

VI

THE CATALANS IN GREECE

1311-1380

When night descended on the battlefield of the Cephissus on Monday, March 15, in the year 1311, the last day of Burgundian greatness in Greece had drawn to a dark and tragic close. Never again would a Frankish duke of Athens disport himself with confident pride and rich panoply in a tournament in Greece, as had Guy II de la Roche in the famed Corinthian lists of a half dozen years before. In the marshes of the Cephissus Walter of Brienne, last Burgundian duke of Athens, had perished with, it was claimed, seven hundred knights, and the Catalan Grand Company now took over the duchy of Athens and Thebes, together with the wives of the many Frenchmen they had slain.

Extensive bibliographies of Catalan activity in the Levant in the fourteenth century, together with much related material, may be found in Kenneth M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311-1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp. 261-301, and in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 (1966), 908-938. There is another bibliographical survey in Salvatore Tramontana, "Per la storia della 'Compagnia Catalana' in Oriente," *Nuova rivista storica*, XLVI (1962), 58-95; see also R. Ignatius Burns, S.J., "The Catalan Company and the European Powers, 1305-1311," *Speculum*, XXIX (1954), 751-771. At about the same time as the appearance of the *Catalan Domination of Athens*, which contains (pp. 286-291) a discussion of the works of the great Catalan historian Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1855-1937), the Institut d'Estudis Catalans in Barcelona published Rubió's *Diplomatari de l'Orient català*, which issued from the press at the end of the year 1947, and which forms a landmark in the historiography of the Catalans in Greece and elsewhere in the Levant in the fourteenth century. During a scholarly career of over half a century Rubió i Lluch published some forty books, articles, and monographs on his countrymen in Greece, several of which are cited below.

During the twenty-five years since *Catalan Domination* appeared, various works have added substantially to our knowledge of the Catalan states in Athens and Neopatras. Especially important have been the studies of Raymond J. Loenertz, O.P., "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et notices pour servir à l'histoire des duchés catalans (1311-1394)," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, XXV (1955), 100-212, 428-431; "Athènes et Néopatras: Regestes et documents pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des duchés catalans (1311-1395)," *ibid.*, XXVIII (1958), 5-91; and "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce (1376-1383): Regestes et documents," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), 319-360. Other pertinent articles by Loenertz include "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^e siècle (1382-1404)," *Études byzantines*, I (1943), 152-196; "Généalogie des Ghisi, dynastes

The Grand Company had first been organized by Roger de Flor of Brindisi, a turncoat Templar, shortly after the twenty years' war between the houses of Anjou and Aragon over possession of the island of Sicily had finally ended in the treaty of Caltabellotta (August 31, 1302). Members of the Company had helped maintain the energetic king Frederick II upon the throne of Sicily (1296–

vénitiens dans l'Archipel (1207–1390),” *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXVIII (1962), 121–172, 322–335; “La Chronique brève de 1352,” *ibid.*, XXIX (1963), 331–356, and XXX (1964), 39–64; “Les Querini, comtes d’Astypalée (1413–1537),” *ibid.*, XXX (1964), 385–397; “Une Page de Jérôme Zurita relative aux duchés catalans de Grèce (1386),” *Revue des études byzantines*, XIV (1956), 158–168; and “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1 (Studi e testi, no. 232; Vatican City, 1964), 399–439. A few of these articles, but unfortunately not those in the *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (the most important for our purpose), have recently been reprinted in R. J. Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca*, ed. Peter Schreiner (Rome, 1970).

Among other recent works mention must be made of Antoine Bon’s important study of *La Morée franque: Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d’Achaïe (1205–1430)* (2 vols., Paris, 1969). Jean Longnon has written a well-known account of *L’Empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris, 1949), and D. A. Zakythinos, an equally well-known history of *Le Despotat grec de Morée* (2 vols., Paris and Athens, 1932–1953). Freddy Thiriet has published the extremely useful *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie* (3 vols., Paris and The Hague, 1958–1961), as well as a very readable book on *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen-âge: Le Développement et l’exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XII^e–XV^e siècles)* (Paris, 1959). The Catalans figure prominently in Paul Lemerle’s unusual monograph on *L’Émirat d’Aydin, Byzance et l’Occident: Recherches sur “La Geste d’Umur Pacha”* (Paris, 1957). The once-perplexing problem of a Catalan duchess of Athens and some “mysterious documents” was cleared up in K. M. Setton, “Archbishop Pierre d’Ameil in Naples and the Affair of Aimon III of Geneva (1363–1364),” *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), 643–691. Wilhelm de Vries, S.J., has given us a survey of papal efforts against schismatics and heretics in the fourteenth century, in “Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten,” *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXX (1964), 85–128, and we may also note the monograph by F. J. Boehlke, Jr., *Pierre de Thomas: Scholar, Diplomat, and Crusader* (Philadelphia, 1966), and that by G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe* (Brescia, 1968). On the latter subject, cf. also K. M. Setton, “The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, XVIII (1945–1949, publ. in 1960), 105–122, which study, together with the one on Pierre d’Ameil referred to above (as well as a number of others), has just been reprinted in *Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (London, 1974).

Of various articles by Anthony T. Luttrell, in addition to those cited in the notes to chapter VIII, below, special attention should be called to the following: “The Principality of Achaia in 1377,” *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, LVII (1964), 340–345; “The Latins of Argos and Nauplia, 1311–1394,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (new series, vol. XXI, 1966), 34–55; “Malta and the Aragonese Crown (1282–1530),” *Journal of the Faculty of Arts*, Royal Malta University, III-1 (1965), 1–9, and “The House of Aragon and Malta: 1282–1412,” *ibid.*, IV-2 (1970), 156–168; “John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople,” in *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero: Miscelánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (1968), pp. 265–277; and “Venezia e il principato di Acaia: secolo XIV,” *Studi veneziani*, X (1968), 407–414. Cf. in general F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo* (2 vols., Palermo, 1953–1959); C. E. Dufourcq, *L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1966); and J. A. Robson, “The Catalan Fleet and Moorish Sea-power (1337–1344),” *English Historical Review*, LXXIV (1959), 386–408. The feudal

1337), to the great humiliation of pope Boniface VIII and the Angevins in Naples. With the advent of peace they needed employment, which they found, under Roger's command, in the service of the Byzantine emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus,¹ who hoped to use their strength against the newly risen power of the Ottoman Turks in Asia Minor. In September 1303 Roger de Flor and the chief body of the Company had arrived in Constantinople, having sacked the island of Ceos on the way (August 18, 1303). The Turks in Asia Minor soon felt the heavy force of their arms and learned of their prowess. Roger was ambitious, however, and having married into the imperial family, he became, as the months passed, an object of not unwarranted suspicion in the capital. It was feared that he might prefer the part of a ruler to that of a defender of the empire. At the end of April 1305 he was murdered by the Palaeologi, but the Catalan Company, which had come to include Turks in their ranks, held much of the Gallipoli peninsula until June 1307; thereafter they moved westward rapidly, ravaging Thrace and Macedonia; by the end of August 1307 they were at Cassandrea in the Chalcidic peninsula; in the spring and summer of 1308 we find them menacing the monks of Mt. Athos; in the spring of 1309 they entered the plains of Thessaly, and a year later passed into the employ of duke Walter I of

world of Latin Greece is depicted in David Jacoby, "Les Archontes grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et mémoires*, II (Paris, 1967), 421–481. Jacoby has also written on "La 'Compagnie catalane' et l'état catalan de Grèce: Quelques aspects de leur histoire," *Journal des savants*, 1966, pp. 78–103, and has produced the most discerning work thus far written on the "Assizes of Romania," the feudal law code of Frankish Greece, in *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris and The Hague, 1971). Although the Catalans in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatra lived under the "laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona" (*fori Aragonie vel consuetudines Barchinonie*), a knowledge of the Assizes adds much to one's understanding of the political and social conditions which obtained in the Latin states neighboring upon the Catalan duchies in Greece. On such conditions within these duchies, see Setton, "Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century," in the dedicatory volume to the late Basil Laourdas, now in the press in Thessaloniki.

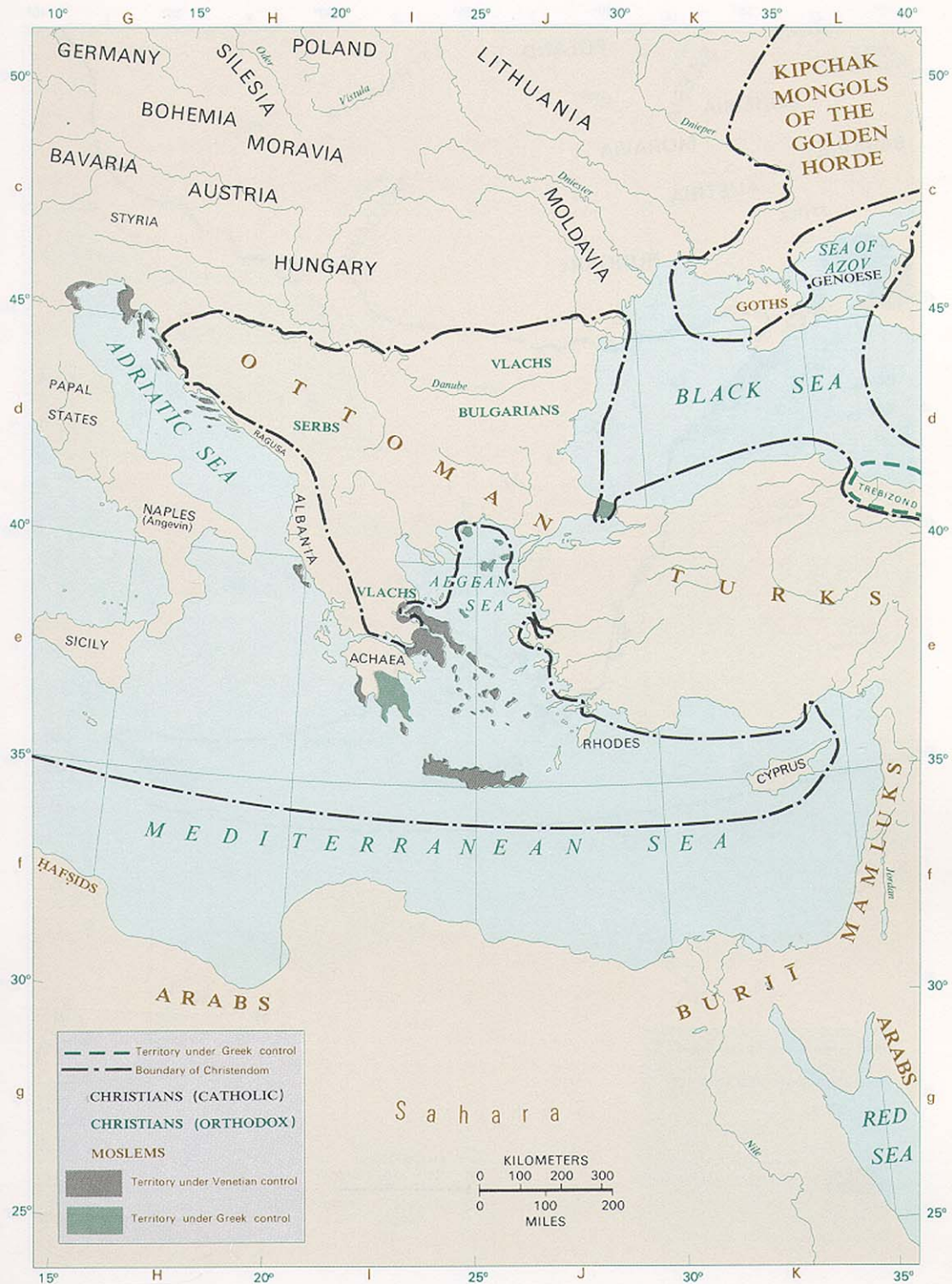
1. The account of Raymond Muntaner, who was close to Roger de Flor, makes clear that the initiative for the Company's employment by Andronicus II lay with Roger, who was fluent in Greek (*Crònica*, ch. CXCIX, ed. Karl Lanz, *Chronik des edlen En Ramon Muntaner* [Stuttgart, 1844], p. 358; ed. E. B. [Enric Bogue], 9 vols. in 2, VI [Barcelona, 1951], 20). At the time of their departure from Messina the Company consisted of 1,500 horse, some 4,000 *almogàvers* (Castilian, *almogávares*), and 1,000 other footsoldiers, all of whom were Catalans or Aragonese (ch. CCI, Lanz, p. 361; E. B., VI, 22; and cf. ch. CCIII). They were later reinforced by 300 horse and 1,000 *almogàvers* (ch. CCXI, Lanz, p. 376; E. B., VI, 41), but after the murder of Roger de Flor, the Byzantines allegedly killed so many of the Company that only 3,307 men, both horse and foot, remained (ch. CCXV, Lanz, p. 382; E. B., VI, 47). These numbers were further reduced by an encounter with the Genoese, leaving only 206 horse and 1,256 foot, according to Muntaner (ch. CCXV, CCXIX, Lanz, pp. 383, 386; E. B., VI, 48, 52), but before leaving Gallipoli the Company was joined by a Turkish force of 800 horse and 2,000 foot (ch. CCXXVIII, Lanz, p. 405; E. B., VI, 76), and more Catalans and Aragonese were subsequently added to their forces.

Athens.² They served him for six months against the Greek rulers of Thessaly and Epirus and against the emperor Andronicus himself; they won him lands and castles in southern Thessaly; and when his use for them was done, he sought to dismiss them, although he still owed them four months' wages. He chose from among them two hundred knights and three hundred *almogàvers*; to these he paid what he owed them, gave them lands, and enfranchised them; the others he ordered to be gone. But the Company claimed the right to hold of him, as fiefs, some strongholds which they had taken in southern Thessaly, and which they refused to give up to him, for they had nowhere else to go.

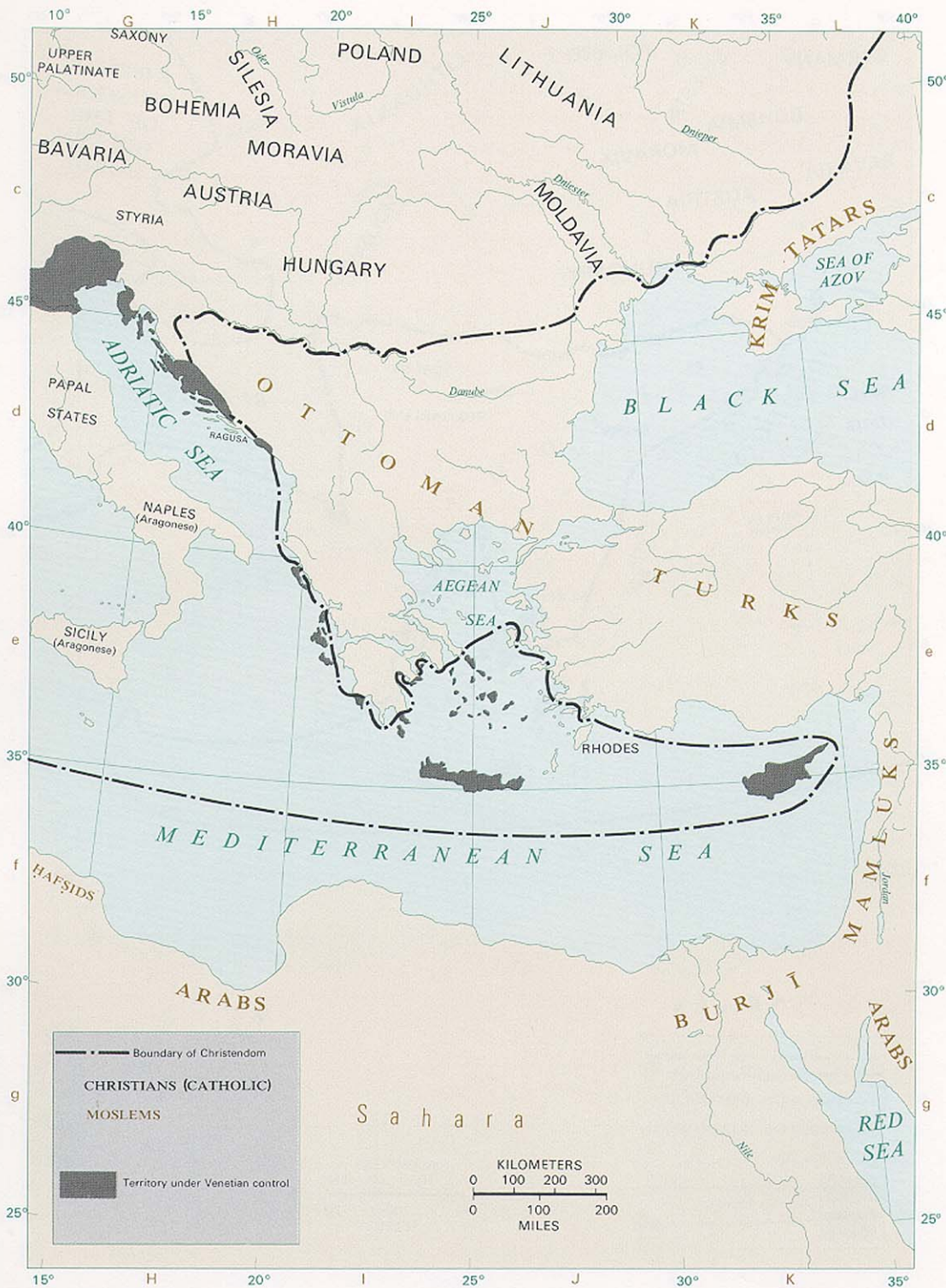
The duke of Athens and the Catalan Company spent the fall and winter of 1310–1311 in preparation for the struggle which should decide who would go and who would stay. The Company was

2. The chronology of the movements of the Catalan Company has caused much difficulty. Roger de Flor and the Company arrived in Constantinople some time in September 1303 (their arrival has often been, by error, referred to the second half of 1302); they are declared in a Venetian document dated September 27, 1319, to have sacked the island of Ceos, on their way, on August 18, 1303 (G. M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I [1880, repr. 1965], no. 76, p. 138, and cf. nos. 77, 79, pp. 149, 163; Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CXI, p. 135, and cf. doc. CXIII, pp. 137–138). The Company had more or less fixedly encamped in Gallipoli by October 1304, where they remained, after the murder of Roger de Flor (April 30, 1305), until June 1307; all the events described in Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXXX–CCXXXVI (ed. Lanz, pp. 407–423; ed. E. B., VI, 78–99), took place in June, July, and August of 1307. Rubió's *Dipl.*, docs. I–XLIV, pp. 1–55, is a most valuable and convenient assemblage of documents concerning the Company's eastern expedition and its early leaders, especially Berenguer de Entença.

The Greeks had reason to fear the Catalans. Although on October 30, 1303, king James II of Aragon wrote Berenguer de Entença and Roger de Flor, thanking them for their assistance in arranging a projected alliance with emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus (*Dipl.*, doc. IX, pp. 9–10), the intentions of Roger de Flor became not unreasonably suspect by the early summer of 1304, when his former employer king Frederick II of Sicily may have entertained the hope of conquering the Byzantine empire (*Dipl.*, doc. XI, pp. 11–12, dating from early July 1304: "Item fa a saber lo dit senyor rey Frederic . . . que ell [enten] sopra lo feyt de Romania, ço es asaber de conquerirla . . ."). A letter of May 10, 1305, written by Entença from Gallipoli to Peter Gradenigo, doge of Venice, relates that "ad presens guerificamus cum domino imperatore [Andronico II Palaeologo]," and informs him briefly "de statu nostro et homicidio infideliter facto [i.e., Rogerii] de mandato eiusdem domini imperatoris per Michaellem [IX] filium eiusdem" (*I Libri commemoriali della repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*, lib. I, no. 240, ed. R. Predelli, I [Venice, 1876], 51; published in full in *Dipl.*, doc. XIV, pp. 15–16). The memorandum published by Heinrich Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, II (Berlin and Leipzig, 1908), no. 431, pp. 681–686, and reprinted by Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. XV, pp. 16–19, summarily traces the history of the Company from Sicily through some of their eastern adventures until Entença was captured by Genoese assisting the emperor, and up to the point where the Catalans achieved an obscure victory over the Greeks about July 1, 1305 (on which see in general the data in Franz Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, part 4 [Munich and Berlin, 1960], nos. 2246, 2249, 2252, 2258, 2263, 2268–2269, 2271, 2273–2274, 2277–2279, 2281–2282, 2285, pp. 38–46, and Roger Sablonier, *Krieg und Kriegerum in der Crònica des Ramon Muntaner* [Berne and Frankfurt am M., 1971]).



6. The Levant in 1400



7. The Levant in 1500

rejoined by their five hundred fellows, who preferred the yellow banner with the red bars to the gold and azure of Brienne. Thus it came about that the Company, with their Turkish allies, met Walter and his Frankish army on the right bank of the river Cephissus, as Muntaner says, "in a beautiful plain near Thebes."³ On the field of battle the duke of Athens and his knights, assembled from most of the Latin states in Greece, displayed the reckless courage of their class; they made a dashing attack upon the enemy; men and horses charged into prepared ditches; they piled upon one another; they sank into the bogs and marshes, covered with a treacherous sward of green; they were shot down by arrows, ridden down by horses, cut down by knives. The Frankish losses were fearful; Walter of Brienne was killed; it was a catastrophe from which there was to be no recovery.

French knights had jousted in the plains of Boeotia and Attica and feasted in great castles on the Cadmea and the Acropolis for more than a hundred years (1204-1311). All this had now come to an end. Thebes, the capital of the Athenian duchy, was immediately occupied; many of the Latin inhabitants of the duchy sought refuge on the Venetian island of Euboea (Negroponte).⁴ The great castle of St. Omer (on the Cadmea), then famous for its frescoes, was taken over by the Company, and other towns and strongholds in Boeotia quickly followed. The Greek natives of the fortress town of Livadia admitted the Catalans with a "spontaneity" that bespoke no love for the French, and for this assistance some of them received the rights and privileges of "Franks" (Catalans),⁵ except that, as schismatics, they were commonly denied the right to marry Frankish women. Athens was surrendered to the Catalans by the now widowed duchess of Athens, Joan of Châtillon, daughter of the constable of France. Of the Burgundian duchy of Athens and its dependencies the family of Brienne now possessed only Argos and Nauplia in the Morea, which their advocate Walter of Foucherolles held for them. Attica, like Boeotia, was now a Catalan possession, and land and vineyards and olive groves which had once been the property of Pericles and Herodes Atticus were owned by Catalan soldiers of fortune.

3. *Crònica*, ch. CCXL (ed. Lanz, p. 430; ed. E. B., VI, 107).

4. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXVI, pp. 227-228, dated June 27, 1340, and referring to the fall of Thebes in 1311.

5. A half century later a letter patent of Frederick III of Sicily, then Catalan duke of Athens, recalled the events at Livadia in 1311 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXVIII, pp. 352-353, where the letter is misdated 1366; Loenertz, "Athenes et Néopatras," *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV [1955], 117, no. 63, and especially pp. 194, 199-200). The document should be dated July 29, 1362.

Muntaner has informed us, with much exaggeration,⁶ that, of all the seven hundred knights who had ridden with Walter of Brienne into the battle of the Cephissus in March 1311, only two came out alive, Boniface of Verona, "lord of the third part of Negroponte, a very honorable, good man, who had always loved the Company," and Roger Deslaur, through whose efforts the Catalans had first hired out their services to Walter. The few thousand Catalans and Aragonese who took over the duchy of Athens lacked a leader of prestige and rank. They offered the perilous responsibility of governing them to Boniface of Verona, who felt obliged to reject their offer, whereupon they turned to their other important captive, Roger Deslaur. He accepted the proffered post, Muntaner relates, and received therewith the castle of Salona ("La Sola") and the widow of Thomas III of Autremencourt, whose great fief Salona had been until he lost his life on the banks of the Cephissus. Roger Deslaur seems to have proved unequal to the task of maintaining the duchy against the Catalans' Venetian enemies in Negroponte and their Frankish enemies in the Morea. The Grand Company therefore turned, with reluctance according to Marino Sanudo Torsello,⁷ to king Frederick II of Sicily, who at their behest appointed as duke of Athens his second son, the infante Manfred, who was then only five years of age. The Company's acceptance of Catalan-Sicilian rule was negotiated by Roger Deslaur early in the year 1312.

An interesting document has survived, containing the articles and conventions whereby the "Corporation of the Army of Franks in Romania," as the Company was officially known, recognized the infante Manfred as their "true, legitimate, and natural lord." By the common consent and will of the individual members of the Company, duly assembled in council for this purpose, the young infante and, on his behalf, the king were to exercise all right, dominion, power, and jurisdiction over the members of the Company and their possessions; allegiance to their new prince was an obligation undertaken by them in perpetuity, and in accordance with the laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona. Frederick II, on behalf of his son, undertook to exercise the dominion, right of governance, and jurisdiction thus granted in strict accord with these laws and customs. The king and his son were to maintain and defend every member of the Company in such status, office, and fief *as he then held*, although they acquired in Attica and Boeotia such feudal rights

6. *Crònica*, ch. CCXL (ed. Lanz, p. 431; ed. E. B., VI, 108).

7. *Ep. XVI*, in Jacques Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (2 vols. in 1, Hanover, 1611), II, 307.

and perquisites as obtained in the kingdom of Aragon. The lord king declared, for himself and for his son, the royal intention to rule in accordance with these terms.⁸ The king then sent Berenguer Estañol of Ampurias as the young duke's vicar-general, and when Estañol arrived in Piraeus with five galleys to take over his command, Roger Deslaur, who had governed the Company for a year (1311–1312), retired to his lordship of Salona and figures no more in the history of the Athenian duchy.⁹

Berenguer proved an able ruler, and under him the Catalans were able to consolidate their position in Attica and Boeotia. He protected them against the hostility of the Venetians in Negroponte, the Greeks in Thessaly and Epirus, and the Briennist retainers in Argos and Nauplia in the Morea. In 1316 Berenguer died, after prolonged illness and four years of effective service, and the Catalans elected a member of the Company, one William de Thomas, as their captain and vice-regent,¹⁰ until the arrival in Athens of king Frederick II's natural son, Don Alfonso Fadrique of Aragon, who had been appointed vicar-general for the infante duke Manfred. On November 9, 1317, Manfred died in Trapani as a result of a fall from his horse; his younger brother became duke William [II] of Athens.¹¹ Appointed, therefore, as duke Manfred's vicar-general, it was as the vicar of duke William II that Alfonso Fadrique was to hold the chief post in the duchy of Athens—and after 1319 in the duchy of Neopatras—for about fourteen years (1317–1330),¹² during which period the Catalan Company in Greece enjoyed the height of their power and their security.

The organization of the new Catalan state in Greece illustrates very well the medieval theory of a contract between the ruler and his people, expressly called a contract (*capitula et conventiones*) in the first words of the document of 1312.¹³ The Company remained

8. *Dipl.*, doc. LIII, pp. 67–69, and cf. doc. CXXXIII, p. 164, from Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XVI, in Bongars, *loc cit.*

9. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXLII (ed. Lanz, p. 433; ed. E. B., VI, 111).

10. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXIV, p. 104, and Sp. P. Lampros, "Εγγράφα ἀναφερόμενα εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν Ἀθηνῶν" (Athens, 1906; hereafter cited as *Eggrapha*, vol. III of Lampros's Greek translation of Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed.), part IV, doc. 104, pp. 355–356.

11. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 15–17. William died August 22, 1338. Duke William I was William de la Roche (1280–1287).

12. The last clear reference to Alfonso Fadrique's tenure of the chief command in Greece comes in a Venetian document dated March 4, 1326 (*Dipl.*, doc. CXXXII, p. 163) although his authority continued for some time thereafter (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CXXXIX, CXLI, CXLVI). His successor, Nicholas Lancia, is identified as *vicarius generalis* on April 5, 1331 (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, pp. 196 ff.).

13. *Dipl.*, doc. LIII, p. 67.

legal owner of the lands which they had won and now held by right of conquest, but seeking perhaps a more constitutional basis for their authority, and further protection in time of need, they had surrendered to and received back from the Catalan duke in Sicily their fiefs and offices in the Athenian duchy. The grand enfeoffment of 1312, however, whereby the duke was obliged to confirm the distribution of lands and offices which the Company had already effected among themselves, was largely theoretical, for it was they who granted the ducal domain to him rather than he who granted their fiefs to them. From the time of their early establishment in Greece the Company possessed written Articles or Statutes (*Capitula*), an actual constitution, composed in Catalan and largely based upon the Constitutions of Catalonia and the Customs of Barcelona. The text of the Statutes of the Company (*els Capítols de la Companyia*) has unfortunately not survived, although here and there a fragment appears in the documents, most notably the article prohibiting landed gifts and testamentary bequests to the church.¹⁴ To important documents the chancellor of the Company affixed the Company's own seal, which depicted St. George slaying the dragon.¹⁵

The duke appointed the vicar-general, the chief executive of the duchy, who swore fealty to the duke in Sicily, and upon his arrival in Athens or Thebes took an oath before representatives of the Company to discharge the duties of his office properly, in accordance with the Statutes of the Company. The duke quickly acquired, however, the right of appointment to the chief military post in the Catalan state, that of marshal of the duchy, or after 1319, when Don Alfonso Fadrique added the duchy of Neopatras to that of Athens, marshal of the duchies. But the highest offices in the state were

14. See *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCIV, p. 382, dated June 8, 1367; note also doc. CCCXCI, pp. 476-477; and cf. doc. CDXXXIII, p. 508. (Landed property and feudal revenues were to be reserved for *gents d'armes* who could defend the state.)

15. A copy of this seal, from the collection of Count Pierre de Viry, was published by Gustave Schlumberger, "Le Sceau de la compagnie des routiers catalans à Gallipoli, en 1305," *Comptes-rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris), 1925, pp. 131-137; *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, VII (1921-1926), 302-304; and Gustave Schlumberger, Ferdinand Chalandon, and Adrien Blanchet, eds., *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin* (Paris, 1943), pp. 208-209. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXXV (ed. Lanz, p. 397; ed E. B., VI, 66), relates that after Roger de Flor's death the Company had made a great seal upon which was represented *lo benauriat monsenyer sant Jordi* and bearing the inscription *Segell de la host dels francs qui regnen lo regne de Macedònia* (and for Muntaner's idea of Macedonia, see, *ibid.*, ch. CCXIV, Lanz, pp. 379-380; E. B., VI, 44-45). The copy of the seal extant bears the official title of the Company, familiar to us from papal and royal documents, *Felix Francorum exercitus in Romanie partibus* [not *finibus*] *comorans*, on which see Jacoby, "La Compagnie catalane," *Journal des savants*, 1966, pp. 80-87, 93 ff., who believes that this seal must be dated after 1312.

reserved, for the most part, for the Catalans themselves, including the office of marshal, which, whether by royal appointment or not, was apparently held for almost two generations (until 1354?) by the important family of the Novelles.

Thebes was the capital of the Athenian duchy. The Catalans in Athens conducted various local affairs as a municipal corporation with their own civil and military officers and with their own syndics, aldermen, and municipal council. The city of Neopatras was the capital of the northern duchy, within the boundaries of which were located the important castle and town of Zeitounion (in Catalan *la Citó*), the ancient Lamia. A captain presided over the city of Neopatras, and a castellan commanded the garrison in the castle. Conditions in Neopatras, owing to its semi-isolation in the north, were unique, and authority resided not only ultimately but directly in the sovereign duke in Sicily or, after 1379, in Aragon-Catalonia. The duchy of Neopatras possesses far less history than that of Athens.

It is difficult to make valid generalizations concerning the administration of the municipalities or town corporations in the two duchies—Athens, Thebes, Livadia, Siderokastron, and Neopatras—but they all belonged to the royal domain. Greeks served on the municipal councils in Athens, Livadia, and Neopatras. The Assizes and Customs of Romania, which were presumably the feudal law of Burgundian Athens, gave way in 1311 to the Customs of Barcelona, which thereafter formed the basis of public and private law in the Athenian duchy as in Catalonia, and the high court of the Frankish baronage was replaced by the court of the vicar-general, which was located in Thebes. Disputed cases were adjudicated by appeal in the royal court in Sicily. After 1355, as we shall see, the duke of Athens was also, in the person of Frederick III, the king of Sicily; this increased the ducal dignity if not the ducal power. The duke commonly nominated the veguers and castellans in the chief towns and fortresses in the Athenian duchy; and on the surface the Catalan feudatories, the municipalities, and even the clergy possessed fewer rights of private jurisdiction than had their Frankish predecessors. The royal act of appointment to or removal from office, however, was often not the royal will, and again and again in the troubled history of Catalan Athens the Sicilian royal duke had no alternative but to accept the accomplished fact with which he was firmly presented by his loyal subjects across the sea.

The Catalans had made their entrance into the Latin politics of Greece as unseemly intruders, and they were at first unpopular with

almost everyone in continental Greece and the Morea—emperor Andronicus II Palaeologus and his imperial governor of Mistra (then the father of the future emperor John VI Cantacuzenus); the Greek ruler John II Ducas “Comnenus” of Thessaly and his relative, the despoina Anna of Epirus; the Frankish barons in Achaea, vassals of the absentee prince Philip I of Taranto, among them the Briennist retainers in Argos and Nauplia; the Venetian bailie in Negroponte and the Venetian feudatories in the Archipelago; as well as the pope in Avignon, the vigilant guardian of Latin legitimacy in the Levant as elsewhere. All these looked forward to the collapse of the Company of Catalan cutthroats holding sway in Boeotia and Attica. They had long to wait. The Venetians were the first to become reconciled to the Company, or at least resigned to the Catalan occupation of the Athenian duchy. Since the Catalans had long been enemies of the Genoese and, after the murder of Roger de Flor, enemies also of the Byzantine emperor, the Venetians had looked upon Catalan activities in the Levant with no particular concern from 1303 to 1309–1310, but when the Catalans finally settled in southern Thessaly and the Athenian duchy, acquired allies among the Turks, and displayed a marked penchant for piracy, the Venetians in nearby Negroponte had reason for apprehension. This change in the republic’s attitude toward the Catalan Company was first markedly demonstrated in a treaty negotiated at Constantinople on November 11, 1310, between emperor Andronicus II and envoys of Peter Gradenigo, the doge of Venice, a treaty that was to last for twelve years. The Venetians undertook, among other articles of agreement, not to go into Byzantine territories held by the Company, still in Thessaly in the employ of duke Walter of Brienne, although trading rights between the empire and the republic were to be reestablished in the territories in question after the withdrawal therefrom of the Catalans.¹⁶

Although in April 1315, in connection with the Moreote expedition of the infante Ferdinand of Majorca, king Frederick II of Sicily had occasion to ask the doge, John Soranzo, for friendship and devotion from Venice,¹⁷ the Venetians in Euboea found Frederick’s subjects in Thebes and Athens rather deficient of friendship and devotion toward them. Soranzo must have been interested to learn from Mahaut of Hainault, widow of Louis of Burgundy, who had protected her claim to the principality of Achaea by his victory over Ferdinand of Majorca at Manolada in Elis (on July 5, 1316), that

16. *Dipl.*, doc. XLVI, pp. 56–58 (also in Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 46, pp. 82 ff.).

17. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXV, pp. 92–93.

even as she wrote (in March 1317), some two thousand Catalans from the Athenian duchy were in the city of Negroponte: "We make known to your highness that, owing to the dissension which has existed between Messer Andrew Cornaro [Venetian lord of Carpathos and of a "sixth" of Euboea] and Boniface of Verona [who held Carystus and a "third" of the island] and the understanding reached between your bailie of Negroponte [Michael Morosini, 1316-1317] and Messer Andrew Cornaro, the said Messer Andrew has made peace and an accord with the Catalan Company in the duchy of Athens, and has introduced into the city of Negroponte all told more than 2,000 of the Company on horse and foot . . ." The island and city were thus in danger of falling to the Catalans, which would be a grievous loss to Venice and a peril to Mahaut. She urged the doge to see to the removal of the Catalan force from the island, and to instruct the bailie to make neither peace nor an agreement with the intruders. She also requested the doge to direct Andrew Cornaro to break off his entente with the Company, which he already regretted. Speed was necessary to deal with this emergency, "and you know well, my lord, that those people in the Company will maintain neither faith nor honesty with you nor with us nor with anyone in the whole world."¹⁸

A year later, on March 17, 1318, John of Gravina, prince of Achaea through his "marriage" to the unhappy Mahaut of Hainault, wrote to Soranzo complaining of Don Alfonso Fadrique's offenses against both the Angevins and the Venetians in Negroponte.¹⁹ On the following day both king Robert of Naples and prince Philip of Taranto, brothers of John of Gravina, sent similar letters to the doge,²⁰ who replied on April 13 expressing his gratitude for this interest in Venetian affairs; but even before having received the royal letters, the republic had had news from Greece concerning Don Alfonso Fadrique's activities. An envoy had already been sent to king Frederick II of Sicily, Don Alfonso's father, and the republic hoped that the king would himself put a peaceful and tranquil end to their

18. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXVI, pp. 105-106; Louis de Mas Latrie, *Mélanges historiques*, III (Paris, 1880), no. IV, pp. 32-34 (Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France); Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 5, p. 104; Karl Hopf, "Geschichte Griechenlands . . .," in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, LXXXV (1867), 413a (repr. New York, 1960, I, 347a), rather fanciful. Mahaut calls the Catalans "la Compagne des Castellains [Castilians!] qui sunt en ducaume de Staines [Athens]"; her letter was dated at Andravida March 28 (of 1317). Boniface of Verona died before May 8, 1318 (*Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113-114), presumably in the late fall of 1317.

19. *Dipl.*, doc. LXXXIX, pp. 108-109.

20. *Dipl.*, docs. XC, XCI, pp. 109-110. King Robert wrote again on June 24 (*ibid.*, doc. XCVII, pp. 116-117).

problems. If it should prove otherwise, the letter ends serenely, the republic intended to do what might be pleasing to God and the honor of the state and in the interests of Robert and his brothers.²¹ The signoria of Venice was much concerned with the affairs of the Catalan Company throughout the spring of 1318. In April representatives of the constable Gaucher of Châtillon and his daughter, the dowager duchess of Athens, presented a petition to the doge; they sought a large loan and ships enough to transport four or five hundred knights and a thousand or more infantry to Negroponte or to Nauplia. The doge replied that the Briennist feudatories in Argos and Nauplia were now allied with the Catalan Company, and since their own vassals were not loyal, their proposal would only entail a vain expenditure of men and money.²²

On May 8 pope John XXII wrote the doge and republic of Venice, urging the expulsion of the Catalans from the island of Euboea, where Don Alfonso held the fortress towns of Carystus and Larmena as his wife's dowry. The pope claimed that Don Alfonso aimed at the occupation of the entire island and, which was quite true, that he had Turks in his employ; the Venetians should expel the Catalans not only from Euboea, but from the duchy of Athens also, in which business, the pope indicates, his beloved son king Robert of Naples had some interest.²³ On June 18, 1318, Don Alfonso himself wrote a letter from Athens to Francis Dandolo, the captain and bailie of Negroponte, expressing his astonishment that Catalans from the

21. *Dipl.*, doc. XCII, p. 111. The principality of Achaea was much threatened by the Greeks of Mistra, who in 1320 occupied the Arcadian castles of Akova or Matagrifon, near the modern Dimitsana, and Karytaina, which overlooks the valley of the Alpheus. They also seized the fortress of St. George between Mistra and Karytaina (cf. A. Morel-Fatio, ed., *Libro de los fechos* [Geneva, 1885], pars. 641–654, pp. 140–143; Jean Longnon, ed., *Chronique de Morée* [Paris, 1911], pp. 404–405, chron. table; and R. J. Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 403, 413–414). King Robert of Naples, who was then living in Avignon, was much concerned with the recovery of lands lost to the Greeks and with the protection of those being attacked by the Catalans and Turks. G. M. Monti, *Nuovi studi angioini* (Trani, 1937), pp. 612–629, has published eight relevant documents dated from July 18 to November 10, 1321. The Greeks had taken Matagrifon, Karytaina, and St. George, but on July 18 (1321), king Robert seemed to think that Don Alfonso Fadrique “with that dismal Company” had seized these three places (Monti, *op. cit.*, p. 626). On October 1, 1322, pope John XXII wrote the Latin patriarch Nicholas and archbishop William Frangipani of Patras, excoriating “Alfonso the captain and the other leaders . . . of the Grand Company, . . . walking damnably in the darkness and shadow of death,” who had been attacking the principality of Achaea: the patriarch and the archbishop were to make the Grand Company call a halt to their criminal activity by the application of ecclesiastical censure (*Dipl.*, doc. CXX, pp. 148–149, misdated by Rubió i Lluch). So far, it must be admitted, this had proved a rather inefficacious weapon.

22. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIII, pp. 112–113.

23. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113–114. On Don Alfonso's marriage, see below, p. 185.

Athenian duchy had been guilty of depredations against the Venetians, "with whom we have a truce and are at peace." He promised an investigation and the punishment of the offenders; he desired peace with the Venetians, of whom, however, he was clearly suspicious.²⁴

An interesting report of June 26, 1318, sent to the doge of Venice by Dandolo, concludes with the news, "On June 21 at about the hour of vespers we learned from a trustworthy source that a ship of 48 oars has been armed at Athens. It is to carry two ambassadors of Don Alfonso, [chosen] from among his better people, to the [Greek] emperor, and it is to leave Athens tonight. We have also learned from the same reliable informant that another ship is being armed at Athens, which is to take [another] two ambassadors of Don Alfonso . . . with two Turkish ambassadors into Turkey. They are going to enlist a goodly number of Turks, from 1,000 to 1,500 . . ."²⁵

Diplomatic representations were made to Don Alfonso Fadrique and to his father Frederick II of the harm which Catalan corsairs and their Turkish allies were doing to Venetian commerce and of the ultimate consequences of Venetian hostility to the Catalan Company. On September 2, 1318, king Frederick II of Sicily answered the several grievances detailed by the Venetian envoy of whom the doge had written the Angevin princes; Frederick had probably warned his son to be careful some time before this, but the Sicilian archives are very fragmentary for this period. The king refused to recognize as infractions of the peace or as unjust the acts charged in most of the complaints made against his son Alfonso, and his replies to the Venetian envoys are full of Catalan enmity toward the Angevin lords of Achaëa.²⁶ But with the Venetians the king of Sicily desired amicable relations and the settlement of differences existing between them, and he appointed envoys to treat with the doge and republic of Venice "to achieve a final peace and concord or a long truce between the republic of Venice, her citizens and subjects, and Alfonso and the Catalan Company."²⁷

24. *Dipl.*, doc. XCV, pp. 114-115. Catalan piracy was unceasing, however, among the islands of the Archipelago (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. XCVI, C-CII); see W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, trans. Furcy Raynaud, I (repr. 1967), 538.

25. *Dipl.*, doc. XCVIII, p. 119. Catalan sloops (*yachetae*) had been on a raid to Euboea, and a fleet (*armata*) had just attacked Cassandrea on the Thermaic Gulf.

26. *Dipl.*, doc. CIII, pp. 124-127; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 64, pp. 110-113; cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 34.

27. *Dipl.*, doc. CIV, pp. 127-128; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 65, pp. 113-114. The Venetian conditions of peace presented to the Sicilian envoys in the early winter of 1318 and the doge's statement of terms for the envoys to take to Frederick II are

Such a peace was finally established, after detailed negotiations, on June 9, 1319, when a six months' agreement was reached, at a conference in Negroponte, between Don Alfonso and the whole Company on the one hand and on the other the bailie Francis Dandolo, his councillors, and the feudal lords of Euboea, John de Noyer of Maisy, Peter dalle Carceri, Andrew Cornaro, and Bartholomew II Ghisi. The Catalans bound themselves to disarm their trading vessels and to arm no others in the Saronic Gulf or elsewhere in places bordering upon the island of Euboea; vessels with oars they agreed to draw up on land, a plank was to be removed from the bottom of each hull, "and the tackle of the vessels themselves should be stored on the Acropolis." Such unarmed merchantmen as were then sailing from the port of Livadostro ("Rivadostia") might be maintained, for Livadostro was in the northeast corner of the Corinthian Gulf, whence the Catalans could neither harry the islands of the Archipelago nor combine in raiding sorties with their friends and allies the Turks.²⁸ This treaty, if strictly adhered to, must have been most detrimental to trade with Sicily, Majorca, and Barcelona. The Venetians, however, always insisted on its terms. The treaty was renewed on May 11, 1321.²⁹ It was renewed again at a meeting held in Thebes on April 5, 1331.³⁰ In all three treaties the Company held itself liable to a fine of 5,000 hyperpers for the violation of its pledges, while to the treaties of 1321 and 1331 a half dozen clauses or more were added to the specific effect that the Catalans should conclude no new alliances with the Turks and should not aid them in attacks upon the island of Euboea or the Venetian possessions in the Archipelago.³¹ These agreements were renewed from time to time in the years that followed. With each decade that passed the Catalans became rather more reliable, and although relations between the Catalans in the Athenian duchy and the Venetians in Negroponte sometimes degenerated into actual warfare, at the termination of each such period of armed conflict the Venetians always insisted upon the Catalans' never maintaining armed vessels in the harbor of Piraeus.³²

printed in *Dipl.*, docs. CVI, CVII, pp. 129–131, and in Thomas, *op. cit.*, I, nos. 66, 67, pp. 115–117. The doge insisted that the Catalans could not maintain vessels equipped with oars (*ligna a remis*) in the Athenian duchy (Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 130).

28. The text of the treaty of June 9, 1319, has often been printed, most recently in Rubió's *Diplomatari*, doc. CIX, pp. 132–134.

29. *Dipl.*, doc. CXVI, pp. 141–144.

30. *Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, pp. 196–200.

31. *Dipl.*, docs. CXVI, p. 142, and CLIII, p. 198.

32. As in the interesting and instructive treaty of July 25, 1365 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, pp.

Pope Clement V and his successors in Avignon looked with anxiety upon the machinations of Catalan kings in Barcelona and Palermo. The Briennes were a French family of distinguished ancestry, loyal Guelfs, and vassals of the Angevin princes of Achaea. Inevitably the popes sought to aid young Walter II [VI] of Brienne, son of the slain duke of Athens, to recover the rich heritage the Catalans had wrested from him in the marshes of the Cephissus. Nevertheless, if in the confused pattern of interests and events in the Levant, some place could be found to employ the Company to the advantage of the church, the curia would not be loath to do so. When the crusade was discussed at the Council of Vienne, the papal vice-chancellor proposed to the representatives of king James II of Aragon that the Catalan Company, now securely established in Thebes and Athens, should be employed in a crusading expedition to pass through Greece, subject the schismatic church to the Catholic faith, and proceed by way of Christian (Cilician) Armenia against the Moslem in the Holy Land. On November 22, 1311, his majesty was reminded of the strategic location, for the purposes of the crusade, of the Company, composed of Catalans and Aragonese, now in Greece, already the conquerors of many lands.³³ But the Catalans and Aragonese had had too long an acquaintance with papal politics, too much experience of Turkish power, too many Turkish friends, and too good a stroke of fortune in acquiring the duchy of Athens to embark on an expedition to Palestine. The problem of the Catalans in Greece had, therefore, to be met otherwise, for their activities were proving most injurious to the Angevins and to Latin ecclesiastics both in continental Greece and in the Morea.

On May 2, 1312, pope Clement V wrote from Vienne to "his beloved sons, the Catalan Company in Romania," that Philip I of Taranto, prince of Achaea, had lodged a complaint at the curia in Avignon to the effect that the Company had entered into "certain conventions and pacts" with enemies of the Catholic faith against the prince and his Moreote vassals. His holiness ordered the immediate abandonment of these conventions and pacts, warning the Company that excommunication would be the price of their refusal. He notified the Company also that he was writing to Fulk of Villaret, master

341-342; Sp. M. Theotokes, in 'Επετηρίς 'Εταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν, VIII [1931], 200-205). Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 60-61.

33. *Dipl.*, doc. LII, pp. 65-66. For some Catalan crusading ideas, especially those of Raymond Lull, see A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1938), pp. 74 ff.; A. Gottron, *Ramón Lull's Kreuzzugsideen* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1912); and E. Allison Peers, *Ramon Lull, a Biography* (London, 1929), *passim*.

of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to help expel them from "Romania" if they failed to obey the apostolic admonition.³⁴ On the same day he wrote to Fulk to the same effect.³⁵ The Catalans, of course, did not desist. Fulk, however, made no effort to drive them from the Athenian duchy; he was too much occupied with the affairs of the Hospitallers on the newly acquired island of Rhodes.³⁶

Conditions in Latin Greece were nearly intolerable, and complaints were continually coming to the curia. Catalan depredation had reduced the revenues of the archbishopric of Corinth;³⁷ the new archbishop of Thebes dared not take up residence in his see;³⁸ and the aged bishop of Negroponte could not return to Euboea from the Council of Vienne because of the general insecurity which the Catalan Company had caused.³⁹

The pope could not but feel that the cause of Latin Christendom in Greece had been severely hurt by the advent of the Catalans, for duke Walter I [V] had been a loyal son of the church, an assiduous defender of the faith.⁴⁰ On January 14, 1314, therefore, pope Clement V had reason for his indignant letter to Nicholas, the Latin patriarch, excoriating the Catalan Company for their attacks upon churches, ecclesiastics, and their fellow Christians, and for the death of Walter, "who had been laboring in defense of the faithful . . . against the Greek schismatics."⁴¹ On the same day the pope wrote the patriarch that he should effect the transfer of such properties as the Knights Templar had possessed in the duchy of Athens to Gaucher of Châtillon, constable of France and grandfather of the titular duke Walter II, in order that such properties might be used to defend the faithful against schismatics "and certain other characters in a certain Company."⁴² Another letter bearing the same date was dispatched to king James II of Aragon—"since the greater part of the

34. *Dipl.*, doc. LVI, pp. 71-72; *Regestum Clementis Papae V* (Rome, 1885-1888), annus septimus, no. 7890, pp. 72-73.

35. *Dipl.*, doc. LVII, p. 72; *Regestum Clementis V*, loc. cit., no. 7891, p. 73.

36. See below, pp. 283-286.

37. *Dipl.*, doc. LVIII, p. 73; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8597, p. 238, dated June 23, 1312.

38. *Dipl.*, doc. LIX, pp. 73-74; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8138, p. 125, dated July 13, 1312.

39. *Dipl.*, doc. LXII, pp. 77-78; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus octavus, no. 9153, pp. 131-132, dated 23 March, 1313.

40. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 31, p. 52, dated November 11, 1309.

41. *Dipl.*, doc. LXIV, pp. 80-81; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus nonus, no. 10167, p. 45; O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1314, no. 9 (vol. V [1750], p. 22); Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 32, p. 53; and cf. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVI, p. 83, *et alibi*.

42. *Dipl.*, doc. LXIII, pp. 78-79; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus nonus, no. 10166, pp. 44-45, and cf. the letter of January 14 to Fulk of Villaret (*Dipl.*, doc. LXV, pp. 81-82; *Regestum*, *ibid.*, no. 10168, pp. 46-47).

Company is said to have been recruited from your kingdom"—asking his majesty to warn and to exhort the Catalans to give up the castles and the lands they had occupied.⁴³ According to a seventeenth-century annalist of the kings of Aragon, king James II replied that his holiness would do well to look upon the Catalans and Aragonese in Greece as "the right arm and faithful instrument" of the holy see, which might be employed against the schismatic Greeks.⁴⁴ Be that as it may, James II wrote twice directly to the Catalan Company, expressing a desire to recall them "to the path of righteousness," and ordering "that you desist completely from the invasion and occupation of the duchy of Athens, and withdrawing therefrom completely, that you leave it peacefully and quietly to its rightful heirs."⁴⁵ These letters, however, were apparently nothing more than a diplomatic gesture.

Very likely the Company in Thebes and Athens took the admonitions of king James II no more seriously than he had intended, but their isolation was most serious, despite their connection with the royal house of Sicily and the able leadership of their vicar-general, Berenguer Estañol (1312-1316). On March 26, 1314, with a gesture worthy of them, they formally bestowed upon Guy de la Tour, baron of Montauban, third son of the dauphin Humbert I of Viennois (d. 1307), the erstwhile Latin kingdom of Thessalonica. Their sole claim to the kingdom, which a century before had existed briefly (1204-1224), was that their former leader Bernard (Bernat) of Rocafort had once aspired to possess it. But now they pledged their every assistance to enable Guy to acquire Thessalonica,⁴⁶ for with pleasant memories of the Thermaic Gulf and the rich plains of Thessaly, the Catalans would have been happy to extend their sway northward. If Guy could help them to do so, he was obviously an ally worth having. But nothing came of all this, for a month before (on February 22) king Robert of Naples had made Guy de la Tour his captain-general in

43. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVI, pp. 82-83; Finke, *Acta aragonensia*, II, 749-751.

44. Pedro Abarca, *Los Anales históricos de los reyes de Aragón*, II (Salamanca, 1684), cap. 6, nos. 7-9, pp. 61^v-62^v, quoted in Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 26. Rubió i Lluch searched in vain for the text of king James's alleged reply in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona (*Dipl.*, p. 84, note), but it would seem to have been rather in accord, as James might have reminded the pope, with the papal vice-chancellor's own observation of the possible usefulness of the Company against the non-Catholics in the east (*Dipl.*, doc. LII, p. 66).

45. *Dipl.*, doc. LXVII, p. 84, dated February 28, 1314, and doc. LXXII, p. 90, dated March 27, 1314; cf. doc. LXXIII, p. 91. James II also wrote Philip the Fair of France of his "vehement displeasure" at the Catalan conquest and of his orders to the Catalans to abandon the duchy of Athens to its rightful heirs (*Dipl.*, doc. LXVIII, pp. 84-85).

46. *Dipl.*, doc. LXX, pp. 88-89, dated at Thebes on March 26, 1314; see also Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, *Sigillographie de l'Orient latin*, pp. 210-211.

Lombardy, and king Robert was one of the Catalans' most determined enemies.⁴⁷

Papal opposition to the Catalan Company continued with undiminished vigor, and on September 4, 1318, when the negotiations between the Catalan king of Sicily and the Venetians were far advanced, cardinal-bishop Nicholas of Ostia and Velletri wrote to the doge and council of Venice of the disquieting news that the curia was receiving from Greece about the Catalans.⁴⁸ On August 2, 1319, about the time the news of the Catalan-Venetian peace of June became known in Avignon, pope John XXII wrote to Walter of Foucherolles (1311–1324), Briennist advocate in Argos and Nauplia, and to the people and clergy of the Argolid diocese, urging continued loyalty to young Walter II and his mother the dowager duchess of Athens.⁴⁹ According to Karl Hopf, however, who cites a Venetian document of December 6, 1317, Don Alfonso Fadrique had already withdrawn from Negroponte and the island of Euboea, retaining only the disputed castles of Carystus and Larmena.⁵⁰ Catalan and Turkish piracy could not be checked,⁵¹ but hostilities with the Venetians on a serious scale seem not to have been renewed after Don Alfonso's withdrawal from Negroponte, and, as we have seen, he claimed in June 1318 to be observing the "truce and peace" which the Company already had with the Venetians.

The years that followed 1318–1319 were the most secure and successful years the Catalan Company was to enjoy in Greece. Don Alfonso Fadrique was probably the most distinguished Catalan ever to take up residence in the Athenian duchy, and during the years that he was vicar-general the Catalans added the only conspicuous gains made to their Greek territories after the triumph of the original conquest itself. When he passed from the scene, their career as Conquistadors, as they called themselves, had come to an end. Don Alfonso is referred to in all documents—Catalan, Venetian, and even Angevin and papal—with the respect befitting the rank of a king's son. He is called in the Catalan-Venetian peace of 1319 "the magnifi-

47. Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II (Athens, 1904), 95–97. Guy de la Tour died in 1317; he did not go to Greece.

48. *Dipl.*, doc. CV, p. 128.

49. *Dipl.*, doc. CX, pp. 134–135, G. Mollat and G. de Lesquen, eds., *Jean XXII: Lettres communes*, II (Paris, 1905), no 9879, p. 421.

50. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 413 (repr., I, 347), which is probably accurate, but seems to indicate that negotiations were rather more advanced than might be assumed from the documents of September 2, 1318 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 415 [repr., I, 349], and Rubió's *Dipl.*, docs. CIII, CIV, pp. 124–128).

51. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. C, CI, pp. 121–123, dated July 16 and 26, 1318.

cent lord, Don Alfonso, son of the most excellent lord, Don Frederick, by the grace of God king of Sicily, and commander of the fortunate army of the Franks [Catalans] in the duchy of Athens and other parts of the empire of Romania."⁵² At first Don Alfonso appears to have resided in Athens, presumably in the Burgundian castle on the Acropolis.⁵³ He was soon accepted as a friend and ally by the great Lombard magnate, Boniface of Verona, triarch of Euboea, who gave him his daughter Marulla (Maria) in marriage in 1317:

And they [the Catalans] were very content and soon procured a wife for him [Fadrique], and gave him to wife the daughter of micer Bonifazio of Verona, to whom had been left all micer Bonifazio possessed, namely the third part of the city and of the town and of the island of Negroponte, and full thirteen castles on the mainland of the duchy of Athens [which Boniface had received as fiefs from the Burgundian duke Guy II de la Roche].⁵⁴ And so he had to wife this damsel who was the daughter of that nobleman who was, I believe, the wisest and most courteous noble ever born . . . And by this lady En [Catalan for Don] Alfonso Federico had plenty of children and she was the best lady and the wisest there ever was in that country. And, assuredly, she is one of the most beautiful Christians of the world; I saw her in the house of her father when she was about eight years old . . .⁵⁵

In the late fall of 1317 (or possibly early in 1318) Boniface of Verona died, and Don Alfonso prepared to press his wife's claims by force of arms. Dispute centered especially upon the claims now put forward to, and the Catalan occupation of, the castles of Carystus and Larmena on the island of Euboea. Thomas (or Tommasaccio) of Verona, who seems, for whatever reason, to have been virtually disinherited by his father, claimed the castles of Larmena and Carystus. According to the statement of king Frederick II of Sicily, Boniface of Verona had held these castles as fiefs from John de Noyer of Maisy, and the latter had recognized Marulla's right to them and formally invested her with them, deciding against the claims of Thomas, while the latter is expressly declared to have accepted this

52. *Dipl.*, doc. CIX, p. 132; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 70, p. 120. Cf. Rubió, *Dipl.*, docs. LXXXIX-XCII: "nobilis Alfonsus, natus domini Frederici de Aragonia"; and cf. John XXII's letter of May 8, 1318: "nobilis vir Alfonsus, filius naturalis carissimi in Christo filii nostri Friderici Trinacrie regis illustris" (*Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, p. 113), and similar references in other documents.

53. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. XCVIII, p. 117, dated June 26, 1318: "... dominus Alfonsus, qui est Athenis . . ."

54. Cf. K. Hopf, *Storia di Karystos*, trans. G. B. Sardagna (Venice, 1856), pp. 32-34; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 412 (repr., I, 346).

55. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ch. CCXLIII (ed. Lanz, pp. 434-435; ed. E. B., VI, 112; trans. Hakluyt Society, II, 582); this is Muntaner's last reference to the Catalans in the Athenian duchy. Cf. Rubió i Lluch, *Paquimeres i Muntaner* (Barcelona, 1927), pp. 22.

judgment.⁵⁶ Pope John XXII, however, protested that Thomas of Verona had been despoiled of his inheritance,⁵⁷ while the Venetians, who looked with fear upon the Catalan possession of Carystus and Larmena, demanded their surrender to the republic, promising somewhat ambiguously to do full right and justice to the claims of Marulla.⁵⁸ Don Alfonso kept the castles. In the years that followed, however, Thomas of Verona made peace with his brother-in-law and sister, because upon his death in February 1326 we find him possessed of Larmena and other lands and fiefs on the island of Euboea. When his sister and, conceivably, Don Alfonso sought to enter the city of Negroponte on March 1 to do homage to the triarchs Peter dalle Carceri, Beatrice de Noyer of Maisy, and Bartholomew II Ghisi for these lands and fiefs, all three refused the lady, who had come with a large armed escort, admittance to the city. The island was, they said, under the protection of Venice, and since they feared the consequences of Catalan possession of such strongholds on Euboea, the signoria would have to declare the policy to be followed.⁵⁹ But the Venetians were not minded to make concessions to the unreliable family of the Fadriques, because although major hostilities were avoided, it was well known in Venice that Catalan-Turkish piracy was an almost undiminished menace.⁶⁰ As for the castle town of Carystus, Venice would be unable to secure it from the Fadrique family until 1365–1366.

Don Alfonso Fadrique was restless and aggressive. When the young ruler of Thessaly, John II Ducas Comnenus, died childless in 1318,⁶¹ Don Alfonso invaded his lands; his attacks were rapid and destructive, but some of his conquests were to endure for more than seventy

56. *Dipl.*, doc. CIII, p. 126; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 64, pp. 112–113.

57. *Dipl.*, doc. XCIV, pp. 113–114.

58. *Dipl.*, doc. CVI, p. 129; Thomas, I, no. 66, p. 115.

59. *Dipl.*, docs. CXXX–CXXXII, pp. 161–164, dated March 3–4, 1326; cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 413, 415, 416, 425 (repr., I, 347, 349, 350, 359). Beatrice of Verona, mother of Peter dalle Carceri, had remarried John de Noyer.

60. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XVI (written in 1326), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 307; cf. *Ep.* XVII (1327), in Bongars, II, 309. Note also *Ep.* V (1326), in Bongars, II, 298, in which Sanudo also dilates on the danger presented to the Greek islands by the Turks and Catalans, against whom Venetian Euboea needed especial protection. Sanudo alludes to the Turkish problem a number of times, and incidentally laments the Hospitallers' traffic with Christian pirates on the island of Rhodes (*Ep.* XXI, in Bongars, II, 314, dated February 15, 1329).

61. In May 1317 John II of Thessaly was calling himself lord of Athens as well as of his ancestral domain of Neopatras (*Regesti dei commemoriali*, lib. II, no. 41 [ed. Predelli, I, 177]). In 1318 the Greek ruling family of the "Comneni" died out in both Thessaly and Epirus with the deaths of John II and his cousin Thomas of Epirus (Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia byzantina*, VII, 13, 3 [*CSHB*, I, 278–279], and VIII, 1 [I, 283]).

years. He seized John II's capital city of Neopatras, the castle of Siderokastron (near the ancient Heraclea), and Loidoriki, Domokos, and Pharsala; he was also able to occupy the castle of Zeitounion and the town of Gardiki in Thessaly. We are fortunate to have an account of the Catalan conquests just after 1318 from the pen of the famous crusading publicist Marino Sanudo Torsello, who in 1325 wrote archbishop Inghiramo Stella of Capua, chancellor of the king of Naples, about Don Alfonso's gains to the north of the Athenian duchy.⁶² He took the title "vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras," and in later generations, apparently until the establishment of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain, the title duke of Athens and Neopatras commonly remained a part of the nomenclature of the crown of Aragon.⁶³ One unexpected result of Don Alfonso's Thessalian campaign of 1318–1319 was that the inhabitants of the city of Pteleum, at the entrance to the Gulf of Volos, offered their city to the Venetians, and emperor Andronicus II, since he could not protect Pteleum, assented to this acquisition by Venice of a valuable commercial station across the narrow strait from the island of

62. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* III (1325), in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 293, and *Dipl.*, doc. CXXIX, pp. 159–161: "... Nova quae habeo de Romania per hominem fide dignum et sciolum qui venit de Nigroponte sunt ista: Dicit quod Athenarum ducatus quam plurimum est ditatus, et quod Catellani, qui dominantur ibidem, acquisiverunt, et tenent in *Blachia* [Thessaly], *Lapater* [i.e., La Patria, Neopatras] et castra *Lodorichi* [Loidoriki] et *Sidero-Castri* [near Heraclea], *Gitonis* [cf. the Catalan Citó, i.e., Zeitounion, Lamia], *Gardichie* [Gardiki], *Donchie* [Domokos], et *Ferselle* [Pharsalus]... Est etiam quidam Graecus..., qui vocatur *Missilino*, qui tenet castrum *del Castri* [of which there were several in continental Greece] et de *Liconia* [Cat. Lechonia, near Mt. Pelion]: et videtur quod iste contraxerit parentelam cum Catellanis, eo quod tradidit sororem suam in uxorem marescalco Catellanorum [Odo de Novelles]: et videtur quod fecerit ei fidelitatem, non tamen quod in eius manibus se sic ponat. Veneti habent unum castrum iuxta mare in *Blachia*, nomine *Fetenli* [Pteleum], quod de bona voluntate et sua licentia reliquit eis imperator Graecorum, qui obtinuissent cum aliter Catellani..."

Missilino, the Greek archon of Castri and Liconia, may have been the uncle or great-uncle of Missili de Novelles, who in 1380–1381 was "senyor del castell den Estanyol" (*Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548), but who En Estanyol (if the text is accurate), i.e., Don Estañol, was and where his castle stood, no one knows (Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, 186–187). Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 315, 422 (repr., I, 249, 356), and *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 536, table 3, believed the name Missilino was a garbling of Melissenus, whence he drew conclusions challenged by Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 184–185.

In his letter to the archbishop of Capua, Sanudo dwelt at some length on the current Albanian invasion of Thessaly, which he thought might prove a useful distraction to the Catalans, who however learned to live with the Albanians; among the eighteen Catalan feudatories given in the list of 1380–1381 is one count Dimitri, written "de Mitre" by the scribe. An Albanian chieftain, this Dimitri had 1,500 horse under his command and flew the royal banner as a born vassal of Aragon-Catalonia (*Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548, and doc. CDLXI, p. 528, addressed to "lo comte Mitra," and see Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 164, 191, pp. 142, 148).

63. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 31, note 37.

Euboea.⁶⁴ Don Alfonso had no alternative to reluctant acquiescence. After the conquests of the Serbs and Albanians, led especially by the Serbian tsar Stephan Dushan, who in 1348 annexed Thessaly as well as Epirus to his domains, the Catalans had no chance of recovering the fortress towns of Pharsala, Domokos, Gardiki, and Liconia, which they had somehow lost.⁶⁵

Ten or a dozen years after his conquest of Neopatras we find Don Alfonso seeking personal enfeoffment of the town and castle, a crown property. On April 15, 1328 (or 1329 or 1330), he sent a petition from Thebes, the only original Catalan document we possess from the Catalan chancery in Greece, to his cousin king Alfonso IV of Aragon, asking the latter to intercede with his father king Frederick II of Sicily to grant him the castle of Neopatras. He informed king Alfonso "that the aforesaid lord king, my father, has by his favor provided me with six castles which he has kindly given me: in the midst of the said six castles there is one castle called Neopatras, which is the center of the area and the capital of the duchy of Vlachia." He acknowledged that he had many times asked his father for Neopatras, always unsuccessfully, but he hoped that he might still attain his objective by Aragonese mediation.⁶⁶ He failed again. Frederick II doubtless believed that he had already alienated quite enough of the royal domain. It is difficult to identify the "six castles" which Don Alfonso stated his father had given him. Until the Serbian conquest of Thessaly, Neopatras was "in the midst" of all Catalan strongholds north and west of Thebes. In any event Don Alfonso had become lord of Salona under circumstances we do not know, but possibly the fief had escheated to the Company upon the deaths, without heirs, of Roger Deslaur and his wife, the widow of Thomas III of Autremencourt. Don Alfonso probably possessed, in the north, the castles of Pharsala and Domokos, as well as Gardiki and Zeitounion east of Neopatras, and in the south he certainly held those of Loidoriki and Veteranitsa. Like Neopatras, Siderokastron was a crown property. The decade of the 1320's was the period of Don Alfonso's enjoyment of power and success. He was vicar-general

64. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant*, I, 453. According to an article in the Catalan-Venetian two years' truce of April 1331, Don Alfonso and the Company were not to molest Pteleum so long as the inhabitants remained under the dominion of the republic (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIII, p. 199, and Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, I, no. 108, p. 218).

65. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 10, p. 105, notes that Pharsala, Domokos, and Gardiki do not occur in the documents relating to the Catalan duchies, and so must have been lost early. Liconia also does not appear in the documents.

66. *Dipl.*, doc. CXLI, p. 172: "... Patria, qui es cap del pahis e es cap del ducam de la Blaquia ..."

from 1317 to about 1330; why he was removed from office we do not know. On November 20, 1330, he was made hereditary count of Malta and Gozo in the mid-Mediterranean.⁶⁷ From his wife Marulla he had received the lordship of Aegina and the fortress city of Carystus on the island of Euboea. Marulla also gave him five sons who in after years were to play leading roles in the history of the Catalan duchy of Athens.

For twenty years young Walter II [VI] of Brienne was brought up in the hopes of winning back the Athenian duchy which his father had lost to the Catalan Company in the battle of the Cephissus. His mother Joan of Châtillon and her father the constable of France had kept his interests constantly before the pope, the king of Naples, the doge of Venice, and the king of France. Pope John XXII had continued his support of young Walter's right to the ducal coronet of Athens, and when Walter was ready at last to prosecute his claim by force of arms, the pope directed the Latin patriarch and his venerable brothers of Otranto, Corinth, and Patras to preach a crusade, with "that full forgiveness of all their sins" to those who participated, against the Catalans, "schismatics, sons of perdition, and pupils of iniquity, devoid of all reason, and detestable."⁶⁸ On July 21, 1330, king Robert of Naples granted permission to his feudatories to join Walter's projected expedition against the Catalan Company in the duchy of Athens and, with some reservations, remitted the feudal service due the royal court to those who fought with Walter.⁶⁹ On October 12 king Robert published throughout his kingdom the papal bull (of June 14) announcing the crusade.⁷⁰

In late August 1331 Walter assembled at Brindisi an army apparently too large for his resources; it included some eight hundred French knights and five hundred Tuscan foot; to transport them to Epirus he mortgaged many of his holdings; and, like his father before him, he pledged his wife's dowry in the "business of Athens." As vicar of prince Philip of Taranto, whose daughter Beatrice he had married, Walter occupied the island of Santa Maura (Leucas), the mainland stronghold of Vonitsa, and Arta, capital of the despotate of

67. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXIII, pp. 482–485. The last document to refer to Don Alfonso as vicar-general, *praesidens in ducatu Athenarum*, is dated March 4, 1326 (*Dipl.*, doc. CXXXII, pp. 163–164).

68. *Dipl.*, docs. CL, CLII, pp. 189–191, 193–194, dated June 14, 1330. The ecclesiastical ban levied upon the Catalans did not apply to the lands such as Neopatras and Zeitounion which they had conquered from the Greeks in 1318–1319.

69. *Dipl.*, doc. CLI, pp. 191–192; G. Guerrieri, *Gualtieri VI di Brienne, duca di Atene e conte di Lecce* (Naples, 1896), p. 57.

70. *Dipl.*, doc. CLII, pp. 192–196, dated November 22, 1330.

Epirus, forcing count John II Orsini of Cephalonia to acknowledge the suzerainty of king Robert. Walter made his way across the peninsula, expecting to vindicate by victory in battle the name of Brienne in Greece. The vicar-general of the Catalan Company was Nicholas Lancia,⁷¹ who refused to meet Walter in the open field. The months passed. Walter ravaged the countryside, but his funds were running out. No help could be expected from the Venetians; in April 1331 they had renewed their treaty with the Catalans. On February 28, 1332, in the Franciscan church of St. Nicholas in Patras, archbishop William Frangipani (1317–1337) again proclaimed the ban of excommunication against the Catalans;⁷² Walter's headquarters were apparently at Patras. He found no support anywhere among the native Greeks, which does not speak badly for the years of Don Alfonso's rule. The expedition proved to be a failure, and Walter returned to Brindisi in the late summer of 1332. He had won for himself Leucas and Vonitsa, restored for years the Angevin suzerainty over Epirus, and probably made more secure his hold upon his fiefs of Argos and Nauplia in the Morea.⁷³

During the years 1334 and 1335 Walter contemplated another attempt upon the duchy of Athens. He appealed to the pope, and the usual ecclesiastical fulminations were forthcoming. On August 12, 1334, John XXII repeated his excommunication of the Catalans.⁷⁴ On December 29, 1335, archbishop William Frangipani again excommunicated the leaders of the Catalan Company—duke William of Randazzo; Don Alfonso Fadrique and his sons Peter and James; Nicholas Lancia, the vicar-general of the Company; Odo de Novelles, the marshal; and more than a score of others.⁷⁵ But success depended upon Venice, and on November 4, 1335, the signoria refused, with expressions of their profound love, to help him, although they

71. A document of August 5, 1331, refers to Odo de Novelles, marshal of the Company, as *vicarius . . . in partibus Romanie* (*Dipl.*, doc. CLIV, p. 201). He may have been appointed to command the Company against Walter. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 416b, 422a (repr., I, 350b, 356a), refers to Odo de Novelles as "hereditary marshal" (*Erbmarschall*) of the Athenian duchy, for which there seems to be no evidence.

72. Chas. Du Cange, *Histoire de l'empire de Constantinople*, ed. J. A. Buchon, II (Paris, 1826), 203; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 429–430, and cf. pp. 420–421 (repr., I, 363f., cf. 354 f.).

73. Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 430, 441 (repr., I, 364, 375). On the value of the Argolid, note Luttrell, "Latins of Argos and Nauplia," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 37–38.

74. G. Mollat, ed., *Jean XXII: Lettres communes*, XIII (Paris, 1933), no. 63752, p. 182; printed in full in Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 34, pp. 55–60, and in Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CLVIII, pp. 206–209, but incorrectly dated 1333 in both Lampros and Rubió.

75. Du Cange (ed. Buchon), *Constantinople*, II, 204–205; Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 436 (repr., I, 370); and on their names, see Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 208, note.

offered him the use of state galleys to reach Glarentsa or his lands in the Morea.⁷⁶

Through the decade of the 1330's Walter of Brienne continued his diplomatic efforts to ensure that the doge of Venice and the papacy should not forget his claim to the Athenian duchy.⁷⁷ The archbishop of Thebes, however, the tough-minded Dominican Isnard Tacconi, whom Clement V had made titular patriarch of Antioch (in 1311) and John XXII had returned to the Theban minster in the spring of 1326,⁷⁸ entertained Ghibelline sympathies, and was hostile to Walter, who in March 1337 denounced him to the pope and requested the renewal of censure against the Catalan Company.⁷⁹ Two years later, after further inquiry, Benedict XII not only moved to gratify Walter's request, but ordered the vicars of "Constantinople" and Negroponte to cite Isnard and his vicar Gregory of Pavia, also a Dominican, to appear within six months at the curia in Avignon to face charges of having disregarded John XXII's excommunication of the Catalan invaders of the Athenian duchy, in whose presence Isnard had deliberately celebrated mass, and on whose behalf he had falsely published a declaration that the papacy had relaxed the ban of excommunication which had fallen upon them.⁸⁰ Walter of Brienne, however, never returned to Greece, although he always planned to do so. He became in after years the tyrant of Florence (1342–1343), fought at Crécy in 1346, and died a constable of France at Poitiers in September 1356. He was the last of his line.⁸¹

After the Brienne expedition of 1331–1332 the Catalans in Greece enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity. When about 1330, or possibly before, Don Alfonso Fadrique was removed from the

76. Hopf, *op. cit.*, LXXXV, 433, 436 (repr., I, 367, 370); *Dipl.*, docs. CLXII, CLXIII, pp. 212–214, and cf. doc. CLXV, pp. 214–215.

77. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXV, CLXVII, pp. 214–216.

78. *Dipl.*, docs. L, CXXXV, pp. 63, 166–167; *Regestum Clementis V*, annus septimus, no. 8255, pp. 158–159; Du Cange (ed. Buchon), *Constantinople*, II, 196.

79. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXVII, p. 216; Lampros, *Aggrafa*, part I, doc. 37, pp. 67–68; J. M. Vidal, ed., *Benoît XII: Lettres communes*, I (Paris, 1903), no. 5214, p. 493. Walter had read an intercepted letter from archbishop Isnard to king Frederick of Sicily.

80. Vidal, *Benoît XII: Lettres communes*, II (Paris, 1906), no. 7420, pp. 206–207, dated March 16, 1339; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXVIII, pp. 217–220, misdated 1338; Lampros, *Aggrafa*, part I, doc. 35, pp. 60–66; Loenertz, "Athènes et Néopatrias," *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII (1958), nos. 66, 70, pp. 43–44.

81. On Walter's expedition, cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 38–44. Cesare Paoli, "Nuovi documenti intorno a Gualtieri VI di Brienne, duca d'Atene e signore di Firenze," *Archivio storico italiano*, 3rd ser., XVI (1872), 39–52, has published a text of Walter's will dated July 18, 1347 (misdated June 18 by the editor), on which cf. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin, 1873), pp. XXIX–XXX, 537, and Luttrell, "Latins of Argos and Nauplia," p. 37.

vicariate-general, conceivably at the insistence of the Venetians as the price of their neutrality, the policy of Catalan expansion came to an end. Since his successors were less aggressive, the Venetians worked with them more easily. The Turks became a menace to the Catalans in the Athenian duchy almost as much as to the Venetians in Euboea.⁸² The Venetians may have believed that the Catalan Company, without Don Alfonso, would assist them against the Turks,⁸³ and a Venetian document dated March 4, 1339, probably after Don Alfonso's death, seems to indicate that the Catalans were willing to assist the Venetians to maintain the naval defense of Euboea against the Turks.⁸⁴

As the power and enterprise of the Turks grew, a change in papal policy became necessary; relations between Avignon and Sicily became slightly relaxed (although complete reconciliation would not come until 1372); and in 1339 pope Benedict XII had much fault to find with conditions in the kingdom of Naples (although the papal-Angevin entente remained firm). King Robert could not hope to restore Walter to his distant duchy, and the Turks were an increasing menace to the Angevin principality in the Morea.⁸⁵ Thus it finally came about that, shortly before his death, Benedict XII wrote from Avignon in February 1341 to Henry of Asti, Latin patriarch and bishop of Negroponte, that the Company's procurators would be received at the curia to treat of the Catalans' reception back "into the bosom of mother church."⁸⁶ In 1342 the difficult Isnard died, and the Carmelite friar Philip, formerly bishop of Salona (1332-1342), replaced him as archbishop of Thebes.⁸⁷ Benedict had planned a league of the great powers against the Turks; his successor Clement VI continued his work; and on August 31, 1343, he named the patriarch Henry of Asti papal legate in the crusade against the Turks.⁸⁸ On October 21 of the same year Clement wrote Henry directing him to undertake the reconciliation of Walter of Brienne

82. Cf. Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Ep.* XXI, in Bongars, *Gesta Dei*, II, 314, also in *Dipl.*, doc. CXLIV, pp. 175-176, dated February 15, 1329.

83. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXII, CLXIII, pp. 212-214. The Venetians would not at any rate give Walter of Brienne any assistance against the Catalans.

84. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXIII, pp. 225-226, and cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXV, 438b (repr., I, 372b).

85. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 47.

86. Georges Daumet, ed., *Benoît XII: Lettres closes, patentes et curiales se rapportant à la France*, fasc. II (1902), no. 810, cols. 515-516; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXVII, pp. 228-229.

87. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXIX, pp. 230-231, dated August 26, 1342; in 1351 Philip was transferred from the Theban archdiocese to Conza in southern Italy, and Sirellus Petri succeeded him (*ibid.*, doc. CXCVIII, p. 256).

88. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXI, pp. 232-234; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 39, pp. 70-74; Eugène Déprez, ed., *Clément VI: Lettres closes . . .*, fasc. I (1901), no. 388, cols. 162-163.

and the Catalan Company to advance the planned offensive against the Turks.⁸⁹ After Henry's unexpected death at Smyrna in the Turkish attack of January 17, 1345, the pope gave instructions on April 1, 1345, to continue the efforts to effect peace between Walter and the Company, for it was important to the prosecution of the war against the Turks.⁹⁰ Great interests were at stake, and as the pope had written to patriarch Henry on August 31, 1343, the Turks were "thirsting after the blood of Christian people and yearning for the extinction of the Catholic faith."⁹¹ Finally, on June 15, 1346, at the behest of Humbert II, the dauphin of Viennois, who was then in the east on the second Smyrniote crusade, pope Clement VI removed for three years, without prejudice to the rights of Walter of Brienne, the bans of excommunication and interdict laid long before upon the Catalans and their lands, provided the Catalans furnished a contingent to the army of the crusaders.⁹²

The Catalan Company did not take part in the crusade, and before the expiration of the three-year period, as provided in the papal letter of suspension, the bans were automatically renewed "entirely as before." In 1354–1355, however, king Peter IV of Aragon, while seeking to get possession of the head of St. George, patron of Catalonia, which was preserved in the Catalan castle of Livadia,⁹³ promised the Catalan Company that he would use his full influence to have the interdict lifted.⁹⁴ On September 16, 1356, Peter IV wrote cardinal Peter de Cros, asking him to seek the removal of the interdict "for the confusion of the infidel Turks and of the schismatic Greeks, enemies of the Roman Catholic faith,"⁹⁵ and on December 3, 1358, pope Innocent VI suspended for a year the bans of excommunication and interdict,⁹⁶ but they were renewed "just as

89. *Clément VI: Lettres closes* . . . , fasc. 1, no. 465, cols. 204–205; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXII, pp. 234–235.

90. *Clément VI: Lettres closes* . . . , fasc. 2 (1925), no. 1608, cols. 482–484; *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXIII, pp. 236–237. Rubió, *Dipl.*, p. 237, note 1, questions the date of Henry's death only because he has misdated the document; for the facts and sources, see A. S. Atiya, *Crusade in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 295–296, and Lemerle, *L'Émirat d'Aydin*, pp. 190–194. The crusaders had taken Smyrna from Umur Pasha, emir of Aydin, on October 28, 1344 (Lemerle, *op. cit.*, pp. 186–190); they held the city until its occupation by Timur the Lame in 1402.

91. *Dipl.*, doc. CLXXXI, p. 232.

92. *Dipl.*, docs. CLXXXVIII, CLXXXIX, pp. 242–247.

93. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXIV, p. 293, dated December 1, 1354, and docs. CCXV–CCXX, pp. 293–296. On the extraordinary history of this relic, see K. M. Setton, "Saint George's Head," *Speculum*, XLVIII (1973), 1–12, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant* . . . , no. VII.

94. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXI, p. 297, dated March 17, 1355.

95. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXX, p. 304. Cardinal Peter de Cros was Clement VI's nephew (Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevi*, I [1913, repr. 1960], 19).

96. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXV, pp. 309–310.

before," and on December 25, 1363, they were removed again for three years by pope Urban V.⁹⁷ The Catalans had a hard time making peace with the church, and many of them abandoned Latin Catholicism for Greek Orthodoxy.

When Don Alfonso Fadrique died about 1338, Catalan relations with the Venetians in Negroponte, which had much improved since his removal from the vicariate-general of the Company in 1330, became still more friendly. Through the decade of the 1330's, too, the Catalans were anxious to preserve good relations with the Venetians to help offset Walter of Brienne's influence in Naples and Avignon. The Venetians still had occasion, however, from time to time, to complain of Catalan violence and piracy, for in March 1350 the Serenissima was distressed by an attack upon Venetian subjects in Pteleum by "members of the Company and the Albanians," and held up to opprobrium the piratical conduct of Don Alfonso's eldest son, Peter [I] Fadrique.⁹⁸

Peter had succeeded his father about 1338 as lord of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, Aegina, and possibly Zeitounion. His fiefs were confiscated to the crown between 1350 and 1355 for reasons, wrote king Frederick III, "which we believe are not unknown to you," but which are in fact quite unknown to us. Peter died before 1355. Nevertheless, his brother James recovered his fiefs, and thus succeeded him, as their father had wished if Peter left no heirs.⁹⁹ A third brother, John, was lord of Aegina and Salamis in 1350,¹⁰⁰ and a fourth, Boniface, possessed—apparently as a legacy from his mother, Marulla of Verona—the stronghold of Carystus in Euboea and certain other valuable properties in Attica which in 1359, after long residence in Sicily, he appeared in Greece to claim.¹⁰¹ With the passing of the vigorous Don Alfonso, the great days of Catalan unity and strength in Greece had come to an end, but with some vicissitudes of fortune his descendants prospered after him.

97. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLV, pp. 338–339. The disaster of the Cephissus was never forgotten at the French-dominated curia, where the Athenian duchy was regarded as the possession *de jure* of the Briennes and their heirs, "ducatus Athenarum detentus agentibus que dicuntur Magna Societas pro interfectione Gualterii ducis . . .," but the bans were periodically lifted from the Grand Company for a good reason.

98. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCIV, p. 253.

99. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXIII, pp. 298–299; Rosario Gregario, ed., *Opere rare edite ed inedite riguardanti la Sicilia* (2nd ed., Palermo, 1873), p. 360; *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356–357, relating to the possession of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa by James, the second son of Don Alfonso.

100. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCVI, p. 254.

101. Cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 50–51.

When the infante Don Manfred, duke of Athens, died at Trapani in Sicily on November 9, 1317, his younger brother succeeded him in the ducal title as William II. Twenty years later, on the night of June 24-25, 1337, their energetic father king Frederick II of Sicily died, and by his will, dated March 29, 1334, William II's right to the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, as well as to certain possessions in Sicily, was confirmed.¹⁰² Frederick II had provided in his will that, if William II wished to go to his dominions in Greece, his elder brother, king Peter II, was to supply him with twenty armed galleys and two hundred knights with pay. The young duke's illness and the confusion in Sicily which followed Frederick II's death prevented any such journey to Greece. On May 11, 1338, duke William II made his own will; three months later he was dead (August 22); and a younger brother, the marquis of Randazzo, became duke John II of Athens. He was the only one of Frederick II's sons with anything like the stature of their father. It is said that in 1344 he sought to raise an army of six hundred knights and four thousand *almogàvers* in Aragon for an expedition against the Turks in the Levant. In his will, dated January 9, 1348, John II of Aragon-Randazzo acknowledged the receipt from the Sicilian royal court of 17,000 ounces of gold "for our voyage to Romania," and he wished the money returned to the court if death should prevent his going to Greece.

On April 3, 1348, John of Randazzo succumbed to the Black Death; his son, Frederick I, succeeded him as duke of Athens. Blasco of Alagón, count of Mistretta and guardian of the young Frederick I, is alleged to have urged his ward to undertake an expedition to Athens in 1349, but like the plan of his father, John II, this too came to nothing, and Frederick I of Aragon-Randazzo died in his turn of the plague on July 11, 1355. Frederick I was now followed as duke of Athens and Neopatras by his nephew Frederick II, who became shortly thereafter king Frederick III of Sicily. Frederick III's rule was never strong in Sicily where he was; it could not be otherwise than weak in Athens where he was not. He prolonged his failure, however, as a sovereign over Sicily and his Greek dominions across the sea through twenty-two years (1355-1377).¹⁰³

In 1351 the Catalans in the Levant got caught in the renewal of the commercial war between Venice and Genoa (1350-1355). King Peter

102. The text of the will has been published by Giuseppe La Mantia, *Archivio storico per la Sicilia*, II-III (1936-1937; published 1938), 13 ff., and see pp. 31-32, 35-36; Rubió, *Dipl.*, doc. CLIX, pp. 209-210.

103. For the above, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 15-17, 184, note 27. Duke John I of Athens was John de la Roche (1263-1280).

IV of Aragon took much interest in the Greek dominions of the Sicilian branch of his family, an interest which seems to have been neither much resented nor resisted in Sicily. On June 1, 1351, therefore, Peter wrote the Aragonese and Catalans in Greece, his countrymen whom innate constancy and loyalty, he declares, bound with indissoluble ties to the crown of Aragon with a strength no distance could diminish. His majesty informed the Catalans in Thebes, Athens, and elsewhere, of revolt in his kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica; he was now at war with Genoa and in alliance with Venice; and thus did the Catalans in Greece learn that they too were at war with the Genoese.¹⁰⁴ On January 16, 1351, a treaty had been concluded at Perpignan—it was ratified by the doge on July 12—between the republic and the king of Aragon in order to effect the final destruction of the Genoese. Emperor John VI Cantacuzenus was forced into the alliance against the Genoese.¹⁰⁵ The latter gave a good account of themselves, however, and a fleet of sixty-two ships under Paganino Doria laid siege to the fortress town of Oreus, a Venetian possession in northern Euboea. Catalans of the Athenian duchy dispatched a force of three hundred horse and a large body of foot to hold Oreus against the Genoese and prevent their establishing themselves in the island.¹⁰⁶ After a siege of two months, from mid-August to October 1351, the Venetian fortress was saved by the arrival of aid from Venice and of a strong Aragonese fleet under the admiral Pons of Santa Pau. After this, if the Catalans in Athens and Thebes played any part in the war, record of it seems not to have survived, although we read in one document of Aragonese-Catalan crewmen from the fleet who made their way to the Athenian duchy after suffering shipwreck.¹⁰⁷

On February 13, 1352, near Constantinople a major naval battle was fought when the Venetian and Aragonese fleets sighted the Genoese cruising in "Turkish waters." Both sides claimed victory in a brutal encounter, and Santa Pau wrote to Peter IV of victory over the Genoese, claiming the capture of twenty-three of their galleys, with the destruction of all aboard, and the loss of only twelve

104. *Dipl.*, doc. CXCIX, pp. 257–258.

105. Cf. Camillo Manfroni, "Le Relazioni fra Genova, l'impero bizantino e i Turchi," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria*, XXVIII (1896–1902), 706 ff., and on the background of the Aragonese-Venetian alliance see the detailed study of Mario Brunetti, "Contributo alla storia delle relazioni veneto-genovesi dal 1348 al 1350," in the *Miscellanea di storia veneta*, 3rd ser., IX (Venice, 1916).

106. Nicephorus Gregoras, XXI, 22 (*CSHB*, III, 47 ff.), but according to a note in William Miller (tr. Sp. P. Lampros), *Ἱστορία τῆς φραγκοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδι*, I (Athens, 1910), 430, note 1, the Genoese attacked Oropus, not Oreus.

107. *Dipl.*, doc. CCV, p. 263, dated August 20, 1352.

Aragonese ships, from which the crews of only two were lost.¹⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the naval battle favored the Genoese, for when the battered fleets of the allies withdrew from the region of the Bosphorus, emperor John VI Cantacuzenus was obliged to make peace with Paganino Doria (May 6), and on August 2 Peter IV wrote to Cantacuzenus in distress at the news of his willingness to make peace with the depraved Genoese, the sons of Belial.¹⁰⁹ With the war as such we are not here concerned, although we may note that the Genoese were defeated at Alghero, a Catalan city in Sardinia, on August 29, 1354, but they captured thirty-five Venetian galleys on November 4 at Zonklon (Navarino), not the least memorable event in the brief reign of the hated doge Marino Falieri. On June 1, 1355, the Venetians made peace with the Genoese. The war would be renewed, in after years, over possession of the strategic island of Tenedos, and would end in 1380–1381 with a Venetian victory in the lagoons of Chioggia and in the subsequent peace of Turin, but since the fleets of both the maritime republics were almost ruined in the encounter, neither Venice nor Genoa was thereafter in any condition to moderate the increasing ambition and enterprise of the Turks.

The loss of a large number of registers from the royal archives of the Catalan kings of Sicily from the years preceding 1355 has left a gap of some twenty years in our knowledge of the inner history of the Catalan states in Greece, which has been little filled by papal and Venetian documents, and even the names of the Catalan-Sicilian vicars-general after Nicholas Lancia and Odo de Novelles are unknown (from 1331 to 1354). King Frederick III's first known act as duke of Athens, however, was to consult Artale of Alagón, the imposing chief justiciar of the Sicilian kingdom, in connection with the request made in December 1355 on behalf of James Fadrique, second son of Don Alfonso, for royal confirmation of his right, now that his brother Peter was dead, to the county of Salona and the lordship of Loidoriki.¹¹⁰ Peter had been dispossessed by the crown, but apparently Artale of Alagón favored the Fadrique petition, because James must have acquired Salona and Loidoriki at this time. King Frederick next received an embassy from the Greek duchies requesting the removal from office of the vicar-general Raymond Bernardi (Ramón Bernat de Sarbou), whose failure to rule in Greece

108. *Dipl.*, doc. CCII, pp. 259–260; cf. docs. CCV–CCIX.

109. *Dipl.*, doc. CCIV, pp. 261–262. On the battle of the Bosphorus (February 13, 1352) and the Cantacuzene peace of May 6 with the Genoese, see Luttrell, "John Cantacuzenus and the Catalans at Constantinople," in *Martínez Ferrando, Archivero*, pp. 265–277.

110. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXIII, pp. 298–299.

and exact obedience from those under him was exposing the duchies, it was claimed, to extreme danger of collapse.¹¹¹ The Catalan representatives suggested, among others, that James Fadrique should be made vicar-general, which appears not to have been done.

The loss of Catalan documents in Sicily was due not only to wars and fires, but also to the failure to establish a single repository in a central capital. Material was left in Palermo, Catania, and Messina. When the series of extant Palermitan documents begins, the chronology of king Frederick III's appointments to the office of vicar-general remains still obscure, but the documents do furnish us with information about the following vicars-general and supply the following dates for their appointments: Raymond Bernardi (1354–1356);¹¹² Gonsalvo Ximénez of Arenós (1359 and possibly 1362–1363);¹¹³ Matthew of Moncada, grand seneschal of the Sicilian kingdom (“Trinacria”) and count of Aderno and Agosta in Sicily (1359–1361 and, officially at least, 1363–1366);¹¹⁴ and the violent Peter de Pou, a Catalan resident in Thebes, who seized from James Fadrique the castles of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa (1361–1362), and met his death in an uprising against him in Thebes (1362).¹¹⁵ The powerful Roger de Lluria, who led the opposition to

111. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXV, pp. 300–301, dated January 27, 1356.

112. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXIV, CCXXV, pp. 293, 300–301.

113. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCVII, p. 393, properly dated May 30, 1378 or 1379: An appeal for the recovery of funds having been made before the royal court in Sicily, Maria, daughter of the late Frederick III, now queen of Sicily and duchess of Athens and Neopatras, wrote the vicar-general in Greece, “quod anni [decem et] octo vel circa sunt elapsi, vertente questione . . . coram nobili quondam Consalvo Eximes de Arenis [sic], vestro in eodem vicariatibus officio precessore . . .” The scribal error to the effect that about eight rather than eighteen years had elapsed since Gonsalvo had considered the case misled Rubió i Lluch into misdating doc. CCCVII to May 30, 1368.

Gonsalvo was vicar-general on October 30, 1359 [. . . *penultimo Octobris XIII indictionis*], as shown by a letter of Maria dated June 7, 1378 or 1379, published by Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, p. 202, and cf., *ibid.*, nos. 38, 42, 142–143. The Sicilian chancery began the indictional year with September 1 (as shown clearly by the royal letter in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXX, pp. 364–365), and so the thirteenth indiction ran from September 1, 1359, through August 31, 1360. It seems likely that Gonsalvo served again as vicar-general in 1362–1363 (Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 53–55, 59, 87, and especially nos. 142–143, pp. 137, 157).

114. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXLV, CCLXXXIX, pp. 326–327, 376–377, on which note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 43, 49, pp. 112, 113, for Moncada's first tenure of office. For his second appointment, see *Dipl.*, docs. CCLIII, CCLIV, CCLVII, CCLXXXIX, CCXC, pp. 336–338, 340–341, 375–378, and Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 66–69, 75, 83, pp. 117–118, 120, 122. Moncada's second appointment had terminated before August 3, 1366, when a royal letter officially styles Roger de Lluria vicar-general (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, p. 355). In the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCLXVII, with its reference to Moncada (pp. 350–351), should be dated 1362 (Loenertz, *op. cit.*, no. 50, p. 113).

115. Matthew of Moncada was still vicar-general on June 17, 1361 (*XVII Iunii XIII indictionis*), when Peter de Pou advised him in certain suits involving the interests of the

Peter de Pou, was marshal of the Company before December 1354; he took over the functions and apparently usurped the title of vicar-general from 1362 to 1366. He was assisted by his brother John, and the pope was sadly aware of their dominance in the capital city of Thebes, since for a while they used Turks to maintain their position.¹¹⁶ The royal court in Sicily recognized Roger's authority from some time before August of the latter year until, presumably, his death in 1369 or 1370.¹¹⁷ His successor was the ineffective Matthew of Peralta, of the family of the counts of Caltabellotta in Sicily (1370-1374).¹¹⁸ Finally, the grandson of the great Don Alfonso, Louis Fadrique, the "last count of Salona," was vicar-general from April 1375 to the fall of 1381.¹¹⁹ He died the following year.

marshal Roger de Lluria (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 376-377, and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 49, p. 113), but Peter must have been himself appointed to the vicariate soon thereafter, perhaps on Moncada's recommendation. For example, a document of August 3, 1366, recalling the tragic events of early 1362, refers to the seizure of Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa, "que [castra] . . . per Petrum de Putheo, *tunc vicarium dictorum ducatum*, eiusque complices et consortes occasione guerre tunc vigentis ibidem occupata detenebantur contra iusticiam et per vim . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356-357; Loenertz, *op. cit.*, no. 52, p. 114). Peter de Pou was removed from office before May 28, 1362, when Frederick III appointed a new vicar-general (*Dipl.*, docs. CCC-CCCVI, pp. 388-393; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, nos. 1-7, pp. 233-238; and for the dating, see Loenertz, *op. cit.*, nos. 53-60, pp. 114-116).

116. Cf. Urban V's letter of June 27, 1364, to Roger and John de Lluria in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 241^r: "... quod vos contagiosa familiaritate a participatione infidelium Turchorum, vestras famam et animas maculantes, ipsos in terris vestris receptatis eisque datis auxilium et favorem . . ." (also in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVI, p. 339, where by a slip the text reads "receptis," which is untranslatable, for "receptatis"). A Venetian document of July 25, 1365, refers to Roger de Lluria both as *vicarius Thebarum* and as marshal and *vicarius generalis universitatis ducatus Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, p. 341), and Venetian documents of August 28, 1365, and July 5, 1369—both relate to Roger's seizure of some 520 *hyperperi* from a Venetian citizen in August 1362—identify Roger as *vicarius universitatis Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, docs. CCLX, CCCXIII, pp. 344, 400). The titles are as odd as his position was irregular. On August 3, 1366, however, Frederick III addressed Roger officially as *ducatum Athenarum et Neopatrie vicarius generalis* (*Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, p. 355; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 89, p. 335), which shows that his appointment must have preceded this date.

117. Roger de Lluria was still the vicar-general on November 16, 1368 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXI, p. 397).

118. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXI, pp. 408-410, dated May 31, 1370, the appointment being made *ob mortem nobilis Rogerii de Lauria*, at which time a third nomination of Matthew of Moncada was annulled. Peralta was still vicar-general on January 18-19, 1374 (*Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLII, CCCXLV, pp. 430, 432). He probably did not live many months longer, and was dead before April 18, 1376, when the Venetian senate was asked to transport his two sons from Thebes to their home in Sicily (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXII, pp. 446-447).

119. Louis Fadrique, son of James, had obviously taken over the functions of the vicariate after the death or incapacitation of Matthew of Peralta (cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLVIII, CCCL, pp. 435-437). His commission as vicar-general is dated April 6-9, 1375 (*Dipl.*, docs. CCCLI, CCCLIII), on which cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 132, 134-135, pp. 134, 135, 157.

If the Theban uprising of 1362 caused excitement at the royal court in Sicily, it also produced a ripple at the papal court in Avignon. Here interest fastened on the money and other assets left by Peter de Pou's supporter and fellow victim Michael Oller, Catalan dean of the church of Thebes, who died intestate. Like others of his time, Oller must have found the ecclesiastical life remunerative, for in addition to other property he is said to have left cash amounting to some 5,000 or 6,000 gold *regales* Majorcan.¹²⁰ While we are under no obligation to audit accounts six centuries old, we may well wonder how much of Oller's cash and *alia bona* he had lifted from the estate of the late Sirellus Petri, archbishop of Thebes.

Pope Urban V was wondering the same thing when on November 3, 1363, he wrote the Franciscan friar Thomas, archbishop of Paros and Naxos, that his predecessor Innocent VI had learned that all the movable goods, property, and income of the late Sirellus Petri were properly reserved for the holy see. Nevertheless, the recently deceased Michael Oller, dean of the church of Thebes, and his accomplices had illegally seized Sirellus's possessions and usurped his income. Innocent VI had therefore instructed Thomas of Paros, archbishop Nicholas of Athens, and bishop Nicholas of Andros to conduct a full investigation of Sirellus's assets, which Thomas tried to do, but reported back to the curia in Avignon that he had encountered an obstacle. When in obedience to the papal mandate he had claimed Michael Oller's estate for the apostolic treasury, one Grifon of Arezzo, a canon of Coron, had intervened. Grifon represented himself as the vicar-general of Peter Thomas, now archbishop of Crete, but at the time bishop of Coron. Since May 1359 Peter Thomas had been apostolic legate *in partibus ultramarinis* (he later increased his fame by the part he played in the Alexandria crusade of 1365).¹²¹ Grifon stated that Oller's movable goods had been especially reserved by papal letters for Peter Thomas, and he so warned the archbishops of Paros and Athens in the course of their investigation, as well as archbishop Paul of Thebes. Grifon in fact informed them all that they faced the prospect of excommunication if they acted contrary to the special commission which he held from the legate Peter. Under these circumstances, Thomas of Paros wrote the pope, he had desisted from execution of the papal mandate until he could receive further instructions from Avignon. At this point Urban could consult the legate Peter Thomas himself about Grifon's asser-

120. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLII, p. 335, dated at Barcelona August 26, 1362; king Peter IV of Aragon claimed Oller's estate for the latter's next of kin.

121. See below, pp. 297-298, 352-357.

tions, for Peter was in Avignon, having just returned from the east. The legate was unaware of any papal concession of Michael Oller's estate (and the possessions of the late Sirellus), and denied ever having authorized Grifon to claim it for him. The pope therefore directed his grace of Paros to take over and restore to the holy see the properties and revenues left by Sirellus (which were chiefly at issue), notwithstanding the alleged mandate of Grifon or of any other claimant of whatsoever rank or condition who might appear on the scene. Thomas of Paros was, if necessary, to have recourse to the secular arm, and whoever might seek to impede him exposed himself to excommunication.¹²²

In the meantime, in 1362, possibly as a result of the seizure of money or property belonging to a Venetian citizen,¹²³ the marshal Roger de Lluria and his partisans found themselves virtually at war with Peter Gradenigo, Venetian bailie of Negroponte. Although we know little of the extent of Catalan or Venetian operations, hostilities continued until 1365. There was discord in the Catalan duchies, and Roger lacked a legal basis for his exercise of authority. He sought the assistance of the Turks, as had Don Alfonso a generation before, and early in 1363 Turks were admitted within the walls of Thebes. Paul, archbishop of Thebes (1357-1366) and later the Latin patriarch,¹²⁴ and three other notables appeared before Frederick III in Sicily, allegedly as "envoys or ambassadors sent by certain municipalities . . . of the aforesaid duchies." In July or early August 1363 they informed the royal court that Turkish troops had entered Thebes, and it was now (on August 16) that Frederick reappointed Matthew of Moncada as vicar-general to free his faithful citizens of

122. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fols. 45^v-46^v. On Peter Thomas's activities in 1362-1363, see Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas*, pp. 204 ff. Peter Thomas was bishop of Coron from May 10, 1359, until his successor was elected on February 17, 1363; he held the archiepiscopal see of Crete from March 6, 1363, until his appointment to the Latin patriarchal title of Constantinople on July 5, 1364; he helped lead the Alexandria crusade of 1365, and died on January 6, 1366. Cf. Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 212, 215, 206. Sirellus Petri, whose possessions were at issue, was a native of Ancona; he was archbishop of Thebes from May 20, 1351, until his death before May 15, 1357, when the well-known Paul of Smyrna was selected as his successor (Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 482, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXII, p. 305). Archbishop Thomas of Paros and Naxos was a Franciscan; he held the island sees from June 30, 1357, but the date of his death appears still to be unknown (Eubel, I, 358). Nicholas de Raynaldo was appointed archbishop of Athens on June 19, 1357 (Eubel, I, 115, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXIII, pp. 306-307), and died before June 6, 1365 (Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, nos. 137, 139-140, 142, 152, 159). Nicholas of Andros was an Augustinian; appointed bishop on July 14, 1349, he died before June 16, 1376 (Eubel, I, 89, and Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, nos. 112, 190).

123. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLX, CCCXIII, pp. 344, 400: "... quoddam damnum . . . ad summam yperperorum quingentorum viginti duorum . . .".

124. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCXXXII, CCLXIV, pp. 305, 347; Eubel, *op. cit.*, I, 206.

Thebes from the horrors of the infidel encampment in their midst. The delegation from Greece had apparently requested Moncada's return to the vicar's palace in Thebes. He was to proclaim an amnesty; receive into his charge the castles and fortified places on the royal domain; appoint castellans, vèguers, and captains, and receive their oaths of fealty in the king's name; and collect crown revenues and proper exactions for the support of himself and his retinue, for the maintenance of royal castles, and for his various official burdens.¹²⁵ Although Moncada did not go into Greece to assume his command, he did dispatch an armed force against the doughty marshal de Lluria, whose troopers annihilated them.¹²⁶ Roger's troopers may have included his mercenary Turks, and the Turkish menace was then weighing heavily on the seraphic minds of the hierarchy in France.

Curial officials were talking constantly about the crusade, for in Avignon on March 31, 1363, king John II of France, Peter I of

125. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLIII, pp. 336–337; Gregorio, *Opere rare*, pp. 357–358. Roger de Lluria's contingent of Turks was said to be a menace to both town and countryside: "... fideles nostri tam cives quam agricolae alique ad civitatis ipsius per tramites discurrentes tam mares quam feminae diversa gravia et abominanda flagitia patiantur..." (*Dipl.*, p. 336).

During his sojourn in Sicily, having obviously fled from Roger de Lluria, archbishop Paul of Thebes served Frederick III as envoy to Naples when in 1363–1364 efforts were being made to arrange peace between queen Joanna I of Naples and Frederick, *detentor insule Sicilie* (for the whole course of negotiations, see Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples," *Speculum*, XXVIII, 643–691). Paul consulted with the then archbishop of Naples, Peter d'Ameil, concerning the possibility of arranging a marriage between Constance, *ducissa Athenarum*, and Aimon III, eldest son of count Amadeo III of Geneva. Constance was the daughter of the late John of Randazzo, duke of Athens and Neopatra from 1338 to 1348 (Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 669), and she apparently bore the courtesy title duchess of Athens. Peter d'Ameil gave some consideration to the proposal, although he was trying strenuously to marry Aimon to duchess Joanna of Durazzo, perhaps the richest heiress in Italy, niece of queen Joanna and stepdaughter of Philip II of Taranto, who then bore the title prince of Achaea. See the letters of Peter d'Ameil dated October 29, 1363 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXV, pp. 401–402, text incomplete, misdated 1369; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 47, pp. 86–88; A. Mango, *Relazioni tra Federico III di Sicilia e Giovanna I di Napoli* [Palermo, 1915], doc. XLIII, pp. 93–96; and cf. Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 657–659) and July 12, 1364 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXIV, pp. 400–401, misdated 1369; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 46, pp. 85–86; not in Mango; and cf. Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 682–683, note). The letter given by Rubió in the *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXII, pp. 398–399 (from Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part I, doc. 45, pp. 82–84), is misdated January 4, 1369; it was actually written on December 29, 1363, and sent on the following January 4 (Mango, *Relazioni*, doc. L, pp. 116–118); it concerns duchess Joanna of Durazzo, and has nothing to do with the so-called "duchess of Athens" (Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 665–666). Cf. the summaries in Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 70–71, 74, and *ibid.*, XXVIII, nos. 151, 154–156; on the activities of archbishop Paul in the Greek world, see K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C (1956), 45–46, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant* . . . , no. I.

126. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, p. 378; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part IV, no. 20, p. 257; Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 67, p. 117.

Cyprus, cardinal Elias Talleyrand of Perigord, and various nobles had taken the "red cross of Outremer." King John was made "rector and captain-general" of the expedition, and Talleyrand the papal legate. Urban V offered John a tithe to be levied in France, as well as unassigned and unspent gifts, fines, legacies, penances, and the like of the past twelve years and similar subsidies for the next six "to help with the vast expenses" of the projected expedition. The French hierarchy was to gather the allotted funds every six months and submit them in gold to the curia within two months of each collection, and rather elaborate precautions were supposed to be taken to see that this financial harvest was expended solely on the crusade. Papal letters went out to most of the important princes and prelates of Christendom, announcing the crusade (which was to set out on March 1, 1365), granting the crusaders the usual indulgences, and taking their possessions under the protection of the holy see.¹²⁷ Obviously marshal Roger de Lluria had not chosen a good time to admit Turks into the capital city of Thebes.

We cannot pursue here the details of Urban V's untiring efforts to help organize a crusade, but one can imagine the reaction at the curia when word reached Avignon "that in the city of Thebes and other places roundabout a profane multitude of infidel Turks are dwelling," as Urban wrote archbishop Bartholomew of Patras on June 27, 1364, "and constantly striving to attack the lands of your church of Patras and other nearby areas belonging to the faithful." Urban charged the archbishop "that fired with the love of God and with fervor for his faith you should rise up against these Turks, manfully and as powerfully as your strength allows, so that with God's right hand providing you and his other servants with valor the said Turks may be repulsed . . . , and you stepping forth as a true boxer of Christ may gain more fully thereby the reward of eternal recompense and the plenitude of our grace."¹²⁸ On the same day Urban addressed a letter of grim remonstrance to the brothers Roger and John

127. N. Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (Paris, 1896), pp. 158-162 (on p. 160, line 3, read 1362 for 1363), 165-172, and Boehlke, *Pierre de Thomas*, pp. 211-216; P. Lecacheux, ed., *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Urbain V (1362-1370) se rapportant à la France*, I, fasc. 1 (Paris, 1902), nos. 346-347, pp. 40-41. Cardinal Elias Talleyrand died in January 1364, and was replaced as legate for the crusade by Peter Thomas, who already held general legatine authority in the east.

128. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 240, letter dated at Avignon on June 27, 1364. In a bull, directed *ad perpetuam rei memoriam* and dated March 21, 1364, Urban V excommunicated among various other classes of malefactors those who supplied horses, arms, iron, timber, and *alia prohibita* to the Moslems, who carried on war against the Christians (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 141^v, "datum et actum Avinione XII Kal. Aprilis anno secundo").

de Lluria, ordering them to dismiss their Turkish mercenaries and take up arms against them, restore to the Theban church the goods and properties they had seized, and readmit archbishop Paul to his defenseless see.¹²⁹

The Angevin bailie of the principality of Achaea and Manuel Cantacuzenus, the despot of Mistra, together with the Venetians and the Hospitallers, employed their resources in common to combat the Turkish peril. The Turks were defeated in a naval battle off Megara, southern fortress of the Catalan duchy of Athens; they lost thirty-five ships, and looked to the walls of Thebes for safety and to the assistance of Roger de Lluria. But in the long run the defeated Turks would be a poor ally, and the indignant pope, the inimical Angevin, and the sage Venetian the wrong enemies. Roger therefore sought peace with the Venetians in Euboea, and on July 25, 1365, the senate, with some reservations, sanctioned the cessation of hostilities, and so informed their bailie in Negroponte.¹³⁰ When the Turks had departed from Thebes, and peace was thus restored with the Venetians, close relations were finally reestablished between the rebellious Catalans in the Athenian duchy, led by the marshal Roger de Lluria, and their king and duke in distant Sicily.

On February 24, 1365, king Frederick III had directed his cousin James Fadrique and Roger de Lluria to receive his appointee Matthew of Moncada as vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras and to help him secure possession of the royal castles of Livadia, Neopatras, and Siderokastron. Frederick now stated that he had appointed Moncada to the office for life, and he professed to believe that previous letters to this effect had been lost.¹³¹ It seems

129. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVI, pp. 339–340, and cf. Lecacheux, *Lettres secrètes et curiales*, I, fasc. 2 (Paris, 1906), no. 1050, p. 163.

130. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVIII, pp. 340–341, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 60–61. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 68, 73, pp. 118, 119, is doubtless correct in assuming that Roger de Lluria's Turks were not an Ottoman contingent, sent to his aid by sultan Murad I, but mercenaries secured from one of the emirates of Asia Minor. The Turkish defeat off Megara, formerly put in the summer of 1364, should conceivably be dated about 1359–1360, and may explain how Roger came to hire Turks in the first place, but the chronology is uncertain (cf. Loenertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 430–431). According to the *Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. Morel-Fatio, *Libro de los fechos* [Geneva, 1885], par. 685, p. 151), when Walter of Lor was bailie of the Angevin principality (1357–1360), he burned thirty-five Turkish ships after an encounter at Megara, his allies in the undertaking being the despot Manuel Cantacuzenus, the Venetians, and the Hospitallers, "and the Turks fled to Thebes, to Roger de Lluria, who was at that time vicar and governor of the duchy." The imperial historian John Cantacuzenus, IV, 13 (*CSHB*, III, 90, lines 3–7), alludes to the same event and also identifies Roger de Lluria by name (cf. D. M. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos [Cantacuzenus]*, ca. 1100–1460 [Washington, D.C., 1968], p. 125). In any event we have seen that the papal correspondence makes it perfectly clear that there were Turks in Thebes early in 1364.

131. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLVII, pp. 340–341.

safe to assume that the Catalan feudatories had merely disregarded the royal letters of appointment. But after Roger's destruction of the advance force which Moncada had sent into Greece, the latter seems to have entertained no enthusiasm for taking up his honorific but perilous post. In a recently published letter to Moncada dated August 9, 1365, Frederick informed him that an envoy bringing a petition (*capitula*) from the Company had just described the daily harassment of the duchies by the Venetians. The king's subjects overseas complained that they were left without proper protection because of the absence of the vicar-general, and were being forced into an alliance with the doge and republic of Genoa, "and if this should take effect, which heaven forbid, quite obviously the abdication of the duchies from our sovereignty and dominion would follow. . . ." Frederick could not tolerate the prospect of losing Greece, the provincial ornament in his crown, which his predecessors had won by the clash of arms and the shedding of blood. The Catalan duchies must not perish for want of a defender. Moncada was to proceed to Greece with an adequate force within three months or Frederick would replace him with another vicar-general.¹³²

Even if Roger de Lluria's government was illegal and he could not protect the Athenian duchy from Venetian depredation, there was still no way to get rid of him. There was a large work of political reorganization to be done, and since Frederick III was obliged to accept accomplished facts, some of his rebellious subjects were to be rewarded for their self-willed estrangement from the crown. A score of documents testify to the administrative activity of the year 1366. We must pass over various matters, but should note that when on August 3 king Frederick wrote marshal Roger de Lluria (concerning certain Fadrique property claims), he addressed him for the first time as vicar-general.¹³³ Roger's boldness had been justified by his success, for at Messina on May 14, 1367, a chancery clerk prepared another royal letter of commission that signalized his official appointment to the office he had exercised for some five years in the protection and pursuit of his own interests, and the various officials of all the municipalities of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras were informed by letters patent of his appointment as vicar-general.¹³⁴ Grants of land and privilege made to Roger in years past by John II of Randazzo and his son Frederick I, dukes of Athens from 1338 to 1355, by his majesty's late brother Louis, king of Sicily (1342-

132. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, 428-429, document dated at Messina on August 9, 1365.

133. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXI, pp. 355-356.

134. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLXXXVI, CCLXXXVII, pp. 370-372.

1355), and by Frederick III himself were now confirmed,¹³⁵ and the royal indulgence was formally renewed to the energetic Roger and his partisans for the many crimes of violence of which they had been guilty during the uprising at Thebes in 1362, when Peter de Pou and his wife Angelina were killed, as well as Michael Oller, then dean of the Theban minster, and a number of others, some of whom are named in the document.¹³⁶

Roger de Lluria and his heirs were confirmed in possession of the town of Stiris in Phocis and of a stronghold called Methocya.¹³⁷ Stiris had belonged to Ermengol de Novelles, who had been adjudged a "rebel" in 1365 because of his failure to surrender the castle of Siderokastron to the vicar-general Moncada when ordered by Frederick III to do so, whereupon James Fadrique had virtuously seized the castle in the king's name and continued to hold it as his own castellany!¹³⁸ Roger had occupied Stiris in even less graceful fashion, for Ermengol had mortgaged the place for 8,000 hyperpers of gold to Bernard Desvilar, whom Roger had "wickedly slain in his own house," during the outbreak of violence at Thebes. When Desvilar's widow Beatrice married Bernard Ballester, Roger required them to surrender their rights to Stiris for a mere 2,000 hyperpers, which of course he never paid. Since he had a tyrant's grasp upon the duchies, he could thus add insult to injury, but years later, in 1381, Ballester was to secure a royal judgment against Lluria properties in the city and district of Athens.¹³⁹ By then Roger de Lluria had been dead for more than a decade. Death often came more quickly than justice in the Catalan duchies.

At the beginning of the year 1367 the free inhabitants of the duchies had assembled in their town councils to provide for the future, now that the uncertainties of rebellion and war seemed to be past. A general assembly had met at Thebes and prepared a petition for presentation to king Frederick III in Sicily. The chancellor of the Catalan Company affixed the seal of St. George to the petition, called by Rubió i Lluch the "Articles of Thebes," on January 2, and on May 18 its provisions were read to the king at Messina, and he answered them one by one. He insisted upon retaining the final right of appointment to the important castles of Livadia, Neopatras, and

135. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXVIII, p. 373, dated May 16, 1367.

136. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXC, pp. 377-379, dated May 18, 1367.

137. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCI, pp. 379-380, dated May 18, 1367.

138. *Dipl.*, docs. CCLVII, CCCXCII, CDXVIII, pp. 340-341, 480, 499, dated in 1365 and 1380.

139. *Dipl.*, doc. DCCXIII, pp. 743-744; Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 75-76, 195, pp. 120, 149-150, 183, 185-186.

Siderokastron, and he maintained the young Louis Fadrique in possession of Siderokastron, although this was apparently not to the liking of marshal Roger de Lluria. He agreed to a (modified) renewal of the appointment, as we have seen, of Roger as vicar-general; agreed to the desired amnesty for Roger and his partisans; and agreed to the expropriation, more or less, of properties of the late Peter de Pou in favor of the marshal as compensation for the expenses he had undergone and the losses he had suffered.¹⁴⁰ But apparently Francis of Cremona, Roger's representative in Messina, was insistent with regard to Siderokastron, because a month later, on June 11 (1367), the king granted a life appointment to the castellany and captaincy of Siderokastron to Nicholas de Sosa, ordering young Louis Fadrique to desist from his exercise of those offices.¹⁴¹ Thus did king Frederick III try to restore peace to his Greek dominions.

Following the declaration of the Articles of Thebes in 1367 there were some years of uneasy peace in the Catalan duchies, although, to be sure, in 1370-1371 the nephews of Walter II of Brienne, his sister Isabel's sons—John of Enghien, count of Lecce, Louis, count of Conversano, and Guy, lord of Argos and Nauplia—actually embarked upon a campaign against the Catalans.¹⁴² But they failed to win Venetian support to help wrest the Athenian duchy from that “nefarious Company of Catalans who seized and still retain the aforesaid duchy against God and justice.”¹⁴³ The Briennist heirs

140. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, pp. 374-377. The castles of Livadia and Neopatras were at the king's good pleasure in *dictarum universitatum custodia*, which meant that the town councils provided and controlled the garrisons, but the king refused to delete the saving phrase *ad beneplacitum regie maiestatis* in his grant of the custody since it would derogate from the royal dignity, and emergencies might at some time require him to appoint castellans whom he could trust to take charge of the castles. For further details concerning the petition, see Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 93, 98, pp. 125, 126.

141. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCV, pp. 383-384.

142. A Venetian document of March 21, 1396, in Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 119^r, seems to refer to Guy of Enghien's “war” with the Catalan duchy twenty-five years before (*tempore domini Guidonis de Engino et eo habente guerram cum ducatu Athenarum* . . .). On the futile effort of the Enghien brothers to recover the Athenian duchy, see Luttrell, “Latins of Argos and Nauplia,” *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 41-42. The Enghiens of course claimed only the duchy of Athens, not that of Neopatras (as Luttrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 46, inadvertently says), which the Catalans had taken from the Greeks in 1319.

143. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXX, pp. 407-408, dated April 22, 1370, and doc. CCXVII, pp. 403-405, dated February 9, 1371 (misdated February 8, 1370, in *Dipl.* and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 111-112, p. 130). The latter document appears in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 33, fol. 91, where it is dated “MCCCLXX ind. VIII die nono Februarii,” which *more veneto* means 1371. Cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 172, p. 65, where the year is corrected to 1371, but the day is still wrong.

were thus forced to accept a truce with the Catalans in August 1371, and a proposed marriage alliance between the Enghiens and the Llurias came to nothing.¹⁴⁴ The Catalans in Athens, in the meantime, who had observed with dismay the inept rule of king Frederick III in Sicily, the persistence of the Enghiens, and the ever-growing menace of the Turks, had "on many and diverse occasions" asked queen Eleanor of Aragon, wife of king Peter IV and sister of Frederick III, "that she might be willing to receive them as vassals," and in June 1370 her majesty informed her royal brother in Sicily that she was prepared to take over the Catalan duchies in Greece and would make therefor considerations totaling some 100,000 florins.¹⁴⁵ These negotiations, too, came to nothing, and the Catalans in Athens and Neopatras had to wait another decade before they found themselves directly under the "sacrosanct crown of Aragon."

When Roger de Lluria died near the end of the year 1369 or, very likely, at the beginning of 1370, king Frederick III appointed Matthew of Peralta vicar-general of the Catalan dominions in Greece (on May 31, 1370).¹⁴⁶ The last letter addressed by the king to Peralta as his vicar in Greece is dated January 18, 1374.¹⁴⁷ The late 1360's and the early 1370's found the royal duke of Athens seeking to strengthen his rule in the duchies by appointing Sicilians to critical posts, sometimes to the great annoyance of the Catalan colony in Thebes, or by appointing Catalans who he believed (or hoped) might prove devoted to the crown. The vicariate of Matthew of Peralta must have been welcomed by the pro-Sicilian group in the duchies. On October 28, 1370, however, the king appointed the late Roger de Lluria's chief ally William of Almenara, a Catalan, to the offices of captain and castellan of the town and castle of Livadia. Indeed, he promised Almenara a lifetime tenure of the offices if he could allay the constant strife between the barons and his other "faithful" subjects. In the meantime Almenara was to exercise authority at his majesty's good pleasure.¹⁴⁸ But on October 4, 1373, in the face of a mounting protest, which emanated especially from the capital city of Thebes, the king tried to remove Almenara on the grounds that continuing "dissensions and discords" were causing havoc in the

144. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXI, CCCXXII, pp. 418-419.

145. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXIII, CCCXXIV, pp. 411-415, especially p. 414.

146. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXI, CCCXXII, pp. 408-411. These documents first inform us of the death of Roger de Lluria, who has been "exercising the office" of vicar-general, and apparently disregarding his formal appointment thereto on May 14, 1367, declare the official removal from office of Matthew of Moncada.

147. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXLII, p. 430.

148. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXV-CCCXXVII, pp. 415-417.

duchies, and besides, his baffled majesty wanted (he said) to observe the Articles of the Company which expressly limited tenure of the offices of veguer and captain to a period not exceeding three years. Frederick was gravely troubled, he informed Almenara, by the chaotic conditions in Greece which had brought "multifarious losses and burdens" upon his faithful subjects, and he was anxious to restore his overseas dominions to a "healthy and tranquil state."¹⁴⁹ It was usually the Catalans in the duchy who insisted upon the three-year tenure of office. Citizens of lower rank resented royal appointments which tended to convert public offices into hereditary fiefs, and if they were unhappy about the intrusion of outsiders from Sicily into their affairs, they were no less opposed to the ambitions of their own more powerful compatriots.

On January 24, 1371, the young Galcerán of Peralta was confirmed in his (earlier) appointment to the castellany of Athens,¹⁵⁰ our first knowledge of an appointee to the command of the garrison on the Acropolis since William de Planis held the position of *castellanus et vicarius Athenarum* in 1321.¹⁵¹ On January 7, 1372, Galcerán, who was apparently a relative of the vicar-general Matthew, was confirmed in the office of veguer and captain of Athens for life, with the right to appoint a substitute every three years, "according to the Customs of Barcelona," the intention being, of course, to circumvent the Customs.¹⁵² Such an obvious subterfuge was bound to prove unsatisfactory, and some twenty months later, on October 4, 1373, Galcerán was officially removed from office, the same day as Almenara was ordered to give up the veguería and captaincy of Livadia, and as a result of the same "dissensions and discords" which had arisen as a result of these prolongations of tenure beyond the statutory limit of three years.¹⁵³ The orders removing Almenara and Peralta authorized the municipal corporations of Livadia and Athens to elect their successors and submit the latter's names for royal confirmation. But nothing was done, and so on January 19-20, 1374, king Frederick III officially replaced Almenara as castellan of

149. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIX, pp. 427-428.

150. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXVIII, CCCXXIX, pp. 417-418.

151. *Dipl.*, doc. CXVI, p. 143. "Guielmus de Planis" looks like the founder of the fortunes of the Ses Planes family, who were still deriving an income from "certain possessions and properties belonging to the castle of Athens and to its guard, defense, and custody" as late as January 7, 1372, when the king annulled their grants extending through three generations; this was done doubtless at the behest of Galcerán de Peralta (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIV, pp. 421-422). The revenues were to be used thenceforth for the defense of the Acropolis.

152. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXXXIII, pp. 420-421.

153. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXIX, CCCXLI, pp. 427-430.

Livadia by Francis Lunel (Llunel) of Thebes, and as veguer and captain of Livadia by one Gilbert Vidal, while Peralta was supposed to be succeeded as castellan of the Acropolis by William Pujol, and as veguer and captain of Athens by one Bernard of Vich. Although the vicar-general was duly notified of all these changes in the administration of the Athenian duchy,¹⁵⁴ it is extremely unlikely that any one of the new appointees could enter into the office assigned to him. Peralta in Athens, like Almenara in Livadia, was a petty Pisistratus in a land which has often known tyranny; they were both formidable local figures, and the royal writ no longer ran in Greece.

In the early 1370's Frederick III of Sicily had so completely lost the confidence of the Catalan feudatories in Greece that they had several times expressed the desire to join the Crown of Aragon, and his attempts to reestablish his rule in Greece by appointing to castellanies, captaincies, and other offices servitors presumably loyal to his interests hardly achieved even a modest success. But his position among the sovereigns of Europe seemed to be raised in 1372 when queen Joanna I of Naples renounced the Angevin claim to the Sicilian kingdom, and pope Gregory XI accepted the Sicilian branch of the house of Barcelona back into the fold of the church.¹⁵⁵ Thus when on November 13, 1372, most of the Christian princes of eastern Europe and the Levant, as well as the doges of Venice and Genoa, were summoned to come in person or send representatives to a congress of alliance against the Turks, scheduled to meet on October 1, 1373, Thebes was chosen as the place of assemblage, because it was "considered to be more convenient than any other place." The congress was being summoned because of the "tearful exposition" of conditions in the Balkans which his holiness had had from archbishop Francis of the Catalan see of Neopatras (1369?–1376), and the many recipients of the summonses (if, indeed, they ever received them) were told that a great multitude of Turks were extending by force of arms their perfidious and infidel sway "to the confines of the kingdom of Serbia and Albania, the principality of Achaëa, and the duchy of Athens."¹⁵⁶ The congress apparently never took place,¹⁵⁷ and no union of Latin strength against the Turks was possible at this time. And if it were, the Catalans were in no position

154. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXLIII–CCCXLVI, pp. 431–434.

155. *Vita Gregorii XI*, in G. Mollat, ed., *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, I (1914), 421, and cf. Francesco de Stefano, "La Soluzione della questione siciliana (1372)," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*, XXIX (2nd ser., IX, 1933), 48–76.

156. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXXXVI, CCCXXXVII, pp. 424, 425, and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 176, p. 66.

157. See O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw, 1930), pp. 254–263.

to assist a Christian alliance. Toward the end of the year 1374, after the death of the vicar-general Matthew of Peralta, Nerio Acciajuoli, the Florentine lord of Corinth, seized the Catalan castle of Megara, despite its defense by Francis Lunel, whom Nerio captured and kept in prison.¹⁵⁸ Megara was never regained by the Catalans, and it commanded the isthmian road to Athens and to Thebes.

Even before the death of Matthew of Peralta, probably in the mid-summer of 1374, internecine strife was beginning to tear the Catalan duchies apart. Hostility and tyranny grow easily in the thin soil of Greece. In 1366, upon the death of his father James, Louis Fadrique had inherited the lordship of Zeitounion, and despite his tender years was, as we have seen, retained as castellan and captain of Siderokastron, a crown property, from which however on June 11, 1367, Frederick III had tried to remove him because he was still under age.¹⁵⁹ But minor though he was, Louis apparently had no intention of being removed, and maintained his hold upon Siderokastron, which he still possessed at his death in 1382.¹⁶⁰ Louis was soon engaged in a bitter contest with Galcerán of Peralta, who had obviously not obeyed the royal order to give up the castellany and veguería of Athens. The ancient rivalry of Athens and Thebes was reënacted as Louis received support from the latter city, as well as from Livadia.

For whatever reasons, James Fadrique had already in his lifetime ceded to his brother Boniface "all his rights and properties" in the duchy of Athens,¹⁶¹ which must have included the important fiefs of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, and Aegina, but obviously not the stronghold of Zeitounion and the castellany of Siderokastron. After the death of the ineffective vicar-general Matthew of Peralta (in 1374), Louis Fadrique and his uncle Boniface were the prime feudatories in Catalan Greece. When Megara fell to Nerio Acciajuoli, and

158. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLIV, p. 440.

159. James Fadrique was dead before August 3, 1366, as shown by *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, pp. 356-357, and a royal order of the following October 5 reveals his son Louis as in possession of Zeitounion, *castrum Citonis* (*ibid.*, doc. CCLXXXII, p. 366). Nicholas de Sosa's letter of appointment as castellan and captain of Siderokastron refers to the removal from office of Louis, who is directed "quod desistat ab officiis castellanie et capitane . . . terre Siderocastri" (*ibid.*, doc. CCXCV, pp. 383-384, dated at Messina on June 11, 1367), although only three weeks before Frederick had informed the Catalan municipalities in Greece that he was going to leave Siderokastron in Louis's hands (*ibid.*, doc. CCLXXXIX, p. 375, dated May 18, 1367).

160. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCII, CDXVIII, DXXVI-DXXVIII, pp. 480, 499, 579-581.

161. *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXXII, p. 357: "... idem nobilis Jaymus dum viveret cesserit eidem Bonifacio omnia bona sua atque jura que habebat et habere possit in futurum in eodem ducatu Athenarum . . ."

the threat of turmoil was hanging over them, the Catalan municipalities and other districts turned to Louis Fadrique as their governor. On April 6 and 9, 1375, Frederick III confirmed all Louis's official acts, and formally appointed him vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatra.¹⁶² The ambitious Louis had been getting on badly with his uncle Boniface. He may have challenged the legality or propriety of the late James's cession to Boniface of the castles of Salona, Loidoriki, Veteranitsa, and Aegina. Boniface and his son Peter took up arms against Louis, who finally defeated his uncle and his cousin, sending the latter out of Greece into exile and imprisonment in Aragon.¹⁶³ Louis's father James had ceded the castle and island of Aegina to Boniface "in a donation pure and irrevocable . . . with all rights and appurtenances under certain pacts and conditions," and Aegina had passed to Peter as a gift from his father. But Louis repossessed the island, and later on a royal patent confirmed the legality of his tenure, because Peter had "rebelled" against him when he held the post of vicar-general.¹⁶⁴

Galcerán of Peralta was a tougher opponent, however, and Louis was finally forced to make an agreement with him in "all those pacts, covenants, articles, affirmations, and usages [which king Peter IV of Aragon confirmed in September 1380 after he took over the duchies, and] which were sworn to and affirmed between the magnificent Don Louis of Aragon, the vicar, and the municipalities [*universitats*] of Thebes and Livadia on the one hand and, on the other, the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta, formerly governor [*olim regidor*] of Athens, together with the said municipality of

162. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCL, CCCLI, CCCLIII, pp. 436 ff. Louis had already arranged his own election by some sort of oligarchical acclamation.

163. As the Catalan duchies came under Aragonese sway, king Peter IV wrote Louis Fadrique, *vicari en los ducats de Atenes e de Neopatria*, on September 30, 1379, "del fet que'ns havets fet saber de Pere d'Aragó, vos certifficam que encontinent havem fet prendre aquell, lo qual tendrem tant pres, fins que vos nos haiats fet saber que volrets que s'en fasa" (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, p. 462; Rubió, *Los Navarros en Grecia* [Barcelona, 1886], app., part 2, doc. XVI, pp. 228-229), and so apparently the king intended to allow Louis to determine his defeated rival's punishment. The fortunes of Boniface are less clear; he was dead before September 1380 (cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXII, p. 480): "... magnífich don Bonifaci d'Aragon *quondam*, pare de don Pedro d'Aragon . . .," relating to the latter's loss of Aegina.

164. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXVI, p. 498, dated September 17, 1380: "... dictus Petrus de Aragonia contra vos ut tenentem locum vicarii improvide rebellavit . . ." Cf., *ibid.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480-481. Rubió i Lluch, "La Grècia catalana . . . (1377-1379)," *Anuari de l'Institut d'estudis catalans*, VI (1915-1920), 170-171, believes that Louis captured Peter, and sent him as a prisoner to Aragon (cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 111 ff.). Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 130, 132, 157, pp. 134, 140, believes that Peter fled to Aragon, where the king had him arrested (*havem fet prendre aquell*, see the preceding note), which may be the case. For an attempt at a sketch of fourteenth-century Aeginetan history, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 108-110, note.

Athens”¹⁶⁵ It would appear, then, that young Peter Fadrique was a “rebel” only because Louis defeated him, but Galcerán of Peralta remained a loyal Catalan subject because he successfully opposed Louis, who obviously could not dislodge him from the Acropolis. Galcerán must have had the support of the Catalans in his bailiwick. Although Athens figures in numerous earlier documents, this is the first time, as Loenertz has observed, that the city and its castellan play a leading role in the political history of the Catalan duchies in Greece.

On May 8, 1381, Boniface Fadrique’s widow Dulcia and his son John obtained a royal order from Peter IV of Aragon, who was by this time duke of Athens and Neopatras, for the immediate restoration of the properties they had lost as a consequence of Boniface’s clash with Louis.¹⁶⁶ On the same day Boniface’s name appeared at the head of a list of five persons to whom, posthumously or otherwise, Peter IV granted pardon for whatever offenses “before the said duchies had come under our dominion they have committed against the vicar and other officials by violating the oath and homage by which they were bound.”¹⁶⁷ Whether Dulcia and John Fadrique ever recovered any of their castles and towers we cannot say, nor do we know anything about Salona, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa from the time Boniface possessed them until we find Louis Fadrique identified as the “count of Salona” in 1380–1381, when his name appears first among *los nobles principales* in a list of the high ecclesiastics and chief feudatories of the Catalan duchies in Greece.¹⁶⁸ The harbor town of Veteranitsa (on the Gulf of Corinth) went with Salona, and so doubtless did the landing at Galaxidi. The fortress of Loidoriki also lay within the orbit of the so-called county of Salona, and Louis held it as well as, to the north, the important castle town of Zeitounion, which he had of course inherited from his father. Louis had apparently been doing well enough when about 1368 or so he married a Byzantine princess, Helena Asenina Cantacuzena, one of the three daughters of Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus, eldest son of (and briefly co-emperor with) John VI Cantacuzenus. In 1361 Matthew had gone into the Morea to settle down after a turbulent career in Constantinople, and had taken Helena with him. For some twenty years Matthew assisted his brother Manuel, despot of Mistra (1349–1380),

165. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, p. 474.

166. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIII, p. 544, but note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 198, pp. 150–151, and p. 178.

167. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXVIII, p. 547. The purpose of the pardon was to forestall the forfeiture of property to the crown for treason.

168. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXXIX, p. 548.

whom he succeeded as *locum tenens* until the end of 1382. Louis and Helena had one daughter, destined to a sad fate.¹⁶⁹ Momentous events occurred during the vicariate of Louis Fadrique (1375–1381). Catalan rule was drawing to a violent close in Athens, Thebes, and Neopatras.

King Frederick III of Sicily died in Messina on July 27, 1377; with him the male branch of the Catalan dynasty in Sicily came to an end. He had wished to leave both Sicily and the duchies of Athens and Neopatras to his fifteen-year-old daughter Maria, although the will of king Frederick II of Sicily, who had died forty years before (1337), had expressly excluded the women of his house from the royal succession.¹⁷⁰ King Peter IV of Aragon therefore laid claim to the island kingdom of Sicily and to the Catalan duchies in Greece. Succession struggles followed in Sicily and possibly in Greece. Maria was eventually to marry Don Martin (in November 1391), grandson of king Peter IV and son of king Martin I of Aragon, and the rival dynastic claims would thus be combined and so settled for both the royal title to Sicily and the ducal title to Athens and Neopatras. But in the meantime Peter IV and his son did not relinquish their claims to the Greek duchies. We know very little about the Catalan states in Greece during 1376 and 1377. No document has survived referring to Athens or Neopatras, and only two documents refer to the capital city of Thebes during these years.¹⁷¹ The young queen Maria of Sicily ruled the duchies after a fashion from 1377 to 1379, and at

169. On Matthew Cantacuzenus, see Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 108–122; on Helena, *ibid.*, pp. 160–162; and on Louis Fadrique's daughter Maria, *ibid.*, pp. 162–163. In the Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 129^v, one may find a resolution of the Venetian senate dated August 26, 1388 (with the wrong date in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 743, p. 179), "quod scribatur domine Hellene Cantacusini olim consorti egregii domini Don Loysii de Aragono domini Sole . . ." [i.e., of Salona]. The despot Manuel died on April 10, 1380, and was succeeded by John V's fourth son, Theodore Palaeologus, who arrived in the Morea about the end of 1382 (Loenertz, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II, 417–420). Matthew himself died in 1383 or 1391, for which the sole evidence seems to be the obscure text of the Short Chronicle of 1391 (Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 120).

170. For the text and a discussion of the will of Frederick II, dated March 29, 1334, see Giuseppe La Mantia, "Il Testamento di Federico II aragonese, re di Sicilia," *Archivio storico per la Sicilia*, II–III (1936–1937), 13–50. On July 15, 1357, twenty years before his death, and before the birth of his daughter Maria, king Frederick III had guaranteed the succession to the kingdom of Sicily, the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, and certain other rights and possessions to his sister Eleanor and her husband king Peter IV of Aragon in the event he should die "without legitimate offspring, male or female" (*Dipl.*, doc. CCXXXIV, p. 308).

171. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXIII, CCCLXIV, pp. 447–449. There is also a resolution of the Venetian senate dated April 18, 1376 (*ibid.*, doc. CCCLXII, pp. 446–447), providing for the return of the two sons of the late vicar-general Matthew of Peralta from Thebes to Sicily in Venetian ships, as noted above, note 118.

least two of her letters relating to Greek matters are extant.¹⁷² But in 1379, despite the presumed opposition of the Sicilian faction in the Athenian duchy, king Peter IV with the loyal support of Louis Fadrique, the vicar-general, and of Galcerán of Peralta, captain and castellan of Athens, finally secured the annexation of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras to the crown of Aragon.¹⁷³ Dissension within the Athenian duchy, however, and the Florentine seizure of Megara left the Catalans ill prepared for the heavy blow which now fell upon them, delivered by the so-called Navarrese Company led by an able captain named John de Urtubia.

The Navarrese Company had fought in the war between Charles II the Bad of Navarre and Charles V the Wise of France. When the war ended in 1366, the Navarrese (reformed as a new company) entered or remained in the service of Louis of Évreux, count of Beaumont-le-Roger, the brother of Charles II of Navarre. Louis was preparing to press by force of arms the claim to the "kingdom of Albania" which he had just acquired through his marriage with the Angevin princess Joanna, duchess of Durazzo. She was a granddaughter of John of Gravina, whose campaign in the Morea in 1325-1326 had first given the Acciajuoli a foothold in the Greek peninsula, and whose exchange of the ill-gotten principality of Achaea for the kingdom of Albania and the duchy of Durazzo (in 1332) had thus given the lady Joanna her title to the Angevin lands in ancient Epirus.¹⁷⁴ In 1368 the kingdom of Albania, together with the city of Durazzo, had fallen to the Albanian lord Charles Topia, and Louis of Évreux was faced with no inconsiderable task if he would give effect to his right to rule over the "kingdom" he had thought to possess through his marriage to the heiress Joanna. Louis received much assistance from his royal brother of Navarre and from Charles V of France. In 1372 very active recruiting added to the numbers of the new Navarrese Company, but the chief contingents and the most important leaders were engaged in 1375 and 1376, and they passed, for the most part, directly from Navarre to Albania. Extensive preparations were made

172. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCVII, pp. 393-394, properly dated 1378 or 1379, and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 142-143, pp. 137, 202.

173. For details and for references to the relevant works of Rubió i Lluch, see Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 99-117 and ff.; *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXII-CCCLXXXIII, pp. 453-464, dated at Barcelona from September 7 to 30, 1379; and cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 146-159, pp. 138-141, where no. 158 is misdated by a typographical error.

174. Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 127-128; W. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), pp. 257-258, 260-261; Longnon, *L'Empire latin*, pp. 320-323; and on the duchess Joanna of Durazzo, cf. Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Ameil in Naples . . .," *Speculum*, XXVIII, 643-691.

for the expedition, and almost a score of names of military contractors have come down to us in the enrolment lists of 1375–1376.¹⁷⁵ Of the details of Louis's Albanian expedition little is known, but Durazzo was apparently occupied in the midsummer of 1376. Louis died about the same time, and shortly thereafter his widow Joanna married duke Robert of Artois. Most of the Navarrese Company spent about two hard years in impoverished Durazzo (1376–1377). Anxious to return to their homes in Navarre and Gascony, and considering their allegiance to Joanna terminated by her second marriage, the leaders of the Company attempted, early in 1377, to enter the service of king Peter IV of Aragon.

King Peter wrote to the four captains of the Company on June 21, 1377, acknowledging "their wish and obligation to serve him in his wars," and accepting their offer subject to the consent of Charles II of Navarre. The leaders of the Company were Peter de la Saga, Mahiot of Coquerel, both chamberlains of the Navarrese king, and John de Urtubia and a certain Garro (or Guarro), who are designated squires. The king wrote that he would send two ships to convey them back to Spain, but that their horses should come in other transports, of which the Company was said to have a number.¹⁷⁶ Two days later he wrote on their behalf to the king of Navarre.¹⁷⁷ Of the four leaders of the Company (or rather companies) named in Peter IV's letter, all of whom appear in the enrolment lists of 1375–1376, only two were to play an important part in the history of medieval Greece, John de Urtubia as conqueror of Boeotia and Mahiot of Coquerel as bailie of James of Les Baux, titular prince of Achaea and last claimant to the Latin throne of Constantinople. Peter de la Saga and Garro seem to make no further appearance in the documents.

When the plans to serve the king of Aragon came to nothing, Urtubia and Coquerel turned for employment to the Hospitallers, who were now reorganizing their forces in the Morea, where they had leased the Achaean principality for five years from queen Joanna I of Naples, the agreement apparently being made about August 1376.¹⁷⁸ The affairs of the Hospital were in disorder after the grand

175. Published by Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia, y el ducado catalán de Atenas en la época de su invasión* (Barcelona, 1886), part I, doc. VII, pp. 211–215, and cf. docs. I–III, V–VI. (These documents were unfortunately not reprinted in Rubió's *Diplomatari*.)

176. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXV, p. 449: "Als amats nostres mossen P. dela Saya e Mahiot de Cocorell, camarlenchs de nostre car frare lo rey de Navarra, e Johan d'Ortruvia e Garro, escuders." Actually there were four companies (*societates*), each under one of the military contractors named in the royal letter.

177. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXVI, p. 450, dated June 23, 1377. This letter expressly states that the Navarrese Company was then in Durazzo.

178. Loenertz, "Hospitatiers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII

master Juan Fernández de Heredia's unsuccessful campaign against the Albanian prince Ghin Boua Spata of Arta—Heredia was captured in the early summer of 1378, and thereafter held for a large ransom for some ten months by Boua Spata. It was apparently in the early summer of 1378 that Gaucher of La Bastide, prior of the Hospital in Toulouse and Heredia's lieutenant in the Morea, enrolled John de Urtubia's company of one hundred men-at-arms. He agreed to pay 9,000 ducats for eight months' service, 1,000 ducats for maintenance of Urtubia's high estate, and another 1,000 ducats for division among the "corporals" of Urtubia's company. Financial accounts of the Hospital show that one Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, whom the wheel of fortune was one day to make prince of Achaea, belonged to Urtubia's company. Gaucher of La Bastide also enrolled Mahiot of Coquerel with his company of fifty men for eight months, "and the said prior promised to pay him one half the price promised to Janco de Urtubia, namely 5,500 ducats for the stated period." In fact, Coquerel was finally paid more than the sum specified, because he began his service before the date called for by the contract.¹⁷⁹ When the eight months came to an end, early in 1379, Urtubia and his troops moved on to make history in Thebes, while Coquerel and his men remained in the Morea.

King Peter IV had disapproved of the Hospitallers' plans to enlarge their establishment in the Morea, and when Heredia, after his elevation as grand master in September 1377, had summoned commanders and knights of the order to join him in his projected "passage to Romania," the king forbade the Hospitallers in his domains, under penalty of losing their revenues, to go to Heredia.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the king feared the too close proximity of the armed might of St. John to the Athenian duchy over which he had just declared

(1956), reg. no. 1, pp. 329–330, and cf. doc. I, art. 9, p. 351, and D. Jacoby, "Jean Lascaris Calophéros, Chypre et la Morée," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVI (1968), 203, note 92. Joanna had succeeded Philip II of Taranto in the Achaean succession in 1373.

179. Royal Malta Library, Valletta, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 321 (Lib. Bullarum, VI, for 1381–1382), fol. 204, financial accounts of the Hospital, dated at Rhodes on August 24, 1381, published by Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII, 350–355, arts. 13 ff., 26–27, 28 ff. The accounts show the close connection between Urtubia and Nerio Acciajuoli. Cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 122–130, and on the affairs of the Hospitallers (complicated by the Great Schism), Luttrell, "Intrigue, Schism, and Violence among the Hospitallers of Rhodes, 1377–1384," *Speculum*, XLI (1966), especially pp. 33 ff. Heredia was invested with the office of grand master of the Hospitallers by pope Gregory XI on September 24, 1377, for which see Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini nell' economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento," in the *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa: Lettere, storia e filosofia*, 2nd ser., XXVIII (1959), 323 and note 6.

180. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXVII, CCCLXVIII, pp. 450–451, dated May 10, 1378.

his rule, but his attitude was not likely to please the commanders of the Hospital in the Morea. Although Peter IV remained on friendly terms, apparently, with Heredia,¹⁸¹ the Hospitallers' attitude toward the Catalans in Thebes and Athens was one of hostility, and Heredia's lieutenant in the Morea, Gaucher of La Bastide, clearly abetted the attack of the Navarrese Company under John de Urtubia upon the city of Thebes.

In the early spring of 1379 Urtubia and the so-called Navarrese or White Company, which must have included at least as many Gascons and Italians as Navarrese, set out from the Morea, conceivably from the headquarters of the Hospitallers in Navarino (St. Mary of Zonklon) or Kalamata. They made their way through the Corinthian barony of Urtubia's good friend Nerio Acciajuoli, who also held the Megarid, and launched their attack upon the city of Thebes. They proceeded obviously with the permission and presumably with the encouragement of Nerio. They came most inopportunistly for Louis Fadrique, since the two years of uncertainty which had followed the death of king Frederick III had not prepared the Catalans in the Athenian duchy to withstand a powerful assault. In 1379 the Catalans no longer possessed the strength which had been theirs when they had repulsed Walter II of Brienne in 1331. Also the destruction of the castle of St. Omer on the Cadmea by the Catalans on the occasion of Brienne's expedition, for fear that he might occupy the castle and hold it against them, had made Thebes, although the capital of the southern duchy, much less easy to defend than the Acropolis, known to the Catalans as the "Castell de Cetines." Urtubia and the Navarrese Company took Thebes in a violent encounter, with ample assistance from traitors within the city, one of whom, John Conominas, "revealed himself as quite adept in securing the loss of Thebes, dealing with Messer Nerio [Acciajuoli]." ¹⁸² Whether Urtubia acted as Nerio's ally or employee remains uncertain. Barcelonese documents show clearly that the fall of Thebes was known at the royal court in Aragon by September 13, 1379. ¹⁸³ Allowing three or possibly four months for the bearers of the sad tidings to make the voyage to Barcelona from the Athenian duchy,

181. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXI, p. 453, dated August 2, 1379.

182. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, p. 476, lines 12-13: "... lo qual dit Johan se trobà esser bo en la perdua de Estives tractant ensemps ab miçer Aner..." A decade later, a Barcelonese document of January 3, 1390, refers to the siege of Neopatras by Nerio Acciajuoli, "... la ciutat nostra de la Patria asseiat per micer Arner, enemich nostre capital..." (*Dipl.*, doc. DCXXVII, p. 657). For the identification of Aner or Arner, see Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 209, pp. 153, 193-194.

183. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXVIII, CCCLXXX, pp. 459-461.

we may assume that Urtubia took Thebes in May or June 1379.¹⁸⁴ Despite treachery within the walls of Athens on the part of those who wished to see that historic city also succumb to Urtubia, the Acropolis was to remain in Catalan hands for another decade.

After the fall of Thebes to Urtubia, when the Catalan vicar-general, Louis Fadrique, was unwilling to conclude an unfavorable peace with the Navarrese, probably on a basis of the status quo, the Hospitallers sought to bring pressure upon him. On September 23, 1380, Peter IV wrote to Gaucher of La Bastide and the high command of the Hospital in the Morea: "Both by letters sent to us by the eminent Louis Fadrique of Aragon . . . and by the account of his envoy we have learned that you have often requested the same Louis and caused that he be requested to make peace with John de Urtubia and his followers, with the threat that unless he complied, you would proceed to make war upon him, his people and lands, at which we are no little astonished. For you know that the said John de Urtubia . . . with his followers, some time ago, suddenly seized and now holds the city of Thebes and has further plundered and destroyed other places and people belonging to us in the duchies. . . . Since it becomes our majesty to watch over and to defend our peoples, kingdoms, duchies and lands with courage, we require and ask of your Order that upon receipt of the present letter you desist from these threats" ¹⁸⁵ The king threatened the confiscation of the Hospitallers' lands and revenues in his domains if they did not cease thus aiding and encouraging the Navarrese. Two weeks before this,

184. Rubió i Lluch, "Conquista de Tebas por Juan de Urtubia: Episodio de la historia de los Navarros en Grecia," *Homenaje a D. Carmelo de Echegaray: Miscelánea de estudios referentes al País Vasco* (San Sebastian, 1928), p. 389. However urgent Louis Fadrique, Peralta, Bellarbre (see below), Almenara, and other barons, and the officers of the Catalan municipalities may have felt it to inform Peter IV of Urtubia's invasion, their messengers, Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer, obviously had to find suitable transport to Barcelona, which may have involved difficulty in view of the turmoil into which the Navarrese had thrown the Athenian duchy.

A "short chronicle" in Codex Paris. gr. 445, fol. 126^v, published by G. T. Dennis, "The Capture of Thebes by the Navarrese," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXVI (1960), 45-47, places the Navarrese seizure of Thebes "at the ninth hour of the night" on Friday, March 6, 1378. But, in 1378, March 6 fell on a Saturday (and in 1379 on a Sunday), which reveals at least one defect in the text. Cf. K. M. Setton, "The Latins in Greece and the Aegean . . .," *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 (1966), 420, note. Also, in the two documents which Loenertz (*Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 142-143, pp. 137, 202) has identified as belonging to the ducal rule in Greece of Maria of Sicily—dated May 30, 1378 (or 1379), and June 7, 1378 (or 1379)—there is clearly no knowledge in Catania of Urtubia's occupation of Thebes as late as June 1378 (or 1379). Taking the earlier date for the latter document (June 7, 1378), however, if Urtubia had captured Thebes on March 6 of that year, the news would have reached Catania in less than three months.

185. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXXV, p. 503.

on September 10, the king had sent two letters of similar tenor to Heredia and other commanders and officials of the Hospital.¹⁸⁶ There is no reason to believe that Heredia himself encouraged Urtubia in the attack upon Thebes, but it is possible that he knew it was in the offing, and he clearly did nothing to prevent it. Little is known of the career of John de Urtubia.

Of Nerio's well-known hostility to the Catalans we shall have further opportunity to speak. But Urtubia found other allies, whether by prearrangement or not, in Nicholas II dalle Carceri, lord of two "thirds" of Euboea and duke of the Archipelago, and in Francis I Giorgio, marquis of Bodonitsa. At the end of April 1381, when king Peter IV informed the Venetian bailie of Negroponte of the (second) appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as vicar-general of his Greek duchies, he requested Venetian aid to restrain the duke of the Archipelago, the marquis of Bodonitsa, and others from rendering assistance "to our enemies the Navarrese."¹⁸⁷ The Venetians, however, were fighting the Genoese in the War of Chioggia, and the attention of the statesmen of the republic was directed to their affairs in northern Italy rather than in central Greece.

The first known act of Peter IV as duke of Athens and Neopatras is dated September 7, 1379, and in it his majesty notified Romeo de Bellarbre, "castellan and captain of the castle and city of Athens," of the appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti (1342-1392), as vicar-general of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras. He directed Bellarbre to give up the Acropolis (*lo castell*) and the city to "mossén Dalmau," his friend and councillor. On the same day a similar letter was written to William of Almenara, who was still castellan and captain of Livadia.¹⁸⁸ Galcerán of Peralta, castellan, captain, and veguer of Athens, had fallen into Urtubia's hands while attempting either to defend or to recover Thebes. Obviously Peter already knew this, for on September 8 he wrote to Peralta as *castellà*, *capità e veguer del castell e ciutat de Cetines*, addressing the letter either to him *o a son lochtinent*. Bellarbre had been holding the

186. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVIII, CD, pp. 487-489: "... intelleximus quod Johannes d'Ortobia nacionis Navarre, qui pridem cum suis complicitibus . . . civitatem de Estives invasit et gentes in ea habitantes destruxit et improvide disraubavit . . ." (p. 489).

187. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLVII, pp. 525-526, dated April 31 (*sic*), 1381. According to Stefano Magno (d. 1572), in the so-called *Annali veneti*, ed. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 183, "In questo anno [1383] si fo morto Nicolò dale Carcere, ducha del Arcipielago et dominador de do terzi de lisola de Negroponte, havendo fato molte cose cative et desoneste contra suoi subditi. . . [Nicolò] avea tratado cum una compagnia de Navarexi . . . per signorizar la citade de Negroponte."

188. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXII, pp. 453-454.

"lieutenancy" for some time, as Peter was aware when a chancery clerk prepared the letter of the preceding day. As a legal gesture, however, Peter asked Peralta to give up the *castell e ciutat* to the newly appointed Dalmau, and stated further that "we have received a letter which you have sent us dealing with the affairs and the state of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, asking us for aid and succor and that we should send you our vicar or lieutenant . . . , to which [letter] we reply with the full expression of our thanks for the affection and good will which you have for us and for our crown as a loyal vassal and our natural servitor."¹⁸⁹

On September 30 the king wrote Peralta again; this time he referred to a letter he had received from Louis Fadrique. Indeed, he was by now very well informed of events in the duchies, for he had talked at length with Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer, who had come to Barcelona as messengers and envoys of the Catalan barons and municipalities in Greece. He was sending Ballester back to Greece as his royal ambassador, and his subjects overseas were to take care that Ballester should return to Barcelona promptly with some other suitable person "with full and sufficient authority to swear fealty and render homage and to have us for your natural lord." When this feudal formality was over and done with, Peter said that he would without fail send to Greece a "vicar with such force that you will be satisfied, and in the meantime you have the said noble Don Louis [Fadrique] of Aragon as vicar of the said duchies" He closed with a statement of the extreme displeasure which Peralta's capture and continued imprisonment had caused him.¹⁹⁰

It is small wonder that Galcerán of Peralta and Louis Fadrique had written the king of Aragon-Catalonia, urging him to give force to his ducal claims and send help to his new dominions. Even Louis's father-in-law, Matthew Cantacuzenus, wrote him from the Morea (presumably at Louis's behest), offering him some sort of assistance against the Navarrese invasion.¹⁹¹ Letters also reached Barcelona

189. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIII, p. 454. Louis Fadrique had also written the king and received a similar reply (*ibid.*).

190. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, pp. 463-464; Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros*, doc. XVII, pp. 229-230. A similar letter of the same date (September 30, 1379) was addressed to Peralta's erstwhile opponent, Louis Fadrique (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, pp. 462-463), and a letter of a year later, September 10, 1380, records that "Johannes de Ortubia . . . tenet captum nobilem virum Galcerandum de Peralta qui . . . velut fidelis servitor noster eandem civitatem [Thebas] defendit . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. CD, p. 489). The last text is addressed to the grand master Heredia, states that Urtubia was demanding large sums for Peralta's release, and directly accuses the Hospital of being implicated in the seizure of Thebes.

191. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIX, p. 460, in which Peter IV answered Matthew on September 13, 1379.

from Romeo de Bellarbre in Athens, William of Almenara and the municipality of Livadia, and the dispossessed authorities of Thebes, who had taken refuge in Salona and Livadia.¹⁹² On September 13 (1379) the king officially appointed Dalmau "our vicar, viceroy, and lieutenant in the said duchies and all the lands adjacent to them," defining in ample detail the manifold duties of his new office.¹⁹³ Until emissaries from the duchies had sworn fealty to the king, however, and until the new vicar-general could reach Greece, Louis Fadrique was to continue to hold the vicariate. Bernard Ballester and Francis Ferrer had given a good account of Louis's government.¹⁹⁴

It is not clear how vigorously, if at all, king Peter IV had been prepared to press his claims to Athens and Neopatras until the Navarrese invasion threw the Catalan inhabitants of the duchies into his arms. Their view was that Peter might conceivably assist them, while Maria of Sicily obviously could not, and he certainly kept the clerks in the Aragonese chancery busy issuing scores of documents relating to Greek affairs. Many of the inhabitants of Thebes, both Frankish and Greek, had taken refuge on the Venetian island of Euboea, and on October 19, 1379, the king expressed his gratitude to the Venetian officials for this kind reception given to his distraught vassals and subjects. He asked the Venetian colonial government to continue to show them its favor and to allow them freely to return to Thebes with their wives, children, and goods when the Catalans should have regained the city. Bernard Ballester was conveying the royal letter to Negroponte, and would explain further his majesty's intentions concerning his newly acquired Greek dominions.¹⁹⁵

Toward the end of the year 1380 or early in 1381 the castle of Livadia also fell to the Navarrese, who as previously at Thebes received aid from traitors within the walls. Some of the inhabitants fled to Negroponte,¹⁹⁶ others to Salona, whose "count," Louis

192. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, p. 464, and cf. docs. CCCLXXVI, CCCLXXXII.

193. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXIV, pp. 455-456, and cf. docs. CCCLXXV-CCCLXXX.

194. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXII, pp. 462-463, dated September 30, 1379; Rubí i Lluç, *Los Navarros*, doc. XVI, pp. 228-229. But in the instructions given to Ballester, who was returning to Greece as the royal ambassador, the barons and officials of the municipalities were to be asked to send the king the names of "three or four barons of his kingdom," from whom he would choose a vicar! (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIII, p. 464, presumably dated September 30, 1379).

195. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCLXXXIV, p. 465, and note doc. CCCLXXVIII, p. 459, dated September 13, 1379, to the doge of Venice on behalf of the refugees from Thebes. The doge is said "already to know" (*iam scitis*) that Peter IV has succeeded "by just title" to the Greek duchies. Cf., *ibid.*, doc. CCCLXXX, pp. 460-461, also dated September 13, to the bailie and captain of Negroponte.

196. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLIX, p. 527, dated April 31 [*sic*], 1381.

Fadrique, was still serving as vicar-general, although Peter IV was again writing almost everyone in sight that he had appointed Dalmau to the vicariate. William of Almenara, castellan and captain of Livadia, had been treacherously slain within the citadel, and on May 8, 1381, Peter IV granted his widow Francula custody of their three children and title to his estate as long as she remained unmarried (otherwise her mother Escarlata was to take over both the children and the property) although her rights were protected as heiress to her father's apparently extensive estate.¹⁹⁷ On the same day Peter granted his faithful subjects who had fled from the city perpetual enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, franchises, and properties under the "Usatges de Barcelona" because of the loyalty they had shown his royal house, "and expressly so when recently [*nuper*] our enemies, the Navarrese, invaded the . . . duchies, and attacked and occupied in outrageous fashion the lands and the castle of Livadia."¹⁹⁸ The loyalty of the Greek notary Constantine "de Mauro Nichola" and his father Nicholas de Mauro now won them and their posterity the full franchise in the duchies (*tanquam Catholici et Franchi*), notwithstanding the fact they were Greeks and followed the Greek schismatic rite.¹⁹⁹ At the same time James Ferrer de la Sala, a native of Barcelona, who had proved his devotion to the royal house for more than twenty years in the Greek duchies, and had lost all his property and almost his very life in the Navarrese seizure of Livadia, now received by royal decree all the serfs, houses, lands, and vineyards of the "traitorous Greek" notary Gasco of Durazzo, who had joined the Navarrese in the grim hour of Catalan need.²⁰⁰

It was all well enough for the king in distant Aragon to make these rhetorical grants to his faithful servitors in Greece, but nothing came of them. A dozen years later, in 1393, we are informed that the Gascon Bertranet Mota (or de Salahia), who is referred to as *capità del ducham de Athenes*, was in possession of the city of Livadia, which he had but recently taken.²⁰¹ Bertranet possessed the head of St. George, which in 1393 king John I of Aragon, like his father

197. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXVII, p. 538. Francula's father was the well-known Catalan baron Peter de Puigpardines.

198. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXVIII, p. 539, dated May 8, 1381.

199. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXIX, pp. 540-541, dated May 8, 1381.

200. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLXXX, pp. 541-542, also dated May 8, 1381. For *Rotari* in this text, read *notari* (Loenertz, *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII, no. 32, p. 339).

201. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXXVIII, p. 667, dated April 13, 1393. In a document dated July 28, 1400, Bertranet is referred to as "aquest Gascó qui era senyor dela Levadia . . ." (*Dipl.*, doc. DCLVI, p. 683). See Rubió i Lluch, *Dipl.*, pp. 666-667, note.

Peter IV some forty years before, was most anxious to acquire. St. George was patron of England, however, as well as of Catalonia, and Bertranet for a time apparently contemplated the sale of the relic to king Richard II of England.²⁰² Bertranet clearly did not regard himself as holding Livadia by warrant of the king of Aragon, nor is there any evidence that the Catalans ever regained Thebes. In any event Thebes and Livadia became Florentine possessions, and Nerio Acciajuoli left them to his son Antonio I in 1394. Since Nerio also made a bequest to Bertranet ("Baltrinetto di Salai"), the connection between the latter and the Acciajuoli is obvious. Bertranet may well have been in Nerio's employ.²⁰³ By the beginning of the year 1394, however, the Turks were overrunning central Greece. They occupied Livadia. Obviously the invasion of the Navarrese Company under John de Urtubia had meant for the Catalans the permanent loss of ancient Boeotia and of Locris, and when in 1379 Peter IV of Aragon began the last decade of Catalan rule in continental Greece, he possessed little more than the capitals of the two duchies, now the city of Athens itself and Neopatras, together with some of their dependencies, and the so-called county of Salona.

202. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXXVIII, p. 667. Before December 1399 the head of St. George would pass into the possession of Alioto de Caupena, Catalan lord of Aegina, who seems to have received it from Bertranet (*Dipl.*, docs. DCLIII–DCLV, DCLXIX, DCXCVIII).

203. For Nerio's will, see J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (Paris, 1845), 257, 260, and Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part III, doc. 4, pp. 149, 152, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 147, 197.