturello dalle Carceri, a brother of Grapella, and Marzio Zuglano, podestà of the Venetian

settlement in Negroponte.

³ Otho de Cicon was third son of Jacques de Cicon and Sibylla, a daughter of Pons Flagey, a younger brother of Otho de la Roche.

⁴ This Morosini was procurator of William, and this must be connected with the fact stated by Hopf that Carintana had invested him with a sixth of the island, i.e., her whole property; but Morosini was not a hexarch.

escape from a dilemma which vexed his conscience—the necessity of fighting against his country, Venice, or fighting in an unjust cause. The behaviour of Morosini, de Cicon, and Leone certainly indicates that William had a considerable show of right on his side—had more right than would be established by the mere fact that his wife Carintana was the daughter of Rizzardo, whose claim to a Sixth had legally lapsed on his death in 1220.

§ 15. *William Villehardouin makes war on Eubœia.* In 1256 William marched to Rupo, the ancient Orobœi, on the north-west coast of the island. His position as overlord gave him the upper hand. He summoned the two most prominent triarchs, Guglielmo and Narzotto :¹ they did not think it wise to disobey their liege lord, and he promptly laid them under arrest.

Then Simona, the wife of Guglielmo and niece of William Villehardouin, and Felisa, the wife of Narzotto, accompanied by a number of the dalle Carceri family, appeared before the Venetian Bailo, Marco Gradenigo, ‘with rent raiment and dishevelled hair,’ to beg his intervention for the release of the two barons. In the meantime William had sent a detachment, which took possession of the town of Negroponte, but the bailo at the head of his Venetians recaptured it. He did not hold it long, however, for Geoffrey de la Bruyères, William’s nephew, soon arrived and drove the Venetians out.

There ensued a long siege of a year and a month. The bailo blockaded the town with three galleys and erected a bulwark—said to have been built in one day—*la difesa di Santa Maria dei Cazonelli*. William de la Roche did all he could to assist the Venetians; even the Pope, Alexander IV., interfered, using his influence to induce William to come to terms. The long blockade was at length crowned with success, and the town capitulated at the beginning of 1258.

During the siege William had kept troops in occupation of the Barony of Oreos, which he claimed; these he now withdrew to concentrate his forces on Negroponte, leaving, however, a garrison in the town of Oreos. The new bailo Barozzi, who succeeded Gradenigo in 1258, acted with vigour, and in a battle which took place to the north of Chalkis completely defeated the army of Achaia. The prisoners captured in this engagement were sent to Venice. Barozzi, determined to follow up his

¹ Navagero calls them ‘i due compadroni.’

victory, continued his march northward to Oreos, but was repulsed with considerable loss in an attempt on that town. Among others Paolo Gradenigo, formerly bailo, lost his life.

About the same time William gained another success in Attica. Causes of offence had passed between him and Guy de la Roche, William claiming the overlordship of Athens, which Guy refused to acknowledge. In 1258 William took decisive measures to punish Guy, invaded Attica, and defeated him in the battle of Karydi, notwithstanding the treachery of his trusted nephew, Geoffrey de la Bruyères, the baron of Karytena. William and Guy made peace on the understanding that the subject of their dispute was to be submitted to the arbitration of St. Louis.

The result of Karydi, combined with the defeat at Oreos, rendered Venice inclined to make peace. The new bailo, T. Giustiniani (1259), was directed to treat with Villehardouin, and at the same time two ambassadors were sent to Morea.

§ 16. *Treaty of Thebes.* But a series of events was now taking place, not immediately connected with the politics of Eubœia, but destined soon to affect that island as well as all other parts of the empire of Romania. The first of these events was the battle of Pelagonia (Oct. 1259), in which William of Achaia was taken prisoner by Michael Palaiologos. Guy de la Roche, who was then absent in France, laying before king Louis his dispute with William, was elected temporary governor or bailo of the Morea. On hearing the news he returned with all possible speed to the East, and restored the order which had been disturbed through want of a responsible head. He set free the triarchs Guglielmo and Narzotto, and treated with Venice, which (January 2, 1262) empowered Andrea Barbarigo, the bailo, and others to arrange a peace with the prince of Achaia or his representatives.

About the same time William was released from captivity on certain hard conditions, and returned to his principality. There, urged by his vassal, the Venetian Lorenzo Tiepolo, lord of Skyros and Skopelos, he consented to negotiate a treaty with Venice. The transaction took place in the house of Archbishop Henry at Thebes on the 15th and 16th of May, 1262.

(1) The general basis of the treaty was the restitution of the *status quo* before the outbreak of the war, or as it was expressed

in the treaty before the lady Carintana's death, but with certain modifications. (2) The arrangement made in 1256, that Venice was to levy the custom duties, continues in force; but now the prince as well as the triarchs is declared exempt. (3) Venice also retained the quarters then granted to her, except the palace of Villehardouin in Negroponte, in which Michele Morosini, his procurator, had resided. (4) Venice engaged to restore to the triarchs all property which the baili had conferred in fief since 1255.¹ (5) The triarchs engaged to demolish the castle of Negroponte; the site was to remain theirs, while the right of pre-emption of houses they might build thereon was reserved to Venice. (6) Guglielmo, Narzotto, and Grapella were recognised as the *terzieri*. (7) All treaties made between the triarchs and Venice to the detriment of the prince of Achaia were annulled—the treaties of 1211, 1216 of course remaining valid, so far as not modified by subsequent treaties in force. (8) William was recognised as lawful suzerain of the triarchs of Eubœia. (9) William granted to Venice personal security for all Venetians in the Morea.

Among the witnesses were Francesco da Verona, William de la Roche, Lorenzo Tiepolo (afterwards Doge).

§ 17. *Position of parties after the war.* It will be seen that this treaty was least favourable to Venice of the three parties concerned.

The triarchs had carried their point against William as to the Barony of Oreos, which remained in the hands of Grapella, while their relations to Venice were hardly altered.

William, too, though unsuccessful in regard to the original *caussa belli*, had forced Venice to recognise him as overlord of the triarchs.

Whereas Venice on the one hand had not much improved its relations with the Lombard barons, and on the other hand had suffered a decided defeat from Villehardouin. This, its first, attempt to become paramount in Eubœia had been unsuccessful. We can see that the Republic was keenly sensible that it had made a mistake, by the principle of non-interference in feudal

¹ In practice exceptions seem to have been made. Hopf mentions the cases of D. Moro and Enrico Trevisani who received investitures of fiefs from the

Bailo in 1256 for 20 years and were allowed, Villehardouin consenting, to retain them.

disputes, which it henceforward instructed the baili of Negroponte to adopt. They were especially cautioned against sequestering fiefs.

The settlement in Crete consoled Venice to a certain extent for her disappointment in Eubœia. In 1266 Crete was called by the Doge *fortitudo et robur imperii*, a phrase which in the next century became more applicable to Eubœia.

The relations of William with the triarchs continued friendly until the death of the former in 1278. He became especially attached to Guglielmo da Verona (the husband of his niece Simona), the oldest and most influential of the three; and actually conceived the plan of transferring to him the overlordship of not only his fellow triarchs but of the Duke of Athens. The plan was not carried out, as Guglielmo died in 1263, having been a lord of Eubœia—at first a hexarch, and after the death of Alberto a triarch—for forty-seven years. It is said that the sons of Guy de la Roche were ready to transfer their allegiance to Guglielmo; this shows that he must have been a person of influence and *auctoritas*. His claim to the kingdom of Thessalonica—now only titular, but nevertheless a distinction—by his first wife, Helena of Montferrat, was recognised by the emperor, Baldwin II., and the Pope (1243-4); this gave him additional prestige.

It may be mentioned here that Baldwin on his way from his lost capital to Italy in 1261 visited Eubœia, and was honourably entertained by the triarchs.

§ 18. *Condition of Eubœia in the thirteenth century.* The position of Venice in Negroponte resembled her position in Constantinople, and must be distinguished from her position in Crete, or even in the south of Messenia. Crete was regularly colonised by Venetians, its government was completely in the hands of Venetians, it was designed to be a second Venice, and Kandia was laid out on the model of the city of the lagoons; in Eubœia Venice had at first merely a sort of naval station and diplomatic bureau. Though Koron and Modon were towns in a land which did not belong to her, the towns themselves were completely in the hands of her military castellans; whereas the town of Negroponte was not completely Venetian, but belonged to the Lombard lords of Eubœia who resided in it.

Yet the bailo of Negroponte was more important than the

dukes of Crete in the general political transactions of Venice in the East, and was far more important than the captains who governed Koron and Modon.¹ The central position of Negroponte made it an important position, and it afterwards became the chief object of Venice's concern.

It was probably fortunate for the prosperity of Eubœia that it was in the hands of Lombards, for Lombards were more likely than Franks to live peacefully with Venetians. For the Lombard character, partly chivalrous and partly commercial, was a sort of mean between the martial Frank and the trading Venetian; just as Venice itself was a sort of half-way house connecting the Greeks with the western nations, partaking of the character of both. Their mutual experience in the north of Italy rendered Venetians and Lombards suitable neighbours in the East.

The Lombard barons were amateur corsairs, and the position of Eubœia rendered it an excellent headquarters for such a pursuit. Narzotto dalle Carceri and Grapella were especially notorious for their energy and success in enriching themselves by piracy. They filled their castles with the spoils of ships taken in the Archipelago, and extended their expeditions as far as the coast of Asia Minor. Their ships numbered a hundred, and it is related that once near Anaia, a town facing Samos, they took the immense haul of 50,000 hyperpers' worth of gems and precious metals. The Archipelago was infested with pirates at this time; even the de la Roches of Athens indulged in the art.

A large number of kinsmen of the triarchs lived in Eubœia, provided with appanages. Many had migrated from Lombardy and settled in Eubœia. The empire of Romania in the thirteenth century resembled in one respect the English colonies in the nineteenth; it was a place for younger sons to try their fortunes. Nicolò dalle Carceri, a nephew of Ravano, and brother of Marino and Rizzardo, was one of the first arrivals. He had a son Marino, first cousin of Narzotto; and a document

¹ The salary of the Bailo was 450, that of the Castellan 250 gold hyperpers. In 1249 two councillors were appointed to assist the Bailo, and in the following year the duty of collecting the revenue

was consigned to them. The office of the Bailo according to Navagero (p. 997) was to administer 'ragion sommaria' to the Venetians who were in Negroponte.

is extant in which Narzotto's son Merinetto (of whom we shall hear more hereafter) grants to this Marino certain lands, including the village of Trapano. The sons of Alberto (brothers of Grapella) lived in the island, taking part in the wars in which their kinsmen were engaged, and doubtless also in the piratical expeditions—Leone, Butarello, Giovan Goberto, and Bonifacio. Francesco da Verona, *le viellart* as he was called, a brother of Guglielmo I., was a person of special consequence; his sons afterwards became sestieri.

The town of Negroponte was the general residence of the Lombard barons and their kinsmen; here all deeds and titles were issued; for it was common to all and not particularly identified with the triarch of central Euboa.

We have already mentioned Otho de Cicon, the Burgundian, who among the lesser lords in Euboa was especially notable. Through his mother Sibylla he was connected with the ducal house of Athens; and by his wife Felisa he became lord of Karystos, which he converted into a strong fastness. The document which records his present to the abbey of Bellevaux in 1250 is preserved in the Cartulaire de Bellevaux,¹ and is worth quoting. It shows that he too had a house in Negroponte.

'Je Othe de Cycons, sires de Caryste, doigne à l'abbaye de Bellevaus en Bourgoigne de l'ordre de Cisteans, vint livrées de ma terre que je ait en Bourgoigne pour l'ame de moi et pour les ames de mon père, de ma mère et de mon frère. Et vuoil et commant que al lor soit assenée et delivrée sitost comme on saurai que je serai trespassez de cest siegle. Et por ce que cest dons soit fermes et estables, ai-je fait sailer ces lettres de mon séel. Et ce fut fait à Aigrepont en ma maison, l'an de l'incarnation Nostre Seigneur mille deux cents et cinquante, en décembre.'

The condition of the Greek population in Euboa was much ameliorated under the Latin domination. Euboa, like the other parts of the empire, must have experienced the general depression and misery produced by the incompetent misgovernment of the Angeloi. We learn that in the latter half of the thirteenth century the population was increasing, which is the surest sign of material improvement. During the war with the

¹ Quoted by Hopf in his *Abhandlung on Karystos, Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad.*, 1853.

prince of Achaia, and still more afterwards during the war with the Palaiologoi, the inhabitants necessarily suffered; they were continually exposed to danger from pirates. Nevertheless, though of course there was not the same prosperity as there had been in the ninth and tenth centuries, there was a vast improvement on the twelfth.

Thus the external choregia of life which forms one, and that a large, portion of the happiness of the average man was probably enjoyed by the Euboiôtes.

As to the other factor, spiritual freedom, it meant to the Greeks of that time nothing more than orthodoxy; all their aspirations were limited by the horizon of the Greek Church. This also was secured to them. To judge from the fact that Theodôros was allowed to continue in his see, in spite of Archbishop Berard, the Greeks had not to suffer much from Latin attempts at conversion.

We must not omit to mention that there were a considerable number of Jews in Euboa, who were compelled to pay a large proportion of taxes. We shall have occasion to mention this point again.

II.

(1262—1385.)

§ 19. *Divisions of the Second Period.* During this period the Venetian power grows and becomes finally predominant in the island; the Lombards become completely dependent on Venice. It is a period of wars; and a point I would insist on is that it was just these wars that specially favoured the extension of Venetian influence.

The period may be conveniently divided into three parts:

(1) 1262-1303, from the Treaty of Thebes to the Peace of 1303 between Venice and the Greek emperor. The characteristic of this sub-period is that the Lombards and Venetians are combined in a war against the Greeks.

(2) 1303-1340, from the Peace with the Greeks to the death of Pietro dalle Carceri. Venetian power is opposed by the Lombards, who combine with the Catalonians, but finally prevails. The devastations of Turkish pirates promote union among the Latins.

(3) 1340-1385, from the death of Pietro dalle Carceri, whereby the last obstacle to Venetian domination is removed, to the death of Nicolò dalle Carceri, after which Venice appoints the triarchs herself. Venice is dominant, but the Lombard barons have still an independent position, and sometimes oppose the Republic.

I.

(1262—1303.)

§ 20. *New Terzieri.* The triarchs who consented to the Peace of 1262 did not survive it long. Guglielmo da Verona died in the following year, and was succeeded by his eldest son Guglielmo, who married Margaret de Neuilly, daughter of John de Neuilly, baron of Passava, and became thereby marshal of Achaia. Narzotto and Grapella died some years afterwards. The former was succeeded by his son Marino II., who was called Merinetto. Grapella had no children; and so his Third was divided between his wife's nephews, Gaetano and Grapozzo, sons of Francesco da Verona, and grandsons of Guglielmo I. Grapozzo received the Sixth in northern Eubœia—the Barony of Oreos; Gaetano the Sixth in southern Eubœia, including Larmena.

§ 21. *Change in the situation of affairs; the Greeks threaten Eubœia.* The new triarchs found themselves in a new situation. A great change took place in the politics of the East after the Greek victory of Pelagonia in 1259, and the recovery of Constantinople in 1261. The appearance of Charles of Anjou in Italy and his coalition with the Pope introduced another novelty. We may say that 1260 marks a definite division in the history of Romania. The influence of the Palaiologoi in western Romania begins with the battle of Pelagonia; and the importance of the Genoese in the eastern seas dates from the Treaty of Nymphaion in 1261.

There were three separate points at which the Emperor Michael tried to beat back the western nations from the limits of the old Byzantine empire: Northern Greece, where, however, it was chiefly the Greek Angeloi dynasty that he had to contend against, Eubœia, and the Peloponnesos. In Morea the Sebastokrator, assisted by the Slavonic settlers, carried on a land

warfare against the Franks; North Greece was harassed both by land and sea; and the Greek fleet, which often cruised in the Gulf of Volo, was able to vex the Lombards of Negroponte, as well as the coasts of Thessaly.

A common foe both strengthened the bonds between the prince of Achaia and his Euboian vassals, and caused friendly relations to subsist between them and Joannes of Neopatrai. Guglielmo da Verona, who used to maintain 400 knights, shortly before his death in 1263 supplied Villehardouin with a contingent to subjugate the Slav revolt in Tzakonia; and William afterwards aided the triarchs when they were hard pressed.

But the interests of Venice were not the same as those of the feudal lords; and as the Greeks were not her rivals in commerce she felt no disinclination to keep on good terms with Michael. The Treaty of Nymphaion, which he had concluded with the Genoese in 1261, opening the Black Sea to them, and granting important privileges, alarmed Venice, and forced her into an alliance with the power which commanded the gates of the Euxine. The policy of such an alliance for both parties was further increased by the rise of Charles of Anjou, and his coalition with the Curia. Genoa was at this time an ally of Charles.

§ 22. *Treaty between Venice and Michael in 1265.* Accordingly in 1265 a treaty was arranged between Michael Palaiologos and Venice, establishing an 'affection pure and without guile' (*ἀγαπήν καθαρὰν καὶ ἀδολέυτον*) between the two parties, on the thoroughgoing basis that Venice was to oppose all powers who attacked the Greek empire, not excepting even the Pope; the kings of France, Sicily, Castile, England (*Ἰγκλινίας*), Aragon (*Ραγούνας*), Count Charles of Anjou, the Republics of Genoa, Pisa, and Ancona are expressly mentioned. Korone and Methone were left in the possession of the Republic, as well as Crete and the islands in the Aegean which belonged to it already.

In regard to the war in Euboa arrangements are made in some detail. It will be advisable to give the original text:

Εἰς τὸν Εὐριπὸν ἵνα ἔχωσιν εἴ τι ἔχουσι σήμερον. ἵνα δώσει αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία μου εἰς τὸν Ἀλμυρὸν τόπον εἰς κάθισμα καὶ

ποιήσωσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπαύσεις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔχει ἡ β. μ. μάχην μετὰ τοῦ Εὐρίπου καὶ εὐρίσκονται ἐν αὐτῷ Βενέτικοι, ἵνα ἔχη ἡ β. μ. κατακεκρατημένην τὴν σκάλαν τοῦ Ἀλμύρου, ὅπως μὴ ἐπαίρωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης σκάλας βρώσιμα καὶ πόσιμα οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ Βενέτικοι καὶ ἀποκομίζωσι ταῦτα εἰς ζωάρκειαν τῶν ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ ἐχθρῶν τῆς β. μ. Λατίνων· μέχρις ἂν δώῃ Θεὸς καὶ γένηται ἐγκρατῆς ἡ β. μ. τοῦ Εὐρίπου καὶ τότε ἵνα ἀπολύσῃ ἡ β. μ. καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην σκάλαν πρὸς τὸ μέρος τῆς Βενετίας· ὅτε δὲ μέλλει πολεμεῖν ἡ β. μ. μετὰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοήθειας τοῖς εἰς τὸν Εὐριπὸν Λατίνοις οὐ μὴν ἀποστείλῃ ἡ Βενετία συμμαχίαν ἢ χρήμα εἰς βοήθειαν αὐτῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ Εὐρίπῳ εὐρισκόμενοι Βενέτικοι εἰ μὲν ἀποσχισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μέρους τῶν ἐκείσε Λατίνων καὶ πέσωσιν ἰδικῶς καὶ οὔτε τοῖς Λατίνοις συμμαχοῦσιν οὔτε τῇ β. μ. ἀντιδικοῦσιν ἵνα φυλάσσωνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ μέρους τῆς β. μ. ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Βενέτικοι· εἰ δὲ ἀντιδικήσουσιν οὗτοι μετὰ τῶν ἐκείσε Λατίνων τῷ μέρει τῆς β. μ. εἰς τὸν κατὰ τῶν Εὐριπιωτῶν γενησόμενον πόλεμον ἵνα καὶ εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα αὐτῶν ποιῇ ἡ β. μ. ὅπερ βούλεται· ὑφότου δὲ βοήθειᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπιλάβηται ἡ β. μ. τοῦ Εὐρίπου τὸν τόπον ὃν εὐρίσκεται ἡ Βενετία ἔχουσα ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν σήμερον, ἵνα δώσῃ τούτον πάλιν ἡ β. μ. πρὸς τὸν εὐγενέστατον δούκα Βενετίας καὶ τὸ κουμούνιον αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔχωσι πάλιν τούτον καθὼς ἔχουσι σήμερον.¹

The treaty was confirmed by the Doge with some modifications in 1268.

§ 23. *Licario of Karystos*. Considerable assistance was rendered to the Greek emperor in his designs on Euboea from an unexpected quarter.

Marino II., son and heir of Narzotto dalle Carceri, was a minor at the time of his father's death, and his Third was managed for him by his mother Felisa, who resided in Negroponte with him and four daughters. Felisa, who was still young and charming, made the acquaintance of a certain Italian gentleman of no very brilliant origin, named Licario,² whose family had come

¹ The text is to be found in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy in 1850, edited by Thomas. I have used the abbreviation β. μ. for βασιλεία

μον. σκάλα means a landing-place ('stairs').

² Called by the Byzantine historians Pachymeres and Nikêphoros Gregoras,

to Eubœia from Vicenza, and who now resided in Karystos with his brother. They fell in love; but the kinsfolk of the lady did not approve of the amour. When Francesco da Verona and his brother Giberto became aware that their sister had secretly married Licario, they vowed vengeance against the adventurer of Karystos. He fled and tried in vain through the influence of friends to conciliate the barons. He finally occupied the castle of Anemopylai, near Karystos, and having strongly fortified it and collected a number of adventurous friends, converted it into an independent sea-castle, from which he used to descend and plunder the neighbouring farms and villages. He thus reduced the country people to such a state of terror that they took up their abode within the walls of the nearest town and did not venture to pursue their work in the fields without the precaution of stationing sentries (*ἡμεροσκόποι*).¹

He soon bethought himself of forming relations with the Greek emperor, who was then making attempts to wrest Eubœia from the Lombards. He first sent ambassadors to Michael, and afterwards went himself, leaving a sufficient garrison in his fortress. Michael readily caught at Licario's promises to restore Eubœia to the empire. A Greek garrison was placed in Anemopylai, and a guerilla naval warfare began, in which the islands of the Archipelago suffered from both parties.

§ 24. *Battle of Volo.* It was not until 1275 that the first decisive engagement in which the Latins of Eubœia were engaged took place. In that year the Greek admiral Philanthrôpênos was stationed in the gulf of Volo, while the despot Joannes Palaiologos led an army by land against Joannes I. of Neopatrai. The latter cultivated friendly relations with the Latins, especially with the barons of Eubœia and the Duke of Athens. His interests rendered him also friendly to Charles of Anjou, as both desired to hinder the westward advance of the Palaiologoi in Thessaly and Epeiros. The assistance of Jean de la Roche secured to Joannes, the Sebastokrator, a brilliant victory at Neopatrai.

Ikarios—misled by which name Finlay has in one place identified him with the Genoese Zacharia. The omission of the L arose perhaps from a little dangerous knowledge of Italian, which

seduced the Greek historians to suppose that L was the article.

¹ See Nikêphoros Gregoras, vol. i. (ed. Bonn) p. 95, *sqq.*

But this defeat was the indirect cause of a victory for the Greeks, which went far towards consoling them.

When the Lombards of Negroponte heard the good news, they conceived the idea of attacking the Greek fleet which lay off Démétrias. They had already prepared a small fleet, not for the purpose of attacking the imperial navy, says Nikêphoros Gregoras, for that they deemed would be much the same as to shoot at the sky (*εἰς οὐρανὸν τοξεύειν*), but to defend their own shores. The good news of Neopatrai induced them to abandon their defensive policy. A Venetian, Filippo Sanudo, was elected commander; he was the son of a former bailo, Leone Sanudo.

The chief Lombard lords, Guglielmo, Gaetano, Giberto, Francesco, Butarello, took part in the bold enterprise; and although the Greeks numbered eighty ships and they themselves twenty-two, of which only twelve were war-galleys, they completely defeated the admiral Philanthrôpênos, who was himself severely wounded.

But an accidental circumstance turned this success into a defeat.

It happened that John Palaiologos and the Greek fugitives from the unlucky field of Neopatrai arrived at that moment on the coast; and hearing of the misfortune of the Greek fleet he manned the routed galleys, which were driven shoreward, with the remnant of the land army. The Lombards, already weary, were surprised and disconcerted at the unexpected attack, and suffered a disastrous defeat. Guglielmo, the *terziero* and marshal of Achaia, was killed; Gaetano, the *sestiero*, Francesco da Verona, his father, Butarello dalle Carceri, and the captain, Sanudo, with many others of lesser note were taken prisoners. Giberto da Verona was fortunate enough to escape.

It should be noticed that in accordance with their engagements to Michael, the Venetians of Eubœia officially took no part in the action; but nevertheless Venetian mercenaries assisted the triarchs, and the captain was a Venetian. In 1273 the Venetians had taken care to strengthen the castle which commanded the bridge at Chalkis.

§ 25. *The Greeks conquer Eubœia; career of Licario.* The admiral Philanthrôpênos and Licario, who was probably present

at the battle of Volo, prosecuted the war against Eubœia, where the defence now chiefly devolved on Giberto da Verona, who succeeded as triarch his slain nephew Guglielmo. John, Duke of Athens, contributed aid, and the Venetian Bailo seems to have been not over-strict in observing the neutrality to which he was bound.

The chief event of 1276 was the siege of Karystos, the stronghold of Otho de Cicon. Licario blockaded it by land and sea; but the natural strength of the place, rendered still stronger by art, defied for a long time the besiegers, to whom its strength made it a capture all the more desirable. Licario was at last successful, and was invested by the grateful emperor with the island of Eubœia, with the obligation of serving the emperor with 200 knights. Michael was introducing the feudal system among the Greeks. He also gave Licario a noble Greek lady, richly dowered; we are not told what happened to his first wife Felisa dalle Carceri. During the siege of Karystos the island was devastated by another division of the Greek fleet which had its headquarters at Oreos. The fall of Karystos was followed by the capture of four other fortresses, la Clisura, Armena (Larmena¹), Mandrucho and Kuppa.

In the meantime Venice had recovered its interest in Eubœia which had flagged after the treaty of 1262. She preferred that the island should remain in the possession of the Lombards than pass into the hands of the Greeks. Accordingly in a treaty with Michael in 1277 (March 19), it was expressly stipulated that if the Venetians assisted the triarchs in their war with the Greeks such assistance should not form a *casus belli* between Venice and the empire. (This principle was employed again in 1280 in a treaty between the empire and Florenz of Hainault, Prince of Achaia, wherein the peace was confined to Achaia, it being agreed that aid given by Florenz elsewhere to the foes of the Greeks should not prejudice the general peace. It was also employed in the treaty between Genoa and Venice in 1299, see § 33.) At the same time the prisoners Gaetano and Butarello were released as well as 500 Venetian captives.

Licario, who was now the imperial vice-admiral, had been very successful. He had taken five strong places in Eubœia, and in

¹ L is evidently the Italian article.

the same year he reduced Skopelos and Lêmnos. Lêmnos was stoutly defended by the Grand Duke Paolo Navigajoso, who refused Michael's offer of 60,000 gold hyperpers. He, and after his death his wife, succeeded in protracting the siege of his castle till 1278, but the rest of the island was won by Licario's arms. He next determined to make an attempt on Chalkis.

Giberto da Verona and his friend John de la Roche, the hero of Neopatrai, marched forth to meet him with a force of Sicilian mercenaries who had served King Manfred. Licario was completely victorious, and captured the persons of Giberto and the Duke of Athens, who were both wounded. The defeated army took refuge in Chalkis, capturing in their retreat a small body of Spaniards who had too rashly pursued them. To their amazement Licario stayed his hand and did not advance on the capital, although he had gained the day and had a fleet at Oreos to back him.

It appears that for the second time a battle in Thessaly influenced the course of events in Euboia. Just as three years before the news of the battle of Neopatrai elated the Lombards and produced the disaster of Volo, so now the news of the battle of Pharsalos, where John the Sebastokratôr had completely defeated the imperial forces under Synadênos and Kavallarios, saved Negroponte from an attack. Soon afterwards assistance arrived to the menaced city. Jaques de la Roche (a cousin of John, Duke of Athens) governor of Nauplion, mustered a body of knights and marched to its relief. In conjunction with him the Venetian Bailo, Nicolò Morosini, took measures for its defence, and Licario gave up for the time all thought of attempting it.

But though Negroponte was saved, the rest of the island was in the hands of the Greeks. As governor of Euboia, Licario established himself in the strong castle of Filla which commanded the Lelantine plain.

Licario's successes must have had from private causes a peculiar zest for him. He had humbled the haughty¹ family of Verona who despised an alliance with him. Giberto, his

¹ The expression τὴν Λατινικὴν ὀφρῶν regard to the Lombard lords of Euboia. (*supercillium*) is used by Nikêphoros in

brother-in-law, was his prisoner, and he himself, who had once been looked on as a vulgar hind, and had afterwards become the freebooter of Anemopylai, was now the lord of Eubœia, high in imperial favour. He was now made Great Constable.¹ The career of Licario, though we know it only in such brief outline, presents to the imagination material for a drama. The last scene is given us ready-made by Nikêphoros Gregoras :

‘The ruler (*ἀρχηγος*) of Eubœia is led in chains by Ikarios to the emperor; and having survived but for a short space he died. Now his death was on this wise. When he entered the palace and stood near the door as behoves a prisoner, and saw the emperor himself sitting on the imperial throne, and round about him all the court standing in brilliant and elegant array; and saw Ikarios, the slave of yesterday or the day before (*τὸν χθὲς καὶ πρότριτα δούλον*), now in brilliant apparel and insolent² manner coming in and going out, and conversing in the Emperor’s ear,—he straightway snaps the thread of life and falls forward suddenly upon the floor, being unable to endure the violent reversal of fortune (*τὸ τῆς βιαιᾶς τύχης παράλογον*).’

Butarello dalle Carceri who had been the negotiator of a treaty between Joannes of Neopatrai and Charles of Naples, seems to have fallen about the same time into the hands of the Greeks; his eyes were put out.

Licario soon afterwards succeeded Philanthrôpênos as admiral, and did good service for the Greeks by expelling the Venetians from the islands of the Archipelago. As lord of Eubœia he still made Filla his headquarters. We hear nothing more of him.

§ 26. *The triarchs.* In the same year as the Greek successes in Eubœia took place, the castle of the Navigajosi in Lêmnos fell. Paolo Navigajoso, who died during the siege, had two daughters, Maria and Agnese; Maria was married to Giberto da Verona the triarch, Agnese to Gaetano the hexarch. The widow of Paolo, who defended the castle after his death, took refuge with her daughter Maria in Eubœia. At this time Agnese and her husband Gaetano were absent in Naples at the court

¹ *μέγας κονοσταύλος*; Pachymeres, *Mich. Pal.* v. 27.

² ‘Swaggering’ is the exact word for *σοβαροῦ*: Nik. Greg. vol. i. p. 96.

of Charles, and Leone dalle Carceri acted as vice-hexarch for Gaetano in his absence, as we learn from the introductions which Charles gave to Galeran d'Ivry whom he sent in 1278 to act as bailo of Morea. The triarchs named are Giberto, Marino and Leone; the fact that Grapozzo is not also mentioned perhaps indicates that Leone at this time was acting for him also.

Grapozzo married Beatrice the daughter of Giberto. Her brothers Guglielmo and Francesco died young; she was therefore heiress of her father's Third. Her mother Maria administered it after Giberto's death, and is mentioned among the triarchs of Euboa as late as 1310.

Marino II. died without heirs, and his two Sixths were inherited by his sister Alice, who married Giorgio Ghisi, lord of Tênos and Chalandritza. Thus a Sixth in northern and a Sixth in southern Euboa passed into the family of the Ghisi.

§ 27. *Attitude of Venice; treaty of Orvieto.* The dominant influence of Venice in the Archipelago received a blow from the sea-campaigns of Licario; almost all the islands were in Greek hands in 1280. It was apparent that the thorough-going offensive and defensive alliance of 1265 with the Greeks versus the nations of the West was unnatural and therefore impracticable. It was the Genoese who had no hand in the events of 1204, not the Venetians, who were the natural allies of the Greeks; we need not therefore be surprised to find Venice in 1281 concluding a treaty that ran directly contrary to that of 1265.

The treaty of Orvieto (July 3, 1281) was a coalition between Charles of Anjou, Venice, and the Pope for a grand expedition against the Greeks to restore the empire of Romania and establish on the throne the titular emperor, Philip I. of Courtenay. Though preparations were made and preliminary skirmishes took place among the Greek islands, especially about Euboa, the expedition was prevented by the Sicilian Vespers; just as the expedition which was to follow the Treaty of Viterbò, 1267, had been prevented by the invasion of Conradin.

But in 1285 after long negotiations, a peace was patched up between the Emperor Andronikos and Venice, which

shows that Eubœia was the chief apple of discord. It was expressly agreed that hostilities in Euripos should not affect the general peace.

From 1281 Venice enters upon an active policy in Eubœia. I do not think that this change was due merely to the fact that the Greek advances under Licario interfered with her interests and possessions at the time. This of course was very important in determining her general policy. But I conceive that a special circumstance in regard to Eubœia created a new interest in it, and induced her to exert unwonted activity in its behalf. This circumstance was the death of William Villehardouin, the overlord of the Triarchs, without male issue. The suzerainty was now in the hands of a woman. Venice foresaw that future princes of Achaia would not be likely to interfere in Eubœian affairs, having quite enough to do in Achaia, where the hostility of the Greeks was now continually engaging the attention of the Franks; and consequently the field seemed clear for the extension of Venetian influence.

§ 28. *Recovery of Eubœia from the Greeks.* In 1279 Eubœia, with the exception of Negroponte the capital, was as we have seen in the power of the Greeks. The feature of the next sixteen years is the gradual recovery of the island by the joint efforts of the Venetians and Lombards. The lukewarmness displayed by the former after the war with the Prince of Achaia had given place to a decided and ultimately paramount interest in the island; and the popular baili, Nicolò Morosini, called 'the good,' and Nicolò Falier, acted with energy against the Greeks.

The first fortress they recovered was la Clisura; it fell by treachery. An Italian of Eubœia, Bonagiunto Forese, induced some of the garrison to betray it; with the help of sailors, supplied by the Bailo Falier, the castle was taken (about 1281). Argalia was the next to fall (? 1282) and it seems that Forese was invested by Venice with these two places as a reward for his services.

During the next fourteen years Filla, Manducho, Kuppa and the other fortresses were recovered one by one. Karystos, Larmena and Metropyle in the south of the island held out until 1296. Their reduction brings us to speak of a

Lombard lord who was very prominent in Euboa at that time.

§ 29. *Bonifacio da Verona.* Bonifacio da Verona was son of Francesco, *le viellart*, and nephew of Giberto. His natural parts, his wisdom and his knightly bearing secured him the favour of young Guido, Duke of Athens; and one of the most interesting chapters in Ramon Muntaner, the historian of the Catalonian Grand Company, relates to him. But before quoting this we may give Muntaner's account of his early life, which though untrue possesses interest.

'It is truth that the lord of Verona had three sons. His eldest he made heir of Verona; to the second he gave a goodly array of thirty knights and thirty knights' sons and sent him to Morea, to the Duchy of Athens. And he who was Duke of Athens, father of this Duke of whom I tell you [Duke Guy], received him with the greatest kindness, bestowed on him much of his own possessions and made him a powerful riche-homme; then he gave him a wife with great riches and made him knight. And by this lady he had two sons and two daughters. And when his brother knew that it went so well with him, Messire Boniface¹ who was the youngest of all said to his eldest brother that he wished to go and join his brother in Morea; and this project pleased his eldest brother greatly and he aided him with the best he could.

'His only possession was a castle which he sold to equip himself. His brother knighted him because it was better to set out as a knight than as a squire, for in these countries no son of a riche-homme is of any account (*n'est considéré*) until he be a knight. The Duke received him well on his arrival. He found his brother dead, leaving two sons and a daughter. He looked on himself as ruined, for the property of his nephews could not benefit him. The Duke comforted him and had his name entered for a fair and good income for him and his company, and thus he lived for seven years, and was the most elegantly dressed man at the court. And the good Duke of Athens remarked his good sense and his understanding, although he did not pretend to remark it; and moreover he found him full of wisdom in counsel.'²

¹ In Spanish 'micer Bonifaci de Verona.'

² I have translated from Buchon's version of Muntaner.

§ 30. *Bonifacio da Verona knights Guy, Duke of Athens.* Muntaner recounts the following incident, 'afin que les rois, fils de rois et riches-hommes prennent bon exemple.'

'It came to pass one day that the good Duke of Athens wished to take the order of knighthood; and he convoked the cortès of all the land, and ordained that on St. John's day in June all the noble men in his duchy should assemble in Thebes, where he wished to take the order of knighthood. He likewise convoked the prelates and all other good people (*bonnes gens*). Then he caused to be published in all the empire, in all the Despotate and all Vlachia, that every man who desired to come thither had only to present himself and he would receive from him favours and presents. And this plenary court was proclaimed six months before its assemblage.

'So at the time at which the duke convoked his plenary court, everyone hastened to get fair apparel made for himself and his suite, and also to distribute such to the jongleurs in order to give more lustre to the court. Well, the day of the high court arrived, and in all the court there was no one more elegantly and more nobly dressed than Messire Boniface and his company. He had fully a hundred brands [of wax] marked with his arms. He borrowed wherewith to defray all their expense, engaging in advance the money which he was to receive later. Well, the festival commenced in splendid wise. And when they came into the great church where the duke was to receive the order of knighthood, the Archbishop of Thebes said Mass, and on the altar were deposited the arms of the duke. All awaited with anxiety the moment at which the duke should receive the order of knighthood, and they imagined as a great marvel that the King of France and the Emperor would have disputed it and have held it a great honour that the duke should wish to receive the order of chivalry from their hands. And at the moment at which all were thus expectant, he caused Messire Boniface da Verona to be called. He immediately presented himself and the duke said to him: 'Messire Boniface, sit here quite close to the Archbishop, for I wish you to arm me knight.' Messire Boniface said to him: 'Ah, lord, what say you? Assuredly you jest with me.' 'No,' said the duke, 'for I wish it to be so.' And Messire Boniface seeing that he spake from the bottom of his heart, advanced to the altar near the

Archbishop and gave the duke the order of knighthood. And when he had created him knight the duke said in presence of all: 'Messire Boniface, the custom is that always those who receive a knight should make him a present. Well, I wish to do quite the opposite. You have made me knight and I give you, dating from to-day, a revenue of fifty thousand *sols tournois* to possess for ever, for you and yours, and all of it in castles and other goodly places and in freehold, to do with it all your will. I give you also to wife the daughter of a certain baron, who is portioned under my lordship, and who is lady of a third part of the island and the city of Negroponte.

'Lo how in one day and one hour he gave him a fair inheritance. And certes it was the most noble gift for a long time that any prince made in a single day. And it was a thing new and strange. And Messire Boniface lived rich and opulent.'

Muntaner knew Bonifacio personally and had been in his house in Negroponte. Bonifacio's habit of dressing in very rich attire seems to have produced a great impression on him. He is mistaken as to the possessions of his wife; she was not the daughter of a triarch. We have already heard of Otho de Cicon, lord of Karystos and Aegina. He and Felisa had three children, Agnes, Siegwin and Guy. In 1284 Siegwin was dead, and Guy a prisoner at Constantinople, whither Felisa went to ransom him in vain; no more was heard of him. Thus Agnes inherited Karystos, which was in the possession of the Greeks, and Aegina. Hence her husband Bonifacio was entitled Lord of Karystos, Aegina¹ and Gardiki.

§ 31. *Recovery of Karystos.* In 1296 Bonifacio determined to make Karystos and all that belonged to Agnes' heritage really as well as nominally his own. He was successful in wresting from the Greeks the three castles which they still retained in Euboea, Karystos, Larmena and Metropyle; while the Bailo J. Barozzi was attempting to recover Therasia and Santorin. It does not appear that Metropyle belonged to the Barony of Karystos, and we know that Larmena belonged to Gaetano's Sixth. We may conjecture then that Bonifacio held Larmena

¹ Bonifacio de Aragona, the grandson of Bonifacio da Verona, is named 'dominator Eghenae' and 'dominus

castri et insulae *Ligenae*'—another example of the propensity of the article to trespass.

in fief from Gaetano and Metropyle from him or one of the other triarchs. He was now one of the most important lords in Euboa.

§ 32. *Situation in 1296; Venice.* Thus in 1296 Euboa was again in the hands of the Latins; but the importance of Venice in the island had been greatly increased by the war with the Greeks. Accident gave the Republic at this time a specially good opportunity for interfering in the affairs of the Lombards, for the baronies happened to be altogether in the hands of ladies. Gaetano and Grapozzo the hexarchs were dead; the Sixth of the former in Southern Euboa descended to his daughter Maria; that of Grapozzo in Northern Euboa was in the hands of his wife Beatrice, as her son Pietro dalle Carceri was a child. The same lady Beatrice was heiress also of central Euboa, but her mother Maria seems to have managed it, or at least part of it. The remaining two Sixths were held by Alice, sister of Marino II. All these ladies were afterwards married — Maria dalle Carceri to Alberto Pallavicini, Beatrice to Jean de Noyers, and Alice to Giorgio Ghisi — but at this time Venice and Bonifacio da Verona were the chief powers in the island.

We have already mentioned that the population of Euboa increased in the latter half of the thirteenth century. The Jews formed an important part of the taxpayers, and in 1291 a considerable extra tax was levied on them to meet the increase of salary (250 to 400 hyperpers), which was to compensate the Venetian councillors of Negroponte for the disability to trade which had been imposed on them. The Jews addressed a petition against this hardship, which was temporarily successful, but in 1297 the innovation came into force again. Sometimes exemptions from these taxes were granted to particular families. Among foreigners who acquired property in the island and became Venetian citizens is mentioned Catarino Guercio, a Genoese. Venice herself extended her own possessions. The Bailo Nicolò Falier was directed (at end of 1281) to purchase as large a portion as possible of the site of the demolished castle of Chalkis; and in 1284 the property of one Marco Manolesso was purchased. Venetian churches were richly endowed.

The strict watch which Venice maintained over the conduct

of its officers and governors—her determination to prevent private interfering with public interests, one of the causes of her success—is illustrated by a circumstance which happened in 1289. Nicolò Quirini, who had been Bailo of Negroponte in 1275, had a dispute with Marco Sanudo, second Duke of Naxos, respecting Andros which Sanudo held and Quirini claimed. In 1289 Quirini did his utmost to secure his own appointment to the post of Bailo of Negroponte; but as it was suspected he intended to use the position in order to pursue private ends and take measures against the Duke of Naxos, the Republic refused to appoint him. The matter was arranged by a money payment on the part of Sanudo in 1292.

§ 33. *War of Venice and the Empire continued until 1303.* From 1285 to 1294 Byzantium and Venice were at peace except in Eubœia, and even in Eubœia perhaps there were not very serious hostilities; at least it is probable that the castles which Venice assisted in recovering were recovered before 1285, and that hostilities were suspended until Bonifacio's enterprises in 1296. But in 1294 war broke out between Genoa and Venice, and entailed on the latter a war with Andronikos. Pisa, which had lately suffered the ruinous defeat of Meloria, aided Venice with what aid it could. The Archipelago became the scene of another naval war of piratical character, in which the Venetians of Eubœia took part.

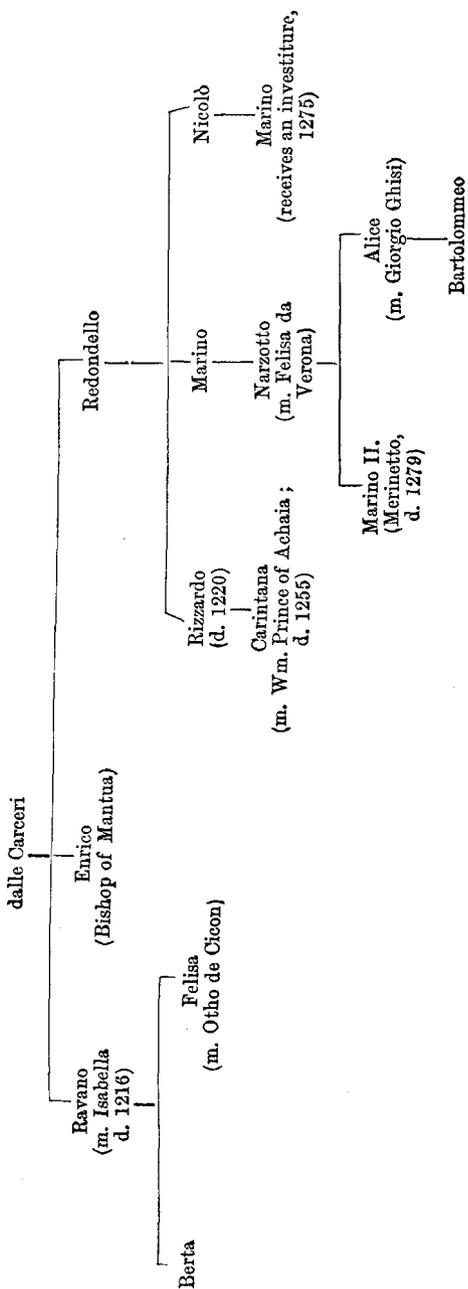
Venice made peace with Genoa in 1299, but did not come to terms with Andronikos, in spite of all attempts to negotiate a treaty until 1303. The peace of 1299 is interesting, in that it affords a parallel to the treaty of 1277 between Venice and Michael VIII. Support given by the Genoese to the Greeks against Venice was not to found a *casus belli* between the Republics. This was almost equivalent to stipulating that the war should be restricted to the east part of the Mediterranean.

At length in 1303 the war, which consisted mainly in piratical depredations (the Bailo of Negroponte fitting out *armatoli*), came to an end and a ten years' peace was made, which in 1310 was renewed for twelve years more.

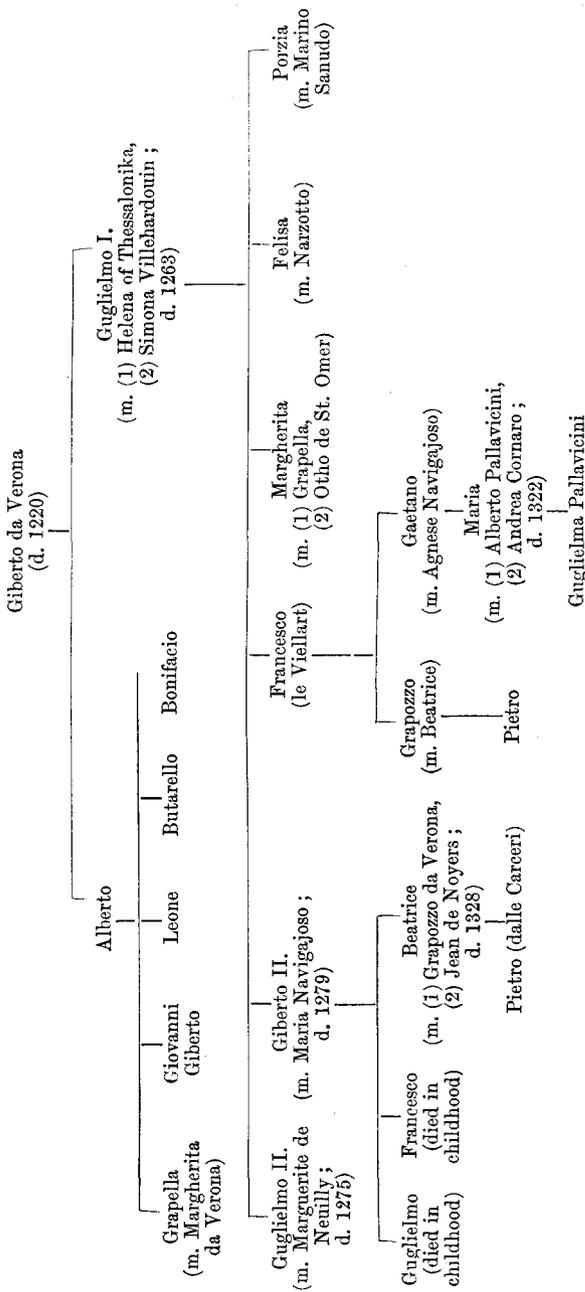
I.—THE THIRDS OF EUBOIA.

<i>Northern Third.</i>	<i>Central Third.</i>	<i>Southern Third.</i>
Pegoraro dei Pegorari, 1205	Giberto da Verona, 1205	Ravano dalle Carceri, 1205
Ravano dalle Carceri (before 1209)	Ravano dalle Carceri, 1209	Berta and Isabella, 1216
<i>First Sixth (Oreos).</i>	Alberto and Guglielmo I., 1216	<i>Second Sixth.</i>
Rizzardo, 1216	Guglielmo I. (before 1230)	Narzotto
Marino I., 1220	Guglielmo II., 1263	Marino II. (before 1270)
Carintana (? before 1247)	Giberto II., 1275	{ Maria
Grapella, 1255	{ Beatrice 1279 + Maria 1279	{ Alice, 1279
Grapozzo (before 1270)	{ John de Noyers (about 1303)	{ G. Ghisi
Pietro dalle Carceri (about 1315)	{ Beatrice (after 1310)	Bart. Ghisi
	{ John de Noyers	
	Beatrice, 1326	
	Pietro dalle Carceri, 1328	
		Pietro dalle Carceri, 1322

II.—HOUSE OF THE DALLE CARCERI.



III.—HOUSE DA VERONA.



NOTE.—If these genealogical tables are compared with those annexed to Hopf's *Abhandlung* on Karystos in the *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie* (1853), it will be found that they differ considerably. Some of the chief points in which the *Græchische Geschichte* has corrected the essay are : (1) In the essay Carintana was identified with Berta, Ravano's daughter ; (2) Grapella was supposed to be a woman ; (3) there was no Grapozzo ; (4) Gactano appeared as a son of Leone ; (5) Alice was made a *daughter* of Marino II. ; (6) Pietro was made a son of Francesco da Verona ; (7) Beatrice was supposed to be the sister of Guglielmo and daughter of Maria Pallavicini.

IV.—BAILI OF NEGROPONTE.

(1216-1470.)

1216. Pietro Barbo (il Zanco).	1325-1327. Marco Minotto.
(1216-1222. Not recorded.)	1327-1329. Marco Gradenigo.
1222-1224. Benedetto Falier.	1329-1331. Filippo Belegno.
(1224-1252. Not recorded.)	1331-1333. Pietro Zeno.
1252-1254. Leone Sanudo.	1333-1335. Belemo Civrano.
1254-1256. Paolo Gradenigo.	1335-1337. Nicolò Priuli.
1256-1258. Marco Gradenigo.	1337-1339. Andrea Dandolo.
1258-1259. Andrea Barozzi.	1339-1341. Benedetto da Molino.
1259-1261. Tommaso Giustiniani.	1341-1343. Pangrazio Giustiniani.
1261-1263. Andrea Barbarigo.	1343-1345. Nicolò Gradenigo.
1263-1265. Nicolò Barbarigo.	1345-1347. Marco Soranzo.
1265-1266. Giberto Dandolo.	1347-1349. Giovanni Dandolo.
1266-1267. Filippo Orio.	1349-1351. Tommaso Viaro.
1267-1268. Marco Bembo.	1351-1353. Nicolò Quirini.
1268-1269. Andrea Dandolo.	1353-1356. Michele Falier.
1269-1271. Andrea Zeno.	1356-1358. Giovanni Dandolo.
1271-1273. Nicolò Miglani.	1358-1360. Pietro Morosini.
1273-1275. Vittore Delfino.	1360-1362. Fantino Morosini.
1275-1276. Nicolò Quirini.	1362-1364. Pietro Gradenigo.
1276-1277. Andrea Dandolo Beretta.	1364-1366. Domenico Michieli.
1277-1278. Pietro Zeno.	1366-1368. Giovanni Giustiniani.
1278-1280. Nicolò Morosini Rosso.	1368-1370. Andrea Zeno.
1280-1282. Nicolò Falier.	1370-1372. Giovanni Delfino.
1282-1283. Andrea Zeno.	1372-1374. Bartolommeo Quirini.
1283-1285. Giovanni Zeno.	1374-1376. Pietro Mocenigo.
1285-1287. Jacopo da Molino.	1376-1378. Andrea Barbarigo.
1287-1289. Marino Soranzo.	1378-1379. Carlo Zeno.
1289-1291. Marco Michieli.	1379-1381. Pantaleone Barbo.
1291-1293. Nicolò Giustiniani.	1381-1383. Andrea Zeno.
(1293-1295. Not recorded.)	1383-1384. Marino Storlodo.
1295-1297. Jacopo Barozzi.	1384-1386. Fantino Giorgic.
1297-1299. Francesco Contarini.	1386-1387. Donato Trono.
1299-1300. Giovanni da Canale.	1387-1389. Saracino Dandolo.
1300-1302. Andrea Zeno.	1389-1391. Guglielmo Quirini.
1302-1304. Francesco Dandolo.	1391-1393. Gabriele Emo.
1304-1306. Pietro Morenigo.	1393-1395. Andrea Bembo.
1306-1308. Pietro Quirini Pizzagallo.	1395-1397. Carlo Zeno.
1308-1310. Belletto Falier.	1397-1399. Giovanni Alberto.
1310-1312. Luigi Morosini.	1399-1401. Nicolò Valaresso.
1312-1314. Enrico Delfino.	1401-1402. Francesco Bembo.
1314-1316. Gabriele Dandolo.	1402-1403. Tommaso Mocenigo.
1316-1317. Michele Morosini.	1403-1405. Bernardo Foscarini.
1317-1319. Francesco Dandolo.	1405-1408. Francesco Bembo.
1319-1321. Lodovico Morosini.	1408-1410. Nicolò Venier.
1321-1322. Gabriele Dandolo.	1410-1412. Paolo Quirini.
1322-1323. Marco Michieli.	1412-1414. Benedetto Trevisani.
1323-1325. Marino Falier.	1414-1416. Nicolò Giorgio.

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1416-1418. Vidale Miani.	1442-1444. Bertuccio Civrano.
1418-1420. Nicolò Malipiero.	1444-1446. Matteo Barbaro.
1420-1422. Marco Cornaro.	1446-1448. Vettore Duodo.
1422-1424. Daniele Loredano.	1448 Fantino Pisani.
1424-1425. Donato Arimondo.	1448-1451. Giovanni Malipiero.
1425-1427. Antonio Michieli.	1451-1453. Lorenzo Onorati.
1427-1429. Andrea Capello.	1453-1454. Paolo Loredano.
1429-1430. Nicolò Loredano.	1454-1456. Angelo Pesaro.
(1430-1431, vice-bailo Luigi Polano.)	1456-1459. Girolamo Bembo.
1431-1432. Andrea Gabrieli.	1459-1461. Leone Venier.
1432-1434. Maffeo Donato.	1461-1463. Leonardo Calbo.
1434-1436. Albano Sagredo.	1463-1465. Fantino Giorgio.
1436-1438. Melchior Grimani.	1465-1468. Francesco Gradenigo.
1438-1440. Fantino Pisani.	1468-1470. Paolo Erizzo.
1440-1442. Nicolo Buono.	

JOHN B. BURY.

(To be continued.)