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THE MARQUISATE OF BOUDONITZA (1204-1414).

OF all the feudal lordships, founded in Northern Greece at the time of the Frankish Conquest, the most important and the most enduring was the Marquisate of Boudonitza. Like the Venieri and the Viari in the two islands of Cerigo and Cerigotto at the extreme south, the lords of Boudonitza were Marquesses in the literal sense of the term—wardens of the Greek Marches—and they maintained their responsible position on the outskirts of the Duchy of Athens until after the establishment of the Turks in Thessaly. Apart, too, from its historic importance, the Marquisate of Boudonitza possesses the romantic glamour which is shed over a famous classical site by the chivalry of the middle ages. What stranger accident could there have been than that which made two noble Italian families the successive guardians of the historic pass which is for ever associated with the death of Leonidas!

Among the adventurers who accompanied Boniface of Montferrat, the new King of Salonika, on his march into Greece in the autumn of 1204, was Guido Pallavicini, the youngest son of a nobleman from near Parma who had gone to the East because at home every common man could hale him before the courts.¹ This was the vigorous personality who, in the eyes of his conquering chief, seemed peculiarly suited to watch over the pass of Thermopylae, whence the Greek archon, Léon Sgourós, had fled at the mere sight of the Latins in their coats of mail. Accordingly, he invested him with the fief of Boudonitza, and ere long, on the Hellenic substructures of Pharygae, rose the imposing fortress of the Italian Marquesses.

The site was admirably chosen, and is, indeed, one of the finest in Greece. The village of Boudonitza, Bodonitza, or Mendenitza, as it is now called, lies at a distance of three and a half hours on horseback from the baths of Thermopylae and nearly an hour and a half from the top of the pass which leads across the mountains to Dadi at the foot of Parnassos. The castle, which is visible for more than an hour as we approach from Thermopylae, stands on a hill which bars the valley and occupies a truly commanding position (Figs. 1 and 2). The Warden of the Marches, in the Frankish times, could watch from its battlements the blue Maliac Gulf with the even then important town of Stylista, the landing-place for Zetounion, or Lamia; his eye could traverse the channel up to, and beyond, the entrance to the Gulf

¹ Litta, *Le famiglie celebri italiane*, vol. v. Plate XIV.

of Almiro, as the Gulf of Volo was then called; in the distance he could descry two of the Northern Sporades—Skiathos and Skopelos—at first in the

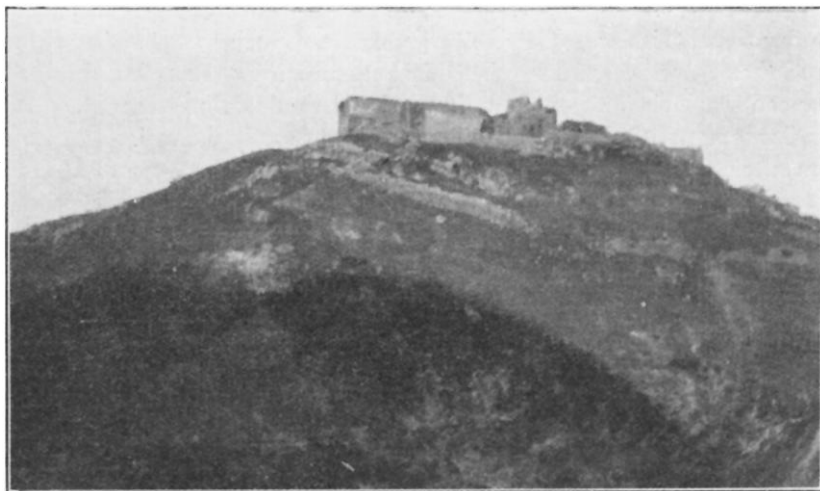


FIG. 1.—BOUDONITZA : THE CASTLE FROM THE WEST.
(From a Photograph by Mrs. Miller.)

hands of the friendly Ghisi, then reconquered by the hostile Byzantine forces. The northernmost of the three Lombard baronies of Euboea with the bright

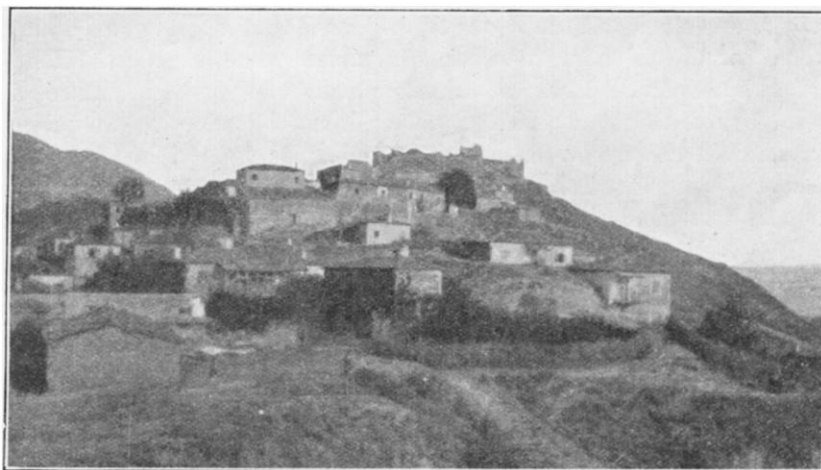


FIG. 2.—BOUDONITZA : THE CASTLE FROM THE EAST.
(From a Photograph by Mrs. Miller.)

streak which marks the baths of Aedepsos, and the little island of Panáia, or Canaia, between Euboea and the mainland, which was one of the last

remnants of Italian rule in this part of Greece, lay outstretched before him ; and no pirate craft could come up the Atalante channel without his knowledge. Landwards, the view is bounded by vast masses of mountains, but the danger was not yet from that quarter, while a rocky gorge, the bed of a dry torrent, isolates one side of the castle. Such was the site where, for more than two centuries, the Marquesses of Boudonitza watched, as advanced sentinels, first of 'new France' and then of Christendom.

The extent of the Marquisate cannot be exactly defined. In the early years after the Conquest we find the first Marquess part-owner of Lamia ;² his territory extended down to the sea, upon which later on his successors had considerable commercial transactions, and the harbour from which they obtained their supplies would seem to have been simply called the *skala* of Boudonitza.³ The Pallavicini's southern frontier marched with the Athenian *seigneurie* ; but their feudal relations were not with Athens, but with Achaia. Whether or no we accept the story of the 'Chronicle of the Morea,' that Boniface of Montferrat conferred the suzerainty of Boudonitza upon Guillaume de Champlitte, or the more probable story of the elder Sanudo, that the Emperor Baldwin II. gave it to Geoffroy II. de Villehardouin,⁴ it is certain that later on the Marquess was one of the twelve peers of Achaia,⁵ and in 1278 Charles I. of Naples, in his capacity of Prince of Achaia, accordingly notified the appointment of a bailie of the principality to the Marchioness of that day.⁶ It was only during the Catalan period that the Marquess came to be reckoned as a feudatory of Athens.⁷ Within his dominions was situated a Roman Catholic episcopal see—that of Thermopylae, dependent upon the metropolitan see of Athens. At first the bishop resided at the town which bore that name ; on its destruction, however, during those troublous times, the bishop and canons built an oratory at Boudonitza. Even there, however, the pirates penetrated and killed the bishop, whereupon in 1209 the then occupant of the see, the third of the series, begged Innocent III. to allow him to move to the abbey of 'Communio'—perhaps a monastery founded by one of the Comneni—within the same district.⁸ Towards the close of the fourteenth century, the bishop was commonly known by the title of 'Boudonitza,' because he resided there, and his see was then one of the four within the confines of the Athenian Duchy.⁹

Guido, first Marquess of Boudonitza, the 'Marchesopoulo,' as his Greek subjects called him, played a very important part in both the political and

² *Epistolae Innocentii III.* (ed. Baluze), ii. 477.

³ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II., xiv. 201, 213, 218, 222.

⁴ *Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, ll. 1559, 3187 ; *Le Livre de la Conqueste*, 102 ; *Libro de los Fechos*, 25, 26 ; *Cronaca di Morea*, apud Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 424 ; Dorótheos of Monemvasia, Βιβλίον Ἰστορικόν (ed. 1814), 461 ;

Sanudo, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, apud Hopf, *op. cit.*, 100.

⁵ Canciani, *Barbarorum Leges Antiquae*, iii. 507 ; Muntaner, *Cronaca*, ch. 261.

⁶ *Archivio storico italiano*, Ser. IV., i. 433.

⁷ Rubió y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia*, 482.

⁸ *Epistolae Innocentii III.*, ii. 265.

⁹ Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.* 481.

ecclesiastical history of his time—just the part which we should have expected from a man of his lawless disposition. The ‘Chronicle’ above quoted represents him as present at the siege of Corinth. He and his brother, whose name may have been Rubino, were among the leaders of the Lombard rebellion against the Latin Emperor Henry in 1209; he obstinately refused to attend the first Parliament of Ravenika in May of that year; and, leaving his castle undefended, he retreated with the still recalcitrant rebels behind the stronger walls of the Kadmeia at Thebes. This incident procured for Boudonitza the honour of its only Imperial visit; for the Emperor Henry lay there one evening—a certain Wednesday—on his way to Thebes, and thence rode, as the present writer has ridden, through the *closure*, or pass, which leads over the mountains and down to Dadi and the Boeotian plain—then, as now, the shortest route from Boudonitza to the Boeotian capital,¹⁰ and at that time the site of a church of our Lady *S. Maria de Clusurio*, the property of the abbot and canons of the Lord’s Temple. Like most of his fellow-nobles, the Marquess was not over-respectful of the rights and property of the Church to which he belonged. If he granted the strong position of Lamia to the Templars, he secularised property belonging to his bishop and displayed a marked unwillingness to pay tithes. We find him, however, with his fellows, signing the *concordat* which was drawn up to regulate the relations between Church and State at the second Parliament of Ravenika in May, 1210.¹¹

As one of the leading nobles of the Latin kingdom of Salonika, Guido continued to be associated with its fortunes. In 1221 we find him acting as bailie for the Regent Margaret during the minority of the young King Demetrius, in whose name he ratified a convention with the clergy respecting the property of the Church.¹² His territory became the refuge of the Catholic Archbishop of Larissa, upon whom the bishopric of Thermopylae was temporarily conferred by Honorius III., when the Greeks of Epirus drove him from his see. And when the ephemeral kingdom had fallen before them, the same Pope, in 1224, ordered Geoffroy II. de Villehardouin of Achaia, Othon de la Roche of Athens, and the three Lombard barons of Euboea to aid in defending the castle of Boudonitza, and rejoiced that 1,300 *hyperperi* had been subscribed by the prelates and clergy for its defence, so that it could be held by ‘G., lord of the aforesaid castle,’ till the arrival of the Marquess William of Montferrat.¹³ Guido was still living on May 2, 1237, when he made his will. Soon after that date he probably died; Hopf¹⁴ states in his genealogy, without citing any authority, that he was killed by the Greeks. He had survived most of his fellow-Crusaders; and,

¹⁰ Cairels *apud* Buchon, *Histoire des Conquêtes*, 449; Henri de Valenciennes *apud* Buchon, *Recherches et Matériaux*, ii. 203, 205-6.

¹¹ *Epistolae Innocentii III.*, ii. 261-2, 264, 477, 835-7; *Honorii III. Opera*, iv. 414.

¹² Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici* (ed. 1747),

i. 492.

¹³ *Regesta Honorii III.*, ii. 96, 167, 207, 333.

¹⁴ *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 478; and *apud* Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, lxxxv. 276.

in consequence of the Greek reconquest of Thessaly, his Marquisate was now, with the doubtful exception of Larissa, the northernmost of the Frankish fiefs, the veritable 'March' of Latin Hellas.

Guido had married a Burgundian lady named Sibylle, possibly a daughter of the house of Cicon, lately established in Greece, and therefore a cousin of Guy de la Roche of Athens. By her he had two daughters and a son, Ubertino, who succeeded him as second Marquess. Despite the feudal tie which should have bound him to the Prince of Achaia, and which he boldly repudiated, Ubertino assisted his cousin, the 'Great Lord' of Athens, in the fratricidal war between those prominent Frankish rulers, which culminated in the defeat of the Athenians at the battle of Karydi in 1258, where the Marquess was present, and whence he accompanied Guy de la Roche in his retreat to Thebes. In the following year, however, he obeyed the summons of the Prince of Achaia to take part in the fatal campaign in aid of the despot Michael II. of Epiros against the Greek Emperor of Nicaea, which ended on the plain of Pelagonia; and in 1263, when the Prince, after his return from his Greek prison, made war against the Greeks of the newly established Byzantine province in the Morea, the Marquess of Boudonitza was once more summoned to his aid.¹⁵ The revival of Greek power in Euboea at this period, and the frequent acts of piracy in the Atalante channel were of considerable detriment to the people of Boudonitza, whose food supplies were at times intercepted by the corsairs.¹⁶ But the Marquess Ubertino profited by the will of his sister Mabilia, who had married Azzo VII. d'Este of Ferrara, and bequeathed to her brother in 1264 her property near Parma.¹⁷

After the death of Ubertino, the Marquisate, like so many Frankish baronies, fell into the hands of a woman. The new Marchioness of Boudonitza was his second sister, Isabella, who is included in the above-mentioned circular note, addressed to all the great magnates of Achaia by Charles I. of Anjou, the new Prince, and notifying to them the appointment of Galeran d'Ivry as the Angevin vicar-general in the principality. On that occasion, the absence of the Marchioness was one of the reasons alleged by Archbishop Benedict of Patras, in the name of those present at Glarentza, for the refusal of homage to the new bailie.¹⁸ So important was the position of the Marquisate as one of the twelve peerages of Achaia.

The Marchioness Isabella died without children; and, accordingly, in 1286, a disputed succession arose between her husband, a Frank settled in the East, and the nearest male representative of the Pallavicini family, her cousin Tommaso, grandson of the first Marquess's brother, Rubino. The dispute was referred to Guillaume de la Roche, Duke of Athens, in his capacity of bailie of Achaia, before the feudal court of which a question

¹⁵ Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, II. 3196-3201, 3295-6, 4613; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 119, 160; *Cronaca di Morea*, 438-9; *Libro de los Fechos*, 56, 75.

¹⁶ *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Abt. II.,

xiv. 201, 213, 218, 222.

¹⁷ Litta, *l.c.*

¹⁸ Τὸ Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως, I. 7915; *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 260.

relating to Boudonitza would legally come. Tommaso, however, settled the matter by seizing the castle, and not only maintained himself there, but transmitted the Marquisate to his son, Alberto.¹⁹

The fifth Marquess is mentioned as among those summoned by Philip of Savoy, Prince of Achaia, to the famous Parliament and tournament on the Isthmus of Corinth in the spring of 1305, and as having been one of the magnates who obeyed the call of Philip's namesake and successor, Philip of Taranto, in 1307.²⁰ Four years later he fell, at the great battle of the Kephissos, fighting against the Catalans beneath the lion banner of Walter of Brienne,²¹ who by his will a few days before had bequeathed 100 *hyperperi* to the church of Boudonitza.²²

The Marquisate, alone of the Frankish territories north of the Isthmus, escaped conquest by the Catalans, though, as at Athens, a widow and her child were alone left to defend it. Alberto had married a rich Euboean heiress, Maria dalle Carceri, a scion of the Lombard family which had come from Verona at the time of the Conquest. By this marriage he had become a hexarch, or owner of one-sixth of that great island, and is so officially described in the Venetian list of Greek rulers. Upon his death, in accordance with the rules of succession laid down in the *Book of the Customs of the Empire of Romania*, the Marquisate was divided in equal shares between his widow and his infant daughter, Guglielma. Maria did not, however, long remain unconsolated; indeed, political considerations counselled an immediate marriage with someone powerful enough to protect her own and her child's interests from the Catalans of Athens. Hitherto the Wardens of the Northern March had only needed to think of the Greek enemies in front, for all the territory behind them, where Boudonitza was most easily assailable, had been in the hands of Frenchmen and friends. More fortunate than most of the high-born dames of Frankish Greece, the widowed Marchioness had avoided the fate of accepting one of her husband's conquerors as his successor. Being thus free to choose, she selected as her spouse Andrea Cornaro, a Venetian of good family, a great personage in Crete, and Baron of Skarpanto. Cornaro thus, in 1312, received, by virtue of his marriage, his wife's moiety of Boudonitza,²³ while her daughter conferred the remaining half, by her subsequent union with Bartolommeo Zaccaria, upon a member of that famous Genoese race, which already owned Chios and was about to establish a dynasty in the Morea.²⁴

Cornaro now came to reside in Euboea, where self-interest as well as patriotism led him to oppose the claims of Alfonso Fadrique, the new viceroy of the Catalan Duchy of Athens. His opposition and the natural ambition of Fadrique brought down, however, upon the Marquisate the

¹⁹ Hopf, *apud* Ersch und Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, lxxxv. 321. The original document has now been rendered illegible by the damp.

²⁰ *Le Livre de la Conquête*, 465; *Libro de los Fechos*, 114.

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²¹ *Ibid.* 120; Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 177; Sanudo, *op. cit.* 125.

²² D'Arbois de Jubainville, *Voyage paléographique dans le Département de l'Aube*, 337.

²³ Sanudo, *l.c.*

²⁴ *Archivio Veneto*, xx. 87, 89.

horrors of a Catalan invasion, and it was perhaps on this occasion that Bartolommeo Zaccaria was carried off as a captive and sent to a Sicilian prison, whence he was only released at the intervention of Pope John XXII. It was fortunate for the inhabitants of Boudonitza that Venice included Cornaro in the truce which she made with the Catalans in 1319.²⁵ Four years later he followed his wife to the grave, and her daughter was thenceforth sole Marchioness.

Guglielma Pallavicini was a true descendant of the first Marquess. Of all the rulers of Boudonitza, with his exception, she was the most self-willed, and she might be included in that by no means small number of strong-minded, unscrupulous, and passionate women, whom Frankish Greece produced and whom classic Greece might have envied as subjects for her tragic stage. On the death of her Genoese husband, she considered that both the proximity of Boudonitza to the Venetian colony of Negroponte and her long-standing claims to the castle of Larmena in that island required that she should marry a Venetian, especially as the decision of her claim and even her right to reside in the island depended upon the Venetian bailie. Accordingly, she begged the Republic to give her one of its nobles as her consort, and promised dutifully to accept whomsoever the Senate might choose. The choice fell upon Niccolò Giorgio, or Zorzi, to give him the Venetian form of the name, who belonged to a distinguished family which had given a Doge to the Republic and had recently assisted young Walter of Brienne in his abortive campaign to recover his father's lost duchy from the Catalans. A Venetian galley escorted him in 1335 to the haven of Boudonitza, and a Marquess, the founder of a new line, once more ruled over the castle of the Pallavicini.²⁶

At first there was no cause to regret the alliance. If the Catalans, now established at Neopatras and Lamia, within a few hours of Boudonitza, occupied several villages of the adjacent Marquisate, despite the recommendations of Venice, Niccolò I. came to terms with them, probably by agreeing to pay that annual tribute of four fully equipped horses to the Vicar-General of the Duchy of Athens, which we find constituting the feudal bond between that state and Boudonitza in the time of his son.²⁷ He espoused, too, the Euboean claims of his wife; but Venice, which had an eye upon the strong castle of Larmena, diplomatically referred the legal question to the bailie of Achaia, of which both Euboea and Boudonitza were technically still reckoned as dependencies. The bailie, in the name of the suzeraine Princess of Achaia, Catherine of Valois, decided against Guglielma, and the purchase of Larmena by Venice ended her hopes. Furious at her disappointment, the Marchioness accused her Venetian husband of cowardice and of bias towards his native city, while more domestic reasons increased her indignation. Her consort was a widower, while she had had a daughter by her first marriage, and

²⁵ Raynaldus, *op. cit.* v. 95; Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, i. 120-1. (See Appendix.)

²⁶ *Archivio Veneto, l.c.*; Misti, xvi. f. 97 t^o.

²⁷ Rubió y Lluch, *l.c.*; Çurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon*, ii. f. 537.

she suspected him of favouring his own offspring at the expense of her child, Marulla, in whose name she had deposited a large sum of money at the Venetian bank in Negroponte. To complete the family tragedy played within the walls of Boudonitza there was only now lacking a sinister ally of the angry wife. He, too, was forthcoming in the person of Manfredo Pallavicini, the relative, business adviser, and perhaps paramour, of the Marchioness. As one of the old conqueror's stock, he doubtless regarded the Venetian husband as an interloper who had first obtained the family honours and then betrayed his trust. At last a crisis arrived. Pallavicini insulted the Marquess, his feudal superior; the latter threw him into prison, whereupon the prisoner attempted the life of his lord. As a peer of Achaia, the Marquess enjoyed the right of inflicting capital punishment. He now exercised it; Pallavicini was executed, and the assembled burgesses of Boudonitza, if we may believe the Venetian version, approved the act, saying that it was better that a vassal should die rather than inflict an injury on his lord.

The sequel showed, however, that Guglielma was not appeased. She might have given assent with her lips to what the burgesses had said. But she worked upon their feelings of devotion to her family, which had ruled so long over them; they rose against the foreign Marquess at their Lady's instigation; and Niccolò was forced to flee across to Negroponte, leaving his little son Francesco and all his property behind him. Thence he proceeded to Venice, and laid his case before the Senate. That body warmly espoused his cause, and ordered the Marchioness to receive him back to his former honourable position, or to deliver up his property. In the event of her refusal, the bailie of Negroponte was instructed to break off all communication between Boudonitza and that island and to sequester her daughter's money still lying in the Euboean bank. In order to isolate her still further, letters were to be sent to the Catalans of Athens, requesting them not to interfere between husband and wife. As the Marchioness remained obdurate, Venice made a last effort for an amicable settlement, begging the Catalan leaders, Queen Joanna I. of Naples, as the head of the house of Anjou, to which the principality of Achaia belonged, and the Dauphin Humbert II. of Vienne, then commanding the Papal fleet against the Turks, to use their influence on behalf of her citizen. When this failed, the bailie carried out his instructions, confiscated the funds deposited in the bank, and paid Niccolò out of them the value of his property. Neither the loss of her daughter's money nor the spiritual weapons of Pope Clement VI. could move the obstinate Lady of Boudonitza, and in her local bishop, Nitardus of Thermopylae, she could easily find an adviser who dissuaded her from forgiveness.²⁸ So Niccolò never returned to Boudonitza; he served the Republic as envoy to the Servian Tsar, Dushan, and as one of the Doge's Councillors, and died at Venice in 1354. After his death, the Marchioness at once admitted their

²⁸ Misti, xvii. f. 71; xviii. f. 10; xx. ff. 37 63, 102^{to}, 103 (see Appendix); Predelli, *Com-*
memoriali, ii. p. 153.

only son, Francesco, the 'Marchesotto,' as he was called, now a youth of seventeen, to rule with her, and, as the Catalans were once more threatening her land, made overtures to the Republic. The latter, glad to know that a Venetian citizen was once more ruling as Marquess at Boudonitza, included him and his mother in its treaties with Athens, and when Guglielma died, in 1358, after a long and varied career, her son received back the confiscated property of his late half-sister.²⁹

The peaceful reign of Francesco was a great contrast to the stormy career of his mother. His Catalan neighbours, divided by the jealousies of rival chiefs, had no longer the energy for fresh conquests. The establishment of a Servian kingdom in Thessaly only affected the Marquess in so far as it enabled him to bestow his daughter's hand upon a Servian princelet.³⁰ The Turkish peril, which was destined to swallow up the Marquisate in the next generation, was, however, already threatening Catalans, Serbs, and Italians alike, and accordingly Francesco Giorgio was one of the magnates of Greece whom Pope Gregory XI. invited to the Congress on the Eastern question, which was summoned to meet at Thebes³¹ on October 1, 1373. But when the Athenian duchy, of which he was a tributary, was distracted by a disputed succession between Maria, Queen of Sicily, and Pedro IV. of Aragon, the Venetian Marquess, chafing at his vassalage and thinking that the moment was favourable for severing his connexion with the Catalans, declared for the Queen. He was, in fact, the most important member of the minority which was in her favour, for we are told that 'he had a very fine estate,' and we know that he had enriched himself by mercantile ventures. Accordingly he assisted the Navarrese Company in its attack upon the duchy, so that Pedro IV. wrote in 1381 to the Venetian bailie of Negroponte, begging him to prevent his fellow-countryman at Boudonitza from helping the King's enemies. As the Marquess had property in the island, he had given hostages to fortune. The victory of the Aragonese party closed the incident, and the generous policy of the victors was doubtless extended to him. But in 1388 the final overthrow of the Catalan rule by Nerio Acciajuoli made the Marquisate independent of the Duchy of Athens.³² In feudal lists—such as that of 1391—the Marquess continued to figure as one of the temporal peers of Achaia,³³ but his real position was that of a 'citizen and friend' of Venice, to whom he now looked for help in trouble.

Francesco may have lived to see this realisation of his hopes, for he seems to have died about 1388, leaving the Marquisate to his elder son, Giacomo, under the regency of his widow Euphrosyne, a daughter of the famous insular family of Sommaripa, which still survives in the Cyclades.³⁴

²⁹ *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, iii. 160; Predelli, *Commemoriali*, ii. 181; Misti, xxvii. f. 3; xxviii. f. 28.

³⁰ Orbini, *Regno degli Slavi*, 271.

³¹ Raynaldus, *op. cit.* vii. 224; Jauna, *Histoire générale des royaumes de Chypre, etc.*,

ii. 882.

³² Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.* 436, 482; Çurita, *l.c.*; Misti, xxxiv. f. 88 *vº*.

³³ *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, 230.

³⁴ Misti, xli. f. 58.

But the young Marquess soon found that he had only exchanged his tribute to the Catalan Vicar-General for a tribute to the Sultan. We are not told the exact moment at which Bajazet I. imposed this payment, but there can be little doubt that Boudonitza first became tributary to the Turks in the campaign of 1393-4, when 'the Thunderbolt' fell upon northern Greece, when the Marquess's Servian brother-in-law was driven from Pharsala and Domokó, when Lamia and Neopatras were surrendered, when the county of Salona, founded at the same time as Boudonitza, ceased to exist. On the way to Salona, the Sultan's army must have passed within four hours of Boudonitza, and we surmise that it was spared, either because the season was so late—Salona fell in February, 1394—or because the castle was so strong, or because its lord was a Venetian. This respite was prolonged by the fall of Bajazet at Angora and the fratricidal struggle between his sons, while the Marquess was careful to have himself included in the treaties of 1403, 1408, and 1409 between the Sultan Suleyman and Venice; a special clause in the first of these instruments released him from all obligations except that which he had incurred towards the Sultan's father Bajazet.³⁵ Still, even in Suleyman's time, such was his sense of insecurity, that he obtained leave from Venice to send his peasants and cattle over to the strong castle of Karystos in Euboea, of which his brother Niccolò had become the lessee.³⁶ He figured, too, in the treaty of 1405, which the Republic concluded with Antonio I. Acciajuoli, the new ruler of Athens, and might thus consider himself as safe from attack on the south.³⁷ Indeed, he was anxious to enlarge his responsibilities, for he was one of those who bid for the two Venetian islands of Tenos and Mykonos, when they were put up to auction in the following year. In this offer, however, he failed.³⁸

The death of Suleyman and the accession of his brother Musa in 1410 sealed the fate of the Marquess. Early in the spring a very large Turkish army appeared before the old castle. Boudonitza was strong, and its Marquess a resolute man, so that for a long time the siege was in vain. 'Giacomo,' says the Venetian document composed by his son, 'preferred, like the high-minded and true Christian that he was, to die rather than surrender the place.' But there was treachery within the castle walls; betrayed by one of his servants, the Marquess fell, like another Leonidas, bravely defending the mediaeval Thermopylae against the new Persian invasion. Even then, his sons, 'following in their father's footsteps,' held the castle some time longer in the hope that Venice would remember her distant children in their distress. The Senate did, indeed, order the Captain of the Gulf to make inquiries whether Boudonitza still resisted and in that case to send succour to its gallant defenders—the cautious Government added—'with as little expense as possible.' But before the watchmen on the keep could descry the

³⁵ Thomas and Predelli, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levanticum*, ii. 292; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 295, 302.

³⁶ Sáthas, *Μνημεία Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας*, ii. 210.

³⁷ Predelli, *Commemoriali*, iii. p. 310 (given in full by Lámpros, *Ἐγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* 399).

³⁸ Sáthas, *op. cit.* ii. 145.

Captain sailing up the Atalante channel, all was over; both food and ammunition had given out and the Zorzi were constrained to surrender, on condition that their lives and property were spared. The Turks broke their promises, deprived their prisoners of their goods, expelled them from the home of their ancestors, and dragged young Niccolò to the Sultan's Court at Adrianople.³⁹

Considerable confusion prevails in this last act of the history of Boudonitza, owing to the fact that the two leading personages, the brother and eldest son of the late Marquess, bore the same name of Niccolò. Hopf has accordingly adopted two different versions in his three accounts of these events. On a review of the documentary evidence, it would seem that the brother, the Baron of Karystos, was not at Boudonitza during the siege, and that, on the capture of his nephew, he proclaimed himself Marquess. Venice recognised his title, and instructed her envoy to Musa to include him in her treaty with the Sultan and to procure at the same time the release of the late Marquess's son. Accordingly, in the peace of 1411, Musa promised, for love of Venice and seeing that he passed as a Venetian, to harass him no more, on condition that he paid the tribute established. Not only so, but the Marquess's ships and merchandise were allowed to enter the Turkish dominions on payment of a fixed duty.⁴⁰ Thus temporarily restored, the Marquisate remained in the possession of the uncle, from whom the nephew, even after his release, either could not, or cared not to claim it. He withdrew to Venice, and, many years later, received, as the reward of his father's heroic defence of Boudonitza, the post of *châtelain* of Pteleon, near the mouth of the Gulf of Volo, the last Venetian outpost on the mainland of North-Eastern Greece—a position which he held for eight years.⁴¹

Meanwhile, his uncle, the Marquess, had lost all but his barren title. Though the Turks had evacuated Boudonitza, and the castle had been repaired, he felt so insecure that he sent his bishop as an emissary to Venice, begging for aid in the event of a fresh Turkish invasion and for permission to transport back to Boudonitza the serfs whom he had sent across to Karystos a few years before.⁴² His fears proved to be well founded. In vain the Republic gave orders that he should be included in her treaty with the new Sultan, Mohammed I. On June 20, 1414, a large Turkish army attacked and took the castle, and with it many prisoners, the Marquess, so it would seem, among them—for in the following year we find his wife, an adopted daughter of the Duke of Athens, appealing to Venice to obtain his release from his Turkish dungeon.⁴³ He recovered his freedom, but not his Marquisate. In the treaty of 1416, Boudonitza was, indeed, actually assigned to

³⁹ *Revue de l'Orient latin*, vi. 119; Sáthas, *op. cit.* iii. 431; *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum*, ix. 90-91; Misti, *xlvi*. ff. 143, 148.

⁴⁰ *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 513; Thomas and Predelli, *op. cit.* 203.

⁴¹ *Revue de l'Orient latin* vi. 119; Sáthas,

op. cit. 430-1.

⁴² Sáthas, *op. cit.* ii. 270-1.

⁴³ Sanudo and Navagero, *apud* Muratori *S.R.I.* xxii. 890, xxiii. 1080; Cronaca di Amadeo Valier (Cod. Cicogna, N. 297), ii. f. 259; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iv. 546.

him in return for the usual tribute ; but nine years later we find Venice still vainly endeavouring to obtain its restitution.⁴⁴ He continued, however, to hold the title of Marquess of Boudonitza with the castle of Karystos, which descended to his son, the 'Marchesotto,' and his son's son,⁴⁵ till the Turkish conquest of Euboea in 1470 put an end to Venetian rule over that great island. Thence the last titular Marquess of Boudonitza, after governing Lepanto, retired to Venice, whence the Zorzi came and where they are still largely represented.

Of the castle, where for two hundred years Pallavicini and Zorzi held sway, much has survived the two Turkish sieges and the silent ravages of five centuries. Originally there must have been a triple enclosure, for

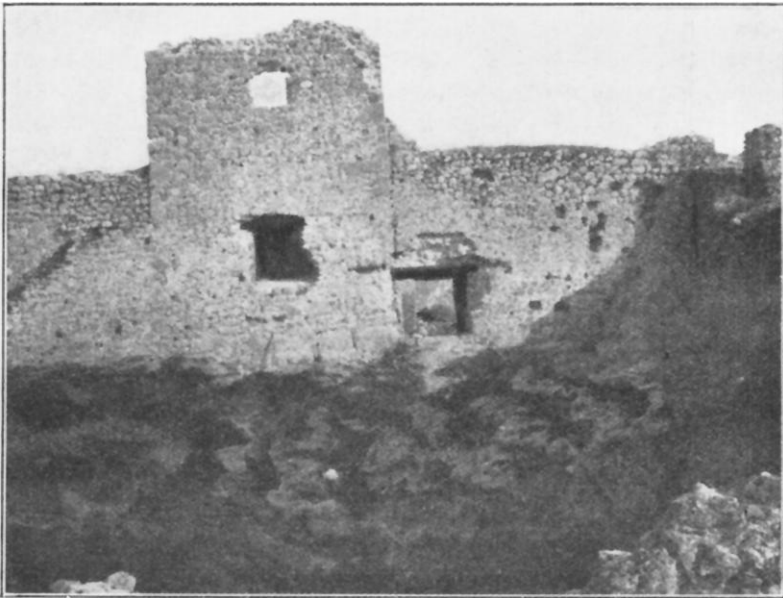


FIG. 3.—BOUDONITZA : THE KEEP AND THE HELLENIC GATEWAY.
(From a Photograph by Miss Gray.)

several square towers of the third and lowest wall are still standing in the village and outside it. Of the second enceinte the most noticeable fragment is a large tower in ruins, while the innermost wall is strengthened by three more. In the centre of this last enclosure are the imposing remains of the large square donjon (Fig. 3), and adjoining this is the most interesting feature of the castle—the great Hellenic gateway (Fig. 4), which connects one portion of this enclosure with the other, and which Buchon has described so inaccurately.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Sanudo and Navagero, *ibidem*, xxii. 911, xxiii. 1081 ; *Revue de l'Orient latin*, v. 196.

⁴⁵ Sáthas, *op. cit.* iii. 429-30 ; Hopf, *Dissert-*

tazione documentata sulla storia di Karystos (tr. Sardagna, 91-5).

⁴⁶ *La Grèce continentale et la Morée*, 286.

It is *not* 'composed of six stones,' but of three huge blocks, nor do 'the two upper stones meet at an acute angle'; a single horizontal block forms the top. Buchon omits to mention the Byzantine decoration in brick above this gateway. Of the brick conduit which he mentions I could find no trace, but the two cisterns remain. The large building near them is presumably the Frankish church of which he speaks; but the window which he found there no longer exists. Possibly, when the new church in the village was erected, the builders took materials from the chapel in the castle for its construction. At any rate, that very modern and commonplace edifice

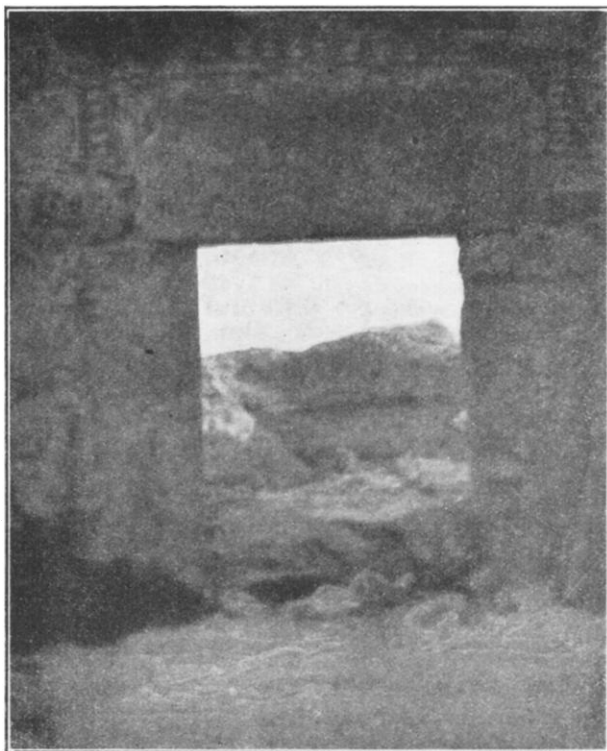


FIG. 4.—BOUDONITZA.—THE HELLENIC GATEWAY.
(From a Photograph by Miss Gray.)

contains several fragments of ancient work. Thus, the stone threshold of the west door bears three large roses, while on the doorway itself are two stars; and the north door is profusely decorated with a rose, two curious creatures like griffins, two circles containing triangles, and a leaf; above this door is a cross, each arm of which forms a smaller cross. As usually happens in the Frankish castles of Greece—with the exception of Geraki—there are no coats of arms at Boudonitza, unless this composite cross is an allusion to the 'three crosses,' said to have been originally borne by one branch of the

Pallavicini. The 'mediaeval seal' in the possession of a local family dates from the reign of Otho! The Marquesses have left behind them neither their portraits—like the Palatine Counts of Cephalonia of the second dynasty—nor any coins—like the French barons of Salona, to whom they bear the nearest resemblance. One of their line, however, the Marquess Alberto, figures in M. Rangabés's play, *The Duchess of Athens*, and their castle and their oftentimes stormy lives fill not the least picturesque page of that romance which French and Italian adventurers wrote with their swords in the classic sites of Hellas.

W. MILLER.

APPENDIX.

I.

1335 DIE XVI JANUARIJ.

Capta. Quod vir nobilis Ser Nicolaus Georgio, cum sua familia et levibus arnesiis possit ire cum galeis nostris unionis. Et committatur Capitaneo, quod eum conducat Nigropontum, et si poterit eum facere deponi ad Bondenizam, sine sinistro armate faciat inde sicut ei videbitur.—Omnes de parte.

Misti, xvi. f. 97 tº.

II.

1345 DIE 21 JULIJ.

Capta. Cum dominacio ducalis ex debito teneatur suos cives in eorum iuribus et honoribus cum justicia conservare et dominus Nicolaus Georgio, Marchio Bondancie, sit iniuriatus ut scitis, et Marchionatu suo per eius uxorem indebite molestatus, et dignum sit, subvenire eidem in eo quod cum honore dominacionis comode fieri potest, ideo visa et examinata petitione ipsius marchionis, et matura et diligenti deliberatione prehabita, consulunt concorditer viri nobiles, domini, Benedictus de Molino et Pangracius Justiniano; quod committatur consiliario ituro Nigropontum, quod postquam illuc applicuerit vadat ad dominam Marchisanam, uxorem dicti domini Nicolay pro ambaxatore, exponendo eidem, quomodo iam diu ipsam ad dominacionem misit suos procuratores et ambaxatores petens sibi per dominacionem de uno nobilium suorum pro marito provideri, et volens dominacio suis beneplacitis complacere, consensit quod ipse dominus Nicolaus carus civis suus ad eam iret, quem ipsa domina receptando, ostendit id habere multum ad bonum. Et quoniam ob hoc semper Ducale Dominium promptum et favorabilem se exhibuit ad omnia que suam et suorum securitatem respicerent et augmentum, treugas quamplurimas confirmando et opportuna alia faciendo. Sed cum nuperrime per relacionem ipsius domini Nicolay viri sui ad ducalis magnificentie audienciam sit deductus de morte cuiusdam Pallavesini inopinatus casus occursus qui mortuus fuit in culpa sua, sicut postmodum extitit manifestum, quia dum ipse Marchio coram omnibus burgensibus congregatis, de velle et consensu dicte domine exponeret rei geste seriem, ab ipsis habuit in responsum quod ipse Palavesin dignam penam luerat propter foliam suam, et melius erat, quod ipse, qui vaxallus erat mortuus fuisset quam dicto suo domino iniuriam aliquam intulisset, quod ecciam ipsa domina in presencia dictorum burgensium ratificavit. Unde consideratis predictis vellit amore domini, ipsum dominum Nicolaum honori pristino restituere, quod si fecerit, quamquam sit iustum et honestum nobis plurimum complacebit, et erimus suis comodis stricius obligati. Verum si dicta domina dubitaret

de recipiendo ipsum dicat et exponat ambaxator prefatus, quod firmiter dominacio hanc rem super se assumpsit et taliter imposuit civi suo quod minime poterit dubitare. Que omnia si dicta domina acetabit bene quidem, si vero non contentaretur et ipsum recipere non vellet, procuret habere et obtinere omnia bona dicti Marchionis que secum scripta portet antedictus ambaxator et si ipsa ea bona dare neglexerit, dicat quod bona sua et suorum ubicumque intromitti faciemus, et protestetur cum notario, quem secum teneatur ducere, quod tantam iniuriam, quam dominacio suam propriam reputat, non poterit sustinere, sed providebit de remediis opportunis sicuti honori suo et indenitati sui civis viderit convenire, firmiter tenens quod sicut semper dominacio ad sui conservacionem et suorum exhibuit se promptam favorabilem et benignam, sic in omnibus reperiet ipsam mutata, agravando factum cum hijs et alijs verbis, ut viderit convenire. Et rediens Nigropontum omnia, que gexerit, fecerit et habuerit, studeat velociter dominacioni per suas literas denotare. Verum si dictus consiliarius iturus tardaret ire ad regimen suum, quod baiullus et consiliarij Nigropontis determinent quis consiliariorum de inde ad complendum predicta ire debeat.

Et scribatur baiullo et consiliarijs Nigropontis, quod si habebunt post redditum dieti ambaxatoris, quod ipsa domina stet dura nec vellit ipsum dominum Nicolaum recipere, quod possint si eis videbitur facere et ordinare quod homines Bondanicie non veniant Nigropontum et quod homines Nigropontis non vadant Bondaniciam.

Item prefati baiullus et consiliarij sequestracionem factam de aliqua pecunie quantitate que pecunia est damiselle Marulle filie dicte domine firmam tenere debeant, donec predicta fuerint reformata, pacificata vel diffinita, vel donec aliud sibi mandaretur de hinc.

Et scribantur litere illis de la compagna, quas dominus bayullus et consiliarij presentent vel presentari fatiant, cum eis videbitur, rogando dictos de compagna, quod cum aliq̄ue discordie venerint inter virum nobilem dominum Nicolam Georgio et eius uxorem Marchisanam se in aliquo facto dicte domine intromittere non vellint quod posset civi nostro contrariare ad veniendum ad suam intentionem.

De non 14—Non sinceri 13.—Alij de parte.

Misti, xxiii. f. 26.

III.

1345 DIE V AUGUSTI.

Capta. Quod respondeatur domine Marchisane Bondinicie ad suas litteras substinendo ius civis nostri Nicolai Georgio, cum illis verbis que videbuntur sequendo id quod captum fuit pridie in hoc consilio in favorem civis nostri.

Misti, xxiii. f. 30 v.

IV.

1346 DIE XXIV JANUARIJ.

Capta. Quod scribatur nostro Baiulo et Consiliariis Nigropontis quod Ser Moretus Gradonico consiliarius, vel alius sicut videbitur Baiulo et Consiliariis, in nostrum ambaxatorem ire debeat ad dominam Marchionissam Bondenicie, et sibi exponat pro parte nostra quod attenta honesta et rationabili requisitione nostra quam sibi fieri fecimus per virum Nobilem Johannem Justiniano nostrum consiliarium Nigroponti, quem ad eam propterea in nostrum ambaxatorem transmisimus super reformatione scandali orti inter ipsam et virum nobilem Nicolaum Georgio eius virum in reconciliatione ipsius cum dicto viro suo : Et intellecta responsione quam super premissis fecit nostro ambaxatori predicto gravamur et turbamur sicut merito possumus et debemus, de modo quem ipsam servavit et servat erga dictum virum suum. Nam sibi plene poterat et debebat sufficere remissio et reconciliatio cum [eo?] facta coram nobis per dictum eius virum, secundum nostrum mandatum, et nuncio suo in nostra presencia constituto de omni offensa et iniuria sibi facta, et debebat esse certa quod quicquid idem Marchio in nostra presencia et ex nostro

mandato promittebat effectualiter observasse. Et quod volentes quod bona dispositio dicti viri sui et paciencia nostra de tanta iniuria facta civi nostro sibi plenius innotescat deliberavimus iterato ad eam mittere ipsum in nostrum ambaxatorem ad requirendum et rogandum ipsam quod debeat reconciliare cum dicto viro suo et eum recipere ad honorem et statum in quo erat antequam inde recederet, nam quamvis hoc sit sibi debitum et conveniat pro honore et bono suo, tamen erit gratissimum menti nostre et ad conservationem ipsius marchionisse et suorum avidius nos disponet et circa hoc alia dicat que pro bono facto viderit opportuna.

Si vero dicta marchionissa id facere recusaret nec vellet condescendere nostre intentioni et requisitioni predictae, dictus Ser Moretus assignet terminum dicte Marchionisse unius mensis infra quem debeat complevisse cum effectu nostram requisitionem premissam. Et sibi expresse dicat, quod elapso dicto termino nulla alia requisitione sibi facta, cum non intendamus dicto civi nostro in tanto suo iure deficere, faciemus intromitti personas et bona suorum et sua ubicumque in forcio nostro poterunt reperire. Et ultra hoc providebimus in dicto facto de omnibus favoribus et remediis, que pro bono et conservacione dicti civis nostri videbimus opportuna. Et si propter premissa dicta Marchionissa ipsum recipere et reintegrare voluerit bene quidem sin autem scribatur dicto baiulo et consiliariis quod elapso termino dicti mensis et ipsa marchionissa premissa facere recusante mittant ad nos per cambium sine aliquo periculo yperpera octomillia quinquaginta vel circa que sunt apud Thomam Lippomanum et Nicolaum de Gandulfo, qua pecunia Venecias veniente disponetur et providebitur de ipsa sicut dominationi videbitur esse iustum.

Capta. Item quod scribatur domino Delphino Vihennensi et illis de Compagna in favorem dicti civis nostri et recommendando ei iura et iusticiam ipsius in illa forma et cum illis verbis que dominationi pro bono facti utilia et necessaria videbuntur.

Non sinceri 15—Non 12.—De parte 57.

Misti, xxiii. f. 46 t^o.

V.

1348 DIE XI FEBRUARII PRIME INDICIONIS.

Capta. Quod possint scribi littere domino Pape et aliquibus Cardinalibus in recommendacione iuris domini Nicolai Georgio marchionis Bondinicie nostri civis in forma inferius anotata.

Domino Pape.

Sanctissime pater pro civibus meis contra Deum et iusticiam aggravatis, Sanctitati Vestre supplicationes meas porrigo cum reverentia speciali: Unde cum nobilis vir Nicolaus Georgio Marchio Bondinicie honorabilis civis meus, iam duodecim annis matrimonii iura contraserit cum domina Marchionissa Bondinicie predictae et cum ea affectione maritali permanserit habens ex ea filium legiptimum, qui est annorum undecim, ipsa domina Marchionissa in preiudicium anime sue, Dei timore postposito ipsum virum suum recusat recipere, et castrum Bondinicie et alia bona spectantia eidem suo viro tenet iniuste et indebite occupata in grave damnum civis mei predicti et Dei iniuriam manifestam precipientis, ut quos Deus coniunxit homo non separet: Unde Sanctitati Vestre humiliter supplico quatenus Clementie Vestre placeat dictum civem meum habere in suo iure favorabiliter commendatum, ut dicta domina eum tanquam virum legiptimum recipiat et affectione maritali pertractet sicut iura Dei precipiunt, atque volunt, et salus animarum etiam id exposcit. Cum ipse civis meus sit paratus ex sua parte ipsam dominam pro uxore legiptima tractare pacifice et habere.

Misti, xxiv. f. 63.

Note.—The 'Misti' are cited throughout from the originals at Venice; I have corrected the dates to the modern style.

W. M.