

VII

THE CATALANS AND FLORENTINES IN GREECE

1380–1462

During the last decade of Catalan rule in the Athenian duchy (1379–1388) the Aragonese chancery issued almost 250 documents relating to Greek affairs. The number attests the royal concern with such affairs, as well as the fortunate survival of the Archives of the Crown in Barcelona. As the shock of the Navarrese invasion subsided, a parliament was assembled in Athens to which were summoned the syndics, aldermen, and council of the municipal corporation. This parliament prepared a petition, dated May 20, 1380, for submission to king Peter IV, who by accepting or rejecting its terms would determine the conditions under which the chief officers and citizens of Athens would become the vassals of the crown of Aragon. Rubió i Lluch has called this important document the “Articles of Athens” (*els Capítols d’Atenes*); of the sixteen or seventeen items which it contains, only four or five relate to the common concerns of the state and the community. The remaining dozen items consist of personal requests which seem to show small understanding of the perilous condition to which the duchy of Athens had been reduced; the parliament at Athens was anxious to secure rewards from the crown for those who had proved their loyalty by resisting the Navarrese invasion.

The parliament was under the dominance of Romeo de Bellarbre, castellan and captain of Athens, and Galcerán of Peralta had become merely “our former governor” as he languished in his Theban prison. The petitioners’ first request of Peter IV was that he send them a proper “official” to govern the duchies, one who could reconquer

For bibliography see preceding chapter.

the lands which the Navarrese had seized. Peter was to answer, when he ratified or rejected the various articles of the petition at Lerida on the following September 1, that he was sending Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as his vicar-general to Greece, and that Dalmau would be accompanied by forces strong enough to restore the territorial integrity of the duchies and reestablish a peaceful life within them. When preparing their petition in May, however, the Catalans had informed the king that if he could not immediately send them the strong governor they needed, they would be pleased to have "as our official and governor of Athens the most honored Don Romeo de Bellarbre, who knows the desperate conditions in the said city and the poverty and anxiety of its people." Indeed, they had hoped it would please his majesty to give Bellarbre a lifetime appointment to the post. Peter replied that he had conferred upon Dalmau all the offices in the two duchies, both castellanies and captaincies, but he did bestow upon Bellarbre a lifetime command of the Acropolis as well as certain estates confiscated from those who had been guilty of treachery during the Navarrese invasion. Bellarbre's Greek mistress, Zoe of Megara, by whom he had had children, was granted the Catalan franchise with the customary rights of acquiring and disposing of property.¹

The petitioners sought king Peter's approval of the agreements which we have seen made (about 1376-1377) "between the magnificent Don Louis of Aragon, the vicar [general], and the municipalities of Thebes and Livadia on the one hand and, on the other, the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta, formerly the governor of Athens, together with the said city of Athens . . .," agreements which had established the virtual independence of Athens. But Peter realized that if the magnates had not been quarreling among themselves in the period just before the Navarrese attacks, they might have successfully defended Thebes, and so he refused the request. All divisions and dissensions of times past must cease, he said, and Dalmau must rule as vicar-general over the united duchies.

The Articles of Athens also affirmed the long dedication of the Greek notary Demetrius Rendi to the *sacra corona d'Aragó*, request-

1. The text of the Articles of Athens may be found in Rubió i Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (Barcelona, 1886), doc. XXXII, pp. 241-251, and in the *Diplomatari*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 473-479. At Lerida on September 1, 1380, king Peter IV also confirmed the requests contained in the "Articles of Salona," which had been prepared on May 31, 1380, on behalf of Louis Fadrique, lord of Salona and count of Malta. The Articles of Salona are still extant (Rubió, *Los Navarros*, doc. XXXIX, pp. 256-259, and *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, pp. 480-482). Cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 158-164, and Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Præd.*, XXV, nos. 167-172, 175-177, pp. 143-145, 171-172.

ing the same rights and privileges for him "as for all the other Conquistadors of the said duchies of Athens and Neopatras." The Articles as extant contain the Catalan text of king Peter's renewal of the full franchise which Frederick III had granted Rendi years before (on July 29, 1362) when Rendi, his sons, daughters, and descendants received the right to retain their Orthodox faith and at the same time to contract marriage with Latin Catholics, notwithstanding statutes which the Company had enunciated to the contrary. With the franchise went the usual right to buy, sell, alienate, and exchange at will both movable and immovable goods "just like the Frankish inhabitants of the aforesaid city [of Athens]."² The king now directed his officials everywhere in the duchies to "consider the true fealty and the sincere loyalty of the notary Demetrius Rendi, citizen of our city of Athens, who has persevered in service, good faith, and loyalty toward our royal majesty, and with all his power and strength has maintained and defended the said territory of the duchies . . . against our mortal enemies, and yet, as our majesty has been informed, . . . the said notary Demetrius Rendi has sustained affliction and anxiety in the castle of Megara when it was taken by our enemies." Demetrius's young brother-in-law and adopted son John Rendi shared with him all the benefits of enfranchisement, and Peter confirmed Demetrius's title to the property which the deceased Constantine Calochini had possessed in Athens, and which had reverted to the fisc upon his death. Frederick III had conferred this property on Demetrius between 1375 and 1377 after Rendi's valiant but vain defense of Megara against Nerio Acciajuoli. Finally, the king bestowed upon Demetrius and his heirs, "for all time and in perpetuity," the office of chancellor of Athens, with an annual income of forty gold *diners* payable from the city's tolls and customs duties. Just outside Athens, off a road that runs to Piraeus, the little village of Rendi still stands, preserving the name and memory of the energetic notary Demetrius. As one turns the corner into the village, a superb view of the Acropolis and the Parthenon makes it clear that what was once the Rendi family estate, conceivably Constantine Calochini's own property, is close to the center of historic Athens.

The Articles of Athens are in a rather haphazard order, and show signs of haste in compilation. After the king had made some further grants of property he was finally asked "to turn his eyes toward the noble Don Galcerán of Peralta," whom the Navarrese in Thebes were

2. The grant of July 29, 1362, of the franchise to Demetrius Rendi, or rather the confirmation of his Catalan citizenship, may be found in Lampros, *Eggrapha* (1906), part IV, doc. 94, pp. 342-343, and in *Dipl.*, doc. CCLXIX, pp. 353-354, misdated 1366.

holding for a higher ransom than the Catalans in Athens could pay. Peter was sadly aware of Peralta's captivity, the petitioners were told, and he had instructed Dalmau to see to his release. Also the refugees from Thebes and other places in the duchy, who had found a temporary haven in Athens, had their rights and titles to property confirmed, for they hoped to return to Thebes and resume possession of their homes when Dalmau expelled the Navarrese.

As usual in a medieval *magna carta*, the voice of the church was heard. The petitioners asked for the revocation of the statute or statutes which the Conquistadors had passed decades before "against the soul's true conscience and against the church of the Catholic faith," and which forbade the faithful to leave to the church "estates, lands, vineyards, as well as other things" or even to free serfs from their harsh bondage to the soil. It had hitherto been the Catalan practice to use property bestowed upon the church, in violation of the statutes of the Company, to maintain or extend the Acropolis fortifications, to which Peralta had given much attention. In rejecting this request, the king reminded the Catalans in Athens that their numbers were sparse, and that if they began leaving their possessions to the church, they would soon lack the men and resources necessary to defend the duchies, "for ecclesiastics are not soldiers, and they are not under the jurisdiction of the lord king." Peter said that when Dalmau arrived in Greece, he would make whatever provisions for the church were in keeping with the public interest.

The Catalans concluded their petition with a solemn request for the royal pledge to preserve in Athens "the statutes, constitutions, usages, and customs of Barcelona," and never to alienate the ducal dominions in Greece from the sacred Crown of Aragon. To these requests Peter readily gave his assent (*plau al senyor rey*). The Articles of Athens, formulated perhaps on the Acropolis on May 20, 1380, were thus confirmed or modified at Lerida on the following September 1, and Peter took an oath upon the four gospels always to observe them "in royal good faith." Thereupon bishop John Boyl of Megara and Gerard (Guerau) de Rodonella, envoys of the Catalans in Athens, solemnly swore the feudal allegiance of their principals to the king of Aragon and his successors.³ Ten days later, on September 11, Peter wrote to Bellarbre as castellan of Athens and to the syndics, aldermen, and council of the city that bishop John Boyl and

3. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCI, pp. 473-479, and for the order in which the petitions appear in the Articles of Athens, cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 167, p. 143. John Boyl and Rodonella had arrived in Lerida on August 1, 1380 (*Dipl.*, doc. CCCXC, p. 472). Five weeks after dealing with the Athenian petitions, Peter IV repeated his prohibition against selling,

Rodonella had taken the oath of fealty and done homage, formally making the Catalans in the duchies his vassals and liegemen. He exhorted them to defend the duchies, and promised that within a brief time he would send Dalmau with forces large enough to guarantee their security and chastise their enemies.⁴

The loss of Thebes rankled in the king's mind. He seems to have thought that Urtubia and the Navarrese were still somehow under the control of the Hospital, and he cautioned the grand master and his commanders against any further attacks upon his Greek dominions. Indeed, he told them that they had better set about undoing the damage they had done, and that they could start by securing the release of Galcerán of Peralta, who had been captured in a vain attempt to defend Thebes.⁵ Peter had doubtless derived his knowledge of conditions in Greece from John Boyl and Rodonella, who had told him what they knew (or wanted him to know) about the loss of Thebes. They also told him who had kept faith with the Catalan cause and who had failed it. John Boyl obviously made a very favorable impression upon the king, who wrote on his behalf to Dalmau, the new vicar-general: ". . . We wish that our honored father in Christ Fra John Boyl, bishop of Megara, should receive the archbishopric of Thebes, and in fact we have written to the holy father [Urban VI] that he should remove the present incumbent [Simon Atumano] and give the archbishopric to the said bishop. In the meantime we also want the said bishop to have the movable and immovable goods which belonged to Don Oliverio Domingo, by whose work the city of Thebes was lost, and it was through no fault of his that the city and castle of Athens did not rebel . . ." John Boyl should continue to receive, Peter said, the annual income of twenty-four gold ducats accruing from the chapel of St. Bartholomew in the palace of the castle of Athens, *la capella de sant Berthomeu del palau del castell de Cetines*, as well as the additional allotment which he had been receiving for himself and his two servitors.⁶ In exchanging Megara for Thebes, John Boyl would merely be giving up one titular see for another, and until the Catalans

giving, or bequeathing property or rents to the church, although donations in money might be made (*ibid.*, doc. CDXXXIII, p. 508).

4. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXII, pp. 495-496.

5. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVIII, CD, pp. 488, 489, dated September 10, 1380.

6. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCVI, pp. 486-487 (also dated September 10, 1380), and on the confiscation of Oliverio Domingo's property and that of others, whose "bens son confiscats a la cort per lo crim . . . comés en la perdició de la ciutat d'Estives," see also, *ibid.*, doc. CDXXIV, pp. 502-503. The ducal palace on the Acropolis was built into the Propylaea, and the lines of the chapel may still be seen east of the so-called Pinakothek.

could recover the Cadmea, obviously his grace needed an income.

Urtubia had apparently had much assistance in the occupation of Thebes, for the documents name several traitors "by whose work the city was lost." John Boyl and Rodonella would seem to have come to Lerida with a proscription list, and who can say whether malice added names? In any event Peter IV wrote pope Urban VI (on September 11, 1380) accusing archbishop Simon Atumano of Thebes, one of the great scholars of the time, of complicity in the Navarrese capture of the city: "Most holy father: We are assured that owing to the machinations and efforts of the archbishop of the city of Thebes—which together with other cities, castles, and places in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras now belong to our dominion—the said city was captured by our enemies, and even now is being held by them on the advice of the archbishop himself."⁷

The king repeated his request for the transference to the Theban see of bishop John Boyl, "who has suffered many ills in his own person for the defense of Christians." In two other letters of the same date (September 11) he asked, first, that John Boyl be appointed apostolic legate in the duchies of Athens and Neopatras as well as in the neighboring provinces of Romania (which would have meant the virtual displacement of archbishop Antonio Ballester of Athens as vicar of the so-called patriarchate of Constantinople), and secondly, that the interdict be lifted from the newly acquired dominions of Aragon in Greece.⁸

Since the royal letters of early September 1380 refer more than once to John Boyl's discourse in audiences with Peter IV, we may safely assume that the lively bishop of Megara told his attentive sovereign a good deal about the monumental beauty of Athens. The talks were not lost on Peter, and when John Boyl requested a guard of ten or a dozen men-at-arms for the Acropolis, the king ordered the treasurer of Aragon to provide twelve well-equipped archers for four months, by which time (he said) he should have sent Dalmau to Greece. A proper watch was necessary on the Acropolis, "especially as the said castle is the richest jewel there is in the world and such that all the kings of Christendom could not create its equal."⁹ This

7. *Dipl.*, doc. CDVI, pp. 492–493. On Simon Atumano, see Giovanni Mercati, *Se la Versione dall' ebraico del codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe: Ricerca storica con notizie e documenti sulla vita dell' Atumano* (Studi e testi, no. 30; Rome, 1916); Giorgio Fedalto, *Simone Atumano, monaco di studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, [nel] secolo XIV* (Brescia, 1968); and K. M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, C (1956), 47–52, reprinted in his *Europe and the Levant . . .*, no. I. Simon Atumano was appointed archbishop of Thebes by Urban V.

8. *Dipl.*, docs. CDVI–CDVIII, pp. 493–494.

9. *Dipl.*, doc. CDIV, p. 491, dated September 11, 1380: "...majorment con lo dit

text, hidden for five centuries in an Aragonese archival register, is probably the first aesthetic description of the Acropolis after a millennium of silence in western sources.

As John Boyd and Rodonella conveyed the “Articles of Athens” to the king at Lerida (and swore fealty for the municipality), so Bernard Ballester presented the petitions of Louis Fadrique, as well as those of the worried citizens of Livadia and the refugees from Thebes, to whom Louis was still giving shelter in the fastness of Salona.¹⁰ King Peter IV knew Ballester well, for he had come to Barcelona a year before, as we have seen, bringing the first official news of the Navarrese capture of Thebes, and had then served as the royal envoy to the duchies upon his return to Greece.¹¹ He must have received a cordial welcome, not merely because he had come to swear fealty for his principals, but because he had first organized baronial support for Peter’s acquisition of the duchies. Ballester now received no niggardly reward “for the service which he had done us in securing for us the cession of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras,” because on September 25 (1380) the king granted him 4,000 gold florins of Aragon from the revenues of the royal third of the tithe of the city of Jativa and its territory, to be paid in annual instalments of 4,000 *solidi* until Ballester had received the full amount.¹²

On April 28, 1381, the king reaffirmed the appointment of Philip Dalmau, viscount of Rocaberti, as his vicar, viceroy, and lieutenant in

castell sia la pus richa joya qui al mont [i.e., món] sia, e tal que entre tots los reys de cristians envides lo porien fer semblant.” Cf. Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *History of the City of Athens* [in Greek], II (1904), 194–195; Rubió i Lluch, “Significació de l’elogi de l’Acropolis d’Atenes pel Rei Pere’l Ceremoniós,” in the *Homenaje ofrecido a [D. Ramón] Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), III, 37–56, and *Los Catalanes en Grecia* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 131–137; Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 187–188. On the dispatch of the twelve archers from Catalonia to Athens, see *Dipl.*, doc. CDXXVII, p. 505, dated September 29, and docs. CDXXVIII–CDXXXI, CDXXXV, pp. 505–507, 509, dated October 5, 6, and 11, 1380.

10. *Dipl.*, doc. CCCXCII, p. 481.

11. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCLXXV, CCCLXXVI, CCCLXXXI–CCCLXXXIII, CCCLXXXV, CCCLXXXVI, pp. 457 ff., dated September, October, and November 1379. Ballester had doubtless returned to Catalonia on the same ship as John Boyd and Rodonella, arriving in Lerida on August 1, 1380.

12. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXLI, p. 513, dated February 14, 1381: “. . . e aquesta gracia li havem feta per lo servey que’ns ha fet en fermos donar los ducats de Athenes e de la Patria.” Peter IV made the grant of money to Ballester on September 25, 1380, the dated text being given in the infante Don John’s confirmation of July 10, 1381 (*Dipl.*, doc. DII, pp. 555–556, “datum Ilerde XXV. die Septembris anno . . . MCCCLXXX,” misdated September 28 by Rubió i Lluch, *loc. cit.*, and by Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 185, p. 147). The king is also explicit in this latter document as to Ballester’s service to the Aragonese crown, “ad grata et obsequiosa servitia per vos . . . Bernardum Ballistarii nobis prestita signanter ut ducatus Attenarum . . . Neopatrie ad nostrum dominium pervenirent” (*Dipl.*, p. 555). Note also *Dipl.*, docs. CDLXXXV, CDXCI, pp. 500, 545, 549.

the Greek duchies and adjacent lands, and defined in some detail his manifold administrative and judicial responsibilities.¹³ The chancery was kept busy, and a harassed clerk dated thirteen documents April 31 (!), including the various notifications of Dalmau's appointment sent to the Venetian bailie of Negroponte, Nerio Acciajuoli, the refugee citizens of Thebes and Livadia, the Albanian chieftain count Dimitri, Louis Fadrique, archbishop Paul Foscari of Patras, the countess palatine Maddalena of Cephalonia, the acting despot Matthew Asen Cantacuzenus of Mistra, the officials of the Hospital in the Morea, and certain other interested dignitaries.¹⁴

There were delays in getting Dalmau's two galleys ready, but he was dilatory himself; on August 6, 1381, Peter IV ordered him to depart immediately or incur the royal displeasure. He sailed from Barcelona before August 13.¹⁵ On his voyage to Greece, he put in at the island of Cephalonia, where he ordered the seizure, from a ship, of various goods and merchandise belonging to Florentine merchants, whom he forced to redeem their property by a payment of 1,000 gold ducats. He gave them a note in his own hand, duly sealed, promising to restore the money "in case we should regard the Florentines as our friends and well-wishers." On May 12 the king wrote Dalmau from Valencia that the Florentines were clamoring for restitution. He stated that he did indeed regard and wished to retain the Florentines as friends and well-wishers despite the late pope Gregory XI's decree against them as excommunicates and outlaws, condemning "all Florentines to servitude and their goods to seizure."¹⁶ Dalmau was to return the 1,000 ducats, immediately upon receipt of the royal letter, either to those from whom he had taken the money or to their authorized agents.¹⁷ Since Nerio Acciajuoli, the *enemich capital* of Aragon in the Athenian duchy, was a Floren-

13. *Dipl.*, doc. CDLV, pp. 522–524.

14. *Dipl.*, docs. CDLVII–CDLXIX, pp. 525–533, including letters addressed to Nerio and his father-in-law Saraceno de' Saraceni of Negroponte. The king hopes, in writing to Saraceno, that he will assist Dalmau "ut cum Raynerio genero vestro se habeat amicabiliter et conservet pacem . . ." (p. 533), which also shows that Nerio had married Agnes de' Saraceni at least a decade before 1390, the date which Hopf assumed for the marriage (*Chroniques gréco-romanes* [Berlin, 1873], p. 476).

15. *Dipl.*, docs. CDXCIX, DIV, DV, pp. 553–554, 557–558.

16. On the excommunication of the Florentines and their declaration as outlaws in the "War of the Eight Saints" see Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, I (repr. 1955), 107–108.

17. *Dipl.*, doc. DXIII, pp. 563–564. Dalmau was well received in Athens, according to a royal confirmation dated December 5, 1382, of the rights and privileges of the *universitas civitatis Athenarum* (*Dipl.*, doc. DXXXII, pp. 583–584).

tine, Rocaberti's action was perhaps not so high-handed as it might at first appear.

Although the Aragonese archives have yielded some letters addressed to Dalmau during his tenure of the vicariate in Greece, little is known of his performance as either a soldier or an administrator. He seems to have provided the king's subjects in Athens with good government. However, he accomplished little in Greece, whence he departed in the spring of 1382. At least he had made a truce with Nerio Acciajuoli, to whom on September 12 Peter IV sent an expression of his pleasure in the peace which he professed to believe had been established. He stated that he would send Dalmau back to Greece without fail the following spring, and in the meantime he asked Nerio's consideration for Raymond de Vilanova, whom the vicar-general had left behind as his lieutenant in Athens.¹⁸ We still do not know how and when Nerio Acciajuoli acquired Thebes, and presumably Livadia, from the Navarrese, but the mercenary bands which had served under Mahiot of Coquerel and John de Urtubia seem finally to have merged into a single "Company," which is referred to in the Hospitaller financial accounts of August 1381 as the *Societas sistens in principatu [Achaye]*.¹⁹ John de Urtubia had apparently disappeared from the scene. His former lieutenants Peter Bordo de Saint Superan and Berard de Varvassa had joined with the redoubtable Mahiot as leaders of the unified company. Toward the end of the year 1381 they recognized James of Les Baux as prince of Achaëa and Latin emperor of Constantinople, and he in turn named Mahiot as his bailie and Peter Bordo and Berard as imperial captains in the principality.²⁰

The Navarrese Company had quickly become one of the chief powers in the divided Morea, and during his residence in Athens Dalmau had sought an accord with the three leaders. Whereas he had made a truce (*treva*) with Nerio, Dalmau had reached some sort of alliance (*liga*) with the Navarrese. On September 12 Peter IV wrote Mahiot, Berard, and Peter Bordo, hailing the pact the vicar-general had made with them, assuring them of Dalmau's return to Greece the

18. *Dipl.*, doc. DXX, p. 575, and cf. doc. DXXXIII, p. 585: "Ramón de Vilanova, lochtinent del dit vescomte en los dits ducats . . ."

19. Loenertz, "Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce," *Orientalia Christiana periodica*, XXII (1956), no. 14, pp. 332-333, and Royal Malta Library, Archives of the Order of St. John, Cod. 321, fol. 204^r, ed. Loenertz, *ibid.*, p. 351.

20. Loenertz, *ibid.*, nos. 38, 42-43, pp. 340, 341-343, who notes that this treaty provides the first evidence of James of Les Baux's relations with the Navarrese Company, although Venetian recognition of their "imperial" titles shows that James must have so designated them at least some weeks before the date of the treaty.

following year, and recommending Raymond de Vilanova to them.²¹ It seems likely that Urtubia had died, and that Berard and Peter Bordo had sold Thebes to Nerio, and then joined Mahiot in the Morea to see what the future might hold. Of all this there is of course no evidence, but it would have been impossible for Dalmau to enter into any sort of alliance with the new Navarrese Company if any of its leaders still held Thebes.

While Dalmau was in Greece, he had discussed with Louis Fadrique the possibility of his son Bernaduch's marrying Louis's daughter Maria. Just about the time of Dalmau's return to Barcelona, however, Louis died, and the outstanding Catalan in Greece was lost to the cause of Aragon. On November 18, king Peter sent countess Helena Cantacuzena an expression of his distress to learn of her husband's death and of his royal desire to preserve her honor and well-being. At the countess's request he granted her daughter Maria the castle of Siderokastron for her lifetime, but he added the proviso that to get the castle, Maria must go through with the projected marriage to Bernaduch Dalmau.²² But Maria Fadrique did not marry the young lord Bernaduch, and presumably she never held Siderokastron, to which no further reference occurs in the Catalan documents.

In the late summer of 1382 the municipality of Athens sent an emissary to Peter IV, asking royal confirmation of the privileges, concessions, and immunities which the Catalan kings of Sicily had granted to Athens in past decades. The emissary found the king at Tortosa by the Ebro. He acceded to the requests on December 5, recalling how the Catalans in Athens had always preserved the natural tie which bound them to the fatherland.²³ There is indeed abundant evidence of the attachment of the Catalan creoles in Greece (and of course in Sicily) to their Iberian homeland, but they also came to love the sunny skies and evening breezes of Athens and Thebes. By a letter patent of April 1368, for example, addressed to the then vicar-general Roger de Lluria and the municipalities of the duchies, king Frederick III besought protection for one Bartholomew de Valerio, who had been serving the crown in Sicily but now proposed to return to Greece "and to see again the city of Thebes, his beloved home" (*ac civitatem Thebarum eius dulcem patriam revidere*).²⁴

The emissary who brought the Athenian requests to Tortosa

21. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXI, p. 575.

22. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXVI, pp. 579–580, and cf. docs. DXXVII, DXXVIII, pp. 580–581.

23. *Dipl.*, docs. DXXXII, DXXXIII, pp. 583–585.

24. *Dipl.*, doc. CCXCIX, p. 387, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 87–88.

brought also a good report of Dalmau's lieutenant in Athens, Raymond de Vilanova, to whom the king wrote in friendly fashion on December 11 (1382), "we are confident that you will serve us well and loyally."²⁵ As time passed, Peter needed Vilanova's loyal service, because for one reason or another Dalmau did not get back to Greece, although on June 20, 1383, his majesty assured the officials of Athens and Neopatras as well as Vilanova and countess Helena that the vicar-general would in fact, *Deo volente*, soon be setting out to resume command in the duchies.²⁶

Although there is no dearth of documents for the years 1382–1383, we are still unable to determine who held Thebes and Livadia. On December 31, 1382, the king wrote pope Urban VI that after the union of the Athenian duchy with the crown of Aragon, the intrigues of certain rebels had resulted in a monstrous defection of loyalty from the crown. He implied that this had been the reason for levying the papal interdict upon the duchy (which was certainly not the case), but now that "all the inhabitants of the duchy have of their own accord recognized the error of their ways and returned to the Aragonese obedience," the long-standing interdict was unnecessary. The king asked his holiness to remove the ban and restore his "faithful subjects" to the loving embrace of the church. The bearer of the royal letter was to be bishop John Boyl of Megara, who had returned to Catalonia and was now setting out for Rome.²⁷ His persistent majesty made a further attempt to have the learned Simon Atumano removed from the archiepiscopal see of Thebes, and again recommended John Boyl's nomination thereto,²⁸ but the request was no more successful this time than it had been two years before.²⁹ Probably John Boyl made a better impression on the Aragonese court, where he could speak Catalan, than on the curia, for he may never have learned the Italian vernacular. In any event, Simon

25. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXIV, pp. 585–586.

26. *Dipl.*, docs. DXLVI, DXLVIII–DL, pp. 595–597. The king asked Vilanova to guard *well lo castell e ciutat de Cetines*.

27. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXVII, p. 587: ". . . omnes dicti ducatus tanquam nostri fideles eorum recognoscentes errorem spontanei ad nostram obedienciam et dominium redierunt. . . ." The statement is simple enough, but the meaning is unclear. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXVIII, no. 216, p. 75, says "le document semble impliquer que Thèbes et Livadia sont rentrées sous la domination catalane, fait important . . .," and the fact would indeed be important if it were true, but a royal letter of April 10, 1383 (*Dipl.*, doc. DXLIII, p. 592), certainly shows that by that date the "city and district of Thebes" had not returned to Catalan rule. In reference to this document Loenertz, *loc. cit.*, speaks of "l'interdit qui pèse sur les duchés grecs," but the text specifies the duchy of Athens, and the interdict did not fall upon that of Neopatras.

28. *Dipl.*, doc. DXXXVIII, p. 588, dated December 31, 1382.

29. Cf. *Dipl.*, docs. CCCXCVI, CDVI, CDXIII.

Atumano was then in Rome, and could defend himself before the pope, who knew him. Simon had clearly not remained in Thebes very long after the Navarrese occupation of the city, even though (as we have seen) Peter IV had accused him of acting in collusion with the invaders. But before he left, he had embarked upon his most significant work, a trilingual Bible in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, of which a partial Greek translation of the Old Testament is still extant in Simon's own first-draft, autograph manuscript, once the possession of cardinal Bessarion and perhaps the most important contribution of Catalan Greece to the scholarship of the Italian Renaissance.³⁰

By the time of John Boyl's arrival at the curia with the royal letters of December 31 (1382), Simon Atumano was a familiar figure in intellectual circles in Rome. Urban VI, to whom he dedicated his *Biblia Triglotta*, provided him, on May 29, 1383, with a letter of safe conduct for a mission to Constantinople which was envisaged as possibly lasting a year.³¹ When Simon died (in or before 1387), Urban is said to have taken possession of the *Biblia*,³² suggesting that the esteem in which he was held at the curia was too much for John Boyl to combat.

If John Boyl had secured the archiepiscopal title to Thebes, it would have done him little good. The Catalans apparently never recovered the city, although Peter IV continued to hope, and his subjects in Greece still held out their hands for further grants. The Navarrese invasion had thrown central Greece into worse turmoil than ever. Travel was difficult and more dangerous still, for the Turks had overrun Thrace and Macedonia, and were said to be assailing the Morea.³³ One could leave his home in the Kastro in the morning and be carried off into slavery in the afternoon.

30. Biblioteca Centrale Marciana, Cod. gr. VII, published by Oscar Gebhardt and Fr. Delitzsch, *Graecus venetus: Pentateuchi Proverbiorum Ruth Cantici Ecclesiastae Threnorum Danielis versio graeca*. Ex unico bibliothecae S. Marci Venetae codice . . . (Leipzig, 1875). Incidentally, to go with his Greek translation of the Old Testament, Simon also prepared for scholarly or missionary purposes a Hebrew version of the New Testament, which was, at least in part, still extant in the year 1516 (Mercati, *Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe*, pp. 12–43).

31. Mercati, *Simone Atumano*, doc. III, pp. 50–51.

32. Mercati, *op. cit.*, pp. 16–17: “. . . cum morte praeoccuparetur, papa totum [Vetus Testamentum] sibi retinuit.”

33. Demetrius Cydonès, *Epistulae*, XXII, 226 (written to Simon Atumano from Constantinople in 1380 or 1381), ed. R. J. Loenertz, *Démétrius Cydonès: Correspondance* (Studi e testi, no. 208; Vatican City, 1960), pp. 120–121, and first published by Mercati, *Simone Atumano*, pp. 55–56. On July 17, 1385, king Peter IV thanked Mahiot of Coquerel and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, imperial bailie and captain in the Morea, for assisting his

In 1381-1382 a plague swept from Pera to the Morea,³⁴ taking many lives. Galcerán of Peralta, onetime captain and castellan of Athens, had escaped it. He had regained his freedom, but ever since his displacement by Romeo de Bellarbre he knew that, although he was young, he had no future in Greece. On April 23, 1383, Peter IV wrote Bellarbre that "we have learned that at the time [Peralta] lost the aforesaid captaincy and castellany a large amount of his property remained in the castle of Athens, which despite his numerous requests he has been unable to secure from you, to his no small prejudice and loss." The king ordered the prompt restoration of Peralta's possessions, and warned Bellarbre that he would incur the royal displeasure if Peralta was obliged again to have recourse to the crown to secure justice in this connection.³⁵ Peralta presumably got back his property, because at this point Bellarbre had no intention of displeasing the king. He had apparently had enough of Greece, and was himself preparing to beat a retreat. In June (1383) Peter granted Bellarbre, in recognition of past services and in expectation of future loyalty, an emolument of 20,000 or 30,000 *solidi* Barcelonese.³⁶ And so we may assume that Bellarbre went back home with his beloved Zoe of Megara and their children, for after 1383 he is no longer a part of the history of Athens.

As king Peter worried about his distant domain and would have liked to hasten the vicar-general's departure for Greece, since Athens and Neopatras were threatened with ever-increasing danger, he learned that Dalmau had become ill.³⁷ The delay continued for months. On April 20, 1384, however, king Peter IV wrote his son, the infante Don John, that the necessity of sending aid to the duchies was not diminishing. Indeed, they might be lost. Whoever was threatening the Greek duchies at this time, it was apparently not Nerio Acciajuoli, the king's *enemich capital*. At least it was not he if we can take at face value a royal letter of May 30 (1384) in which the king thanked Nerio for keeping the peace he had made with Dalmau and for having "defended our city of Athens." The king did emphasize, to be sure, that the vicar-general was going to Greece with "so strong a force of men-at-arms" that the duchies would have full

subjects in the duchy of Athens against the "daily" incursions of Greeks and Turks (*Dipl.*, doc. DLXXV, p. 613).

34. Cf. Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote de 1423," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1 (1964), 418.

35. *Dipl.*, doc. DXLIV, p. 593.

36. *Dipl.*, docs. DXLV and DXLVII, pp. 594, 595, dated June 1 and 20 respectively and giving 30,000 and 20,000 *solidi* as Bellarbre's emolument.

37. *Dipl.*, docs. DLII, DLIII, p. 598, dated September 16 and October 23, 1383.

security and the good friends of Aragon such as Nerio would have cause for contentment.³⁸ Rather similar letters went off to countess Helena Cantacuzena, the syndics and council of Athens, and the lieutenant Raymond de Vilanova, informing them that once the then meeting of the Corts Generals had adjourned, Dalmau would leave promptly for Greece. Vilanova's young son Albert was anxious to go to Greece to relieve him of his duties and allow him at long last to return home, but Peter wanted the father and not the son in command on the Acropolis until the vicar-general could arrive in Athens.³⁹

It is at this point that Nerio Acciajuoli emerges from behind the scenes into the full light of the Athenian stage, and for the first time we get a panoramic view of his activities in a letter which James, the Dominican bishop of Argos, wrote Nerio's brother Angelo, whom Urban VI had recently created a cardinal. Since the affairs of Greece were much influenced by the turbulence in the kingdom of Naples, where Charles III of Durazzo had displaced Joanna I, the Acciajuoli were inevitably much interested in the Neapolitan scene. Bishop James wrote cardinal Angelo from Venice that "our lord [the pope] hates to death my lord count of Nola [Nicholas Orsini], to such an extent that he has deprived him of his county, and this because the said lord count has made friends with king Charles . . .,"⁴⁰ and more to the same effect, concerning which the cardinal must have been much better informed than the good bishop. The Acciajuoli had been caught up in the shifting currents of Neapolitan politics (into which we shall not go) for more than half a century, but certainly cardinal Angelo did not lose interest in James of Argos's letter as he continued reading:

Since your excellency wants reliable news of the lord Nerio, know that by the grace of God he is very well, as are his lady [Agnes de' Saraceni] and their daughters, the despoina Bartolommea and Francesca, and a beautiful family they make! The Navarrese who are in the Morea, as I see it, have no love for him and would willingly do him damage in a big way if they could, but they do not dare show their hand. In short, they make war on the despot [Theodore I Palaeologus, Nerio's son-in-law, the husband of Bartolommea], whose affairs are going badly because all his barons are rebelling against him and are siding with the Navarrese. The lord Nerio aids the despot, but not very vigorously, and excuses

38. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXI, p. 603.

39. *Dipl.*, docs. DLXII–DLXIV, pp. 604–606, dated May 30, 1384, and see also docs. DLXVI, DLXVIII, pp. 606–607.

40. On Urban VI's savage struggle with the Durazzeschi, to which bishop James alludes, see Angela Valente, *Margherita di Durazzo, vicaria di Carlo III e tutrice di Re Ladislao* (Naples, 1919), especially pp. 73–85.

himself to the Navarrese on the grounds that he is not helping the despot against the Navarrese but against the despot's Greek barons who are in revolt, and this is not contrary to the articles of peace.

But I think that this cloaking of motives will hardly endure, and in my own opinion there will be war between the Navarrese on the one hand and the lord Nerio and the despot on the other. A sign of this is the fact that news has just come from Argos that the Navarrese for their part are preparing to wage heavier warfare with the despot than they can [manage at present] as soon as a new opportunity arises. The despot is also getting ready, because a hundred horse have come to him from the city of Thessalonica, where his brother [Manuel] is ruler, and the lord Nerio is collecting men-at-arms from everywhere he can, and so I do [not] doubt there will be war. The lord Nerio can raise a good 70 lances, 800 Albanian horse, and a good many foot. The despot, moreover, who is always with the lord Nerio, will also have at least 200 horse and a good many foot including Turks in his force. The Navarrese however have about 1,300 horse. Your excellency will be able to inform your brother, the lord Donato, about all this⁴¹

Very likely the bishop of Argos knew a good deal about Nerio Acciajuoli's intentions, but troops raised for one purpose could usually be employed for another. If not against the Navarrese, why not against the Catalans? Nerio was not only recruiting land forces. He also wanted (he said) to share in the defense of east central Greece against constant Turkish assault. He had offered the bailie, captain, and councillors of Negroponte 8,000 ducats for the lease of an armed galley for a year to guard the Greek littoral, in conjunction with the republic's "galley of Negroponte." Since a resolution of approval was passed by the senate,⁴² we must assume

41. Ferd. Gregorovius, "Briefe aus der 'Corrispondenza Acciajoli' in der Laurenziana zu Florenz," *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. u. hist. Classe der k. bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, II (1890–1891), 297–300; Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 640–644; *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXIV, pp. 611–613; and cf. in general Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 174 ff., with sources. The reference to Angelo Acciajuoli's creation as cardinal of San Lorenzo in Damaso on December 17, 1384 (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 24, 42–43), helps to date the letter with some precision.

On the early years of Theodore I Palaeologus in the despotate of Mistra, see Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse au XIV^e siècle (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines*, I (1943), 161 ff., and on the background of events in the Neapolitan kingdom, to which James of Argos refers, see especially Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* (4 vols., Paris, 1896–1902, repr. Hildesheim, 1967), II, 65 ff., 112 ff., and in brief compass, É. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris, 1954), pp. 464–467, 474–475. A letter of king Peter IV, dated July 17, 1385, to Mahiot of Coquerel and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan makes it clear that Greeks and Turks were "daily" crossing the borders of the Athenian duchy (*Dipl.*, doc. DLXXV, p. 613, referred to above), and the letter of James of Argos shows that these Greeks and Turks were troopers of the despot Theodore. For the political and military situation in continental Greece and the Morea at this time, see George T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome, 1960), pp. 114–128.

42. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 38, fol. 10^r, dated "MCCCLXXXII indict. sexta, die vigesimo Febr.," in the Venetian style, i.e., February 20, 1383.

that Nerio paid his money and got his galley. He seems to have invaded Attica by land, and probably sailed his galley into Piraeus, seizing the harbors and height of Munychia. A Venetian document of July 7, 1385, refers to "dominus Raynerius de Azaiolis, dominator Choranti et ducaminis,"⁴³ which clearly means that the senate now recognized Nerio as lord of the Athenian duchy as well as of the Corinthian barony. Nerio was obviously getting along very well with the Venetians, and every advance in the date of the documents seems to bring him closer to the palace built into the Propylaea. Thus when on January 15, 1387, Nerio issued a confirmatory grant of lands, he called himself "lord of the castellany of Corinth, the duchy of Athens, and their dependencies."⁴⁴ But the document was drafted in the lower city, and Nerio was finding the ascent to the Acropolis hard going.

On the Acropolis itself Raymond de Vilanova had been finding it hard going for months, and had written king Peter IV that he could no longer maintain his position "without evident peril." Vilanova was of course the lieutenant of the vicar-general Philip Dalmau, who had bound him by oath and homage personally to defend the Catalan states in Greece, but Vilanova was anxious to be released from his obligation, because he wanted to return home and apparently regarded the situation as hopeless. The king rather peremptorily ordered Dalmau publicly to release Vilanova from the bonds of oath and homage, and directed him also to notify those who held the castle and duchy of Athens to give up their commands to the person or persons who would presently be designated, for the king still intended to send "some one of our loyal subjects, a provident and discreet man, with a proper force of armed men to guard and defend the duchy, cities, towns, castles, and people . . ."⁴⁵ When Dalmau was slow to comply with the royal commands, Peter wrote him again to do immediately as he was bid.⁴⁶ The break was coming between the king and Dalmau, who was then supporting the infante Don John against his imperious father, and when instead of obedience Dalmau allegedly offered Peter "arguments unacceptable to us," he was angrily reprimanded and now told to obey the present mandamus within eight days of its receipt.⁴⁷ On January 6, 1386, Dalmau

43. Misti, Reg. 39, fol. 110^v.

44. J. A. C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (Paris, 1845), Florence, doc. XL, pp. 220–221; Fr. Miklosich and Jos. Müller, *Acta et diplomata res graecas italiasque illustrantia*, III (1865, repr. 1968), doc. no. 8, pp. 248–249; *Dipl.*, doc. DC, pp. 636–637.

45. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXVII, pp. 614–615, dated September 12, 1385.

46. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXVIII, pp. 615–616, dated September 20, 1385.

47. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXIV, pp. 618–619, dated December 22, 1385. Much concerned

replied courteously that he had only seen one letter from the king, which he had answered with the reminder that he had gone to Greece at the royal command and secured for his majesty the castles of Athens and Neopatras. He had employed his own resources for the honor of Aragon, and the crown still owed him 5,000 florins and the pay for twenty-five lances. He would return to Greece if his majesty so wished, but he did not deserve such treatment for the services he and his ancestors had rendered the royal house.⁴⁸ Peter responded promptly, on January 17, insisting upon the release of Vilanova from his personal commitments to Dalmau so that another commander might be sent to take over Athens and Neopatras. He did not want to send Dalmau back to Greece. He had never caused a loss to any man, however, nor would he to Dalmau, and so the latter might send someone to the court with his accounts which the royal treasurer would go over, and his just claims would be met.⁴⁹

However much Dalmau might choose to remonstrate, the king had decided to remove him from the Greek vicariate. On June 26, 1386, his majesty wrote Raymond de Vilanova from Barcelona that "whereas for certain reasons we have revoked the concession we have made to the viscount of Rocaberti of the office of the vicariate of the duchies of Athens and Neopatras, we have recently bestowed the said office upon the young Don Bernard [Bernat] of Cornellà, who will presently have to betake himself to the . . . duchies on this account, and therefore we require that you give up to the said Bernard the castles and the city of Athens . . . , which you hold by command of the viscount of Rocaberti, [and] which he holds on our behalf" Vilanova had in fact already left Athens for Catalonia, and had turned over the Acropolis and the other castles on the royal domain to one Peter of Pau, who had thus perforce become Cornellà's lieutenant in the duchies.⁵⁰

For whatever reason, official notifications of Cornellà's appointment were not sent out by the Catalan chancery for almost two months. At length on August 17 (1386) the king did so notify countess Helena Cantacuzena, and at the same time he chided her for seeking a husband for her daughter Maria outside the ranks of the Catalan nobility. He wrote Helena that he would send Cornellà to Greece without fail the following spring, and the men-at-arms whom the new vicar-general would bring with him would protect the

with the "affairs of Athens," Peter had been impatiently summoning Bernard Ballester to the court for consultation (*ibid.*, docs. DLXXIX-DLXXXII, DLXXXV).

48. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXVI, pp. 620-621.

49. *Dipl.*, doc. DLXXXVII, pp. 621-622.

50. *Dipl.*, doc. DXC, pp. 623-624, and cf. doc. DXCVII.

countess's lands as well as the castles of the royal domain.⁵¹ On the same day (August 17) notices of Cornellà's appointment to the Greek vicariate were prepared in the king's name for dispatch to the lords of Argos, Lepanto, and Patras, who were told "that within a few days we shall send to the said duchies our said vicar and lieutenant with such a force of men-at-arms, both horse and foot, that you and all our friends shall have cause for satisfaction."⁵² Even Cornellà's lieutenant Peter of Pau was given to understand that Cornellà was being sent to Greece "within a few days,"⁵³ although when the king informed the Navarrese Company in the Morea and the anxious officials of Athens and Neopatras of Cornellà's appointment, he stated (as he had to Helena) that the new vicar would set out for Greece the following spring.⁵⁴

The extant copy of Bernard of Cornellà's commission as "vicar-general and viceroy" is dated August 18, 1386. It conferred upon him the usual jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases and all the other rights and responsibilities adhering to his new office.⁵⁵ By this time Raymond de Vilanova had returned to Barcelona, having turned over his command in Greece to Peter of Pau, who would of course surrender the cities and castles on the royal domain to Cornellà upon the latter's arrival in Athens.⁵⁶ Cornellà, however, bore the title vicar-general for less than a year (1386-1387). He never went to Greece, and "by a public instrument executed in the city of Athens on November 4, A.D. 1386," Peter of Pau selected Gerard de Rodonella, who with bishop John Boyl had presented the Articles of Athens to Peter IV a half dozen years before, to go as his emissary to Barcelona, to swear fealty and render homage to the new vicar-general, and of course to inform the royal court that Nerio Acciajuoli had laid Athens under siege. We have noted that by mid-January 1387 Nerio had occupied the lower city, a fact which Rodonella did not know as he made his way to Barcelona, in those days a voyage of about three months.

King Peter IV the Ceremonious died in the queen's palace at Barcelona on January 5, 1387, some weeks before Rodonella's ship put into the harbor. The infante Don John succeeded his father as

51. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCI, pp. 624-625.

52. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCII, pp. 625-626.

53. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCV, p. 628.

54. *Dipl.*, docs. DXCIII, DXCIV, pp. 626-627.

55. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCVI, pp. 628-630.

56. *Dipl.*, doc. DXCVII, p. 633, a letter of the king to Peter of Pau dated July 18, 1386

king of Aragon, count of Barcelona, and duke of Athens, but John's health was so poor that when Rodonella arrived in Barcelona he had to wait more than a month for an audience. As he recovered, king John gave some attention to Greek affairs. On March 3 he ordered the bailie of Jativa to pay Bernard Ballester, "citizen of Valencia and inhabitant of the duchy of Athens," 2,000 solidi still owing on his annual pension of 4,000 (which was to run until the royal grant of 4,000 gold florins, made by king Peter in September 1380, had been paid in its entirety).⁵⁷ On Monday, the 18th, John received Rodonella at Barcelona, and accepted the letter of procuracy prepared at Athens the preceding November 4. Rodonella explained to his tired majesty that he had come from Athens as Peter of Pau's special emissary to learn what was to be done about the duchies, which by this time were in even greater danger than Rodonella knew. John answered that he had removed Cornellà from the vicariate-general and reappointed Philip Dalmau, the viscount of Rocaberti, his councillor and chamberlain, to whom he now directed Rodonella to swear fealty and do homage in Peter of Pau's name. Rodonella went through the feudal ceremony, pledging Peter's loyal defense of the duchies and his allegiance to the vicar-general and his sovereign.⁵⁸

As Rodonella was getting ready to return to Greece, the royal chancery in Barcelona prepared notices of Dalmau's reappointment on April 17, 1387, one of which (as protocol required) was addressed to Nerio Acciajuoli, wherein king John informed "the lord of the castellany of Corinth" that the Catalans intended to preserve the "peace and truce" which Dalmau had negotiated with Nerio during his first tenure of office.⁵⁹ His majesty also wrote to the aldermen of Athens with words of praise and gratitude for the love and loyalty which the Catalans in Athens had exhibited toward the crown of Aragon. He told them of the reappointment of Dalmau, who would rewin the lost *viles e lochs* with a strong corps of men-at-arms and archers. He also assured his threatened subjects overseas that they were not to think he had forgotten such an illustrious part of his crown as the city of Athens and that he hoped to pay the Catalans in Athens a personal visit, to encourage by his royal presence both the Catalans and all who served him, "and those both near and far will

(from the Arx. Cor. Aragó, Reg. 1559, fol. 15^v). Rubió i Lluch has perhaps unnecessarily altered the date of August 18, the official date of Cornellà's appointment to the vicariate, to which the letter relates. But we know that the king had already decided upon Cornellà's appointment before June 26 (cf. *Dipl.*, doc. DXC).

57. *Dipl.*, doc. DCI, p. 637, and see above, p. 231.

58. *Dipl.*, doc. DCII, pp. 638-639.

59. *Dipl.*, doc. DCIII, p. 639, and cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 179 ff.

know that you are our people, a special part of our crown, and that we are your king, prince, duke, and lord by divine grace."⁶⁰

On April 17 John also notified countess Helena Cantacuzena of Dalmau's reappointment to the vicariate-general, but acknowledged that Dalmau could not immediately proceed to Greece.⁶¹ John's letter probably made little impression on Helena, who knew that Nerio Acciajuoli had already taken the lower city of Athens, and probably suspected that Dalmau would never return to Greece. The Catalan duchies, or what was left of them, were in a sad state, as Rodonella had unquestionably lamented at some length. Nerio was moving freely about in the lower city of Athens and held the Acropolis under intermittent siege.

. During these months the valiant soldier Peter of Pau, "the last of the *almogàvers* in Greece," was defending Athena's towering rock against Nerio's increasing pressure. If Rodonella ever got back to Athens carrying the king's letters of April 1387, he must have found Aragonese rule in the city confined to the citadel. Although communication between Athens and the Aragonese court had obviously become difficult, Peter managed to get letters safely through Nerio's lines. It is easy to imagine what he wrote king John when the latter replied on April 22, 1388, that "we have seen your letters in which you make known to us that Messer Nerio, the Florentine, holds our castle of Athens strongly and tightly under siege . . ." Peter had stated that he could not hold out in the Acropolis much longer. The king had to acknowledge that he was unable to send assistance immediately but was asking countess Helena to do so. If the countess could not or would not help, however, Peter was to do what he thought best, and his majesty would certainly regard the defenders of the citadel as his good and loyal vassals.⁶² King John wrote the countess at the same time. He told her of the siege (of which she must have known more than he), and reminded her that the Florentine occupation of the Acropolis would be an "irreparable loss" to Aragon. For various good reasons he could not just then send aid, but implored her to break the siege by an armed force or in any other way she could, and free Peter and those who were helping him defend the citadel. If the countess did so, John promised to turn over the Acropolis to her, and she could retain it until he had reimbursed

60. *Dipl.*, doc. DCVIII, pp. 642-643, dated April 26, 1387. An earlier letter to the *prohomens* of Athens, dated April 17 (*ibid.*, doc. DCIV, p. 640) "was not sent in this form," according to a marginal note in the register preserving the text (Arx. Cor. Aragó, Reg. 1675, fol. 124, ref. from Rubió i Lluch): it was too formal, too brief, and too abrupt.

61. *Dipl.*, doc. DCV, pp. 640-641.

62. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXX, p. 651.

her for all the expense she would undergo in saving it from the enemy: "We assure you that this is a matter which we hold dear to our heart, and we want it done!"⁶³ But the Acropolis was not strong enough to laugh a siege to scorn, for by now famine and plague had joined the opponents of Aragon.

King John might hold the defense of the Acropolis dear to his heart, but Peter of Pau and his fellow Catalans could not withstand Nerio Acciajuoli's unrelenting pressure. Only ten days after the date of John's letters to Peter and countess Helena (and long before they could have received them, if indeed they ever did), Nerio's forces entered the world's most famous citadel. The event is dated in a letter (now in the Laurentian Library in Florence) which one James of Prato, possibly a relative of Louis Aliotti of Prato, first Florentine archbishop of Athens, wrote on May 9, 1388, to Donato Acciajuoli in Florence: "Most reverend lord: May your revered Magnificence know . . . I arrived in Patras safe and sound, and here I found the news that Messer Neri and all his family are well, and on the second day of this month he took the castle of Athens. It is true that there is plague in Athens, and great loss of life, from which Messer Neri with all his family has gone away and is staying in Thebes [*Stive*]. . . ."⁶⁴ Unfortunately James of Prato did not bother to inform Donato of the fate of Peter of Pau and the Catalan garrison on the Acropolis. Whether the plucky Peter met his death in a Florentine assault or saved his life by flight or surrender, we do not know, but when dead or alive he came down from the citadel, the rule of Aragon in Attica had come to an end.⁶⁵ Nerio Acciajuoli was sailing smoothly before the wind, but he would soon strike the shoals of adversity.

The Turks had taken Thessalonica in April 1387, and were threatening the Venetian colony at Negroponte. The castellans of Coron and Modon also reported to the home government that Turkish incursions into the southern Morea were netting the invaders *animae et animalia*. On September 28, 1387, the Venetian senate decided to send an envoy to sultan Murad I (1362–1389),⁶⁶ and on October 3,

63. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXI, p. 652.

64. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part II, doc. 10, p. 119; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXII, pp. 652–653.

65. Cf. Laonicus Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*, p. 69); E. Darkó, ed., *L. Chalcocondylae historiarum demonstrationes*, I (Budapest, 1922), 63: "Some [of the Catalans] returned to Italy, and some remained in Greece until they died . . ." The brothers Roger and Antonio de Lluria are said in fact to have sought refuge in Sicily (Gerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, II [Saragossa, 1610], p. 403^v).

66. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 94^v: "Quia propter nova que habentur a castellanis Coroni et Mothoni de incursionibus Turchorum factis in locis nostris predictis capiendis animas et animalia et multa alia damna et spolia inferrendo . . ." Equally discouraging news came from Negroponte, and so choice was to be made of "unus ambaxator sufficiens ad dominum Moratum Bey. . . ."

when Daniel Cornaro was chosen for the mission, he was instructed to ask the sultan to order the return of all persons, animals, and other property seized from Venetian territory by Turks under the command of Evrenos Beg, and to receive assurance from the Ottoman government that subjects of the republic would not again suffer such captivity or loss as they had in the recent depredation of the Morea and the attack upon Euboea.⁶⁷ The Turks, however, were not merely following a policy of raid and run. They were assisting their good friend Theodore I Palaeologus against his rebellious Greek *archontes* and his Latin enemies in the Morea, including presumably the Navarrese.

The despot Theodore and his ambitious father-in-law Nerio Acciajuoli worked together, though their union may have been less close than one seemed to think in Venice. Now that he was lord of Athens, Nerio probably wanted Argos and Nauplia also, fiefs of the Athenian duchy in the old days of the French dukes. At first Nerio entertained an understandable apprehension of the Turks, which had led him to rent a Venetian galley and to share with the republic the burden of maintaining coastal defense against Turkish corsairs. But when Manuel Palaeologus, Theodore's brother, lost Thessalonica to Murad, he became a Turkish vassal, and Theodore himself now saw some advantage in acknowledging the suzerainty of the sultan in distant Adrianople so long as he could get Turkish assistance to advance his own interests in the Morea.⁶⁸

The Morea had known little peace since the Fourth Crusade. There had been much tension under the Villehardouins, much turmoil after them. The Byzantine despots in Mistra had helped undermine the Latin hegemony, and now the arrival of the Ottoman Turks in force became a threat to Christian dominance in the peninsula. We have noted Nerio Acciajuoli's initial desire to coöperate with the Venetians to ward off Turkish attacks upon their Greek territories, and for a while Nerio stood out as a Latin champion, even winning a "remarkable victory" over the Turks, allegedly with Venetian aid.⁶⁹

67. Misti, Reg. 40, fols. 95^r–96^r, and cf. F. Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des délibérations du sénat de Venise*, I (1958), nos. 735–736, pp. 177–178; Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote . . ." *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 420; and cf. the *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6896 (1388), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516); and on the Turkish occupation of Thessalonica see Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387*, pp. 151 ff.

68. Cf. Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponèse . . . (1382–1404)," *Études byzantines*, I, 166–170.

69. Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 17^v, dated in the Venetian style "MCCCLXXXV die VI Februarii indictione nona," i.e., February 6, 1386. Nerio's victory is said to have been achieved with Negropontine help. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 707, p. 171.

After this, Nerio had other uses for his time and money (in the siege of Athens), and he preferred the conquest of territory to warfare against the Turks. Furthermore, as his son-in-law, the despot Theodore, became almost a vassal of the sultan, Nerio's own attitude toward the Turks changed. To the exasperation of the Venetian senate, he did not even pay the full wages of the crew on the galley he had rented from the republic. What is more, in a letter of July 24, 1388, the senate charged Nerio directly with being the "principal cause" of the great Turkish invasion of the preceding autumn.⁷⁰ If true, Nerio was in a dangerous business.

In 1388 Greek affairs were complicated by the death of the Venetian magnate Peter Cornaro, who had held Argos and Nauplia for some years by virtue of his marriage with the Enghien heiress Marie. The despot Theodore promptly seized both places with Turkish assistance and with Nerio's obvious encouragement. But on December 12 (1388) Marie, who was then in Venice, sold both Argos and Nauplia to the republic for (among other considerations) an annual income which she and her descendants were to receive for as long as the republic should hold the two places.⁷¹ If the financial terms were not generous, neither was Venice in possession of Argos and Nauplia. Any Venetian court would uphold the legality of the republic's purchase, but in the Morea possession was more than nine points of the law.

Since the acquisition of the erstwhile strongholds of the Enghiens was a matter of "notable" concern to the state, the Venetian senate decided on January 26, 1389, to send a commissioner (*provisor*) on an armed galley to the Morea to make certain of their purchase.⁷²

70. A text of July 24, 1388, shows that the *intentiones Morati erga nos* worried the Venetians constantly (Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 127^v); the senate sent Nerio a letter (*ibid.*, fols. 125^v–126^r) in which the serious charge was made that ". . . sicut a recto novimus in anno elapso fuistis potissima causa faciendi descendere Turchos et alias gentes ad damnum locorum nostrorum qui multa mala nobis et aliis intulerunt, de quo gravamur quantum plus possumus, ymo quod cedit ad maiorem turbationem nostram persensimus quod in presenti tempore conamini favere Turchis qui asseruntur descendere ad damnum locorum nostrorum, quod penitus importabile foret."

71. G. M. Thomas, ed., *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, II, nos. 126–127, pp. 211–215; D. A. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I (1932), 132–133; Setton, *Catalan Domination*, p. 190; Luttrell, "The Latins of Argos and Nauplia," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XXXIV (1966), 47–48. The enemies of Venice are the despot Theodore and the "cruel tyrant" Nerio Acciajuoli, who must not get Argos and Nauplia (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Secreta Consilii Rogatorum, Reg. E, fol. 46^v, summarized in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 744, p. 179, dated December 12, 1388, and cf. R. Cessi, "Venezia e l'acquisto di Nauplia ed Argo," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, new ser., XXX [1915], 152). On Peter Cornaro see Luttrell, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–45.

72. Misti, Reg. 40, fol. 146^r; Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 153.

The able Perazzo Malipiero was chosen for the mission; his commission is dated February 18, and contains detailed instructions which he was to follow. The text rehearses the essential facts of Marie's sale of Argos and Nauplia, and deplors the despot Theodore's *molestia et novitas*, which indicates that he had employed force in taking both places. The castellans of Modon and Coron, also acting under senatorial instructions, had been unable to prevail upon Theodore to order the evacuation of his forces. The senate had written to him and to Nerio asserting the claims of the republic to Argos and Nauplia. Paul Foscari, the archbishop of Patras, and Peter Bordo de Saint Superan, the Navarrese commander, had both offered their assistance "to obtain the aforesaid places."⁷³ Since Foscari was a Venetian, and the Navarrese were notoriously hostile to the aggressive despot, obviously the republic could rely on them.

Perazzo Malipiero did succeed in taking over Nauplia, but Argos was another matter. On May 31, 1389, the senate directed Nicholas Zeno, Venetian "captain of the gulf," to proceed to Nauplia to confer with Malipiero, after which they should go together to the despot Theodore, and state "that we have fully understood the letters which he has sent us with reference to our city of Argos." They were to demand that Theodore immediately desist from his armed occupation of the city, which he was holding contrary to God and justice and his own honor. The senate was all the more disturbed because Theodore had written that he was waiting for the answer to an inquiry he had addressed to sultan Murad, and that his hands were tied until it came. The senate did not believe him; the sultan had nothing to do with it all. Inasmuch, however, as Nerio Acciajuoli was said to be the principal cause of the difficulty, the captain and Malipiero should also wait upon Nerio, remind him of the ample (and unkept) promises he had been making the republic, and admonish him to get Theodore to remove himself from Argos.⁷⁴ But the Venetians could get nowhere with Nerio, and on June 22 (1389) the senate passed a resolution that figs from Attica and currants from Corinthia were no longer to be imported into Venice or into any Venetian territories. The castellans of Modon and Coron had already stopped the export of iron and plowshares to Nerio's domains (and to those of the despot); the senate approved of their action, but

73. Misti, Reg. 40, fols. 157^r–158^r, by original (faulty) foliation. Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 748, p. 180.

74. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 6^v; Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 155; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 753, p. 181, and cf. no. 762. On August 16, 1389, the senate made various provisions for the security and governance of Nauplia (*ibid.*, no. 761, p. 183).

provided for the resumption of trade with Mistra, Corinth, and Athens when the despot gave up the city of Argos.⁷⁵

At this point Peter Bordo de Saint Superan entered the scene, presumably as an honest broker, to try to adjudicate the issue which was dividing the Christian Morea. Since it was useless for him to approach the despot Theodore, with whom he was at armed odds, he made overtures to Nerio to confer with him at the Navarrese fortress of Vostitsa on the Gulf of Corinth. It was later said that he gave Nerio the fullest assurances of his safety, which was doubtless true, for otherwise Nerio would never have gone. He arrived at Vostitsa on September 7; discussed Argos (and related matters) with Peter Bordo for three days; and probably professed the innocence of a bystander in the whole affair. On September 10 Nerio was informed he was a prisoner. An old hand at hunting, he had fallen into a trap.⁷⁶ On September 15 Nerio's wife Agnes wrote his brother Donato from Corinth, "We must inform you that the lord messer Neri has gone to Vostitsa to talk with the vicar of the Morea and with others of the Company to bring about peace [*hordine*] for the well-being of the country and for other affairs of theirs. The vicar has had him arrested and carried off into prison, and this happened on Friday, September 10. The reason why they have detained and taken him I cannot explain to you clearly, because I do not know it. . . . I must also tell you that all the country, both the duchy [of Athens] and the castellany [of Corinth], is holding firm in loyalty to us. . . ."⁷⁷

It is quite possible that at the time of his imprisonment Nerio was willing to see the relaxation of tensions in the Morea, for he had just undertaken the siege of Neopatras, intending to add the northern duchy to his Athenian domain. Andrew Zavall, castellan and captain of the city, notified king John as soon as he could, and the latter wrote back on January 3, 1390, asking him to hold out, because "you will soon have that succor and assistance you hope to receive

75. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 16^v. Cf. Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 238-239; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 757, p. 182; and esp. Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 158-159. On June 10 (1389) the senate had dismissed an ambassador from Nerio since he had had "nothing new" to say (Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 13^v). In mid-June on the field of Kossovo sultan Murad I was slain by a Serb posing as a deserter, but Murad's son Bayazid I took over the Ottoman command and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Serbs (cf. G. Ostrogorsky and M. Dinić, in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, IV-1 [1966], 373-374, 550-551). Now all the Balkans as well as Greece lay in the shadow of Turkish power.

76. Cf. Buchon, II (1845), *Florence*: doc. XLVI, pp. 241-242, 248, and Cessi, in *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXX, 160-161.

77. F. Gregorovius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II (1890), 305, and Gregorovius, trans. Lampros, *Athens*, II (1904), 649-650; Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari*, doc. DCXXV, pp. 655-656.

from us.”⁷⁸ It was no use; Nerio would eventually get the city; but John had clearly not yet heard of Nerio’s detention by the Navarrese at the time of this letter.⁷⁹

Donato Acciajuoli had heard of it, and so had the Florentine government, which sent an envoy to Venice to try to arrange for Nerio’s release. The senate rejected the first proposals,⁸⁰ and the subsequent negotiations were long drawn out. Among other concessions, Donato offered to surrender, temporarily, Athens, Thebes, and certain other places in the castellany of Corinth (but not Acrocorinth), together with merchandise “to the value of twelve to fifteen thousand ducats or thereabouts,” which Nerio then had in Corinth—all as a guarantee that the republic should receive Argos.⁸¹ The Venetians were reminded that Nerio was one of their honorary citizens, and they were informed that the despot Theodore was holding Argos “against the will of messer Nerio,” which considering Nerio’s plight was doubtless the truth.⁸² Cardinal Angelo Acciajuoli, who had almost won the triple tiara in the conclave of late October and November 1389, appealed to the new pope, Boniface IX, and a papal embassy set out for Venice. Donato sent two more Florentine envoys to the lagoons on February 24, 1390, and other great personages were prepared to put pressure on Peter Bordo and the Navarrese Company. The doge of Genoa had offered to convey Donato and a retinue of twenty-five to Corinth and even to arrange for the transport of horses and men-at-arms.⁸³

Nerio had certainly not been abandoned. From faraway Chieri in Piedmont, Amadeo of Savoy, prince of Pinerolo, wrote Donato on March 30, 1390, of his displeasure in learning of Nerio’s detention “in our principality of Achaea.” For the last three or four years

78. *Dipl.*, doc. DCXXVII, p. 657: “Entés havem que vos sots aqui en la ciutat nostra de la Patria asseiat per miçer Arner [Nerio], enemich nostre capital, lo qual sens tota rahó s’esforçe damnificar aquella . . .” King John also wrote countess Helena Cantacuzena of Salona, appealing to her to help defend Neopatras (*ibid.*, doc. DCXXVI, p. 656).

79. Cf. Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, nos. 207–209, pp. 152–153.

80. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 49^v, dated December 23, 1389: “. . . non possemus nos intrmittere in procurando liberationem domini Nerii . . . donec haberemus ipsam nostram civitatem [Argolicensem] . . .” and the same answer was given to bishop James of Argos, who had also gone to Venice on behalf of Nerio’s wife Agnes (Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLVI, p. 249).

81. Buchon, II, 238–239, 243–244.

82. Buchon, II, 241–243.

83. Buchon, II, 247–252, especially p. 249, and for the Venetian replies to the envoys dispatched by Donato on February 24 see Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 771, pp. 185–186, dated March 13, 1390. Although the exhausting war over Tenedos had led in 1381 to peace between Venice and Genoa, the Venetians believed the Genoese needed constant watching. Genoese corsairs were also active in Greek waters at this time.

Amadeo had been pressing the old claims of his house to the principality; in fact he informed Donato that he had been planning "for many years . . . to reduce our principality . . . to obedience."⁸⁴ Egged on by that arch-intriguer John Lascaris Calopherus and supported by the count of Savoy, Amadeo was quite beguiled by the idea of gaining Greek recognition as the prince of Achaea. He had troubles enough at home, but he thought for a while of approaching his Genoese neighbors to help him in the Greek adventure. Eventually he turned to Venice, perhaps at the instigation of Calopherus, whom he sent to the senate to seek passage for a sizeable force to the Morea. Amadeo had already sent envoys into the Morea, and negotiated with Peter Bordo and the despot Theodore.⁸⁵

Although the affair of Argos had drawn the Navarrese and Venetians together in their common hostility to the despot, they were unsteady allies. Nerio's captivity seemed to be serving no purpose, and was quite as embarrassing to the Venetians as to Theodore. The Florentines were seeing to that. Argos was the chief complaint the Venetians had against Nerio, then confined in the castle of Listrina near Vostitsa; any fool could see that his confinement was not helping them to get the city, and there were few fools in the Venetian senate. The despot had continued his struggle with the Navarrese, and launched attacks upon Venetian territories.⁸⁶ The senate sought a clearer understanding with the Navarrese as to Nerio's position, and on May 22, 1390, at a rendezvous two miles from Vostitsa, the castellan of Modon and Coron and the republic's high commissioners of Romania reached a preliminary agreement with Nerio himself, looking toward the recovery of his freedom and the Venetian occupation of Argos.⁸⁷

84. Gregorovius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 306; *idem* (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 651.

85. See in general R. Cessi, "Amadeo di Acaia e la rivendicazione dei domini sabaudi in Oriente," *Nuovo archivio veneto*, new series, XXXVII (1919), 5-64, with selections from the accounts of the "treasurer of Achaea," *Archivio di Stato di Torino, Principato d'Acaia*. Cf. David Jacoby, "Jean Lascaris Calophéros," *Revue des études byzantines*, XXVI (1968), 214-216.

Amadeo of Savoy, commonly known to Italian history as Amadeo of Achaea—not to be confused with Amadeo VII (1383-1391), the Red Count of Savoy, a mistake made by Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 135, 137, 149, 150, and Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 779, pp. 187-188—died at Pinerolo on May 7, 1402, and was succeeded in his Piedmontese possessions by his brother Louis (d. 1418), last Savoyard claimant to the princely title of Achaea.

86. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 773, p. 186, dated April 23, 1390.

87. The first agreement between Nerio and the Venetians, dated May 22, 1390, has been published from the *Commemoriali*, book VIII, fol. 180, by L. de Mas Latrie, "Documents concernant divers pays de l'Orient latin, 1382-1413," *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*,

After about a year's captivity Nerio was released late in the year 1390. As stipulated, his daughter Frances was to become a hostage in his stead, committed to the care of the Venetians at Negroponte. Nerio did not have to admit the Venetians into Athens and Thebes, but he turned Megara over to them, as well as all his goods in Corinth, as a pledge that when he had regained his freedom he would prevail upon Theodore to surrender Argos, or else would join the Venetians against him. Thus peace was restored between Nerio and the republic, and when the terms thereof had finally been fulfilled, the "black bridge" at Negroponte could again be opened, and Venetians could trade again with the Athenian duchy.⁸⁸ But the peace with Nerio brought the Venetians little immediate benefit. Theodore continued to hold Argos, and now the Turks were assailing Nauplia.⁸⁹ Since Nerio was continuing to pay a heavy price for Theodore's intransigence, a rift occurred between them, and Theodore became isolated in the peninsula. At long last, however, Nerio bought him off, and on June 11, 1394, Theodore surrendered Argos to the Venetians,⁹⁰ thus concluding an ill-advised adventure which had thrown Latin Greece into turmoil and made the Ottoman Turks feel at home in the Morea.

In the meantime Amadeo of Savoy had been pursuing his dogged if

LVIII (1897), 98–102, and summarized by R. Predelli, ed., *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, III (Venice, 1883), no. 343, p. 206. The negotiations continued (*op. cit.*, no. 348), and four years later the despot Theodore finally agreed to give up Argos (nos. 408–411, 413). Cf. *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6902 (1394), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516).

88. Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (1868; repr., II, 1960), 51–52. The prohibition against the export of figs and currants, *que nascantur in terris et locis domini Nerii Romanie basse et ducaminis*, passed by the Venetian senate on June 22, 1389, was renewed with heavier penalties on September 1, 1390 (Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 101^r; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 778, p. 187), and retained for some time thereafter. In May 1391 James, the bishop of Argos, was in Venice seeking modification and clarification of the articles of agreement obtaining between Nerio and the republic (Misti, Reg. 42, fol. 1, dated May 26, and misdated in the summary of Thiriet, I, no. 792, p. 190).

89. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 127^r, dated February 21, 1391, in the Venetian style: "Cum loca nostra Neapolis Romanie, Coroni et Mothoni multum opprimantur a Turchis et quotidie dicti Turchi capiant de nostris et vadant in cursum circa loca nostra predicta, et precipue tenent locum nostrum Neapolis sub tanta obsidione," the senate took steps to send a galley to relieve the Turkish "siege" of Nauplia, for no one dared to emerge from the town (cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 784, p. 189).

90. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part II, doc. 7, p. 114, a letter to Donato Acciajuoli dated at Venice on July 30, 1394. Having broken with the Turks and being pressed by the Navarrese, the despot Theodore had seen the advantage of an accord with Venice, which was reached in the treaty of Modon dated May 27, 1394, by which he ceded Argos to the republic (for the text, see Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part V, doc. 10, pp. 374–385, especially pp. 379 ff.; and cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 138–143, and Loenertz, "Pour l'histoire du Péloponnèse . . .," *Études byzantines*, I, 172–184).

confused policy of trying to obtain the principality of Achaëa. Although he seemed to veer toward Nerio and the despot Theodore, he needed Venetian transport to get his troops to Greece. On August 12, 1390, the senate flatly declared “that he could not achieve his objective without coming to an understanding with the Navarrese,”⁹¹ and Amadeo was quite prepared to do so. Some six weeks later, in actions of September 20–26, the senate agreed to carry a Piedmontese force of three hundred mounted lancers and six hundred foot or bowmen into the Morea, and Amadeo committed himself to helping the Venetians oust the despot from Argos by force if necessary.⁹² The Venetians were of course no more concerned that Amadeo should become prince of Achaëa than he was that they should acquire Argos. He exchanged envoys with Peter Bordo and the Navarrese, and finally reached an accord with them which took little or no stock of Venetian interests. But he quickly abandoned the Navarrese,⁹³ and turned once more to the ever-ready Nerio, who had taken up residence in Athens. On December 29, 1391, Nerio met with Amadeo’s envoys in the palace chapel on the Acropolis, and as the “lord of Corinth, the duchy of Athens, and Neopatras” he recognized Amadeo, prince of Achaëa, as his suzerain. Nerio now promised to drive the Navarrese from the Morea, and to enlist the aid of the despot Theodore in the undertaking, although he acknowledged his own commitment to the Venetians to wrest Argos from Theodore! He asked for the “restitution” of the Acciajuoli estates in the old castellany of Corinth (the lands of the grand seneschal Nicholas), and he made a special request for Vostitsa, which Amadeo’s envoys assured him he would have.⁹⁴ Fortunately perhaps for Amadeo, as he boldly faced all four cardinal points of the diplomatic compass at the same time, the death of his namesake and supporter, Amadeo VII, the Red Count of Savoy (on November 1, 1391), deflected his attention to Piedmontese and Savoyard affairs. Amadeo never got to Greece, where he had made an alliance with almost everyone except the Turks.

91. Misti, Reg. 41, fol. 98^v.

92. Cessi, “Amedeo di Acaia,” *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXXVII, 24–27; Predelli, *Regesti dei Commemorativi*, III, no. 352, p. 209; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 779, pp. 187–188. About this time Amadeo wrote Theodore a letter assuring him of his princely affection, to which Theodore returned a courteous response (Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, III, 249–250).

93. Cf. Cessi, “Amedeo di Acaia,” *Nuovo archivio veneto*, n.s., XXXVII, 35–36, 40.

94. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 1, pp. 405–407, also published by Cessi, *Nuovo archivio veneto*, XXXVII, 40–42. Nerio had purchased Vostitsa, together with Nivelet, from Marie of Bourbon, princess of Achaëa, and her son Hugh of Galilee in 1364 (cf. Du Cange [ed. Buchon], *Constantinople*, II, 265; Buchon, *Recherches et matériaux*, I [1840], 347).

In his pact with Amadeo, Nerio claimed possession of Neopatras. He had presumably taken it from the Catalan castellan Andrew Zavall, but he soon lost it to the Turks. Sultan Bayazid I invaded central Greece toward the end of 1393 and the beginning of 1394. He occupied Neopatras and Livadia, and seized the county of Salona together with its dependencies of Zeitounion, Loidoriki, and Veteranitsa. Nerio must have received the news with trepidation. On February 20, 1394, he wrote his brother Donato from Corinth that the Gran Turco had descended into Greece from Thessalonica, taken Salona, and sent the much-wooed Maria Fadrique, daughter of countess Helena Cantacuzena, into his harem.⁹⁵ Now Nerio would have to pay tribute to the Turk for the Athenian duchy. To pope Boniface IX the situation in central Europe and in Greece looked desperate, and so it was: his holiness shuddered to think of what the Turks had done. A crusade was proclaimed to save eastern Christendom from the direst peril.⁹⁶

Nerio Acciajuoli had reached the pinnacle of his career and was nearing the end of his life. Like the early Catalan dukes before him, however, he held Athens only by right of conquest. He was anxious to secure a more constitutional basis for his possession of the duchy. He turned to Italy, to Rome and Naples, for the legitimization of his position. King Ladislas of Naples, the young son of Charles III of Durazzo (d. 1386), still preserved the Angevin claim to the suzerainty of Achaea, upon which the duchy of Athens rested in feudal dependence. Recalling the great services which Nerio had allegedly rendered the house of Anjou-Durazzo, and professing to regard him as having wrested "the duchy of Athens, part of our principality of Achaea, . . . from the hands of some of our rivals," king Ladislas formally bestowed upon Nerio and the legitimate (male) heirs of his body, in perpetuity, the city and duchy of Athens with all the rights and appurtenances accruing to them. Louis Aliotti, archbishop of Athens, promised on Nerio's behalf to render the royal prince of Achaea whatever feudal service adhered by custom to the ducal fief, and at Gaeta on January 11, 1394, Ladislas invested his grace of Athens, as Nerio's proxy, with the fief by placing a ring on his finger.⁹⁷ Nerio, however, had

95. Gregorovius, "Corrispondenza Acciajoli," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 307; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 652; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXLIV, pp. 673-674. Contrary to Gregorovius, *loc. cit.*, this letter is not an autograph, as shown by the postscript which he failed to transcribe and apparently forgot. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (*CSHB*, pp. 67-69; ed. Darkó, I, 62-63), gives a detailed account of the Turkish invasion and the fall of Helena—and of "a certain priest named Strates with whom she was in love"—which may be generally accurate, but the names he gives to the characters in his drama are peculiar (on which note Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI [repr., II], 62, note 83).

96. O. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1394, vol. VII (1752), pp. 584-585.

97. Buchon, II. *Florence*: doc. XLI, pp. 223-228; *Dipl.*, doc. DCXLIII, pp. 671-673, the

no legitimate male heirs; his only son, Antonio, was the child of his mistress Maria Rendi. On the next day therefore, with cardinal Angelo's consent, Ladislás provided that the Athenian succession should pass to Donato and the latter's legitimate sons "in case the said Nerio should depart this life without leaving legitimate male heirs of his body even if legitimate daughters should survive him,"⁹⁸ which excluded Bartolommea, the wife of the despot Theodore, and Frances, who had married Charles I Tocco, the duke of Leucadia (Leucas, or Santa Maura) and count palatine of Cephalonia.

As in the days of the grand seneschal Nicholas a half century before, the Acciajuoli star seemed to be in the ascendant, and on January 14 king Ladislás appointed his "dearest friend" cardinal Angelo, then the apostolic legate and bailie of the Neapolitan kingdom, as his vicar in the principality of Achaea and the city of Lepanto with full jurisdiction over matters relating "both to justice and to war."⁹⁹ The Acciajuoli family had reached its height, but now it was stricken with misfortune. Nerio died suddenly, and his brother Donato lost the Athenian succession which Ladislás had just granted him. The sad news was contained in a letter which James, the bustling bishop of Argos, wrote at Nauplia on November 2, 1394, to Donato in Florence: "... With extreme bitterness of heart I inform your excellency that the magnificent lord Nerio, your excellency's brother, ended his last day on the 25th of the month of September just passed. And after his death the despot [Theodore] seized all the castles of the castellany of Corinth. He is even holding the fortress [Acrocorinth] and the city of Corinth under siege. Moreover, the bastard of the aforesaid lord Nerio [Antonio Acciajuoli, later duke of Athens] and Bertranet [Mota de Salahia, who was said in 1393 to be in possession of Livadia]¹⁰⁰ are wholeheartedly on the despot's side, and are staying with him in the field fighting against Corinth and your other places. Unless your lordship provides quick relief, the said despot will completely occupy the whole country acquired by your house up to now."¹⁰¹

diploma of investiture, with its usual wording. On June 1, 1398, Louis Aliotti was transferred from Athens to the see of Volterra, near Florence and Siena (Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 115, 536, and cf. p. 349, note 10).

98. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLII, pp. 228-231.

99. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLIV, pp. 234-236.

100. *Dipl.*, docs. DCXXXVII-DCXXXIX, pp. 666-668, letters of king John I of Aragon, dated at Valencia on April 13, 1393, on which note Loenertz, *Arch. FF. Praed.*, XXV, no. 213, p. 154.

101. The letter appears to be unknown and unpublished (Univ. of Pennsylvania Library, Lea MS. 28-II, ep. 29). Its contents, however, are well known from a similar text sent by the bishop of Argos to cardinal Angelo, which has been rather carelessly published by Gregoro-

Eight days before his death, lying ill at Corinth, Nerio dictated his will, fearing perhaps that he had achieved success at the cost of salvation. He directed that his body be buried in the Parthenon, “the church of St. Mary of Athens—likewise we leave to the church of St. Mary of Athens the city of Athens, with all its appurtenances and effects.”¹⁰² His chief thought, in these last days, seems to have been for the Parthenon, for its cathedral staff, and for the masses he wanted said for his soul. He left the church his valuable stud of brood mares, and wanted the portals of the Parthenon, once adorned with silver, to be decked out in silver again; likewise all the jewels, vestments, gold, silver, and precious stones of which the church had been stripped to help ransom him from the Navarrese “should be repurchased and restored to the said church of Athens.” In addition to the twelve canons who had served in the cathedral since the Catalan era,¹⁰³ Nerio provided for twenty priests, who were to be “Latins of the Catholic faith,” to serve night and day, “and celebrate masses for the salvation of our soul.” He wanted the income of the church and of the brood mares to be used for the support of the twenty priests, according to the discretion of the executors of his will, as well as for the fabric and general maintenance of the Parthenon. Since obviously neither the priests nor the executors of his will could defend Athens for St. Mary, Nerio placed the church and city “under the protection and guidance of the exalted and illustrious ducal signoria of Venice.”¹⁰⁴

Among other bequests, Nerio left Antonio Acciajuoli, his son by Maria Rendi, the castle of Livadia and his property therein, as well as the city of Thebes. To his elder daughter Bartolommea, who had married the despot of Mistra, Theodore I Palaeologus, Nerio left only the 9,700 ducats of gold “which the despot, her husband, took from the signoria of Venice.” Nerio had made the sum good; Theodore had never repaid him. But what Bartolommea got, her husband got, and so Nerio directed that she should be allowed no other claim against his estate. He clearly entertained some animus against Theo-

vius, “Corrispondenza Acciajoli,” *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. zu München*, II, 308–309, and cf. *idem* (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 653–654, where the transcription is still poor.

102. The text of Nerio’s will, dated at Corinth on September 17, 1394, may be found in Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. XLVIII, pp. 254–261, and Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part III, doc. 4, pp. 146–152.

103. Cf. *Dipl.*, doc. CDXIV, p. 497, a letter of king Peter IV dated at Lerida on September 12, 1380: “. . . XII canonici ecclesie sedis de Cetines . . .” There had also been a dozen canons on the cathedral staff of Thebes in the early thirteenth century (cf. Pietro Pressutti, *I Regesti del pontefice Onorio III*, I [Rome, 1884], no. 331, p. 93, and *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, I [Rome, 1888], no. 356, p. 63).

104. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, pp. 147–148; Buchon, II, 255.

dore, and he had good reason for doing so. As for Bartolommea, she was reputed to surpass in beauty all the women of her time.¹⁰⁵ Obviously the Acciajuoli had done quite enough for Theodore. Nerio made his daughter Frances his chief heiress—possibly because he had had no trouble with her husband, Charles Tocco, who thus stood to gain most from the success of the Acciajuoli in Greece. Frances was to receive immediately “peaceful possession” of the castle of Megara, the Basilicata (the ancient Sicyon), and 30,000 hyperpers in money and jewels. She was in fact to receive all Nerio’s lands except those which went to others by specific bequests. If she had had children by the time of his death, she was to take over these lands immediately, but in any event they were to become hers in three years. Finally, Frances was to receive Corinth if the grand seneschal Robert Acciajuoli, son of the Angelo who had mortgaged the city to Nerio, did not wish “to repay the money which he owes me.”¹⁰⁶ Nerio’s wife Agnes de’ Saraceni was already dead, and so he had no need to make provision for her. Nerio had apparently already promised the despot Theodore the eventual occupancy of Corinth as part of Bartolommea’s dowry, but he had in effect left the city and its towering fortress to Frances’s husband, Charles Tocco of Leucadia and Cephalonia.¹⁰⁷ He had lived amid warfare and wealth through most of his years in Greece, and now he passed them both on to his heirs.

Nerio named seven executors of his will, including the duchess Frances, bishop James of Argos, and Matthew of Montona, his castellan of the Acropolis. Should any one of the legatees wish to deprive Frances of any of the bequests her father thus left her, Nerio directed that he be considered a “traitor, and deprived of every legacy that we have left him.” He was doubtless thinking of the despot, and assumed that he would attack Corinth. Inventories of his properties were to be made, and each of the seven executors was to have one. Finally, Nerio commended his lands to the signoria of Venice, and the signoria to his executors, who should look to Venice when they needed help, and “the said executors are to do every honor to the said signoria,” on whose integrity he had to rely for the protection of Frances’s rights.¹⁰⁸

105. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, p. 208; ed. Darkò, I, 195).

106. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, pp. 150–151; Buchon, II, 258–260.

107. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 207–208, 213; ed. Darkò, I, 194–195, 200). However, according to Niccolò Serra, *Storia di Zante* [1784], ed. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 342, “Si unì poscia [Carlo de’ Tocchi] in seconde nozze a Francesca figlia di Reniero o Neri Acciajuoli duca di Atene colla promessa della signoria di Corinto dopo la morte del di lei padre, il quale in fatti morendo le lasciò in eredità questa porzione de’ suoi stati.”

108. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, pp. 151–152; Buchon, II, 259–261.

As soon as Nerio's death was known, the despot Theodore overran Corinthia and seized all the castles in the castellany. As we have seen, bishop James of Argos sent the news from Nauplia on November 2 to Nerio's brother Donato in Florence (and to cardinal Angelo as well), reporting that Theodore was laying siege to the fortress city of Corinth, where Nerio's son Antonio and Bertranet de Salahia had taken the field with him, being "wholeheartedly on the despot's side." Charles Tocco was already in Corinth. Probably the dying Nerio had assisted in the changing of the guard. We are fortunate enough to have a contemporary description of events written by the industrious notary Nicholas of Martoni, from the small town of Carinola, near Capua, who spent February 24 and 25 (1395) in Athens on his way back from a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Nicholas informs us, "We could not get to the city of Corinth by land because of the widespread fighting then going on between the duke of Cephalonia and the despot of the Morea, brother of the emperor of Constantinople, over the lands left by the lord Nerio, duke of Athens, who was the father-in-law of the said duke and despot. The duke had on his side a large armed force of Turks, and was allied with the lord Turk against the said despot."¹⁰⁹

Nicholas and his party went on, therefore, "as far as the castle of Megara, which the said duke of Cephalonia had recently taken over on behalf of his wife, a daughter of the lord Nerio . . . , [but] which we could not enter, because the castle was under tight guard for fear of the despot of the Morea, who was trying to get it from the duke, his brother-in-law, on behalf of *his* wife, who was likewise a daughter of the said lord Nerio. . . . Sailors told us we could not get into Corinth without the greatest personal danger on account of the troops of the despot, . . . who shortly before had put the said city of Corinth under siege with a great army, about 20,000 men bearing arms, trying to acquire the city for his wife [Bartolommea] as the lord Nerio's first-born daughter. The duke, perceiving that he could not withstand the might of the despot, his brother-in-law, joined with the Turk against the despot, and so a Turkish force, about 40,000 horse, came over one night to Corinth, and suddenly fell upon the camp of the despot's troops, broke it up, scattered all his people, and captured about 3,000 of the despot's horse. The despot himself barely escaped capture. . . ." ¹¹⁰

109. Léon Legrand, ed., "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni, notaire italien," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III (Paris, 1895; repr. Brussels, 1964), 649 [concerning Nicholas's arrival in Athens on February 24, 1395], 652-653. In Nicholas's time Acrocorinth was itself the city of Corinth, as his account makes clear (pp. 658-659). On his description of Athens, cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 227-232.

110. Legrand, "Relation . . . ," in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, III, 653-657.

Although Nicholas of Martoni's account suggests that Charles Tocco was determined to hold on to his wife's Corinthian inheritance, he was finally obliged to give way. Shortly after Nicholas and his companions left Corinth, Charles Tocco offered both the Corinthian citadel and that of Megara to Venice "for a certain sum of money," as the bailie and councillors of Negroponte informed the senate in letters dated May 15 (1395). The senate distrusted him, and hesitated to accept his offer,¹¹¹ but Tocco was presumably quite willing to sell what he could not hold. Finally yielding, however, to military necessity or political expediency (or to both), he surrendered Acrocorinth to Theodore Palaeologus, who reestablished the Greek metropolitan see, and had his statue set up by the main gate with a metrical inscription recalling his imperial descent and celebrating his prowess in wresting the city from the "western Italians."¹¹²

As Nerio Acciajuoli had faced the prospect of the next world, he seems to have lost his sense of the practicable in this one. St. Mary could not govern Athens, and the castellan Matthew of Montona was afraid that she was not going to protect the Acropolis. Continental Greece and the Morea were alive with Turks. Sultan Bayazid I had taken Salona, supported Theodore Palaeologus against the Venetians, and was now assisting Charles Tocco against Theodore. As the Latins diminished in numbers and strength, Montona appealed for support to Andrew Bembo, the Venetian bailie of Negroponte. He proposed that the republic take over the Acropolis, see to the fulfilment of the terms of Nerio's will, and maintain the Athenians in the possession of their rights and privileges. Bembo accepted Montona's offer, subject to the approval of the home government, and from the end of the year 1394 a Venetian garrison manned the defenses on the Acropolis. Montona had also sent one Leonard of Bologna as his envoy to Venice, and after "several months," on March 18, 1395, the senate voted to take over the city of Athens, for if it were to end up in Turkish or other hands, it might be the destruction of the rich island of Euboea. The Venetian rector would be instructed to observe all the franchises, liberties, privileges, and rights of the Athenians, while Montona was to receive an annual pension of 400 hyperpers for life, and Leonard of Bologna 200, "from the revenues of the said city."¹¹³

111. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 75^f, dated July 23, 1395. Of course Tocco promised the senate to behave himself, but he was hard to deal with (*ibid.*, fols. 78^f, 78^v, 120^f, 120^v, 123^f). Cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, nos. 883, 886, 905, pp. 208, 209, 212–213.

112. Zakythinis, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 144–145; Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια και Πελοποννησιακά*, IV (1930), 11.

113. On August 19, 1400, the Venetian senate assigned Leonard's pension at his own

Although these provisions for Montona and Leonard did not cause serious difficulty in the senate, there was some disagreement concerning the terms under which Venice should add Athens to her Greek possessions. The motion was thus made "that the lordship of the said city of Athens be received and taken up for rule and governance by our signoria according to the form and testament of the lord Nerio Acciajuoli, but because his stud of brood mares, which have been stolen, now fails us, and from this source the said church was drawing the greater part of its revenues and the necessary expenses were to be met therefrom, and also because the times are critical, and the said city of Athens requires a larger garrison and expenditures [for defense] than if the times were peaceful, . . . let it be established that for the present there shall be assigned to the celebration of divine offices in the church of St. Mary of Athens only eight priests. . . ." ¹¹⁴

The Venetians were more interested in saving Athens than Nerio's soul, and probably no new priests were added at all to the cathedral staff of the Parthenon. In any event, appointment to the governorship of Athens was not an attractive prospect, whether because of the Turkish danger or not, and on April 20 (1395) the salary for the position was raised from 60 to 70 pounds, "because all those who have been elected podestà and captains of the city of Athens have declined [to go]," ¹¹⁵ paying very likely the accustomed pen-

request to his aged father, who lived in Venice (Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 26^v, text published by C. N. Sathas, *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, II [Paris, 1881], no. 224, p. 8). Matthew of Montona is not identified as a Venetian in the documents, but may have come from Montona in Istria where the republic sometimes maintained a podestà (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 34^r, dated January 18, 1451). Very little of Montona's pension was actually paid (Sathas, II, no. 220, pp. 6-7, and see below).

114. Misti, Reg. 43, fols. 50^v-51^r, published by F. Gregorovius, "Die erste Besitznahme Athens durch die Republik Venedig," *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, I (1888), 152-156, especially p. 155, and *idem*, trans. Lampros, *Athens* [in Greek], II (1904), 621-624, and cf. Max Silberschmidt, *Das orientalische Problem zur Zeit der Entstehung des türkischen Reiches nach venezianischen Quellen [1381-1400]* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1923), pp. 94-95. The summary of the document in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 872, is both inadequate and inaccurate.

This motion received 11 votes of approval, 5 in opposition, with 17 (and 15) uncommitted votes (*non sinceri*). If the uncommitted votes amounted to a majority of those cast, a motion was defeated, and was not in fact resubmitted as a doubtful issue for resolution at the next meeting of the senate. Such was presumably the case here, and at any rate the register (Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 51^r) does not carry in the left-hand margin the upright cross which indicates senatorial approval of a motion and implies that steps were taken to put it into effect. Although Nerio's will had provided for twenty priests to say masses for his soul, the senate was apparently unwilling to maintain even eight. On the passage of a "motion" (*parte*) into a *decreto* by the senate, cf. Giuseppe Maranini, *La Costituzione di Venezia dopo la serrata del Maggior Consiglio* (Perugia, 1931), especially pp. 255-258. Votes *non sinceri* were not "abstentions"; every senator present at a given session was required by law to vote.

115. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 52^v, senatorial decision dated April 20, 1395.

alty for refusal. By July 18, however, Albano Contarini had been chosen for the post, and had accepted it.¹¹⁶ He became “podestà and captain of our city of Athens” for two years with the higher annual salary of 70 pounds; he was cautioned to exercise a day-and-night vigilance lest anything untoward occur in the city and also to respect local rites and customs. If he found Athenian resources inadequate for the defense of the city, he was to have recourse to the castellans of Coron and Modon and the colonial government of Negroponte. The senate provided twenty archers or crossbowmen and two officers “for the defense and security of the said castle.”¹¹⁷

For some time after the Venetians took over the Acropolis their chief concern was the Turks, on whose activities the bailie of Negroponte sent worrisome reports to the senate. Athens was threatened as well as Euboea, and the plodding efforts of Venetian envoys and officials could find no answer to the perennial question of Turkish assault.¹¹⁸ It is sometimes stated that the Turks occupied the lower city of Athens in the spring or summer of 1397, but the evidence for assuming so is hardly conclusive.¹¹⁹ It is of course quite possible. The Turks did take Argos on June 3, 1397, sacked and burned the city, and are said to have carried off fourteen thousand persons into slavery.¹²⁰ Meetings of the Venetian senate were sad occasions as the news kept coming throughout the spring and summer of 1398

116. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 71^r.

117. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 76^v, publ. by Gregorovius, *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. zu München*, I, 156–158; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 624–626; Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 885, p. 208; and cf. H. Noiret, *Documents inédits . . . de la domination vénitienne en Crète* (Paris, 1892), pp. 69, 71. Albano Contarini's commission is undated; the preceding entry in the Misti, *ibid.*, fol. 76^r, is dated August 8 (1395), not July 27, as stated by Gregorovius. Contarini was succeeded as governor of Athens by Lorenzo Venier (in 1397), Ermalao Contarini (1399), and Nicholas Vitturi (1400). By July 18, 1399, Albano Contarini had been appointed podestà and captain of Nauplia, and was to take over what was left of the government of Argos (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 115^v).

118. Misti, Reg. 43, fol. 76^r, senatorial resolution dated August 3, 1395; cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 896, pp. 210–211.

119. Late Turkish sources place the obviously brief (if true) occupation of the lower city of Athens both before and after the battle of Nicopolis (September 25, 1396). Since some of these sources, however, identify Timurtash Pasha as the “conqueror” of the city, and since the also late but generally reliable *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6905, appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 516), places Timurtash Pasha's Moreote campaign in June 1397 when Argos was taken, J. H. Mordtmann, “Die erste Eroberung von Athen durch die Türken zu Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts,” *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, IV (1923), 346–350, would date the so-called first Turkish occupation of Athens in 1397. Timurtash Pasha appears as Μουρτάσης in the text of the *Chronicon breve*, which does not mention any sojourn of Turkish forces in Athens, and (more to the point) the Venetian senate seems to have known nothing about it.

120. The fall of Argos to the Turks was known in Venice by July 5 (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 10^f): “Castellanis nostris Coroni et Mothoni scribatur qualiter displicenter audivimus casum ammissionis civitatis nostre Argolicensis . . .,” which posed a threat to Coron and Modon

that the Turks were also harassing Euboea and the Aegean islands,¹²¹ and that a serious plague was sweeping through the Morea and through Crete,¹²² the sixth great pestilence to strike the Morea and the islands since the Black Death of 1348.

The despot Theodore Palaeologus feared the Turks more than the plague. In 1397 he sold the important citadel of Corinth (which he had just taken from his Latin brother-in-law Charles Tocco) as well as some other strongholds to the Hospitallers, reserving of course the right of repurchase.¹²³ He believed the Hospitallers could defend Corinth better than he, but he was able to redeem the city and his other strongholds in 1404 after the battle of Ankara and the Christian pact with Suleiman, the emir of Adrianople. In the meantime, however, fear of the Turk was the mainspring of almost every political decision or social enterprise in Greece.

Venetian galleys and cogs continued their usual runs to Trebizond, Syria, and Egypt, and the usual profits were made in spices, wine, grain, sugar, silk, furs, cotton, hemp, and jewels. It was big business. The Patras trade alone amounted to some 80,000 ducats during the first eight or nine months of 1400,¹²⁴ but there was a mounting dread of the Turk. Conditions had become so bad in the Morea toward the end of the year 1399 that the despot Theodore sent a Greek monk to Venice, requesting asylum for himself and his family. The senate was willing to let bygones be bygones, and the Palaeologi could take up residence in Venice if Theodore made some amends for the losses he and his people had caused Venetian subjects in the past.¹²⁵ Now, on August 3, 1400, one Nicholas Vitturi was in

(cf. Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 936, p. 219). See Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, II (CSHB, pp. 97–99), and Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 265. The Venetians had been cautiously pressing anti-Turkish plans upon king Sigismund of Hungary and the Byzantine emperor Manuel II (Thiriet, I, nos. 931–932, p. 218). By a decree of the senate of July 27, 1399, all the remaining inhabitants of Argos were to be repatriated, if possible, and those who returned were to be exempt for five years from all service except guard duty on the walls—there were many *territoria vacua* in which they could build houses (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 119^r; summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 967, p. 224).

121. Misti, Reg. 44, fols. 43^v–44^r, 61^v–62^r, 67^v.

122. Misti, Reg. 44, fols. 42^v, 57^v, and cf. Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II-1, 425, and *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6907 (Sept. 1398–Aug. 1399; CSHB, p. 517).

123. Loenertz, “Pour l’histoire du Péloponnèse . . .,” *Études byzantines*, I, 186–196, and cf. Zakythinos, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 158–160.

124. Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 33^r, senatorial resolution dated September 10, 1400: the Venetian captain of the gulf was to provide an escort of armed galleys for merchantmen (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, II [1959], no. 993, p. 13). A year later the goods bonded at Patras were said to be worth 60,000 to 70,000 ducats (*ibid.*, II, no. 1030, p. 21).

125. Theodore asked the senate (Misti, Reg. 44, fol. 133^v, dated December 30, 1399) “ut dignaremur sibi saluum conductum facere pro se, uxore, filiis nobilibus suis, et rebus et

Venice, preparing to set out with his family for Athens; he would go first to Negroponte, whence a galley would take him to Piraeus.¹²⁶ He was to be the last Venetian governor to reside on the Acropolis.

Although Timur the Lame and his warriors were mounting a huge offensive against the Ottomans, and sultan Bayazid was collecting reinforcements against them, the Turkish menace remained. The senate lamented the terrible razzias upon the region of Coron and Modon,¹²⁷ which took place even while the Ottoman government at Adrianople was preparing to meet Timur's onslaught. On September 20, 1401, the Venetian senate authorized Nicholas Vitturi to spend 200 hyperpers to repair the walls,¹²⁸ presumably on the defenses of the Acropolis, because such a paltry sum would hardly improve the fortifications of the lower city, where a determined enemy was about to strike.

Antonio Acciajuoli, the bastard son of Nerio and Maria Rendi, suddenly swooped down upon Athens in force. His seizure of the lower city (in part at least) and his siege of the Acropolis were known in Venice well before August 22, 1402, when the Venetian senate decided to take drastic action against him. Letters were dispatched to the colonial government of Negroponte, authorizing an increase of the cavalry force at its command "from 200 to 300 beyond the fifty for which permission was previously accorded the said government." With this force, and with the bowmen and foot soldiers which they could raise locally, the bailie and councillors of Negroponte were to strive manfully "for the recovery of our city of Athens and for the injury and destruction of Antonio Acciajuoli and of Thebes and his other possessions." They were to strengthen the Acropolis and see to the supplies of munitions and food.¹²⁹ Save Athens, destroy Thebes, remove Antonio Acciajuoli. It was all easier said than done.

Francis Bembo had the misfortune to be the bailie and captain of Negroponte at this time (1401–1402). Gathering together all the

bonis quibuscumque suis ita quod . . . possit cum securitate et sine aliqua molestia ad civitatem nostram Venetiarum venire . . ." (summary in Thiriet, *Régestes*, I, no. 972, p. 224). Emperor Manuel II was also thinking of a Venetian refuge (Thiriet, II, no. 978, p. 10, and N. Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV [1896, repr. 1964], 228).

126. Misti, Reg. 45, fol. 25^v, text in Sathas, *Documents inédits*, II, no. 222, p. 7.

127. Sathas, II, no. 235, p. 17, dated March 1, 1401. The Venetians followed Timur's progress with close attention (Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 238 ff., 243, 245, 248–249, 254, 266 ff., 272).

128. Sathas, II, no. 256, p. 45.

129. Sathas, II, no. 310, pp. 91–92.

forces he could, he clearly took up the cudgels before receiving additional funds and final instructions from Venice. According to Chalcocondylas, Bembo marched with six thousand men from Negroponte against Thebes while Antonio Acciajuoli, when he heard of the Venetian advance, divided his men into two bands with not more than three hundred in each, and, in an unidentified pass, he caught Bembo's troopers in ambush, closed the entrance and exit to the pass, "and many of them he killed, others he captured, and he captured those who were then in command of their territory." Thereupon he returned to the siege of Athens, where treachery now opened the gates to one whose mother was Greek. Shortly thereafter he occupied the Acropolis, "and then he was lord of Attica as well as of Boeotia."¹³⁰

On October 7, 1402, gloomy senators gathered in the doge's palace on the Bacino to consider what they should do next, "because this new development, the capture of [Francis Bembo,] our bailie and captain of Negroponte, and of the entire force which was with him, is as hard as it can be and puts the city and island in a very dangerous position." The bad news had just come in a letter dated September 5 from the castellans of Coron and Modon.¹³¹ Since Antonio Acciajuoli was known to work hand in glove with the Turks,¹³² the senate drafted elaborate plans to meet the emergency. On October 8, however, more reassuring news reached Venice, obviously to the effect that neither Antonio nor the Turks had made or seemed to be preparing any attack upon Negroponte, and so the senate decided to "proceed in these matters with fuller deliberation than before."¹³³ Discussion was now revolving around the election of a *provveditore* for Negroponte. Thomas Mocenigo was chosen in due course, and set out for Modon, where the captain of the gulf was instructed to meet him, and where they could plan in full detail the defense of Negroponte.¹³⁴ By the end of the month (on October 30, 1402) the Venetian government had decided to try to negotiate "with the illustrious Antonio Acciajuoli, lord of Thebes, or with his commis-

130. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 213–215; ed. Darkó, I, 200–201).

131. Sathas, II, no. 315, p. 101, lines 31 ff.

132. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, p. 215; ed. Darkó, I, 201–202).

133. Sathas, II, no. 315, pp. 95–97, 99–100.

134. Sathas, II, p. 104. The Ottoman involvement with the hordes of Timur made some shifts likely in the axes of Levantine power, *propter mutationes et momenta que fiunt deinde occasione conflictus Turchorum* (*ibid.*, p. 102); Timur had overwhelmed sultan Bayazid I at Ankara in late July 1402, and the news was known in Venice before October 9 when the senate wrote the Byzantine emperor Manuel II *animo iocundanti* of the Ottoman defeat (Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 47^v, and Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 254).

sioners and procurators a peace, agreement, or truce.”¹³⁵ On the same day the senate voted Mocenigo 1,700 ducats for the large expenses he could anticipate, and directed him to confer with Antonio, with whom the republic wished to be at peace. Mocenigo was to see to the recovery of Athens and to arrange for the exchange of prisoners. If Antonio would not relax his siege of the city, the officials of Negroponte would resume the war against him.¹³⁶ Of course it would have to be war. Words would not be enough to lift the siege of Athens, and (as events proved) even war was not enough.

Nicholas Vitturi, the podestà and captain of Athens, and Matthew of Montona, the late Nerio's onetime castellan, were finally forced to surrender the Acropolis to Antonio Acciajuoli. A later document (from the spring of 1409) says that Vitturi had defended the citadel for about seventeen months, and was under siege for most of the time. He would never have given up (we are told) had it been possible to get men and food to him. The garrison had eaten every horse but those in the Parthenon sculptures. Shortly after his withdrawal from Athens, Vitturi had died in Negroponte as a consequence of the privations he had suffered. He left his widow, a son, and a seventeen-year-old daughter “in great poverty . . . , [and] the said Antonio Acciajuoli never restored his possessions, which were of no small value.” The republic had to come to their aid.¹³⁷ Montona, whose Athenian pension of 400 hyperpers (voted him on March 18, 1394) had never been paid “except for a hundred hyperpers or thereabouts,”¹³⁸ would be invested with a fief on the island of Euboea “at the pleasure of our signoria” (on April 1, 1404),¹³⁹ from which

135. Sathas, I (1880), no. 4, pp. 4–5; Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part V, doc. 14, pp. 392–393. On Antonio I Acciajuoli, see Giambattista Ubaldini, “Origine della famiglia delli Acciaiuoli,” in his *Istoria della casa degli Ubaldini* (Florence, 1588), pp. 176–177, on which however cf. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 245–246.

136. Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 52^v, dated October 30, 1402. If Mocenigo and the councillors of Negroponte could get back the lower city of Athens, they were to try to learn the names of the traitors (*proditores*) who had assisted Antonio to take it. Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 256–257, has noted this text, which he misdates November 3. Mocenigo kept the senate well informed, but obviously could not prevail upon Antonio to abandon the siege of Athens. On February 10, 1403, the senate instructed Bernard Foscarini, the new bailie and captain of Negroponte, to investigate conditions in Attica and to try once more to deal with Antonio (Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 65). The senate wished Foscarini to come to some “*treuguae et sufferentiae*” with Antonio for a period of some months, but by this time Antonio had probably taken the Acropolis.

137. Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Grazie, Reg. 20 [originally no. 17, Oct. 1407–Jan. 1416 according to the Venetian style], fol. 14^r by modern enumeration [formerly fol. 31^r], of which a small part has been published by Iorga, “Notes et extraits,” *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 303.

138. Sathas, II, no. 220, pp. 6–7, dated July 16, 1400.

139. Grazie, Reg. 19 [originally no. 16, March 1401–Jan. 1405 according to the Venetian style], fol. 44^r. The document has suffered from dampness.

grant he might draw a slender living for the signal service he had rendered the republic. The precise date of Antonio Acciajuoli's occupation of the Acropolis is still unknown, but it probably came in January or February of 1403.¹⁴⁰

The Venetians were determined to regain Athens in order to ensure the safety of their colony at Negroponte, and in the rapid flow of events they thought they saw their opportunity. On July 28, 1402, near Ankara, the redoubtable Bayazid I "the Thunderbolt," the victor at Nicopolis, was defeated by Timur the Lame, was captured, and died the following March in the conqueror's camp in Karamania. Constantinople was spared for another half century. Suleiman, the westernized emir in Adrianople, the eldest of Bayazid's four surviving sons, now appeared to have become the arbiter of Athens' destiny. The Venetians turned to him for help to regain the city, and Antonio Acciajuoli turned to him for support to keep what he had won. The Ottoman Turks were dismayed by the startling successes of Timur's hordes in Anatolia, "for going from one city to another," according to the historian Ducas, "they left such a wilderness where a city had been that one did not hear the barking of a single dog, the crow of a cock, or the cry of a child."¹⁴¹ Now, as the maritime powers seemed to be closing their ranks, the Ottoman Turks became ready to listen to Christian overtures. At least Suleiman was willing to do so, and in 1403 he made a treaty of commerce and a pact of alliance against Timur with Venice, Genoa, the Byzantine emperor, the duke of Naxos, and the Hospitallers on the island of Rhodes, agreeing among other conditions to return Thessalonica to the Byzantines, to grant the high contracting parties the right to trade in his domains, and to give Athens back to the Venetians.¹⁴²

As the sons of Bayazid got ready to fight among themselves, Timur turned eastward, and began preparations for an invasion not of Europe but of China. His exploits had startled the world, and knowledge of them had spread to every distant corner of Christen-

140. Peter Zeno, who was trying to conclude the Christian treaty of alliance with the emir Suleiman of Adrianople, early in 1403, reported about the same time to the Venetian government "che Antuonio Azaiuoli haveva habudo lo castelo de Sitine [Athens] e tegniva ancora i vostri prioni [presumably including Francis Bembo, the former bailie of Negroponte] . . ." (Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 259).

141. Ducas, *Historia byzantina*, XVII (CSHB, pp. 76-77).

142. L. de Mas Latrie, "Commerce et expéditions militaires de la France et de Venise au moyen âge," in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France: Mélanges historiques*, III (Paris, 1880), no. XXII, pp. 178-182, esp. article 17, p. 181; Thomas, *Diplomatarium veneto-levantinum*, II, no. 159, p. 292; Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, IV, 82, note 3, and 258-262, 268-269; and cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 71a; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 275-276; Wm. Miller, *Latins in the Levant* (London, 1908), p. 361.

dom. King Martin I of Aragon-Catalonia was sadly aware of Timur's destruction of Damascus (in January 1401), where there had been a colony of Catalan merchants.¹⁴³ He congratulated Manuel II upon Timur's destruction of Bayazid, the archenemy of Byzantium.¹⁴⁴ But king Martin looked with yearning, he wrote pope Benedict XIII, "to the confusion and final overthrow of that overweening Belial called 'Temorla' [Timurlenk], adherent of the Mohammedan sect," who had spread death and destruction everywhere before him, taken Smyrna and other strongholds from the Hospitallers with such fire and sword "that nothing of these places has remained except smoke and ashes."¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, when Martin received a letter from Timur, he returned an answer in fulsome praise of the conqueror's incredible victories.¹⁴⁶ It was no longer necessary, however, either to fear Timur or to praise him, for on February 19, 1405, he died at Samarkand.

In the meantime Suleiman, who ruled European Turkey, had made no effort to oust Antonio Acciajuoli from Athens and to effect the restitution of the city to the Venetians. Antonio's relatives in Italy could again take pride in the possession of the Athenian duchy by one who bore their name. Angelo Acciajuoli, cardinal-bishop of Ostia and Velletri, dean of the sacred college, sent an envoy to Venice, as did Antonio himself, and the senate had much occasion to consider the problem of "our land of Athens."¹⁴⁷ Cardinal Angelo enlisted the aid of pope Innocent VII. King Ladislas, upon whose head Angelo had placed the crown of Naples fifteen years before, also supported Antonio's claim to the duchy which his majesty had professed to bestow upon Nerio a decade before. The Venetians were experts at diplomatic fencing, but on March 31, 1405, the Acciajuoli finally carried the day. An agreement was reached at Venice whereby Antonio was pardoned for all the losses and injuries he had inflicted upon the republic, which removed a price from his head and conceded "that Antonio should rule, have and hold and possess the land, castle, and city of Athens, in modern times called Sythines." As the ally and faithful son of the republic, Antonio was to send the church of St. Mark every Christmas a silk pallium worth not less than one hundred ducats. He promised to make the friends and foes of the republic his own, to pay for the munitions he had found on the

143. *Dipl.*, docs. DCLXVIII, DCXCI, pp. 693, 713.

144. *Dipl.*, doc. DCLXXVII, p. 699, dated June 27, 1403.

145. *Dipl.*, doc. DCLXXII, p. 695, dated March 5, 1403.

146. *Dipl.*, docs. DCLXXIX, DCLXXX, pp. 700-701, letters to Timur and his son dated April 1, 1404.

147. Misti, Reg. 46, fol. 120^r, dated January 29, 1404.

Acropolis when he had taken the citadel, to restore to the heirs of Nicholas Vitturi (the former governor of Athens) the goods he had seized from him at the time of the surrender, and to ban forever from his domain the erstwhile Greek metropolitan Macarius, who had preferred the Turkish crescent to the Latin cross, and who had apparently contrived to escape from his imprisonment in Venice. The marquis of Bodonitsa, as a citizen of the republic, was included in the pact, the infraction of which was to carry a penalty of 10,000 ducats.¹⁴⁸ But Antonio Acciajuoli neither sent St. Mark his pallia nor restored Vitturi's property, and the Venetians found him neither a dutiful son nor a loyal friend.¹⁴⁹

On July 23, 1406, for example, the senators who had gathered in their chamber at the doge's palace condemned Antonio's occupation of territory on the mainland opposite Negroponte which had been guaranteed to the republic in the Turkish peace of 1403. The motion, which was carried with only two negative and seven uncommitted votes, declared Antonio's aggression against the republic "absolutely intolerable . . . , but we are the more aggrieved considering how benignly and courteously we have received Antonio into our favor and made him the concession of our city of Athens forgetting the injuries and losses he has inflicted on our subjects."¹⁵⁰

Although to the Florentines the title *duca d'Atene* will always suggest the younger Walter of Brienne, who attained to lordship over Florence for a brief period, though never over Athens, their countryman Antonio I Acciajuoli was for some thirty-three years the duke of Athens (1403–1435). His was the longest rule in the medieval history of the illustrious city; the title he commonly bore was that of "lord of Athens, Thebes, of all the duchy and its dependencies."¹⁵¹ Antonio's long rule was comparatively prosperous and peaceful. He

148. *Commemoriali*, X, fols. 3–4^v, summarized in Predelli, *Regesti dei Commemoriali*, III, bk. X, no. 2, pp. 309–310; Gregorovius, *Stadt Athen*, II (Stuttgart, 1889), 273–275; *idem* (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 277–279.

149. Sathas, *Documents inédits*, II, nos. 365, 382, 420, pp. 135, 148–149, 183–184; Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 71–72; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 361–362.

150. Misti, Reg. 47, fols. 60^v–61^r. Antonio had never sent the pallia he had promised to St. Mark's church, to which the senate obviously attached much symbolic importance (*ibid.*, fol. 61^r). The first pallium was apparently presented in August 1407 (*ibid.*, fol. 131^r; Sathas, II, no. 420, p. 184).

151. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques*, II (1845), *Florence*: doc. LXVIII, p. 289; cf. doc. LXIX, p. 290, and doc. LXXI, pp. 296–297, the latter being a document of Antonio's successor Nerio II; and note Nerio II's employment of the title *dominus Athenarum et Thebarum* (*ibid.*, docs. LXXII and LXXIII, pp. 298–299). Iorga summarizes a text referring to Nerio II, *qui est dominus Stives et Sithines* (i.e., of Thebes and Athens), in "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, VIII (1900–1901), 78.

never forgot that he was a Florentine, and Florence was becoming, in competition with Genoa and Venice, a great commercial power, whose galleys were plying the waters of the eastern Mediterranean in search of some share of the wealth of the Levant. In 1406 Florence had conquered the rival city of Pisa, where Catalan merchants abounded; in 1421 she purchased from the Genoese, hard pressed in their war with the duke of Milan, the port city of Leghorn (Livorno).¹⁵² On June 22, 1422, the Florentines instructed one of their citizens, Thomas Alderotti, to seek trading rights, "as good as those of the Venetians and the Genoese," from "the magnificent Antonio Acciajuoli, lord of Corinth in Romania."¹⁵³ Although the magnificent Antonio was not, and had never been, lord of Corinth, he was glad to acknowledge his Florentine origin and that of his family, and he granted to the most puissant signoria of Florence the same trading rights possessed in his domains by the "Venetians, Catalans, and Genoese."¹⁵⁴ The Venetians in Negroponte found him a good neighbor and worried about him no more.¹⁵⁵ In Antonio's time the Athenians appear to have suffered few misfortunes, although they must have shared in the horrified reaction of Greeks and Latins alike when in May 1423 the Turkish commander Turakhan Beg entered the Morea on a terrifying razzia, ravaging the land and attacking the cities of Mistra, Leondari, Gardiki, and Tabia.¹⁵⁶ But if the Turks did not strike at Attica and Boeotia that year, the plague did so, and the circle of Florentines who had gathered around Antonio was vastly relieved when by December the danger had finally passed.¹⁵⁷

Antonio died of a stroke in the summer of 1435.¹⁵⁸ He left no son

152. G. F. Pagnini del Ventura, *Della Decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze* (4 vols., Lucca, 1765-1766; repr. Bologna, 1967), II, 28-30, with some notice of the Catalans.

153. Buchon, II, *Florence: doc. LXVII*, pp. 287-288.

154. Buchon, II, *Florence: doc. LXVIII*, pp. 289-290; Miklosich and Müller, *Acta et diplomata*, III, 251-252, doc. dated August 7, 1422.

155. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IV (CSHB, pp. 215-216; ed. Darkó, I, 202).

156. On Turakhan Beg's Moreote campaign, see Iorga, "Notes et extraits," *Revue de l'Orient latin*, V (1897, repr. 1964), 136; Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, V (CSHB, pp. 238-239; ed. Darkó, II-1, 16-17); *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6931 (1423), appended to Ducas, *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 518); George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, in PG, CLVI, 1030BC; Pseudo-Sphrantzes ("Phrantzes"), *Annales*, I, 40 (CSHB, pp. 117-118); Sanudo, *Vite de' duchi*, in Muratori, *RISS*, XXII, 970B, 975B, 978E; Loenertz, "La Chronique brève moréote de 1423," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, II (Studi e testi, no. 232, Vatican City, 1964), 434-435.

157. Buchon, II, *Florence: docs. LIV, LX*, pp. 271-272, 280-281.

158. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, p. 320; ed. Darkó, II-1, 93); George Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus*, in PG, CLVI, 1044B; Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Annales*, II, 10 (CSHB, p. 159); Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens* [in Greek], II, 321.

to inherit the Athenian duchy, but at best it was a difficult inheritance. In October the senate wrote the colonial government of Negroponte that if the Turks or the heirs of Antonio undertook to occupy the Acropolis, they were to do so without Venetian interference.¹⁵⁹ Although the lord of Athens was supposed to be a vassal of the republic, the senate was obviously unwilling to try to maintain Venetian suzerainty over Attica and Boeotia, doubtless preferring to concentrate upon the defense of Negroponte against the Turks.

Although in 1394 king Ladislas of Naples had named as Nerio's heir the latter's brother Donato Acciajuoli, we have seen that Venetian governors and Nerio's son Antonio had succeeded him in the palace on the Acropolis. Donato had died in Florence in 1400, leaving three daughters and five sons; unlike their father, four of the sons were drawn to Greece, and three of them took up residence there. The lord Antonio employed one of them, Francis (or Franco), as an envoy to Venice,¹⁶⁰ and gave him the castle of Sykaminon (near Oropus), which had been for some years a stronghold of the Knights Hospitaller. Francis died about September 1419, leaving his young sons Nerio and Antonio a greater heritage than he himself had ever possessed, for the childless lord Antonio had already summoned the boys and their mother Margaret Malpigli to be with him in Greece.¹⁶¹ Both boys were to become dukes of Athens. When they first came to Athens (in 1413), at about three or four years of age, they were accompanied by their uncle Nerio, the third son of Donato.¹⁶² This Nerio di Donato Acciajuoli made at least one other visit to Athens (in 1423); he is an attractive figure, more interested in falconry and hunting than in fighting, a favorite of Charles I Tocco and Frances Acciajuoli, the duke and duchess of Leucadia.¹⁶³ Two other sons of Donato found ecclesiastical careers in Greece: Antonio became bishop of Cephalonia in 1427,¹⁶⁴ and John became, through

159. Sathas, I, doc. 131, p. 199.

160. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 72; Gregorovius (tr. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 295–296; and the document dated at Venice on March 26, 1416 (Sathas, I, no. 43, p. 52).

161. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, p. 320; ed. Dařkó, II-1, 93), and note Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXX, pp. 292–296, dated May 21, 1421. Margaret Malpigli was then living at Sykaminon with her two young sons.

162. Buchon has published a considerable correspondence addressed to Nerio di Donato Acciajuoli (II, *Florence*: docs. LIII, LIV, LVI–LVIII, LX–LXVI, pp. 269 ff.).

163. Cf. Buchon, I, 163–166; and II, *Florence*: docs. LXII–LXVI, pp. 282–286.

164. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LIX, p. 280, and cf. the letter Antonio wrote to Nerio di Donato from Athens on December 16, 1423 (*ibid.*, doc. LX, pp. 280–281). Antonio appears with the name “de Morellis” in Eubel, *Hierarchia catholica*, I, 181.

the lord Antonio's influence, archbishop of Thebes.¹⁶⁵ The Florentines who came to Athens were delighted with what they found. One of them, a son of one of Donato's daughters, wrote from Athens in December 1423 to Nerio di Donato, then visiting his cousin, the duchess Frances, on the island of Leucas: "Ah, you have never seen a fairer land than this nor a finer fortress"—than the Acropolis!¹⁶⁶

After the lord Antonio's death, his widow Maria apparently tried to secure the Athenian duchy for herself and her Greek kinsman Chalcocondylas, father of the historian Laonicus. Maria sent Chalcocondylas, well supplied with funds, to the Ottoman court to try to persuade sultan Murad II to recognize their authority over Athens and Thebes. But the Florentine party lured Maria from the security of the Acropolis, where they installed the late Antonio's young cousin and adopted heir Nerio II as duke, driving the Chalcocondylae and their supporters from the citadel and the city. Chalcocondylas failed in his Turkish mission, which was attended by rather exciting adventures, and Nerio II married the enterprising Maria, with whom (a Venetian document suggests) he settled down "in peace and concord."¹⁶⁷ After three or four years on the Acropolis (1435–1439?), however, Nerio II was displaced by his younger and more energetic brother Antonio II (1439?–1441).¹⁶⁸ After the latter's death, Nerio returned to Athens and to his ducal authority. The intervening two or three years he had spent in Florence,¹⁶⁹ the only Florentine ruler of Athens to see his native city again. Nerio reoccupied for about a decade the little palace built into the Propylaea, but the Athenian duchy was now being buffeted from the south by the

165. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXI, pp. 281–282; John is unknown to Eubel, I, 482.

166. Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LVIII, p. 279: "Mio, tu non vedesti mai el più belo paese che questo ne la più bela forteza."

167. Sathas, III, doc. 1020, pp. 427–428, dated September 5, 1435. The sources provide different accounts of what took place in Athens: Chalcocondylas, VI (*CSHB*, pp. 320–322; ed. Darkó, II-1, 93–94); Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (*PG*, CLVI, 1044); and the Pseudo-Sphrantzes ("Phrantzes," probably not to be trusted), *Annales*, II, 10 (*CSHB*, pp. 158–160). According to the Pseudo-Sphrantzes, the dowager duchess was called Maria, and was a member of the family of the Melissenii, but neither Sphrantzes himself nor Chalcocondylas gives her name. Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 91; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 334–336; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 404–406; D. G. Kampouroglou, *The Chalkokondylai* [in Greek] (Athens, 1926), pp. 93–99; and Zakythinou, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 212; but all these accounts are vitiated by their authors' reliance upon "Phrantzes," a later sixteenth-century forgery by Macarius Melissenus.

168. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (*CSHB*, p. 322; ed. Darkó, II-1, 94). Cf. Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 113; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), II, 336; Buchon, I, 185; Ubaldini, *op. cit.* (1588), p. 177.

169. Nerio II was still in Athens on August 6, 1437 (Buchon, II, *Florence*: doc. LXXI, p. 297), and he was still in Florence on February 24 and March 5, 1441 (*ibid.*, docs. LXXII, LXXIII, pp. 298, 299). Cf. Chalcocondylas, *loc. cit.*, p. 322.

Greek despot of Mistra, Constantine Palaeologus, and from the north by the Turkish commander Turakhan Beg and sultan Murad II. He paid tribute to the Turk, to the Greek, and to the Turk again.¹⁷⁰

The medieval history of Greece was drawing to a close. On October 31, 1448, the tired emperor John VIII died and left the city of Constantinople to his brother, the despot of Mistra, who was proclaimed emperor as Constantine XI on the following January 6.¹⁷¹ Murad II died about two years later (on February 5, 1451), and the young Mehmed II the Conqueror succeeded him. Nerio II died in the same year, and left his ducal lordship to his little son Francis and to his second wife, the duchess Clara Zorzi (Giorgio), the daughter of Nicholas II Zorzi of Carystus, the titular marquis of Bodonitsa. Clara fell in love with one Bartholomew Contarini, who had come to Athens on business; Bartholomew's father, named Priam, had been the Venetian castellan of Nauplia.¹⁷² Bartholomew found Greece attractive and Clara more so; to live with her in Athens he murdered his wife in Venice. Sultan Mehmed II intervened at the behest of the Athenians and the retainers of the Acciajuoli, who may have feared for the little Francis. Contarini was summoned, together with the boy, to the Ottoman court at Adrianople, where he found Franco Acciajuoli, son of the late duke Antonio II, who after his father's death had become a Turkish hostage. Franco now became the last duke of Athens, but only for a brief while (1455–1456). When he was alleged to have murdered the wayward Clara, her indignant lover Bartholomew remonstrated with the sultan, at whose command Omar Pasha, son of the old warrior Turakhan Beg, occupied the lower city of Athens. Franco held out for a while on the Acropolis. Omar offered him "the land of Boeotia and the city of Thebes," but Athens, which the sultan had given to Franco, he was now taking away from him: Franco might withdraw to Thebes, and take all his possessions from the castle on the Acropolis.¹⁷³ The

170. Cf. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, VI (CSHB, pp. 319 ff.; ed. Darkó, II-1, 91 ff.); *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6952 (1444), appended to Ducas's *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 519); Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 372–374; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 409 ff.

171. Cf. Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (PG, CLVI, 1052B), and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Anales*, III, 1 (CSHB, p. 205); Zakythinus, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, I, 240.

172. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, p. 453; ed. Darkó, II-2 [1927], 211–212); Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 128; cf. J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II (Pest, 1828; repr. Graz, 1963), 38.

173. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, pp. 454–455; ed. Darkó, II-2, 212–213); Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 384–388; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 437–438. Chalcocondylas, *loc. cit.*, says that Omar Pasha besieged the Acropolis "for a long time."

Turks took Athens over on June 4, 1456,¹⁷⁴ thus bringing to a close two and a half centuries of Latin domination.

Almost four years after the Turkish occupation of Athens, Franco Acciajuoli wrote duke Francis Sforza of Milan “. . . that while in years gone by I was ruling the city of Athens and other lands adjoining it, as my father [Antonio II] and my uncle [Nerio II] and the founders of my house had done through the course of a hundred years and more, the sultan of the Turks [Mehmed II], moved by the wiles of jealous men and having heard of the extraordinary strength of my castle and city of Athens, decided to see it. And as soon as he had seen how impregnable it was—and that he had its equal nowhere in his dominions—he conceived a very great love for it: hence he required me to be straightway removed from possession of it and to abandon my house to him, and he gave me another city by the name of Thebes, over which my fathers had formerly ruled, although they had lost control of the city when beset by the power of the present sultan’s father [Murad II].”¹⁷⁵ Here is no mention of duchess Clara, and

174. Wm. Miller, “The Turkish Capture of Athens,” *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921; repr. Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 160–161, and *Latins in the Levant*, p. 437. Cf. *Chronicon breve*, ad ann. 6964 (1456), appended to Ducas’s *Historia byzantina* (CSHB, p. 520); *Historia patriarchica*, ad ann. 6964 (CSHB, pp. 124–125); Sphrantzes, *Chronicon minus* (PG, CLVI, 1065A); and the Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Annales*, IV, 14 (CSHB, p. 385). On October 12–13, 1456, the colonial government of Negroponte wrote the Venetian senate of various offers of towns and castles being made to the republic (Mouchli, Damala, Lygourio, Phanari), “et de oblatione contestabilis Athenarum et aliquorum civium deinde pro castro Athenarum” (Senatus Secreta, Reg. 20, fol. 105^r, entry dated November 12, 1456), to which the senate returned a cautious and noncommittal answer. This text seems to suggest that the Acropolis was still in Christian hands as of October 1456, but the author of this chapter knows of no documentary source to justify the statement of Hopf, in Ersch and Gruber, LXXXVI (repr., II), 128b, that the Turks did not secure the Acropolis until 1458, in which assumption he is still being followed, as by Hans Pfeffermann, *Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepäpste mit den Türken* (Berne, 1946), pp. 3, 10–11, and John N. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (Athens, 1960), p. 173. Travlos’s book is very valuable on the architectural development of the city of Athens, but contains some unfortunate errors in dates.

175. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 2, p. 408; also published in Νέος Ἑλληνομύμων, I (1904), 216–218. Franco’s statement that as soon as sultan Mehmed II saw the “castle and city of Athens” he wanted them, may seem to support the assumption that the Turks took the Acropolis in 1458 (see the preceding note) since it was after the Turkish campaign in the Morea in the spring and summer of that year that Mehmed paid his famous visit to Athens. By this time, however, Omar Pasha had already taken the citadel. Perhaps Mehmed “saw” Athens on his way south in the spring of 1458, but Franco’s letter is too vague to form a basis for precise chronology. A petition presented to the Florentine signoria on October 26, 1458, on behalf of Nerozzo Pitti and his wife Laudamia, who had been married in Athens about thirty-five years before and had continued to live there, contained their request to sell a house in Florence; they needed money, having lost everything “quod . . . de mense Junii anni MCCCCLVI prout fuit voluntas Dei accidit quod ipsa civitas Athenarum fuit capta a Theucris . . .” (Miller, *Essays*, pp. 160–161, referred to above). Obviously the Turks took

Franco has added a generation to his family's possession of Athens.

Franco's tenure of the lordship of Thebes was short-lived. He lived in daily peril, for the Turks apparently believed that he or his followers still entertained the hope of repossessing the Acropolis. After the Turkish campaign of 1460 which had effected the final destruction of the Byzantine despotate in the Morea, Franco was ordered to assist in a campaign against Leonard III Tocco of Leucas and Cephalonia.¹⁷⁶ He was well aware that his rule over Attica lay in the past, and that even his future in Boeotia could not last long. On February 10, 1460, Franco wrote Francis Sforza the letter to which reference has just been made. He offered to serve Sforza for a proper stipend, to expend 10,000 ducats of his own in the establishment of a condotta, and to betake himself immediately to his excellency in Milan.¹⁷⁷ But he remained in Greece through the summer of 1460, witnessing the downfall of the despots Thomas and Demetrius Palaeologus and participating in the Turkish harassment of the Tocchi, after which sultan Mehmed II sent the unfortunate Franco into the encampment of Zagan Pasha, now governor of the Morea. At the sultan's command Zagan Pasha put Franco to death,¹⁷⁸ and thus the rule of the Acciajuoli in Thebes, as well as in Athens, came to its tragic end.

As the sun was setting on Levantine Christendom and the Turkish shadow lengthened, Venice had to give a good deal of attention to the affairs of the petty princelings of the Aegean, where the Catalans were always conspicuous throughout much of the fifteenth century.¹⁷⁹ Sometime before 1399 the Catalan Alioto I (Aliot) de Caupena had acquired the island of Aegina as well as the coveted

Athens in June 1456, but we do not know how long thereafter the defenders of the Acropolis held out.

176. Almost twenty years later, in the late summer of 1479, Leonard III was to flee for his life before a Turkish armada which sailed from Avlona to his island base at Leucas (Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senatus Secreta, Reg. 29, fols. 34^v-35^r [44^v-45^r]). He sought refuge in Naples.

177. Lampros, *Eggrapha*, part VI, doc. 2, pp. 407-409. (Wm. Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 456, seems to have misread this document.)

178. Chalcocondylas, *Historia*, IX (CSHB, pp. 483-484; ed. Darkó, II-2, 237); Ubaldini, *op. cit.* (1588), pp. 178-179; Theodore Spandugino, *Tratt[at]o della casa d'Ottomano*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 329, 331-332; Cornelio Magni, *Relazione della città d' Athene* [from a letter written from Athens December 15, 1674] (Parma, 1688), pp. 20-21; Gregorovius (trans. Lampros), *Athens*, II, 402-403; Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, pp. 456-457; cf. N. Iorga, *Histoire de la vie byzantine* (Bucharest, 1934), III, 291, note 2. Of the murder of Franco Acciajuoli, Akdes Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalkokandyles* (diss. Hamburg, 1933), p. 44, observes: "Dieses Ereignis wird nur von Laonikos überliefert. Eine Kontrolle ist hier nicht möglich."

179. Setton, *Catalan Domination*, pp. 212 ff.

head of St. George, which he had apparently received from Bertranet Mota, who had held Livadia a half dozen years before.¹⁸⁰ The Caupenas also possessed the stronghold of Piada on the mainland just northwest of Epidaurus. Fearing the Greeks, the Albanians, and especially the Turks, the Caupenas—Alioto II and his son Antonello together with his brother Arnau—turned to Venice for protection, and in March 1425 the senate accepted them as “friends” of the republic. The Caupenas also proposed that if their house should die out, Aegina, Piada, and their other holdings should pass into Venetian hands.¹⁸¹ One of the Caupenas married an adopted daughter of duke Antonio I Acciajuoli of Athens, who objected to the terms under which Venice had taken the family under her wing.¹⁸² The Caupenas, however, got along very badly with one another, especially after the death of Alioto II in 1440, and through the years their disputes ended up for adjudication in the Venetian senate, the records of litigation constituting the sparse history of Catalan Aegina.¹⁸³ Finally, in 1451 Antonello, the last lord of Aegina, bequeathed the island to Venice, disregarding the claims of his uncle and the latter’s son.¹⁸⁴ On August 22, 1451, Louis Morosini was appointed governor of Aegina, the first of more than thirty sons of the republic to hold the post until the Turkish seizure of the island in 1537.¹⁸⁵

The Caupena lordship of Aegina was a strange last remnant of the crusade which had brought the Latins into Greece. They had almost ceased to be Catalans, and the Venetians had accepted them, but the republic looked with hostile eyes upon Catalan merchants as well as corsairs,¹⁸⁶ and not without reason. About the time sultan Mehmed

180. *Dipl.*, docs. DCXXXVII–DCXXXIX, pp. 666–668, dated April 13, 1393, and docs. DCLIII–DCLV, pp. 680–683, dated December 21, 1399.

181. Sathas, III, doc. 858, pp. 281–282; Iorga, in *Revue de l’Orient latin*, V, 191.

182. Sathas, I, doc. 116, pp. 178–179, dated November 6, 1425, the text of which suggests that Antonio’s daughter had married Alioto II, but she had presumably married the latter’s bastard son and successor in the lordship of Aegina (cf. Chalcocondylas, IV [*CSHB*, p. 215; ed. Darkó, I, 202], and Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Mar, Reg. 1, fol. 12^r, dated January 17, 1441).

183. Mar, Reg. 1, fols. 86, 225^v–226^r, and Reg. 2, fol. 86^v, dated from 1442 to 1445.

184. Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 80^v, dated August 2, 1451, by which time Antonello had been dead for at least two or three months; his uncle Arnau and cousin Alioto III continued to press their claims to Aegina before the senate, which rejected them (*loc. cit.*, and Mar, Reg. 7, fol. 21^r, dated June 12, 1461). The genealogical table of the Caupenas in Hopf’s *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 475, requires some rectification as to the first members of the family to become lords of Aegina, and the senate itself got the family relationships confused in the text of June 1461, where we find Antonello’s uncle Arnau being identified as his brother.

185. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 376.

186. Mar, Reg. 3, fol. 161^v, dated February 10, 1450: “. . . Cathellani hostes nostri . . .” On September 28, 1450, the senate complained to the grand master of Rhodes that the

II was taking over the Morea, the inhabitants of Monemvasia accepted the rule of a Catalan pirate, Lupo de Bertagna, who seems to have been plying his dangerous trade for some years in Greek waters.¹⁸⁷ The Monemvasiotes soon expelled Lupo, however, and sent an embassy to pope Pius II, asking him to take over their seaboard stronghold, which he did to prevent its falling into Turkish hands.¹⁸⁸ But the anxious Monemvasiotes were apparently no more content with the rule of the pope than with that of the pirate, and so they accepted the sway of Venice in the forlorn hope that the republic could protect them from the Turks.¹⁸⁹ Moreover, as the Venetians were engaged in the occupation of the castle town of Monemvasia, the senate answered point by point a petition of the fugitive despot Thomas Palaeologus, whose family had sought safety in the Venetian-held island of Corfu. Thomas was trying to keep a foot in the castle gate, so to speak, and wanted various assurances concerning the physical safety and trading rights of his erstwhile subjects in Monemvasia. Indeed Thomas was especially anxious that the Monemvasiotes should be protected against the return of the Catalan pirate Lupo de Bertagna.¹⁹⁰ Thus the decade which began

preceding March a Venetian merchantman with a cargo worth 15,000 ducats had been seized by two ships from Barcelona and sold with all its cargo at Rhodes to Rhodians and Genoese (*ibid.*, Mar, Reg. 4, fol. 6^v). Constant vigilance was required against Catalan enterprise in the Levant (*ibid.*, fols. 10^v-11^r, 11^v-12^r, 13).

187. Cf. Mar, Reg. 1, fol. 122^v, dated September 14, 1452: "Quia quidam Luppus Cathellanus, qui se nutrit cum quadam sua fusta in aquis Nigropontis, intulit maximum damnum quibusdam nostris civibus auferendo de quadam griparia pannos multos non pauci valoris, mandetur . . . capitaneo [culphi] quod si in hac via sua reperiret eundo vel redeundo illum Luppum procurare debeat recuperandi ab eo mercationes nostrorum . . ."

188. Pius II, *Commentarii*, IV, ed. Frankfurt, 1614, pp. 103-104; Magno, *Estratti*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, pp. 203-204; Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1460, nos. 56-59, vol. XIX (1693), pp. 54-56.

On February 27, 1461, Pius II confirmed all the privileges the Monemvasiotes had previously possessed, and appointed Gentile de' Marcolfi their governor (Arch. Segr. Vaticano, Miscellanea, Arm. IX, tom. 15 [Collett. per Città, Terre, e Luoghi: Lett. M e N], fols. 150^r-155^v). On July 10 (1461) the pope appointed a Portuguese soldier, Lope de Valdaro, as "captain of the city of Monemvasia" (Reg. Vat. 516, fol. 32^r), and eleven days later, on July 21, he replaced Marcolfi as governor with Francis of St. Anatolia, abbot of the monastery of St. Nicholas of Auxerre (Reg. Vat. 516, fols. 37^v-39^r). Cf. N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, II (Gotha, 1909), 94-95, and Miller, *Latins in the Levant*, p. 448.

189. Magno, *Estratti*, in Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*, p. 204. According to Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, ad ann. 1462, no. 35, vol. XIX (1693), p. 120, Monemvasia was occupied by the Turks between the period of papal and that of Venetian domination: ". . . at dissipata sunt ea consilia [i.e., the failure of the pope's plan to exploit Monemvasia as a beachhead for sending 10,000 German troops into the Morea] in Turcicam iterum missa Monobassia servitutum, quam deinde recuperatam a Venetis, iterumque a Turcis, quibus hactenus paret expugnatam . . ."

190. Senatus Secreta, Reg. 21, fols. 103^r-104^r, dated August 12, 1462: ". . . et maxime da Lupo expresse sel volesse navegar ale nostre contrade per danizar . . ." (fol.

with the noble family of the Caupenas still ruling in Aegina closed with the redoubtable Lupo's almost gaining Monemvasia, the strongest fortress in all Greece.

The later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries had marked a Hellenic upsurge, an increased ethnic awareness fostered by the Orthodox church and led by the archontic families, who filled the vacuum left by the Catalans' departure, for Florentine settlement was never comparable, despite Antonio I's efforts to attract Italians to Athens and Thebes.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, Albanians had worked their way south throughout the fourteenth century, and by its end were an important segment of the population; like the Turks, they appeared originally as mercenaries, then as invaders, and finally as settlers, primarily in Epirus and Thessaly. The impact of the Albanians exceeded that of either the Catalans or the Florentines, and rivaled that of the Turks, whose four centuries of rule erased the effects of their Latin predecessors' regimes, but not their memory. This brief but colorful chapter in Catalan history inspired a lasting sense of achievement in the conquistadors' countrymen, reflected in their literature and in the sometimes partisan but often admirable works of their historians.

The Catalans had ruled in Attica and Boeotia for three quarters of a century, and on the island of Aegina for more than half a century thereafter. The chief monuments they have left behind them are documents in the archives of Barcelona, Venice, Palermo, and the Vatican. These monuments have proved more lasting than bronze, and from them the bizarre history of Catalan domination in Athens and Thebes has in the last few generations finally been written.

103^v). In the exchange of petition and response, the despot Thomas represents the Monemvasiotes as his subjects (as they had been) and the senate regards Monemvasia as a Venetian responsibility (as it was becoming). Monemvasia, or "Malvasia," was of course the source of the French *malvoisie* and the English "malmsey."

191. The learned monograph of D. G. Kampouroglous, *The Chalkokondylai* [in Greek] (Athens, 1926), makes clear that the fortunes of the Chalcocondylas family, for example, were founded shortly after the Catalan era in Athens.