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.

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–vénities 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 Quevini, 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 moréète 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, *Byzantine et Franco-Graeca*, ed. Peter Schreiner (Rome, 1970).


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, 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 Palaeologoi, 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, Thébes, and Neopatra lived under the “laws of Aragon and the customs of Barcelona” (proi Aragonie vel consuetudines Barcinonie), 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 Bugué], 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 500 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.\textsuperscript{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 Céos, 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; Rubiò, 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. CCXX–CCXXXVI (ed. Lanz, pp. 407–423; ed. E. B., VI, 76–99), took place in June, July, and August of 1307. Rubiò’s Dipl., docs. 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] sobra lo feit de Romania, go es usaber de conquerirtla ...”). A letter of May 10, 1305, written by Entença from Gallipoli to Peter Gradenigo, doge of Venice, relates that “ad presens guerifcambus 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 Michaelem [IX] filium eiusdem” (I Libri commemorali della repubblica di Venetia: 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 Rubiò, 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, Regestaen der Kaiserurkunden des ostromischen Reiches, part 4 [Mü nchen und 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 Kriegertum in der Crònica des Ramon Muntaner [Berne and Frankfurt am M., 1971]).
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." 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 jested 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 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). 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), 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 Chatillon, 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.

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, "Athens et Néopatras," Arch. FF. Praad., 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

⁷ Ep. XVI, in Jacques Bongars, Gesta Del 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. The king then sent Berenguer Estañol of Ampuries 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.

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, 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. 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), 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. The Company remained

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, CXLV). His successor, Nicholas Landa, is identified as vicarius generalis on April 5, 1331 (Dipl., doc. CLIII, pp. 196 ff.).
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 Capitols de la Companya) 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. CCXCVI, 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 gens d’armes who could defend the state.)

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 Neo-
patras, and a castellan commanded the garrison in the castle. Condi-
tions 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 adminis-
tration of the municipalities or town corporations in the two duch-
ies—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.).
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.”

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. 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, 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


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. XCI, p. 111. The principality of Achaea was much threatened by the Greeks of Mistra, who in 1320 occupied the Arcadian castles of Akova or Matagrinon, 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 jefes* [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 Matagrinon, 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, excommunicating “Alfonso the captain and the other leaders . . . of the Grand Company, . . . walking dammably 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 ineffectual weapon.

22. Dipl., doc. XCIII, pp. 112–113.

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 Catalani 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 Achaea.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 Catalani Company."27


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


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 (Rubiò, Dipl., p. 130).

28. The text of the treaty of June 9, 1319, has often been printed, most recently in Rubiò’s Diplomata, doc. CIX, pp. 132–134.

29. Dipl., doc. CXVI, pp. 141–144.


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. 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
of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to help expel them from "Romania" if they failed to obey the apostolic admonition. On the same day he wrote to Fulk to the same effect. 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 Hospitalers on the newly acquired island of Rhodes.

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; the new archbishop of Thebes dared not take up residence in his see; 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.

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. 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." 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." 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 above, 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.
40. Lampros, Egraphe, 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, Egraphe, part I, doc. 32, p. 53; and cf. Dipl., doc. LXVI, p. 93, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{43} Dipl., doc. LXVI, pp. 82–83; Finke, \textit{Acta aragonensia}, II, 749–751.

\textsuperscript{44} Pedro Abarca, \textit{Los Anales históricos de los reyes de Aragón}, II (Salamanca, 1684), cap. 6, nos. 7–9, pp. 61\textsuperscript{r}–62\textsuperscript{y}, quoted in Setton, \textit{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 (\textit{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 (\textit{Dipl.}, doc. LII, p. 66).

\textsuperscript{45} Dipl., doc. LXVII, p. 84, dated February 28, 1314, and doc. LXVII, p. 90, dated March 27, 1314; cf. doc. LXVIII, 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 (\textit{Dipl.}, doc. LXVIII, pp. 84–85).

\textsuperscript{46} Dipl., doc. LXX, pp. 88–89, dated at Thebes on March 26, 1314; see also Schlumberger, Chalandon, and Blanchet, \textit{Sigillographie de l’Orient latin}, pp. 210–211.
Lombardy, and king Robert was one of the Catalans' most determined enemies.  

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.  

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.  

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 Larnena.  

Catalan and Turkish piracy could not be checked, 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-
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 Caryustus 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 Caryustus. 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 Trimacrie regis illustris” (Dipl., doc. XCIV, p. 113), and similar references in other documents.
judgment. Pope John XXII, however, protested that Thomas of Verona had been despoiled of his inheritance, while the Venetians, who looked with fear upon the Catalan possession of Carystus and Larinena, demanded their surrender to the republic, promising somewhat ambiguously to do full right and justice to the claims of Marulla. 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 Larinena 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 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. 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. 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, 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.
58. Dipl., doc. CVI, p. 129; Thomas, I, no. 66, p. 115.
60. Marino Sanudo Torsello, Ep. XVI (written in 1326), in Bogars, Gesta Dei, II, 307; cf. Ep. XVII (1327), in Bogars, II, 309. Note also Ep. V (1326), in Bogars, 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 Hospitalers' traffic with Christian pirates on the island of Rhodes (Ep. XXI, in Bogars, 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 comemoriali, 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 Sideroakastron (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. CXXXIX, pp. 159–161: "... Nova quae habeo de Romania per hominem fide dignum et scilium 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 Cito, i.e., Zeitounion, Lamia], Gardiche [Gardiki], Donochie [Domokos], et Ferselle [Pharsala]. ... Est etiam quidam Graecus ..., qui vocatur Missilino, qui tenet castrum del Castri [of which there were several in continental Greece] et de Liciona [Cat. Lechonia, near Mt. Pelion]: et videtur quod iste contraxerit parentelam cum Catellanis, eo quod tradidit sororem suum in uxorium marecalco 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 Fetelli [Pteleum], quod de bona voluntate et sua licentia reliquit eis imperator Graecorum, qui obtinuissent cum alter Catellani ..."

Missilino, the Greek archon of Castri and Liciona, may have been the uncle or great-uncle of Missilli 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, LXXV, 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 "Io comte Mitra," and see Loenertz, op. cit., nos. 164, 191, pp. 142, 148).

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

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. 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. 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.” On July 21, 1330, king Robert of Naples granted permission to his feudalatories 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. On October 12 king Robert published throughout his kingdom the papal bull (of June 14) announcing the crusade.

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

68. Dipl., docs. CI, 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.
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

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\(^{71}\) 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.


\(^{75}\) 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.  

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.  

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, 

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.  

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.  

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.  

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

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. The Venetians may have believed that the Catalan Company, without Don Alfonso, would assist them against the Turks, 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.

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. 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.” In 1342 the difficult Isnard died, and the Carmelite friar Philip, formerly bishop of Salona (1332–1342), replaced him as archbishop of Thebes. 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. On October 21 of the same year Clement wrote Henry directing him to undertake the reconciliation of Walter of Brienne

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.
85. Setton, Catalan Domination, p. 47.
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. CXCIII, p. 256).
and the Catalan Company to advance the planned offensive against the Turks. 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. 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." 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.

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, promised the Catalan Company that he would use his full influence to have the interdict lifted. 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," and on December 3, 1358, pope Innocent VI suspended for a year the bans of excommunication and interdict, but they were renewed "just as

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 Aydın, 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.
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. 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.

Peter had succeeded his father about 1338 as lord of Salona, Lidoraki, Veteranitsa, Aegina, and possibly Zeitouneion. 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. A third brother, John, was lord of Aegina and Salamis in 1350, 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. 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 fure of the Briennes and their heirs, “ducatus Athenarum detentus agentibus quae dicuntur Magna Societas pro interfectione Gualteri duct...,” but the bans were periodically lifted from the Grand Company for a good reason.
100. Dipl., doc. CXCVI, p. 254.
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. 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. 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 Oeouis, 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 Oeouis against the Genoese and prevent their establishing themselves in the island. 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.

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

106. Nicephorus Gregoras, XXI, 22 (CSHB, III, 47 ff.), but according to a note in William Miller (tr. Sp. P. Lampros), Ιστορία τῆς ὀραγοκρατίας ἐν Ἑλλάδi, I (Athens, 1910), 430, note 1, the Genoese attacked Oropus, not Oeouis.
Aragonese ships, from which the crews of only two were lost. Nevertheless, the naval battle favored the Genoese, for when the battered fleets of the allies withdrew from the region of the Bosporus, 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. 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 Zonklor (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 Torun, 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 Fabrique, 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. Peter had been dispossessed by the crown, but apparently Artale of Alagón favored the Fabrique 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. CCIII, pp. 259–260; cf. docs. CCV–CCIX.
110. Dipl., doc. CCXXXIII, pp. 298–299.
and exact obedience from those under him was exposing the duchies, it was claimed, to extreme danger of collapse.\textsuperscript{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),\textsuperscript{112} Gonsalvo Ximénez of Arenós (1359 and possibly 1362–1363),\textsuperscript{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);\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{115} The powerful Roger de Lluria, who led the opposition to

\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Dipl.}, doc. CCXXV, pp. 300–301, dated January 27, 1356.

\textsuperscript{112} \textit{Dipl.}, docs. CCXIV, CCXXV, pp. 293, 300–301.

\textsuperscript{113} Cf. \textit{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 Areen [sic], vestro in codem vicaria-\textsuperscript{114} tus 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 [. . . \textit{penultimo Octobris XIII indictionis}], as shown by a letter of Maria dated June 7, 1378 or 1379, published by Loenertz, \textit{Arch. FF. Praed.}, XXV, p. 202, and cf., \textit{ibid.}, nos. 38, 42, 142–143. The Sicilian chancery began the indictional year with September 1 (as shown clearly by the royal letter in \textit{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, \textit{op. cit.}, nos. 53–55, 59, 87, and especially nos. 142–143, pp. 137, 157).

\textsuperscript{114} \textit{Dipl.}, docs. CCXV, CCLXXXIX, pp. 326–327, 376–377, on which note Loenertz, \textit{Arch. FF. Praed.}, XXV, nos. 43, 49, pp. 112, 113, for Moncada’s first tenure of office. For his second appointment, see \textit{Dipl.}, docs. CCLIII, CCLIV, CCLVII, CCLXXXIX, CCXC, pp. 336–338, 340–341, 375–378, and Loenertz, \textit{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 (\textit{Dipl.}, doc. CCLXXI, p. 355). In the \textit{Diplomatarii}, doc. CCLXVII, with its reference to Moncada (pp. 350–351), should be dated 1362 (Loenertz, \textit{op. cit.}, no. 50, p. 113).

\textsuperscript{115} Matthew of Moncada was still vicar-general on June 17, 1361 (\textit{XVII Ianii 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. 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. His successor was the ineffective Matthew of Peralta, of the family of the counts of Caltabellotta in Sicily (1370–1374). 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. He died the following year.

116. Cf. Urban V’s letter of June 27, 1364, to Roger and John de Lluria in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 130V: “... quod vos contagiosi familiaritate a participacione infidelium Turci et Arabum, vestras famam et animas maculantis, ipsos in terris vestris receptatis eisque datis auxilio et favore...” (also in Dipl., doc. CCLVI, p. 339, where by a slip the text reads “ receptatis,” 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 ducatum 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., doc. CCLX, CCCCXII, 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 Neapatria vicarius generalis (Dipl., doc. CCLXXI, p. 355; Lampros, Eggraphe, part IV, no. 89, p. 353), 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. CCCCXI, p. 397).

118. Cf. Dipl., doc. CCCCXI, pp. 408–410, dated May 31, 1370, the appointment being made ob mortem nobilis Rogerii de Lluria, 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, CCCCXLV, 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. CCLXXII, 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, CCL, pp. 435–437). His commission as vicar-general is dated April 6–9, 1375 (Dipl., docs. CCLII, CCLLIID), 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, allegedy 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, fol. 45v–46v. 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 Raynalvo 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. Prad., 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, CCXXXIII, pp. 344, 400: "... quoddam damnum... ad summam yperperorum quingentorum viginti duorum ... ."

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, vegers, 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 nostris tam cives quam agricolae alienique ad civitatis ipsius per tramites discurrentes tam mares quam feminae diversa gravia et abominanda flagitia patiuntur..." (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 insulae Siciliae (for the whole course of negotiations, see Setton, "Archbishop Pierre d'Aemel in Naples," Speculum, XXVIII, 643–691). Paul consulted with the then archbishop of Naples, Peter d'Aemel, 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 Neopatras from 1338 to 1348 (Setton, op. cit., p. 669), and she apparently bore the courtesy title duchess of Athens. Peter d'Aemel 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 Achaia. See the letters of Peter d'Aemel 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., p. 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 (1936), 45–46, reprined 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


128. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 240, letter dated at Avignon on June 27, 1364. In a bull, directed *ad perpetuum rei memoriam* and dated March 21, 1364, Urban V excommunicated among various other classes of malefactors those who supplied horses, arms, iron, timber, and *alta prohibita* to the Moslems, who carried on war against the Christians (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Reg. Vat. 246, fol. 141v, "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 Achaia and Manuel Cantacuzenus, the despot of Mistra, together with the Venetians and the Hospitalers, 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 Neopatrás and to help him secure possession of the royal castles of Livadia, Neopatrás, 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


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 Hospitalers, “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.

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. Pead., XXV, 428–429, document dated at Messina on August 9, 1365.
1355), and by Frederick III himself were now confirmed, 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.

Roger de Lluria and his heirs were confirmed in possession of the town of Stiris in Phocis and of a stronghold called Methocya. 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 Badrique had virtuously seized the castle in the king’s name and continued to hold it as his own castellany! 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. 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.
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 consistent 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 dictatum universitatum custodia, which meant that the town councils provided and controlled the garrisons, but the king refused to delete the saving phrase ad beneficium regis 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.


142. A Venetian document of March 21, 1396, in Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 119r, 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 duceatu Athenarum . . .). On the futile effort of the Enghien brothers to recover the Athenian duchy, see Luttrell, “Latin 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 “MCCCXX ind. VIII die nono Februrii,” 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. CCCXXXI, CCCXXXII, pp. 418–419.
146. Dipl., docs. CCCXII, 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. CCCXLI, p. 430.
duchies, and besides, his baffled majesty wanted (he said) to observe the Articles of the Company which expressly limited tenure of the offices of veger 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 veger 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 vegería 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 latters' 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.
151. Dipl., doc. CXVI, p. 143. "Guillemus 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.
Livadía by Francis Lunel (Llunel) of Thebes, and as veguer and captain of Livadía 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 Livadía, 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 re-establish his rule in Greece by appointing to castellancies, 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 Achaia, 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

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 vegueria 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

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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 capitanie... 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).
161. Dipl., doc. CCLXXII, p. 357: “...idem nobilis Jaymus dum viveret cesserit eadem Bonifaciæ omnia bona sua atque jura que habebat et habere posseit 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 Neopatras. 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.

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.

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 ducaes de Atenes e de Neopatria, on September 30, 1379, “del fet que nons havem fet saber de Pere d’Aragó, vos certificarem que encontinent havem fet prendre aquell, lo qual tendrem tant pres, fins que vos nos hainats 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): “. . . magnifici 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 impromite rebellavit . . . .” Cf., ibid., doc. CCCXIII, pp. 480–481. Rubió i Lluch, “La Grècia catalana . . . (1377–1379),” Amari 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.). Loenerutz, Arch. FF. Franc., 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 . . .” 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. 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.” 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 principals in a list of the high ecclesiastics and chief feudatories of the Catalan duchies in Greece. 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. CCCXCl, p. 474.
167. Dipl., doc. CDLXXXVIII, p. 547. The purpose of the pardon was to forestall the forfeiture of property to the crown for treason.
whom he succeeded as *locum tenens* until the end of 1382. Louis and Helena had one daughter, destined to a sad fate.\(^9\) 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.\(^9\) 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.\(^1\) The young queen Maria of Sicily ruled the duchies after a fashion from 1377 to 1379, and at

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169. On Matthew Cantacuzenus, see Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Cantakouzenos*, 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\(^9\), 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 egregi 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. CXXXIV, 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.  

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. 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. 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


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.

for the expedition, and almost a score of names of military contractors have come down to us in the enrolment lists of 1375–1376. 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 Navarrse 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. Two days later he wrote on their behalf to the king of Navarre. 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. 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.

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


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, 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 Zonk- lon) 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 inopportune 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 Cétines.” 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].” 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. Allowing three or possibly four months for the bearers of the sad tidings to make the voyage from Barcelona to the Athenian duchy,

we may assume that Urtubia took Thebes in May or June 1379.\footnote{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 Urtuba . . . 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 . . .”\footnote{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. 126⁷, 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. 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.” 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. Galcerán of Peralta, castellan, captain, and veger 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 castellá, capitá e veger del castell e citat de Cetines, addressing the letter either to him o a son lochinten. Bellarbre had been holding the

186. Dipl., docs. CCCXCVIII, CD, pp. 487–489: “... intelleximus quod Johannes d’ Ortobia nacionis Navarre, qui pridem cum suis complicibus..., civitatem de Estives invasit et gentes in ea habitantes destruxit et improvide disrubiavit...” (p. 489).
187. Dipl., doc. CDLVII, pp. 525–526, dated April 31 (sic), 1381. According to Stefano Magna (d. 1572), in the so-called Annali veneti, ed. Hopf, Chroniques grecques romanes, p. 183, “In questo anno [1383] si fu morto Nicolò dale Carceri, ducha del Arcipelago, e dominador de der terzi de lisola de Negroponte, havendo fatto molte cose cative e desoneste contra suo subdit... [Nicolò] aveva trattato cum una compagnia de Navarexi... per signorizar la cidade 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.”

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.

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. Letters also reached Barcelona

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

190. Dipl., doc. CCCCLXXXIII, pp. 463–464; Rubió i Lluich, 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. CCCCLXXII, pp. 462–463), and a letter of a year later, September 10, 1380, records that “Johannes de Ortuvia . . . tenet captum nobilem virum Galcerandum de Peralta qui . . . velat fidelis servitor noster eandem civitatem [Thebas] defendit . . .” (Dipl., doc. CD, p. 489). The last text is addressed to the grand master Heredia, states that Urtuba was demanding large sums for Peralta’s release, and directly accuses the Hospital of being implicated in the seizure of Thebes.

191. Dipl., doc. CCCCLXXIX, 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
Euboia, 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. CCCCLXV, pp. 455-456, and cf. docs. CCCLXXV-CCCCLXXX.
194. Dipl., doc. CCCLXXII, pp. 462-463, dated September 30, 1379; Rubió i Lluch,
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).
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. CCCLXX, 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 capitá 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.
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. 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 ("Baltrineto di Salai"), the connection between the latter and the Acciajuoli is obvious. Bertranet may well have been in Nerio's employ. 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, DCXCIII).

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.